

Studies on Anaphora Resolution in  
L1 Spanish – L2 English &  
L1 English – L2 Spanish adult learners:  
combining corpus and experimental methods

PhD Thesis

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## Abstract

This dissertation aims to investigate the acquisition of Anaphora Resolution (AR) in L2 learners (L2ers). We analysed multiple factors (i.e., information status, activated antecedents, syntactic configuration, Position of Antecedent Strategy (PAS), verb semantics, characterhood, and picture transition) from different theoretical perspectives (i.e., generative, cognitive and pragmatic) and used different methods (i.e., corpus and experimental). Additionally, AR was investigated bidirectionally by including mirror-image language pairs (L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish) and also developmentally by including different proficiency levels (from beginner to very-advanced). To achieve this, we conducted four independent corpus-based studies and one experimental study to ascertain the following: i) how the multiple factors constrain the production (corpus studies) and comprehension (experimental study) of referring expressions (REs) as null pronouns, overt pronouns and noun phrases (NPs) in subject position; ii) how the acquisition of REs takes place developmentally in L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels; and iii) how production and comprehension data can be accounted for by different theoretical models as the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (Sorace, 2011) and the Pragmatic Principles Violation Hypothesis (PPVH) (Lozano, 2016). Crucially, our corpus-based findings showed the importance of investigating AR in natural corpus production because we accounted for the multiple factors that constrained the production of REs in L2ers' discourse in a unified manner. Notably, we showed that the experimental literature has overestimated some contexts (e.g., PAS), while there are other relevant factors affecting AR that have been overlooked, but are importantly addressed in this dissertation. Additionally, our corpus findings provided a wider picture of AR and informed about the most relevant factors that were then implemented in an experiment in a cyclic fashion. In particular, departing from some key corpus findings, we tested topic continuity and coordinate contexts and the number of activated antecedents experimentally and we found that the comprehension of REs is partially affected by these factors. Overall, the results revealed that L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers were redundant and produced more explicit REs than necessary, but, crucially, there was an asymmetry in their acquisition of REs depending on the L1-L2 language pair. In particular, L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers did not transfer null pronouns from their L1 Spanish and eventually showed native-like attainment at C2 level in a particular context (topic continuity and coordinate contexts), whereas L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers did transfer null pronouns from their L1 English (i.e., null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts) and did not show native-like attainment even at very-advanced levels. Therefore, our findings partially confirmed the IH because native-like attainment is possible, but such attainment rather depends on the L1-L2

language pair and the information-status context (topic continuity vs. topic shift). Finally, our findings confirmed the PPVH because L2ers (across language pairs and groups) were redundant and violated the Informativeness/Economy principle, but were not ambiguous as they observed the Clarity/Manner Principle.

## Resumen

Esta tesis investiga la adquisición de la resolución de anáfora (RA) en aprendices de L2. Para ello analizamos múltiples factores (i.e., estatus informativo, antecedentes activados, configuración sintáctica, la estrategia de la posición del antecedente (PAS), la semántica del verbo, el tipo de personaje, y la transición de imágenes) desde diferentes perspectivas teóricas (i.e., generativa, cognitiva y pragmática) y usamos diferentes métodos (i.e., de corpus y experimentales). Adicionalmente, se investigó la RA de manera bidireccional incluyendo dos pares de lenguas en espejo (L1 español – L2 inglés vs. L1 inglés – L2 español) y también desde un punto de vista del desarrollo incluyendo diferentes niveles de competencia (desde principiante hasta muy avanzado). Para lograrlo, llevamos a cabo cuatro estudios de corpus independientes y uno experimental para determinar los siguientes aspectos: i) cómo los múltiples factores restringen la producción (estudios de corpus) y comprensión (estudio experimental) de expresiones referenciales (ERs) como los pronombres nulos, los pronombres explícitos y los sintagmas nominales en posición sujeto; ii) cómo la adquisición de las ERs ocurre en distintas etapas de desarrollo según el nivel de competencia en aprendices de L2 inglés y L2 español; y iii) cómo los datos de producción y comprensión pueden ser explicados por distintas teorías como la Hipótesis de la Interfaz (IH) (Sorace, 2011) y la Hipótesis de la Violación de Principios Pragmáticos (PPVH) (Lozano, 2016). De manera crucial, nuestros resultados de corpus mostraron la importancia de investigar la RA en producción natural (i.e., corpus) porque dimos cuenta de una manera unificada de los múltiples factores que restringen la producción de ERs en el discurso de los aprendices. Cabe destacar que estos resultados mostraron que la literatura ha sobreestimado ciertos contextos (e.g., PAS), mientras que ha pasado por alto otros contextos, los cuales son esencialmente investigados en esta tesis. Nuestros datos de corpus adicionalmente proporcionaron una visión más amplia sobre la RA y nos informaron sobre los factores relevantes, los cuales fueron luego implementados en un experimento lingüístico siguiendo un diseño cíclico. Partiendo de hallazgos claves de los estudios de corpus, concretamente testeamos contextos de continuidad de tópico y oraciones coordinadas y el número de antecedentes activados y encontramos que la compresión de las ERs es parcialmente afectada por estos factores. En general los resultados mostraron que los aprendices de L1 español – L2 inglés y L1 inglés – L2 español eran redundantes y producían ERs más explícitas de lo necesario, pero de manera crucial observamos una asimetría en la adquisición de las ERs dependiendo del par de lenguas. En concreto, los aprendices L1 español – L2 inglés no transfirieron pronombres nulos de su L1 español y pudieron alcanzar una competencia nativa en el nivel C2 en un contexto particular (continuidad de tópico y coordinadas), mientras que los aprendices de L1 inglés – L2

español transfirieron pronombres nulos de su L1 inglés (i.e., pronombres nulos en contextos de continuidad de tópico y coordinadas) y no pudieron alcanzar una competencia totalmente nativa incluso en niveles muy avanzados. Por tanto, nuestros resultados parcialmente confirmaron la IH porque lograr una competencia nativa es posible, pero dicho logro depende del par de lenguas y del estatus informativo (i.e., continuidad de tópico y cambio de tópico). Finalmente, nuestros resultados confirmaron la PPVH porque los aprendices (en ambas lenguas y en todos los niveles de competencia) eran redundantes y violaron el principio información/economía, pero no eran ambiguos y observaban el principio de claridad/manera.

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## List of abbreviations and acronyms

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AJT	Acceptability Judgement Task
AOT	Act-out task
L2ers	Adult L2 learners
AH	Accessibility Hierarchy
AR	Anaphora Resolution
AOo	Age of onset
CEDEL2	Corpus Escrito del español como L2
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
CT	Cloze Test
CFC	Contrastive Focus Constraint
COREFL	Corpus of English as a Foreign Language
ERP	Event related potentials
FMRI	Functional magnetic resonance imaging
GenSLA	Generative Second Language Acquisition
GJCT	Grammaticality judgement/correction task
IH	Interface Hypothesis
IH	Interpretability hypothesis
L2er	L2 learner
LCR	Learner Corpus Research
LoI	Length of Instruction
LG	Logical Form
L1	Mother tongue
NPs	Noun Phrase(s)
NSP	Null Subject Parameter
OPC	Overt Pronoun Constraint
PF	Phonetic Form
PMT	Picture matching task

PAS	Position of Antecedent Strategy
PVT	Picture Verification Task
POS	Poverty of Stimulus
PPVH	Pragmatic Principles Violation Hypothesis
RT	Reading/reaction Time
RE(s)	Referring expression(s)
L2	Second language
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SPLT	Self-paced listening task
SPRT	Self-paced reading task
SCT	Sentence Completion Task
UG	Universal Grammar
TVJT	Truth value judgement task

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# Chapter 1. Introduction

---

The syntax-discourse interface is an area of language that has received great attention in the field of **Second Language Acquisition** (SLA). **Adult L2 learners** (L2ers) (among other bilingual populations) show **deficits** at the **syntax-discourse interface** due to the difficulty of simultaneously integrating syntactic and discursive information, as postulated by the **Interface Hypothesis (IH)** (Sorace, 2011, 2016), though see White (2011a) for a discussion. **Anaphora Resolution (AR)** is a particular phenomenon at the syntax-discourse interface and is the object of investigation in this dissertation. Investigating AR in adult L2ers is crucial to SLA to gain further knowledge on how the acquisition and processing of the L2 occurs in these bilinguals and how their languages could influence each other.

AR refers to the relationship between an anaphor (or referring expression (RE)) and its antecedent in the preceding discourse (Lozano, 2016, 2021a). The type of AR under investigation in this dissertation is **discourse anaphora** (and not sentential anaphora: cf. Reuland et al., 2020) in subject position. At the syntactic level, the type of RE is highly dependent on the **type of language**, as there is a typological distinction between pro-drop and non-pro-drop languages (Rizzi, 1993) (a.k.a. null subject and non-null subject language respectively). Pro-drop languages, such as Spanish, Italian or Greek, allow null and overt pronominal subjects in subject position, while in non-pro-drop languages, such as English, German or French, only overt pronouns are allowed in subject position, though null pronouns are restricted to very specific contexts such as diary-drop styles (Haegeman, 2009; Haegeman & Ihsane, 2001) and coordinate sentences (Crosthwaite, 2011; Leclercq & Lenart, 2013; T. Quesada & Lozano, 2020). To illustrate this, see real examples from native speakers below: (1a)<sup>1</sup> shows the possible syntactic alternation between null ( $\emptyset$ )/overt ( $\text{\'E}l$ ) pronouns for a given subject (although note that the speaker actually produced a null pronoun), while this is not a possibility in (1b), where an overt pronoun is required. Due to this **typological difference between English and Spanish**, these two languages are investigated in this dissertation. In particular, in English natives, Spanish natives, L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers and L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers.

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<sup>1</sup> Note that this example is co-indexically marked with a letter (i). From now on, all the examples with coreferential referring expressions will be marked with subscript letters (i, j, k, l, m, etc.).

- (1) a. Chaplin<sub>i</sub> aparece por una calle estrecha y  $\emptyset_i/\text{Él}_i$  se encuentra a un bebé<sub>j</sub> abandonado en el suelo.  $\emptyset_i/\text{Él}_i$  Decide cogerlo<sub>j</sub> ... [ES\_WR\_19\_14\_JMR]<sup>2</sup> (Spanish native)

'Chaplin<sub>i</sub> appeared by a narrow street and  $\emptyset_i/\text{He}_i$  finds an abandon baby<sub>j</sub> on the floor.  
 $*\emptyset_i/\text{He}_i$  decides to take him<sub>j</sub>...'

- b. Charlie Chaplin<sub>i</sub> stopped to smoke a hand rolled cigarette when  $\text{he}_i$  found a baby<sub>j</sub> laying in an alleyway.  $\text{He}_i$  tried to give the baby... [EN\_WR\_19\_2\_HT] (English native)

In addition to the syntactic properties that allow null and overt REs, in this dissertation, we crucially explore the **multiple factors** that constrain the choice of RE in discourse: the information status (i.e., topic continuity and topic shift), the syntactic configuration, the number of activated antecedents, or the characterhood, amongst others. For instance, **topic-continuity contexts** encode minimal REs because a given RE refers back to the same preceding entity, as shown in the bold REs in (2a), while **topic-shift contexts** encode fuller REs because the RE refers back to another entity, as shown in bold RE in (2b).

- (2) a. A man<sub>i</sub>, Chaplin<sub>i</sub>, is walking down an alley and  $\emptyset_i$  is struck with debris from a window above him<sub>i</sub>. As  $\text{he}_i$  dusts himself off and  $\emptyset_i$  lights another cigarette,  $\text{he}_i$  finds an abandoned baby<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_26\_2\_BD] (English native)
- b. Charlie Chaplin<sub>i</sub> is walking when  $\text{he}_i$  finds a baby<sub>j</sub>. **The baby<sub>j</sub>** is wrapped up in a blanket on the ground and  $\emptyset_j$  is crying. [EN\_WR\_21\_2\_SM] (English native)

The information status is not the only factor constraining the choice of REs, but consider the activated antecedents underlined in (3). This extract shows that fuller REs (overt pronouns and Noun Phrases (NPs)) are employed as a consequence of having several **activated antecedents** in the discourse (*Chaplin, el bebé, la señora, un policía, un anciano*).

- (3) ...Chaplin<sub>i</sub> intenta darle<sub>j</sub> el bebé<sub>k</sub> a esta señora<sub>l</sub>, pero ella<sub>m</sub> se niega ya que ella<sub>m</sub> tiene a su bebé<sub>n</sub>. Después Chaplin<sub>i</sub> decide dejar al bebé<sub>k</sub> en el mismo lugar, pero aparece un policía<sub>m</sub>, entonces Chaplin<sub>i</sub> se queda con el bebé<sub>k</sub> hasta que el policía<sub>m</sub> desaparece. Esta vez, Chaplin<sub>i</sub> intenta darle<sub>n</sub> el bebé<sub>k</sub> a un anciano<sub>n</sub>. Chaplin<sub>i</sub> hace como que  $\emptyset_i$  se ata los zapatos mientras el anciano<sub>n</sub> coge al bebé<sub>k</sub> en brazos, y entonces Chaplin<sub>i</sub> sale corriendo

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<sup>2</sup> Note that these are real examples of English and Spanish native speakers extracted from the learner corpora used in this dissertation (cf. Chapter 6 for further details). The information in square brackets is the ID of the file. From now on, all the examples with square brackets containing such information come from the different corpora used in the dissertation. Additionally, the type of participant is indicated in brackets.

y  $\emptyset$  se esconde. El anciano<sub>n</sub>, con el bebé<sub>k</sub> en brazos... [ES\_WR\_22\_14\_FJVG] (English native)

'...Chaplin<sub>i</sub> tries to give the baby<sub>k</sub> to that woman<sub>j</sub>, but she<sub>j</sub> refuses this because she<sub>j</sub> has her baby<sub>i</sub>. Then, Chaplin<sub>i</sub> decides to leave the baby<sub>k</sub> in the same place, but a policeman<sub>m</sub> appears, so Chaplin<sub>i</sub> keeps the baby<sub>k</sub> until the policeman<sub>m</sub> goes away. This time, Chaplin<sub>i</sub> tries to give the baby<sub>k</sub> to an old man<sub>n</sub>. Chaplin<sub>i</sub> pretends that he<sub>i</sub> ties his<sub>i</sub> shoes while the old man<sub>n</sub> holds the baby<sub>k</sub>, and then Chaplin<sub>i</sub> runs away and  $\emptyset$  hides. The old man<sub>n</sub>, with the baby<sub>k</sub> in his arms passes by ...'

These are just some instances to justify the complexity of AR and the need for studies researching it in discourse in a **systematic and unitary way** and taking into account all these factors, as done in this dissertation.

Methodologically speaking, AR has been mainly investigated **experimentally**. Studies in **Spanish** have mostly investigated the **Position of Antecedent Strategy** (PAS) (cf. Carminati, 2002). Some studies (Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011, 2014; Keating et al., 2016) show that, in native Spanish, there is a clear division of labour between null and overt pronouns. Null pronouns bias towards subject antecedents, whereas overt pronouns and NPs bias towards non-subject antecedents, while others (inter alia: Alonso-Ovalle et al., 2002; Bel, Sagarrá, Comínguez, & Alcaraz, 2016; Filiaci et al., 2014) claim that null pronouns bias towards subject antecedents, but overt pronouns are flexible and bias towards subject and non-subject antecedents. Importantly, most of these studies focus only on the processing of null and overt pronouns and do not consider NPs (except for Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011, 2014). Crucially, NPs are investigated in this dissertation. As for **Spanish L2ers**, studies (inter alia: Bel, Sagarrá, Comínguez, & Alcaraz, 2016; Jegerski et al., 2011; Keating et al., 2016) are diverse in terms of language pairs, proficiency level, and method employed, but they show that L2ers start showing native-like behaviour at advanced levels and they typically select a null pronoun biasing towards subject antecedents, while overt pronouns are more flexible. Regarding **English**, investigating the PAS is uncommon as English is a non-pro-drop language and works differently. Instead, English studies (Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladenvall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014) have focused on the acceptability of (ungrammatical) null pronouns and overt pronouns and have shown that **English L2ers** do not behave in a native-like fashion and accept ungrammatical null subjects. To summarise, experimental studies inform researchers about the processing of AR but show inconclusive findings on the phenomenon because results are varied, as we will see in the literature review

below. Importantly, all these experimental studies repeatedly focus on the same PAS (and PAS-like) contexts and limit the investigation of AR to this scenario at a sentence level.

By contrast, **corpus-based studies** offer richer contexts to investigate the multiple factors affecting AR in **real discourse**. There are some corpus-based production studies investigating AR in discourse in both English and Spanish (*inter alia*: Blackwell & Quesada, 2012; Kang, 2004; Lozano, 2016; Ryan, 2015). Overall, these studies show that L2ers tend to be overexplicit (i.e., they use fuller REs than required in a given context). However, most of these studies (but see Lozano, 2016; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020) do not consider all the factors affecting AR in a systematic way and do not specify the contexts that are problematic for L2ers, as done in this dissertation. Also, it is crucial to discover the multiple factors that affect AR in discourse as they can be later implemented in a new experiment, as will be done in the final study of this dissertation.

Apart from the two different research methods just seen (experiments and corpora), there are also different **theoretical approaches** that account for the acquisition and processing of AR. Most **experimental** studies are couched within **generative/formal approaches** to SLA with a focus on the processing (performance) and the acquisition (competence) of anaphora. **Corpus-based studies** typically come from different theoretical traditions and most fall within the umbrella of **functional and usage-based approaches** (accessibility theory, givenness hierarchy, activation model, etc.). These approaches are apparently different, but it has been recently argued that they have some points in common when it comes to explaining how a language is acquired (Mendikoetxea & Lozano, 2018; Rothman & Slabakova, 2018). More recently, a theory half-way between generative and corpus-based approaches was proposed: the **Pragmatic Principle Violation Hypothesis (PPVH)** (Lozano, 2016). This hypothesis departs from a generative approach and the IH, and goes beyond the sentence level and considers pragmatic principles in discourse. The PPVH is one of the approaches taken in this dissertation (together with the IH and the multiple factors accounting for AR).

Departing from the observation that adult L2ers show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface (cf. IH), we account for adult L2ers' acquisition of REs and the factors that constrain their production using the methodology of **Learner Corpus Research (LCR)** (Granger, 2009; Granger et al., 2015; Myles, 2007, 2015), as this methodology is particularly suitable for the investigation of syntax-discourse phenomena as AR, as we will see. LCR is a field that started gaining momentum in SLA as researchers began to consider the relevance of investigating L2ers' natural or near-natural production to be better informed about their interlanguage. This is possible by

investigating longer and contextually richer scenarios and by using complex annotation schemes to be able to take into account multiple factors. Therefore, we describe L2ers' interlanguage at different stages in the process of acquiring a particular phenomenon at the syntax-discourse interface in order to explain how the acquisitional process takes place and why those deficits may remain. Our corpus-based findings revealed several factors (type of REs, information status, syntactic configuration, task type, or character type, amongst others) affecting AR. These factors were unnoticed in previous experimental studies due to the nature of the data. Once new factors are uncovered, they can be implemented in an experiment to further investigate the phenomenon. Thus, in the final part of this dissertation, we considered some crucial factors in AR and created a linguistic experiment. This process is known as **triangulation**, as proposed by Mendikoetxea & Lozano (2018), and this triangulation allows us to have a wider picture of the phenomenon. Importantly though, the main data of the dissertation are the corpus-based studies because the experimental part remains as a pilot study (due to the COVID-19 pandemic), which will require future research.

Notably, in our corpus-based studies, we investigated AR in a **bidirectional way** as two typologically different languages were analysed: L1 English-L2 Spanish vs. L1 Spanish-L2 English, plus Spanish and English natives' control corpora. Importantly, this bidirectionality can shed light on how each language could influence each other depending on the language pair. Also, L2ers were investigated **developmentally across proficiency levels** (A2-C2), which allowed us to observe the acquisitional process developmentally. To the best of our knowledge, there are no previous studies investigating these language pairs across proficiency levels, in a bidirectional way, and in an articulated and unitary way taking into account the multiple factors that constrain AR in discourse in L1 Spanish-L2 English and L1 English-L2 Spanish. To do so, two different learner corpora were used respectively: Corpus of English as a Foreign Language (**COREFL**: <http://corefl.learnercorpora.com>) and *Corpus Escrito del Español como L2* (**CEDEL2**) (<http://cedel2.learnercorpora.com>). Both corpora follow the same design criterion so that they are comparable. **Four corpus-based studies** were carried out in order to investigate the multiple AR factors across the different proficiency levels in the two language pairs. The procedure followed in each study was to create a **fine-grained tagset** (informed by previous research) with key factors that constrain AR. Then, participants with different proficiency levels were chosen and their productions were tagged. The software employed to do this was **UAM Corpus Tool** (O'Donnell, 2008), which allows for multiple and sophisticated comparisons among tags. Finally, the results were obtained and statistically analysed in the software. Note that these four production studies were carried out sequentially since this dissertation was originally envisaged

as a collection of published studies, but this was eventually not feasible due to administrative issues and is therefore presented as a traditional dissertation. Therefore, different factors and improvements were added to the different studies as the research developed. Additionally, this dissertation is part of the [ANACOR](#)<sup>3</sup> project and, therefore, these studies are a reflection of how the project and the corpora have been developing across time. Let's have a look at each study in turn.

**Study 1:** Firstly, Study 1 was a corpus study that investigated AR in **L1 Spanish-L2 English** and was motivated by the scarce literature on AR in L2 English in comparison with L2 Spanish literature. Experimental studies (Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014) and production studies (Kang, 2004; Leclercq & Lenart, 2013; Ryan, 2015) provide some insights into how AR works in L2 English. However, these studies either restrict the phenomenon to a particular context (for instance, ungrammatical null subjects) or, importantly, do not simultaneously consider all factors affecting AR. Additionally, they do not always explore AR **across different proficiency levels**. We addressed these limitations in our Study 1. Our results revealed how **multiple factors** (information status, syntactic configuration, activated antecedents, characterhood, and picture transition) affected the production of REs in L1 Spanish-L2 English. Additionally, L2ers' production varied across proficiency levels and L2ers showed native-like production only in particular information-status contexts, which indicated that not all discourse contexts were equally problematic for them. Finally, L2ers did **not transfer** null pronouns from their L1, but they instead **overproduced** overt pronouns, which led to **redundancy**. Thus, they seemed sensitive to the multiple constraints of AR since beginner levels and they acquired the pragmatics of AR developmentally. Note that part of these findings are published in the journal *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* (see T. Quesada & Lozano, 2020) [2020 JCR Impact Factor: 3.988] because, as mentioned above, this dissertation was initially envisaged as collection of published articles.

**Study 2:** In Study 1, we showed that L2ers are increasingly sensitive to the input containing the syntax-discourse constraints on AR. Therefore, an interesting question was whether the **quantity/quality of input** in L2 English could benefit L2ers in their acquisition of REs in discourse. Study 2, thus, followed the same methodology as Study 1, but compared groups of **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** under two different types of exposure to the L2 English input. In particular, we compared L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers at different proficiency levels: one group received Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) instruction and the other group followed mainstream

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<sup>3</sup> ANACOR Project: <https://www.researchgate.net/project/ANACOR-A-corpus-based-approach-to-anaphora-resolution-in-second-language-acquisition-beyond-the-interfaces>

EFL<sup>4</sup> instruction. CLIL instruction was implemented in some regions of Spain following a European initiative of raising multilingual societies. In this dissertation, it was predicted that bilingual CLIL instruction (where L2ers received input in English in subjects like natural science, history, geography, etc.) would give L2ers an advantage in AR when compared to L2ers that only received EFL lessons (while the rest of the lessons were in Spanish). This prediction was based on a series of CLIL studies (inter alia: Jiménez Catalán et al., 2006; Ruiz de Zarobe & Jiménez Catalán, 2009) showing a lexical advantage on those L2ers attending CLIL instruction. Our results confirmed findings from Study 1 in the sense that **multiple factors** constrained the choice of REs in L1 Spanish-L2 English. As for the differences between CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers, it was found that a greater amount of input of L2ers attending **CLIL did not** necessarily lead to linguistic **improvements** at the syntax-discourse interface. In particular, L2ers attending CLIL performed more native-like than the non-CLIL at beginner levels, but the non-CLIL groups caught up and, crucially, the non-CLIL-B2 group outperformed the CLIL-B2 group. This is in line with recent research that underplays the beneficial role of CLIL and shows that CLIL appears not to have an impact on certain linguistic areas like syntax and grammar (García-Mayo & Villarreal Olaizola, 2011; Martínez Adrián & Gutiérrez Mangado, 2009, 2015a). Note that part of these findings are published in the journal *ELIA (Estudios de Lingüística Inglesa aplicada)* (see T. Quesada, 2020) [2020 SJR Impact Factor: 0.101].

**Study 3:** Study 1 and Study 2 investigated AR in the discourse of L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers. An interesting question was whether the **language pair** of the L2ers could influence the process of acquisition of REs. Thus, it is crucial to investigate AR in a bidirectional way. This motivated Study 3, which was a corpus study that investigated AR in the discourse of **L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers** across proficiency levels. By testing these L2ers and comparing them against the L2ers in studies 1 and 2, we could better understand (i) what was **common** to all L2ers in their acquisition of AR independently of their L1-L2 pairs and (ii) what was **language specific**. Interestingly, this study had a special focus on a particular context of AR (i.e., the PAS). While the **PAS** has been scarcely investigated in English, the PAS has been extensively studied experimentally in Spanish (Alonso-Ovalle et al., 2002; Bel, Sagarra, Comínguez, & Alcaraz, 2016; Filiaci et al., 2014), but not in corpus production. Therefore, the methodology employed was similar to Study 1 and 2, except for some adjustments in the tagset and in the task in order to be able to investigate the PAS. Results revealed a common trend that was also observed in study 1 and 2: L2ers showed the already known trend of being **redundant** and they overproduced REs, especially in topic-

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<sup>4</sup> Note that, in this dissertation, L2ers that received mainstream EFL instruction will be considered as the non-CLIL group.

continuity contexts. Additionally, they behaved more native-like as their proficiency increased, but they showed significant differences even at very advanced levels. Crucially, the language pair seemed to influence the acquisition of REs, as there were now some differences with respect to Study 1 and 2. In particular, L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers **transferred** the production of null pronouns from their mother tongue, a fact that was not found in L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers in Study 1 and 2. Regarding the PAS scenarios now, our results crucially revealed that **PAS** scenarios were **not as frequent** as other AR scenarios, which showed that previous experimental studies have overestimated these scenarios and other AR scenarios have been unexplored. Also, corpus data revealed that there was a **clear and new division of labour** of REs in PAS scenarios in Spanish, contrary to findings in previous experimental studies. In particular, results showed that null pronouns biased towards subject antecedents, while overt material (overt pronouns and NPs) biased towards non-subject antecedents. Importantly, **NPs** played a role in the division of labour, a fact that was previously unnoticed in the literature. Study 3, thus, revealed that the language pair may have an impact on the acquisition of REs and that corpus findings offer richer contexts to investigate a particular phenomenon and gives further insights.

**Study 4:** Studies 1 to 3 showed the acquisition of REs in L2 English and L2 Spanish and results revealed that deficits tended to occur in specific contexts in both languages, but certain acquisitional aspects differed depending on the language pair. However, it was not completely licit to compare results obtained in these three independent studies for several reasons: (i) the tasks employed were different and it was shown that some factors related to the task influenced the production of REs (in studies 1 and 2 we used the frog story and in study 3 we used the retelling of a film); (ii) the tagsets were similar but differed in some aspects; and (iii) the proficiency levels were not exactly the same across the three studies. In other words, all these **variables** needed to be kept **constant** to make comparisons across language pairs more legitimate and reliable. The only variability would be the language pair of the L2ers: L1 Spanish-L2 English vs L1 English-L2 Spanish. This was the reason why a fourth and final corpus-based study was carried out in this dissertation. Study 4 followed the same method as previous studies, but, crucially, we offered **bidirectional comparisons** across **language pairs** and across **proficiency levels** in the same study. We compared simultaneously the two languages in a **mirror-image fashion**: L1 Spanish-L2 English vs. L1 English-L2 Spanish. Importantly, we used a **new task** specifically designed to elicit the AR contexts we are interested in: topic continuity and topic shift. It was important to use only **human characters** (with different genders) to better motivate the RE form. This is why a *Charles Chaplin film* task was used. Finally, L2ers' proficiency levels were comparable across the language pairs (upper beginner, lower intermediate, upper

intermediate, lower advanced, and upper advanced). Our results confirmed that **multiple factors** affected the production of REs in both English and Spanish and that L2ers showed **deficits at the syntax-discourse interface**, as in our previous studies. Additionally, it was confirmed that not all phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface were equally problematic for L2ers. Importantly, deficits varied depending on the language pair, as suggested in our three previous independent studies, but now this finding was confirmed in an ecologically more valid study. To the best of our knowledge, this fact has not been demonstrated before in a single study as we do here. Importantly, **new findings** were found in this study. First, we found a high production of **null pronouns** in **topic-shift** contexts in Spanish, which again showed that AR in discourse offers richer contexts than previously assumed and there is a need to study the phenomenon in discourse. Also, the finding of the **number of activated antecedents** (which was not equally pronounced across the different studies) was confirmed here and, in fact, was stronger across languages in this study. In short, study 4 confirmed and verified in a **unified and more controlled way** the results that were obtained in our three previous studies in an independent way. Study 4, therefore, replicated the findings of studies 1 to 3. Such replication provided a stronger support to the research, and, additionally, revealed new factors that were not previously addressed.

**Study 5:** Based on the new insights of these four corpus-based studies, a psycholinguistic experiment was created and implemented in the software *OpenSesame* following the triangulation fashion mentioned above. Not all the factors found throughout the corpus-based studies could be implemented in the same experiment. Thus, we weighed several options (cf. section 6.2.1 for further details) and we finally decided to focus on **two factors** that proved to be crucial in the corpus studies. In particular, the factors considered for the experiment were: **type of REs** (null vs. overt vs. NP) and **number of activated antecedents** (1 activated antecedent vs. 2 activated antecedents). These factors were investigated in **topic continuity and coordinate contexts**, as our corpus-based findings showed that these contexts were particularly problematic for L2ers. The stimuli were created in a way that enabled us to test these factors in both languages (i.e., L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish). Unfortunately, not all the expected data were collected due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and we only showed some preliminary results in this dissertation. In particular, we showed results on the Spanish natives (which is the only group that is completed), L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers (only a few participants), and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers (around one third of the total expected). Results revealed that there was no interaction between the two factors investigated (i.e., REs\*Number of activated antecedents). However, when the number of activated antecedents was kept

constant, there was an interaction on the type of RE in Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. This interaction showed that null pronouns were read faster than overt pronouns and NPs across groups with 1 antecedent and 2 antecedents. Importantly, there was no interaction in the number of activated antecedents. Therefore, the results revealed that the type of RE affected the RT in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, but the difference between 1 vs. 2 antecedents did not affect the RT. Crucially, these results should be carefully considered because we could not collect enough data. Thus, this experiment is left to future research.

All in all, our corpus-based findings showed the importance of analysing a phenomenon in **natural production**, as new and previously **uncovered factors** can be found. Crucially, the factors analysed in the corpus gave new insights into AR and can be further investigated in an experimental study following a **triangulation fashion**. Additionally, our findings showed that AR can be accounted for by theoretical approaches coming from different traditions (i.e., generative, cognitive and pragmatic). In particular, the **IH** and the **PPVH** accounted for our corpus-based and experimental findings because i) in line with the IH, we revealed that L2ers showed deficits at the syntax-discourse interface; and ii) in line with the PPVH, we showed that L2ers were redundant and tended to violate the Informativeness/Economy principle, while they were seldom ambiguous and did not violate the Manner/Clarity principle. Crucially, our results showed that deficits at the syntax-discourse interface depended on the factors and the language pairs analysed, so it is necessary to go beyond the IH and explore multiple factors to account for such deficits. Additionally, our results showed that the PPVH was applicable to other language pairs across different proficiency levels and we can add new insights into the violation scale. In particular, we showed that i) L2ers were more or less redundant depending on the language pair; and ii) redundancy depended on the factor that is considered.

The rest of this dissertation is structured as follows. **Chapter 2** contains an overview of the field of Second Language Acquisition and its research methods. **Chapter 3** addresses the phenomenon investigated in this dissertation (i.e., Anaphora Resolution) by defining the phenomenon, illustrating the factors that affect AR, and reviewing the theoretical approaches that have accounted for AR. **Chapter 4** provides with an overview of the studies on AR in English and Spanish (which are the languages investigated in this dissertation). **Chapter 5** includes the general research questions and hypotheses of this dissertation. **Chapter 6** describes the method followed. **Chapter 7** presents the results, which are divided into different sections according to the different independent studies that were carried out. **Chapter 8** offers a general discussion of the results in all the studies and answers the general research questions in Chapter 5. Finally, **Chapter 9** offers some conclusions and directions for future research.

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## Chapter 2. Bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition

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### 2.1 Scope of bilingualism

Bilingualism is a recent and relevant field that has been extensively investigated. Among others, some **key issues** questioned in the field are i) how the linguistic systems of bilinguals ‘co-exist’ and ‘interact’ ; ii) how languages are acquired by bilinguals; or iii) how languages are used by them (Wei, 2008, p. 137). In a narrower sense, these questions are addressed in this dissertation, but, importantly, some terminological and theoretical issues about bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) must be addressed first. In particular, we will show that the concept of bilingualism changes depending on the field, the factors investigated, and the perspective taken to investigate it, and we will specify the perspective taken and the type of bilingual investigated in this dissertation.

In a simplistic view, “bilingualism is the ability to use two languages”, as Slabakova (2016, p. 92) states, but note that there is a wide range of conceptions of bilingualism. Importantly, the assumptions on what bilingualism implies vary considerably depending on the field (Gass & Glew, 2008). The **field of SLA** considers bilingualism as a **continuum** and its research focuses on the process of acquisition (i.e., different stages of language development). By contrast, the fields of psychology and education consider bilingualism as an end point by focusing on the degree of bilingualism at a particular moment (rather than investigating language development). When taking the view of bilingualism as a continuum rather than an end state, the concepts of bilingual and a second language (L2) learner are interchangeable (cf. Slabakova, 2016). We take this lead in this dissertation and bilingual and L2 learner (known as L2er) are considered to be equivalent. Thus, bilinguals are investigated from an SLA perspective here.

Additionally, the concept of bilingual varies depending on the **factors** (for instance: linguistic, cognitive, or developmental) considered (cf. (Butler & Hakuta, 2008 for an overview). **Age** is considered a crucial and widely debated factor in bilingualism (cf. Singleton, 2014 for a discussion). Thus, considering the age of onset and ultimate attainment as factors, bilinguals are classified as simultaneous, sequential and late bilinguals, as shown in Figure 1. **Simultaneous**

bilinguals acquire more than one language from birth and can attain native-like competence. **Sequential** bilinguals start acquiring one language first but they acquire another language early on (before the age of 7) and can also attain native-like competence. By contrast, **late** bilinguals acquire their first language (L1) first, and, then, they start acquiring another language (from the age of 7 onwards), in which native-like competence is not typically attained. Adults of the latter type (i.e., late bilinguals) is the population considered in this dissertation.

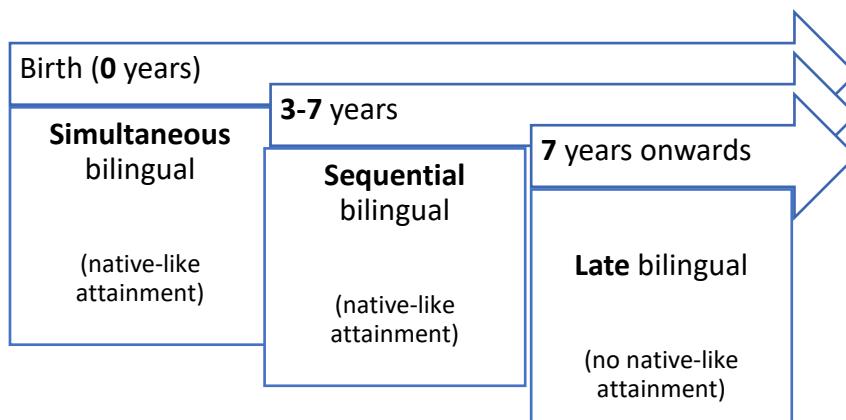


Figure 1. Types of bilinguals.

Importantly, in addition to the types of bilinguals, research on bilingualism in SLA also varies depending on different **perspectives** (Butler & Hakuta, 2008): linguistic, cognitive and functionalist, and socio-cultural. The **linguistic** perspective focuses on the linguistic knowledge of language(s), the **cognitive and functionalist** perspectives focus on the processing of language(s) (usually in steady states), and the **socio-cultural** perspective focuses on the variation and sociological aspects of language(s). These perspectives are not necessarily mutually exclusive and they all play a role in language acquisition, but, importantly, one of the most fundamental issues in SLA is how the mind of the L2er acquires the L2 knowledge, as Slabakova et al. (2020) point out:

In spite of their individual circumstances, personal experiences, and native grammars, second language learners end up with a version of the second language grammar. If they didn't, speakers of that language wouldn't understand them. Thus, the most important research question informing language cognition is: How does knowledge of the additional language come to be in the speaker's mind so that they can understand and produce the phrases, sentences, and discourse of the new language? (p. 1)

Therefore, language cognition is at the core of SLA. In particular, it has been of interest in **Generative Second Language Acquisition** (GenSLA), which mainly focuses on grammatical rather than sociolinguistic issues (Lozano, 2021b; Slabakova et al., 2020). In this dissertation, we

take this lead as we investigate the adult bilinguals' knowledge of language of a particular linguistic aspect (i.e., Anaphora Resolution) under the field of GenSLA, which is put into perspective in the next section.

## 2.2 Second Language Acquisition (SLA) inquiry

SLA is an empirical field that gives account of L2ers' unconscious linguistic system, that is, their **interlanguage**. The concept of interlanguage was introduced by Larry Selinker back in 1972 (Selinker, 1972) and it became central to the field of SLA (Slabakova, 2016). Before the concept of interlanguage was considered, the **behaviourist** view claimed that language acquisition was a matter of habit formation and, therefore, acquiring a second language consisted of replacing the habits of the L1 for the L2 (see Myles & Mitchell, 2013; VanPatten et al., 2020 for an overview). Thus, transfer played an important role here because the acquisition would be more or less successful depending on the superficial similarities and differences of both the L1 and the L2 and this led to the **Contrastive Analysis** (see VanPatten et al., 2020 for an overview). Contrastive Analysis was proposed by Lado (1957) and considered the L1 and the L2 to make predictions about possible L2ers' problems. However, transfer predictions were not always right (see Saville-Troike, 2012 for a discussion). Crucially, transfer<sup>5</sup> plays a role in the acquisition process (as we will see in this dissertation), but it is not the only predictor. Similarly, **Error Analysis** (Corder, 1967) also focused on L2ers' problems (i.e., errors) and considered them as part of the learning process; however, this theory was not completely successful in explaining L2 acquisition due to lack of evidence with certain linguistic structures (see Saville-Troike, 2012 for an overview). The actual change in the field of SLA, as mentioned above, came with the contribution of Selinker and the term **interlanguage** (Selinker, 1972).

This concept brought the idea that L2ers have an L2 language system that differs from natives' language and their own native language, but this system is not random and it can be described by means of stages (Slabakova, 2016). In order to describe L2ers' interlanguage, we first need to know how language is represented in the brain. Chomsky (2005) explains that all humans are equipped with an innate mechanism for language, which is called **Universal Grammar** (UG). This idea emerged from the observation that children are able to acquire languages unconsciously and effortlessly, which is commonly known as **Poverty of the Stimulus** (PoS). Thus, he claims that language is acquired because we are equipped with UG, but also the exposure to comprehensible input and generic principles are fundamental aspects in language acquisition. If

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<sup>5</sup> Note that, in SLA, the term of cross-linguistic influence is also used to refer to transfer because the L1 can influence the L2, but the L2 can also influence the L1.

we are equipped with UG, a crucial question in SLA was whether access to UG is possible in the L2. Generative linguists in the field have focused on this issue together with the role of the L1 and the input, which (to some extent) are addressed in this dissertation.

These fundamental aspects (i.e., access to UG, role of L1 and input) have been approached in SLA, and in particular in **GenSLA**, by means of describing the development of L2ers' interlanguage. As stated by Rothman and Slabakova (2018, p. 418): "Inherent to the process of SLA are transitional stages -interlanguage development- along a complex developmental continuum". L2ers start acquiring their L2 departing from the knowledge of their L1 (Slabakova et al., 2020). As they are exposed to the L2 input, they start developing their L2 interlanguage system and resetting **parameter** values from their L1 to their L2, which is manifested in developmental stages (White, 2003). Importantly, L2ers' interlanguage is not investigated as a whole, but different developmental stages for each language module (i.e., phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax) are investigated. The investigation of **developmental stages** informs about initial and final stages of particular language modules. Crucially, language modules are not only investigated in isolation but also the interface between different language modules is of particular interest for researchers (White, 2011b). Recently, the **interfaces** between language modules have received much attention in GenSLA because this seems to be a problematic area for L2ers even at near-native levels. This dissertation focuses on a linguistic phenomenon (Anaphora Resolution), which is at the interface between two language modules (i.e., syntax-discourse interface), so, the next section further explains the interfaces.

## 2.3 The interfaces between language modules and the Interface Hypothesis

White (2011b) explains that there are two levels of representation, the Logical Form (LG) and the Phonetic Form (PF), that interface with the conceptual-intentional system and the articulatory-perceptual system respectively (both external to the grammar). Importantly, she notes that a common misconception is that L2ers have to acquire an interface (that is, levels of representation). Instead, what L2ers have to acquire is linguistic phenomena at a particular interface. In L2 research, White (2011b, p. 578) sees interfaces "as involving interaction or mapping between linguistic modules or representations", as illustrated in Figure 2. Thus, L2ers have to acquire appropriate mappings in the L2, which turns out to be problematic for them. Since the 1990s, research on different interface areas (i.e., the syntax-discourse interface, the syntax-semantics interface, the syntax-morphology-lexicon interface, etc.) have been of particular interest in GenSLA (Montrul, 2011; Rothman & Slabakova, 2011; White, 2011b). This

dissertation particularly investigates a phenomenon at the syntax-discourse interface so let's focus on this interface now.

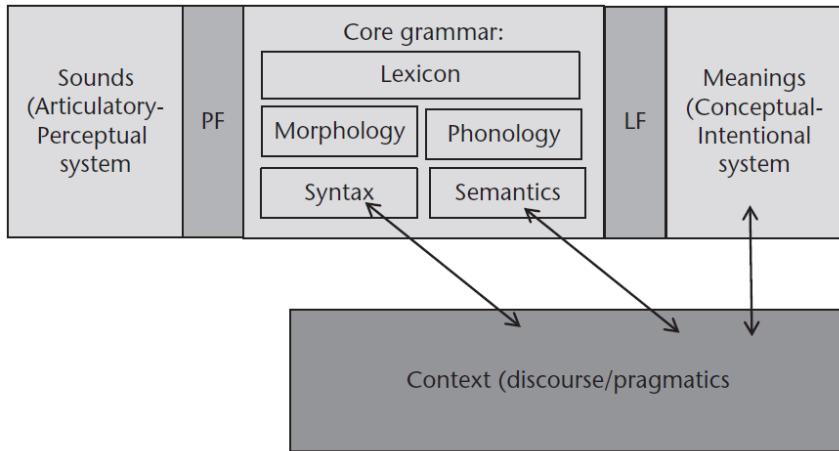


Figure 2. Mapping between linguistic modules.

(Source of figure: Slabakova et al., 2020, p. 320)

The **syntax-discourse interface** has been extensively investigated. As Slabakova (2016, p. 321) states, the syntax-discourse interface “includes all constructions whose meaning computation and acceptability depend on information coming from the previous discourse”. Thus, phenomena at this interface include null and overt subjects in topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts, preverbal and postverbal subjects, or objects with clitics, amongst others. In this dissertation, we investigate the alternation of null and overt pronouns in topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts, which is coined under the term Anaphora Resolution (AR). The next chapter focuses on the phenomenon itself and gives a complete account of it but, to put it simply now, research on this phenomenon has shown that even near-native speakers of an L2 are unable to master the use of pronouns in a native-like manner (inter alia: Belletti et al., 2007; Sorace & Filiaci, 2006; Tsimpli & Sorace, 2006). This observation led researchers to propose the **Interface Hypothesis (IH)**, which is also applicable to other phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface (Sorace, 2011, 2016; Sorace & Filiaci, 2006).

The **IH** claims that near-native adult L2ers (among other bilingual populations) show deficits at the syntax-discourse due the difficulty in simultaneously integrating syntactic and discursive aspects of the language. In this dissertation, we will depart from the IH but we go beyond it because i) we investigate AR in discourse and across proficiency levels; and ii) we account for multiple factors (i.e., information status, antecedents, syntactic configuration, etc.) that affect AR and, thus, trigger L2ers’ deficits. Importantly, results so far on the syntax-discourse interface

are varied with respect to whether phenomena at this interface are acquirable or not. However, note that, as White (2011b) states

Interfaces are not monolithic: it is not the case that all interfaces lead to difficulties, it is not the case that all phenomena at a particular interface are necessarily problematic, it is not the case that acquisition failure is inevitable. (p. 587)

Even if we focus on a particular phenomenon at the syntax-discourse interface (i.e., AR), there is evidence showing that not all contexts are equally problematic (Lozano, 2016, 2018). Additionally, phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface have typically focused on the processing of language (rather than on natural language production) and end stages of acquisition (i.e., near-native speakers). We believe that it is crucial to investigate the phenomenon in natural production (i.e., corpus) and developmentally (i.e., across proficiency levels). These methodological aspects are addressed in this dissertation with the final aim of being better informed about L2ers' interlanguage of this particular phenomenon. These methodological issues are a reflection of how SLA has developed in time and how it is moving to different methodological perspectives. This takes us to our next section, which deals with research methods in SLA.

## 2.4 Research methods in SLA

One of the main issues concerning research methods in SLA has to do with the nature of the data. In fact, Lozano (2021b, p. 216) claims: "In SLA research, there is always a tension between the need for natural data vs the degree of control of the data, with some researchers favoring corpus data whereas others favor experimental data". The inquiry in GenSLA is to test particular theories/models of linguistic behaviour and development and to know about L2ers' competence (Rothman & Slabakova, 2018; Slabakova, 2016). Thus, GenSLA has mostly employed experimental methods, which involve more controlled data (Lozano, 2021b). Nowadays, experimental methods include a wide range of techniques and tests, as shown in our next subsection (cf. 2.4.1, p. 17), that allow generative researchers to meet their ends (Rothman & Slabakova, 2018). Thus, GenSLA researchers do not typically employ production data (corpus methods) because i) a particular linguistic phenomenon may not be found in a corpus, ii) competence is not necessarily reflected by the production of a form; and iii) the underproduction of a form does not imply lack of knowledge of it (Lozano, 2021b). Crucially, Lozano (2021b) claims that corpus methods are relevant in GenSLA for several reasons: i) hypothesis can be tested in larger databases; ii) the type of data analysed offer rich scenarios to investigate a particular linguistic phenomenon; and iii) rich and natural scenarios allow

researchers to explore L2ers' interlanguage in context and discover new factors, which were previously uncovered in artificial scenarios. Therefore, this dissertation addresses the issue of apparently incompatible fields and makes use of both learner corpora and an experiment to investigate a particular linguistic phenomenon. There is a need for bridging the gap between GenSLA and LCR, which leads us to our next sections concerning the different traditions in SLA and LCR and how these two fields are finally meeting.

#### 2.4.1 (Psycho)linguistic experiments in SLA

The goal of SLA is to account for **L2ers' knowledge of language**, as explained in section 2.2, and this has been mainly done using **psycholinguistic experiments**. As stated by Fernández and Smith Cairns (2018, p. 3) "Psycholinguistics is the field of study that addresses how people process and acquire a central aspect of what it means to be human: language". Importantly, the techniques employed in the field have developed and more sophisticated techniques are being used nowadays. Initially, SLA research used offline experiments, but online experiments appeared and they have been widely used in the field (Keating & Jegerski, 2015). The main distinction between offline and online experiments is that "offline methods measure the learner's competence/knowledge of the L2 after the linguistic stimulus has been presented, whereas online methods measure performance/processing in real time as the stimuli unfolds", as stated by Lozano (2021b, p. 216). It is claimed that online experiments are preferred over offline experiments because online experiments allow the researcher to evaluate the learner's implicit knowledge at precise moments in a given sentence and the risk of using explicit knowledge is minimized, if the research is carried out appropriately (Keating & Jegerski, 2015; Marinis, 2010).

Regarding **offline experiments**, Schmitt and Miller (2010) offer an overview of three offline tasks: the truth value judgement task (TVJT), the picture matching task (PMT) and the act-out task (AOT). In the TVJT, a target sentence is interpreted as true or false depending on a previous context. In a PMT, which has been also used in AR studies and in particular in PAS studies, participants have to match the picture that best describes a given sentence, as illustrated in Figure 3. Opposite to these two tasks, the AOT is more open as participants have to produce a target structure and they are not forced to choose an option.

La mamma dà un bacio alla figlia, mentre si mette il cappotto.

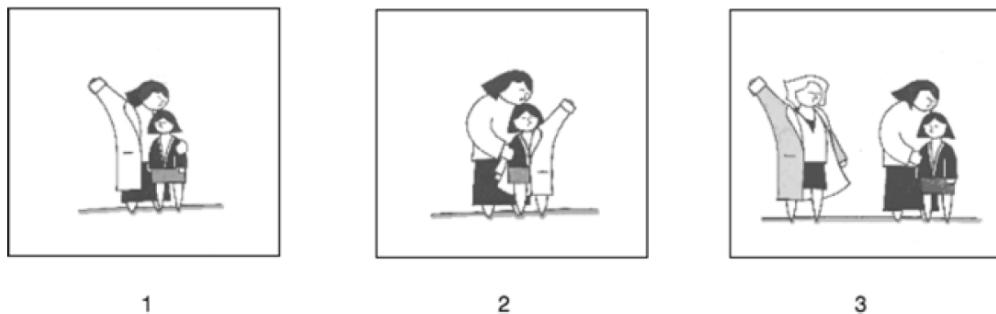


Figure 3. Example of PVT.

(Source of figure: Sorace & Filiaci, 2006, p. 366)

Similarly, Gilquin (2021) offers an overview of **offline methods** and classifies offline tasks in L2 elicitation data and L2 non-production data. The former includes tasks that require the production of language such as a cloze test as illustrated in (4), while the latter includes tasks that require the judgement of sentences such as the Acceptability Judgement Task (AJT) where participants have to judge the sentence *María se casaba* in a Likert scale (1=totally unacceptable, 4= perfectly acceptable), as illustrated in (5). Importantly, these tasks have been widely used in SLA and in particular in studies of AR, as we will see in Chapter 4. If well-designed, offline tasks are a window to examine L2ers' competence and are low cost and easy to administer and analyse. However, interpretations are forced and may not always truly reflect L2ers' competence of a particular phenomenon.

- (4)      a. They hold one's interest, because...*they*....are carefully written.  
              b. Hunters sell....*their*....skin because ....*it*.... is very expensive

(Source of example: Prentza, 2014, p. 374)

- (5)      María sorprendió a Raquel mientras se casaba.

María se casaba.          1          2          3          4

(Source of example: Bel, García-Alcaraz, et al., 2016, p. 53)

Contrary to offline experiments, **online experiments** measure L2ers' implicit knowledge in real time (Marinis, 2010). Thus, online experiments are considered highly appropriate to address fundamental questions in the field of SLA and are frequently included in SLA researchers'

agendas (Roberts, 2012). Additionally, the increasing interest in online methods made researchers widen the type of techniques employed. The most well-known techniques are self-paced reading task (SPRT), self-paced listening task (SPLT), eye-tracking, event related potentials (ERP), and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) (see Jegerski & VanPatten, 2013 for an overview of each technique). All these techniques, and in particular SPRT and eye-tracking have been used in the AR literature, as we will see in Chapter 4. The SPRT is of particular interest in this dissertation because it is the task employed for the experimental part. The SPRT appeared in the 1970s and is defined as “a computerized method of recording a reading time for each designated segment (i.e., a word or phrase) of a sentence or series of sentences that is presented as an experimental stimulus” (Jegerski, 2013, p. 21). In this task, the participant decides the time employed to read a given segment. The SPRT can be designed according to several variables, as we will see in Chapter 6 (cf. 6.2, p. 125 for an overview of the creation and implementation of a SPRT experiment). It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to account for all the above-mentioned techniques, but research shows that, overall, these techniques have been considered suitable to tap into L2ers’ unconscious knowledge. However, online methods also present some disadvantages because the creation, data-collection and analysis phases are more complicated than the procedures followed in offline methods. Thus, it takes more time to create and collect online data than offline data. Additionally, precise and rigorous designs and procedures must be followed in order to obtain valid results (Keating & Jegerski, 2015).

Moving on to more natural production, our next section provides an overview of the field of Learner Corpus Research.

#### 2.4.2 Learner Corpus Research (LCR) in SLA

Learner Corpus Research (LCR) started to be considered as a field in the late 1980s and it was inspired by the field of corpus linguistics (Callies & Paquot, 2015; Granger et al., 2015; Meunier, 2021; Tracy-Ventura & Paquot, 2021). Corpus linguistics makes use of computer-based methods to analyse large amounts of electronic texts and researchers saw it as a window to analyse L2ers’ production and started creating learner corpora within the field of LCR (Tracy-Ventura & Paquot, 2021). Meunier (2021, p. 23) recently elaborated on the definition of learner corpus stating that “a learner corpus is thus a specific type of corpus which, to follow up on McEnery et al.’s definition, can broadly be defined as a collection of machine-readable texts consisting in representative samples of the language written and/or spoken by learners of an additional language”. The field of SLA has traditionally made use of written and oral data, but the data was not always (near-)natural and representative due to the small amount of samples (Granger et al., 2015). Therefore, LCR started addressing those aspects and later included other key aspects

in order to investigate learner language. In fact, Meunier (2021) explains that some of the current key aspect in the field of LCR, which are further developed in the subsection below, are: i) the use of computer technology; ii) the naturalness of the data; iii) the use of selected criteria for data collection; and iv) the use of corpus tools to analyse the data. Crucially, the field of LCR is gaining momentum and is closer to the field of SLA nowadays (Granger, 2021; Myles, 2021). One of the purpose of LCR is indeed to “inform SLA research” (Meunier, 2021, p. 23).

#### *2.4.2.1 Key variables in designing, collecting and transcribing a learner corpus*

Compiling a learner corpus involves a process that requires following thorough design criteria. This process involves taking into account key variables that are repeatedly addressed by the literature (inter alia: Bell & Payant, 2021; Díaz-Negrillo & Thompson, 2013; Gilquin, 2015). Therefore, this section reviews the key variables that play a role in the process of designing, collecting, and transcribing a learner corpus. Importantly, Sinclair (2005) proposes a set of principles that should be taken into account when designing a learner corpus and they are related to the key variables explained below. Crucially, the variables explained below represents key aspect that were considered for the compilation of the learner corpora (LC) used in this dissertation (i.e., *Corpus del Español como L2* and *Corpus of English as a Foreign Language*), as we will describe in detail in Chapter 6 (cf. 6.1, p. 101).

One of the key variables, which is among the principles proposed by Sinclair (2005), is **representativeness**. A corpus should be representative of the target language used by a specific population (inter alia: Bell & Payant, 2021; Díaz-Negrillo & Thompson, 2013; Gilquin, 2015; Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013). Importantly, Bell and Payant (2021) explains that representativeness does not always imply a large size, as long as the corpus includes the design criteria followed and participants’ metadata. Such information is enough to understand the representativeness of a particular corpus. As we will justify in Chapter 6, the learner corpora employed in this dissertation are representative of the language.

Another key variable is **naturalness**, which is typically included in the definitions of learner corpora (for instance, see definition in Granger et al., 2015, p. 1). Crucially, there is no easy task to establish what natural data implies (Bell & Payant, 2021; Gilquin, 2020). According to Díaz-Negrillo and Thompson (2013, p. 20), natural data is the opposite to control data and it would include “language produced in real-life situations for communicative purposes and subjected to no elicitation”. However, they claim that the language produced in foreign language (FL) contexts can be also considered natural. In fact, Gilquin (2015) claims

learner corpora may display varying degrees of naturalness, even when collected within the context of the school/university, from the more natural (e.g. the computer-mediated interactions between German and American students gathered in *Telekorp*, see Belz 2006) to the more constrained (e.g. the retellings of a silent Charlie Chaplin movie included in the *Giessen-Long Beach Chaplin Corpus*, Jucker et al. 2003), through the semi-natural case of essay writing (e.g. *ICLE*, the *International Corpus of Learner English*, Granger et al. 2009), a pedagogical task that is natural in the context of the language learning classroom. (p. 10)

Therefore, the language included in learner corpora is considered natural in the context it is produced, although there are different degrees of naturalness. Importantly, the corpus data included in this dissertation is considered natural data, as it will be justified in Chapter 6.

As for the **mode** or **medium** variable, learner corpora can be **oral**, **written**, or **multimodal** (inter alia: Díaz-Negrillo & Thompson, 2013; Gilquin, 2020; Myles, 2015). It has been traditionally argued that oral corpora are more suitable to get to know L2ers' interlanguage than written corpora (Myles, 2005, 2015). Bell and Payant recently argue that both oral and written corpora reflect learners' interlanguage, but the written mode allows L2ers to 'reflect on the language', while this is not the case for the oral mode (2021, p. 57). However, there is recent empirical evidence showing that written corpora can be used to address issues in the SLA agenda (see studies in Bruyn & Paquot, 2021). Therefore, evidence is suggesting that we should move away from the belief that only oral corpora can inform SLA (see Granger, 2021; Lozano, accepted for a discussion). In addition to written and oral corpora, sign language and multimodal corpora that include video are also emerging (Bell & Payant, 2021; Gilquin, 2020). Although oral corpora is considered to be "more representative" of leaners' interlanguage, written corpora are more numerous nowadays (Gilquin, 2020; Lozano, accepted; Mendikoetxea, 2014). This mostly occurs because oral data collection is more laborious (Callies, 2015; Gilquin, 2015). As we will see in Chapter 6, the corpora used in this dissertation contain oral and written data, but we will analyse written data only.

Regarding the **genre** or **task type**, they are variables related to the content and topic principles proposed by Sinclair (2005). The genre involves that different types of texts can be produced, but the range of text types is limited when it comes to consider L2ers' production. Typically, learner corpora include argumentative essays (Bell & Payant, 2021; Gilquin, 2015; Tracy-Ventura et al., 2021). However, LCR is recently making use of different tasks, which are used in SLA research, in order to widen the type of language produced by learners (Bell & Payant, 2021;

Lozano, accepted; Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013). Crucially, the type of task employed should be considered when analysing learner language as “Producing an argumentative essay or orally describing a picture, for instance, will activate very different mechanisms and will offer different possibilities for controlling the way the task is performed” (Gilquin, 2015, p. 16). Additionally, Lozano and Mendikoetxea (2013, p. 75) include the above-mentioned Sinclair (2005)’s principles and justify that “corpus content must be selected according to external criteria (i.e. the communicative function of the corpus texts) and no internal criteria (i.e. those referring to the language of the texts)”. As we will explain in Chapter 6, the learner corpora used in this dissertation include a wide range of tasks that allowed us to choose particular tasks to meet our research purposes.

Related to task type, the data collection **procedure** is another variable to consider. One aspect is the environment in which the task is produced, as it could be done in class or outside class (Gilquin, 2015). When it comes to producing the task, time is an additional aspect to consider and is related to whether L2ers have planning time to carry out the task or not and the amount of time invested in doing the task (Bell & Payant, 2021). Also, L2ers can make use of external sources (like dictionaries) while doing the task. All these aspects could have an influence on the type of data gathered and they should be carefully considered and kept constant. Importantly, the factors related to the procedure followed for the data collection were taken into account in the data collection of the learner corpora used in this dissertation.

Another variable to take into account is the **language** that a learner corpus represents and also the learners’ L1 (mono-L1 LC) or L1s (multi-L1s LC) (Gilquin, 2015). Nowadays, English is the most common language in learner corpora, but other target languages are being considered as well (Gilquin, 2015; Tracy-Ventura et al., 2021). Taking into account the language variable, it is argued that LC should ideally include the **metadata** related to the language experience (i.e., native languages, home language(s), instructed additional language(s), amount of instruction in such languages, extensive living-abroad experiences, etc.) in order to have a better idea of the language representativeness of the corpus (Gilquin, 2020; Tracy-Ventura et al., 2021). Additionally, it is important to include a **native corpus** so that the native norm of the target language is included and comparisons between the native and the interlanguage grammars are possible to check possible cross-linguistic effects (Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013; Tracy-Ventura et al., 2021). These comparisons are related to the principle of contrast proposed by Sinclair (2005). Crucially, we will show in Chapter 6 that all these aspects related to the language variable are considered in the corpora used in this dissertation.

In relation to the timeframe of data collection, LC can be **cross-sectional** or **longitudinal** (Díaz-Negrillo & Thompson, 2013; Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013; Myles, 2015). Cross-sectional corpora include data collected at a particular point in time, while longitudinal corpora included data coming from same participants collected at several points in time. Although longitudinal data better reflects learner's development of language, they are not the norm, as this kind of data is more complicated to collect (Callies, 2015; Gilquin, 2020; Tracy-Ventura et al., 2021). A solution to the lack of longitudinal corpora is **quasi-longitudinal** (a.k.a., pseudo-longitudinal) corpora, which includes data collected at a particular point but from L2ers across different proficiency levels and it allows researchers to investigate L2ers' development (Callies, 2015; Gilquin, 2015, 2020). The data analysed in this dissertation can be considered quasi-longitudinal because we included data from L2ers across proficiency levels collected at a particular point, as we will further explain in Chapter 6.

The **annotation** procedure is a variable that is considered after the data is gathered and it is among the principles proposed by Sinclair (2005). Traditionally, LCR has focused on error annotation and researchers have looked for a model error tagging scheme to tag L2ers' errors (Díaz-Negrillo & Thompson, 2013). Error annotation was typically done directly in the L2ers' text. However, annotation can take place inside or outside the text. Sinclair (2005) proposes that annotations should be separated from the actual text produced by the L2er, but there are different traditions with this respect. In addition to what it is annotated, this annotation can be manual, automatic, or interactive (Bell & Payant, 2021; Van Rooy, 2015). The annotation procedure is something that is closely related to the methodology followed and it will be highly dependent on that. In this dissertation, we follow a manual annotation and the process of annotation will be carefully described in Chapter 6.

Therefore, the next section explains the methodology followed in LCR in order to understand how all these variables play a role in the creation of a learner corpus.

#### *2.4.2.2 LCR methodology and how LCR is meeting SLA*

All the above-mentioned variables are key aspects to be considered in order to select a learner corpus and conduct a particular study. Selecting a learner corpus will depend on the methodological approach chosen, as according to Lozano and Mendikoetxea (2013, p. 69), there is a "tension between an inductive vs. deductive approach in language acquisition research". They argue that, in **inductive approaches**, the corpus is used to generate a hypothesis, while, in **deductive approaches**, a hypothesis is formulated and the corpus is used to test the hypothesis. In the LCR tradition, these approaches are respectively known as corpus-driven and corpus-

based approaches (Callies, 2015; Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013). Thus, if a study pursues to arrive at hypotheses following corpus-driven methodology, the variables included in the corpus/corpora employed might not be the same as in a study following a corpus-based methodology where some research questions and hypotheses are formulated first. In this dissertation, we follow a deductive approach (i.e., corpus-based approach). Additionally, Callies (2015) draws a distinction between **quantitative** and **qualitative** analyses. He claims that the former is typically followed by LCR and is closely related to the deductive approach, while the latter is ‘primarily heuristic’ and is intended to generate hypotheses (Callies, 2015, pp. 36–37). Therefore, a quantitative investigation, which is followed in this dissertation, may look for a particular linguistic feature and the type of task included in the corpus is essential, while a qualitative study is not that interested in a particular linguistic feature, but it does look for the L2ers’ background and is in need of L2ers’ metadata.

After reviewing the LC methodology and the experimental methodology (explained in 2.4.1), one can notice why, traditionally, there has been a **gap** between the **fields** of **SLA** and **LCR**. Firstly, SLA has mainly focused on L2ers’ competence, while LCR has focused on performance (Gilquin, 2021; Granger, 2021). Therefore, SLA has investigated particular phenomena in a controlled manner, while LCR has investigated mostly the written learner language in a more natural manner. The written nature of the data in the LCR tradition has been criticised by SLA researchers as they claim that oral data is more appropriate to reflect L2ers’ competence (Granger, 2021). Additionally, one of the main concerns in SLA is the development in the process of acquisition and LCR has usually included cross-sectional data that cannot show such development. Importantly, this issue can be resolved by the use of pseudo-longitudinal corpora (Callies, 2015; Gilquin, 2020). Another issue that made these two fields become separated is the fact that LCR has not been properly informed by SLA theories, and SLA research lacks the detailed description of L2ers’ interlanguage using natural data (Granger, 2021; Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013; Myles, 2005, 2015). Despite the criticism over the past years, it can be said that these two fields are finally combining together (Granger, 2021; Myles, 2021). Nowadays, each field is aware of its weak and strong points and the extent of its research, but this does not imply that both fields cannot conciliate. In fact, there is recent evidence that it is possible to carry out research with experts from both fields (see Bruyn & Paquot, 2021 for an overview). Both fields could indeed benefit from collaboration, as stated by Granger (2021, p. 254): “I am convinced that the field of L2 studies would benefit greatly if SLA researchers were more familiar with the research carried out in LCR, and vice versa, resulting in more cross-referencing of each other’s work in their respective publications”. Another way to bridge the gap between these two

fields is by triangulating experimental and corpus data. A corpus-based study can formulate research questions and hypotheses based on SLA theories, but there is a further step in the research process. One can use the results obtained in such corpus-based study to be informed about a particular phenomenon and create a linguistic experiment in order to further investigate such a phenomenon. This triangulation process is followed in this dissertation and it is explained in our next section.

#### 2.4.3 Triangulating corpus and experimental data

The aim of triangulation is to have a broader picture of a phenomenon from multiple perspectives and, thus, strengthen the research validity (Callies, 2015), especially if the results converge and ‘point in the same direction’ (Gilquin, 2021, p. 135). According to Denzin (2006), there are different **types of triangulation** in the social science: i) **data** triangulation, which involves the use of different data types (e.g., corpus vs. experimental data); ii) **investigator** triangulation, which implies the use of an interdisciplinary research team with researchers from multiple disciplines (e.g., linguists, psychologists, and statisticians); iii) **theory** triangulation, which involves the use of different theories to account for a particular data set (e.g., the Interpretability Hypothesis vs. the Pragmatic Principles Violation Hypothesis; and iv) **methodological** triangulation, which involves the use of different methodologies (e.g., corpus-based vs. experimental methods). There is evidence in the SLA literature of these different types of triangulation (Bel, García-Alcaraz, et al., 2016; Domínguez et al., 2013; Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013; Mendikoetxea & Lozano, 2018; Torregrossa et al., 2021). Importantly, triangulation is still scarce (Mendikoetxea & Lozano, 2018) and the above-mentioned types of triangulation would benefit research in the field of SLA.

Turning to the two research methods reviewed above (cf. 2.4.1 and 2.4.2), experimental and corpus methods have traditionally belonged to the paradigms of SLA and LCR respectively and the combination of both is scarce (Gilquin, 2021). Truly, each method has its advantages and disadvantages, as summarised by Gilquin (2021) in Figure 4. Additionally, Lozano (2020) explains that there is no control over the structure that the participants will use in a corpus, while this is the case in experiments. Considering the strengths and limitations of both methods in Figure 4, it can be said that none of them can completely reveal the truth about a particular phenomenon, so this is the reason why the triangulation of both methods is valuable and researchers are starting to carry out research following this fashion.

<i>Learner corpora</i>	<i>Experimental data</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+     • Naturally occurring language</li> <li>      • Potentially large amounts of data</li> <li>      • Access to performance (production) and textual phenomena</li> <li>      • Language in context</li> <li>-     • Dependent on learners' linguistic choices</li> <li>      • Finite sample of language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Systematic control for variables</li> <li>• Possible focus on infrequent phenomena</li> <li>• Access to competence (productive and receptive knowledge) and mental phenomena</li> <li>• Artificiality of the test situation</li> <li>• Largely decontextualized data</li> </ul>

Figure 4. Strengths and Limitations of LC and experiments.

(Source of table: Gilquin, 2021, p. 135)

Importantly, Gilquin (2021) argues that this ideal **combination of different methods** offers several **challenges** for researchers and addresses the issue of stages in the process of data collection. She explains that learner corpora and experiments require different data collection procedures and some adjustments may be needed in order to accommodate them. For instance, collecting corpus and experimental data from same participants may not be possible as both types of data cannot be collected at the same time and, thus, very similar participants should be searched and included in order to make the data comparable. In relation to comparability, she claims that including the same participants for both the learner corpus and experimental data could be possible, but it is highly dependent on the research questions and the methodological procedure. Additionally, she argues that these two methods require different skills and one researcher may not know the techniques used in both. She explains that a researcher could learn a new method, but it is also possible to collaborate with other researchers and carry out interdisciplinary research.

This interdisciplinary work between LC and psycholinguistic researchers is also defended by Durrant and Syanova-Chanturia (2015). They additionally argue that there are different ways to **integrate LC and psycholinguistics**. Firstly, experimental studies can make use of a learner corpus in order to generate experimental items. Secondly, a particular variable can be quantified using corpus data (for instance, a particular word) and then the processing of such variable can be measured in an experiment. Finally, they explain that a particular research question can be tested using both data types. Importantly, their proposal is in line with the above-mentioned types of triangulation proposed by Denzin (2006). Crucially, Mendikoetxea and Lozano (2018) illustrate the triangulation process in Figure 5. They propose this **triangulation fashion** in the fields of LC and psycholinguistics, but this **cyclic model** can be applied to the different types of triangulations (i.e., data, theory, or methodological triangulation) and to different fields.

Mendikoetxea and Lozano (2018) particularly argue that triangulation implies a dynamic process where experimental data can trigger research questions that can be checked in a corpus and then corpus data can reveal new findings that were not previously considered in experiments. Then, such corpus findings can be implemented and tested in an experiment and so on leading to the completion of the cycle. As we will see below, this is one of the aims in this dissertation.

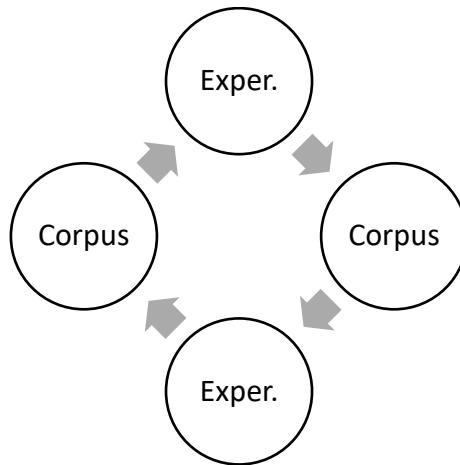


Figure 5. Research Cyclic Model.

(Source of figure: Mendikoetxea & Lozano, 2018, p. 876)

Although there are some studies triangulating corpus and experimental methods (*inter alia*: Domínguez et al., 2013; Gilquin, 2007; Mendikoetxea & Lozano, 2018; Möller, 2017), more studies following this triangulation fashion are still needed (Gilquin, 2021). Therefore, one of the aims of this dissertation is to contribute to this methodological gap and investigate a particular phenomenon using both corpus and experimental data. Importantly, the main data of this dissertation is corpus data, so we include experimental data to start the triangulation process, but this process is not completed in this dissertation and is left for future research.

## 2.5 Chapter summary

Figure 6 summarizes the contents of chapter 2. In our first section (cf. 2.1), we explained that the concept of bilingual varies depending on the field, the factors and the perspective considered. We specified that, in this dissertation, we investigate late adult bilinguals<sup>6</sup> within the field of SLA taking a linguistic perspective. The second section in this chapter (cf. 2.2) explained that, in the field of SLA, there have been different traditions to explain L2ers' acquisition, but one of the most influential was to account for L2ers' interlanguage, which is of particular interest for this dissertation. The SLA literature has accounted for L2ers' interlanguage

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<sup>6</sup> Recall from section 2.1 that bilingual and L2er are used interchangeably in the field of SLA.

taking into account separate language modules, but SLA agendas are recently focusing on the interfaces between different language modules, which led us to our third section (cf. 2.3). This third section explained the interfaces and in particular focused on the syntax-discourse interface because it is particularly problematic for L2ers, as postulated by the IH, and is investigated in this dissertation. Crucially, the field of SLA has traditionally investigated L2ers' interlanguage and in particular the syntax-discourse interface using experiments, but there are other traditions that can add valuable insights to the field, which led to our last section in this chapter (cf. 2.4). Our last section described the different experimental and learner corpus methods and justified the importance of using both methods in SLA. In fact, we argued that there is evidence showing the importance of combining different methods in a triangulation fashion, as we will do in this dissertation.

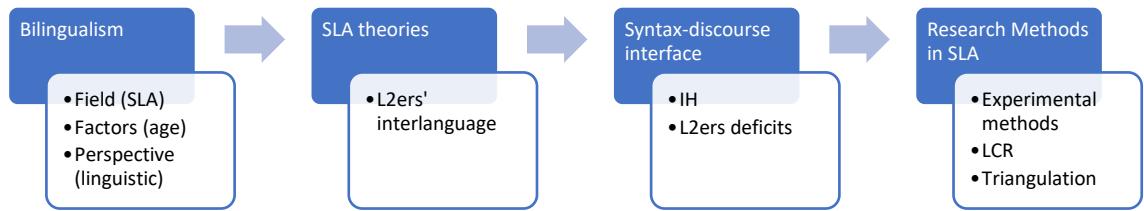


Figure 6. Summary of chapter 2.

Chapter 2 presented an overview of Bilingualism and SLA. Now, we move to Chapter 3, which presents factors affecting AR and the theoretical approaches to AR.

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## Chapter 3. Factors and theoretical approaches in Anaphora Resolution

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Anaphora Resolution (AR) is a widespread linguistic phenomenon that has been investigated by several disciplines in linguistics (Reuland et al., 2020). Therefore, some clarification on what we include within the term AR and, thus, what we investigate in this dissertation is needed. First, a distinction between intrasentential anaphora and intersentential (or discourse) anaphora must be drawn. Reuland et al. (2020) explain that intrasentential anaphora is related to generative syntax and semantics, while discourse anaphora is related to computational linguistics, discourse representation theory and functional approaches. Although most SLA research has focused on sentential anaphora (Lozano, 2021a), this dissertation mainly (but not exclusively) focuses on **discourse anaphora** as it allows us to explore the phenomenon **extra-sententially** and to shed light on the multiple factors affecting AR. We mainly follow a corpus-based methodology because a corpus can better inform us about anaphora resolution extra-sententially.

Firstly, example (6) illustrates the phenomenon in question. A person (a girl) is introduced in the discourse and then an overt pronoun (she) appears in the next sentence. This overt pronoun is an anaphor and it refers back to the previous antecedent (a girl).

- (6) A girl<sup>7</sup> went to the park yesterday. **She**: was playing with her new toy.

Departing from several **definitions** of AR (Cornish, 2006; Huang, 2000; Levinson, 1987; Lozano, 2016), we consider it as the relationship between an anaphor and its antecedent in the discourse, as shown in (6). AR is a complex phenomenon because it involves the interaction of several factors (Huang, 2000). Huang (2000) illustrates this complexity by explaining the phenomenon as follows:

For an entity to which reference is to be made in discourse, there is a (potentially large) set of possible anaphoric expressions each of which, by a correspondence test, is ‘correct’ and therefore could in principle be used to designate that entity. On any actual

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<sup>7</sup> Note that antecedent in this example and subsequent examples are underlined.

occasion of use, however, it is not the case that just any member of that set is ‘right’. Therefore, an ‘appropriate’ anaphoric form from that set has to be selected from time to time during the dynamic course of discourse production. (p. 152)

Thus, it is crucial to consider the multiple factors affecting AR to ascertain what influences the choice of the anaphoric expression (or referring expressions<sup>8</sup>) at a given moment, as done in this dissertation. Crucially, these factors have been considered by different approaches in the past and, consequently, there is a mixture of terms to refer to similar (if not the same) factors. Therefore, in the next two sections we first explain some of the most important factors (which are included in this dissertation) (cf. section 3.1) and, then, we provide an overview of the theoretical approaches that account for AR and how these factors have been accounted for by such approaches (cf. section 3.2).

### 3.1 The factors that constrain anaphora resolution

AR has been extensively investigated by different approaches and a wide range of factors have been considered. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to account for all the factors considered by different approaches (cf. M. L. Quesada, 2013, 2015 for an overview). In this section, we rather focus on the factors that are investigated in this dissertation and we relate them to previous literature.

#### 3.1.1 Language typology and referring expressions

The type of language needs to be considered in order to know the repertoire of referring expressions (REs) that can be employed. There is a major distinction between pro-drop<sup>9</sup> and non-pro-drop languages (Rizzi, 1993). Focusing on pronoun realization, **pro-drop languages** such as Spanish, Italian, or Greek allow the alternation of null and overt pronouns, while such alternation is not possible in **non-pro-drop languages** like English, German, or French. For instance, (7a)<sup>10</sup> illustrates how the overt pronoun *He* is obligatory in English, while a null pronoun ( $\emptyset$ ) would be possible in Spanish, as shown in (7b). However, note that in non-pro-drop languages like English a null pronoun is possible only in the coordinate clause, as shown in (7a). In non-pro-drop languages, null pronouns are allowed in diary-drop styles (cf. Haegeman, 2009; Haegeman & Ihsane, 2001) and coordinate contexts (Crosthwaite, 2011; Leclercq & Lenart,

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<sup>8</sup> Anaphoric and referring expressions are used interchangeably. Note that we will use the term referring expression (RE) in this dissertation, as it is typically used in bilingualism and SLA.

<sup>9</sup> The distinction of pro-drop vs. non-pro-drop languages is also known as null-subject vs. non-subject-languages in the literature.

<sup>10</sup> Note that this example is co-indexically marked with a subscript letter (i). From now on, all the examples with coreferential referring expressions will be marked with letters (i, j, k, l, m, etc.).

2013; T. Quesada & Lozano, 2020). The latter case is investigated in this dissertation. We will contrast a pro-drop language (Spanish) vs. a non-pro-drop language (English) in this dissertation in order to further explore their typological differences.

- (7)      a. The boy<sub>i</sub> wakes up in the morning. **He**<sub>i</sub> (\*Ø<sub>i</sub>) has his breakfast and Ø<sub>i</sub> goes to the school.  
b. El niño<sub>i</sub> despierta por la mañana. Ø<sub>i</sub> Toma el desayuno y Ø<sub>i</sub> va al colegio.

Additionally, Quesada (2015) explains further differences between pro-drop and non-pro-drop languages and in particular Spanish and English, which are summarized in Table 1. It is worth highlighting all these properties because they provide a wider picture of the nature of these languages and show to what extent they differ. Importantly, among the properties in Table 1, we focus on overt and referential subjects and the division of labour in PAH in this dissertation, as explained below.

	<b>Pro-drop language (Spanish)</b>	<b>Non-pro-drop language (English)</b>
<b>Properties</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• morphologically rich and uniform verbal agreement paradigm</li> <li>• overt and null referential subjects</li> <li>• obligatory null expletive subjects</li> <li>• free subject-verb inversion</li> <li>• violation of <i>that</i>-trace filter</li> <li>• obeys OPC (no bound variable interpretation with overt)</li> <li>• obeys PAH (division of labor for null and overt subject pronouns)</li> <li>• subject attaches to head of AGR (can check strong EPP-feature)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• morphologically poor and non-uniform verbal agreement paradigm</li> <li>• overt referential subjects</li> <li>• overt expletive subjects</li> <li>• strict SVO word order</li> <li>• <i>that</i>-trace filter in effect</li> <li>• OPC has no effect</li> <li>• depends on subject assignment strategy (overt pronouns link to subject antecedents)</li> <li>• subject merges with specifier of AGR (can not check strong EPP-feature)</li> </ul>

Table 1. Subject properties in pro-drop and non-pro-drop languages.

(M. L. Quesada, 2015, p. 32)

Regarding the **type of REs**, we consider null pronouns (Ø), overt pronouns (he/she/it), and noun phrases (NPs) (e.g., Charles Chaplin) both in Spanish and English as shown in Table 2. Note that we group overt pronouns and NPs within overt material, but these two REs will be analysed separately. Importantly, we only consider 3<sup>rd</sup> person REs, as they have been shown to be more vulnerable than 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons when used in the learner's discourse (cf. Lozano, 2009, 2016). In particular, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons share some features that make them less suitable for the present investigation: i) they have a deictic<sup>11</sup> function rather than an anaphoric one; ii) they may

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<sup>11</sup> The deictic function of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons implies that REs refer to "speech-act participants" and not external participants (cf. Lozano, 2009, p. 158 for a discussion)

not be assigned to antecedents; and iii) they are not problematic for L2ers (Lozano, 2009b, 2016). Crucially, in this dissertation, the REs shown in Table 2 are only considered when they are in subject position because i) they offer richer alternations in this syntactic position (while the alternation of these REs is more restrictive in object positions); and, consequently, ii) the AR literature in SLA has mostly focused on subject position.

		Spanish	English
Zero material	Ø	Ø	Ø
Overt material	Overt pronoun	él/ella/ellos/ellas	he/she/it/they
	Indefinite	Un hombre	A man
Noun Phrase <sup>12</sup>	Definite	El hombre	The man
	Proper noun	Charles Chaplin	Charles Chaplin

Table 2. Types of REs in Spanish and English.

Therefore, the REs shown in Table 2 can alternate in subject position and such alternation will mainly depend on the information status factor explained in the next subsection, and additional factors, as it is shown in subsequent subsections.

### 3.1.2 Information status (topic continuity vs. topic shift)

The alternation of the above-mentioned REs is not free, but it is mainly governed by discourse-pragmatic principles (M. L. Quesada, 2015). In this dissertation, these principles are couched within the factor information status, which is one of the most widely studied and, thus, prominent factor in the literature of AR. Importantly, the information status includes different discourse contexts where particular REs tend to occur, but these REs will also depend on the language type, as mentioned in the previous section. Quesada (2015) claims that different terms are employed to refer to these principles, especially the notions of topic vs. focus (cf. Georgopoulos, 2017 for an overview), and we will see some of them in our next section (cf. section 3.2.2). In this dissertation, we focus on three discourse-pragmatic contexts proposed by Lozano (2009b, 2016): focus new introduction, topic continuity and topic shift.

**Focus new introduction** contexts involve the introduction of a new character in the discourse and are typically realized via full REs (i.e., NPs or proper names), as examples<sup>13</sup> (8a-b) show.

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<sup>12</sup> We classify NPs according to three categories, but they are all included in the same type of REs when they are analysed.

<sup>13</sup> Note that these are real examples of English and Spanish native speakers extracted from the learner corpora used in this dissertation (cf. Chapter 6 for further details). The information in square brackets is the ID of the file. From now on, all the examples with square brackets containing such information come from the different corpora used in the dissertation. Additionally, the type of participant is indicated in brackets.

- (8) a. A **woman<sub>i</sub>** with a baby carriage comes by and  $\emptyset_i$  appears to be looking for someone;  
 (...) [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_CP] (English native)

- b. **El personaje principal<sub>i</sub>, Charlie Chaplin<sub>i</sub>**, va paseando por la calle evitando cosas que  
**una mujer<sub>j</sub>** tira por la ventana (...) [ES\_WR\_20\_14\_AS] (Spanish native)

'The main character<sub>i</sub>, Charlie Chaplin<sub>i</sub>, is walking down the street avoiding things that a  
**woman<sub>j</sub>** throws through the window'.

**Topic-continuity contexts**<sup>14</sup> imply that an antecedent that was previously mentioned in subject position in the discourse is again mentioned in subject position. Here, minimal REs are required, but bear in mind that it will also depend on the language employed. In Spanish, these contexts are typically realized via a null pronoun, while they are realized via overt pronouns in English (unless they occur in a coordinate sentence, as we will see below). For instance, (9a) shows a topic-continuity context where the pronoun *he* refers back to Chaplin, then Chaplin continues being mentioned via an overt pronoun (*he*) and this is followed by a coordinate context where the character is referred via a null pronoun ( $\emptyset$ ). Note that, in Spanish, a null pronoun could have been used instead of the overt pronouns (*he*) used in this example. A context of topic continuity in Spanish is shown in (9b), where null pronouns are employed.

- (9) a. He<sub>i</sub> (Chaplin) tricks a man<sub>j</sub> into holding the child<sub>k</sub> while **he<sub>i</sub>** pretends to tie his shoe  
 and  $\emptyset_i$  runs away. [EN\_WR\_26\_14\_NM] (English native)

- b. Chaplin<sub>i</sub> se sienta en el suelo y  $\emptyset_i$  empieza a mirar al bebé<sub>j</sub>, cuando de repente  $\emptyset_i$  se  
 encuentra una nota en su ropa (...). [EN\_WR\_18\_14\_CRM] (Spanish native)

'Chaplin<sub>i</sub> sits on the floor and  $\emptyset_i$  looks at the baby<sub>j</sub> when **he<sub>i</sub>** suddenly finds a note inside  
 his clothes (...)'

Thus, topic-continuity contexts trigger the use of null or overt pronouns in Spanish and English respectively, but, importantly, other REs are also used in these contexts. For instance, (10) includes an instance of a topic-continuity context where an NP (*la mujer*) is employed to refer back to the same antecedent. It may be the case that other factors (like the number of activated antecedents) could be triggering this, as we will see later in this dissertation.

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<sup>14</sup> To refer to topic-continuity context, the literature has employed different terms like topic maintenance, same referent, non-focus, non-contrastive focus, or non-topic-shift (M. L. Quesada, 2015).

- (10) Cuando la mujer<sub>i</sub> se da cuenta de que otra vez le<sub>i</sub> han dejado un bebé<sub>j</sub> que no es suyo<sub>j</sub> y Ø<sub>i</sub> ve a Chaplin<sub>k</sub> pasando por allí, Ø<sub>i</sub> piensa que es culpa suya<sub>k</sub>. **La mujer**<sub>i</sub> le<sub>k</sub> devuelve el niño<sub>j</sub> por segunda vez más enfadada aún. [EN\_WR\_19\_14\_AMO] (Spanish native)  
 ‘When the woman<sub>i</sub> realizes that someone has again left her<sub>i</sub> a baby<sub>j</sub> that is not hers<sub>j</sub> and Ø<sub>i</sub> sees Chaplin<sub>k</sub> passing by, Ø<sub>i</sub> thinks that it is his<sub>k</sub> fault. **The woman**<sub>i</sub> returns him<sub>k</sub> the baby<sub>j</sub> for the second time.’

Contrary to topic-continuity contexts, if an antecedent that was already introduced in the discourse in pre-verbal or post-verbal position is mentioned in subject position, a **topic-shift context**<sup>15</sup> is created and this actual referent would be introduced via fuller REs (i.e., overt pronoun, NP, or proper noun). Examples (11a-b) show contexts of topic shift where an antecedent appears in post-verbal position (in particular, object positions) in the previous clause and then there is a shift to subject position. In example (11a), the topic shift is marked via an NP, while it is marked via an overt pronoun in example (11b). Marking a topic shift with an overt pronoun or an NP can be additionally influenced by other factors, as we will see in the next subsections. Similarly, (12) illustrates other cases of topic-shift contexts (see referents in bold), but the antecedents are not necessarily in post-verbal positions in these examples.

- (11) a. Charlie Chaplin<sub>i</sub> is walking when he<sub>i</sub> finds a baby<sub>j</sub>. **The baby**<sub>j</sub> is wrapped up in a blanket on the ground (...) [EN\_WR\_21\_14\_SM] (English native)

- b. Chaplin<sub>i</sub> intenta darle<sub>j</sub> el bebé<sub>k</sub> a esta señora<sub>j</sub>, pero **ella<sub>j</sub>** se niega ya que ella<sub>j</sub> tiene a su<sub>j</sub> bebé. [ES\_WR\_22\_14\_FJVG] (Spanish native)

‘Chaplin<sub>i</sub> tries to give the baby<sub>k</sub> to this woman<sub>j</sub>, but **she<sub>j</sub>** denies it because she<sub>j</sub> has her<sub>j</sub> baby<sub>k</sub>.’

- (12) Esta vez, Chaplin<sub>i</sub> intenta darle el bebé<sub>j</sub> a un anciano<sub>k</sub>. Chaplin<sub>i</sub> hace como que se ata los zapatos mientras **el anciano<sub>k</sub>** coge al bebé<sub>j</sub> en brazos, y entonces **Chaplin**<sub>i</sub> sale corriendo y Ø<sub>i</sub> se esconde. **El anciano<sub>k</sub>**, con el bebé<sub>j</sub> en los brazos pasa por delante (...) [ES\_WR\_22\_14\_FJVG] (Spanish native)

‘This time, Chaplin<sub>i</sub> tries to give the baby<sub>j</sub> to an old man<sub>k</sub>. Chaplin<sub>i</sub> pretends that he<sub>i</sub> ties his<sub>i</sub> shoes while **the old man<sub>k</sub>** holds the baby<sub>j</sub> in his<sub>k</sub> arms, and then **Chaplin**<sub>i</sub> runs away and Ø<sub>i</sub> hides. **The old man<sub>k</sub>** with the baby in his arms passes by (...)’

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<sup>15</sup> These contexts are mentioned in the literature as change of/switch referent or contrastive focus (M. L. Quesada, 2015).

Importantly, when investigating **topic-shift contexts**, the Spanish literature (especially the experimental literature) considers that these contexts are realized via overt pronouns only. Crucially, the previous examples showed that NPs are indeed used in topic shift, as it has been shown in the literature (Lozano, 2016), and as it will be shown in this dissertation. Additionally, the literature reports instances of null pronouns in topic-shift contexts (*inter alia*: Blackwell & Quesada, 2012; Lozano, 2016; Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006) as in (13). The null pronoun in (13) refers back to the overt pronoun *ella* that is in post-verbal position, while the previous referent in subject position is *el niño* and not *ella*. Thus, there is a topic-shift context with a null pronoun. These cases have not been sufficiently addressed in the literature and we will try to shed light on the matter.

- (13) Cuando la señora<sub>i</sub> sale de la tienda en la que  $\emptyset_i$  había entrado,  $\emptyset_i$  se enfada con él<sub>j</sub>, porque el niño<sub>k</sub> no es de ella<sub>i</sub>, y  $\emptyset_i$  no lo<sub>k</sub> quiere. [ES\_WR\_20\_14\_AS] (Spanish native)

'When the woman<sub>i</sub> goes out of the shop where  $\emptyset_i$  has entered,  $\emptyset_i$  gets angry with him<sub>j</sub>, because the baby<sub>k</sub> is not hers<sub>i</sub>, and  $\emptyset_i$  does not want him<sub>k</sub>.'

Therefore, information status determines the use of the different REs and some general tendencies are established. However, AR is a complex phenomenon and this division of labour can vary depending on the scenario. Table 3 summarizes i) the prototypical REs (marked in bold) produced in each of the contexts explained before and ii) the less prototypical REs (marked in brackets) that are also produced in these contexts.

Information status	Spanish	English
<b>Focus new introduction</b>	<b>Un hombre / (El hombre) / (Charles Chaplin)</b>	<b>A man / (The man) / (Charles Chaplin)</b>
<b>Topic continuity</b>	<b><math>\emptyset</math> / (Él) / (El hombre)</b>	<b>He / (<math>\emptyset</math>) (only in coordinate sentences) / (The man)</b>
<b>Topic shift</b>	<b>El hombre / Charles Chaplin / Él / (<math>\emptyset</math>)</b>	<b>The man / Charles Chaplin / He</b>

Table 3. Distribution of REs according to information status.

### 3.1.3 Activated antecedents

In addition to the information status, the number of activated antecedents would also determine the REs chosen, as shown in previous studies (Lozano, 2016). Cornish (2006, p. 633) defines the antecedent as a "psychologically salient discourse representation". Activation is another important term that requires some consideration. Kibrik (2011) argues that **attention** and **activation** are two processes that take place when using REs in discourse: a referent that is mentioned for the first time requires some attention and then it is activated in the speaker's

working memory (WM). Also, it is claimed that if an antecedent is highly activated in the discourse, this leads to employing reduced REs (i.e. null or overt pronouns) and, additionally, the **number of activated antecedents** also influences the type of RE used (Torregrossa et al., 2019). Therefore, we consider activated antecedents as those entities in the discourse that are already active in the mind of the speaker. Extract (14) illustrates the phenomenon of activated antecedents (which are in bold when they appear for the first time and then they are underlined): *Charlie Chaplin* is mentioned first and *the baby* second. Up to this point, there are two activated antecedents in the speaker's mind. Then, *the woman* appears and, after her, *the police officer* is also introduced. Thus, the number of activated antecedents increases at this point in the discourse and this would influence the choice of REs, as we will see in this dissertation.

- (14) **Charlie Chaplin**<sub>i</sub> is walking along a street smoking when he<sub>i</sub> gets hit on the head by falling materials being dropped from above. He<sub>i</sub> then turns and  $\emptyset_i$  sees a **baby**<sub>j</sub> lying on the side of the street crying. He<sub>i</sub> looks up, questioning whether it<sub>j</sub> has been dropped from above. He<sub>i</sub> then spots a **woman**<sub>k</sub> with a pushchair so  $\emptyset_i$  runs after her<sub>k</sub>, and  $\emptyset_i$  puts the baby<sub>j</sub> in the pushchair, assuming that it is her<sub>k</sub> child<sub>j</sub>. The woman<sub>k</sub> protests as it<sub>j</sub> is not her baby<sub>j</sub>, so he<sub>i</sub> takes the baby<sub>j</sub> and  $\emptyset_i$  goes to put it<sub>j</sub> back where he<sub>i</sub> found it<sub>j</sub>. However, a **police officer**<sub>l</sub> shows up so he<sub>i</sub> picks the baby<sub>j</sub> up again and  $\emptyset_i$  tries to give it<sub>j</sub> to an **old man**<sub>m</sub> with a walking stick, tricking him<sub>m</sub> into taking it<sub>j</sub> by pretending that he<sub>i</sub> is just tying his<sub>i</sub> shoe lace but then running away. The old man<sub>m</sub> chases after him<sub>i</sub> and, once again,  $\emptyset_m$  puts the baby<sub>j</sub> down in the same woman<sub>k</sub>'s pram. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_SK] (English native)

A higher number of activated antecedents in the discourse is cognitively costly and this may influence the use of REs because the use of NPs is necessary at some points in the discourse in order to make it clear the referent that is being mentioned. Thus, the probability of using minimal REs is higher in contexts where there are two activated antecedents, as in (8), while fuller REs are expected in contexts with four activated antecedents, as shown in (14). This idea is summarized in Table 4.

Minimal REs		Fuller REs			
$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	overt	overt	NP	NP
1 antecedent		2 antecedents		3 antecedents	
				3+ antecedents	

Table 4. Use of REs according to number of activated antecedents.

### 3.1.4 Syntactic prominence and the Position of Antecedent Strategy (PAS)

Additionally, another factor to consider is the syntactic prominence of an antecedent. This is a complex factor as there are many different configurations regarding the position that an antecedent occupies in the previous discourse (see Lozano, 2018 for an overview). In this dissertation, we consider the syntactic position of the antecedent (pre-verbal or post-verbal position) and the grammatical role of the antecedent (subject or object). It is argued that this influences the choice of REs (Torregrossa et al., 2019): antecedents in less prominent positions (i.e., post-verbal positions) would require fuller REs when they are again mentioned in subject positions. In example (15), *the woman* is firstly mentioned in post-verbal position and then *the woman* appears in subject position via a NP, which could be due to the less prominent position of her previous mention.

- (15) Later on, the man<sub>i</sub> gave the baby<sub>j</sub> to another older man<sub>k</sub> who put the baby<sub>j</sub> back into the same woman's stroller. The main man<sub>i</sub> happened to walk by and **the woman**<sub>l</sub> freaked out and Ø<sub>l</sub> got mad again. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_SM] (English native)

Linked to the idea of syntactic prominence, a particular configuration of AR that requires some attention now is the **Position of Antecedent Strategy**. The Position of Antecedent Hypothesis (Carminati, 2002) (a.k.a. as the Position of Antecedent Strategy (PAS))<sup>16</sup> is a processing strategy claiming that null pronominal subjects choose an antecedent in Spec IP<sup>17</sup> position as in (16a), while overt pronominal subjects choose an antecedent in non-Spec IP position as in (16b). The PAS was initially proposed for Italian (a pro-drop language) but has been investigated in other pro-drop languages (inter alia: Alonso-Ovalle et al., 2002; Kraš, 2008; Papadopoulou et al., 2015) and, to a lesser extent, in non-pro-drop languages (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017).

- (16) a. Quando Mario<sub>i</sub> ha telefonato a Giovanni<sub>j</sub>, Ø<sub>i</sub> aveva appena finito di mangiare.

'When Mario<sub>i</sub> has telephoned to Giovanni<sub>j</sub>, Ø<sub>i</sub> had just finished eating.'

- b. Quando Mario<sub>i</sub> ha telefonato a Giovanni<sub>j</sub>, lui<sub>j</sub> aveva appena finito di mangiare.

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<sup>16</sup> Carminati (2002) formulated the phenomenon as the Position of Antecedent Hypothesis as it was firstly formulated by her and she tested the validity of the Hypothesis. Once the phenomenon has been widely investigated and validated, it has been known as a parsing strategy: the Position of Antecedent Strategy (PAS). We will use this term through the paper to refer to the phenomenon.

<sup>17</sup> In generative grammar, Spec IP is used to refer to a pre-verbal syntactic position, while non-Spec IP refers to a post-verbal position.

'When Mario<sub>i</sub> has telephoned to Giovanni<sub>j</sub>, **he<sub>j</sub>** had just finished eating.'

(Source of examples: Carminati, 2002, p. 58)

In a PAS structure, we have a RE in subject position and two activated antecedents in the previous discourse and this RE refers back to one of them. Importantly, a parallel between this **syntactic configuration** and the **information status** explained in section 3.1.2 can be established. In (16a), the null pronoun refers back to the antecedent in a pre-verbal position, which marks a topic-continuity context, while the overt pronoun in (16b) refers back to the antecedent in a post-verbal position, which marks a topic shift. In this dissertation, we will see that the PAS configuration and the information status are related (cf. 7.3.4.4, p. 202). However, the PAS configuration is more restrictive as it only includes two antecedents (in pre-verbal and post-verbal positions), while topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts offer richer scenarios.

Importantly, the PAS was proposed for intra-sentential contexts and has been mainly investigated experimentally in these contexts, but it can be also investigated inter-sententially. In fact, we mainly focus our investigation on discourse anaphora and one may think that this strategy is not closely related to the matter in question. However, we believe that the PAS is a particular configuration of AR and is more complex than what the previous experimental literature assumed. Thus, we explore it at discourse level in order to advocate for the importance of investigating the phenomenon in discourse to reveal new factors that were previously overlooked.

### 3.1.5 Semantics of the verb

The literature shows that the semantics of the verb can influence the type of REs produced (García-Alcaraz, 2015; Lozano, 2016; M. L. Quesada, 2015). In fact, some of the null pronouns in topic-shift contexts mentioned above (cf. section 3.1.2) have to do with this factor. García-Alcaraz (2015) addresses the issue of **implicit causality** and explains that a subject referent is likely to refer to the object if it is preceded by certain verbs like *punish* or *criticize*, as in (17a). Lozano (2016) particularly addresses the use of null pronouns in subject position referring back to antecedents in object position. This implies a topic-shift context and the production of overt material would be expected (cf. section 3.1.2). He explains that **directive verbs** like *ask*, *command*, or *convince* trigger that the next referent in subject position refers back to the object, as in (17b).

- (17) a. Mary<sub>i</sub> criticized Ann<sub>j</sub> because she<sub>j</sub> left her keys inside the house.

(Source of example: Goikoetxea et al., 2008, p. 761)

- b. Norman<sub>i</sub> no convence a Fernanda<sub>j</sub> de [que  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub> inicie una relación con él<sub>i</sub>]

'Norman<sub>i</sub> does not convince Fernanda<sub>j</sub> to ( $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub>) start a relationship with him.'

(Source of example: Lozano, 2016, p. 259)

Taking this into account, some of the null pronouns in topic-shift contexts found in this dissertation are explained by the semantic of the verb factor and in particular by the use of directive verbs. To illustrate this, (18) shows a context of topic shift where a null pronoun is used. In the preceding clause, there is a directive verb that triggers the use of null pronoun, although it is marking a topic shift. The use of a null pronoun in a topic-shift context would be considered ambiguous, but, in this particular context, the semantic of the verb *pedir* (ask) makes the addressee to interpret that the null pronoun refers back to the antecedent in object position, as you normally ask someone to do something.

- (18) Todo parece ser que funciona de maravilla hasta que el protagonista<sub>i</sub> de la película se enamora de la chica<sub>j</sub> y ella<sub>j</sub> le<sub>i</sub> pide por favor que  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> deje el negocio [ES\_WR\_23\_3\_EM]  
(Spanish native)

'Everything seems to work wonderfully until the main character<sub>i</sub> of the film falls in love with the girl<sub>j</sub> and she<sub>j</sub> asks him<sub>i</sub> to ( $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub>) leave the company.'

### 3.1.6 Characterhood

There is evidence in the English and Spanish literature (Kang, 2004; Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006) on AR that the type of character could influence the type of RE. In particular, Kang (2004) employed the well-known story in SLA: *Frog, where are you?* She reported a high production of full REs (especially NPs), while other minimal REs would be felicitous. This story includes [+human] (a boy) and [-human] characters (a dog and a frog) and the [+/-] difference between characters could trigger the higher production of fuller REs. In Spanish, Montrul and Rodríguez Louro (2006) used the well-known story *Little Red Riding Hood*. In this case, this story is well-known by everyone in general, which could lead to use your world knowledge to narrate the story and be less specific than required (Blackwell, 1998). In fact, Montrul and Rodríguez Louro (2006), as we will see in Chapter 4, reported the production of null pronouns in topic-shift contexts, as in (19). Although it is claimed that such null pronouns were not ambiguous and the

referent was recoverable (see Liceras et al., 2010 for a discussion), these null pronouns would be produced due to the speaker's assumption that the hearer would know the story. Taking into account the possible effect of characterhood, the characters in the different tasks used in this dissertation (cf. Chapter 6 for an overview) were tagged so that analyses could be carried out to check a possible characterhood effect.

- (19) Esto es el cuento de Caperucita Roja<sub>i</sub>. Un día  $\emptyset_i$  quería ir a visitar a su abuela<sub>j</sub>, porque  $\emptyset_i$  tenía que visitarla<sub>j</sub> y su madre<sub>k</sub> le<sub>i</sub> preparó a...un cesto lleno de agua, dulces y fruta. Y  $\emptyset_j$  la<sub>i</sub> despidió. Y # $\emptyset_i$  fue caminando por un bosque...

'This is the Little Red Riding Hood<sub>i</sub> tale. One day, \* $\emptyset_i$  wanted to visit her grandmother<sub>j</sub>; because \* $\emptyset_i$  had to visit her<sub>j</sub> and her mother<sub>k</sub> prepared a basket with water, sweets and fruit. And \* $\emptyset_j$  says goodbye to her<sub>i</sub>. And # $\emptyset_i$  was walking through the forest...'

(Source of example: Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006, p. 417, my indices)

### 3.1.7 Picture transition

The factor of the picture transition is related to the type of presentation of the story that participants would have to retell. The type of presentation could affect the production of REs, as discussed by Collwaert (2019). As we will see below (cf. 3.2.2.3, p. 46), one of the factors proposed by the Accessibility Hierarchy (Ariel, 1990) is the concept of **unity**. This factor is related to the frame where a RE and its antecedents occur. Collwaert (2019) observed that this factor has been addressed by different approaches. By reviewing these approaches, she indicates that a change in a boundary implies the use of fuller REs. Of particular interest in her discussion is the study by Vonk et al. (1992). They carried out several experiments and showed that fuller REs are indicators of a thematic change. In one of their experiments, they employed vignettes. This is precisely what we have in the task *Frog, where are you?* and this is why we introduced this factor. During the tagging procedure of Study 1, it was noticed that fuller REs were produced when there was a change of picture. The literature actually shows that this is a factor in the production of REs and this factor is also analysed in this dissertation.

All the above-mentioned factors (type of RE, type of language, information status, activated antecedents, syntactic configuration, semantics of the verb, characterhood and picture transition) showed how the production of REs varies depending on the factor trying to illustrate the complexity of AR. Thus, we believe it is crucial to investigate multiple factors in discourse and in a unitary and systematic manner, as done in this dissertation. In the next section, the theoretical approaches to AR are reviewed.

## 3.2 Theoretical approaches in anaphora

SLA research follows different perspectives, as explained in Chapter 2 (cf. section 2.1), and the same holds for theoretical approaches accounting for AR. Quesada (2015) proposes three main approaches<sup>18</sup>: generative, cognitive and variationist. Considering that AR has been investigated at sentence and discourse levels, the theoretical approach will vary depending on this factor. Within the **generative approach**, sentential anaphora was initially accounted for by parametric models (e.g., the Null Subject Parameter) that typically focused on syntax alone. Later, parametric models also included the idea of pragmatics constraining the syntax and subject expressions were investigated from a syntax-pragmatic interface perspective. Importantly, these models have mostly investigated AR at a sentential level and using experimental methods. Therefore, these models are mostly couched within a **formal/GenSLA approach**. By contrast, **discourse-pragmatic models** investigate anaphora beyond the sentence and explore the discourse. These models are interested in the different cognitive factors affecting AR and are typically couched within a **functionalist/cognitive/usage-based approach**. Similarly, the **variationist approach** investigates the discourse but it focuses on linguistic and also extra-linguistic factors like social or economic status. Its main concern is to predict the likelihood of the occurrence of an RE in a particular context considering both linguistic and extralinguistic factors (see M. L. Quesada, 2015 for an overview). This approach is not of interest for this dissertation as we focus on describing (rather than predicting) the learner language by analysing different linguistic factors (rather than extra-linguistic ones). Therefore, we focus on generative and cognitive approaches now and explain how different models within these two main approaches have accounted for AR. Importantly, we focus on these two approaches because, in this dissertation, we depart from a generative approach to investigate AR, but we go beyond it and investigate multiple factors (typically investigated in discourse-oriented approaches) and account for the data with a recent model that is at the crossroads of generative and cognitive approaches.

### 3.2.1 Generative approaches

The main concern in generative approaches lies in the idea that humans are innately equipped with a Universal Grammar (cf. section 2.2) and, thus, the focus is on explaining universal

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<sup>18</sup> Quesada's work consists of a volume dedicated to the acquisition of Spanish subjects. However, these approaches are also applicable to the study of AR in other languages and we consider licit to generalize her division of approaches.

language principles and their acquisition. Therefore, generative approaches to AR focus on more purely syntactic aspects of AR.

### 3.2.1.1 *Parametric approach*

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (cf. section 2.2), one of the fundamental questions in SLA is whether access to UG is possible when acquiring the L2. The parametric approach focuses on particular properties to address this general question. Thus, this approach investigates if L2ers have access to UG by means of resetting the parameter values of their L1. Importantly, the properties investigated under a parametric approach will vary depending on the parameter. One of the first and also most studied parameters is the **Null Subject Parameter (NSP)** (Lozano, 2021a; Slabakova, 2016). The NSP is of particular interest here as it was the parametric approach that paved the way for the investigation of AR (Lozano, 2021a), which is the phenomenon under investigation in this dissertation.

Quesada (2015) explains the four properties of the **NSP**<sup>19</sup>: alternation of null and overt referential subjects (20a), obligatoriness of null in non-referential subjects (expletives) (20b), possibility of subject-verb inversion (20c), and violation that-trace-effects (20d). Importantly, these four properties are considered as a cluster and are all included in the parametric value of a language. Pro-drop languages have a positive value for these properties, while they have a negative value in non-pro-drop languages. Early parametric studies focused on whether these properties were acquired as a cluster in the L2 and, thus, whether access to UG was possible (see White, 1985, 1986 for an overview). These early studies motivated subsequent studies that not only focused on purely syntactic properties, but they also investigated the relation between the referential subject and its antecedent (Lozano, 2021a).

- (20) a. Ella<sub>i</sub>/Ø<sub>i</sub> lee un libro

'She<sub>i</sub>/\*Ø<sub>i</sub> reads a book'

b. ØLlueve.

'\*Ø Is raining'

c. María<sub>i</sub> llega temprano / Llega temprano María<sub>i</sub>

---

<sup>19</sup> These properties are based on Rizzi's proposal (Rizzi, 1982).

'Mary<sub>i</sub> arrives early' / '\*Arrives early Mary<sub>i</sub>'

d. ¿Quién crees que verá a Juan?

\*Who do you think will see John?'

(Source of examples: M. L. Quesada, 2015, p. 7)

The **Overt Pronoun Constraint (OPC)** introduced by Montalbetti (1986) was one influential proposal investigating the anaphor-antecedent relation. The OPC proposes that, in pro-drop languages, overt subjects in embedded clauses as *él* in (21) cannot corefer with the preceding subject *nadie (nobody)*, and only a null pronoun would corefer with the preceding subject. This proposal does not apply in non-pro-drop languages like English.

(21) Nadie<sub>i</sub> dice que pro<sub>i/j</sub>/\*él<sub>i/j</sub> ganará el premio.

(Source of example: M. L. Quesada, 2015, p. 28)

Under the NSP and OPC parametric approaches, the question of access to UG in the L2 has not been completely answered. Quesada (2015) explains that the parametric approach reached the conclusions that i) L2ers' initial state is the L1, so L1 parameter resetting is required; ii) NSP properties are not acquired as a cluster; and iii) NSP properties and the OPC are acquired at different stages (if some of them are acquirable at all). The parametric approach shed some light on classical questions regarding UG and the role of the L1. However, the NSP is purely syntactic and says little about discourse. Importantly, the proposal of the OPC was crucial to notice the importance of investigating discursive constraints, which leads us to our next section.

### 3.2.1.2 *Interface approach*

GenSLA shifted the focus of attention from the investigation of a particular language module to the interface between different language modules (cf. section 2.2) and this is what happened with parametric approaches. Studies within the parametric approach focused on a particular language module (i.e., syntax) and, after the OPC, they realized that other language modules (i.e., discourse) played a role and they started to consider both syntax and discourse. However, Quesada (2015) claims that the parametric approach fails to account for the overuse of null and overt pronouns in topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts. Therefore, there was a shift in GenSLA to investigate the syntax-discourse interface.

The **interface approach** questioned i) whether syntactic properties are acquired before syntax-discourse properties; ii) which properties are problematic at the syntax-discourse interface; iii) why L2ers show residual optionality with such properties; and iv) to what extent the L1 plays a role in such residual optionality (M. L. Quesada, 2015). Importantly, some of these questions are key for this dissertation. In order to address them, the GenSLA approach investigates the interpretation and production of null and overt pronouns in different contexts using different language pairs and bilingual populations. Crucially, research within this approach has been mainly experimental in nature, as we will see in the literature review section (cf. section 4.2.1). However, the interface approach typically focuses on rather limited contexts to address such questions and does not go beyond the sentence level by exploring the discourse, which are some of the limitations that we address in this dissertation.

Among the hypotheses within the parametric approach, the **Interface Hypothesis (IH)** (cf. 2.3, p. 14 for an overview) is the most influential one (Lozano, 2021a). As explained in Chapter 2 (cf. section 2.3), the IH firstly introduced the idea that near-native L2ers show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface due to the difficulty of integrating syntactic and discursive information. This proposal was crucial in the GenSLA approach leading to vast experimental research investigating the syntax-discourse interface. However, research at the syntax-discourse interface is in need of going beyond the sentence level and carrying out a fine-grained analysis of the discourse and cognitive factors affecting the phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface.

Contrary to the generative approach, the cognitive approach presented in the following section analyses the discourse and accounts for different factors affecting the production of REs.

### 3.2.2 Cognitive approaches

In this dissertation, we mainly focus on discourse anaphora, so the most relevant discourse-pragmatic models and the different factors considered by them are reviewed now. Importantly, all the factors presented in section 3.1 have been considered in the past by different cognitive models. Crucially, the terms and factors employed for each model vary, but note that there is an overlap between them and sometimes they refer to the same concept (see Collewaert, 2019 for an overview and a discussion). Thus, these models are reviewed to show how research on AR from this perspective has evolved in time and how our present approach (cf. section 3.3) can add new insights to the inquiry.

#### 3.2.2.1 Chafe: given vs new information

Chafe (1976) introduces the concept of givenness by explaining that there are two information statuses related to the notion of consciousness: **given information** and **new information**. In this

proposal, he considers both speaker and listener's consciousness and believes that a given information is already known in their consciousness, while it is not the case for new information. Later, Chafe (1996), together with the notions of given and new information, introduces the concept of **accessibility**, which was later developed by Ariel (cf. section 3.2.2.3). He understands accessibility as "degrees of activation in consciousness" (1996, p. 40) and proposes three levels: active, semiactive, or inactive. He explains that a given idea is in the focus of attention and, thus, this idea is **active** in the speaker and listener's consciousness. A **semiactive** idea has been in focus of attention recently, but it is in a peripheral consciousness now so it is still accessible. By contrast, an **inactive** idea can be located in the long-term memory or it could be the case that it has never been situated in the consciousness before, which the author claims to occur occasionally.

Chafe's proposal of new vs. given information is rather vague when it comes to account for the complexity of AR (illustrated in section 3.1). However, a parallel between the idea of given and new information and the idea of information status (cf. 3.1.2, p. 32) can be established. A topic-continuity context would be created when we have given information in the subject position as shown in (9) above, while a topic-shift context would be created when we have new information in the subject position as shown in (11) above. Crucially, Chafe later develops these notions (given and new) with the idea of accessibility and activation, which are key concepts for subsequent approaches explained below and are also relevant for this dissertation when considering activated antecedents. Thus, Chafe's proposal successfully introduced key terms that were later developed but it was far from accounting for all factors affecting AR.

### 3.2.2.2 *Givón: topicality and continuity scale*

Givón (1983) clearly establishes a correlation between the different range of grammatical devices (i.e., REs) and their position in a continuity scale shown in Figure 7. Thus, he presents the notion of topicality as a graded continuum adopting a neutral position with regards to the speaker and the listener perspectives. To illustrate this concept, he proposes a scale where he arranges grammatical devices depending on their **accessibility/continuity**. The main idea is that **more accessible or continuous contexts** require more reduced forms (like null pronouns), while more **inaccessible or discontinue contexts** require fuller forms (like full NPs). Importantly, the author also explains three measurements in the continuity scale: referential distance (look-back), potential interference (ambiguity), and persistence (decay). **Referential distance** refers to the gap (in terms of number of clauses) between a referent and its antecedent. **Potential interference** refers to the effect that other interfering referents can have in the actual referent. **Persistence** refers to the maintenance of a topic in the following discourse. Importantly, some

of these measurements are considered in this dissertation when investigating the factor of the number of activated antecedents (cf. 6.1.4.6, p. 118).

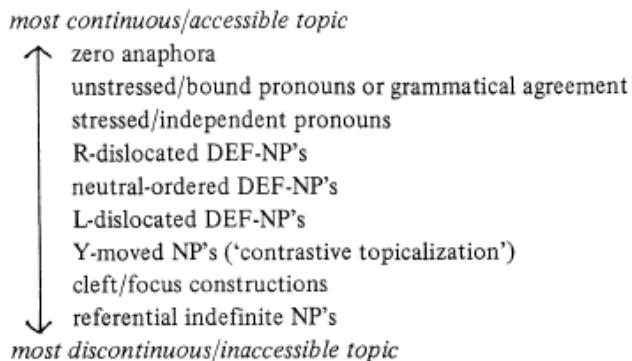


Figure 7. Givón's continuity scale.

(Source of figure: Givón, 1983, p. 17)

Some of these factors have been explored in native and L2 grammar in the literature (inter alia: Arnold, 1998; Blackwell & Quesada, 2012; Flores-Ferrán, 2002; Lozano, 2016) and are also related to some extent to the concept of activated antecedents explained above (cf. 3.1.3) and illustrated in example (14). Additionally, this proposal can be also related to the information status explained above (cf. 3.1.2) because minimal REs are expected in topic-continuity contexts, as illustrated in example (9), while fuller REs are expected in topic-shift contexts (that is, discontinuous contexts), as illustrated in example (11). Again, this proposal deals with factors that are considered in this dissertation (information status and antecedents), but AR cannot be explained by these factors only, as we will see later.

### 3.2.2.3 Ariel: Accessibility Hierarchy (AH)

In a similar vein, Ariel (1990) considers the concept of accessibility and proposes the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH). Instead of continuing with the term givenness or continuity, she adopts the term **accessibility** proposed by Sperber and Wilson (1986), but considers accessibility as the degree of **activation** of a particular antecedent in order to be recovered from a particular context. Thus, the **referent status** (i.e., the degree of accessibility) is determined by the type of RE. Importantly, she considers the listener's perspective in her theory and the speaker should assume the degree of accessibility in the listener's mind. As shown in Figure 8, the AH proposes that a referent<sup>20</sup> with a high degree of accessibility would be realized via more reduced REs (i.e., high-accessibility

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<sup>20</sup> The term referent is used here because it refers to a given RE in a particular point in discourse. The term antecedent is used when we refer to potential activated antecedents for a given referent that appear in the previous discourse.

markers), while a context with a low degree of accessibility would be realized via fuller REs (i.e., low-accessibility markers).

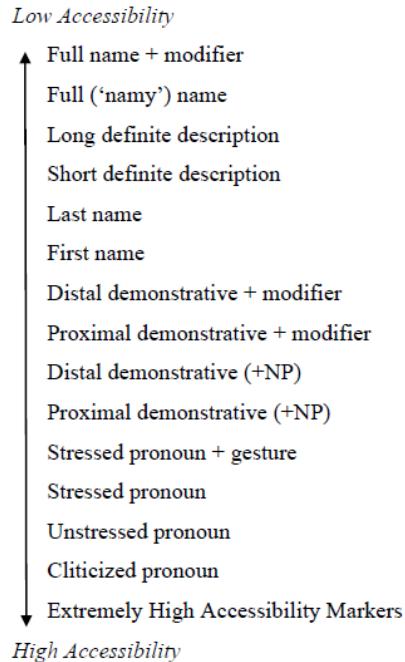


Figure 8. Ariel's accessibility scale.

(Source of figure: Ariel, 1990, p. 73)

Additionally, Ariel establishes some **factors** that contribute to the degree of accessibility: i) **distance** between a given RE and its antecedent, ii) **competition** between different antecedents, iii) **saliency** of the antecedent (i.e., if it is topic), and iv) **unity** between the referent and its antecedents (i.e., if they belong to the same thematic unit). Note that some of the factors here were previously considered in Givón's proposal (that is, distance and potential interference). Crucially, some of these factors are also considered in this dissertation to investigate the factor of number of activated antecedents (cf. 6.1.4.6, p. 118).

Crucially, a key issue considered in the AH is the fact that REs will vary depending on the language, as not all languages employ the same REs (cf. section 3.1.1, p. 30). Therefore, she believes that the scale itself is not universal, but the degree of accessibility and the type of RE can be adapted taking into account the language and **three main principles**: informativity, attenuation and rigidity. **Informativity** has to do with the amount of lexical information given depending on the accessibility of the referent, so a lower degree of accessibility would require more lexical information. Similarly, **attenuation** is related to the "size" of the RE, so a lower degree of accessibility would require fuller REs (like NPs). **Rigidity** refers to the likeliness of a particular RE to refer to a unique entity in a possible ambiguous context. The AH further

develops some of the notions introduced by Givón and accounts for the term accessibility in a complete approach. However, we still believe that we cannot account for the complexity of AR only in terms of accessibility and, therefore, a more fine-grained analysis is needed, as done in this dissertation.

### 3.2.2.4 Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski: Givenness Hierarchy

In line with the AH, Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993) proposed the Givenness Hierarchy. Here, the focus is on the speaker's assumptions about the cognitive status (i.e., the memory and attention state) of a given referent in the listener's mind. In this hierarchy, they establish six different cognitive statuses shown in Figure 9: in focus, activated, familiar, uniquely identifiable, referential and type identifiable.

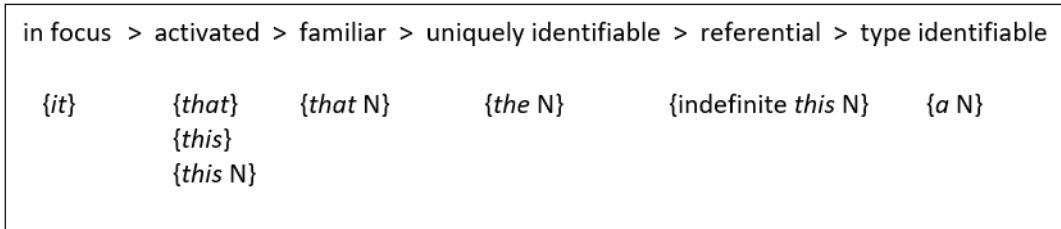


Figure 9. Givenness hierarchy

(Source of figure: Gundel et al., 1993, p. 275)

In **type identifiable status**, a referent is introduced and the addressee should be able to identify it. **Referential and uniquely identifiable statuses** imply to retrieve an existing representation in the speaker or addressee's mind, but the former status may make the addressee create a new representation, while the representation is already created in the addressee in the latter status. In **familiar status**, a unique referent is identified by the addressee, while such uniquely identified referent is in the short-term memory in **activated status**. Finally, **in focus status** implies that the referent is in the focus of attention. To put it simply, a reduced RE (like a null pronoun) would be used if a referent is in focus status, while fuller REs would be used as the referent if it is in a higher status in the hierarchy. Additionally, they employ the idea of mental representations in long-term and short-term memory to explain the status of the referent. Importantly, they claim that "the statuses are implicationally related" (Gundel et al., 1993, p. 276), which means that a given status includes all the lower statuses in the hierarchy.

To some extent, there are some similarities between the AH and the Givenness Hierarchy because one can assume that a referent in focus is highly accessible. Similarly, some of the concepts in this hierarchy are related to the information status already explained in the previous section (cf. 3.1.2). For instance, a referent *in focus* status can resemble a topic-continuity

context, while *referential* status could imply a topic-shift context. However, the Givenness Hierarchy does not provide measurements to identify the different statuses and a given RE does not exclusively belong to one status, as mentioned above. Thus, this model is open to interpretation and it makes it difficult to really assign a cognitive status to a given referent.

### 3.2.2.5 Kibrik: Activation Model

Building on the approaches seen above (Ariel, 1990; Chafe, 1976; Givón, 1983; Gundel et al., 1993), Kibrik (2011) proposed the Activation Model that is oriented towards the speaker's perspective. Importantly, he introduces two key concepts here: attention and activation. As mentioned in the previous section (cf.3.1.3), Kibrik (2011) argues that in order to introduce a referent, it first requires some attention and, then, this referent is activated in WM. Taking into account these two different cognitive processes (attention and activation), Kibrik et al. (2016) recently claimed

If the referent's activation in the speaker's working memory is high, use a reduced referential device. If the referent's activation in the speaker's working memory is low, use a lexically full referential device. (p. 2)

Note that this idea is related to the notions of high/low accessibility proposed by Ariel (1990), but REs are not placed on a scale in Kibrik's model. Importantly, Kibrik (2011) additionally explains that the activation is determined by several factors that are influenced by the discourse context and the referent's internal properties. Thus, he proposes a multi-factorial approach to analyse all these factors and account for the referential choice. Considering a more updated proposal, Kibrik et al. (2016) divide these factors (previously introduced in (Kibrik, 2011)) into three groups: i) **anaphor's factors** (like the ordinal number of a mentioned referent); ii) **antecedent's factors** related to the properties (like the grammatical role); and iii) **distance's factors** related to discourse structure (like distance between an anaphor and its antecedent in terms of number of clauses). In this more recent proposal, they use machine learning techniques to obtain predictions of referential choice by supplying factors' values to algorithms. We believe that Kibrik's Activation Model and the latest proposal are successful in accounting for the different factors that affect the choice of REs. In fact, we consider it as one of the most complete cognitive models among the ones presented in this section and we actually analysed some of these factors. However, we are not interested in predicting the RE choice, but rather analysing the production of REs using a theoretically-informed tagset and describing the multiple factors that account for such choices.

### 3.2.2.6 Cognitive approaches: recapitulation

Through this section, we have reviewed the most relevant models within cognitive approaches and some conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, there are some keywords that are repeated through the different models (i.e., givenness, continuity, accessibility, activation, or saliency, among others) and some of them are interchangeable. In fact, the information status considered in this dissertation (cf. 3.1.2) was compared to some of the factors proposed by the different models. Table 5 illustrates the information status factor, which is found in all the models reviewed in this section, and attempts to compare it with the proposals explained above<sup>21</sup>. Importantly, this is an interpretation of how the factors in each cognitive model could fit in out topic continuity and topic shift (cf. 3.1.2, p. 32), but they cannot be considered exactly the same. Additionally, Table 5 shows other relevant factors included in cognitive models that are considered in this dissertation<sup>22</sup>. Therefore, some models consider the same factors<sup>23</sup> (but with different names), which shows a lack of uniformity in the literature.

Author	Information status factor (explored in this dissertation)		Other relevant factors (explored in this dissertation)
	Topic continuity	Topic shift	
<b>Chafe (1976)</b>	Given information	New information	-
<b>Givón (1983)</b>	Most continuous/accessible topic	Most discontinuous/inaccessible topic	Referential distance, potential interference
<b>Ariel (1990)</b>	High accessibility	Low accessibility	Distance, competition, saliency, unity
<b>Gundel et al. (1993)</b>	In focus; Activated; (Familiar)	(Familiar); Uniquely identifiable; Referential	-
<b>Kibrik (2011)</b>	High activation	Low activation	Distance, competition, grammatical role

Table 5. Recapitulation of cognitive models and their factors.

Secondly, we saw that some models focus on one factor alone, while others focus on more than one factor, but these factors are not necessarily delimited. Crucially, we investigate multiple factors independently and systematically to disentangle to what extent each factor affects the choice of REs in discourse. Finally, it was shown that most of these models make assumptions on the speaker's and listener's point of view. Certainly, both (speaker and listener) play a role in

<sup>21</sup> Some of the proposals presented above propose a scale so it makes it difficult to fit them in the binary distinction of topic continuity vs. topic shift.

<sup>22</sup> Note that we use different terms to refer to these factors.

<sup>23</sup> Note that not all approaches talk in terms of factors, but we use this word here in general in order to generalize and compare them.

the construction of the discourse, but it is not an easy task to determine to what extent the speaker and listener's perspective influence the choice of REs in discourse. Importantly, it is easier to determine the speaker and listener's perspective in an experiment because the stimuli presented is controlled (for instance, in terms of number of activated antecedents), as done in this dissertation. Therefore, we believe that it is crucial to firstly describe the phenomenon in terms of how REs are produced in natural discourse depending on multiple factors. Then, we can make assumptions of the production of such REs in terms of universal pragmatic principles, which makes way to explain the approach considered in this dissertation.

### 3.3 The Pragmatic Principles Violation Hypothesis (PPVH) and the present approach

A new proposal, the Pragmatic Principles Violation Hypothesis (**PPVH**), is offered by Lozano (2016). In his study, Lozano (2016) departs from the observation that L2ers show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface (cf. Interface Hypothesis proposed by Sorace and colleagues). Thus, he investigates AR in discourse by exploring advanced Spanish L2ers' production and accounts for their production in terms of pragmatic principles. Importantly, from a theoretical point of view, this hypothesis departs from generative approaches (cf. 3.2.1, p. 41), takes some of the factors investigated by cognitive approaches (cf. 3.2.2, p. 44) (as the number of potential antecedents), and it goes beyond these approaches by incorporating pragmatic principles.

He observes that the categories of **Quantity** and **Manner** proposed by Grice (1975) were reformulated by several authors to account for AR (cf. Lozano, 2016, p. 260 for a discussion). Grice (1975, p. 45) argued that the category of Quantity has two maxims: i) "make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)"; and ii) "Do not make your contribution more informative than is required". Under the category of Manner, Grice (1975, p. 46) proposed four maxims: i) "Avoid obscurity of expression"; ii) "Avoid ambiguity"; iii) "Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)"; and iv) "Be orderly". Crucially, Lozano (2016) considers these maxims and argues that in terms of AR

this entails that the Manner/Clarity Principle requires the use of full forms when the anaphor cannot be resolved via minimal forms (overt pronoun or even NP in topic-shift contexts) and the Informativeness/Economy Principle requires the use of minimal forms as long as the anaphora can be resolved ( $\emptyset$  in topic-continuity contexts) (p. 261).

Thus, Lozano (2016) proposes the **PPVH** to account for his corpus data on AR. The PPVH, as shown in Figure 10, proposes that talking in terms of strength, two types of pragmatic violations

may occur: strong or mild. **Strong violations** would imply producing less informative REs (e.g., null pronouns in topic shift) and, thus, violating the **Manner/Clarity Principle**, which leads to ambiguity and a communicative breakdown. By contrast, **mild violations** would imply producing more informative REs than necessary (e.g., NPs in topic continuity) and, thus, violating the **Informativeness/Economy Principle**, which leads to redundancy. Additionally, the number of activated antecedents plays a role in the scale in Figure 10. In particular, a violation on the right side of the scale is milder when there are two or more potential antecedents than when there is one potential antecedent. When there is one potential antecedent, the RE refers back to such potential antecedent unequivocally. However, two potential antecedents could create a potential ambiguity and a redundant RE would be more felicitous.



Figure 10. The Pragmatic Principles Violation Hypothesis (PPVH)

(Source of figure: Lozano, 2016, p. 261)

To illustrate the PPVH, the null pronoun in (22a) shows a **strong violation** that causes **ambiguity** as it seems that the null pronoun refers to *ella*, but it refers to *Juno*, which is in object position. By contrast, the overt pronoun in (22b) shows a **mild violation** that causes **redundancy** because it is a context of topic continuity and the overt pronoun *ella* refers back to the antecedent in subject position (*la madre*), but there is no communicative breakdown. This violation is milder than the one in (22c) because, in this example, there is one potential antecedent only and the RE refers back to *Juno* unequivocally. Lozano (2016) shows that L2ers tend to be more redundant than ambiguous, so they mostly violate the Informativeness/Economy Principle. Additionally, he claims that, to a lesser extent, these principles also apply to native grammars. Therefore, he shows that these principles can be applied to both L2ers and natives and account for AR.

- (22) a. Ellai [= una estudiante] le dice a Juno<sub>j</sub> que su<sub>i</sub> bebé<sub>k</sub> ya tiene uñas, y con esta idea #∅<sub>i/j</sub>  
[expected: Juno<sub>i</sub>] entra en la clínica. [98\_47\_29\_3\_TLS, learner]

'She<sub>i</sub> [=a student] says to Juno<sub>j</sub> that her<sub>j</sub> baby has nails, and #∅<sub>i/j</sub> [expected: Juno<sub>i</sub>] enters  
in the clinic with this idea.

- b. La madre<sub>j</sub> ha vuelto para pedirle perdón a Penelope<sub>j</sub> porque #ella<sub>i</sub> no sabía que  
Penélope<sub>j</sub> había sido abusada... [98\_20\_8\_3\_JEL, learner]

'The mother<sub>i</sub> has come back to apologize to Penelope<sub>j</sub> because #she<sub>i</sub> did not know that Penelope<sub>j</sub> has been abused...''

c. Juno<sub>i</sub> es el personaje principal. #Ella<sub>i</sub> vive con su padre<sub>j</sub> y su madrastra<sub>k</sub>.  
[98\_47\_29\_3\_TLS, learner]

'Juno<sub>i</sub> is the main character. #She<sub>i</sub> lives with her father<sub>j</sub> and her stepmother<sub>k</sub>.'

(Source of examples: Lozano, 2016, pp. 254–255)

Importantly, the PPVH was tested in Spanish and in advanced L2ers, but an interesting question is how this hypothesis would work in other **language pairs** and other **proficiency levels**. Therefore, this dissertation takes the PPVH, together with other factors and hypothesis (as we will see below), as its main theoretical approach with the aims of i) testing the hypothesis in different language pairs across proficiency levels; ii) corroborating its claims; and iii) adding further nuances (if necessary).

**Theoretically** and **methodologically** speaking, the **PPVH** can add new insights into the field of SLA as this approach is neither purely generative nor purely cognitive, but rather it is at the crossroad of both incorporating neo-Gricean insights. In the previous chapter (cf. 2.1, p. 11), we presented the idea that there are different perspectives in SLA but they are not mutually exclusive. In addition to this, the previous section in this chapter (cf. 3.2, p. 41) explained that sentential anaphora has typically accounted by **generative approaches** (using experimental methods) and discourse anaphora by **cognitive approaches** (using corpus methods). Importantly, it is recently claimed that there is a theoretical and methodological **convergence** between these two approaches and this can be applied to the interfaces (Mendikoetxea & Lozano, 2018; Shirai & Juffs, 2017; Zyzik, 2017). In fact, Rothman and Slabakova (2018, p. 436) state: "Many people working on acquisition from either a generative tradition or usage-based position currently do not appreciate that the area of mutual exclusivity is as small as we have claimed here". Therefore, we believe that certain research questions typically posed by generative approaches and mostly investigated using experimental methods can be addressed using corpora and investigating natural production. In fact, it is crucial to do so in order to uncover new factors that were previously undetected. Then, new factors can be further investigated in experiments following a **triangulation** fashion as proposed by Mendikoetxea and Lozano (2018), as justified above (cf. 2.4.3, p. 25).

Taking this into consideration, this dissertation is not restricted to one theoretical approach, but takes **different approaches** being at the **crossroads** of generative and cognitive approaches and following a triangulation fashion. In particular, the **PPVH** and the **IH** will account for our corpus and experimental data. Importantly, the PPVH departed from the IH, but added new insight and we incorporate both hypotheses to account for the data. Crucially, we additionally account for the data in terms of **multiple factors** that affect AR. These factors have been traditionally addressed by cognitive approaches, as seen in the previous subsection (cf. 3.2.2, p. 44), but have not been investigated systematically and in a unitary way, as done in this dissertation. With this in mind, we explain now how this dissertation, methodologically and theoretically speaking, was carried out:

- i) We pose research questions concerning the acquisition of AR in adult bilinguals. These questions are theoretically motivated by the field of bilingualism, as explained in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.1, p. 11)
- ii) We investigate L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers' acquisition of AR developmentally in a bidirectional way using a corpus-based method. Corpus data offers natural production and, thus, richer scenarios to investigate AR. Four corpus-based independent studies are carried out in this dissertation to answer specific questions on AR and more general questions on the acquisition of AR.
- iii) We account for L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers' and English and Spanish natives' production in terms of the multiple factors that affect AR, the IH and the PPVH.
- iv) We finally take two relevant factors found in the corpus-based studies to further explore them in an online experiment. We account for the comprehension data in terms of the IH and the PPVH.
- v) By carrying out the experiment, we start the triangulation mentioned above, but we do not complete the cyclic model (cf. Figure 5, p. 27) and leave its completion for future research.

## 3.4 Chapter summary

Figure 11 overleaf summarizes the contents of Chapter 3. As we can see in the figure, our first section in this chapter (cf. 3.1) firstly described and illustrated the different factors that affect AR. Importantly, these factors have been accounted for by generative and cognitive approaches, which led to our next section. The second section in this chapter (cf. 3.2) reviewed the theoretical approaches that have accounted for AR. In particular, we reviewed the different

models in generative and cognitive approaches. Two approaches were reviewed within generative approaches: the parametric approach and the interface approach. As for the cognitive approaches, we reviewed different models proposed by different authors: Chafe (given vs. new information); Givón (topicality and continuity scale); Ariel (Accessibility Hierarchy); Gundel et al. (Givenness Hierarchy); and Kibrik (Activation Model). Crucially, we do not follow one single approach (i.e., generative or cognitive) in this dissertation, but rather opt for a combination of both, which led to our last section in this chapter. The third section (cf. 3.3) explained the PPVH and justified why this hypothesis is suitable to account for our data. Additionally, we explained that we not only account for our data in terms of the PPVH (cf. 8.3, p. 297), but we also include the IH (cf. 8.3, p. 297) and the multiple factors that affect AR (cf. 8.1, p. 285).

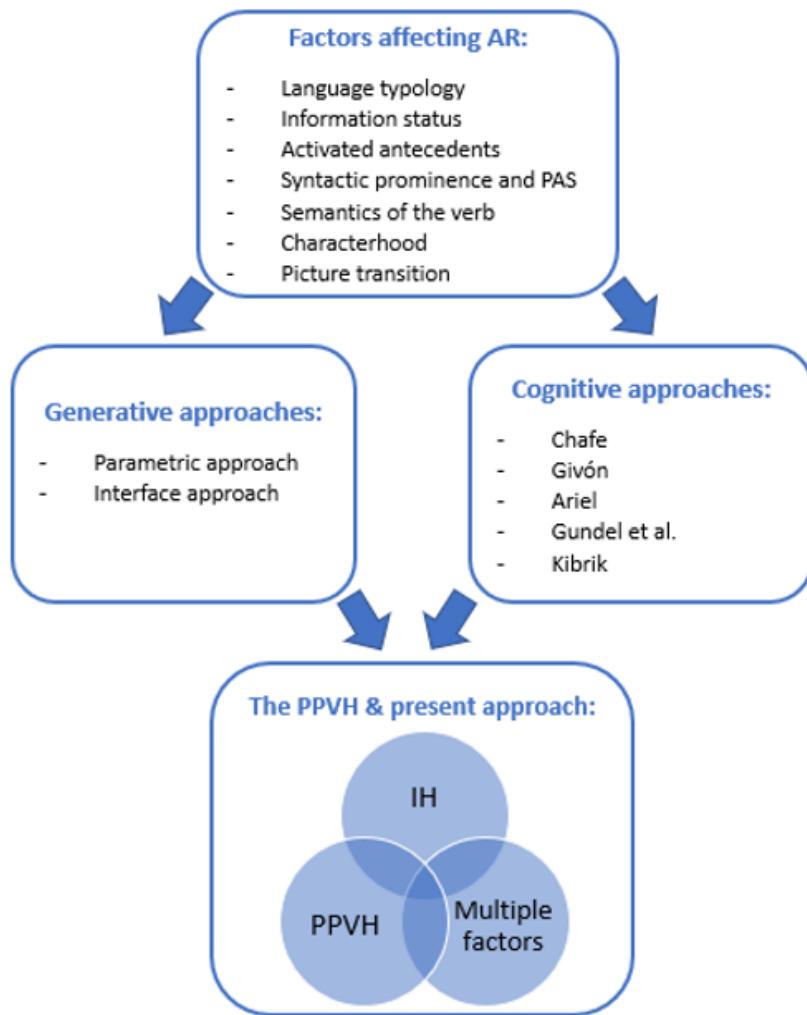


Figure 11. Summary of Chapter 3.

This chapter has reviewed the factors and the theoretical approaches accounting for AR. Now, we move to Chapter 4 to review the AR literature in English and Spanish, which are the languages investigated in this dissertation.

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## Chapter 4. Anaphora resolution in SLA

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In Chapter 2, we saw that SLA research methods depend on the degree of naturalness of the data (experimental vs. corpus). AR has been mostly investigated experimentally, but there are also some corpus studies. Additionally, the literature is more extensive in Spanish than in English, as Spanish is a pro-drop language and the alternation of REs is more complex. As we focus on both languages in this dissertation, this chapter reviews the studies on AR in L2 English first, and then in L2 Spanish. Importantly, the literature review of L2 English includes a subsection of studies on immersion programmes, as there is a specific study in this dissertation (cf. 7.2, p. 166) related to that aspect, and the literature review in L2 Spanish includes a subsection of studies on the PAS, as there is also a specific study (cf. 7.3, p. 186) dealing with this particular AR scenario.

### 4.1 Anaphora Resolution in L2 English

This section reviews **experimental** and **corpus-based** studies on AR in L2 English bilingual adults with different L1s. Note that the section of experimental studies (cf. 4.1.1) will firstly review **offline** experiments and will then review **online** studies (cf. 2.4.1 for an overview of offline vs online experiments). The aim is to review how previous literature has investigated AR in L2 English and justify why this dissertation is an advance in the field. Additionally, this section includes a subsection with studies in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) contexts (i.e., immersion programmes). This dissertation includes a study related to CLIL (cf. 7.2, p. 166) to see whether CLIL has an effect on AR. Thus, CLIL studies related to the phenomenon under investigation are also reviewed.

#### 4.1.1 Experimental studies on AR in L2 English

**Pladevall Ballester (2013)** tested beginner, intermediate, and advanced L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers plus a control group of English native speakers. She administered an untimed grammaticality judgment and a correction task to test L2ers' interpretation of null and overt referential subjects<sup>24</sup> in main and embedded clauses as in (23). Results showed that there was

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<sup>24</sup> She also tested null expletives and postverbal subjects, but they are not reviewed here as they are not the focus of this dissertation.

an increase in the rejection rate of ungrammatical null pronominal subjects across proficiency level (beginner: 46.46%; intermediate: 79.93%; advanced: 96.23%), while all groups accepted overt pronominal grammatical subjects. Thus, Pladevall Ballester (2013) argued that L2ers transferred null pronouns from their L1 as they accepted ungrammatical null subjects, but they acquired L2 subject interpretation as proficiency increases. The author claimed that the results confirmed the Interpretability Hypothesis<sup>25</sup> (Tsimpili & Dimitrakopoulou, 2007) because L2ers (even at advanced levels) did not show native-like behaviour in all the contexts investigated and, thus, they could not acquire uninterpretable features. Importantly, advanced L2ers did acquire referential subjects, which are of interest in this dissertation. Also, this study showed that L2ers transferred from their L1, which is investigated in this dissertation. These results, however, should be carefully considered because this study has some limitations: i) 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> persons were all included and mixed in the analyses, but the literature has shown that L2ers have problems with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person (cf. 3.1.1, p.30); ii) there was no distinction between topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts, which is a key factor in AR (cf. 3.1.2, p. 32); iii) some REs were preceded by an antecedent as in (23a,c), but this was not consistent across sentences (23b); and iv) main and subordinate sentences as well as different types of connectors were included and mixed in the analysis, which indicates that the design is not rigorous (cf. 2.4.1, p. 17) and confounding variables could be included. All these limitations are considered both in the production and comprehension studies in this dissertation.

(23) a. Jane<sub>i</sub> likes football. \*[Ø<sub>i</sub>] Plays in a team every day. (Main clause)

b. \*[Ø] Walks to school every morning at 8.30.

c. My sister<sub>i</sub> is always tired because \*[Ø<sub>i</sub>] works a lot. (Embedded clause)

(Source of examples: Pladevall Ballester, 2013, p. 486, my indices)

The Interpretability Hypothesis was also tested by Prentza (2014). She tested intermediate and advanced L1 Greek-L2 English L2ers using i) a paced Acceptability Judgement Task (AJT); ii) a Sentence Completion Task (SCT); and iii) a Cloze Test (CT). She tested the interpretation and

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<sup>25</sup> Interpretable features are those that contribute to meanings, while uninterpretable features are not essential to understand sentence meanings (Slabakova, 2016). Considering pronoun interpretation in L2ers whose L1 is a null subject language, the Interpretability Hypothesis (Tsimpili & Dimitrakopoulou, 2007) would predict that overt pronouns are uninterpretable features in topic-continuity contexts (as overt pronouns carry the feature [+topic shift] in their L1) and L2ers would rely on L1 interpretations when encountering these contexts (Prentza, 2014).

production of pronominal subjects in several contexts, but her joint-referent conditions<sup>26</sup> as in (24 a-c) and disjoint-reference conditions<sup>27</sup> in (24d) are of particular interest here. In line with Pladevall Ballester (2013), the Interpretability Hypothesis was confirmed as L2ers did not acquire uninterpretable features (i.e., obligatoriness of overt pronouns) and relied on L1 syntax (i.e., accept/produce null pronouns) in such contexts. Results showed that L2ers accepted and produced ungrammatical null pronominal subjects not only in the joint-reference condition, but also in the disjoint-reference condition (but to a lesser extent). Thus, L2ers transferred from their L1, which is an important finding for the results in this dissertation. Importantly, these findings should be also considered carefully because the limitations found in Pladevall Ballester (2013) are also found in this study: mixture of 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons; lack of consideration of information status; inconsistencies in the presence of antecedents; and mixture of sentence type and connector type. Additionally, this study considered both inanimate and animate REs, while the literature has shown that animate REs are problematic (cf. Lozano, 2009). All these limitations are taken into account in this dissertation.

- (24)      a. \*We<sub>i</sub> won't finish on time if [Ø<sub>i</sub>] don't start now. [Joint-referent condition in AJT]
- b. Mary<sub>i</sub> was angry because she<sub>i</sub> had lost her job. [Joint-referent condition in AJT]
- c. When she<sub>i</sub> heard the news, tell/all friends [Expected target sentence: *she<sub>i</sub> told all her friends*. Joint-referent condition in SCT]
- d. We<sub>i</sub> can't pay you because you/not complete/the work [Expected target sentence: *you haven't completed the work yet*. Disjoint-referent condition in SCT]

(Source of examples: Prentza, 2014, p. 373, my indices)

**Mitkovska & Bužarovska (2018)** also confirmed the Interpretability Hypothesis. They tested L1 Macedonian – L2 English young L2ers at different proficiency levels (A1-B2) and focused on the production and interpretation of ungrammatical null referential subjects. To do so, they administered a grammaticality judgement/correction task (GJCT) and analysed L2ers' production using the Macedonian English Learner Corpus. Results showed that L2ers accepted and produced ungrammatical null subjects as in (25), so the authors claimed that L2ers transferred from their L1. Importantly, rates varied depending on i) the proficiency level, being

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<sup>26</sup> Joint-referent conditions occur when the RE refers back to a previous antecedent in the previous clause. This is similar to our topic-continuity context (cf. 3.1.2, p. 31).

<sup>27</sup> Disjoint-referent conditions occur when the RE refers to another entity that is not in the previous clause. This is similar to our topic shift context (cf. 3.1.2).

the higher levels more accurate and ii) the task type, as production of ungrammatical null subjects is lower than their interpretation. These findings are relevant for this dissertation because experimental and corpus-based findings are included, as done here. Importantly, this study showed that acceptance of ungrammatical null subjects varied depending on the type of method, which is in line with the experimental studies reviewed above and the corpus-based studies that will be reviewed below. Crucially, this study also presents some limitations: i) 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> persons were all included and mixed in the analyses; ii) there was no distinction between topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts both in the interpretation and production data; iii) the production of null pronouns in topic-continuity and coordinate contexts was not considered in their production data; iv) animate and inanimate REs were included in the analysis; and v) different connectors were included in the offline task. As mentioned above, all these aspects are crucial when investigating the interpretation and production of REs and they are considered in this dissertation.

- (25) She<sub>i</sub> is tall, little fat and beautiful. \*[Ø<sub>i</sub>] Always has beautiful nails. (she, A1)

(Source of example: Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018, p. 8, my indices)

**Contemori and Dussias** (2016) also tested the oral production of referential expressions in very advanced L1 Spanish- L2 English L2ers using two different experiments with picture-based controlled tasks. The procedure followed in these experiments was as follows. First, participants saw two pictures. Then, picture 2 was covered and participants listened to and read a sentence while looking at the first picture. Finally, they had to continue the story based on what they saw in the second picture. This experiment was controlled, but the production was freer than the production in the studies reviewed above. Crucially, the authors considered topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts and their results showed that L2ers produced NPs in topic-shift contexts as natives did, but differed from natives in topic-continuity contexts, where more overt pronouns than NPs were produced by L2ers. Importantly, production of ungrammatical null subjects was not reported in this study and, thus, L2ers did not transfer from their L1, which is against the studies reviewed above. In fact, L2ers produced more overt pronouns than natives did, which was not found in the studies reviewed above. We can infer that L2ers were overexplicit, which is in line with the corpus-based studies that will be reviewed below. Opposite to the studies above, these findings informed about the production of REs according to information status, which is a crucial factor in this dissertation. However, only very-advanced L2ers were tested and this study did not inform about the developmental acquisition of REs, which is addressed in this dissertation.

Turning to **online** experiments, **Cunnings et al.** (2017) tested how intermediate L1 Greek-L2 English L2ers and English native speakers process and interpret overt pronouns in PAS scenarios as in (26) using a visual word paradigm task. As explained in Chapter 3, PAS scenarios predict that null pronouns would bias towards subject antecedents, while overt pronouns would bias towards non-subject antecedents. Importantly, the PAS strategy differs in English as overt pronouns would be obligatory in both contexts and would bias towards subject and non-subject antecedents. The research question in this study was whether the L2ers' L1 would influence their interpretation in these PAS scenarios. Their results on the English natives showed that natives used gender information and overt pronouns biased towards i) subject antecedents in both subject conditions (a,b) and ii) object antecedents in both object conditions (c,d), although the object conditions showed an initial look at the subject antecedent. L2ers showed a native-like behaviour, although they showed a slower processing than English natives. Importantly, as we will show in this dissertation, these PAS scenarios resemble our topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts (cf. 3.1.2) because the overt pronoun in (26a,b) refers back to the preceding subject, while the overt pronoun in (26c,d) marks a shift because it does not refer to the preceding subject, but to the object. Crucially, the results would suggest that L2ers are aware of the information status constraints and they would not be transferring these constraints nor the PAS-bias from their L1. Additionally, these findings would contradict the offline findings reviewed above because this study showed that L2ers know that overt pronouns carry the [+Topic Shift] and [-Topic Shift] features. It is important to consider this piece of evidence, as this dissertation also investigates PAS-biases in production and comparisons between comprehension and production can be made.

- (26)     a. After Peter<sub>i</sub> spoke to Mrs. Jones<sub>j</sub> by the till in the shop, he<sub>i</sub> paid for the expensive ice cream that looked tasty. [Subject Bias, Unambiguous]
  
- b. After Peter<sub>i</sub> spoke to Mr. Smith<sub>j</sub> by the till in the shop, he<sub>i</sub> paid for the expensive ice cream that looked tasty. [Subject Bias, Ambiguous]
  
- c. After Mrs. Jones<sub>i</sub> spoke to Peter<sub>j</sub> by the till in the shop, he<sub>j</sub> paid for the expensive ice cream that looked tasty. [Object Bias, Unambiguous]
  
- d. After Mr. Smith<sub>i</sub> spoke to Peter<sub>j</sub> by the till in the shop, he<sub>j</sub> paid for the expensive ice cream that looked tasty. [Object Bias, Ambiguous]

(Source of examples: Cunnings et al., 2017, p. 627, my indices)

Similarly, **Contemori and Dussias** (2020) also employed a visual word paradigm task to test the processing and interpretation of overt pronouns in very advanced L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers plus English native speakers. They also tested the PAS using inter-sentential sentences as in (27) and the possibility of encountering L1 cross-linguistic interference is also expected in this study. Their results were in line with *Cunnings et al.* (2017) and showed that both English native speakers and L2ers relied on first-mention bias across conditions (27 a-d) and used gender cues to override wrong subject interpretations. Again, these results i) are informative of our topic-continuity (27a,c) and topic-shift (27b,d) contexts; and ii) contradict previous offline experiments. The authors concluded that native-like processing strategies are acquirable in very advanced L1 Spanish-L2 English when the discourse complexity is low, as in this experiment. Also, they claimed that the IH is not confirmed in this particular context and with this population because L2ers did not show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface. These findings are also informative for this dissertation to check whether English PAS-biases are found in the production of English L2ers and natives. Also, we would check whether the IH is not confirmed with our experimental data.

- (27)      a. A builder<sub>i</sub> (male) saw a doctor<sub>j</sub> (female) by the door. He<sub>i</sub> briefly thanked the doctor<sub>j</sub> for her help. [Different Gender - First Mention]
  
- b. A builder<sub>i</sub> (male) saw a doctor<sub>j</sub> (female) by the door. She<sub>j</sub> briefly thanked the builder<sub>i</sub> for his help. [Different Gender - Second Mention]
  
- c. A builder<sub>i</sub> (male) saw a doctor<sub>j</sub> (male) by the door. He<sub>i</sub> briefly thanked the doctor<sub>j</sub> for his help. [Same Gender - First Mention]
  
- d. A builder<sub>i</sub> (male) saw a doctor<sub>j</sub> (male) by the door. He<sub>j</sub> briefly thanked the builder<sub>i</sub> for his help. [Same Gender - Second Mention]

(Source of examples: Contemori & Dussias, 2020, p. 17, my indices)

In a previous study, **Contemori et al.** (2019) investigated PAS scenarios, but did not carry out a visual word paradigm. In this study, they manipulated different discourse structures to test pronoun interpretations in PAS-like scenarios in Spanish and English native speakers and intermediate L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers. These scenarios were tested using offline sentence comprehension tasks in six independent experiments. Focusing on the English experiments, the authors ran three experiments<sup>28</sup>: i) experiment 2 tested intra-sentential anaphora and

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<sup>28</sup> The other three experiments tested the same sentences in Spanish and they are not reviewed here.

cataphora as in (28) in English natives and L2 English L2ers respectively; ii) experiment 4 tested intra-sentential anaphora in more complex scenarios as in (29) in the same groups; and iii) experiment 6 tested inter-sentential anaphora in more complex scenarios as in (30) in the same groups. In line with previous online experiments, their results showed L2ers' use of first-mention bias, as natives did, in sentences like (28), where one antecedent is clearly salient. Importantly, L2ers did not show native-like pronoun interpretation in more complex structures like (29) and (30). These contexts offered similar salience of two referents, which led to L2ers' optionality. Unlike Contemori and Dussias (2020), the authors claimed that the results were in line with the Interface Hypothesis and concluded that the complexity of the context plays a role in the interpretation of pronouns. If fact, this is one of the reasons why, in this dissertation, we investigate AR in discourse. These findings suggested that the context played a role in the processing of REs. So, it is crucial to analyse the production of REs considering multiple factors (and thus, different contexts) in a systematic manner. This would reveal the contexts where REs could be problematic for L2ers and, depending on that, an experiment can be created, as done in this dissertation.

- (28) a. Yolanda<sub>i</sub> met Josefina<sub>j</sub> while she<sub>i</sub> was in high school.

- b. While she<sub>i</sub> was in high school, Yolanda<sub>i</sub> met Josefina<sub>j</sub>.

(Source of examples: Contemori et al., 2019, pp. 972-973, my indices)

- (29) a. Carlos<sub>i</sub> and Martín<sub>j</sub> are at the office. While Carlos<sub>i</sub> is working, he<sub>i</sub> is eating lunch. [Equal prominence condition]

- b. Carlos<sub>i</sub> and Martín<sub>j</sub> are at the office. Martín<sub>j</sub> is one of the best employees in the company. While Carlos<sub>i</sub> is working, he<sub>i</sub> is eating lunch. [NP2 repetition condition]

- c. Carlos<sub>i</sub> and Martín<sub>j</sub> are at the office. Martín<sub>j</sub> is one of the best employees in the company, he<sub>j</sub> won the best employee of the month award. While Carlos<sub>i</sub> is working, he<sub>i</sub> is eating lunch. [NP2 pronoun condition]

(Source of examples: Contemori et al., 2019, p. 983, my indices)

- (30) a. Rafael<sub>i</sub> and Pablo<sub>j</sub> were admitted at the hospital. Rafael<sub>i</sub> was in a car wreck. After a few days, he<sub>i</sub> was discharged. [NP1 Only]

- b. Rafael<sub>i</sub> and Pablo<sub>j</sub> were admitted at the hospital. Rafael<sub>i</sub> was in a car wreck with Pablo<sub>j</sub>. After a few days, he<sub>i</sub> was discharged. [NP1 and NP2]

c. Rafael<sub>i</sub> and Pablo<sub>j</sub> were admitted at the hospital. While Pablo<sub>j</sub> broke his leg, Rafael<sub>i</sub> had an injury to his arm. After a few days, he<sub>i</sub> was discharged. [Subordinate NP2- Main NP1]

(Source of examples: Contemori et al., 2019, p. 990, my indices)

**Santoro** (2020) also tested the processing and interpretation of overt pronouns in advanced L1 Chinese-L2 English L2ers plus a control group of English native speakers. He used a Self-Paced-Reading Task (SPRT) to test PAS ambiguous scenarios as in (31). The author was particularly interested in this language pair because Chinese is a discourse-oriented language and he claimed that this language completely differs from English, where ‘anaphora resolution is a strictly morpho-syntactic phenomenon’ (Santoro, 2020, p. 18). Importantly, it seems that the author did not observe that AR is also a pragmatic phenomenon in English because null pronouns are allowed in topic continuity and coordinate contexts and pragmatics play a role here, as we will see in this dissertation. His results were in line with previous studies (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017) and both natives and L2ers showed a subject-antecedent bias for overt pronouns. Like Cummings et al. (2017), L2ers showed higher reading times (RTs), but their slower processing did not affect their interpretations. The author argued that interpretation of overt pronouns in English was attainable due to its morpho-syntactic nature and the lack of involvement of several sources of information and cognitive factors. An interesting question, however, is whether contexts where pragmatics play a role in English are also acquirable, as we will see in our experimental study. Crucially, a particular scenario was tested here and it could be the case that this particular scenario is acquirable, as shown above (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017). Additionally, Contemori et al. (2019) showed that the complexity in different discourse contexts influences L2ers’ interpretations and native-like attainment is not always possible. It is important to demonstrate the contexts that are fully attainable by L2ers, but that does not imply that all anaphora resolution scenarios are acquirable. Again, this is why it is crucial to investigate the phenomenon in discourse and go beyond the sentence level, as we do in this dissertation.

(31) As soon as the grandfather<sub>i</sub> finished talking to his grandson<sub>j</sub>, he<sub>i</sub> left the room.

(Source of example: Santoro, 2020, my indices)

This section has reviewed the experimental literature in L2 English adults. Some of the limitations (especially in the offline experiments) and findings in these studies were addressed,

and they are carefully considered in the production and comprehension studies in this dissertation. The next subsection reviews corpus-based studies.

#### 4.1.2 Corpus studies on AR in L2 English

Contrary to offline and online experiments, production of REs has been also investigated following corpus-based methods and analysing L2ers' production in discourse.

Hendriks (2003) analysed the oral production of L1 Chinese-L2 English L2ers and a comparable group of English native speakers using two different picture-based tasks. Their production of REs was analysed in coreferential and non-coreferential contexts (to some extent, our topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts respectively). In coreferential contexts, results showed that L2ers produced more overt pronouns, followed by NPs and null pronouns, while native speakers produced more NPs followed by overt and null pronouns. In non-coreferential contexts, L2ers mostly produced NPs followed by overt pronouns, as natives did. The author claimed that L2ers did not transfer null pronouns from their L1, but their production was not native-like either, as it can be shown in the redundant production of NPs in (32). Crucially, the lack of transfer is opposite to some of the experimental studies reviewed above (Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014), but it is in line with other experimental studies (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017). The findings in this production study are relevant for this dissertation, as we will analyse L2ers' production and some preliminary assumptions regarding the transfer and overproduction of REs can guide the analyses. Importantly, the author found some differences with respect to other L2ers with different language pairs that were tested here and explained that it could occur due to the task, which could influence the production, as we will see later in the results (cf. Chapter 7, section 7.1.4.6, p. 162). Additionally, we must consider that i) the task analysed only includes [-human] characters, which could influence the production of REs; and ii) the analysis was not fine-grained in the sense that the author did not clearly delimit the contexts where the different REs occurred (for instance, according to information status) and other factors that may influence the production of REs. These limitations are addressed in this dissertation.

- (32) and eh after few minutes the horse<sub>i</sub> wants to try / so the horse<sub>i</sub> ehm try ejm / the the horse<sub>i</sub> across the fence...

(Source of example: Hendriks, 2003, pp. 308-309, my indices)

Kang (2004) analysed the oral production of intermediate L1 Korean – L2 English L2ers and English and Korean native speakers using the picture-based task *Frog, where are you?* by Mayer

(1969). Natives and L2ers' production of REs was only analysed according to the RE produced for each character without considering the context (i.e., topic continuity and topic shift). Her results showed that there was a higher production of NPs across characters and groups. English is a non-null subject language and null pronouns would not be the most frequent RE. However, overt pronouns would be expected in the production of English natives. Thus, Kang (2004) suggested that there was a characterhood effect and the fact that some characters in the story were [-human] triggered a higher production of NPs. This is a crucial finding to consider in this dissertation, as the same task is employed. Additionally, null and overt pronouns were also produced by natives and L2ers to refer to *the boy*, although L2ers' production was not native-like. Importantly, the author claimed that L2ers did not transfer from their L1, which is in line with Hendriks (2003), but the contexts where such null pronouns occurred were not specified. Thus, the production of null pronouns may occur in licit contexts, but it is not explicitly reported. Therefore, she finally suggested that L2ers had not completely acquired pragmatic constraints in a native-like manner because L2ers' production of REs differed from natives' production. In order to determine that, however, it is crucial to analyse i) the different factors affecting the choice of REs to reveal the contexts that are problematic for L2ers and ii) different proficiency levels to check the developmental acquisition of REs. All in all, Kang's findings suggested that there was a characterhood and that L2ers showed pragmatic deficits, which are important findings in this dissertation. Crucially, we address her limitations to be able to fully confirm her suggestions.

Crosthwaite (2011) also examined the oral production of upper-beginner L1 Korean – L2 English L2ers and English native speakers using two picture-based tasks. As Hendriks (2003), he did analyse the production of REs in two contexts: i) coreferential reference maintenance (similar to a topic-continuity context) and ii) non-coreferential reference maintenance (similar to a topic-shift context). Results showed that English natives produce NPs and overt pronouns to similar extents, followed by null pronouns in coreferential contexts. In these contexts, L2ers produce mainly NPs, followed by overt pronouns and a low percentage of null pronouns. Regarding non-coreferential contexts, natives produce more felicitous instances of NPs than L2ers. Although two different contexts were considered here, his results resemble Kang's findings with natives and L2ers, as more NPs and overt pronouns were produced by natives and a higher percentage of NPs was produced by L2ers. Null pronouns were also produced here, but the rate of null pronouns was lower than in Kang's study. It is important that null pronouns are reported in these studies, but it is noticed that they are not sufficiently addressed. It is known that null pronouns are actually possible in English (cf. 3.1.2) so, it is crucial to explore whether these null pronouns

would be used in felicitous contexts, as we will do in this dissertation. To sum up, this study found that i) both NPs and overt pronouns are quite frequent in coreferential contexts (our topic-continuity context) in English natives and null pronouns are also used here (but not sufficiently addressed); and ii) L2ers followed the native trend, they used even fuller forms than natives, which indicated that they overproduced REs. This finding was also shown in the production studies above and, thus, it will be carefully considered in this dissertation. The production of REs according to the context is important in this study, as we will show that this is a crucial factor. However, this study presents some limitations: i) null pronouns are not sufficiently addressed and they play an important role; ii) the transfer effect is not mentioned and it has been shown to play a role in the acquisition of REs; iii) other relevant factors were not analysed; and iv) L2ers were not tested across proficiency levels. These limitations are addressed in this dissertation.

**Leclercq & Lennart** (2013) investigated the oral production of intermediate and advanced L1 French – L2 English adult L2ers and a comparable group of English native speakers. They used a film-retell task and analysed REs following the Accessibility Hierarchy (cf. section 3.2.2.3, p. 46). Results showed that English native speakers used high-accessibility markers (with a high percentage of null pronouns: around 20%) to maintain reference (our topic continuity), whereas they used low-accessibility markers to shifting or reintroducing reference (our topic shift). Both intermediate and advanced L2ers produced both low-accessibility and high-accessibility markers to maintain reference and the production of null pronouns was lower in these contexts, which indicated that they were overexplicit (i.e., they produced fuller REs where less explicit REs would be felicitous). Also, they produced both low-accessibility and high-accessibility markers for shifting or reintroducing reference. The production of high-accessibility markers in topic maintenance by English natives is opposite to some studies reviewed above (Crosthwaite, 2011; Kang, 2004), which reported high percentages of NPs and overt pronouns. However, it is also important to consider that each study has different conceptions of the information status factor (if they consider it) and this can lead to different results. Regarding the overproduction of REs, this finding is in line with the studies reviewed above. Therefore, this study showed that English natives produced less explicit REs than previously reported in other studies and also null pronouns were produced. However, we again found that null pronouns are not sufficiently addressed and the contexts where null pronouns occurred were not specified. As for L2ers, this study confirmed previous production studies showing that L2ers were redundant, but the transfer factor was not addressed here. This study showed some informative findings for this

dissertation, but, crucially, the AH does not consider how different factors affect the choice of REs independently (cf. section 3.2.2.3, p. 46), as done in this dissertation.

Similarly, **Ryan** (2015) tested the Accessibility Hierarchy by analysing the oral production of L1 Chinese Mandarin – L2 English L2ers and New Zealand English native speakers. In Ryan's study, several factors were considered: distance, unity, competition and salience. He used a film-retell task (from a Charles Chaplin's clip) and analysed accessibility to characters, which was estimated as the sum of multiple weighted factors. He found that L2ers referred to less characters and used more low-accessibility markers producing a simpler discourse. In high accessibility contexts, natives produce more high-accessibility markers (null and overt pronouns) than L2ers, who also produced them but to a lesser extent being overexplicit. Example (33) illustrates this with an extract where there were some uses of overt pronouns (marked in bold) in coordinate and high accessibility contexts (instead of using null pronouns). Therefore, he revealed that L2ers were overexplicit and used a play-safe strategy as they opted for a simpler discourse. However, the analysis of REs was no clear-cut as the results showed the overall REs, but not in different contexts and when showing different accessibility degrees, REs were not delimited.

- (33) and then  $\emptyset_i$  (Chaplin) reverts . . over to . the woman<sub>j</sub> that we<sub>k</sub> saw initially?, **she<sub>j</sub>** is in town, and a caption came up like ‘alone and hungry’, so it sounds as though **she<sub>j</sub>**’s homeless and um, **she<sub>j</sub>** . . ah a van pulls up to deliver food, and **she<sub>j</sub>** . see- spots it, and **she<sub>j</sub>** goes in and **she<sub>j</sub>** grabs a pi- a loaf of bread,  $\emptyset_j$  runs off, and  $\emptyset_j$  ends up

(Source of example: Ryan, 2015, p. 6 (appendix))

#### 4.1.3 Summary of literature review on experimental and corpus-based studies in L2 English

Table 6 overleaf summarises the findings of the studies reviewed in the two previous subsections. As we can observe in Table 6, the experimental literature shows different findings depending on whether the experiment was offline or online. In particular, offline studies typically report that L2ers accept ungrammatical null pronominal subjects and transfer such null pronouns from their L1, while online studies report native-like attainment of overt pronouns biasing towards subject and object antecedents and a lack of transfer. Regarding corpus-based findings, they typically report that L2ers are overexplicit/redundant (they use fuller REs than required) and a lack of transfer.

	<b>Authors</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Main findings</b>
EXPERIMENTAL DATA	Pladevall & Ballester (2013)	L1 Spanish – L2 English: • Beginner • Intermediate • Advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Accept ungrammatical null pronouns → Transfer</li> <li>○ Native-like behaviour as proficiency increases (no native-like attainment)</li> <li>○ Accept grammatical overt pronouns</li> </ul>
	Prentza (2014)	L1 Greek – L2 English: • Intermediate • Advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Accept and produce ungrammatical null pronouns in the joint-reference condition (and also in the disjoint-reference condition) → Transfer</li> <li>○ Native-like behaviour as proficiency increases (no native-like attainment)</li> </ul>
	Mitkovska & Bužarovska (2018)	L1 Macedonian – L2 English: • A1-B2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Accept and produce ungrammatical null pronouns (acceptance rate is higher than production) → Transfer</li> </ul>
	Contemori and Dussias (2016)	L1 Spanish – L2 English: • Very-advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Topic continuity: overproduction of overt pronouns by L2ers (compared to natives' production)</li> <li>○ Topic shift: production of NPs (by both L2ers and natives)</li> <li>○ No transfer (as no production of ungrammatical null subjects)</li> </ul>
	Cunnings et al. (2017)	L1 Greek – L2 English: • Intermediate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ English PAS-bias</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns bias towards subject and non-subject antecedents (overt pronouns mark both topic continuity and topic shift)</li> <li>○ L2ers = natives → No transfer</li> </ul>
	Contemori and Dussias (2020)	L1 Spanish – L2 English: • Very-advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ English PAS-bias</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns bias towards subject and non-subject antecedents (overt pronouns mark both topic continuity and topic shift)</li> <li>○ L2ers = natives → No transfer</li> <li>○ IH: not confirmed</li> </ul>
	Contemori et al. (2019)	L1 Spanish – L2 English: • Intermediate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Felicitous overt pronoun bias towards subject antecedent when one antecedent is clearly salient</li> <li>○ Optional overt pronouns interpretation when different degrees of saliency are presented</li> <li>○ Native-like attainments depending on the context</li> <li>○ IH: confirmed</li> </ul>
	Santoro (2020)	L1 Chinese – L2 English: • Advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Felicitous overt pronouns bias towards subject antecedents</li> <li>○ Native-like attainment because of the English morpho-syntactic nature</li> </ul>
	Hendriks (2003)	L1 Chinese – L2 English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Coreferential (topic continuity): L2ers: overt &gt; NPs &gt; null Natives: NPs ≈ overt &gt; null</li> <li>○ Non-coreferential (topic shift): NPs &gt; overt (both L2ers and natives)</li> <li>○ No transfer of null pronouns</li> <li>○ Redundant</li> </ul>
	Kang (2004)	L1 Korean – L2 English: • Intermediate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Boy: NPs &gt; overt &gt; null (bot in L2ers and natives, but differences)</li> <li>○ Dog and Frog: NPs</li> <li>○ No transfer</li> </ul>
CORPUS-BASED DATA	Crosthwaite (2011)	L1 Korean – L2 English: • Upper-beginner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Coreferential (topic continuity): L2ers: NPs &gt; overt &gt; null Natives: NPs ≈ overt &gt; null</li> <li>○ Non-coreferential (topic shift): NPs both L2ers and natives</li> </ul>
	Leclercq & Lennart (2013)	L1 French – L2 English: • Intermediate • Advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Reference maintenance (topic continuity): L2ers: high-accessibility and low-accessibility markers Natives: high-accessibility markers</li> <li>○ Reference shift or reintroduction (topic shift): L2ers: high-accessibility and low-accessibility markers Natives: low-accessibility markers</li> <li>○ L2ers are redundant</li> </ul>
	Ryan (2015)	L1 Chinese Mandarin – L2 English: • Intermediate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ High accessibility contexts: high-accessibility markers (L2ers: to a lesser extent than natives)</li> <li>○ L2ers are overexplicit</li> </ul>

Table 6. Summary of L2 English literature.

To sum up, the same findings are not found across all the studies reviewed above, but, importantly, results typically coincide depending on the method, which could imply that we will find differences between the corpus-based studies and the experimental study. Importantly, the sections above pointed out all the limitations in all these studies, which are addressed in this dissertation, and this is why we believe that this dissertation would introduce new insights into the field.

#### 4.1.4 The effect of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) on AR in L2 English

In this subsection, we continue reviewing corpus-based studies, but, as mentioned above, we focus on studies related to immersion programmes (CLIL). The literature on CLIL and the production of REs is scarce and, to the best of our knowledge, there are no experimental studies.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes (i.e., immersion programmes) emerged from a European initiative of raising multilingual societies (Marsh, 2002). These programmes offer the integration of content and language by means of an additional language (L2) in the classroom (Coyle et al., 2010; Muñoz, 2007). Therefore, L2ers are exposed to a **higher amount of input** in the L2 and are simultaneously learning the contents of the required subjects. Importantly, input, which is considered a crucial aspect in language acquisition (cf. 2.2, p. 13), is a key term here. In fact, Muñoz (2007) explains important language acquisition aspects in order to contextualize the rationale of CLIL programmes. She claims that there are four fundamental **aspects in language acquisition**: input, processing of form and meaning, and output. She explains that these aspects are enhanced by implementing CLIL programmes leading to effective language acquisition, while this is not possible in standard language teaching classes. Input is of particular interest for this dissertation because we further investigate the phenomenon in question (i.e., AR) in groups of L2ers that attend CLIL programmes and, thus, have a higher amount of input. The aim is to check whether these programmes are beneficial for the acquisition of AR. In what follows, we firstly put into perspective the implementation of CLIL programmes in Spain in general and Andalusia in particular, and the trends in CLIL research in these contexts. Then, we review some of the CLIL studies that are related to Anaphora Resolution.

The European policies promoting multilingualism were followed in Spain and CLIL programmes were implemented. In fact, these programmes have experienced a rapid growth over the years (Lasagabaster & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010). Importantly, the **implementation of CLIL programmes** is not homogenous in Spain because i) there are several regions with different linguistic

scenarios<sup>29</sup>; ii) not all regions have implemented the programmes likewise; and iii) teacher training differs among regions (Lasagabaster & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010; Martínez Adrián, 2011). In particular, Andalusia, which is the region considered to collect and analyse the data in this dissertation, is a monolingual society and CLIL implementation supposed a great investment with the aim of shifting towards a ‘polyglot mentality’ (Lorenzo, 2010). Méndez García (2014) illustrates the features of CLIL programmes in Andalusia in Figure 12. Among these features, one can notice that the language of instruction in CLIL subjects is not always English and the number of CLIL subjects may vary depending on the schools. Crucially, the quantity and quality of input are affected by these and other variables. Thus, precaution must be taken when considering CLIL findings as results may not be extrapolated to all regions.

<b>Number of disciplines taught through CLIL:</b>	It is customary for schools to teach at least three disciplines.
<b>CLIL groups per grade level:</b>	At least one group is offered.
<b>Languages of the programme:</b>	Spanish – English / French / German
<b>Language use:</b>	Spanish is used in each CLIL subject together with the FL of the programme.
<b>Teaching time allocated to the languages:</b>	Initially, at least 1/3 of each subject is taught in the FL. This percentage may gradually increase.
<b>Teaching model:</b>	Language and content teachers coordinate with language assistants, with whom content teachers co-teach.

Figure 12. Distinctive features of CLIL in Andalusia.

(Source of figure: Méndez García, 2014, p. 24)

In the **Spanish context**, research on CLIL has tried to find out whether CLIL programmes are beneficial for the acquisition of an L2 or L3. CLIL studies have answer this question by focusing on **general proficiency** or **specific language areas**. When it comes to general language competence, studies have shown that CLIL is beneficial for L2ers and those L2ers attending these programmes outperform their non-CLIL counterparts (Martínez Adrián, 2011; Pérez Cañado, 2018; Ruiz de Zarobe & Lasagabaster, 2010), although opposite findings are also shown (Bruton, 2011a, 2011b; Cenoz et al., 2014). In terms of vocabulary, CLIL instruction also seem to be beneficial for L2ers (Jiménez Catalán et al., 2006; Ruiz de Zarobe & Jiménez Catalán, 2009). By contrast, benefits of CLIL instruction are not that clear in specific language areas such as

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<sup>29</sup> There are bilingual and monolingual regions so, English would be an L3 or L2 for L2ers depending on that. Additionally, bilingual regions include 3 languages in their curriculum (Lasagabaster & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010).

morphology, phonetics, or syntax (Gallardo del Puerto et al., 2009; García-Mayo & Villarreal Olaizola, 2011; Martínez Adrián & Gutiérrez Mangado, 2009, 2015a; Villarreal Olaizola & García-Mayo, 2009). Importantly, more research is needed in specific linguistic areas. In particular, AR at the syntax-discourse interface is an overlooked area in CLIL research. There are some studies (Lázaro, 2012; Lázaro & García-Mayo, 2012; Llinares & Whittaker, 2007; Martínez Adrián & Gutiérrez Mangado, 2009, 2015b) investigating the oral production of L2ers, but they analyse general aspects of the narratives produced and not all of them focus on the production of REs. Also, there is a more recent study (Gutiérrez Mangado & Martínez Adrián, 2018) investigating the interfaces, but they do not focus on the syntax-discourse interface. To the best of our knowledge, there is no previous CLIL study approaching Anaphora Resolution as we do. Thus, we now review some of the studies that are related to the phenomenon investigated here in order to justify the novelty of our study.

**Martínez Adrián and Gutiérrez Mangado** (2009) analysed the oral production of two groups of Spanish-Basque bilinguals receiving L3 English through CLIL instruction or standard EFL classes. They used the pictured-based task *Frog, where are you?* (cf. Kang, 2004) and analysed the production of ungrammatical null subjects (among other linguistic phenomena that are not of particular interest for this dissertation) to check whether parameter resetting (cf. 3.2.1.1, p. 42) would take place in L2ers. The results showed that both groups of L2ers produced more ungrammatical null subjects in matrix clauses than embedded clauses. In both types of clauses, the CLIL group produced fewer ungrammatical null subjects than the non-CLIL group, but there were no significant differences between them. Thus, the authors concluded that the higher amount of input received by the CLIL group was not enough to reset the parameter. The production of ungrammatical null subjects is in line with previous L2 English studies (Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Prentza, 2014), but, crucially, this study did not specify the contexts (i.e., topic-continuity or topic-shift contexts) where these null subjects occurred and overlooked the fact that null subjects are possible in topic continuity and coordinate contexts in English (cf. section 3.1.2, p. 32). In fact, a previous study (Kang, 2004) using the same task found production of null subjects that are not necessarily ungrammatical.

In the same vein, **Lázaro** (2012) and **Lázaro and García-Mayo** (2012) investigated the oral production of two groups of Spanish-Basque bilinguals receiving L3 English through CLIL instruction or standard EFL classes at two different times (Time 1 and Time 2). They also employed the pictured-based task *Frog, where are you?* but analysed L2ers' use of overt pronouns only. Lázaro (2012) found that the CLIL group produced more overt pronouns than the non-CLIL group, which, according to the author, seemed to indicate that CLIL L2ers used less NPs

and, thus, showed a higher competence in the acquisition of the pronominal system. Regarding the ‘correctness’ of the overt pronouns produced, results showed that the CLIL group was more correct at time 1 of testing than the non-CLIL group, while the non-CLIL group caught up at time 2 of testing and the percentage of correctness was similar to the CLIL-group. Lázaro and García-Mayo (2012) found the same results, but they added that there was also an increase in the variety of overt pronouns produced: L2ers mostly produced the pronoun *he* at time 1, while they used other overt pronouns at time 2. These studies focused on overt pronouns, while ungrammatical null subjects were not attested (opposite to findings in Martínez Adrián and Gutiérrez Mangado). The high production of overt pronouns could be related to the overproduction of overt pronouns found in other studies (inter alia: Kang, 2004; Leclercq & Lenart, 2013; Ryan, 2015). Importantly, REs were not analysed according to information status (i.e. topic continuity or topic shift) here and it is difficult to determine whether i) L2ers were actually overproducing overt pronouns and ii) L2ers were acquiring the pronominal system.

Shifting the focus to the interfaces, **Gutiérrez-Mangado and Martínez-Adrián** (2018) analysed the oral production of two groups of Spanish-Basque bilinguals receiving L3 English through CLIL instruction or standard EFL classes, but both groups had received almost the same amount of English input. They used the pictured-based task *Frog, where are you?* to investigate whether the type of input (CLIL vs. EFL instruction) affected the acquisition of nominal morphology and article use at the syntax-morphology and syntax-semantics-discourse interfaces respectively. Overall, they found that CLIL instruction did not seem to be beneficial at the syntax-semantics interface, while it was so at the syntax-semantics-discourse interface. However, they did not investigate the syntax-discourse interface. An interesting question is whether CLIL could be beneficial for the syntax-discourse interface, which is investigated in this dissertation.

## 4.2 Anaphora Resolution in L2 Spanish

As in the L2 English literature, the L2 Spanish literature includes experimental and production studies. Early **experimental studies** focused on the acquisition of the Null Subject Parameter and only investigated morphosyntactic aspects to ascertain whether NSP properties were acquired as a cluster (inter alia: Liceras, 1988, 1989; White, 1985, 1986). Later, experimental studies focused on morphosyntactic as well as discursive factors and also the interfaces (for an overview see Lozano, 2021a). The latter studies are of interest for this dissertation and are reviewed in the next section. Section 4.2.2 reviews **corpus-based** in L2 Spanish and a particular section (cf. 4.2.3) is devoted to reviewing experimental and production studies on **the Position**

of Antecedent Strategy (PAS) in L2 Spanish. One study in this dissertation is devoted to the investigation of the PAS, so it is convenient to review the previous literature.

#### 4.2.1 Experimental studies on AR in L2 Spanish

Based on a previous study (Pérez Leroux & Glass, 1997), Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1999) investigated the production and interpretation of null and overt pronouns in beginner, intermediate and advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers plus a control group of Spanish native speakers. They employed two different elicitation tasks to investigate the Overt Pronoun Constraint (OPC) (cf. 3.2.1.1, p. 42) and Contrastive Focus Constraint (CFC) contexts where the use of null or overt pronouns is allowed depending on the context. For the OPC, participants were given a sentence in English (34a,b) and had to translate it to Spanish. They were expected to interpret the bound variable and produce a null pronoun as in (34a), but they were not expected to show a referential interpretation and produce an overt pronoun as in (34b). In the CFC, the alternation of null and overt pronouns is possible depending on the context, as shown in (35a,b). In particular, participants were expected to produce a null pronoun for the object question in (35a) and an overt pronoun for the subject question in (35b). Results showed that all groups produced more null pronouns in OPC contexts like (34a), while there was a low production (by lower levels) of overt pronouns as in (34b). Regarding CFC, results showed that the production of null and overt pronouns in topic (35a) and focus (35b) contexts respectively was more licit as L2ers' proficiency increased. Thus, the authors claimed that syntactic aspects seemed to be acquired earlier than discursive ones. These findings are revealing for this dissertation because we will actually show how pragmatic aspects are harder to be acquired and this can be observed across different types of languages.

- (34) a. Cada estudiante<sub>i</sub> dijo que  $\emptyset_i$  traería algo de comer.

'Each student<sub>i</sub> said that ( $\emptyset_i$ ) would bring something to eat'.

- b. Ningún periodista<sub>i</sub> dijo que \*él<sub>i</sub> era culpable.

'No journalist<sub>i</sub> said that \*he<sub>i</sub> was guilty'.

(Source of examples: Pérez-Leroux & Glass, 1999, p. 247, my indices)

- (35) a. ¿Qué piensa Cookie Monster que hará después de la cena?

Expected answer: Cookie Monster<sub>i</sub> piensa que  $\emptyset_i$  comerá la galleta

'What does Cookie Monster think he will do after dinner? Expected answer: Cookie Monster<sub>i</sub> thinks that ( $\emptyset_i$ ) will eat the cookie'.

b. ¿Quién piensa Cookie Monster que comerá la galleta?

Expected answer: Cookie Monster<sub>i</sub> piensa que él<sub>j</sub> comerá la galleta

'Who does Cookie Monster think that will eat the cookie? Cookie Monster<sub>i</sub> thinks that he<sub>j</sub> will eat the cookie'.

(Source of examples: Pérez-Leroux & Glass, 1999, p. 248, my indices)

**Lozano** (2002) also tested the interpretation of OPC and CFC contexts in advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish and L1 Greek-L3 Spanish plus a control group of Spanish native speakers using an Acceptability Judgment Task (AJT), as shown in (36). In OPC contexts, both groups of L2ers and native speakers showed felicitous interpretations of the ungrammatical overt pronoun and the grammatical null pronoun. Regarding CFC contexts, L2ers and natives interpreted overt pronouns as grammatical and null pronouns as ungrammatical, but the L1 English-L2 Spanish group significantly differed from the Spanish natives, as this L2ers' group showed a higher acceptance rate of ungrammatical null pronouns in this condition. In line with Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1999), the author concluded that the OPC follows universal principles and is acquirable whereas the CFC is language-specific and leads to representational deficits. These findings are also relevant for this dissertation and such representational deficits are actually one of the motivations of the present investigation.

(36) El señor López y la señora García trabajan en la universidad y en editoriales famosas. No obstante,

(a) cada estudiante<sub>i</sub> dice que él<sub>i</sub> tiene poco dinero. -2 -1 0 +1 +2

(b) cada estudiante<sub>i</sub> dice que  $\emptyset_i$  tiene poco dinero. -2 -1 0 +1 +2

'Mr López and Ms García work at the university and at a famous publishers. However, each student says that he<sub>i</sub>/ $\emptyset_i$  has little money'.

(Source of examples: Lozano, 2002, p. 7)

L2ers' knowledge of the OPC is also confirmed by **Rothman** (2009). Using an interpretation task, an AJT and a translation task, he tested the interpretation and production of null/overt pronouns

in OPC contexts (similar to those illustrated in (34) and (36)) and other AR contexts as in (37) in intermediate and very-advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers plus a control group of Spanish native speakers. While the results showed that both groups of L2ers had acquired the syntactic knowledge of subject distribution, only very-advanced L2ers showed native-like knowledge of the pragmatic constraints. In particular, intermediate L2ers showed infelicitous acceptance of null in contrastive focus and overt pronouns in non-contrastive focus showing deficits at the syntax-discourse interface. The results seemed to be opposite to the studies reviewed above because native-like attainment at very-advanced levels seemed to be possible. Importantly, the results should be carefully considered because anaphoric and deictic uses were mixed in the stimuli and in the analyses, but the literature has shown that anaphoric uses, and not deictic uses, are problematic for L2ers (cf. Lozano, 2009). Thus, this could be skewing the results.

- (37) a. Mi novia<sub>i</sub> está fuera del país y nunca Ø<sub>j</sub> hablo con ella<sub>i</sub> porque siempre Ø<sub>i</sub> está ocupada.

'My girlfriend<sub>i</sub> is out of the country and (I<sub>j</sub>) never talk to her<sub>i</sub> because she<sub>i</sub> is always busy'.

- b. Creo que él<sub>i</sub> tiene vergüenza porque él<sub>i</sub> no gana mucho dinero y por eso él<sub>i</sub> no tiene mucho dinero para salir a tomar.

'I think that he<sub>i</sub> is embarrassed because he<sub>i</sub> does not make much money and therefore he<sub>i</sub> does not have much money to go out drinking'.

(Source of examples: Rothman, 2009, p. 959, my indices)

Native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse interface in near-native L1 Farsi-L2 Spanish learners was also found in **Judy** (2015). Using a context-matching felicitousness task and a self-paced reading task, she tested the interpretation and processing of null and overt pronouns in three discourse-constrained contexts (CFC, topic continuity and topic shift). Results showed that L2ers processed null and overt pronouns as native speakers, while L2ers' interpretation of null and overt pronouns differed from natives. In particular, L2ers accepted i) infelicitous null pronouns in topic-shift contexts as in (38b) and ii) redundant overt pronouns in topic-continuity contexts as in (39a). Thus, the author claimed that the Interface Hypothesis was not fully confirmed with the online data as L2ers' processing seemed to be native-like, while the IH proposed that L2ers exhibit deficits at the syntax-discourse interface. Thus, the author suggested that not all contexts are equally problematic. Importantly, some studies in the English literature reviewed above also reported lack of confirmation of the IH and that not all contexts

were equally problematic (Contemori et al., 2019; Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017), which again shows the importance of investigating the phenomenon in discourse, as done in this dissertation. Additionally, the results in this study should be also considered carefully because deictic and anaphoric uses (1<sup>st</sup> vs. 3<sup>rd</sup> person) were mixed in the stimuli and the analyses. The findings in this study are relevant for this dissertation because they showed the acceptance of redundant overt pronouns (as shown in the corpus-based studies that are reviewed below), which is investigated in this dissertation. Additionally, the IH was not confirmed in this study and it will be also tested in the experimental study in this dissertation.

- (38) Mi hija<sub>i</sub> quiere ser autora y Ø<sub>i</sub> no tiene otros intereses. Yo creo que es mejor tener varios intereses y sugiero otras actividades, pero no importa lo que diga yo.

a. Finalmente ella<sub>i</sub> escribe cuentos y Ø<sub>i</sub> pasa todo el día en su cuarto.

b. #Finalmente Ø<sub>i</sub> escribe cuentos y Ø<sub>i</sub> pasa todo el día en su cuarto.

'My daughter<sub>i</sub> wants to be an author and she<sub>i</sub> has no other interests. I think that it is best to have various interests and I suggest other activities, but it doesn't matter what I say.'

In the end, she<sub>i</sub> writes stories and she<sub>i</sub> spends the whole day in her room'.

- (39) Mi cuñada<sub>i</sub> es muy sociable. Ø<sub>i</sub> Tiene muchos amigos y por eso Ø<sub>i</sub> va a muchas cenas a la canasta donde Ø<sub>i</sub> tiene que contribuir con algo.

a. #Así que ella<sub>i</sub> lleva postres y Ø<sub>i</sub> comparte todo con sus amigos.

b. Así que Ø<sub>i</sub> lleva postres y Ø<sub>i</sub> comparte todo con sus amigos.

'My daughter-in-law<sub>i</sub> is very social. She<sub>i</sub> has a lot of friends and for that reason, she<sub>i</sub> goes to a lot of potluck dinners where she<sub>i</sub> has to share something.'

So, Ø/she<sub>i</sub> takes desserts and Ø<sub>i</sub> shares everything with her friends'.

(Source of examples: Judy, 2015, p. 179, my indices)

**Lozano** (2018) also showed a partial confirmation of the Interface Hypothesis in L1 Greek-L2 Spanish. Using an AJT, he tested the interpretation of null and overt pronouns in CFC and topic-continuity contexts across proficiency levels (intermediate, lower-advanced, and upper-

advanced) in sentences like (40). In CFC, L2ers started accepting both felicitous overt pronouns and infelicitous null pronouns at intermediate levels, but they behaved native-like at advanced levels showing native-like attainment (i.e., rejection of infelicitous null pronouns). As for topic-continuity contexts, L2ers accepted redundant overt pronouns as in (40a) across all proficiency levels. The acceptance rate decreased as proficiency increased, but very-advanced L2ers did not show native-like attainment. Therefore, the author claimed that native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse interface was possible, but it would depend on the context. In line with Judy (2015) and other L2 English studies (Contemori et al., 2019; Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017), the IH was rejected here as not all contexts at the syntax-discourse interface are equally problematic. This is a crucial finding in this dissertation because we first investigate the phenomenon in discourse and we will systematically distinguish the different contexts where the REs occur to confirm whether there are different deficits depending on the context.

(40) El profesor Antonio López<sub>i</sub> trabaja todos los días en la Universidad, por eso...

(a) los estudiantes<sub>j</sub> dicen que él<sub>i</sub> trabaja mucho. -2 -1 0 +1 +2

(b) los estudiantes<sub>j</sub> dicen que Ø<sub>i</sub> trabaja mucho. -2 -1 0 +1 +2

'Professor Antonio Lopez<sub>i</sub> works every day at the University, that is why...'

(a) the students<sub>j</sub> say that he<sub>i</sub> works a lot.

(b) the students<sub>j</sub> say that Ø<sub>i</sub> works a lot.'

(Source of examples: Lozano, 2018, p. 419)

#### 4.2.2 Corpus studies on AR in L2 Spanish

**Montrul and Rodríguez Louro** (2006) analysed the oral production of intermediate, advanced, and near-native L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers plus a control group of Spanish native speakers using the picture-based *Little Red Riding Hood* task. Importantly, this task includes a well-known story and this could influence the production of REs, as mentioned above (cf. 3.1.6, p. 39), and as we will see below. Montrul and Rodríguez Louro (2006) investigated morphosyntactic and discourse-constraint aspects of subject expressions. Considering morphosyntactic aspects, L2ers' production showed that they had reset the parameter and they had acquired the Spanish pronouns, which is in line with previous experimental studies (cf. Pérez-Leroux & Glass, 1999).

By contrast, discourse-constraints were not fully acquired. In particular, L2ers showed production of redundant overt subjects<sup>30</sup> across proficiency levels in topic continuity, although there was a considerable decrease in the production rate as proficiency increased (intermediate: 22.9%; advanced: 7.6%; near-natives: 0.3%). L2ers produced felicitous null pronouns, but they typically occurred (particularly at intermediate levels) in coordinate contexts, where null pronouns are allowed in their L1, as we will see in this dissertation. Importantly, the authors did not address the transfer issue here, as it is done in this dissertation and as it was done in other study reviewed below (cf. Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020). Also, all groups of L2ers produced infelicitous null pronouns in topic shift. Crucially, it is not completely clear whether the production of null pronouns is infelicitous, as pointed out by Liceras et al. (2010). They argued that null pronouns in topic-shift contexts can be produced because they are not necessarily ambiguous. Additionally, they claimed that Montrul and Rodríguez Louro (2006) used a well-known story that could trigger the use of such null pronouns and the antecedent can be recover from the context or due to world knowledge. This is a crucial issue because, as we will see in this dissertation, null pronouns are in fact possible in topic shift. All in all, the results in this study revealed a developmental acquisition of discourse-constraints, but deficits remained even at near-native levels.

**Lozano** (2009b) analysed the written production of lower and upper advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers plus a control group of Spanish native speakers. The data came from CEDEL2 corpus (which is one of the two corpora used in this dissertation: cf. 6.1.1) and he used different retelling tasks in this corpus. Following a linguistically-informed tagset, he analysed subject expressions across the pronominal paradigm and its production according to information status. In topic-continuity contexts, both groups of L2ers produced null pronouns but also redundant overt material (overt pronouns and NPs) showing deficits at the syntax-discourse interface. In topic-shift contexts, both groups of L2ers behaved native-like and produced overt material, but there were also some instances of illicit null pronouns, which is the opposite to native's lack of production of null pronouns. Importantly, all groups produced more NPs than overt pronouns in topic-shift contexts, which is contrary to the belief in the experimental studies (cf. 4.2.1) that a topic shift is only marked via an overt pronoun. The results were in line with Montrul and Rodríguez Louro's study and L2ers overproduced REs (i.e., redundant overt material in topic continuity) and underproduced REs (i.e., production of null pronoun in topic shift when an overt

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<sup>30</sup> Notice that the authors include overt pronouns and NPs in overt subjects and, thus, they do not make a distinction between overt pronouns and NPs. This distinction is essential because the literature has typically overlooked NPs and they have an important role (Lozano, 2016), as we will see in this dissertation.

would be required). Crucially, Lozano also investigated the pronominal paradigm in this study (i.e., 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person) and found that L2ers showed the aforementioned deficits with 3<sup>rd</sup> person only. He argued that 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons carry a deictic use to refer to the speaker and the hearer, while 3<sup>rd</sup> person carries an anaphoric use and it is used to refer to an external referent and not to the speaker or the hearer. So, he concluded that deficits at the syntax-discourse interface are selective in terms of pronominal paradigm. This is why, in this dissertation, we focus on 3<sup>rd</sup> person only.

**Blackwell and Quesada** (2012) analysed the oral production of beginner, intermediate and advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers plus a control group of Spanish native speakers using a *Charles Chaplin* film-retell task. They followed the Givenness Hierarchy (cf. section 3.2.2.4, p. 48) to analyse the production of subject expressions according to seven cognitive statuses. In focus contexts (our topic-continuity context), all groups produced more null pronouns followed by overt pronouns. However, native speakers produced more null than overt pronouns and there were significant differences between natives and each group of L2ers. Thus, L2ers produced some redundant overt pronouns (and a few NPs) as in (41). In the different cognitive statuses related to our topic-shift context, they included different scenarios depending on whether the referent was recoverable or not. In recoverable contexts, as the pronoun *ella* in (42), natives produced mainly null pronouns followed by overt pronouns and NPs. L2ers showed an increasing production of null pronouns as proficiency increases, but there were significant differences between natives and all groups of L2ers. When the referent was not recoverable, all groups produced overt pronouns and NPs. Importantly, natives showed a small percentage of null pronouns in these contexts. The production of null pronouns in topic-shift contexts has been reported in other studies in this section (Lozano, 2009b; Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006) and it will be addressed in this dissertation. In summary, this study revealed that L2ers acquired subject expressions developmentally, but, crucially, they showed overproduction of overt pronouns even at advanced levels, which is a relevant finding for this dissertation. However, their division of REs according to different cognitive statuses leaves an open window for interpretation (as mentioned above in section 3.2.2.4, p. 48), while the division of labour of REs according to information status (i.e., topic continuity and topic shift), as it is done in this dissertation, is clear-cut.

(41) y Charlie Chaplin<sub>i</sub> entró y él<sub>i</sub> se tropezó en un aspersor (G1, P10)

'and Charlie Chaplin<sub>i</sub> entered and he<sub>i</sub> stumbled on a sprinkler.'

(Source of examples: Blackwell & Quesada, 2012, p. 154)

- (42) y cuando el otro hombre<sub>i</sub> regresa a la mujer<sub>j</sub>, él<sub>i</sub> se enoja porque ahora ella<sub>j</sub> es con Charlie<sub>k</sub>.... (G2, P 7)

'and when the other man<sub>i</sub> comes back to the woman<sub>j</sub>, he<sub>i</sub> is angry because she<sub>j</sub> is with Charlie<sub>k</sub>...'

(Source of examples: Blackwell & Quesada, 2012, p. 156)

**Lozano** (2016) analysed the written production of very-advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers plus a control group of Spanish native speakers. He followed the procedure in Lozano (2009b) explained above, but added more factors to the analysis (such as the number of potential antecedents or the pragmatic felicity) and focused on 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject expressions. Focusing on the information status factor (i.e., topic continuity and topic shift), results showed that there was a clear division of labour in the production of REs, which is opposite to the production of REs according to cognitive statuses shown above in Blackwell and Quesada (2012). In topic-continuity contexts, both L2ers and natives produced more null pronouns followed by overt pronouns, although there were significant differences between them, as L2ers showed higher production of overt pronouns. In topic-shift contexts, both groups produced more NPs (as in Lozano, 2009) than overt pronouns and there were no significant differences between L2ers and natives. Importantly, the aforementioned pattern of natives' production of null pronouns in topic-shift contexts was also found here. Regarding the pragmatic felicity, L2ers were less felicitous than natives. In particular, they tended to be more redundant in topic continuity as the redundant pronoun *ella* in (43) shows, but they were also ambiguous in topic shift as the null pronoun in (44) illustrates. As for the number of potential antecedents, the author revealed that this factor influenced the production of REs. In particular, i) redundant overt pronouns in topic continuity were produced when there were two potential antecedents (typically same-gender antecedents); and ii) NPs in topic shift were produced when there were three or more potential antecedents. The author proposed the Pragmatic Principles Violation Hypothesis to account for his results (cf. section 3.3, p. 51) concluding that very-advanced L2ers did not show native-like behaviour and were more redundant than ambiguous. This is a key study for this dissertation because this dissertation was inspired by this systematic and fine-grained analysis of AR followed in this study and, thus, the findings are also relevant for this dissertation.

- (43) Penelope<sub>i</sub> hace un poco de dinero cocinando comida para un equipo de film de 30 personas y, cuando terminan el film, #ella<sub>i</sub> cocina para la fiesta y Ø<sub>i</sub> canta flamenco también. (98\_20\_8\_3\_JEL, learner)

'Penelope<sub>i</sub> earns some money cooking meals to a team of 30 people and, when they finish the film, #she<sub>i</sub> cooks for the party and Ø<sub>i</sub> sings flamenco.'

(Source of example: Lozano, 2016, p. 255)

- (44) Era la madre de Agustina<sub>i</sub> que se murió, y no la madre de Penelope<sub>j</sub>, quien vivía escondida en la casa de la tía<sub>k</sub> cuidándola hasta que #Ø<sub>i/j/k</sub> [expected: la tía<sub>k</sub>] se murió.  
(98\_20\_8\_3\_JEL, learner)

'The mother of Agustina<sub>i</sub> died and not the mother of Penelope<sub>j</sub>, who was hidden in the house of the aunt<sub>k</sub> taking care of her until #Ø<sub>i/j/k</sub> [expected: the aunt<sub>k</sub>] died.'

(Source of example: Lozano, 2016, p. 256)

Experimental and corpus studies have shown that topic-continuity contexts seem to be particularly problematic for L2ers. Thus, **Martín-Villena and Lozano** (2020) focused on these contexts only and analysed the written production of beginner, intermediate and advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers plus a control group of Spanish native speakers. The methodology followed is in line with Lozano (2009b, 2016) in terms of corpus and tagging procedure. Results showed that the natives' production of null pronouns followed by overt pronouns in topic-continuity contexts occur in L2ers as proficiency increases. The advanced group showed the native-like pattern, but there were significant differences between them, which corroborates previous findings (Blackwell & Quesada, 2012; Lozano, 2016; Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006). Importantly, beginner L2ers' production of null pronouns seemed to be transferred from their L1 because they only produced them in coordinate sentences, which implies a lack of knowledge of Spanish null pronouns. This is a crucial finding that the literature has not reported and we will see this in a bidirectional way (i.e., L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish) in this dissertation. Additionally, the authors addressed the overlooked fact that NPs are also produced in topic continuity. They claimed that this finding had to do with the gender of potential antecedents. Thus, a NP was employed to mark a topic continuity when two potential antecedents shared the same gender.

#### 4.2.3 Summary of literature review on experimental and corpus-based studies in L2 Spanish

Table 7 overleaf summarizes the findings of the experimental and corpus-based studies reviewed above. As shown in Table 7, experimental studies typically found that the acquisition of syntax was possible, while discursive aspects were not acquired straightforwardly. Some studies (Judy, 2015; Lozano, 2018; Rothman, 2009) disconfirmed the IH and showed that native-like attainment was possible depending on the contexts. Crucially, some of these studies (Judy, 2015; Rothman, 2009) did not consider the anaphoric vs. deictic distinction between 3<sup>rd</sup> vs. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons. Regarding corpus-based studies, Table 7 shows that studies mainly found that L2ers are redundant and overproduce overt pronouns in topic-continuity contexts, which is in line with the corpus-based studies in the L2 English literature reviewed above (cf. 4.1.2).

	<b>Authors</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Main findings</b>
EXPERIMENTAL DATA	Pérez-Leroux & Glass (1999)	L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Beginner • Intermediate • Advanced	○ Production of null pronouns in the OPC (almost no production of overt) → acquisition of syntax ○ Felicitous production of null/overt pronouns in CFC across proficiency level → no acquisition of discursive aspects
	Lozano (2002)	L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Advanced L1 Greek – L3 Spanish: • Advanced	○ Felicitous interpretation of ungrammatical overt pronouns → acquisition of syntax ○ Developmental interpretation of null/overt pronouns alternations in CFC → no acquisition of discursive aspects
	Rothman (2009)	L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Intermediate • Very-advanced	○ Felicitous interpretation of null and overt pronouns in very-advanced → native-like attainment is possible ○ Infelicitous interpretation of null in topic shift and overt in topic continuity in intermediate
	Judy (2015)	L1 Farsi – L2 Spanish: • Very-advanced	○ L2ers' felicitous interpretations of overt pronouns in CFC and topic-shift contexts ○ L2ers' infelicitous interpretations of null pronouns in topic continuity and topic shift and overt pronouns in topic continuity ○ L2ers' processing of REs as natives ○ IH → not fully confirmed
	Lozano (2018)	L1 Greek – L2 Spanish: • Intermediate • Lower-advanced • Upper-advanced	○ L2ers accepted felicitous overt pronouns and infelicitous null pronoun in CFC, but native-like attainment in very advanced ○ L2ers accepted redundant overt pronouns in topic continuity and there is no native-like attainment in very-advanced ○ IH → not fully confirmed
	Montrul & Rodríguez Louro (2006)	L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Intermediate • Advanced • Near-native	○ Acquisition of morphosyntax ○ Redundant production of overt pronouns in topic continuity ○ "Infelicitous" production of null pronouns in topic shift
	Lozano (2009b)	L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Lower-advanced • Upper-advanced	○ Topic continuity: null pronouns but also redundant overt material (overt pronouns and NPs) ○ Topic shift: overt material (but also underproduction: null pronouns when overt pronouns would be required) ○ L2ers show deficits with anaphoric uses (3 <sup>rd</sup> person) only
	Blackwell & Quesada (2012)	L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Beginner • Intermediate • Advanced	○ In focus (our topic continuity): null pronouns > overt pronouns (but significant differences) ○ Recoverable contexts (similar to our topic shift): null > overt > NP (L2ers showed developmental acquisition but significant differences) ○ Not recoverable (similar to our topic shift): overt pronouns and NPs
	Lozano (2016)	L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Very-advanced	○ Topic continuity: null > overt (but significant differences) ○ L2ers are redundant in topic continuity ○ Topic shift: NPs > overt ○ Activated antecedents affect the production of REs
	Martín-Villena & Lozano (2020)	L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Beginner • Intermediate • Advanced	○ Topic continuity: developmental production of null > overt (but significant differences across groups) ○ Transfer of null pronouns

Table 7. Summary of L2 Spanish literature.

#### 4.2.4 The Position of Antecedent Strategy (PAS) in native and L2 Spanish: corpus and experimental studies

Departing from Carminati's study, research on the **PAS** has been extended to other null subject languages apart from Italian, and has been tested in both natives and L2ers, for instance in Spanish (inter alia: Alonso-Ovalle et al., 2002; Bel, Sagarra, Comínguez, & García-Alcaraz, 2016; Filiaci et al., 2014; Jegerski et al., 2011; Keating et al., 2016), Greek (Papadopoulou et al., 2015), or Croatian (Kraš, 2008). As the focus of the present study is native and L2 Spanish, we review previous research on the PAS in this language. Most studies in native and L2 Spanish focused on offline and online experiments, while production studies are scarce (Bel, García-Alcaraz, et al., 2016; Bel & García-Alcaraz, 2015). The structure of this subsection is as follows. Firstly, the Spanish natives' results of experimental (offline and online) studies are discussed and these studies are presented depending on the method. In particular, studies that only included **offline data** are reviewed first and then studies that only included **online data** or both online and offline data. Secondly, the **Spanish natives'** results of production studies are reviewed. Then, the **L2 Spanish L2ers'** results of both experimental and production studies are discussed. Finally, we provide a table summarising<sup>31</sup> the main findings of the different studies.

**Alonso-Ovalle et al.** (2002) investigated the PAS in native Spanish in an offline experiment using inter-sentential<sup>32</sup> anaphora (among other constructions which are not of particular interest for the present dissertation) in sentences like (45). They found that null subject pronouns clearly selected an antecedent in subject position (73.2%), while it was not so clear for overt pronouns, which selected an antecedent in non-subject position half of the time (50.2%). They concluded that the PAS was partially confirmed in native Spanish as the predictions were valid for null pronouns but not for overt pronouns. Importantly, the stimuli presented here included inter-sentential sentences, while the stimuli employed in Carminati's studies included intra-sentential sentences, which could explain why the PAS is not fully confirmed for Spanish in this study. In this dissertation we will actually see that the type of sentence can influence the resolution.

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<sup>31</sup> For simplification purposes, summaries of the findings include the L2ers data together with the natives' data (if the study included L2ers).

<sup>32</sup> Chapter 3 draws a distinction between intra- and inter-sentential anaphora being the latter related to discourse. Importantly, experimental PAS studies investigate intra- and inter-sentential contexts, but it is different from the distinction explained previously (cf. Chapter 3). Here, intra-sentential contexts include subordinate sentences, while inter-sentential contexts include two independent sentences.

(45) Juan<sub>i</sub> pegó a Pedro<sub>j</sub>. Ø<sub>i</sub> /Él<sub>j</sub> está enfadado

'Juan<sub>i</sub> hit Pedro<sub>j</sub>. Ø<sub>i</sub> /He<sub>j</sub> is angry'

(Source of example: Alonso-Ovalle et al., 2002, p. 153)

**Jegerski et al.** (2011) investigated the PAS in native Spanish in intra-sentential anaphora including coordinate and subordinate relations<sup>33</sup> as in (46). Results showed that there was a clear bias for null pronouns towards subject antecedents (range<sup>34</sup>: 71~75%) in both coordinate and subordinate relations, while they selected both subject antecedents (range: 52~53%) and non-subject antecedents for overt pronouns. Therefore, the results were in line with Alonso-Ovalle et al. (2002) and confirmed a clear bias for null pronouns but not for overt pronouns. Importantly, they were not consistent in the sentences employed: they used different connectors, sentences were not lexically matched, there were ambiguous vs. non ambiguous sentences and Proper Names vs. Noun Phrases were employed, as we can see in (46). These methodological issues are important to be considered as they may be playing a role in the results. In this dissertation, all these issues were considered for the design of the experiment.

(46) a. Rebeca<sub>i</sub> vio a su hermana<sub>j</sub> mientras Ø<sub>i</sub> /ella<sub>j</sub> estudiaba en la biblioteca anoche.

'Rebeca<sub>i</sub> saw her sister<sub>j</sub> while Ø<sub>i</sub> /ella<sub>j</sub> studied in the library last night'

b. Daniel<sub>i</sub> ya no ve a Miguel<sub>j</sub> desde que Ø<sub>i</sub> /él<sub>j</sub> se casó.

'Daniel<sub>i</sub> does not meet Miguel<sub>j</sub> since Ø<sub>i</sub> /he<sub>j</sub> got married'

(Source of examples: Jegerski et al., 2011, p. 507)

In a similar study, **Keating et al.** (2011) found the same results. They found that null pronouns selected an antecedent in subject position (73.68%), while the preference was not so strong for overt pronouns, which selected both subject and non-subject antecedents (53.8%). However, the same methodological issues mentioned in Jegerski et al. (2011) are found in this study and the reliability of the results is doubtful.

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<sup>33</sup> Note that coordinate and subordinate relations are not the same as coordinate or subordinate sentences. These terms are rather related to the Segmented Discourse Representation Theory that proposes that coordinate and subordinate relations shape the discourse hierarchy (Asher, 1993; Asher & Vieu, 2005).

<sup>34</sup> Note that PAS biases were tested both in coordinate and subordinate relations. So, range refers to the results obtained for subject or non-subject antecedents in both relations.

**Clements and Domínguez** (2017) investigated the PAS in intra-sentential anaphora (main-subordinate order) in sentences like (47) using a Picture Verification Task. In line with previous studies, they found that null pronouns showed a clear bias towards subject antecedents (77.4%), while there was no strong preference of overt pronouns towards non-subject antecedents (53.9%).

(47) La mujer<sub>i</sub> empuja a la niña<sub>j</sub> en el columpio mientras ella<sub>i/j</sub> se come un helado

'The women<sub>i</sub> pushes the girl<sub>j</sub> on the swing while she<sub>i/j</sub> eats an ice-cream'

(Source of example: Clements & Domínguez, 2017, p. 43)

Turning to online experiments, **Gelormini-Lezama & Almor** (2011) investigated inter-sentential anaphora in Spanish natives using a self-paced reading task (SPRT). Although this study was not directly motivated by the PAS, they used sentences that followed a PAS structure as in (48). This study differed from the original proposal of the PAS as it included Repeated Names (RNs) (i.e., *María, Juan*) and the sentences were not ambiguous. Nevertheless, these sentences included two antecedents (in subject and non-subject position) and then the anaphor so that the results informed about the PAS. Results showed that null pronouns were read faster (1812 ms) when they biased towards subject antecedents as in (48a), while RNs and overt pronouns were read faster (2055 ms; 2157 ms) when they biased towards non-subject antecedents as in (48b). Importantly, RNs were read faster than overt pronouns (although not statistically significant), which may indicate that RNs play a role in this type of structures. This finding was shown in corpus-based studies on AR in Spanish (Lozano, 2016) and, in this dissertation, it will be also shown that NPs play a role in the PAS. Therefore, the results in this study suggested that there could be a division of labour in Spanish, as proposed by Carminati in Italian, but NPs should be also considered, as we will see in this dissertation.

(48) a. Juan<sub>i</sub> se encontró con María<sub>j</sub>. Juan<sub>i</sub>/Él<sub>i</sub>/Ø<sub>i</sub> la vio triste.

'John<sub>i</sub> found Mary<sub>j</sub>, John<sub>i</sub>/He<sub>i</sub>/Ø<sub>i</sub> found her sad'

b. María<sub>j</sub> se encontró con Juan<sub>i</sub>. Juan<sub>i</sub>/Él<sub>i</sub>/Ø<sub>i</sub> la vio triste.

'Mary<sub>j</sub> found John<sub>i</sub>, John<sub>i</sub>/He<sub>i</sub>/Ø<sub>i</sub> found her sad'

(Source of examples: Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011, p. 444)

**Keating et al.** (2016) also confirmed the validity of the PAS in Mexican Spanish using a SPRT. In this study, they used ambiguous intra-sentential anaphora (subordinate-main order) shown in (49) as in Carminati's study. They found faster RT when null pronouns biased towards subject antecedents (2186 ms) and slower RT when they biased towards non-subject antecedents (2447 ms). By contrast, overt pronouns were read faster when they biased towards non-subject antecedents (2456 ms) and slower RT when they biased towards subject antecedents (2605 ms). Therefore, they fully confirmed the PAS. Additionally, the sentences in the SPRT were followed by wh- comprehension questions to check preferences of the PAS. The comprehension questions showed that the PAS was not fully confirmed: null pronouns exhibited the same behaviour as in the online task (i.e., high accuracy rates when null biased towards subject antecedents), while it was not the case for overt pronouns because there were higher accuracy rates when the overt pronoun biased towards subject antecedents.

- (49) a. Cuando el actor<sub>i</sub> vio al soldado<sub>j</sub>, Ø<sub>i</sub> actuaba en una nueva obra teatral.

'When the actor<sub>i</sub> saw the soldier<sub>j</sub>, Ø<sub>i</sub> performed in a new play'

- b. Cuando el actor<sub>i</sub> vio al soldado<sub>j</sub>, él<sub>j</sub> actuaba en una nueva obra teatral.

'When the actor<sub>i</sub> saw the soldier<sub>j</sub>, he<sub>j</sub> performed in a new play'

(Source of examples: Keating et al., 2016, p. appendix)

Contrary to the full confirmation of the PAS found in online processing in Gelormini-Lezama & Almor (2011) and Keating et al. (2016), other online studies (Chamorro et al., 2015; Filiaci, 2010; Filiaci et al., 2014) found a partial confirmation of the PAS, as in the offline studies reviewed above (Alonso-Ovalle et al., 2002; Clements & Domínguez, 2017; Jegerski et al., 2011; Keating et al., 2011) or in the comprehension accuracy in Keating et al. (2016). Importantly, Gelormini-Lezama & Almor (2011) and Keating et al. (2016) used different varieties of Spanish (Argentinian and Mexican) and this could be influencing the results.

Filiaci (2010) used the same online experiment as Carminati in her first experiment (cf. (16) above) and adapted it into Spanish. The PAS was not fully confirmed for Spanish as null pronouns showed a clear preference for subject antecedents exhibiting shorter RT (1998.32 ms compared to 2319.09 ms for non-subject antecedent), while overt pronouns did not show a clear preference for non-subject antecedents exhibiting similar RT for both subject (2507.60 ms) and non-subject antecedents (2389.32 ms). The results were confirmed in the accuracy of the

comprehension questions as there was a statistically significant difference between null pronouns selecting subject antecedents (84%) and non-subject antecedents (67%), while there were no differences for overt pronouns selecting subject antecedents (88%) and non-subject antecedents (73%). She provided possible explanations for the results claiming that the difference in the antecedents' position (non-subjects are closer to subjects in Spanish) or the differences between Spanish and Italian regarding overt pronouns (weak vs. strong pronouns) could be influencing the preferences. Importantly, these results suggest that overt pronouns are more flexible in Spanish than in other null-subject languages because overt pronouns selected both subject and non-subject antecedents. If we consider the idea that syntactic configuration is related to information status (cf. 3.1), these results are in line with the experimental and production studies reviewed in the two previous subsections because overt pronouns are accepted and also produced in topic continuity in Spanish.

The PAS was neither confirmed in **Filiaci et al.** (2014), which again used Carminati's materials and tested them in two SPRTs. Even though they included different order of presentation in the materials to check possible influences (i.e., they presented the stimuli clause-by-clause and phrase-by-phrase), results were in line with Filiaci (2010) and there was a clear bias for null subject pronouns towards subject antecedents but not for overt pronouns both in online processing and the accuracy of the comprehension questions. Importantly, the type of connector varied across the two experiments, which could be skewing the results.

**Chamorro et al.** (2015) investigated the PAS using an offline (acceptability judgement task) and an online (eye-tracking) experiment in sentences like (50). They found higher rates of acceptance when overt pronouns biased towards non-subject antecedents (3.60) and lower rates when overt pronouns bias towards subject antecedents (3.26). Surprisingly, there were no differences for null pronouns biasing towards subject (3.72) or non-subject antecedents (3.61), which is opposite to what the literature above reported. Crucially, all these acceptance rates were quite similar, which is quite rare, because it seems as if the participants were not making distinctions among the different conditions. The results were confirmed in the eye-tracking data as there were differences in the overt pronoun condition (showing longer RTs when biasing towards subject antecedents) but no differences for the null pronoun condition. Again, the PAS was not fully confirmed here but, surprisingly, the overt pronoun clearly biased towards non-subject antecedents, while the null pronoun biased towards subject and non-subject antecedents. However, the antecedents employed (singular vs. plural) in this experiment and the order of presentation differed from previous studies, which could explain the difference in the results.

(50) La madre<sub>i</sub> saludó a las chicas<sub>j</sub> cuando ella<sub>i</sub>/ Ø<sub>i</sub> cruzaba la calle.

'The mother<sub>i</sub> greeted the girls<sub>j</sub> when she<sub>i</sub>/Ø<sub>i</sub> crossed a street with a lot of traffic'

Las madres<sub>i</sub> saludaron a la chica<sub>j</sub> cuando ella<sub>i</sub>/ Ø<sub>i</sub> cruzaba la calle.

'The mothers<sub>i</sub> greeted the girl<sub>j</sub> when she<sub>i</sub>/Ø<sub>i</sub> crossed a street with a lot of traffic'

(Source of examples: Chamorro et al., 2015, p. 6)

**Bel et al.** (2016) also employed an SPRT plus comprehension questions to investigate the PAS in intra-sentential sentences following main-subordinate order as in (51). Results on the SPRT showed that overt pronouns showed a clear bias towards non-subject antecedents, while there was no clear bias for null pronouns. Curiously, results were in line with Chamorro et al (2016), which used similar sentence presentation, and these two studies are opposite to previous findings. Importantly, Bel et al. (2016) found clearer results depending on the region analysed. In particular, null pronouns clearly biased towards subject antecedents (as they were read faster) at the object region but not at the prepositional phrase (PP) region, while overt pronouns clearly biased towards non-subject antecedents at the PP region but not at the object region. The results are controversial as there was variation depending on the analysis. Crucially, if we look at example (51), the RE is resolved in *the violin* because it is associated with *the musician*. It could be the case that some time is needed to make this association (*violin* and *musician*) and this is why the resolution occurred at different regions, which suggests that this type of stimuli is not appropriate to test the PAS because confounding variables are added. Regarding the results on the comprehension question, they showed that there was a clear division of labour as null pronouns biased towards subject antecedents and overt pronouns towards non-subject antecedents. As mentioned above, the sentences employed were not easily processed due to the nature of the antecedents and the fact that the resolution came after the anaphor. Thus, this could be affecting the results.

(51) El músico<sub>i</sub> saluda al bombero<sub>j</sub> mientras Ø<sub>i</sub> lleva un violín en la mochila.

'The musician<sub>i</sub> greets the fireman<sub>j</sub> as Ø<sub>i</sub> carries a violin in his backpack'

(Source of example: Bel, Sagarra, Comínguez, & García-Alcaraz, 2016, p. 145)

Clearly, the experimental evidence on the PAS in Spanish is inconclusive. Some studies partially confirmed the PAS either for null subject pronouns that biased towards subject antecedents

(Alonso-Ovalle et al., 2002; Clements & Domínguez, 2017; Filiaci, 2010; Filiaci et al., 2014; Jegerski et al., 2011; Keating et al., 2011) or for overt pronouns that biased towards non-subject antecedents (Bel, Sagarra, Comínguez, & García-Alcaraz, 2016; Chamorro et al., 2015), while few studies fully confirmed it (Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011; Keating et al., 2016). Crucially, the studies reviewed above were **not consistent** in the stimuli presented: **type of sentence** (inter-sentential vs. intra-sentential); **order of presentation** in intra-sentential sentences (main-subordinate vs. subordinate-main); **number of antecedents** (singular vs. plural); **nature of antecedents** (common vs. proper name); **sentence ambiguity** and **resolution** (ambiguous vs. non-ambiguous). These are important factors to take into account as they have an influence in the processing of REs and may also have an effect in the results. Thus, the motivation of the PAS study in this dissertation (cf. 7.3, p. 186) is to investigate the phenomenon in written production to have a contextualized and complete picture of the phenomenon. Our corpus-based approach takes into account all these factors to enable us to analyse REs considering each factor independently. Additionally, all the above-mentioned limitations were helpful to design the experimental stimuli of the experimental study in this dissertation.

Evidence on the PAS in production is scarce, so it is difficult to get a clear picture of the PAS in production. **Bel et al.** (2016) analysed oral and written production of Spanish natives to test the PAS. They coded the morphosyntactic form of the REs (Determiner Phrase (DP), Overt Subject Pronoun (OP) and Null Subject Pronoun (NP)) and the syntactic function of the antecedent (Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Other, or No Antecedent). They found that Spanish natives produced null pronouns that referred to subject antecedents most of the time (77.27%), while they produced overt pronouns that biased towards subject (42.86%) and non-subject antecedents (57.14%) almost to the same extent. Therefore, this study was in line with some experimental studies reviewed above and the PAS was confirmed for null pronouns but not for overt pronouns. Importantly, this study included singular and plural REs<sup>35</sup>, additional anaphoric REs apart from null and overt pronouns are not considered for studying the PAS, and additional factors (such as the type of sentence or the order of presentation) are not considered. All these aspects are taken into account in Study 3 (the corpus-based study on the PAS) in this dissertation.

The PAS has also been studied in **L2 Spanish L2ers** and the L2 Spanish literature is reviewed now. Some of the studies reviewed above included L2ers (with different L1) in the analysis (cf. Bel, García-Alcaraz, et al., 2016; Bel, Sagarra, Comínguez, & García-Alcaraz, 2016; Clements &

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<sup>35</sup> Note that it has been shown that 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular anaphors are problematic for the phenomenon (Lozano, 2009b, 2016).

Domínguez, 2017; Jegerski et al., 2011; Keating et al., 2011). Overall, L2ers typically follow the native pattern but they do not behave like them showing thus deficits at the syntax-discourse interface, as postulated by the Interface Hypothesis (Sorace, 2011).

**Jegersky et al.** (2011) investigated the PAS in intermediate and advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers following the method mentioned above. They found that intermediate L2ers did not follow the PAS and in fact they showed transfer effects from their L1. Advanced L2ers started showing native-like PAS preferences but only for null pronouns in coordinate relations (while natives showed clear preference of null towards subject antecedents in both coordinate and subordinate relations). This study showed the development of L2ers from intermediate to advanced levels but they still differed from natives showing difficulties at the syntax-discourse interface.

Similarly, **Keating et al.** (2011) found that advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers showed a native-like trend but their comprehension was significantly different from natives. In particular, advanced L2ers selected a null pronoun that biased towards a subject antecedent (60.15%) but they also selected an overt pronoun (39.85%). This was approximate to natives' results but the difference between null and overt pronouns was not significant. As for the non-subject antecedent, L2ers selected both null (45.8%) and overt (54.2%) pronouns biasing towards non-subject antecedents almost to the same extent.

By contrast, **Clements & Domínguez** (2017) found that advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers showed native PAS tendency in their Picture Verification Task. L2ers showed clear tendency of null pronouns towards subject antecedents (67.5%), while there was no clear preference for overt pronouns biasing towards non-subject antecedents (62.5%).

**Bel et al.** (2016) also tested intermediate, upper intermediate and advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish and L1 Moroccan Arabic – L2 Spanish L2ers in their SPRT (mentioned above). Overall, L1 Moroccan Arabic – L2 Spanish L2ers were more native-like than L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers so the authors showed that there was a positive transfer from their L1 Arabic. In particular, the RTs showed that all Arabic L2ers processed null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents faster than overt pronouns (like natives and even faster than them), while intermediate English L2ers did not show such parsing strategy. Advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers also processed null pronouns faster so there was a development across proficiency levels. Regarding the comprehension question, Arabic L2ers clearly followed Spanish speakers' preferences, but it did not turn out to be the case for English L2ers as they showed a preference for overt pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents and therefore there was a negative transfer from their L1.

**Bel et al.** (2016) investigated the oral and written production of Moroccan Arabic-Spanish bilinguals. They found that bilinguals produced null pronominal subjects that clearly biased towards subject antecedents (70.19%), while overt pronouns biased towards subject (64.29%) and non-subject antecedents (35.71%). They produced more overt pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents, which indicated that bilinguals were overproducing overt pronouns.

To conclude this section, Table 8 overleaf **summarises** the **main findings** of the PAS studies reviewed above. As we can observe in Table 8, **offline** studies typically showed that null pronouns clearly biased towards subject antecedents, while there was no clear bias for overt pronouns. Regarding **online** studies, only two studies (Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011; Keating et al., 2016) confirmed the PAS as proposed by Carminati (2002). The other online studies found i) the same biases as the offline experiments (i.e., clear bias for null pronouns and no clear bias for overt pronouns); or ii) the opposite biases (i.e., no clear bias for null pronouns and clear bias for overt pronouns). As for **production** studies, the literature is scarce and the results of the production study indicated that there was a clear bias for null pronouns, but not for overt pronouns. The literature reviewed in this subsection indicates that the Spanish PAS bias is not clear. Importantly, the limitations of these studies (i.e., type of sentence, order of presentation of intra-sentential sentences, number of antecedents, nature of antecedents, and sentence ambiguity) were addressed above. This is probably one of the reasons that could explain that the literature does not show a clear PAS bias. Crucially, many of these experimental studies indicated that overt pronouns are more flexible, so it could be the case that the PAS bias as proposed by Carminati cannot be found due to such flexibility. However, it is essential to mention that the experimental literature did not consider NPs (except for Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011). The Spanish literature has shown that NPs play a role in Spanish and this should be also investigated in the PAS. This dissertation, thus, investigates the PAS in discourse (i.e., natural production) to account for the different factors that could play a role in the PAS.

	AUTHORS	SAMPLE	MAIN FINDINGS
OFFLINE EXPERIMENTAL	Alonso-Ovalle et al. (2002)	Spanish natives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> and <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> </ul>
	Jegerski et al. (2011)	Spanish natives L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Intermediate • Advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> and <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Intermediate L2ers do not behave as natives</li> <li>○ Advanced L2ers start showing natives' PAS bias (but differences)</li> </ul>
	Keating et al. (2011)	Spanish natives L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> and <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Advanced L2ers did not show native-like PAS bias</li> </ul>
	Clements and Domínguez (2017)	Spanish natives L1 English – L2 Spanish: • Advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> and <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Advanced L2ers showed native-like PAS bias</li> </ul>
ONLINE EXPERIMENTAL	Gelormini-Lezama & Almor (2011)	Spanish natives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns and NPs biased towards <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> </ul>
	Keating et al. (2016)	Spanish natives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Comprehension question: no confirmation (as in offline experiments)</li> </ul>
	Filiaci (2010)	Spanish natives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> and <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Comprehension question: same results as in the online data</li> </ul>
	Filiaci et al. (2014)	Spanish natives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> and <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Comprehension question: same results as in the online data</li> </ul>
PRODUCTION	Chamorro et al (2015)	Spanish natives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> and <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> </ul>
	Bel et al. (2016)	Spanish natives L1 English – L2 Spanish: L1 Arabic – L2 Spanish: • Intermediate • Upper-intermediate • Advanced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> and <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Comprehension question: full confirmation of the PAS</li> <li>○ L1 Arabic – L2 Spanish showed PAS bias</li> <li>○ L1 English – L2 Spanish did not show PAS bias</li> </ul>
	Bel et al. (2016)	Spanish natives Arabic – Spanish bilinguals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Null pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Overt pronouns biased towards <b>subject</b> and <b>non-subject</b> antecedents</li> <li>○ Bilinguals showed same PAS bias as natives</li> </ul>

Table 8. Summary of Spanish PAS literature.

## 4.3 Chapter summary

This chapter reviewed the AR literature in adult English natives, L2 English L2ers, Spanish natives, and L2 Spanish L2ers. The first section (cf. 4.1) focused on the literature review in English. We first reviewed experimental studies (cf. 4.1.1) and secondly reviewed corpus-based studies (cf. 4.1.2). Then, we presented a table summarizing all the findings in these two previous subsections (cf. 4.1.3). In addition, subsection 4.1.4 reviewed CLIL programmes and some relevant CLIL studies related (to some extent) to AR. Overall, this first section revealed that results on AR are contradictory depending on the method. Experimental studies typically show that L2 English L2ers transfer null pronouns and accept ungrammatical null pronouns, while corpus-based studies show that L2ers do not transfer, but are redundant instead.

The second section (cf. 4.2) focused on the literature review in L2 Spanish. Firstly, we reviewed experimental studies (cf. 4.2.1) and then reviewed corpus-based studies (cf. 4.2.2). The next subsection (cf. 4.2.3) provided a summary of both experimental and corpus-based studies in Spanish. The L2 Spanish literature overall shows that L2ers show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface, but not all contexts are equally problematic (e.g., topic-continuity contexts are more problematic than topic-shift contexts). Also, the L2 Spanish literature shows that the acquisition of pragmatic constraints is more problematic than syntactic constraints. Importantly, the results in L2 Spanish studies tend to be similar regardless of the method employed, unlike the contradictory results in the L2 English literature. Finally, the last subsection (cf. 4.2.4) focused on the literature review of PAS studies. This section showed that the PAS biases vary across the different studies and, thus, the PAS is not fully confirmed in Spanish natives.

After reviewing the theoretical approaches to AR in Chapter 3 and studies on AR in English and Spanish in Chapter 4, we move to the general research questions in this dissertation. As we mentioned above, this dissertation includes several independent studies. So, Chapter 5 includes the general research questions of this dissertation and each independent study in Chapter 7 will include specific research questions.



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# Chapter 5. General Research Questions

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This chapter presents the general research questions of this dissertation, which will be discussed in the general discussion in Chapter 8.

## 5.1 RQ1. Factors that constraint AR

Some of the factors that could influence the production of REs were explained in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1, p. 30). In Chapter 4, production studies on AR were reviewed and some of the factors explained in Chapter 3 were found in such production studies (*inter alia*: Kang, 2004; Lozano, 2016; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020). Additionally, in Chapter 3, we argued that some of the above-reviewed factors (cf. 3.1, p. 30), as the information status or the number of activated antecedents, have been traditionally accounted for by different cognitive approaches (cf. 3.2.2, p. 44). Importantly, these factors can affect both native speakers and L2ers, but it is to be determined whether these factors affect natives and L2ers equally. The literature has pointed out that not all the phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface are equally problematic (*inter alia*: Contemori et al., 2019; Lozano, 2016; White, 2011b). For instance, some of the studies reviewed above showed that native-like attainment was possible by L2 English L2ers (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017; Santoro, 2020), but another study showed that such attainment depended on the context (Contemori et al., 2019). Considering this, we propose the following research questions and hypotheses.

### RQ1a: What are the factors that constrain the production of REs?

**H1a:** We expect that multiple factors will constrain the production of REs. In particular, all the factors reviewed in Chapter 3 above (cf. 3.1, p. 30) will, although to different extents, constrain the production of REs. Importantly, for each factor, a specific hypothesis will be addressed in each independent corpus-based study in Chapter 7 (cf. 7.1.2, p. 141; 7.2.2, p. 166; 7.3.2, p. 186; 7.4.2, p. 213).

### RQ1b: Is the production of REs by L2ers equally problematic across factors?

**H1b:** We expect to find that i) there are differences in the production of REs depending on the context (and thus, the factor); and ii) not all the factors will be equally problematic for L2ers. They will show native-like attainment in some factors, but not in others. As in H1a, for each

factor, a specific hypothesis related to L2ers' production will be addressed in each independent corpus-based study in Chapter 7 (cf. 7.1.2, p. 141; 7.2.2, p. 166; 7.3.2, p. 186; 7.4.2, p. 213).

### RQ1c: Is the processing of REs affected by the factors considered?

**H1c:** The literature section (cf. Chapter 4) showed that the processing of REs was different depending on the method and stimuli presented. Thus, we expect that the processing of REs will be affected depending on the factor that we will manipulate. In particular, we will focus on topic continuity and coordinate contexts and will consider two factors: type of REs (null vs. overt vs. NP) and number of activated antecedents (1 antecedent vs. 2 antecedents). We expect that the Reaction Times (RTs) will be affected by these factors. Importantly, research questions in Study 5 (cf. 7.5.2, p. 269) will further develop the hypotheses for this research question.

## 5.2 RQ2. Acquisition of REs

As we explained in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.1, p. 30), the alternation of null pronouns differs depending on the language. In particular, the use of null pronouns is restricted to a particular context in English, while null pronouns can be used in many different contexts in Spanish. Importantly, in English, the use of null pronouns in other contexts apart from topic continuity and coordinate contexts would imply a grammatical error, while, in Spanish, the use of overt pronouns when null pronouns are expected would not imply a grammatical error, but rather a pragmatic error. The literature review in Chapter 4 showed that L2ers typically acquire REs developmentally (inter alia: Lozano, 2002; Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014), but they tend to show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface even at very-advanced levels and native-like attainment is not always possible (inter alia: Lozano, 2016, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014). However, some studies showed that native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse is possible in particular contexts (inter alia: Contemori et al., 2019; Judy, 2015; Rothman, 2009). Regarding the issue of transfer, which has been traditionally addressed in the field of SLA (cf. 2.2, p. 13), there is evidence of transfer in L2 English and L2 Spanish studies (Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020; Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014), but a lack of transfer is also found in L2 English (inter alia: Contemori & Dussias, 2016; Cummings et al., 2017; Hendriks, 2003; Kang, 2004). Crucially, there is, to the best of our knowledge, no previous studies investigating the acquisition of AR in two typologically different languages in a mirror-image way (L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish) to check potential differences in L2ers' acquisition. This led us to the following research questions and hypotheses.

**RQ2a: How does the acquisition of REs take place in L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers? Does the language pair influence the acquisition?**

**H2a:** L2ers are expected to acquire the use of REs developmentally. Differences between L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers are expected because these two languages are different in terms of allowance of REs at the syntax-discourse interface. Thus, we expect that the language pair will make a difference in the acquisition of REs. In Study 1 and 2, we will make specific predictions about L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers' acquisition of REs, while we will do so for L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers in Study 3. Depending on our results in Study 1-3, we will make precise predictions on the acquisition of REs in L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers in Study 4 and 5.

**RQ2b: Do these L2ers transfer from their L1s?**

**H2b:** Following the production studies in L2 English and L2 Spanish reviewed above in Chapter 4 (*inter alia*: Hendriks, 2003; Kang, 2004; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020), we expect that L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers will not transfer null pronouns from their L1 and will restrict their use to topic continuity and coordinate contexts, while L1 English – L2 Spanish will transfer null pronouns from their L1 and will produce them mainly in topic continuity and coordinate contexts. Regarding the processing of null pronouns, we will focus on very-advanced L2ers only and transfer effects are not expected to occur in these L2ers. These hypotheses will be specifically address in independent study in Chapter 7 (cf. 7.1.2, p. 141; 7.2.2, p. 166; 7.3.2, p. 186; 7.4.2, p. 213; 7.5.2, p. 269).

### 5.3 RQ3. The IH and the PPVH

The IH (cf. 2.3, p. 14) proposed that native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse interface is not possible because L2ers find it difficult to integrate syntactic and discursive properties of the language in real time. Although the IH was proposed for online processing, there is evidence in the L2 English and L2 Spanish literature that native-like attainment is possible, but it is highly dependent on the contexts as not all contexts are equally problematic (*inter alia*: Contemori et al., 2019; Judy, 2015; Lozano, 2018). Additionally, it is observed that difficulties seem to vary depending on the language pair. These observations led us to choose the IH as one of the theoretical models in this dissertation and address RQ3a.

Regarding the PPVH (cf. 3.3, p. 51), it departs from the IH, but goes beyond it by including additional factors and neo-Gricean principles. The PPVH proposed two possible types of pragmatic violations produced by Spanish L2ers: the Informativeness/Economy Principle and the

Manner/Clarity Principle. According to the PPVH, the former is more common among Spanish L2ers (because they are redundant) and also natives than the latter. Additionally, these violations were observed with comprehension data in L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels (Lozano, 2018). These pragmatic principles perfectly account for L2ers' redundant strategy that has been observed in numerous studies on AR (cf. Chapter 4 for an overview). Importantly, the PPVH has not been tested in production across proficiency levels and in other language pairs to determine whether these pragmatic principles can be extrapolated and generalized. For these reasons, we chose the PPVH as the other theoretical model, which led us to RQ3b.

### RQ3a: Is the IH confirmed with production and comprehension data in L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers?

**H3a:** L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers are expected to show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface because their processing and production of REs will differ from natives. Crucially, not all contexts at the syntax-discourse interface are expected to be equally problematic. For instance, topic-continuity contexts are expected to be more difficult for L2ers than topic-shift contexts. Additionally, the degree of native-like attainment is also expected to differ depending on the language pair.

### RQ3b: Is the PPVH confirmed with production and comprehension data across the different groups of L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers?

**H3b:** If these pragmatic violations are universal across languages, they are expected to be found in the production of both L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and across proficiency levels. In particular, the Informativeness/Economy Principle will be more frequently violated than the Manner/Clarity Principle across all groups of L2ers. This would imply that L2ers will produce redundant REs, but not ambiguous REs. Similarly, the violation of the Informativeness/Economy Principle is expected to be found in the processing of REs in the linguistic experiment.

Chapter 5 presented the general research questions and we now move to Chapter 6, which describes the general method followed in this dissertation.

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# Chapter 6. General Research Method

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This chapter explains the research method followed in this dissertation. In particular, two different research methods are followed (cf. 2.42.4, p. 16 for an overview of research methods in SLA). Section 6.1 presents the corpus-based method and section 6.2 the experimental method.

## 6.1 Corpus-based studies

This section deals with the methodology followed in the corpus-based studies (Study 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Chapter 7) in this dissertation. In the following subsections, the two corpora used in the different studies are presented first. Secondly, the participants included in this dissertation are reported. Then, the annotation process and the analyses are described. Finally, the different features included in tagsets are explained in the last subsection. Importantly, this dissertation includes four independent corpus-based studies. Thus, this section includes the general research method followed in all these corpus-based studies, but specific aspects related to the method (like the sample) will be explained in each independent study in the results in Chapter 7.

### 6.1.1 Corpora: CEDEL2 and COREFL

CEDEL2 and COREFL are the corpora used in this dissertation. We now explain the origins, design criteria, and present appearance of both corpora<sup>36</sup>. These sections are more general and give an overview of both corpora to justify why these corpora are suitable for the present dissertation. Later, subsequent sections in the results will include a methodological section to specify the subcorpora included in each corpus-based study.

#### 6.1.1.1 CEDEL2

*Corpus del Español como L2* (CEDEL2) started being collected in 2006 and has undergone two different phases and, in turn, two different versions: version 1 (Lozano, 2009a; Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013) and version 2 (Lozano, accepted). Lozano (accepted) explains that, in the first phase (i.e., version 1), CEDEL2 was collected via ‘dedicated’ online forms, while it was

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<sup>36</sup> Note that the corpora are presented chronologically as both corpora are currently part of the same project ([ANACOR](#)), but the collection process did not start at the same time. CEDEL2 started first and then COREFL started to be collected following CEDEL2’s design criteria.

collected via Google forms<sup>37</sup> in the second phase (i.e., version 2<sup>38</sup>). Importantly, CEDEL2 started as a written corpus, but it currently includes an oral component as well. As for the steps followed in the data collection, the procedure is as follows. Firstly, the instructions appear and participants have to accept the consent form. Secondly, participants answer some questions related to their linguistic background. Then, participants complete the task. Finally, only L2ers complete the proficiency test.

Crucially, Lozano (accepted) argues that CEDEL2 was created following a thorough design criteria based on Sinclair's principles (cf. Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013 for further details) mentioned above (cf. 2.4.2, p. 19). Importantly, the key variables reviewed in Chapter 2 (i.e., representativeness, naturalness, mode, task type, language, or annotation, amongst others) were considered for the design of CEDEL2 (cf. 2.4.2.1, p. 20 for an overview). As a result of such design criteria, he explains the features that make CEDEL2 an ecologically valid corpus to investigate L2ers' production (Lozano, accepted, pp. 5–10):

- i) **Constant design.** CEDEL2 contains several subcorpora and the design is kept constant across subcorpora. The criteria of contrastive interlanguage analysis (CIA) are followed here (cf. Granger, 2015 for an updated overview of CIA). This makes it possible to make comparisons across subcorpora in order to meet different research purposes. Importantly, this dissertation uses Spanish natives and L1 English- L2 Spanish subcorpora and both can be compared as the design is kept constant.
- ii) **L2ers' variables.** Collecting L2ers' variables<sup>39</sup> (i.e., age, sex, L1, parents' L1, self-proficiency level in the L2, etc.) allows researchers to have an overview of the learner background. Additionally, all these variables can be exploited to investigate different phenomena. This dissertation includes specific participants and this is possible thanks to the variables that were registered, as will be specified below (cf. 6.1.2, p. 107).
- iii) **Task.** CEDEL2 includes five relevant task variables: title, type of text (written or oral), amount of time to complete the task, place where the task was completed, and sources employed (if any) to complete the task. It is worth mentioning the title variable. CEDEL2 includes 14 different titles considering the following aspects: i) type of task (i.e., descriptive, narrative or argumentative); ii) replication (i.e., the tasks should be accessible to users who want to do replications); iii) control of the

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<sup>37</sup> This is the webpage with the links for the different google forms: <http://learnercorpora.com/>

<sup>38</sup> CEDEL2 version 2 is already available online at: <http://cedel2.learnercorpora.com/>

<sup>39</sup> See Lozano (Lozano, accepted, p. 6) for an overview of all the variables.

task (i.e., tasks in which a title is given and the participant has to write a text, or tasks in which the participant is given a prompt like pictures and a story must be retold); iv) linguistic forms produced (i.e., the type of verb tenses or pronominal subjects that the task triggers; for instance, a title task like *Talk about your last holidays* will trigger the use of past tense); and v) difficulty of the task (i.e., the corpus includes L2ers with different proficiency levels so there are different tasks accessible to all L2ers). All these aspects make CEDEL2 representative of the language produced by L2ers (cf. Lozano & Mendikotxea, 2013 for a discussion). This dissertation investigates a particular phenomenon (i.e., AR) and having the possibility of choosing the participants according to the task produced was essential in order to investigate the phenomenon in question. As we will see below (cf. 6.1.2, p. 107), the tasks used for the corpus-based studies in this dissertation promoted the use of third person pronominal subjects and tried to make the tasks accessible to a wide range of L2ers.

- iv) **Different L1s.** CEDEL2 includes learners from eleven L1s (cf. Table 9 below), which seems quite relevant to investigate the effect of cross-linguistic influence. In this dissertation, only L2ers with L1 English were investigated, but having other L2ers with different L1s is interesting for future research on the effect of the L1 in the L2.
- v) **Developmental.** As mentioned above, L2ers have to complete a proficiency test. Thus, CEDEL2 includes several proficiency measures, which allows researchers to investigate a particular phenomenon developmentally. As mentioned in section 2.4.2.1 (p. 20) above, CEDEL2 would be considered as a cross-sectional corpus because data is collected at a particular point in time. Importantly, CEDEL2 includes L2ers across proficiency levels, which makes it a quasi-longitudinal corpus that allows developmental research. In fact, this dissertation focuses on the acquisition of Anaphora Resolution, so this feature seems crucial in order to check the development of L2ers.
- vi) **Bidirectionality.** CEDEL2 has a mirror-image corpus of L2English, COREFL, which is the other corpus used in this dissertation. This makes it possible bidirectional comparisons. One of the main aims of this dissertation is to investigate AR in a bidirectional way and the mirror-image corpus was essential to carry out this comparison (i.e., L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish).
- vii) **Bimodal contrasts.** As mentioned above, CEDEL2 started as a written corpus, but it also includes oral data now. This allows researchers to investigate a phenomenon in

a bimodal manner (written vs. corpora). In this dissertation, we focus on written production only.

- viii) **Control groups.** CEDEL2 includes a control group of native speakers of the L2ers' target language (i.e., Spanish). Importantly, it also includes a control group of native speakers with the different L1s of the L2ers. This is crucial as both control groups (L1 and L2) allow researchers to investigate the effects of L1 influence or L2 input. In this dissertation, we used the Spanish natives' control group in order to compare their production with the L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers' production and ascertain how the acquisition of AR takes place in these L2ers. Additionally, we mentioned above that we carried out a bidirectional comparison and also included a control group of English natives. This is also useful to know L2ers' knowledge of AR in their L1 to better understand their acquisition in the L2. The same comparisons would stand for L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers because we use the English natives as a control group, but we can also use the control group of Spanish natives to understand their acquisition of AR.
- ix) **Heterogeneous sample.** All the above-mentioned features make CEDEL2 to be a heterogeneous corpus. It includes many participants with different L1s, ages, backgrounds, etc., which also makes the corpus representative of the population.

The last updated version of CEDEL2 contains a total of 1,105,936 words (Spanish native speakers: 360,986; Spanish L2ers: 744,950) and, thus, a total of 4,399 texts (Spanish native speakers: 1,365; Spanish L2ers: 3,034). Table 9 shows the number of words and documents for the different groups of L2ers according to their L1s. As we can see, the L1 English – L2 Spanish group, which is used in this dissertation, is the most numerous.

L1		
	Words	Documents
<b>Arabic</b>	9,118	74
<b>English</b>	558,731	1,931
<b>Chinese</b>	4,373	22
<b>Dutch</b>	9,069	60
<b>French</b>	8,136	58
<b>German</b>	16,164	82
<b>Greek</b>	64,105	216
<b>Italian</b>	14,426	83
<b>Japanese</b>	23,049	243
<b>Portuguese</b>	21,662	164
<b>Russian</b>	16,117	101

Table 9. Number of words and documents according to L1 of L2ers (CEDEL2).  
(Source of data: <http://cedel2.learnercorpora.com/statistics>).

Table 10 shows the number of words and documents according to the L1 and medium. Here, we can observe that the written medium is more numerous than the oral one, as mentioned above.

L1 and medium		
	Words	Documents
<b>Arabic Written</b>	9,118	74
<b>Chinese Spoken</b>	847	2
<b>Chinese Written</b>	3,526	20
<b>Dutch Written</b>	9,069	60
<b>English Spoken</b>	6,705	25
<b>English Written</b>	552,026	1,906
<b>French Written</b>	8,136	58
<b>German Written</b>	16,164	82
<b>Greek Written</b>	64,105	216
<b>Italian Written</b>	14,426	83
<b>Japanese Written</b>	23,049	243
<b>Portuguese Written</b>	21,662	164
<b>Russian Written</b>	16,117	101

Table 10. Number of words and documents according to L1 and medium (CEDEL2).

(Source of data: <http://cedel2.learnercorpora.com/statistics>).

Also, Table 11 shows the number of words and documents according to the proficiency level. We can see that the lower beginner group is less numerous, but the rest of them are more or less similar. These are some of the variables that give an overview of the corpus, but data of this corpus can be visualized according to other variables (see <http://cedel2.learnercorpora.com/statistics> for further details).

Proficiency level		
	Words	Documents
<b>Lower beginner</b>	10,907	93
<b>Upper beginner</b>	66,561	529
<b>Lower intermediate</b>	103,512	548
<b>Upper intermediate</b>	176,933	679
<b>Lower advanced</b>	234,043	764
<b>Upper advanced</b>	152,994	421

Table 11. Number of words and documents according to proficiency level of L2ers (CEDEL2).

(Source of data: <http://cedel2.learnercorpora.com/statistics>).

All in all, the above-mentioned variables show that the subcorpus included in this dissertation is the most numerous, which allowed us to choose different groups of L2ers for the different studies, as will be shown below<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> Note that each corpus-based study includes a different sample, so the sample of each study will be specified in the method section of each study in Chapter 7.

### 6.1.1.2 COREFL

The Corpus of English as a Foreign Language (COREFL) started as a written corpus in 2012. Lozano, Díaz-Negrillo and Callies (2021) explain that the **first phase** of COREFL started collecting production of L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers at secondary schools. This first data collection process was carried out by MA students during their placements at different secondary schools. Those MA students were attending secondary schools where English was taught as a foreign language (FL) only or where English was the medium of instruction of other subjects<sup>41</sup> and was also taught as a FL. The data was gathered on-site and it consisted of two sessions. In the first session, L2ers completed a learning background and a proficiency test. In the second session, L2ers had to retell a picture-based story, which will be explained later. L2ers completed these tasks manually in class. Thus, they were typed up later and saved in txt files. After this data collection, the data gathering continued with university students and oral data. After this first phase, Lozano, Díaz-Negrillo and Callies (2021) explain that COREFL continued developing as part of the ANACOR project. In this **second phase**, the data collection started being the same as in CEDEL2 (cf. 6.1.1.1) in terms of procedures and design principles, which makes these two corpora comparable. Importantly, data from university students were collected during this second phase.

All the **features** of CEDEL2 explained above (cf. 6.1.1.1) are shared with COREFL, except for features iii and iv. Feature iii was related to the **task**. CEDEL2 includes 14 task titles, while COREFL includes 4 task titles. As for feature iv, the L2ers' **L1**, we saw that CEDEL2 includes multiple L1s, while COREFL includes L1 German, L1 Spanish and L1 French.

The last updated version of COREFL contains a total of 495,383 words (English native speakers: 116,583; English L2ers: 378,800) and, thus, a total of 2,312 texts (English native speakers: 494; English L2ers: 1,818). Table 12 shows the number of words and documents for the different groups of L2ers according to their L1s. As we can see, the L1 Spanish – L2 English group, which is used in this dissertation, is the most numerous.

L1		
	Words	Documents
Spanish	251,292	1,362
French	2,087	7
German	125,421	449

Table 12. Number of words and documents according to L1 of L2ers (COREFL).

(Source of data: <http://corefl.learnercorpora.com/statistics>).

<sup>41</sup> These schools had Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes implemented (cf. 4.1.4 for further details)

Table 13 shows the number of words and documents according to the L1 and medium. Here, we can observe that the written medium is more numerous than the oral one, as mentioned above.

L1 and medium		
	Words	Documents
<b>French Written</b>	2,087	7
<b>German Spoken</b>	55,082	174
<b>German Written</b>	70,339	275
<b>Spanish Spoken</b>	61,904	177
<b>Spanish Written</b>	189,388	1,185

Table 13. Number of words and documents according to L1 and medium (COREFL).

(Source of data: <http://corefl.learnercorpora.com/statistics>).

Also, Table 14 shows the number of words and documents according to the proficiency level. These are some of the variables that give an overview of the corpus, but data of this corpus can be visualize according to other variables (see <http://corefl.learnercorpora.com/statistics> for further details). Overall, COREFL contains less data than CEDEL2, but we can observe in the tables that there is a considerable number of texts per proficiency level, which allowed us to conduct the corpus-based studies below.

Proficiency level		
	Words	Documents
<b>Lower beginner</b>	24,746	234
<b>Upper beginner</b>	43,631	297
<b>Lower intermediate</b>	61,626	318
<b>Upper intermediate</b>	92,441	399
<b>Lower advanced</b>	100,009	379
<b>Upper advanced</b>	56,347	191

Table 14. Number of words and documents according to proficiency level of L2ers (COREFL).

(Source of data: <http://corefl.learnercorpora.com/statistics>).

### 6.1.2 Participants and tasks

This dissertation contains several independent corpus-based studies. Importantly, these studies were carried out chronologically and they reflect the development of both CEDEL2 and COREFL. These two corpora have been enlarged and new tasks have been included, which allowed us to include wider samples and different tasks across the different studies. Thus, each corpus-based study in this dissertation includes a specific sample and a specific task. Table 15 provides an overview of the participants included in each study, which will be further explained in the method section of each particular study in the results (cf. Chapter 7). We mentioned in the previous subsection (cf. 6.1.1.1, p. 101) that certain variables were considered to choose the

participants. In particular, we considered i) the age of all participants<sup>42</sup>; ii) the L1 of the L2ers; iii) the L1 of the L2ers' parents; iv) L2ers' proficiency level in the test and their self-reported proficiency level; and v) additional knowledge of languages (both in the native speakers and the L2ers).

<b>Study</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
<b>Study 1</b>	L1 Spanish – L2 English	Beginner Intermediate Advanced
	English natives	NA
	L1 Spanish – L2 English in CLIL	A1, A2, B1, B2
<b>Study 2</b>	L1 Spanish – L2 English in non-CLIL	A1, A2, B1, B2
	English natives	NA
	L1 English – L2 Spanish	Intermediate Lower-advanced Upper-advanced
<b>Study 3</b>	Spanish natives	NA
	L1 Spanish – L2 English	A2, B1, B2, C1, C2
	English natives	NA
	L1 English – L2 Spanish	A2, B1, B2, C1, C2
	Spanish natives	NA
<b>Study 4</b>	L1 English – L2 Spanish	Intermediate Lower-advanced Upper-advanced
	Spanish natives	NA
	L1 Spanish – L2 English	A2, B1, B2, C1, C2
	English natives	NA
	Spanish natives	NA

Table 15. Overview of participants in corpus-based studies.

Regarding the task type, the following tasks were included in the different studies:

- i) **Frog, where are you?** (Mayer, 1969). This task was used in the first two studies in this dissertation (cf. 7.1 and 7.2), which investigated the production of L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers and English native speakers. The task *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer, 1969) is a picture-based task including [+ human] characters (i.e., *the boy*) and [-human] characters (i.e., *the dog* and *the frog*), as shown in the Appendices section (cf. Appendix A, p. 334). This task was selected because i) it has been traditionally and widely used in SLA research and, in particular, has been used to investigate AR (Kang, 2004); ii) it includes animate characters that trigger the production of third person pronominal subjects, which are of particular interest to investigate AR (cf. 3.1.1, p. 30); and iii) the characters appear in different scene transitions leading to topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts, which are of interest to investigate AR (cf. 3.1.2, p. 32). Importantly, when these two studies were carried out, this task was included in COREFL only, but is currently included in CEDEL2.

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<sup>42</sup> We controlled participants' age because it has been shown that working memory (WM) plays a role in Anaphora Resolution (inter alia: Almor, 1999; Nieuwland & Van Berkum, 2006; Sorace, 2011) and, importantly, WM decays with age (Park et al., 2003).

- ii) ***Retell a film that you have recently seen*** and ***Talk about a famous person***. These tasks were used in the third study in this dissertation (cf. 7.3), which investigated the production of L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish native speakers. These tasks were open-ended in the sense that each participant was free to choose a film or a famous person and there was a wide variety of compositions. These two task titles were chosen because: i) they triggered the production of [+ human] characters because we found that the inclusion of [- human] could affect the production of REs, as will be shown in Study 1 and 2 (cf. 7.1.4.4 and 7.2.4.4); ii) they triggered the production of third person pronominal subjects; iii) the effect of picture transition, which was found in Study 1 (cf. 7.1.4.6, p. 162), was avoided; iv) the shift between characters could trigger the production of topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts, as shown in previous studies using the same task (Lozano, 2016; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020); and v) the inclusion of different characters could lead to PAS scenarios (as this study focused mainly on the PAS). Importantly, when this study was carried out, these task titles were included in CEDEL2, but not in COREFL.
- iii) ***Charles Chaplin video***. This task was used in the fourth corpus-based study in this dissertation (cf. 7.4), which investigated the production of L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and English and Spanish native speakers. In this study, we included the same language pairs as in our previous studies, but the same task (i.e., *Charles Chaplin video*) was maintained across groups. It is a video-based task including a short clip from *The Kid* (cf. B in Appendices section, p. 336). Importantly, this task was incorporated in the second phase of both CEDEL2 and COREFL and, thus, in the ANACOR project phase. Therefore, when this study was carried out, enough data in both corpora were available to make licit comparisons across language pairs with the same task. Crucially, this task was intentionally chosen to investigate AR<sup>43</sup> because i) different Charles Chaplin videos have been used in SLA and, in particular, in AR (Blackwell & Quesada, 2012; Ryan, 2015); ii) it included [+ human] characters avoiding the above-mentioned effect of [- human] characters (cf. 3.1.6, p. 39); iii) it included six characters so that the number of antecedents could be investigated (cf. 3.1.3, p. 35); iv) it triggered the production of third person pronominal subjects; v) it triggered the production of topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts, but triggered mainly the production of topic continuity,

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<sup>43</sup> Although this task was specifically chosen to meet the ANACOR project research agenda, this task allows researcher to investigate other linguistic phenomena apart from AR.

which has been shown to be particularly problematic for L2ers (Lozano, 2016; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020); and vi) it has a certain degree of control, but the above-mentioned picture transition effect is avoided (cf. 3.1.7, p. 40).

### 6.1.3 Annotation and analyses

This subsection focuses on the procedure followed to annotate the corpora and carry out the analyses in the corpus-based studies in this dissertation, while we show and illustrate all the tags included in the tagset in the following subsection. The software employed to annotate and analyse the data was UAM Corpus Tool<sup>44</sup> (O'Donnell, 2008). This software is a free annotation tool that allows researchers to create their own annotation scheme(s) (i.e., tagset) with the desired features, annotate their texts manually, and analyse their data. The appendices section (cf. Appendix C, p. 336) offers some screenshots of the software's interface. The procedure followed is as follows.

First, two **tagsets** were created. On the one hand, a linguistically-informed tagset was created. The first tagset in the first corpus-based study was based on a previous study by Lozano (2016). Some of the features in Lozano's tagset were maintained and others were added. Subsequent tagsets in the other corpus-based studies in this dissertation followed this first tagset, but some features changed depending on the focus of each study. On the other hand, a tagset to group the participants was created. This tagset was simpler as it served to group all the participants so that they could be compared later. Therefore, participants' production was annotated following the linguistic tagset and they were grouped following the group tagset. All the features included in both tagsets are explained in the next subsection.

Secondly, the desired **texts** were introduced in the software so that they could be manually annotated. When it comes to linguistic annotation, each third person RE in subject position was annotated and all the pertinent features were assigned. For the group annotation, each text file was assigned a feature depending on whether the text file corresponded to a native speaker or a L2er and if it was an L2er, another feature was assigned to indicate the proficiency level. Crucially, the UAM Corpus Tool allows researchers to change the tagset during the annotation process. It can be the case that the annotator notices an interesting phenomenon that could be interesting for the study and wants to include it, in which case the annotator has to go through texts again to annotate the new feature.

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<sup>44</sup> Visit <http://www.corpustool.com/index.html> to find further details.

Finally, the **results** were also obtained with the very same software, UAM Corpus Tool, which allows researchers to search for all the annotated features. Isolated features can be searched or they can be combined with other features. Also, some features can be excluded. In fact, it is important to mention that third person plural REs were finally excluded from the analyses because it has been shown that only 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular REs are problematic when investigating AR (Lozano, 2009b). Importantly, the searches can be made across groups so that native speakers and L2ers' production can be compared. As for the type of searches, the software allows for global or local searches. This implies that, for a given system (like the PAS system shown in Figure 22, p. 120), the global count offers the count of each feature out of the total count of the general system, while a local count offers the count of each feature out of the total count in a particular subsystem within the general system. To illustrate this, Figure 13 shows that the global count of *pas\_standard* in English natives is 84 out of 288 (29.17%), which is the total number of cases in the system *PAS*, while Figure 14 shows that the local count of *pas\_standard* in English natives is 84 out of 107 (78.50%), which is the total number of cases in the subsystem *PAS\_YES-TYPE*. Importantly, we observe that the frequencies do not change, but the percentages do. So, we always did local searches.

Feature	<b>english_nativ</b>		<b>spanish_nativ</b>		<b>ChiSqu</b>	<b>Sign.</b>
	<b>N</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Percent</b>		
<b>PAS</b>	N=288		N=341			
- pas_no	180	62.50%	195	57.18%	1.832	
- pas_yes	107	37.15%	146	42.82%	2.082	
<b>PAS_YES-TYPE</b>	N=288		N=341			
- pas_standard	84	29.17%	121	35.48%	2.836	+
- pas_complex	23	7.99%	25	7.33%	0.095	
<b>PAS_STANDARD-TYPE</b>	N=288		N=341			
- pas-stand-subject-a	78	27.08%	105	30.79%	1.041	
- pas-stand-non-subje	6	2.08%	16	4.69%	3.148	+

Figure 13. PAS system according to global count.

Feature	english_nativ		spanish_nativ		ChiSqu	Sign.
	N	Percent	N	Percent		
PAS	N=287		N=341			
- pas_no	180	62.72%	195	57.18%	1.983	
- pas_yes	107	37.28%	146	42.82%	1.983	
PAS_YES-TYPE	N=107		N=146			
- pas_standard	84	78.50%	121	82.88%	0.768	
- pas_complex	23	21.50%	25	17.12%	0.768	
PAS_STANDARD-TYPE	N=84		N=121			
- pas-stand-subject-a	78	92.86%	105	86.78%	1.913	
- pas-stand-non-subje	6	7.14%	16	13.22%	1.913	

Figure 14. PAS system according to local count.

Additionally, the software provides with the descriptive (raw frequencies and percentages) and inferential statistics ( $\chi^2$ ) based on the tag frequencies. Table 16 shows the levels of significance and their corresponding  $p$  values reported by UAM Corpus Tool. When we report the significant differences in the result sections (cf. Chapter 7), we consider medium (95%) and high (98%) significance as significant differences, while a weak significance is considered non-significant. For convenience, the  $p$  value of a medium significance will be reported as  $p<0.05$  and the  $p$  value of a high significance will be reported as  $p<0.02$ .

Significant values	Corresponding standard $p$ values
+ (weak significance, 90%)	$0.051 \leq p \leq 0.10$
++ (medium significance, 95%)	$0.021 \leq p \leq 0.050$
+++ (high significance, 98%)	$p \leq 0.020$

Table 16. Significance levels of UAM Corpus Tool.

#### 6.1.4 Tagset

This section includes all the features/tags considered in the corpus-based studies in this dissertation. Crucially, all the 3<sup>rd</sup> person REs in subject position were assigned the following tags. However, not all the tags explained below are included in each study in this dissertation because the tagset developed depending on the results we found. Therefore, the different tags are separated in a different subsection here, but we will show the complete tagset of each independent study in Chapter 7. Importantly, the tags will not be explained and illustrated in each independent study as it is done below.

##### 6.1.4.1 Referring expressions (REs)

This dissertation only considers **null pronouns**, **overt pronouns** and **NPs** as REs, as shown in Figure 15. Importantly, the literature review above (cf. Chapter 4) explained that experimental

studies consider null and overt pronouns almost exclusively, but corpus-based studies have shown that NPs also play a role in AR (cf. Lozano, 2016). Example (52) shows an extract of an English native speaker who produces a proper NP (*Charles Chaplin*), common NPs (*the baby*, *a police officer*), overt pronouns (*he*), and a null pronoun ( $\emptyset$ ). Additionally, the tag *other* was included to annotate other REs such as demonstratives, as shown in (53), or coordinate NPs<sup>45</sup>, as in (54).

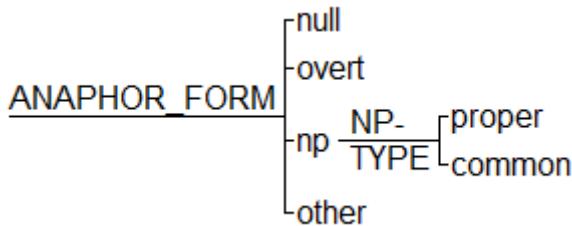


Figure 15. Referring expressions (REs).

- (52) **Charles Chaplin**<sub>i</sub> is walking when **he**<sub>i</sub> finds a baby<sub>j</sub>. **The baby**<sub>j</sub> is wrapped up in a blanket on the ground and  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub> is crying. **He**<sub>i</sub> picks up the baby<sub>j</sub> and as **he**<sub>i</sub> tries to set the baby<sub>j</sub> back down, **a police officer**<sub>k</sub> approaches. [EN\_WR\_21\_14\_SM] (English native speaker)
- (53) A woman<sub>i</sub> passes through the alley with a stroller, so **he**<sub>j</sub> returns the baby<sub>k</sub> to her<sub>i</sub>. Unfortunately, **this**<sub>k</sub> is not her child and  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub> scolds Chaplin<sub>j</sub> for attempting to stray away from his child. [EN\_WR\_26\_14\_BD] (English native speaker)
- (54) One day a boy<sub>i</sub> brought a frog<sub>j</sub> home. When **he**<sub>i</sub> was sleeping the frog<sub>j</sub> escaped. **The boy and his dog**<sub>k</sub> went looking for the frog<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_20\_13\_LH] (English native speaker)

#### 6.1.4.2 Number and gender of REs

Regarding the number of REs shown in Figure 16, we considered **singular** and **plural** REs. The literature has shown that only 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular REs are problematic (cf. Lozano, 2009), but we also tagged plural REs to corroborate this finding. In the end, plural REs were excluded from the analysis. Examples (55) and (56) show instances of singular REs (*Charlie Chaplin* or *he*) and plural REs (*the boy and his dog* or *they*). As for the gender of REs shown in Figure 16, we considered **masculine** and **feminine** REs. Examples (55) and (57) show instances of masculine gender (*he*) and feminine gender (*she*). Importantly, the task *Frog, where are you?* included both [+ human]

<sup>45</sup> Note that the tag ‘coordinate NP’ was initially included within the feature ‘np’. However, plural REs were not included in the analysis in the end, as explained in the previous subsection (cf. 6.1.3, p. 90), so we decided to move coordinate NPs to the tag ‘other’, as it would be easier to analyse the data and exclude this type of RE.

and [- human] characters and it was sometimes difficult to assign the gender. For that reason, an additional tag (**neuter**) was added in case that the gender was not specified because i) overt pronouns *he* or *she* were not used during the participant's production or ii) the overt pronoun *it* was used. The other tasks included [+ human] characters and this was not problematic. Although the gender was tagged, no results will be shown regarding this aspect. During the tagging procedure, differences were not observed in the production of REs depending on the gender of the characters. However, it can be worth investigating this feature, so we leave it for future research.

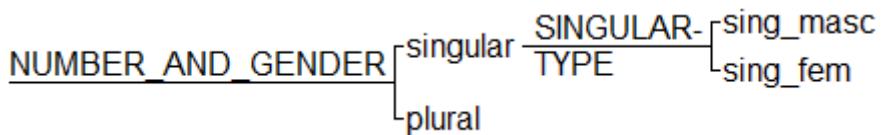


Figure 16: Number and gender of REs.

- (55) **Charlie Chaplin<sub>i</sub>** stopped to smoke a hand rolled cigarette when **he<sub>j</sub>** found a baby<sub>j</sub> laying in an alleyway. [EN\_WR\_19\_14\_HT] (English native speaker)
- (56) During the night, the frog<sub>i</sub> got out so **the boy and his dog<sub>jk</sub>** decided to look for it<sub>i</sub>. **They<sub>jk</sub>** looked everywhere until the boy<sub>j</sub> accidentally angered a deer. [EN\_WR\_21\_13\_SY] (English native speaker)
- (57) **The woman<sub>i</sub>** however, upon placement of the orphaned child<sub>j</sub> in her stroller **she<sub>i</sub>** was upset because **she<sub>i</sub>** did not want to have to care for another baby. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_AB] (English native speaker)

#### 6.1.4.3 Information status

As shown in Figure 17, three contexts were considered here. A **topic-continuity** context occurs in the RE in bold in (58): the overt pronoun *he* refers back to the previous antecedent in subject position (*Charles Chaplin*). A **topic-shift** context occurs in the RE in bold in (59) because the RE *she* refers back to the antecedent in object position (*a woman*) and not the antecedent in subject position (*He*). A **focus new introduction** occurs in the RE in bold in (60). In this case, the referent is introduced for the first time and this is not an anaphor as there is no link between this referent and an antecedent in the previous discourse. Although these REs are not anaphoric, we tagged them to check whether participants' awareness of how characters should be introduced in discourse. Importantly, the analyses focus mainly on topic continuity and topic shift, as we will see in Chapter 7.

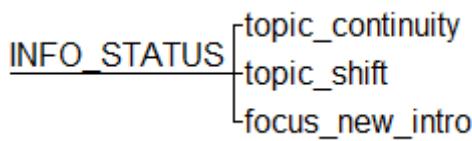


Figure 17. Information status contexts.

- (58) Charles Chaplin<sub>i</sub> is walking when **he<sub>i</sub>** finds a baby<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_21\_14\_SM] (English native speaker)
- (59) He<sub>i</sub> saw a woman<sub>j</sub> with a large stroller and Ø<sub>i</sub> presumed that **she<sub>j</sub>** had forgotten the baby<sub>k</sub> [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_AB] (English native speaker)
- (60) Unfortunately for Chaplin<sub>i</sub>, a **policeman<sub>j</sub>** appears and Ø<sub>i</sub> witnesses him do so. [EN\_WR\_21\_14\_AH] (English native speaker)

#### 6.1.4.4 Character type

This feature varies depending on the tasks described above (cf. 6.1.2). For the **Frog, where are you? task** (cf. Appendix A, p. 334), the characters included are shown in Figure 18. The main characters in this story are *the boy*, *the dog*, and *the frog*. These characters were mentioned in isolation as shown in REs marked in bold in (61), but they sometimes appeared combined in coordinate NPs or definite NPs, as shown in (62) and (63). Additionally, participants sometimes mentioned other characters that were not explicitly shown in the pictures, so these characters were tagged as others. For instance, example (64) shows an instance where *his parent* is mentioned, although this is not a character in the pictures.

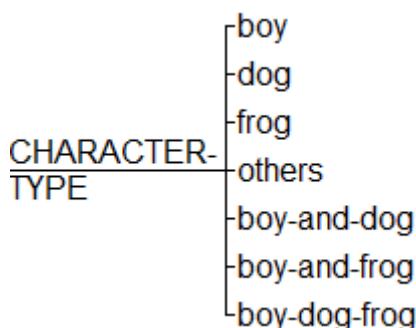


Figure 18. Characters in the *Frog, where are you?* task.

- (61) One day, a boy and his dog<sub>ij</sub> has a frog<sub>k</sub> in a jar. In the dark of the night, **the frog<sub>k</sub>** escaped, with its powerful legs. In the morning **the boy<sub>i</sub>** woke up perplexed, the jar was empty, **the frog<sub>k</sub>** had gone! [EN\_WR\_21\_13 \_AGS] (English native speaker)

- (62) The boy<sub>i</sub> caught his frog and **the boy and his frog**<sub>ij</sub> wave goodbye.  
 [ES\_WR\_B1\_18\_12\_13\_LRG] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, intermediate)
- (63) **The three**<sub>ijk</sub> realized what had happened and Ø<sub>ijk</sub> were simultaneously irritated and touched [EN\_WR\_19\_13\_AG] (English native speaker)
- (64) One day, boy<sub>i</sub> was in his bedroom with his dog<sub>j</sub>. He<sub>i</sub> love animals. This day was his birthday and **his parent**<sub>k</sub> gave he<sub>i</sub> a frog<sub>j</sub>. [ES\_WR\_A2\_19\_11\_13\_MRT] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, beginner)

Regarding the **Charles Chaplin task** (cf. Appendix B, p. 336), Figure 19 shows all the characters (marked in bold) that were tagged. All these characters appear in (65). In this case, the tag *other characters* was used to characters that did not appear in the video or characters that appeared in coordinate NPs as *Chaplin and the woman* in (65).

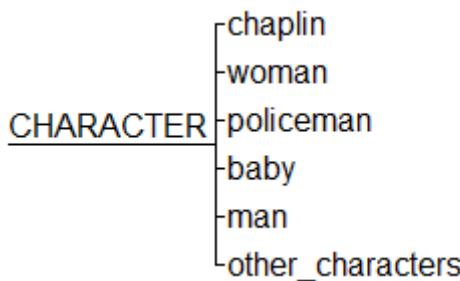


Figure 19. Characters in the *Charles Chaplin* task.

- (65) **The elderly man**<sub>i</sub> places the child<sub>j</sub> in the buggy and Ø<sub>i</sub> leaves without the woman<sub>k</sub> noticing him. Just as **the woman**<sub>k</sub> notices the second child<sub>j</sub> in her buggy, **Chaplin**<sub>i</sub> passes by. The woman<sub>k</sub> infers, incorrectly, that Chaplin<sub>i</sub> placed the child<sub>j</sub> in the buggy and Ø<sub>k</sub> confronts him<sub>i</sub> by beating him<sub>i</sub> with an umbrella. While **Chaplin and the woman**<sub>ik</sub> argue, **the policeman**<sub>m</sub> from earlier reappears, at which point Chaplin<sub>i</sub> desists from arguing and Ø<sub>i</sub> departs with the child<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_21\_14\_AH] (English native speaker)

As for the task **Retell a film that you've recently seen** and **Talk about a famous person** mentioned above (cf. 6.1.2), each participant retold a different film, so the feature *character* was not included.

#### 6.1.4.5 Syntactic configuration

Figure 20 shows the different syntactic configurations considered in this dissertation. Regarding **intra-sentential sentences** (i.e., sentences that are not separated by a stop), we considered **coordinate** and **subordinate** sentences and subordinate sentences were divided depending on

the **clause order** (main-subordinate or subordinate-main order). Example (66) shows two instances of coordinate sentences with *and* and *but*. Examples in (67) show instances of main-subordinate sentences. Here, we consider three types: that clauses (67a), complement clauses (67b), and adverbial clauses (67c). These three types of sentences were tagged, but they were not analysed because no differences in terms of production of REs were observed during the tagging procedure. Further analyses of these three types of sentences are left for future research. Example (68) shows an instance of subordinate-main order. As for **inter-sentential sentences** (i.e., sentences that are separated by a stop), we considered sentences that were within the text as in (69) or the first sentence that appeared in the text as in (70).

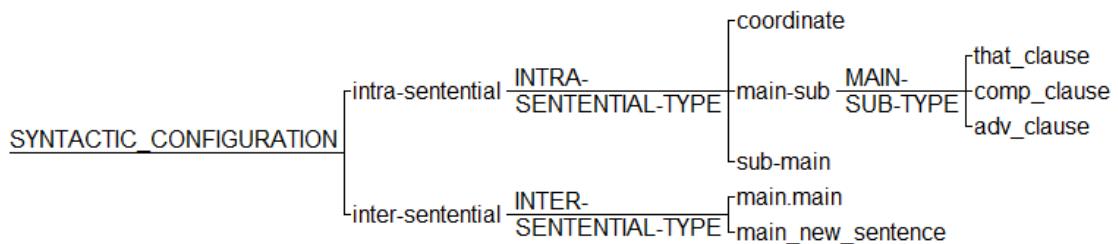


Figure 20. Syntactic configuration where REs occur.

- (66) Next, he<sub>i</sub> tricks an older gentleman<sub>j</sub> into taking the child<sub>k</sub> **and** Ø<sub>i</sub> then runs away. The older gentleman<sub>j</sub> tries to follow, **but** Ø<sub>j</sub> loses him Ø<sub>i</sub>. [EN\_WR\_21\_14\_TS] (English native speaker)
- (67) a. He<sub>i</sub> finally sat down to contemplate the other options **that** he<sub>i</sub> had and Ø<sub>i</sub> realized there was a note in the clothes of the baby<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_AB] (English native speaker)
- b. The policeman<sub>i</sub> sees **what** he<sub>j</sub> is doing and Ø<sub>i</sub> keeps a close eye on him<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_CP] (English native speaker)
- c. He<sub>i</sub> all of a sudden changed **when** he<sub>i</sub> saw the note that said to take care of this orphan child<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_SM] (English native speaker)
- (68) Just as the woman<sub>i</sub> notices the second child<sub>j</sub> in her buggy, Chaplink passes by. [EN\_WR\_21\_14\_AH] (English native speaker)
- (69) He<sub>i</sub> later hears a baby<sub>j</sub>, who is abandoned. He<sub>i</sub> puts it in a woman<sub>k</sub>'s car thinking it's hers<sub>k</sub>. [ES\_WR\_A2\_20\_14\_LYL] (Spanish L2er, beginner)

- (70) The man<sub>i</sub> with the mustache is walking through the alley [EN\_WR\_26\_14\_NM] (English native speaker)

#### 6.1.4.6 Activated and intervening antecedents

The tags included to annotate the antecedents are shown in Figure 21. First, we considered the **number of activated antecedents** (in subject and not subject position) prior to the RE. Importantly, the cognitive models reviewed in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.2.2, p. 44) have traditionally accounted for the number of antecedents factor by means of *potential interference* (Givón, 1983), *competition* (Ariel, 2004), or *prospective anaphor* (Kibrik et al., 2016). In addition to the number of antecedents, these cognitive models have accounted for the **distance** between the antecedents. Therefore, we considered the number of activated antecedents and also the distance between them. We measured the distance by means of number of clauses and included the number of activated antecedents within the 4 previous clauses, as the literature has argued that it should be the maximal distance between an anaphor and its antecedent (*inter alia*: Geeslin & Gudmestad, 2011; Gudmestad et al., 2013; Lozano, 2016; Mitkov, 2002). Examples (71 a-d) show instances of REs (marked in bold) with one activated antecedent<sup>46</sup> (71a), two activated antecedents (71b), 3 activated antecedents (71c), or 3 plus activated antecedents (71d). These activated antecedents are within four clauses of their REs.

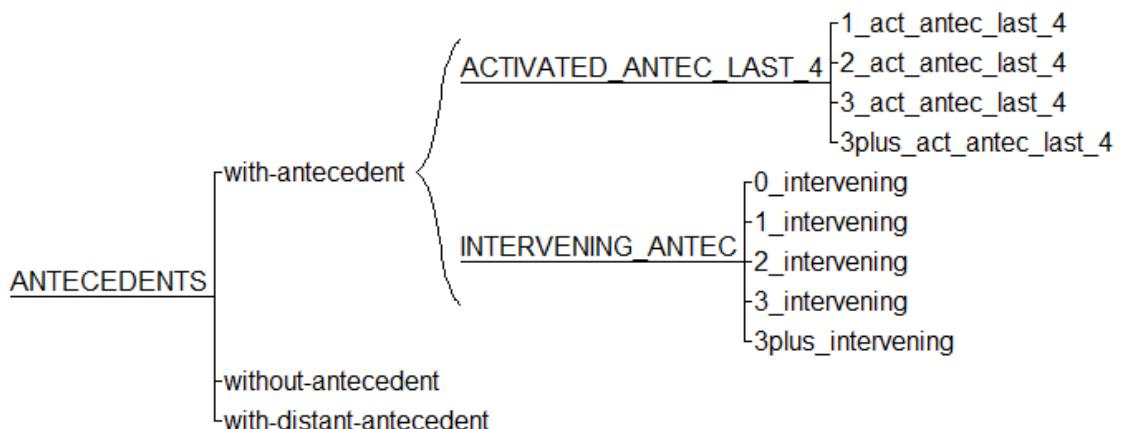


Figure 21. Activated antecedents.

- (71) a. The video begins with Charlie Chaplin<sub>i</sub> walking out of a building on his own, however **he<sub>i</sub>** gets something thrown on him<sub>i</sub>. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_AS] (English native speaker)

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<sup>46</sup> Note that antecedents are underlined.

b. Feeling sorry for the abandoned child<sub>i</sub>, **he**<sub>i</sub> picks the child<sub>i</sub> up and  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> looks around to see if it<sub>i</sub> belongs to anyone. [EN\_WR\_21\_14\_TS] (English native speaker)

c. **He**<sub>i</sub> then found a baby<sub>j</sub> lying on the ground. **He**<sub>i</sub> picked up the baby<sub>j</sub> wondering where it<sub>j</sub> had come from. **He**<sub>i</sub> later then noticed a lady<sub>k</sub> walking by with a stroller and **he**<sub>i</sub> put the baby<sub>j</sub> inside her stroller when she<sub>k</sub> wasn't looking. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_SM] (English native speaker)

d. The old man<sub>i</sub> chases after him<sub>j</sub> and, once again,  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> puts the baby<sub>k</sub> down in the same woman<sub>l</sub>'s pram. While trying to get away from the policeman<sub>m</sub> again, **Charlie Chaplin**<sub>j</sub> finds himself walking back past the pushchair (...) [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_SK] (English native speaker)

Importantly, the literature has also considered the antecedent factor in terms of **intervening antecedents** (Torregrossa et al., 2015, 2019). Therefore, we additionally tagged the antecedents in another way to check whether we could find different results. In particular, we considered the number of intervening antecedents between a particular RE and its antecedent in the previous discourse, as shown in (72 a-e). These examples show the RE and its antecedent in bold and the number of intervening antecedents (underlined) between them: 0 intervening antecedents (72a), 1 intervening antecedent (72b), 2 intervening antecedents (72c), 3 intervening antecedents (72d), or more than 3 intervening antecedents (72e).

(72) a. **Charlie Chaplin**<sub>i</sub> stopped to smoke a hand rolled cigarette when **he**<sub>i</sub> found a baby<sub>j</sub> laying in an alleyway. [EN\_WR\_19\_14\_HT] (English native speaker)

b. **He**<sub>i</sub> picked the baby<sub>j</sub> up and  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> looked for the caretaker. [EN\_WR\_28\_14\_KP] (English native speaker)

c. **He**<sub>i</sub> assumes that the baby<sub>j</sub> belongs to her<sub>k</sub> and  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> places the child<sub>j</sub> in the woman's<sub>k</sub> stroller. [EN\_WR\_26\_14\_NM] (English native speaker)

d. Later on, **the man**<sub>i</sub> gave the baby<sub>j</sub> to another older man<sub>k</sub> who put the baby<sub>j</sub> back into the same woman's<sub>l</sub> stroller. **The main man**<sub>i</sub> happened to walk by and the woman<sub>i</sub> freaked out and got mad again. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_SM] (English native speaker)

e. The old man<sub>i</sub> chases after **him**<sub>j</sub>, and, once again,  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> puts the baby<sub>k</sub> down in the same woman's<sub>l</sub> pram. While trying to get away from the policeman<sub>m</sub> again, **Charlie Chaplin**<sub>j</sub> finds himself walking back past the pushchair [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_SK] (English native speaker)

#### 6.1.4.7 PAS

PAS scenarios are mainly investigated in Study 3 (cf. 7.3) in this dissertation, but is also tagged in Study 1 (cf. 7.1) and Study 4 (cf. 7.4). PAS scenarios were tagged following the features in Figure 22. When an RE was tagged, we checked whether the previous context offered a PAS scenario (i.e., two antecedents: one in subject position and another in non-subject position). If it was the case, such RE was tagged as *pas\_yes*. Then, this feature included two additional tags: *standard PAS* and *complex PAS*. Initially, **standard PAS scenarios**<sup>47</sup> were tagged, but it was noticed that PAS scenarios could be more complicated than previously assumed and the tag *complex PAS* was included to further explore other scenarios. For the standard PAS tags, Figure 22 shows that we distinguished between REs that refers back to the subject antecedent as in (73a) or non-subject antecedent as in (73b).

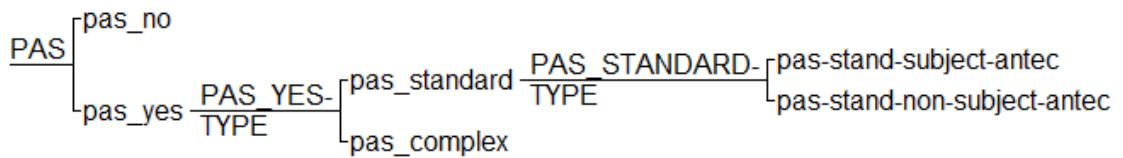


Figure 22. PAS configuration.

- (73) a. Naaven<sub>i</sub> se ha enamorado de Tiana<sub>j</sub> y  $\emptyset_i$  quiere pedirle matrimonio.  
[ES\_WR\_24\_3IZG] (Spanish native speaker)

- b. Stewart<sub>i</sub> empieza a sospechar la infidelidad de su esposa<sub>j</sub> y  $\emptyset_i$  utiliza a Flora<sub>k</sub> como espía. La niña<sub>k</sub> colabora con él<sub>i</sub> porque siente celos del amante de su padre.  
[ES\_WR\_28\_3MAAO] (Spanish native speaker)

As mentioned above, Study 3 in this dissertation is particularly oriented to investigate the PAS, so we further explored **complex PAS scenarios** in this study only. Figure 23 shows the different configurations that were tagged. The first one (*s1\_nons2andnons3*) includes contexts where there is one antecedent in subject position and two antecedents in non-subject position in coordination as in (74a). The second tag in this system (*s1\_nons2\_nons3*) includes contexts where there is one antecedent in subject position and two antecedents in non-subject position<sup>48</sup> as in (74b). The third tag in this system (*s1\_non\_s2\_anaph12*) includes contexts where there are

<sup>47</sup> By standard PAS contexts, we mean the classic scenario proposed in the PAH by Carminati (Carminati, 2002).

<sup>48</sup> In this case, the two antecedents in non-subject position are not coordinated, but they occupy different syntactic positions.

two antecedents (one in subject position and other in non-subject position) and the RE is plural and refers back to both of them as in (74c). The last tag in this system (*S12\_nonS3*) includes contexts where the subject antecedent is plural and includes two antecedents and the non-subject antecedent is singular and the RE refers back to any of those three antecedents as in (74d).

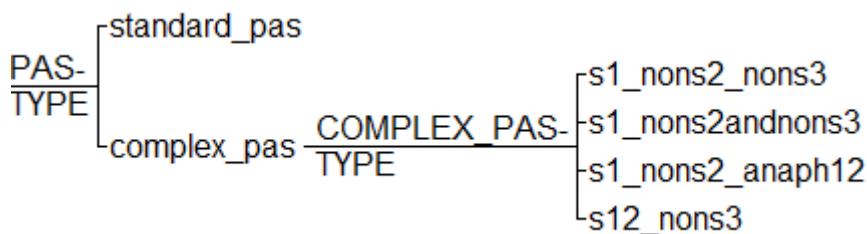


Figure 23. Type of PAS configuration.

- (74) a. Pero el principal problema que  $\emptyset_i$  tenía era que  $\emptyset_i$  sufría un maltrato constante por parte de su madre<sub>j</sub> y del novio<sub>k</sub> de ésta<sub>j</sub>. **El novio<sub>k</sub>** de la madre había... [ES\_WR\_31\_3\_EAC] (s1\_nons2andnons3) (Spanish native speaker)

*'But the main problem  $\emptyset_i$  had was that  $\emptyset_i$  was abused by her mother, and the boyfriend<sub>k</sub> of her<sub>j</sub>. The boyfriend<sub>k</sub> of the mother had...'*

- b. La chica<sub>i</sub> se enamora del amante<sub>j</sub> de su madre<sub>k</sub> hasta que al final  $\emptyset_i$  acaba teniendo una pequeña relación con él<sub>j</sub>. [ES\_WR\_30\_3\_JVM] (s1\_nons2\_nons3) (Spanish native speaker)

*'The girl<sub>i</sub> falls in love with the lover<sub>j</sub> of her mother<sub>k</sub> until  $\emptyset_i$  ends up having a relationship with him<sub>j</sub>'.*

- c. Por fin la princesa<sub>i</sub> se reencuentra con su príncipe<sub>j</sub> y parece que  $\emptyset_{ij}$  volverán a su reino de fantasía. [ES\_WR\_21\_3\_CPV] (s1\_non\_s2\_anaph12) (Spanish native speaker)

*'Finally, the princess<sub>i</sub> meets up with her prince<sub>j</sub> and it seems that  $\emptyset_{ij}$  will return to their kingdom of fantasy'.*

- d.  $\emptyset_{ij}$  Juntos tendrán que huir de Dr. Facilier<sub>k</sub> a los pantanos, donde  $\emptyset_{ij}$  se encuentran con el caimán Louis... [ES\_WR\_24\_3IZG] (S12\_nonS3) (Spanish native speaker)

'Ø<sub>ij</sub> Together will have to escape from Dr. Facilier<sub>k</sub> to the swamps, where Ø<sub>ij</sub> find with the cayman Louis...'

#### 6.1.4.8 Anaphora resolution mechanisms

Figure 24 includes all the types of AR mechanisms (i.e., how the anaphor is resolved) that were tagged. If the anaphor was resolved in the RE itself, it was tagged as a **standard resolution** as in (75). If the anaphor could not be resolved in the RE, but it could be resolved later, this anaphor could be resolved via morphosyntax or semantics. When it was **resolved via morphosyntax**, it could be resolved by an adjective as in (76a) or a demonstrative as in (76b). In (76a), the null pronoun in bold could refer to the previous antecedent in subject position (*la mujer*), but we discovered that it referred back to Charlie when we see the adjective (*obligado*). In (76b), the null pronoun in bold seemed to refer to the previous antecedent (*una mujer*), but we find that the RE referred to Chaplin in the demonstrative (*esta*), which was referring back to the woman. If the anaphor was **resolved via semantics**, it could be resolved via world knowledge as in (77a), as we understood through the context that the null pronoun referred back to Chaplin and not the policeman, or it could be resolved via the semantics of the verb as in (77b). As mentioned above (cf. 3.1.5, p. 38), the semantics of the verb can influence the RE and, in this example, we can see that a null pronoun is used to mark a topic shift, but the antecedent can be recovered. Finally, the last tag indicates cases where the anaphor could **not** be **resolved** as in (78). The null pronoun in that example is ambiguous because this null pronoun should refer to Chaplin, but the previous clause indicates that the man gave the baby to the woman, so it is not completely clear.

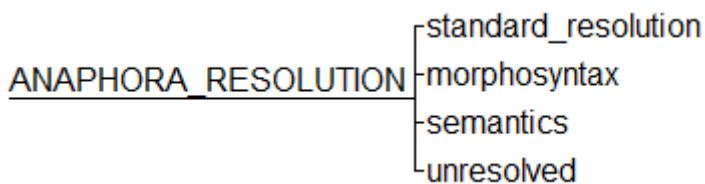


Figure 24. Type of AR.

- (75) Thus, the man<sub>i</sub> put the baby<sub>j</sub> back where he<sub>i</sub> found it<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_20\_14\_AB] (English native speaker)

- (76) a. Charlie<sub>i</sub> agarra al bebé<sub>j</sub> y Ø<sub>i</sub> lo<sub>j</sub> coloca en su cochecito. La mujer<sub>k</sub> se enoja por sus acciones y Ø<sub>i</sub> se ve **obligado** a recoger al bebé. [EN\_WR\_19\_23\_3\_14\_EN] (I1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, upper beginner)

'Charlie<sub>i</sub> holds the baby<sub>j</sub> and Ø<sub>i</sub> put him<sub>j</sub> in her pushchair. The woman<sub>k</sub> is angry for his actions and Ø<sub>i</sub> is **forced** to take the baby<sub>j</sub>.'

b. (...) Chaplin<sub>i</sub> encuentra a un bebé<sub>j</sub> huérfano. Ø<sub>i</sub> Aparece fumando, y unos maceteros le<sub>i</sub> caen encima, entonces, Ø<sub>i</sub> encuentra un bebé<sub>j</sub> abandonado al lado de la basura, y Ø<sub>i</sub> lo<sub>j</sub> coge para averiguar de quién puede ser. Aparece una mujer<sub>k</sub> con un carrito y otro bebé<sub>l</sub> e Ø<sub>i</sub> intenta entregárselo<sub>j</sub> a esta<sub>k</sub>, que reniega. [ES\_WR\_18\_14\_MRC] (Spanish native speaker) '(...)

'Chaplin<sub>i</sub> finds an orphan baby<sub>j</sub>. Ø<sub>i</sub> Appears smoking and some flowerpots fall on him<sub>i</sub>, so Ø<sub>i</sub> finds an abandon baby<sub>j</sub> next to the rubbish, and Ø<sub>i</sub> takes him<sub>j</sub> to find out who is responsible for him<sub>j</sub>. A woman<sub>k</sub> with a pushchair and another baby<sub>l</sub> appears and Ø<sub>i</sub> tries to give him<sub>j</sub> to her<sub>k</sub>, who refuses him<sub>j</sub>.'

- (77) a. Then Chaplin<sub>i</sub> decides to left the baby<sub>j</sub> where he<sub>i</sub> finds him<sub>j</sub>, but a police officer<sub>k</sub> appears and Ø<sub>i</sub> **decides** to carry the baby<sub>j</sub> with him<sub>i</sub>. [ES\_WR\_B2\_22\_10\_14\_ASMR] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, upper intermediate)

b. Cuando la mujer<sub>i</sub> sale la tienda, ella<sub>i</sub> se enoja otra vez y Ø<sub>i</sub> se encuentra el primero hombre<sub>j</sub> (Chaplin) y Ø<sub>i</sub> le<sub>j</sub> **dice** que se Ø<sub>j</sub> lleve al bebé<sub>k</sub>. [EN\_WR\_38\_20\_15\_14\_EES] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, lower advanced)

'When the woman<sub>i</sub> exits the shop, she<sub>i</sub> is again angry and Ø<sub>j</sub> finds the first man<sub>j</sub> (Chaplin) and Ø<sub>i</sub> orders him<sub>j</sub> to take the baby<sub>k</sub>.'

- (78) Un hombre<sub>i</sub> caminando vio a un bebé<sub>j</sub> en el suelo. Ø<sub>i</sub> Buscó a los padres<sub>k</sub> pero Ø<sub>i</sub> no vio a nadie. Ø<sub>i</sub> Le dio el bebé<sub>j</sub> a una mujer<sub>i</sub>. La mujer<sub>i</sub> no quería al niño<sub>j</sub>. El hombre<sub>i</sub> dio al bebé<sub>j</sub> a otra persona<sub>m</sub>, pero el hombre<sub>i</sub> devolvió al niño<sub>j</sub> a la mujer<sub>i</sub>. Al final Ø<sub>i</sub>? tomó al bebé<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_20\_22\_0,5\_14\_KR] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, upper beginner)

'A man<sub>i</sub> saw a baby<sub>j</sub> on the floor. Ø<sub>i</sub> Looked for the parents<sub>k</sub> but Ø<sub>i</sub> didn't see them<sub>k</sub>. Ø<sub>i</sub> Gave the baby<sub>j</sub> to a woman<sub>i</sub>. The woman<sub>i</sub> didn't want the baby. The man<sub>i</sub> gave the baby<sub>j</sub> to another person<sub>m</sub> but the man<sub>i</sub> returned the baby<sub>j</sub> to the woman<sub>i</sub>. Finally, Ø<sub>i</sub>? took the baby.'

#### 6.1.4.9 Picture transition

This feature is applicable to the studies that included the task *Frog, where are you?* because the prompts were presented as independent pictures (as shown in Appendix A, p. 334). This feature was added during the tagging procedure of Study 1 because the annotator noticed that fuller

REs were employed when there was a transition between pictures, as further discussed in Study 1 (cf. 7.1.4.6, p. 162). Figure 25 shows the tags to indicate the (lack of) transition between pictures. The tag same-picture indicates that the REs produced occurs within the same picture as the previous RE, as shown in (79a), where the null pronoun in bold occurs within the same picture as the previous RE (*the little boy*). The tag new-picture indicates that the actual RE occurs in a different picture from the previous RE, as shown in (79b), where the NP in bold occurs in a different picture from the previous RE (*a boy*). Additionally, the tag invented was added because participants sometimes told things that did not correspond to a particular picture, as shown in (79c), where the REs in bold do not correspond to a particular picture.

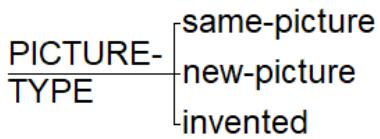


Figure 25. Picture type.

- (79) a. The little boy<sub>i</sub> woke up in the morning and Ø<sub>i</sub> could not find Fred<sub>j</sub>.  
[EN\_WR\_19\_13\_SCJ] (English native)
- b. One day a boy<sub>i</sub> found a frog<sub>j</sub> and Ø<sub>i</sub> captured it in a jar. While **the boy**<sub>i</sub> was asleep that night (...) [EN\_WR\_20\_13\_JC] (English native)
- c. One day, **John**<sub>i</sub> found a frog<sub>j</sub> in the wood. **He**<sub>i</sub> really like it<sub>j</sub> so he<sub>i</sub> decided to take it<sub>j</sub> home. [ES\_WR\_C1\_20\_10\_13\_SJM] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, advanced)

#### 6.1.4.10 Group subcorpora

As mentioned above (cf. 6.1.3), another tagset was created to indicate the participant who produced each text. In this way, the software allowed us to make multiple comparisons between groups. Figure 26, for instance, shows all the groups considered for Study 4. As mentioned above, the tagset used for the participants in each study will be shown when we present each independent study in Chapter 7.

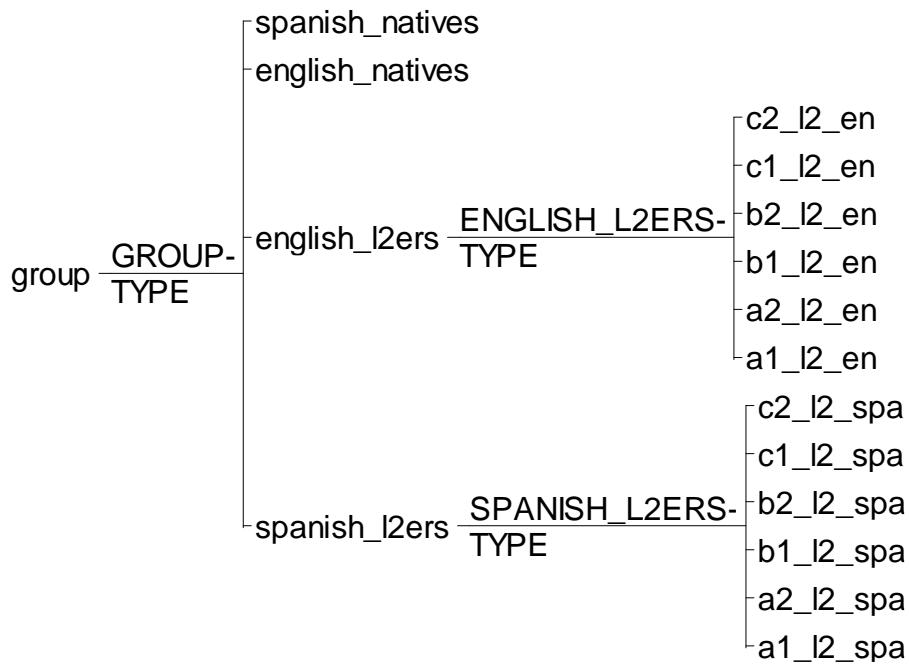


Figure 26. Groups.

## 6.2 Experimental study

This section explains the procedure to create the linguistic experiment. Firstly, we explain the different options that we considered before opting for the final version of the experiment (cf. 6.2.1). Then, we describe the implementation of the experiment that we finally chose (cf. 6.2.2). Finally, we explain the target sample for the experiment (cf. 6.2.3).

### 6.2.1 Experimental design procedure

After carrying out the corpus-based studies, an experiment was created to triangulate the data, as justified in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.4.3 Triangulating corpus and experimental data, p. 25). We carried out a Self-Paced-Reading Task (SPRT) and measured reaction times (RTs)<sup>49</sup>. Importantly, we wanted to continue with the bidirectional comparisons between languages (i.e., English natives vs. Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers), but we will see that we could not finally collect data from all groups due to the COVID-19 pandemic<sup>50</sup> and all comparisons were not completed. Regarding the factors included in the experiment, it was not possible to investigate all the factors found in the corpus-based studies in one experiment and, additionally, the stimuli employed in the experiment should be possible in both languages (English and Spanish) to continue with the bidirectional comparisons. Therefore, we

<sup>49</sup> The reaction time refers to the time it takes to react to a stimulus.

<sup>50</sup> Note that the completion of the data gathering is left for future research.

decided to focus on two relevant factors in our corpus-based findings (i.e., topic continuity and coordinate contexts and number of activated antecedents) and other factors are left for future research. Designing and implementing a linguistic experiment requires to follow a strict criterion (cf. 2.4.1, p. 17) to avoid having confounding variables affecting the results. Thus, all the limitations of previous studies addressed in the literature review section above (cf. Chapter 4) were, as far as possible, taken into account for the design of the experiment. We considered different designs (with their advantages and disadvantages) before our final and actual design. In this section, thus, we firstly explain two potential designs and why we decided to discard them (cf. 6.2.1.1 and 6.2.1.2). Then, we explain the design of our actual experiment (cf. 6.2.1.3) and its implementation (cf. 6.2.2).

#### *6.2.1.1 Possible experimental design (nº 1)*

Initially, we were interested in investigating the information status and the number of activated antecedents, which were the two most relevant factors in our previous studies. Thus, we designed and created sentences containing topic-continuity contexts, as in (80a-d), and topic-shift contexts, as in (80e-h), with different number of activated antecedents<sup>51</sup>. Notice that the connector across conditions is the same (*and*) and this was done intentionally so that null pronouns could be possible in both languages. Firstly, we thought of the conditions in Spanish and we considered connectors as *while* or *when* that have been considered in other experimental studies. However, sentences in English with such connectors did not work for the conditions with null pronouns (*a* and *c*), as these sentences would be ungrammatical in English and we would be introducing an additional variable (grammaticality). Recall from Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.1, p. 30), that null pronouns occur in different contexts in Spanish, while null pronouns are restricted to topic continuity and coordinate contexts in English. Thus, we had to consider coordination so that the sentences with null pronouns could be possible in English and Spanish and both languages could be compared.

- (80) a. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y luego Ø<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and then Ø<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream’.

- b. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y luego **ella**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

---

<sup>51</sup> In the stimuli presented in (80), one antecedent is in subject position across conditions and the antecedents in object position vary (conditions *a* and *b* include 1 antecedent in object position and conditions *c* and *d* include 2 antecedents in object position).

'Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and then **she**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream'.

c. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego **Ø**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

'Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> and then **Ø**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream'.

d. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego **ella**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

'Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> and then **she**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream'.

e. Iván<sub>i</sub> mira a María<sub>j</sub> y luego **ella**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

'Ivan<sub>i</sub> looks at Mary<sub>j</sub> and then **she**<sub>j</sub> has an ice-cream'.

f. Iván<sub>i</sub> mira a María<sub>j</sub> y luego **María**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

'Ivan<sub>i</sub> looks at Mary<sub>j</sub> and then **she**<sub>j</sub> has an ice-cream'.

g. Iván<sub>i</sub> mira a María<sub>j</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego **ella**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

'Ivan<sub>i</sub> looks at Mary<sub>j</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> and then **she**<sub>j</sub> has an ice-cream'.

h. Iván<sub>i</sub> mira a María<sub>j</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego **María**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

'Ivan<sub>i</sub> looks at Mary<sub>j</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> and then **Mary**<sub>j</sub> has an ice-cream'.

Table 17 summarizes the variables included across the conditions presented above. These conditions include three independent variables: number of antecedents (2 antecedents vs. 3 antecedents), information status (topic continuity vs. topic shift), and REs (null, overt, and NP).

		Null	Overt	NP
<b>Topic Continuity</b>	<b>2 ant</b>	a	b	--
	<b>3 ant</b>	c	c	--
<b>Topic Shift</b>	<b>2 ant</b>	--	e	f
	<b>3 ant</b>	--	g	h

Table 17. Independent variables and conditions (design 1).

However, this design was not ideal and we finally discarded it for several reasons:

- i) Only overt pronouns could be compared across the variable information status.

- ii) The variable number of activated antecedents could be compared for null pronouns and overt pronouns in topic continuity (but not for NPs) and for overt pronouns and NPs in topic shift (but not for null pronouns).
- iii) The number of conditions influences the length of the experiment (because we need a minimum number of items per condition) and also the number of participants (because the number of participants should be a multiple of the number of conditions). Thus, the experiment would be rather long and we would need a considerable number of participants.

#### *6.2.1.2 Possible experimental design (nº 2)*

In the next phase, we considered the same factors as above, but we enlarged the number of conditions to be able to make full comparisons across all conditions. In this case, we would have some conditions for topic continuity as shown in (81) and other conditions for topic shift as shown in (82). In topic continuity, there were three conditions with 1 antecedent (81a-c), three conditions with 2 antecedents (81d-f), and three conditions with 3 antecedents (81g-i). In topic shift, the same conditions were considered except for the conditions with one antecedent because two antecedents are needed to have a topic shift.

(81) a. María<sub>i</sub> mira la carta de helados y luego  $\emptyset_i$  se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at the ice-creams’ menu and then  $\emptyset_i$  has an ice-cream’.

b. María<sub>i</sub> mira la carta de helados y luego **ella<sub>i</sub>** se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at the ice-creams’ menu and then **she<sub>i</sub>** has an ice-cream’.

c. María<sub>i</sub> mira la carta de helados y luego **María<sub>i</sub>** se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at the ice-creams’ menu and then  $\emptyset_i$  has an ice-cream’.

d. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y luego  $\emptyset_i$  se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and then  $\emptyset_i$  has an ice-cream’.

e. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y luego **ella<sub>i</sub>** se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and then **she<sub>i</sub>** has an ice-cream’.

f. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y luego **María<sub>i</sub>** se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and then **María**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream’.

g. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub> se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> and then  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub> has an ice-cream’.

h. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego **ella**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> and then **she**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream’.

i. María<sub>i</sub> mira a Iván<sub>j</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego **María**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

‘Mary<sub>i</sub> looks at Ivan<sub>j</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> and then **Mary**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream’.

(82) a. Iván<sub>j</sub> mira a María<sub>i</sub> y luego  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub> se come un helado.

‘Ivan<sub>j</sub> looks at Mary<sub>i</sub> and then  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub> has an ice-cream’.

b. Iván<sub>j</sub> mira a María<sub>i</sub> y luego **ella**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

‘Ivan<sub>j</sub> looks at Mary<sub>i</sub> and then **she**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream’.

c. Iván<sub>j</sub> mira a María<sub>i</sub> y luego **María**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

‘Ivan<sub>j</sub> looks at Mary<sub>i</sub> and then **Mary**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream’.

d. Iván<sub>j</sub> mira a María<sub>i</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub> se come un helado.

‘Ivan<sub>j</sub> looks at Mary<sub>i</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> then  $\emptyset$ <sub>j</sub> has an ice-cream’.

e. Iván<sub>j</sub> mira a María<sub>i</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego **ella**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

‘Ivan<sub>j</sub> looks at Mary<sub>i</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> then **she**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream’.

f. Iván<sub>j</sub> mira a María<sub>i</sub> y Carlos<sub>k</sub> y luego **María**<sub>i</sub> se come un helado.

‘Ivan<sub>j</sub> looks at Mary<sub>i</sub> and Charles<sub>k</sub> then **Mary**<sub>i</sub> has an ice-cream’.

Table 18 summarises the variables included across the conditions presented above. These conditions include three independent variables: number of antecedents (1 antecedent vs. 2

antecedents vs. 3 antecedents), information status (topic continuity vs. topic shift), and REs (null vs. overt vs. NP).

		Null	Overt	NP
<b>Topic Continuity</b>	<b>1 ant</b>	a	b	c
	<b>2 ant</b>	d	e	f
	<b>3 ant</b>	g	h	i
<b>Topic Shift</b>	<b>2 ant</b>	a	b	c
	<b>3 ant</b>	d	e	f

Table 18. Independent variables and conditions (design 2).

The differences with respect to the stimuli above are that all REs are considered both in topic continuity and topic shift and that conditions with 1 activated antecedent in topic continuity are also included. However, this design had a series of limitations and, thus, we discarded it for the following reasons:

- i) The experiment would have been long because, as mentioned above, we need a minimum number of items per condition and we would have had a total of 15 conditions. Additionally, we would have needed a considerable number of participants because the number of participants should be multiple of the number of conditions.
- ii) The number of conditions was not the same for the variable information status.
- iii) The statistical analysis would have been complicated due to the issues mentioned above (i.e., large number of conditions and not same number of conditions across variables).

#### 6.2.1.3 *Final and actual design*

Finally, our last option and the one that we considered for the present experimental study in this dissertation is the following. We ended up with a simpler and elegant version of the factors considered above. For the information status factor, we decided to consider only topic continuity and coordinate contexts in English and Spanish, as shown respectively in (83) and (84), because i) null pronouns are allowed in these contexts in both languages, and ii) the literature (inter alia: Judy, 2015; Lozano, 2016, 2018; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020) has shown that topic-continuity contexts are more problematic for L2ers than topic-shift contexts, as we will also show in our corpus-based findings in Chapter 7. Additionally, we can also test the IH because we focus on contexts where L2ers show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface. For the antecedent factor, we decided to compare 1 antecedent (83a-c) vs. 2 antecedents (83a'-c'). When there are two antecedents, as in (83a'-c') or (84a'-c'), the RE always refers back to the

antecedent in subject position. It can be argued that condition *a'* can be ambiguous in Spanish and can refer either to the subject or the non-subject antecedent. However, the Spanish PAS experimental literature has shown that null pronouns bias towards subject antecedents (inter alia: Alonso-Ovalle et al., 2002; Filiaci, 2010; Filiaci et al., 2014; Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011), so we believe that this potential ambiguity will not affect the results.

- (83) a. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw a film the other day and  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> cried a lot.

- b. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw a film the other day and **she**<sub>i</sub> cried a lot.

- c. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw Peter<sub>j</sub> the other day and **Mary**<sub>i</sub> cried a lot.

- a'. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw Peter<sub>j</sub> the other day and  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> cried a lot.

- b'. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw Peter<sub>j</sub> the other day and **she**<sub>i</sub> cried a lot.

- c'. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw Peter<sub>j</sub> the other day and **Mary**<sub>i</sub> cried a lot.

- (84) a. María<sub>i</sub> vió una película el otro día y  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> lloró intensamente.

- b. María<sub>i</sub> vió una película el otro día y **ella**<sub>i</sub> lloró intensamente.

- c. María<sub>i</sub> vió una película el otro día y **María**<sub>i</sub> lloró intensamente.

- a'. María<sub>i</sub> vió a Pedro<sub>j</sub> el otro día y  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> lloró intensamente.

- b'. María<sub>i</sub> vió a Pedro<sub>j</sub> el otro día y **ella**<sub>i</sub> lloró intensamente.

- c'. María<sub>i</sub> vió a Pedro<sub>j</sub> el otro día y **María**<sub>i</sub> lloró intensamente.

All in all, this design included two independent variables: number of activated antecedents (1 antecedent vs. 2 antecedents) and REs (null vs. overt vs. NP). The dependent variable is the reaction time (RT) of the target segment, which will be further explained in the next subsection (cf. 6.2.2, p. 133). Table 19 summarises the design of the experiment. As we can see, we have a 3x2 design that allows: i) comparisons between REs (null vs. overt vs. NP) for 1 antecedent and 2 antecedents; and ii) comparison between antecedents (1 antecedent vs. 2 antecedents) for the same RE (null, overt or NP). Additionally, this design can be tested both in English and Spanish.

Topic continuity	ANAPHOR		
	null	overt	NP
Nº ANTECEDENTS			
1	<b>A</b> S <sub>1</sub> Ø	<b>B</b> S <sub>1</sub> overt	<b>C</b> S <sub>1</sub> NP
2	<b>A'</b> [S <sub>1</sub> O <sub>2</sub> ] Ø	<b>B'</b> [S <sub>1</sub> O <sub>2</sub> ] overt	<b>C'</b> [S <sub>1</sub> O <sub>2</sub> ] NP

Table 19. Independent variables and conditions (final design).

We finally decided to carry out this experiment due to the fact that it presents a series of advantages in relation to the previous two designs:

- i) It includes topic-continuity contexts, which are the most problematic scenarios for L2ers (cf. Chapter 4) as these contexts lead to redundancy.
- ii) It can be tested in both English and Spanish because it includes coordinate sentences that i) are clear cases of topic-continuity contexts in both languages; ii) are frequent structures in both languages; and iii) are easily resolved.
- iii) It includes NPs, which have not been typically investigated in the experimental literature in SLA, although NPs have been investigated in the Spanish experimental literature (Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011, 2014).
- iv) It includes a simple comparison of antecedents (i.e., 1 antecedent vs. 2 antecedents) that has not been previously investigated in online studies in L2 English and L2 Spanish.
- v) The low number of activated antecedents (i.e., 1 antecedent vs. 2 antecedents) does not imply a high cognitive load, so it is not necessary to measure the working memory.
- vi) Two theoretical accounts that are of interest for this dissertation can be tested: the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (cf. 2.3, p. 14) and the Pragmatic Principles Violation Hypothesis (PPVH) (cf. 3.3, p. 51). The IH can be tested because we investigate the processing of very-advanced L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers in topic continuity, which is a problematic context for L2ers, as shown in the literature (inter alia: Lozano, 2016, 2018; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020). As for the PPVH, there is experimental evidence (Lozano, 2018) arguing that pragmatic principles account for the interpretations of L1 Greek – L2 Spanish L2ers and show that L2ers are more redundant than ambiguous. The PPVH will account for our corpus-based findings, as we will see in the results (cf. Chapter 7), and can also account for our experimental findings.

## 6.2.2 Implementation of the design

The experimental design presented above was implemented in a Self-Paced-Reading-Task (SPRT) where participants have to read the stimuli at a natural pace (cf. 2.4.1, p. 17 for an overview of the SPRT). In our SPRT, participants have to read segments<sup>52</sup> (i.e., sentences) on a computer screen. They read one segment at a time and have to press a key to read the next segment. The computer registers the reading/reaction time (RT) (i.e., the time it takes to react to a stimulus), which is the dependent variable in our experiment. Having an overview of the SPRT, we explain how the experimental design described above was implemented. Firstly, we describe the procedure followed to create the stimuli (i.e., the sentences that the participants read). Then, we explain how the stimuli were implemented in software and show the layout of the experiment.

### 6.2.2.1 *Creation of stimuli*

Our experiment consists of experimental stimuli and distractors (cf. Appendix L, p. 423 for an overview). The experimental stimuli include the sentences that are of interest to investigate AR (83), while the distractors include other types of sentences that are useful to make sure that participants do not know what we are investigating. In this subsection, we firstly show the procedure to create the experimental stimuli. Then, we show the procedure followed to create the distractors. As mentioned above, the same experiment was done in English and also in Spanish because the target participants were English and Spanish natives, very-advanced L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers, and very-advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers<sup>53</sup>. So, we tried (as far as possible) to maintain equivalent stimuli across languages, as will be shown below. We first explain the procedure to create the Spanish stimuli and then the English stimuli.

#### Experimental stimuli

The experimental stimuli contain **three segments: context, target, and comprehension question**. We take a sentence from examples above and illustrate the three segments in (85). As mentioned above, a segment in our experiment equals a sentence. We measure the RTs of all segments, but the target segment is of particular interest because it contains the RE. We start explaining how these three segments were created in **Spanish**.

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<sup>52</sup> Note that a segment can include word(s), phrase(s), or sentence(s) depending on the design of the experiment. For our experiment, a segment includes a sentence.

<sup>53</sup> Importantly, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, we could not collect data from all groups. The sample that we collected will be specified in the methodological section of the experimental study (i.e., Study 5) (cf. 7.5; 7.5.3.2; p. 249).

(85)      Context segment:	<u>María</u> vio una película el otro día y
Target segment:	Iloró intensamente.
Comp. question segment:	¿Iloró María intensamente?

For the **context segment**, we searched for verbs that followed a specific criterion in *Base Sintáctica de Datos Sintácticos del Español Actual*<sup>54</sup>. We did so because we were searching for sentences that followed the pattern presented in (83). In particular, we searched for verbs that were used in two subschemas: a) Subject (animate) + Object (inanimate) as in (83a-c) and b) Subject (animate) + Object (animate) as in (83a'-c'). As we can see above in (83), we needed sentences with one and two antecedents, so we needed a verb that could be followed by an animate object and an inanimate object. We obtained a list of verbs that matched the criteria and we chose the most frequent verbs (in the obtained list) having both subschemas. Additionally, we also checked the frequency of those verbs in *Corpus del español* created by Mark Davies<sup>55</sup> to ensure that they were frequent verbs.

For the **target segment**, we also searched for a schema. In particular, we searched for: Subject (animate) + Adverbial<sup>56</sup>. Importantly, we discussed the type of element that should follow the verb in the target segment. Initially, we wanted to include adjectives, but we discarded them and finally considered that the adverbial offered some advantages for several reasons: i) the continuity between sentences seemed more natural; ii) condition  $a'$  remained ambiguous (whereas it would have been resolved via adjectives like *contento/a* or *aburrido/a* that were marked for gender); and iii) participants would not be able to develop a resolution strategy paying attention to the adjective (as our target resolution is the RE). Thus, we obtained a list with the most frequent verbs following the Subject + Adverbial schema and the frequencies of such verbs and chose the most frequent verbs in the list. Additionally, we also checked their frequency in *Corpus del español*.

After obtaining two lists with the most frequent verbs following the schemas of the context segment and the schema of the target segment, we ended up with a table with all the potential verbs that could be used (cf. Table 20 to illustrate this). These verbs were combined to create sentences that made sense, and the direct object of the context segment (e.g., *María vio una película / a Pedro*) and the adverbial of the target segment (e.g., ...y *María lloró intensamente*)

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<sup>54</sup> <http://www.bds.usc.es/>

<sup>55</sup> <https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/>

<sup>56</sup> Within adverbials, we included adverbs and prepositional phrases.

were invented depending on the context. Crucially, the frequency of the inanimate direct objects of the context segment (e.g., *una película*) and the frequency of the adverbials (e.g., *intensamente*) were also checked in *Corpus del español* to ensure that we employed high frequent words. Importantly, there were two target sentences that could not be followed by an adverbial and we used an adjective in these two cases, but the adjective was not marked for gender<sup>57</sup>.

Schema context segment		Schema target segment	
Verb	Frequency	Verb	Frequency
DEJAR	1097572	ESTAR	1173419
RECIBIR	887198	QUEDAR	1063946
PRESENTAR	813323	PASAR	808799
LLEVAR	765578	SALIR	613663
RECORDAR	606283	VOLVER	554401

Table 20. Some examples of verbs and their frequencies to create complete sentences.

Once we had a total of 40 items, we looked for the proper names of the antecedents and created all the conditions for each item. The proper names of the antecedents came from a database<sup>58</sup> and the most frequent names were chosen (e.g., *María, Pedro, Marta, Mario*, etc.). Within the most frequent names, we chose the ones that ended in *-a* (for feminine names) (e.g., *Laura* or *Lucía*) and in *-o* (for masculine names) (e.g., *Ramón* or *Ernesto*) so that the gender could not confuse L2ers. We also avoided compound names (e.g., *María José* or *José María*) and tried to have a maximum of three syllables per proper name. Additionally, the feminine and masculine names were counterbalanced. After having the experimental items with the context segment and the target segment, we created the comprehension question segment.

For the **comprehension question segment**, we created a question for each item. The question asked something about the context segment or about the target segment and this was counterbalanced. We always included a *yes-no question* and the answer was also counterbalanced. For instance, we can see in (85) that the comprehension question asks something about the target segment (*¿Lloró María intensamente?*), but could also ask something about the context segment (e.g., *¿Vio María un documental el otro día?*). Importantly, the aims of the comprehension question segment were to ensure that participants were paying attention to the experimental stimuli, as standardly done in this type of

<sup>57</sup> We used the adjectives *triste* and *feliz*.

<sup>58</sup> The names were taken from the Instituto nacional de estadística ([https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica\\_C&cid=1254736177009&menu=resultados&idp=1254734710990](https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736177009&menu=resultados&idp=1254734710990))

experiments, and to make participants think that the experiment was about choosing the correct answer rather than measuring the RT of the target segment.

In total, we ended up with a total of 40 experimental items x 6 conditions (240 experimental items in total), but we considered 36 items only, as justified below.

### Distractors

The distractors are sentences that follow the structure of the experimental stimuli (i.e., two coordinate sentences followed by a question), but we do not consider them as context or target sentence because none of these sentences are of interest for us. The only purpose of the distractors is to avoid participants knowing the aim of the experiment. Importantly, we did not include human antecedents (i.e., *Maria* or *Pedro*) in the distractors and included other connectors (like *when* or *while*) as well as *and*, as we can see in (86a-d). A total of 36 distractors were created and they were kept constant across the different lists (i.e., we had one list of distractors only). The number of distractors was the same as the experimental items to mitigate the aim of the experiment.

- (86) a. Las lentejas son ricas en hierro y están riquísimas.

'Lentils are full of vitamins and are tasty.'

- b. Los colegios cierran cuando hay vacaciones.

'Schools close when there are holidays.'

- c. La natación es un deporte muy completo pero requiere mucha técnica.

'Swimming is a complete sport but requires a good technique.'

- d. Las plantas crecerán abundantemente mientras reciban agua.

'Plants will grow richly while they receive water.'

All in all, the participants read 36 experimental items and 36 distractors. Regarding the number of experimental items, the psycholinguistic literature (cf. Keating & Jegerski, 2015) has claimed that it would be ideal to have between 8-12 items per condition in order to finally have (considering the data loss) between 6-8 items per condition. However, we decided to include 6 items per condition (i.e., a total of 36 experimental items) because i) we did not want to end up with a long experiment and get participants bored; and ii) we considered that our sentences are

simple and would not expect a big data loss. Therefore, each participant would read one condition per item, so a total of 36 experimental items were read per experimental subject. All conditions in each item were assigned to different lists<sup>59</sup> and we had a total of six lists. We did this so that participants did not read two stimuli from the same item. As mentioned above, the distractors are the same across the six lists.

Regarding the **English** stimuli (83), the procedure was different because, in this case, the Spanish stimuli were translated into English. Firstly, the verbs and adverbials used in the Spanish stimuli were translated into English. Then, the frequency of both verbs and adverbials in English was checked in *Corpus del español* to make sure that all of them were frequent in English. We then translated the complete sentences. Semantically speaking, some sentences did not fit in the English version and we made minor changes to obtain the same meaning. For instance, we can see that we use the verb *detener* (*stop*) in (87a), but use the verb *llamar* (*call*) in (87b) because, as suggested by an English native speaker<sup>60</sup>, the phrase *stop the lift* sounds weird in this context.

(87) a. Julia detuvo el ascensor en el último momento y subió al despacho.

b. Abigail called the lift at the last minute and went up to the office.

Importantly, we occasionally found it impossible to maintain the same verb across the 6 conditions (i.e., we had to use one verb with two antecedents and a different one with one antecedent). For instance, example (88b) shows that the verb *received* is maintained from the Spanish version (*Emilia recibió flores en la oficina y...*), but it cannot be maintained in (88a), so we employed a different verb<sup>61</sup>. If this was the case, we indicated so for these sentences and we could check later if this would have an effect.

(88) a. Emily met with Thomas in the office and...

b. Emily received flowers in the office and...

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<sup>59</sup> For instance, item 1 condition a was assigned to list 1, item 1 condition b was assigned to list 2, item 1 condition c was assigned to list c, etc.

<sup>60</sup> All the experimental items and distractors were revised by two English native speakers (one of them with high competence in Spanish).

<sup>61</sup> We decided to do so because we wanted to keep the Spanish and the English sentences as similar as possible.

Then, we searched for the proper names in an English database<sup>62</sup> and the procedure to choose the proper names was the same as in Spanish, except for choosing names ending in *-a* or *-o* (as proper names are not marked for gender in English). Again, we ended up with a total of 36 experimental items across 6 conditions (216 experimental stimuli in total). Finally, the distractor sentences were translated from Spanish into English and we also included 36 distractor items that were maintained across lists (i.e., we had one list of distractors only).

Table 21 offers a summary of the items included in the experiment. As we can see in the table, participants read a total of 72 items: 36 experimental and 36 distractors. The experimental items include three segments: context, target and comprehension question. Importantly, distractors are also divided in the very same three segments, but we do not take the RTs of these segments into account.

<b>Stimuli type</b>	<b>Number of items per participant</b>	<b>Structure</b>
<b>Experimental</b>	36	Context segment
		Target segment
		Comprehension question segment
<b>Distractors</b>	36	NA
<b>Total</b>	72	NA

Table 21. Summary of stimuli for the experiment.

#### 6.2.2.2 Implementation of stimuli in OpenSesame

Once all the experimental and distractor items were ready in their respective EXCEL spreadsheets, the experiment was implemented in a psycholinguistic software and the EXCEL spreadsheets were uploaded there. The software used was *OpenSesame* (cf. Appendix D to see the software interface), which is a free software (cf. Mathôt et al., 2012 for an overview). *OpenSesame* is equivalent to *E-Prime*, but does not require a licence. This software allows researchers to create their own experiment offering multiple widgets and setting in a user-friendly interface. Therefore, the experiment in this dissertation included the following parts (cf. Appendix E, p. 340 with all the different parts):

- i) Aim<sup>63</sup> of the experiment and consent form
- ii) Instructions
- iii) Practice (including 4 practice stimuli)
- iv) Experiment (including 216 experimental stimuli)

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<sup>62</sup>

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/livebirths/datasets/babynamesenglandandwalesbabynamesstatisticsgirls>

<sup>63</sup> Note that the aim was explained in general terms to avoid biasing participant's RTs.

v) Goodbye

Figure 27 shows an example of one trial. Each trial includes the context segment, target segment, and comprehension question segment explained above. As we can see in the figure, participants firstly see a fixation point and hear a *beep* sound at the same time. Then, the context segment appears, participants read it and they press space bar once they have read that segment. The same stands for the target segment. Finally, they answer the comprehension question segment with yes (blue key) or no (red key).

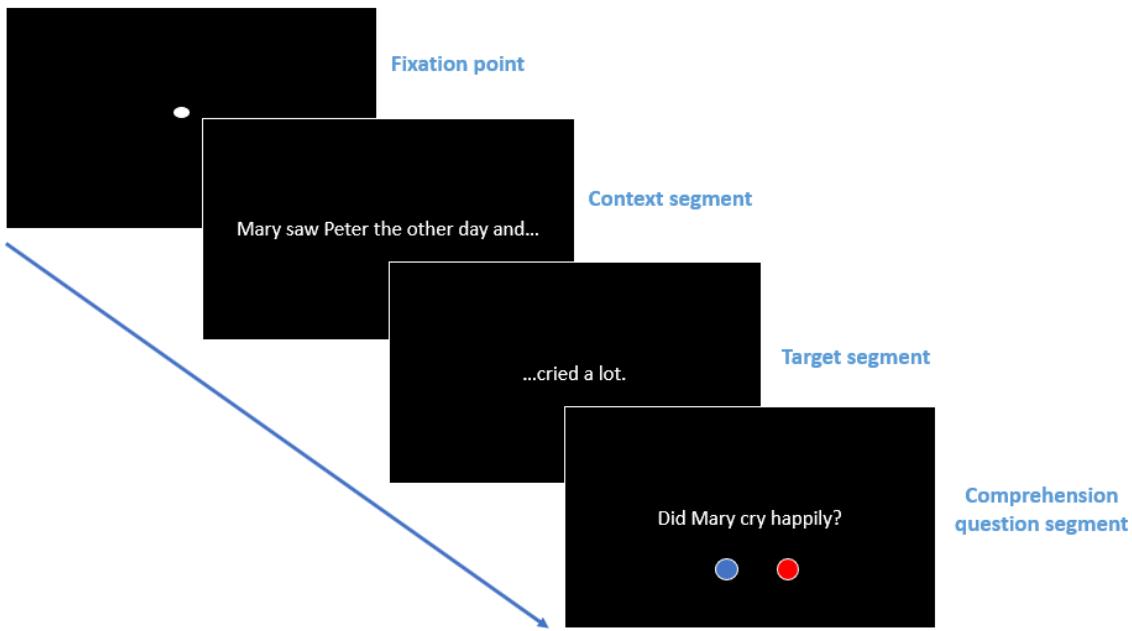


Figure 27. Experimental trial (i.e., sequence of the segments).

As we designed the experiment, we decided the variables that were of our interest. Once the experiment is finished, such variables are saved in an excel file and they can be later analysed (cf. 7.5.3.3, p. 274 for a description of the analyses that were carried out).

### 6.2.3 Participants

In this dissertation, the target participants for the experiment are English and Spanish native speakers and very advanced L1 Spanish-L2 English and L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers. We decided to keep very advanced L2ers only because we wanted to test the Interface Hypothesis and the PPVH. The IH (cf. 2.3, p. 14) proposed that near-native L2ers do not show native-like processing at the syntax-discourse interface. Strictly speaking, the IH can account for our experimental data because we focus on a problematic area at the syntax-discourse interface and we test very-advanced L2ers. Regarding the PPVH (cf. 3.3, p. 51), it was proposed to account for the production of very-advanced L2ers and, in this dissertation, we will actually see that the PPVH

accounts for production data across proficiency levels. Importantly, the PPVH has also accounted for experimental data across proficiency levels (Lozano, 2018), so we believe that this hypothesis can also account for our experimental data.

Table 22 shows the intended sample for the experiment. As we can see in the table, we expected to have 60 participants per group because it is ideal to have around 10 participants per conditions (Keating & Jegerski, 2015) so that the same experimental item is seen at least ten times. Additionally, Table 22 indicates the language of the experiment for each group and the proficiency level of the L2ers. Due to the COVID pandemic, data from all groups could not be collected and this is the reason why this study remains as a pilot experiment in this dissertation and the complete data collection is left for future research. The section devoted to the experimental study in the results chapter (cf. Chapter 7, section 7.5, p. 269) will specify the participants that could take part in the experiment in the end and the data collection procedure followed.

<b>Group</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Language of the experiment</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
<b>English natives</b>	60	English	NA
<b>L1 Spanish – L2 English</b>	60	English	Very-advanced (Oxford Placement Test)
<b>Spanish natives</b>	60	Spanish	NA
<b>L1 English – L2 Spanish</b>	60	Spanish	Very-advanced (University of Wisconsin Test)

Table 22. Target participants for the experiment.

Chapter 6 presented the methodology followed in our studies. Next, Chapter 7 shows the justification, research questions, method, results and discussion of each independent study.

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# Chapter 7. Results

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As mentioned in previous chapters (cf. Chapter 1, Chapter 6), this dissertation includes several independent corpus-based studies and one experimental study. This chapter presents each study separately in a section and each study includes the following subsections: justification of the study, research questions, method, results and conclusion.

## 7.1 STUDY 1: L1 Spanish – L2 English corpus study

### 7.1.1 Justification

Recall from the literature review in Chapter 4 that AR has been widely-studied in L2 Spanish, but the literature on L2 English is scarce. Some experimental studies in L2 English have focused on the morpho-syntactic properties licensing REs (*inter alia*: Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014), but have not focused on the syntax-discourse interface, while corpus-based studies have investigated the production of AR in discourse (*inter alia*: Kang, 2004; Leclercq & Lenart, 2013; Ryan, 2015). Importantly, experimental studies have investigated the phenomenon in restricted and artificial contexts and not paying attention to the phenomenon in discourse. Production studies have considered the phenomenon in discourse, but have not investigated all factors affecting AR in a systematic way and developmentally (across different proficiency levels). Therefore, this study (Study 1) departs from a corpus-based study on AR in L2 Spanish (Lozano, 2016) and investigates AR in discourse in L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers (across proficiency levels) using a corpus-based method (cf. 6.1) and including multiple factors affecting AR simultaneously (cf. 3.1, p. 30 for an overview of the factors).

### 7.1.2 Research questions

The research questions and hypotheses below are motivated by the general research questions and hypotheses in Chapter 5 (p. 97). Here, we provide more specific research questions and hypotheses related to the participants and factors analysed in this particular study.

#### 7.1.2.1 *RQ1: Overall production of REs*

In Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.1, p. 30), we explained that the production of referring expressions (REs) depends on the type of language (null subject vs. non-null subject languages). English is a non-null subject language and the use of null pronouns is more restrictive than in Spanish. In

particular, the use of null pronouns is restricted to topic continuity and coordinate contexts (cf. 3.1.1, p. 30) and, thus, overt material (i.e., overt pronouns and NPs) is more frequent in English than in null-subject languages. This fact motivates our first research question and hypothesis.

**RQ1:** What REs do L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers and English native speakers show in their overall production?

**H1:** English natives are expected to show a higher production of overt material (i.e., overt pronouns and NPs) than null pronouns, but some null pronouns are also expected. As for L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers, they are expected to be sensitive to the REs produced by natives (i.e., high production of overt material), but there will be some differences between L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers and English native speakers.

#### *7.1.2.2 RQ2: Information status (topic continuity and topic shift)*

Previous production studies on AR (Lozano, 2009b, 2016) showed that information status is an important factor in the choice of REs. No previous L2 English studies have analysed REs according to information status, so there is no evidence on how the division of labour, as explained in Table 3 in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.2, p. 35), works in English. Thus, the second research question and hypothesis are as follows.

**RQ2:** How does the information status influence the production of REs in English natives and L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers?

**H2:** English natives are expected to produce overt pronouns mainly, but also null pronouns (as they are allowed in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, cf. 3.1.2), while the production of NPs will be constrained to topic-shift contexts. L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers are expected to follow the English native pattern, but they are expected to overproduce overt pronouns (i.e., higher production of redundant overt pronouns and NPs in topic continuity) and show an overexplication phenomenon (i.e., production of infelicitous full REs), as previous L2 English studies found (Crosthwaite, 2011; Hendriks, 2003; Leclercq & Lenart, 2013; Ryan, 2015).

#### *7.1.2.3 RQ3: Transfer (topic continuity and coordinate contexts)*

The phenomenon of transfer has been traditionally reported in SLA, as mentioned in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2, p. 13). In the L2 English offline experimental literature (cf. 4.1.1, p. 57), ungrammatical acceptance of null pronouns and, thus, transfer of null pronouns from L2ers' L1 (which was a null subject language) have been reported (cf. Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014). By contrast, the L2 English production literature (cf. 4.1.2, p. 65)

has not reported production of ungrammatical null pronouns. Additionally, the L2 English online experimental literature (cf. Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017) on the PAS (cf. 3.1.4, p. 37 for an overview of the PAS) has reported no transfer of PAS-bias from their L1 because English L2ers showed that overt pronouns bias towards subject and non-subject antecedents (while null pronouns would bias towards subject antecedents in the L2ers' L1). Considering this, two potential possibilities of transfer are considered in this study: i) transfer of null pronouns by producing ungrammatical null pronouns in all contexts<sup>64</sup>; and ii) transfer of PAS-bias by producing ungrammatical null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents. This leads to the third research question and hypothesis of this study.

**RQ3:** Do L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers transfer null pronouns and PAS-biases from their L1 Spanish to their L2 English?

**H3:** In line with the corpus-based literature (inter alia: Hendriks, 2003; Kang, 2004), L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers are not expected to produce ungrammatical null pronouns and, thus, transfer is not expected. Regarding the transfer of PAS-bias, we follow the results of L2 English online experiments (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017) and a lack of transfer is also expected here.

#### 7.1.2.4 RQ4: Characterhood

Recall from section 3.1.6 (p. 39) that the type of character can influence the choice of REs. In fact, Kang (2004) (cf. 4.1.2, p. 65 for an overview of corpus-based studies in L1 English) found a characterhood effect using the same task as in this study (*Frog, where are you?*). This motivates our fourth research question and hypothesis.

**RQ4:** Does the type of character mentioned in the story influence the production of REs?

**H4:** It is expected to find differences in the production of REs depending on the character that is mentioned in both English natives and L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers.

#### 7.1.2.5 RQ5: Activated antecedents

Recall from section 3.1.3 (p. 35) that the number of activated antecedents can also influence the choice of REs, as shown in the Spanish literature (cf. Lozano, 2016), which leads to the following research question and hypothesis.

**RQ5:** Is the number of activated antecedents a factor that affects the production of REs?

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<sup>64</sup> Recall from section 3.1.2 that, in English, null pronouns occur in topic continuity and coordinate contexts only.

**H5:** An effect of the number of activated antecedents is expected in the production of English natives and L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers. In particular, we expect that a high number of activated antecedents will lead to the production of fuller REs.

#### 7.1.2.6 *RQ6: Picture transition*

As explained in section 3.1.7 (p. 40), the literature has reported an effect of the picture transition on the production of REs. This potential effect was observed during the tagging procedure of this study (Study 1). It was observed that, in topic-continuity contexts (where minimal forms are expected), fuller REs were produced when there was a transition between pictures (i.e., a change of picture). Therefore, this feature was included in the tagset during the tagging procedure to check whether there was an effect of transition between pictures. This motivated the last research question and hypothesis in this study.

**RQ6:** Does the transition between pictures influence the production of REs?

**H6:** It is hypothesised that fuller REs (i.e., NPs) would be produced in topic-continuity contexts when there is a transition between pictures.

### 7.1.3 Method

#### 7.1.3.1 *Corpus and participants*

The data for Study 1 comes from COREFL (cf. 6.1.1.2, p. 106 for an overview). A sample of beginner, intermediate and advanced L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and a control group of English native speakers was selected from this corpus, as shown in Table 23. The appendices section offers further details about the participants' metadata (cf. Appendix E, p. 340).

Group	N	Mean age	Mean AoO <sup>65</sup>	Mean LoI <sup>66</sup>
<b>Beginner</b>	8	20.9	8.1	12.3
<b>Intermediate</b>	11	18.7	7	11.7
<b>Advanced</b>	7	20.6	7.4	13.1
<b>Native</b>	19	20.3	-	-

Table 23. Sample of Study 1.

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<sup>65</sup> Age of Onset (AoO)

<sup>66</sup> Length of Instruction (LoI)

### 7.1.3.2 Task, tagset, and analysis

The task employed in Study 1 was the task *Frog, where are you?* explained above (cf. 6.1.2, p. 107 for an overview and justification of the task). The tagset included the features explained and illustrated in the General Method above (cf. 6.1.4, p. 112). Figure 28 overleaf shows the complete tagset of Study 1. All the features in this tagset are explained in section 6.1.4, but there are some minor differences with respect to the names employed above. In particular, the *anaphor clause position feature* here is different from the *syntactic configuration feature* explained in 6.1.4.5 (p. 116). In the *anaphor clause position feature*, we divide the type of sentence according to *main* with three levels (*new sentence*, *coordinate*, and *after\_subordinate*) or *subordinate* with two levels (*that clause* and *other clause*). In the *syntactic configuration feature*, we divided the type of sentences according to *inter-sentential* with two levels (*main.main* and *main\_new\_sentence*) or *intra-sentential* with three levels (*coordinate*, *main-sub*, and *sub-main*). Importantly, the overall types of sentences considered in both cases coincides, but the features' name changes.

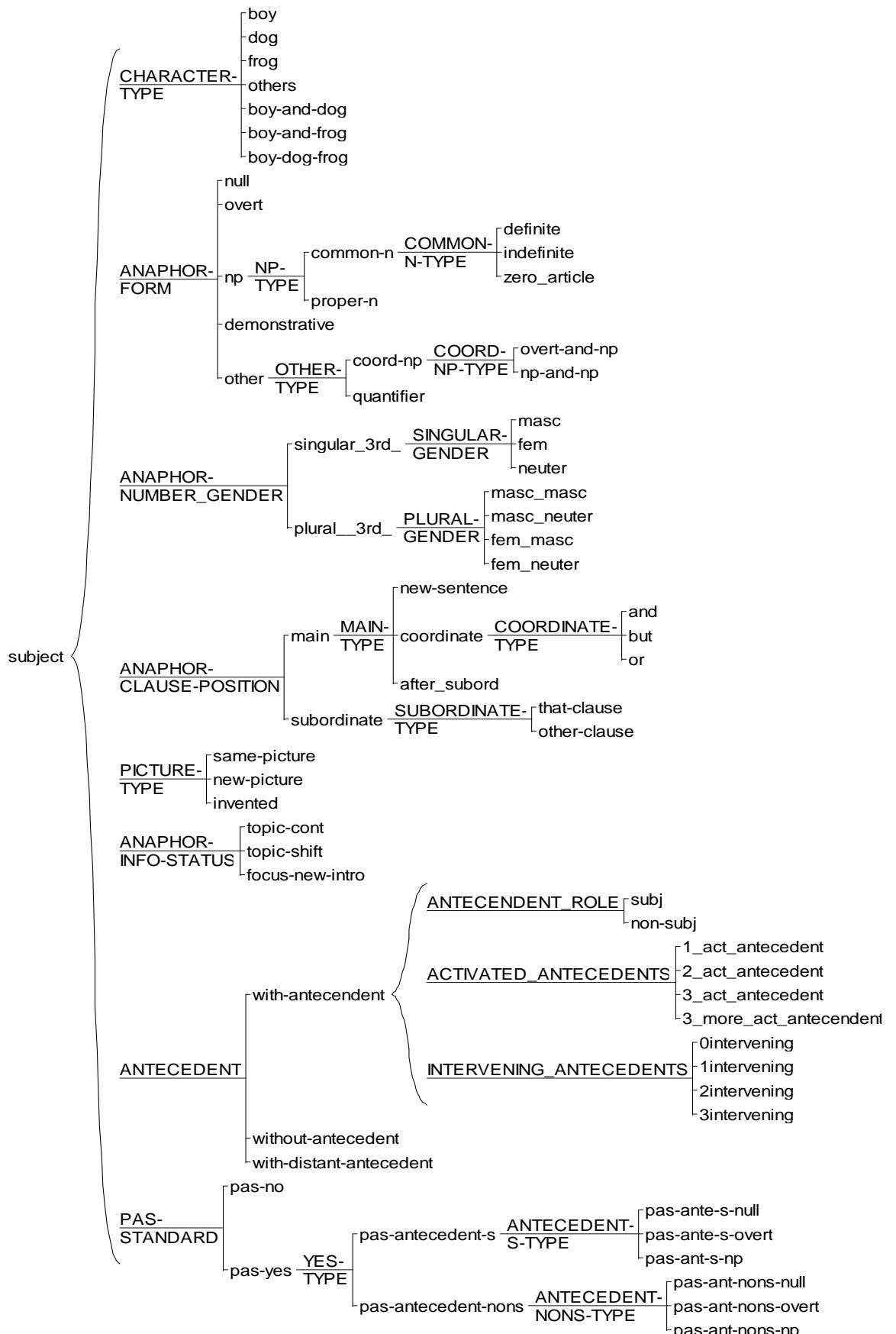


Figure 28. Tagset AR: Study 1.

Figure 29 shows the tagset used to tag whether a particular text belonged to an L2er or to a native. Within L2ers, we also tagged their proficiency level: beginner, intermediate or advanced.

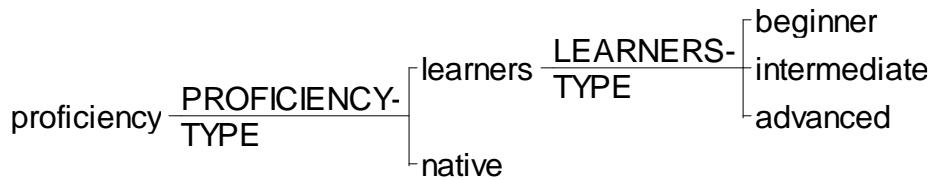


Figure 29. Tagset proficiency level: Study 1.

Regarding the analyses, they were carried out with the UAM Corpus Tool (as mentioned in the General Method). Multiple comparisons were made between the different groups of L2ers and the native group (i.e., beginner vs. native; intermediate vs. native; advanced vs. native). The differences between these groups are reported with  $\chi^2$  values with three levels of significance, as explained in Table 16 above (p. 112). As shown in Table 24, a total of 675 REs in subject position were included in this study. Crucially, each of such REs contains around 10 terminal tags<sup>67</sup>, as we can observe in Figure 28. So, the total number of tags would be ten times the total number of REs tagged ( $N \approx 6,750$ ).

Group	N	Total REs tagged per group
Beginner	8	145
Intermediate	11	165
Advanced	8	145
Native	16	220
<b>Total tagged REs</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>675</b>

Table 24. Number of tags in Study 1.

## 7.1.4 Results and discussion

### 7.1.4.1 Overall production of REs

These results show the overall production of REs without taking into account any factor. The next sections will show how the production of REs is modulated by different factors. The results in this subsection address research question 1 (cf. 7.1.2.1, p. 141).

Figure 30 shows that, in English natives, the production of NPs (49.1%) is higher than the production of overt (35%) and null (15.9%) pronouns. As for L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers, the

<sup>67</sup> Recall from section 6.1.4 (p. 88) that we included several tags for each RE. So, an RE was tagged in subject position once, but this tag includes multiple tags.

beginner group produces mainly overt pronouns (49.7%), closely followed by NPs (46.9%), and a low percentage of null pronouns (3.4%); the intermediate group produces mainly NPs (57.9%), followed by overt pronouns (38.4%), and also a low percentage of null pronouns (3.7%); and the advanced group produces mainly overt pronouns (47.6%), closely followed by NPs (44.1%), and the production of null pronouns is low (8.3%), but higher than the other L2ers' groups. There are statistically significant differences between the natives and the different groups of L2ers: the beginner group shows significant differences for null ( $\chi^2=13.907, p<0.02$ ) and overt pronouns ( $\chi^2=7.770, p< 0.02$ ); the intermediate group shows significant differences for null pronouns only ( $\chi^2=14.785, p<0.02$ ); and the advanced group shows significant differences for both null ( $\chi^2=4.536, p<0.05$ ) and overt pronouns ( $\chi^2=5.769, p<0.02$ ).

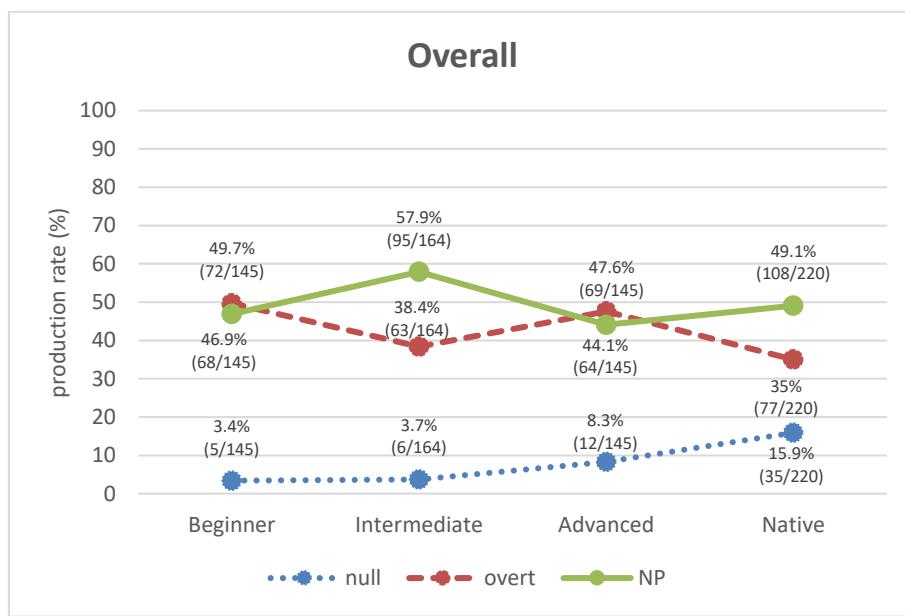


Figure 30. REs by group (Study 1).

These results confirm the expectations postulated in **H1**. Both English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers produce mostly overt material (overt pronouns and NPs), although significant differences are found between natives and the different groups of L2ers. Importantly, although English is a non-null subject language, null pronouns are also produced by natives and L2ers. Crucially, the production of null pronouns is overall lower in L2ers than in natives, which is opposite to the high acceptance of ungrammatical null pronouns reported in previous L2 English experimental studies (Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014). Subsequent results will reveal the contexts where these REs are produced. Importantly, these results offer a general overview of the distribution of the REs produced, but the following subsections will show that these REs are constrained by multiple factors and not all contexts are equally problematic for L2ers.

#### 7.1.4.2 Information status (topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts)

In this subsection, the production of REs is shown according to topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts. The results in this subsection address research question 2 (cf. 7.1.2.2, p. 142).

In **topic-continuity contexts**, Figure 31 shows that an overt pronoun is the most frequently produced RE across groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives (beginner: 84.2%; intermediate: 70%; advanced: 72.5%; natives: 52.7%). Next, natives and advanced L2ers show higher production of null pronouns (natives: 30.9%; advanced: 17.4%) than NPs (natives: 16.4%; advanced: 10.1%). By contrast, beginner and intermediate groups show higher production of NPs (beginner: 9.2%; intermediate: 22.9%) than null pronouns (beginner: 6.6%; intermediate: 7.1%). There are significant differences between natives and all groups of L2ers for null pronouns (beginner:  $\chi^2=16.056$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; intermediate:  $\chi^2=14.236$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; advanced:  $\chi^2=4.258$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) and overt pronouns (beginner:  $\chi^2=19.740$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; intermediate:  $\chi^2=5.294$ ,  $p<0.05$ ; advanced:  $\chi^2=6.902$ ,  $p<0.02$ ).

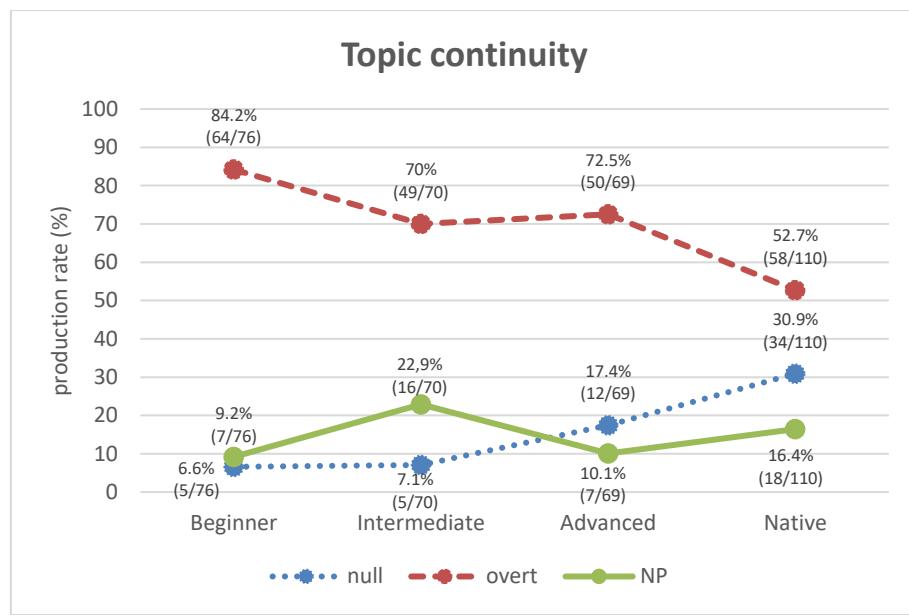


Figure 31. REs according to topic continuity by group (Study 1).

As for **topic-shift contexts**, NPs are by far the most frequently produced REs across groups (beginner: 86.2%; intermediate: 81.9%; advanced: 71.6%; natives: 79.4%). NPs are followed by overt pronouns (beginner: 13.8%; intermediate: 16.9%; advanced: 28.4%; natives: 19.6%) and there is no production of null pronouns, except for two infelicitous cases. Crucially, there are no significant differences between each of the L2ers' groups and the English natives for topic-shift contexts.

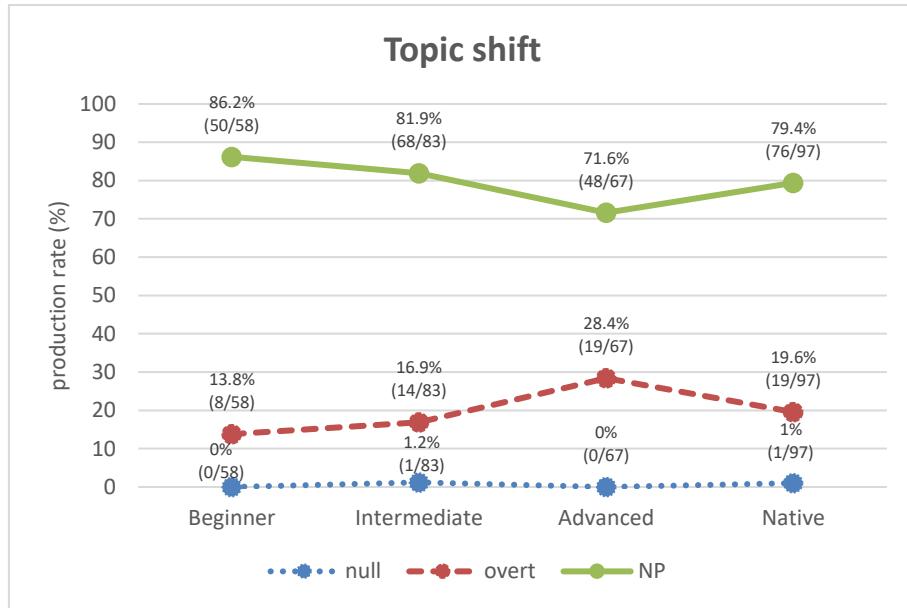


Figure 32. REs according to topic shift by group (Study 1).

NPs are also produced to introduce a new character in **focus new introduction contexts**, as Figure 33 shows. Frequencies are lower in these contexts than in topic continuity and topic shift, but, importantly, all groups produce NPs only. So, there is no doubt that these contexts require a full RE like an NP.

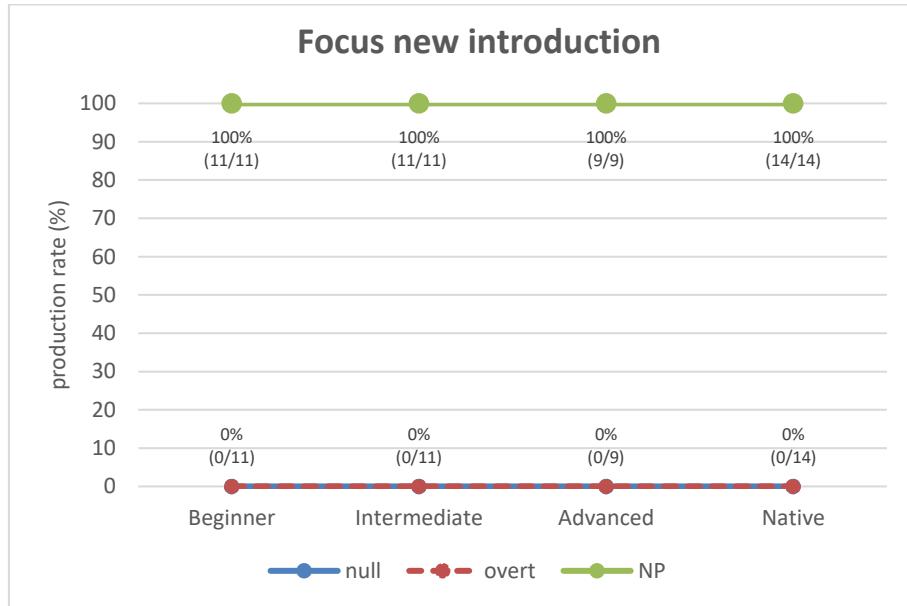


Figure 33. REs according to focus new introduction by group (Study 1).

These results confirm **H2** because overt and null pronouns are the most frequent REs in **topic-continuity contexts**, although some NPs are also produced in this context. In fact, beginner and intermediate groups produce mainly overt pronouns followed by NPs and null pronouns, while advanced and native groups produce mainly overt pronouns, followed by null pronouns and NPs.

Importantly, there are significant differences between natives and all L2ers' groups for null and overt pronouns. Therefore, L2ers start overproducing mainly overt pronouns and also NPs as illustrated in (89) (i.e., they produce more explicit REs where less explicit REs would be felicitous), which confirms previous research (Crosthwaite, 2011; Hendriks, 2003; Leclercq & Lenart, 2013; Ryan, 2015). Importantly, previous research did not investigate L2ers across proficiency levels and we reveal that L2ers show a developmental trend in the production of REs. In particular, the higher the proficiency level (and therefore the higher the exposure to input), the more native-like they behave. However, they are not producing REs in a native-like manner even at advanced levels, which in line with the IH proposed by Sorace (2011) (cf. 2.3, p. 14 for an overview of the IH).

- (89) The next day, the boy<sub>i</sub> doesn't watch his frog<sub>j</sub> and he<sub>i</sub> looked for it<sub>j</sub>. The boy<sub>i</sub> shouted and his dog<sub>k</sub> smell his frog<sub>j</sub> [ES\_WR\_B1\_18\_12\_13\_LRG] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, intermediate)

By contrast, **topic-shift contexts** do not seem to be problematic for L2ers, as all groups (including the natives) produce mainly NPs in topic-shift contexts, as H2 proposed, and there are no significant differences between groups. Overt pronouns are also produced in this context (but to a lesser extent) and there is no production of null pronouns (except for two infelicitous null pronouns). The fact that topic-shift contexts are not problematic for L2ers confirms that not all phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface are equally problematic (Slabakova, 2016; White, 2011b), as reported in the L2 Spanish literature (Lozano, 2016, 2018). Therefore, results are in line with the PPVH proposed by Lozano (2016) (cf. 3.3, p. 51 for an overview of the PPVH) and L2ers observe the Principle of Manner/Clarity producing felicitous REs in topic-shift contexts, but violate the Informativeness/Economy Principle producing redundant overt pronouns in topic-continuity contexts, which will be discussed in detail in the final discussion section (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.3, p. 297).

Finally, the results in this subsection also show the REs produced in **focus new introduction contexts**. There is no doubt that a full RE is required to introduce a character and the results show that this happens across groups of L2ers and natives. Importantly, REs in focus new introduction contexts are not anaphoric because they are introducing a character for the first time, but these results are shown to corroborate that both L2ers and natives are aware of this and are not ambiguous in focus new introduction contexts.

#### 7.1.4.3 Transfer (information status and syntax)

The results in this subsection address research question 3. Recall from RQ3 (cf. 7.1.2.3, p. 142) that two potential possibilities of transfer are considered. Thus, we first show production of REs in topic continuity and coordinate contexts and in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts to check if the production of ungrammatical null pronouns occurs. Then, we focus on PAS contexts to check whether the PAS-bias is transferred.

Figure 34 shows that English natives produce mostly null pronouns (76.7%) in **topic continuity and coordinate contexts**, which confirms that null pronouns are allowed in English, as mentioned in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.2, p. 32) and illustrated in (9a) on page 33. As for L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers, the advanced group behaves as natives because null pronouns (60%) are the most frequent REs, while, in the same contexts, overt pronouns (beginner: 80.8%; intermediate: 70%) are the most frequent REs among beginner and intermediate groups. There are significant differences between natives and beginner and intermediate groups for null (beginner:  $\chi^2=21.661, p<0.02$ ; intermediate:  $\chi^2=18.135, p<0.02$ ) and overt (beginner:  $\chi^2=27.947, p<0.02$ ; intermediate:  $\chi^2=17.728, p<0.02$ ) pronouns. The advanced group shows a slightly significant difference for overt ( $\chi^2=4.234, p<0.05$ ) when compared to English natives.

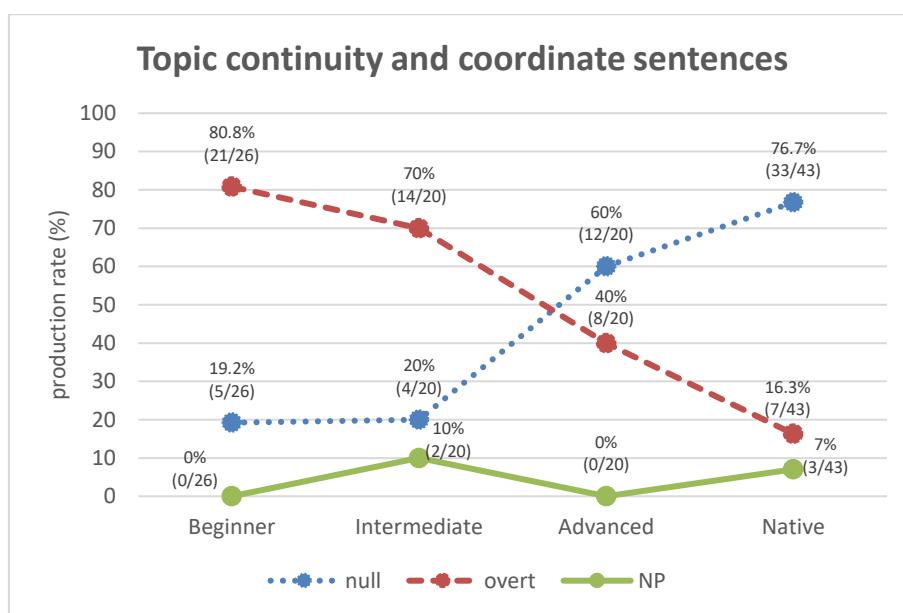


Figure 34. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group (Study 1).

Figure 35 corroborates that null pronouns are restricted to coordinate contexts because this figure shows that natives produce only overt material (overt pronouns and NPs) in **topic continuity and not coordinate contexts**. Likewise, L2ers do the same as natives (except for one case of infelicitous null pronoun) and there are no significant differences between natives and L2ers.

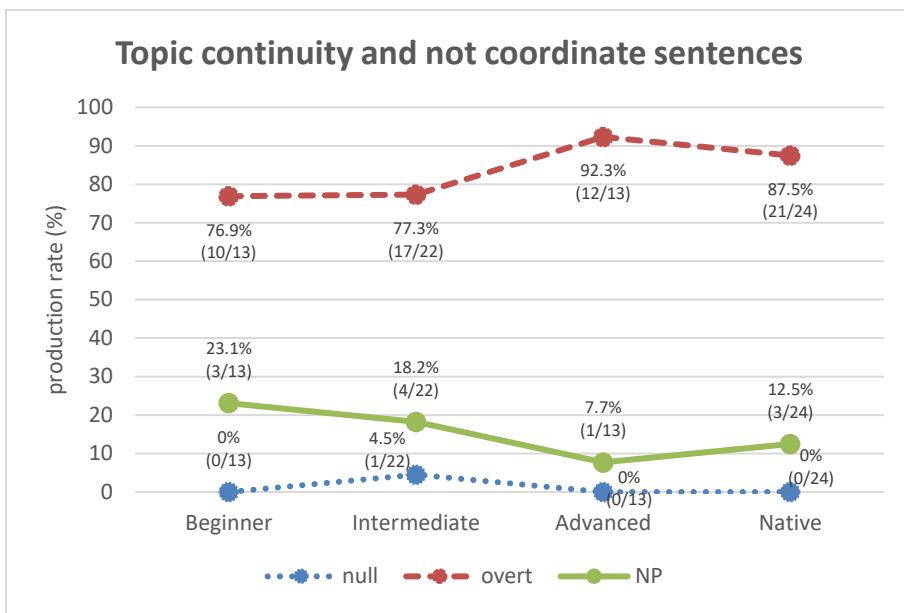


Figure 35. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group (Study 1).

Regarding the possible transfer due to **PAS scenarios**, Table 25 shows that PAS scenarios are produced, but to a lesser extent than no PAS scenarios across groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives.

PAS	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced	Native
<b>PAS scenario</b>	16.4% (N=29)	12.3% (N=29)	10.8% (N=21)	16.2% (N=47)
<b>No PAS scenario</b>	83.6% (N=148)	87.7% (N=207)	89.2% (N=174)	83.8% (N=243)

Table 25. PAS contexts by group (Study 1).

Now, we focus on the production of REs in PAS scenarios only. Figure 36 shows that most PAS scenarios bias towards subject antecedents because there are higher raw frequencies in Figure 36 (subject antecedent bias) than in Figure 37 (non-subject antecedent bias). Regarding the production of REs in **subject antecedent bias**, Figure 36 shows that overt pronouns bias mostly towards subject antecedent across groups of L2ers and natives (beginner: 87%; intermediate: 60.9%; advanced: 71.4%; native: 64.5%). Regarding **non-subject antecedent bias**, Figure 37 shows that NPs bias mostly towards non-subject antecedents (beginner: 83.3%; intermediate: 60%; advanced: 71.4%; Native: 87.5%).

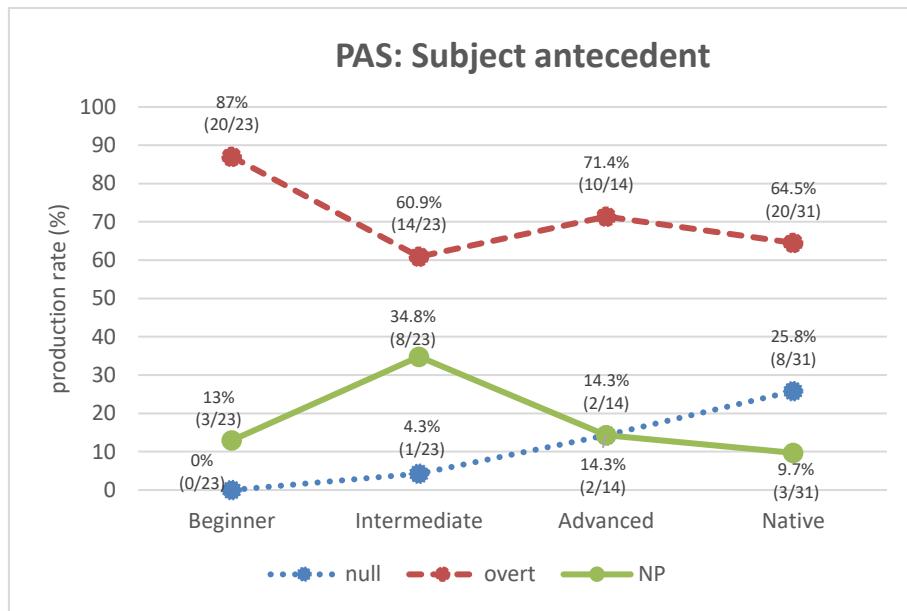


Figure 36. PAS scenario with subject antecedent: REs by group (Study 1).

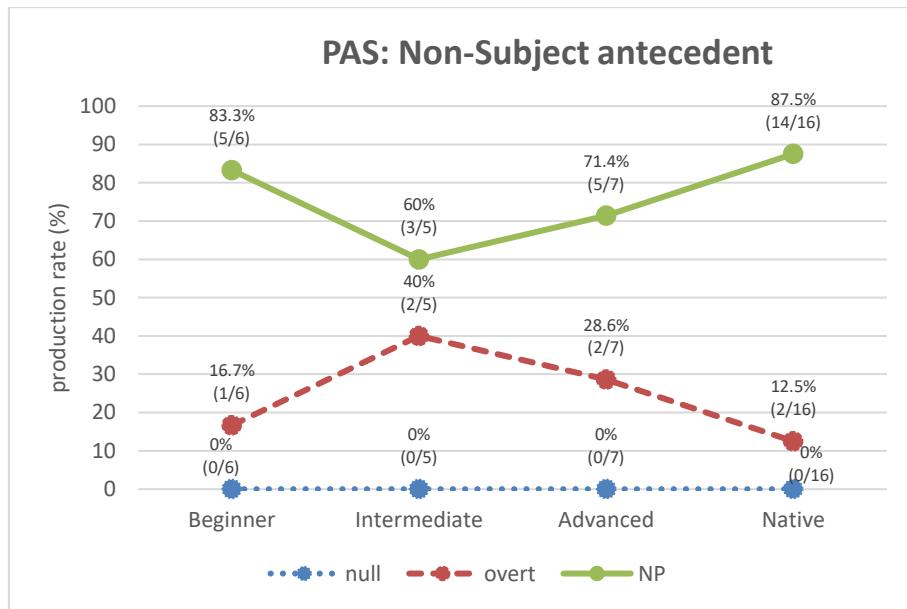


Figure 37. PAS scenario with non-subject antecedent: REs by group (Study 1).

Results in this subsection confirm **H3** because there is a **lack of transfer** in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. Firstly, results reveal that there is no transfer effect because L2ers are aware of the fact that null pronouns are restricted to topic continuity and coordinate contexts in English. In fact, not only is there no production of null pronouns in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts, but also L2ers “underproduce” null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts; that is, L2ers start playing safe and overproducing overt pronouns from beginner levels, as illustrated in (90), and the more proficient they are, the more null pronouns they produce. The overall production of English natives (cf. 7.1.4.1, p. 147) showed that overt material (overt pronouns

and NPs) is highly frequent and, thus, these REs are more frequent in the L2ers' input. It seems that L2ers are sensitive to the input and they first acquire overt pronouns and NPs. Then, they start being sensitive to the pragmatics of the English input and acquire null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts developmentally across proficiency level and, crucially, native-like attainment of null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts is possible at advanced level, which would disconfirm the IH. The results in the previous subsection above (cf. 7.1.4.2) showed that there were significant differences between natives and advanced L2ers in topic continuity, but such significant differences are overridden in this particular context (i.e., topic continuity and coordinate). Curiously, these results are opposite to the overacceptance of null pronouns found in previous offline experiments (Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014), which could occur because different types of data were analysed (experimental vs. corpus-based data) (cf. 2.4, p. 16 for an overview of different research methods in SLA).

- (90) Mark<sub>i</sub> go out in his search and he<sub>i</sub> looked around in a mountain, near the river and he<sub>i</sub> (unknown<sup>68</sup>) because (...). [ES\_WR\_A2\_Unknown\_13\_AAP] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, beginner)

Regarding the **transfer in PAS scenarios**, both L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and English natives show a low production of these scenarios. Firstly, this suggests that PAS contexts are not transferred from the L1 Spanish, where the PAS has been extensively investigated and PAS scenarios are assumed to be highly frequent. In addition, the results suggest that PAS scenarios are not highly frequent in natural production in English. These suggestions of the PAS will be further explored in Study 3 in this dissertation. Regarding the production of **REs in PAS scenarios**, there is no transfer of null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents because there is no production of ungrammatical null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents. In fact, **overt pronouns** bias mainly towards **subject antecedents** as in (91a), which is in line with previous L2 English experimental studies (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017), and **NPs** bias mainly towards **non-subject antecedents** as in (91b), which has not been previously reported. Crucially, these findings reveal that NPs also play a role in the PAS division of labour in English, which is an overlooked finding. All in all, the results in this subsection show that L1 Spanish - L2 English L2ers neither transfer the PAS configuration nor the null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents from their L1 in PAS scenarios. In fact, L2ers are redundant and they

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<sup>68</sup> Note that the participants in this study wrote their compositions in paper and then the compositions were transcribed (cf. 6.1.1.2, p. 87 for an overview of the procedure). When word(s) were illegible, such words were transcribed as unknown.

develop and behave in a native-like manner as their proficiency level increases. It seems that a greater amount of exposure to input implies a greater awareness of natives' use of REs, which is an idea that is further explored in Study 2 in this dissertation.

- (91) a. At the next morning, the little boy<sub>i</sub> woke up and when he<sub>i</sub> didn't saw the frog<sub>i</sub>, **he<sub>i</sub>** felt worried. [ES\_WR\_A2\_22\_15\_13\_RMV] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, beginner)
- b. Tony<sub>i</sub> had a great pet; a frog<sub>i</sub>; but his **frog<sub>i</sub>** was very unhappy because it<sub>j</sub> wanted (...) [ES\_WR\_B1\_18\_12\_13\_RMV] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, intermediate)

#### 7.1.4.4 Characterhood

Recall from section 3.1.6 (p. 39) that the character can affect the production of REs. Thus, this subsection addresses research question 4 (cf. 7.1.2.4, p. 143) and REs are shown according to the characters (i.e., production of REs for *the boy*, *the dog*, and *the frog*).

Figure 38 shows the production of REs for the character ***the boy***. English natives produce overt pronouns and NPs to the same extent (43%) to refer to *the boy* and they also produce null pronouns (14%). All groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers produce more overt pronouns to refer to *the boy* (beginner: 65.4%; intermediate: 48.6%; advanced: 58.1%) than NPs (beginner: 31.7%; intermediate: 47.7%; advanced: 31.4%), and they also produce some null pronouns (beginner: 2.9%; intermediate: 3.7%; advanced: 10.5%).

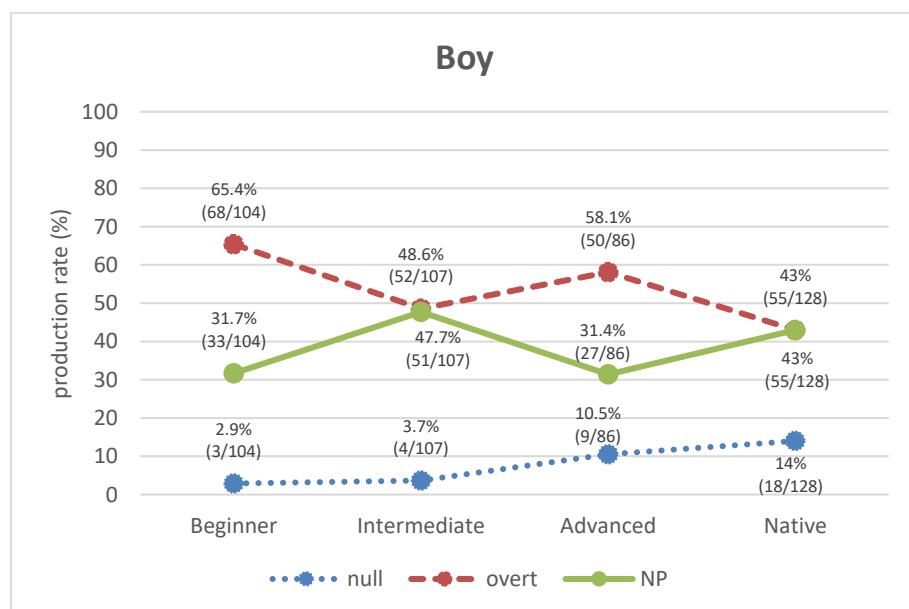


Figure 38. REs to refer to character (*boy*) by group (Study 1).

Regarding the characters ***the dog*** and ***the frog***, Figure 39 and Figure 40 show that the raw frequencies are lower than the raw frequencies found for the *boy*. As for the REs, these figures

show that the production of NPs is higher for these two characters (*the dog* and *the frog*) than for *the boy* across groups: *dog* (beginner: 100%; intermediate: 81.8%; advanced: 85.7%; natives: 62.5%) and *frog* (beginner: 77.8%; intermediate: 80%; advanced: 59.5%; native: 62%). Overt and null pronouns are also produced but the percentages are considerably low.

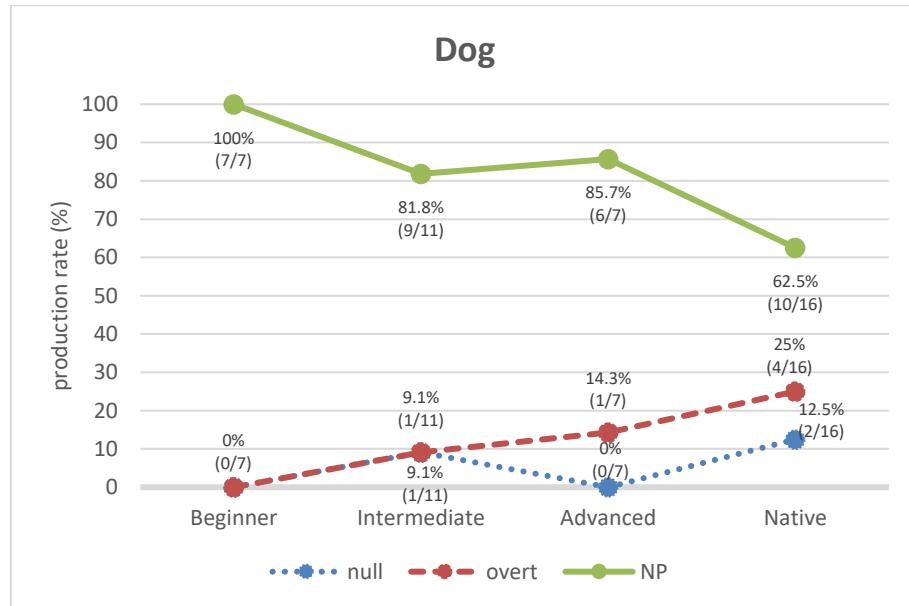


Figure 39. REs to refer to character (dog) by group (Study 1).

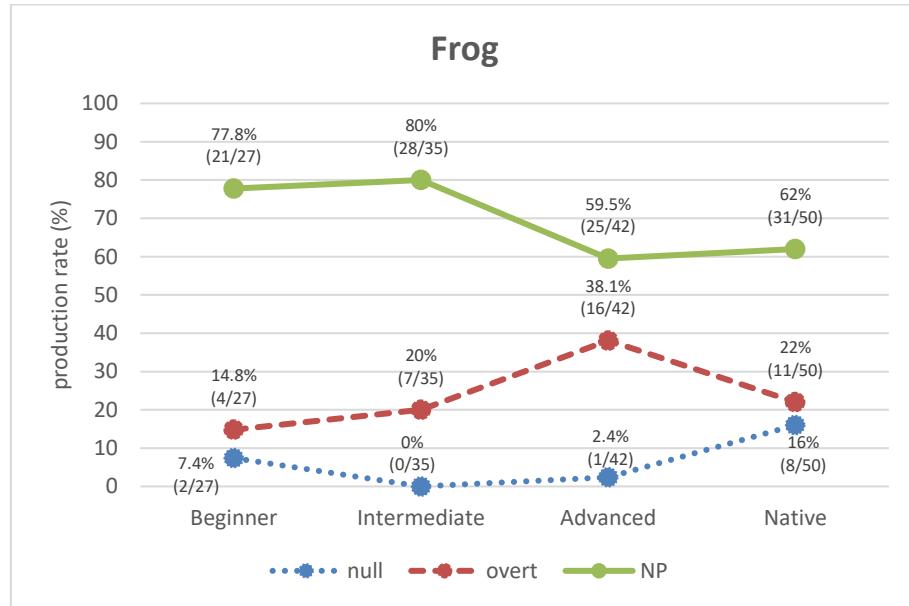


Figure 40. REs to refer to character (frog) by group (Study 1).

Figures in this subsection show a change in the production of REs depending on the character. Results in the previous section also showed a division of labour of REs depending on information status. An interesting question, that was not specifically addressed in RQ4 (cf. 7.1.2.4, p. 143) above, is whether the division of labour of REs in topic continuity and topic shift is maintained

regardless of the character. Figure 41 and Figure 42 show the production of REs according to the character *the boy* (who has the highest raw frequencies) in topic continuity and topic shift respectively. In **topic continuity**, Figure 41 shows that all groups produce mainly overt pronouns (beginner: 85.9%; intermediate: 72.1%; advanced: 70.6%; natives: 56.6%). Overt pronouns are followed by null pronouns in advanced L2ers and natives, while overt pronouns are followed by NPs in beginner and intermediate L2ers.

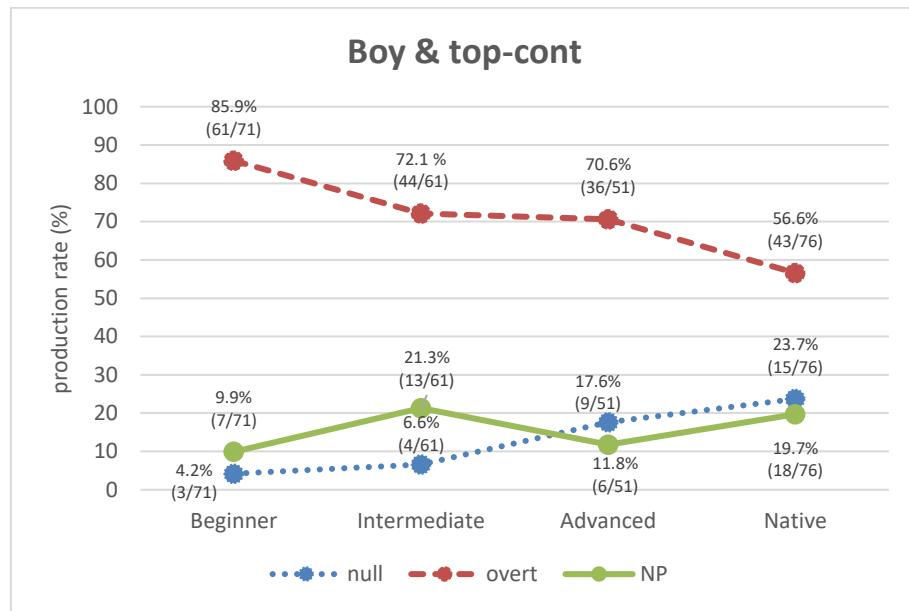


Figure 41. REs for boy according to information status (topic continuity) by group (Study 1).

In **topic shift**, Figure 42 shows that all groups produce mainly NPs for *the boy* (beginner: 75%; intermediate: 79.5%; advanced: 56.3%; natives: 72.1%) followed by overt pronouns (beginner: 25%; intermediate: 20.5%; advanced: 43.7%; natives: 27.9%).

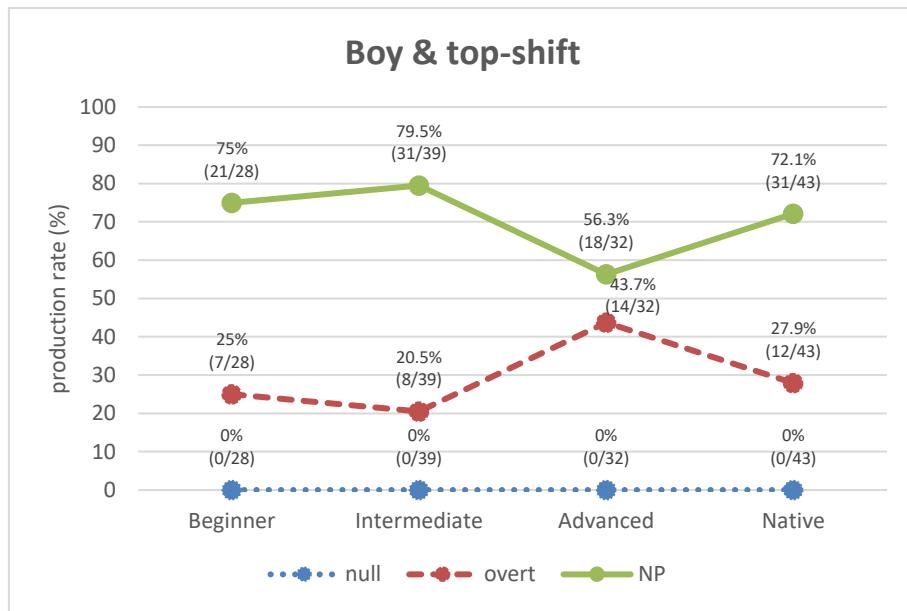


Figure 42. REs for boy according to information status (topic shift) by group (Study 1).

If we compare Figure 41 and Figure 42 with Figure 31 and Figure 32 above, these figures show that the division of labour in topic continuity and topic shift is maintained regardless of the type of character: high production of overt pronouns in topic-continuity contexts and high production of NPs in topic-shift contexts. Due to the low raw frequencies in the characters *the dog* and *the frog*, it is not possible to show a reliable division of labour of REs in topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts for these two characters.

These results confirm **H4** because the patterns of production change depending on the character, which is in line with previous findings (Kang, 2004). First, results show that the character ***the boy*** is the **main character** as there are much higher raw frequencies for *the boy* than for ***the dog*** and ***the frog***, which are in turn considered **secondary characters**. Additionally, the characterhood has an influence on the choice of REs in both natives and L2ers. They produce mainly overt pronouns and NPs followed by a small percentage of null pronouns for *the boy*, while they produce mostly NPs for the secondary characters. If we compare the overall production of REs to the production of REs according to characters, we notice that the production of REs changes and, thus, there seems to be a characterhood effect. Crucially, it is important to consider that the main and the secondary characters are of different nature (i.e., the main character is [+human] and the secondary characters are [-human]) and this could be influencing the data. Whether it is the case, it is difficult to check in the present study, but it is a factor to consider, as we will do in Study 4. Also, it was postulated whether the information status factor continued influencing the production of REs when considering the main character (*the boy*). It is found that the distribution of REs in topic continuity and topic shift when

considering *the boy* did not change if we compare them with the distribution of REs in the general topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts (with all characters together) shown above. Therefore, less explicit REs are produced for the main character and more explicit REs are produced for secondary characters, but this does not affect the division of labour of REs according to information status (i.e., the distribution of REs is similar in topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts independently of whether we consider all the characters together or the main character in isolation), which will be further discussed in the General discussion in Chapter 8 (cf. 8.1, p. 285).

#### 7.1.4.5 Activated antecedents

The literature has shown that the number of activated antecedents can influence the production of REs (cf. 3.1.3, p. 35). Thus, the results in this subsection show the production of REs according to the number of activated antecedents and we address research question 5 (cf. 7.1.2.5, p. 143).

Figure 43 shows that most groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives (beginner, advanced, natives) produce mainly overt pronouns with 2 antecedents, while the intermediate group produces almost 50-50% of overt pronouns and NPs with 2 antecedents. When it comes to 3 antecedents, Figure 43 shows that most groups (beginner, intermediate, natives) produce mainly NPs. The advanced group produces mainly overt pronouns with 3 activated antecedents, but closely followed by NPs. There are significant differences between 2 and 3 activated antecedents in overt (beginner:  $\chi^2=12.244, p<0.02$ ; native:  $\chi^2=9.210, p<0.02$ ) and NP (beginner:  $\chi^2=13.616, p<0.02$ ; native:  $\chi^2=13.146, p<0.02$ ). Intermediate and advanced groups do not show significant differences between two and three activated antecedents.



Figure 43. REs according to the number of activated antecedents by group (Study 1).

These results reveal that the **number of activated** antecedents influence the production of REs, but the effect of antecedents is not confirmed across groups so **H5** is partially confirmed. In particular, beginner and native groups show significant differences between 2 and 3 activated antecedents producing mainly overt pronouns with 2 activated antecedents, as shown in (92), and mainly NPs with 3 activated antecedents, as shown in (93). By contrast, there are no differences between 2 and 3 activated antecedents in intermediate and advanced groups. Previous research (Lozano, 2016) showed an effect of antecedents according to information status (i.e., topic continuity and topic shift). Here, we find the effect of activated antecedent without considering information status. Results indicate that it could be a factor as some differences are found, but it is a factor that needs to be further explored, as we will do in Study 4 in this dissertation. Previous English studies had found that the number of activated antecedents is a factor (Arnold & Griffin, 2007) and the fact that this is more evident in natives in the present study could be because natives do not show additional processing costs, while L2ers do.

- (92) a. One day a little boy<sub>i</sub> found a frog<sub>j</sub> in the park. **He**<sub>i</sub> decided ... [EN\_WR\_19\_1\_SCJ]  
(English native)

b. In that night, the frog<sub>i</sub> escaped from the vase and when it was morning, the boy<sub>i</sub> was worried for the frog<sub>i</sub>, so he<sub>i</sub> looked for on the river, ... [ES\_WR\_B1\_19\_13\_13\_Rem] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, intermediate)

- (93) a. One day, a boy<sub>i</sub> and his dog<sub>j</sub> has a frog<sub>k</sub> in a jar. In the dark of the night, **the frog**<sub>k</sub> escaped, ... [EN\_WR\_21\_1\_AGS] (English native)
- b. One day, there was a kid<sub>i</sub> with his dog<sub>k</sub> sitting in front of the bed, looking at a frog<sub>j</sub> in a jar; it was night so **the little boy**<sub>i</sub> soon turned off the lights ... [Learner: ES\_WR\_C1\_19\_13\_13\_EOJ] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, advanced)

#### 7.1.4.6 Picture transition

In Chapter 3, we explained that the transition between boundaries can influence the production of REs (cf. 3.1.7, p. 40). In this subsection, research question 6 (cf. 7.1.2.6, p. 144) is addressed and we show the production of REs in topic continuity according to the transition between pictures (i.e., maintenance or change of picture).

In **topic-continuity contexts**, Figure 44 shows that both English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers produce mainly null pronouns in the **same picture**, while they produce mainly overt material when there is a **transition between pictures** (i.e., a change of picture and a new one appears). Table 26 shows the percentage of production of REs in the same picture (i.e., maintenance of picture) and in a new picture (i.e., change of picture). It is observed that the production of null pronouns (L2ers: 81.8%; natives: 82.4%) is much higher in the same picture than in the new picture (L2ers: 18.2%; natives: 17.6%). When there is a transition between pictures (i.e., when a new picture appears), there is an increase in the production of NPs (L2ers: 51.7%; natives: 50%) and, therefore, a decrease of null pronouns (L2ers: 48.3%; natives: 50%). Example (94) illustrates this effect because we can observe that redundant NPs are employed when there is a change in picture<sup>69</sup>, while example (95) shows that null or overt pronouns can be used in these contexts, as all of them are cases of topic continuity.

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<sup>69</sup> In example (94), a change of picture occurs when there are two slashes (//)

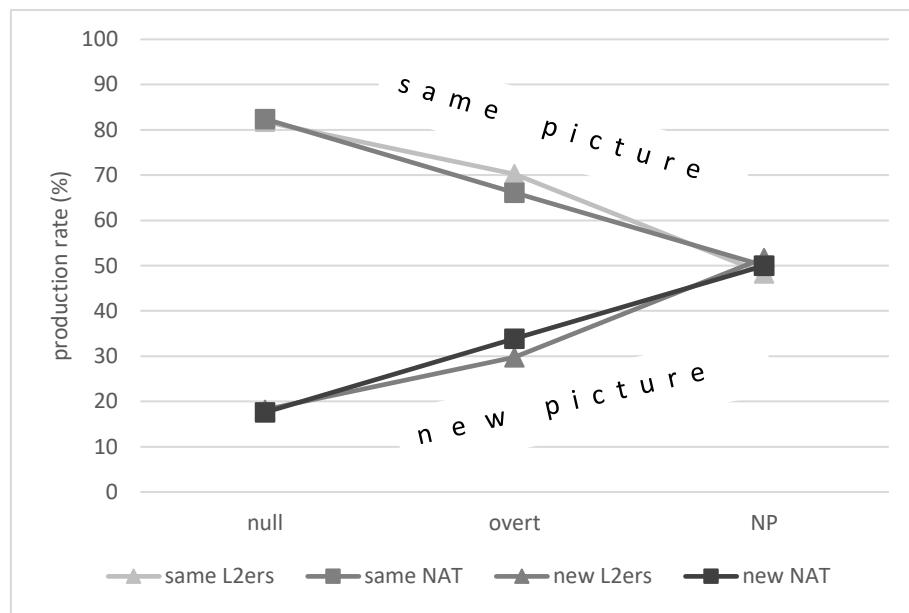


Figure 44. REs in topic continuity according to picture type (same vs. new) by group (Study 1).

	null	overt	NP
<b>same L2ers</b>	81.8 (37/46)	70.2 (151/211)	48.3 (17/35)
<b>same NAT</b>	82.4 (28/34)	66.1 (37/56)	50 (9/18)
<b>new L2ers</b>	18.2 (9/46)	29.8 (60/211)	51.7 (18/35)
<b>new NAT</b>	17.6 (6/34)	33.9 (19/56)	50 (9/18)

Table 26. REs in topic continuity according to picture type (same vs. new) by group (Study 1).

(94) The next day, the boy<sub>i</sub> doesn't watch his frog<sub>j</sub> and he looked for it<sub>j</sub>. // The boy<sub>i</sub> shouted in the forest ... // The boy<sub>i</sub> jumped in the trees. // The boy<sub>i</sub> was in the rock after. ... [ES\_WR\_B1\_18\_12\_13\_LRG], (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, intermediate)

(95) He<sub>i</sub> shouted and tried to find his frog<sub>j</sub> into the trees. After, he<sub>i</sub> climbed up a enormous rock and [Ø<sub>i</sub>] held two big branches [ES\_WR\_B2\_19\_11\_13\_RNL] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, intermediate)

These results reveal that the **transition between pictures** also seems to be a factor, which confirms **H6**. Crucially, this finding has not been previously reported in the L2 English literature that has used similar or same tasks (Contemori & Dussias, 2016; Crosthwaite, 2011; Kang, 2004). In topic-continuity contexts, null and overt pronouns are expected, as the results show. Therefore, these REs should be produced independently of the picture. However, the fact that participants retold a picture and then moved to retell the following picture triggers the production of fuller REs, as if they are starting a new episode. Thus, the visual movement from

picture to picture breaks the discourse continuity. This is in line with the concept of unity mentioned in section 3.1 (cf. 3.1.7, p. 40), which is related to the frame where a RE and the antecedent of such RE occurs. The frame can include a change of picture, scene, boundary, paragraph, etc., and the literature has reported that the frame affects the production of REs (cf. Collewaert, 2019 for an overview).

### 7.1.5 Summary of findings and highlights of Study 1

Table 27 overleaf summarizes the findings of this study comparing English native speakers and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. If we observe the column of English native speakers, we can firstly see the production of REs without considering any factor (overall production) and then, in the following rows in the table, we can observe how such production of REs is modulated by the different factors. The same stands for the column of the L2ers and, additionally, we can observe that the production of L2ers sometimes differs from natives' production. Therefore, Study 1 shows the different factors that constrain the production of REs in English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers: information status, syntactic configuration, character type, number of activated antecedents and picture transition. L2ers tend to follow natives' production but they do so progressively across proficiency levels and there are differences between natives and L2ers even at advanced levels. Importantly, not all contexts seem to be equally problematic, which confirms that not all phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface are equally problematic (Lozano, 2016, 2018; White, 2011b).

In conclusion, Study 1 shows the production of REs according to multiple factors in a systematic manner and presents an innovation in the field of SLA and AR, as there is no previous study in L2 English following this methodology. Additionally, the results reveal that AR is a complex phenomenon and it is crucial to investigate the phenomenon in natural production. However, more data would be needed in order to corroborate the results and other tasks could be employed in order to ascertain how certain factors (character or picture transition) affect the production of REs, as we will do in Study 4. Additionally, it was assumed that the exposure to input would play a role in the acquisition of REs, so it would be necessary to check whether a higher exposure to input would imply a more native-like use of REs, which led us to the next study, Study 2.

Factor		English native speakers	L2 English (*=see note below)
<b>No factor</b> (overall production of REs)		<b>NP &gt; overt &gt; null</b>	Beginner: <b>overt*</b> ≈ NP > null* Intermediate: NP > <b>overt</b> > null* Advanced: <b>overt*</b> ≈ NP > null*
Information status	<b>Topic continuity</b>	<b>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</b>	Beginner: <b>overt*</b> > NP ≈ null* Intermediate: <b>overt*</b> > NP > null* Advanced: <b>overt*</b> > null* > NP
	<b>Topic shift</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt</b> (across groups)
Information status and syntax	<b>Top cont &amp; coordinate</b>	<b>null&gt;&gt; overt &gt; NP</b>	Beginner: <b>overt*</b> > null* > NP Intermediate: <b>overt*</b> > null* > NP Advanced: null> <b>overt</b> > NP
	<b>Top cont and not coordinate</b>	<b>overt &gt; NP</b>	<b>overt &gt; NP</b> (across groups)
	PAS    Subject antecedent	<b>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</b>	Beginner: <b>overt</b> > NP Intermediate: <b>overt</b> > NP > null Advanced: <b>overt</b> > NP ≈ null
Characterhood	Non-subject antecedent	<b>NP &gt; overt</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt</b> (across groups)
	Boy	<b>overt ≈ NP &gt; null</b>	<b>overt &gt; NP &gt;&gt; null</b> (across groups)
	Dog	<b>NP &gt; overt ≈ null</b>	<b>NP &gt; (overt) ≈ (null)</b> (across groups)
Activated antecedents	Frog	<b>NP &gt; overt ≈ null</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt &gt; (null)</b> (across groups)
	2 act antecedents	<b>overt &gt; NP</b>	Beginner: <b>overt</b> > NP Intermediate: <b>overt</b> ≈ NP Advanced: <b>overt</b> > NP
	3 act antecedents	<b>NP &gt; overt</b>	Beginner: NP > <b>overt</b> Intermediate: NP > <b>overt</b> Advanced: NP ≈ <b>overt</b>
Picture transition	<b>Topic cont and same picture</b>	<b>null&gt; overt &gt; NP</b>	<b>null&gt; overt &gt; NP</b> (across groups)
	<b>Top cont and new picture</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt &gt; null</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt &gt; null</b> (across groups)

Note: Asterisks (\*) indicate the significant differences between natives and L2ers for an RE. For instance, if we see **overt\*** in the beginner group, this means that there is a significant difference between the beginner group and the native group for overt pronouns in such context.

Table 27. Summary of findings in Study 1.

## 7.2 STUDY 2: L1 Spanish – L2 English corpus study in CLIL

### 7.2.1 Justification

Recall from the literature review in Chapter 4 that Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes offer the possibility of an increased amount of English input in the classroom (compared to mainstream EFL classes), as English is the language used in other subjects apart from EFL classes (cf. 4.1.4, p. 70). Study 2, thus, was carried out to check whether such high amount of input would be beneficial for AR. Study 1 showed that L2ers behaved more native-like as they increased their proficiency level and, thus, their amount of input. So, Study 2 compares L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers attending CLIL and non-CLIL programmes (i.e., mainstream EFL classes only) to see whether there are differences between them. The CLIL literature has shown that CLIL is beneficial for the overall proficiency of L2ers, but this is not the case for specific areas such as morphosyntax (cf. 4.1.4, p. 70). Crucially, to the best of our knowledge, there is no study investigating AR at the syntax-discourse interface across proficiency levels and comparing CLIL vs. non-CLIL L2ers, as done in Study 2.

### 7.2.2 Research Questions

The research questions and hypotheses below are motivated by the general research questions and hypotheses in Chapter 5 (p. 97). Here, we provide more specific research questions and hypotheses related to the participants and factors analysed in this particular study.

#### 7.2.2.1 *RQ1: Overall production of REs*

As in Study 1, we investigate the production of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives and the target language of Study 2 is also English, which is a non-null subject language (cf. 3.1.1, p. 30 for an explanation of the differences between languages). Thus, in English, the production of overt material is more frequent than the production of null pronouns and this was corroborated in Study 1. This leads to the very same first research question as in Study 1. Additionally, we address the issue of how a large amount of input (through CLIL instruction) can affect the acquisition of REs.

**RQ1a:** What REs do English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers in CLIL and non-CLIL groups produce?

**H1a:** Following the results of Study 1, we expect that the production of overt material will be higher than the production of null pronouns across groups of natives and L2ers. However, in Study 1, the production of overt material (overt pronouns and NPs) in natives differed from

some groups of L2ers. Differences between L2ers and English natives are also expected, which leads us to RQ1b and hypothesis.

**RQ1b:** Are there differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups across proficiency levels?

**H1b:** Some differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups are expected. In particular, CLIL groups are expected to behave more native-like as they had a higher amount of exposure to the English input than the non-CLIL groups.

#### *7.2.2.2 RQ2: Information status (topic continuity and topic shift)*

In Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.2, p. 32), we explained that the information status (topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts) is one of the factors that affects the production of REs and this was corroborated in Study 1 (cf. 7.1.4.2, p. 149). Particularly, Study 1 found a division of labour in the production of REs: full REs (i.e., NPs) were produced mainly in topic-shift contexts and less explicit REs (null and overt pronouns) were produced mainly in topic-continuity contexts. Thus, we include the same research question in Study 2 and, additionally, we addressed the issue of CLIL L2ers' better performance due to a large amount of exposure to the input.

**RQ2a:** What REs do English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers produce in topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts?

**H2a:** We expect to find the same division of labour as in Study 1 (i.e., overt pronouns and null pronouns will be produced mainly in topic continuity and NPs will be produced mainly in topic shift). Importantly, the production of L2ers in Study 1 differed from natives' production depending on the context and the proficiency level, which leads to RQ2b and hypothesis.

**RQ2b:** Are there differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups?

**RQ2b:** Differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups of same proficiency level and between CLIL and non-CLIL groups across proficiency levels and natives are expected. In particular, CLIL L2ers are expected to perform more native-like than non-CLIL L2ers, but all groups of CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers are expected to differ from natives. Regarding the proficiency level, CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers with intermediate proficiency levels are expected to behave more native-like than L2ers at beginner levels.

#### *7.2.2.3 RQ3: Transfer (topic continuity and coordinate contexts)*

In Chapter 4 (cf. 4.1.1 and 4.1.2), the literature review of L2 English experimental studies showed the L2ers transferred null pronouns, while there was no transfer of null pronouns in L2 English production studies. The lack of transfer of production studies was corroborated in Study 1. We

address the same research question here and also question whether there are differences between CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers due to the different amount of exposure to input.

**RQ3:** Do L2ers in CLIL and non-CLIL groups transfer null pronouns from their L1 in topic continuity and coordinate contexts? Are there differences between them in these contexts?

**H3:** L2ers are not expected to transfer null pronouns, following the evidence shown in Study 1. Additionally, L2ers are expected to acquire null pronouns developmentally across proficiency levels in these contexts and differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups are expected. CLIL groups are more exposed to the English input from beginner levels, so they are expected to behave more native-like than non-CLIL L2ers.

#### 7.2.2.4 RQ4: Characterhood

The characterhood factor was one of the factors explained in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.6, p. 39). As shown in Study 1, the type of character can actually affect the production of REs. Importantly, this factor affected the production of both English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers, which leads to our last research question in Study 2.

**RQ4:** What REs do CLIL and non-CLIL L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives produce when referring to each character? Are there differences between groups of L2ers?

**H4:** In line with the findings of Study 1, we expect to find a difference in the type of REs produced depending on the character and this is expected across groups of L2ers and natives. No differences are expected between L2ers and natives because this factor seems to be universal and affects the production of REs in general (both in L2ers and natives).

### 7.2.3 Method

#### 7.2.3.1 Corpus and participants

As in Study 1, the corpus used for Study 2 was COREFL (cf. 6.1.1.2, p. 106). A sample of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers attending CLIL and non-CLIL programmes and a control group of English native speakers was taken from this corpus, as shown in Table 28. Additionally, the appendices section includes the participants' metadata (cf. Appendix G, p. 349). It is crucial to mention that we decided to classify CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers according to their proficiency levels and not the course they were attending or their length of instruction, as we can see in Table 28. For instance, if we look at CLIL A1 L2ers in Table 28, we can see that, within this group, L2ers' amount of exposure to CLIL and their actual courses were different. Thus, they were grouped according to the proficiency level obtained after doing the *Oxford Placement Test*. The reason behind this decision was that we considered the proficiency level as a more reliable and objective measure

than the course they were attending. The fact that they were attending a particular course did not entail an attainment of a particular proficiency level because the path of acquisition can vary from L2er to L2er.

<b>Group name</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>	<b>Mean age</b>	<b>AoO</b>	<b>Years in CLIL</b>	<b>Actual course</b>
<b>CLIL</b>	11	A1	14.5	6	1.5 (n=5) 2.5 (n=4) 3.5 (n=2)	2º ESO (n=5) 3º ESO (n=4) 4º ESO (n=2)
	11	A2	16	7.1	3.5 (n=8) 4.5 (n=3)	4ºESO (n=3) 1ºBACH (n=8)
	11	B1	16.2	5.6	4.5 (n=11)	1ºBACH (n=11)
	11	B2	16.3	6.4	3.5 (n=10) 4.5 (n=1)	4ºESO (n=1) 1ºBACH (n=10)
	11	A1	14.2	8.3		2º ESO (n=4) 3º ESO (n=7)
	11	A2	16.1	6.8		4ºESO (n=4) 1ºBACH (n=7)
<b>Non-CLIL</b>	11	B1	16.1	7.5		4ºESO (n=7) 1ºBACH (n=4)
	9	B2	15.4	6.4		4ºESO (n=5) 1ºBACH (n=4)
	<b>Natives</b>	11	NA	20.4	NA	University

Table 28. Sample of Study 2.

### 7.2.3.2 Task, tagset and analysis

As in Study 1, the task employed was *Frog, where are you?* explained above (cf. 6.1.2, p. 107). The tagset included the features explained in the General Method in Chapter 6 (cf. 6.1.4, p. 112) and is similar to the tagset employed in Study 1. Figure 45 overleaf shows the features<sup>70</sup> of the tagset used in Study 2. As we can see in the figure, all the tags are the same as in Study 1, except for the activated antecedents, the picture type, and the PAS. These features were not included in Study 2 because the focus of this study is the effect of CLIL immersion and we wanted to focus mainly on the information status, which has been one of the problematic areas for L2ers (as shown in Study 1). Figure 46 shows the tagset to tag the different groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers (classified according to CLIL and non-CLIL) and English natives.

<sup>70</sup> A complete explanation of each feature is provided in the General Method (6.1.4, p. 108).

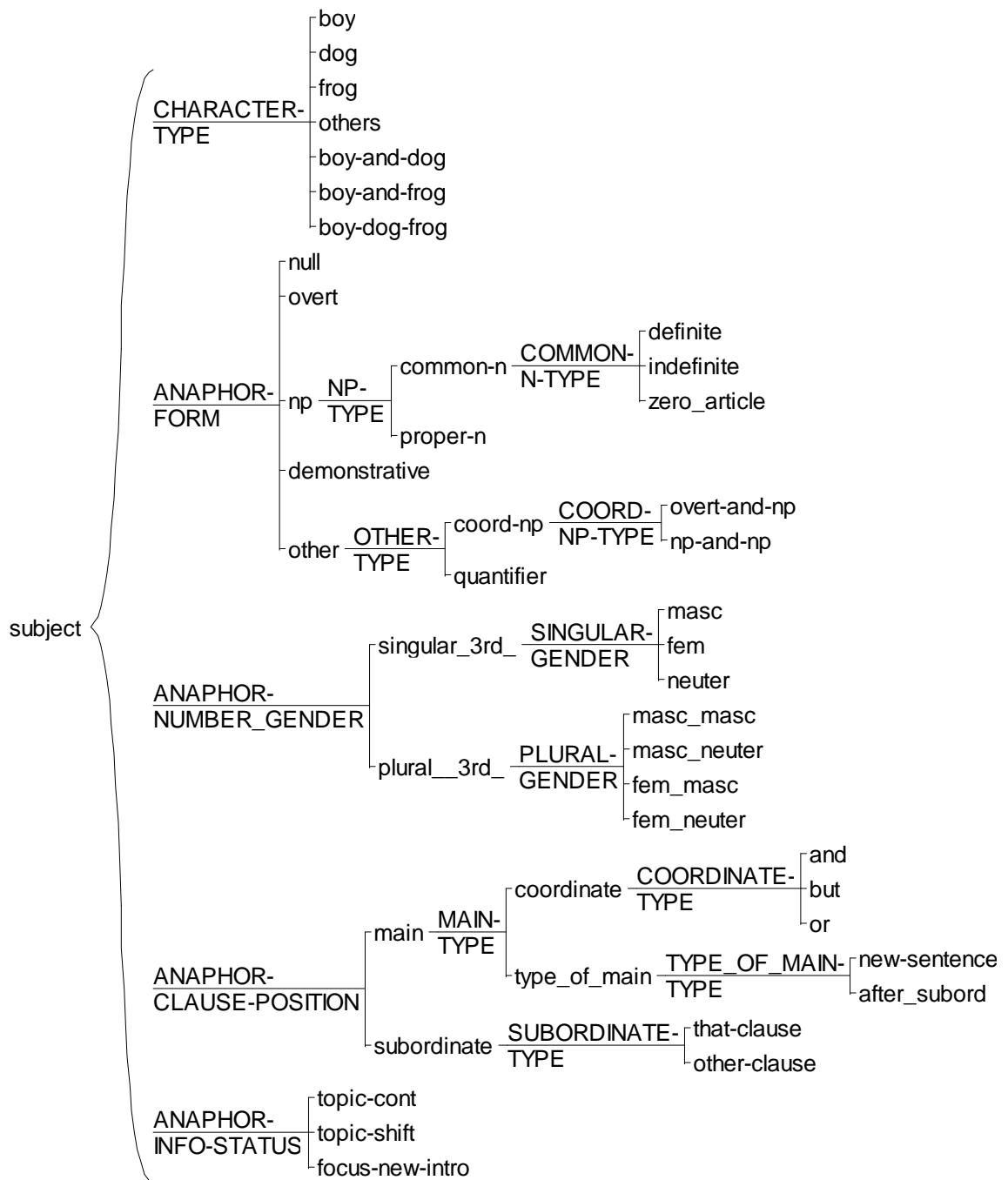


Figure 45. Tagset AR: Study 2

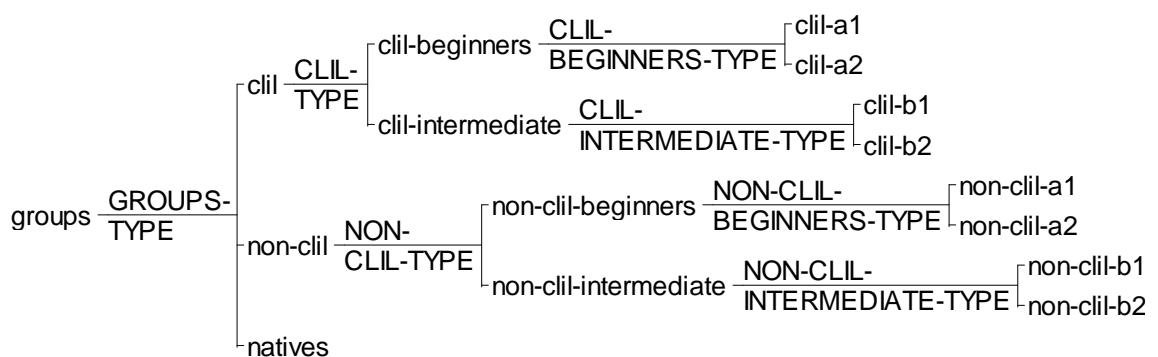


Figure 46. Tagset proficiency levels: Study 2.

The statistical analyses were carried out with the UAM Corpus Tool (cf. 6.1.3, p. 110). Particularly, the analyses included multiple comparisons between i) CLIL L2ers across proficiency levels and natives; ii) non-CLIL L2ers across proficiency levels and natives; and iii) CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers of the same proficiency level (e.g., CLIL-A1 vs. non-CLIL-A1). These comparisons are reported with  $\chi^2$  values with three levels of significance, as explained in Table 16 above (p. 112). As shown in Table 29, a total of 1,713 REs in subject position were included in this study. Importantly, each RE tagged included around 10 terminal tags, so the total number of tags in Study 2 would be around 17,130 tags.

<b>Group name</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>	<b>Total REs per group</b>
<b>CLIL</b>	11	A1	145
	11	A2	216
	11	B1	239
	11	B2	252
<b>Non-CLIL</b>	11	A1	152
	11	A2	199
	11	B1	261
	9	B2	249
<b>Natives</b>	11	NA	235
<b>Total tagged REs</b>	<b>97</b>	-	<b>1,713</b>

Table 29. Number of tags in Study 2.

## 7.2.4 Results and discussion

### 7.2.4.1 Overall production of REs

This subsection shows the overall production of REs in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers in CLIL and non-CLIL and English natives without considering any factor. These results address the research questions and hypotheses in research question 1 above (cf. 7.2.2.1, p. 166).

Figure 47 and Figure 48 show that English natives and CLIL and non-CLIL groups produce mostly overt material (overt pronouns and NPs) and they also produce some null pronouns. However, the percentage of production varies among groups and there are significant differences between the different groups. In particular, there are significant differences in the production of overt pronouns and NPs between CLIL-A1 and non-CLIL-A1 (overt:  $\chi^2=16.668$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=19.265$ ,  $p<0.02$ ) and between CLIL-A2 and non-CLIL-A2 (overt:  $\chi^2=12.535$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=13.346$ ,  $p<0.02$ ), and in the production of null pronouns between CLIL-B2 and non-CLIL-B2 ( $\chi^2=6.754$ ,  $p<0.02$ ). As for the differences between English natives and L2ers in CLIL and non-CLIL groups, there are significant differences for null pronouns (CLIL-B1:  $\chi^2=9.692$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; CLIL-B2:  $\chi^2=10.877$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; non-CLIL-A1:  $\chi^2=7.002$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; non-CLIL-B1:  $\chi^2=5.846$ ,  $p<0.02$ ), overt

pronouns (CLIL-A2:  $\chi^2=7.039$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; CLIL-B1:  $\chi^2=8.612$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; non-CLIL-A1:  $\chi^2=19.779$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; non-CLIL-B1:  $\chi^2=4.366$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) and NPs (non-CLIL-A1:  $\chi^2=33.482$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; non-CLIL-A2:  $\chi^2=3.989$ ,  $p<0.05$ ).

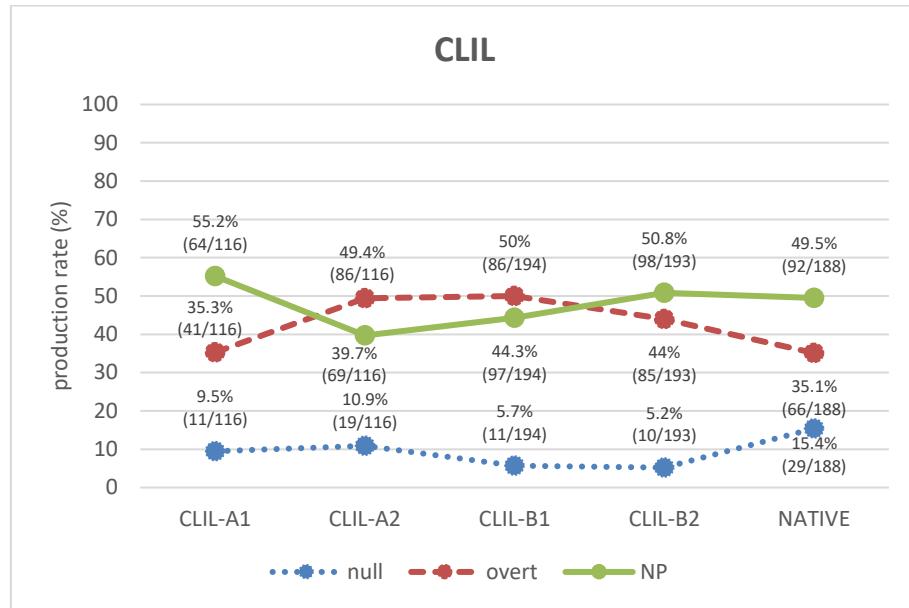


Figure 47. REs by group in CLIL (Study 2).

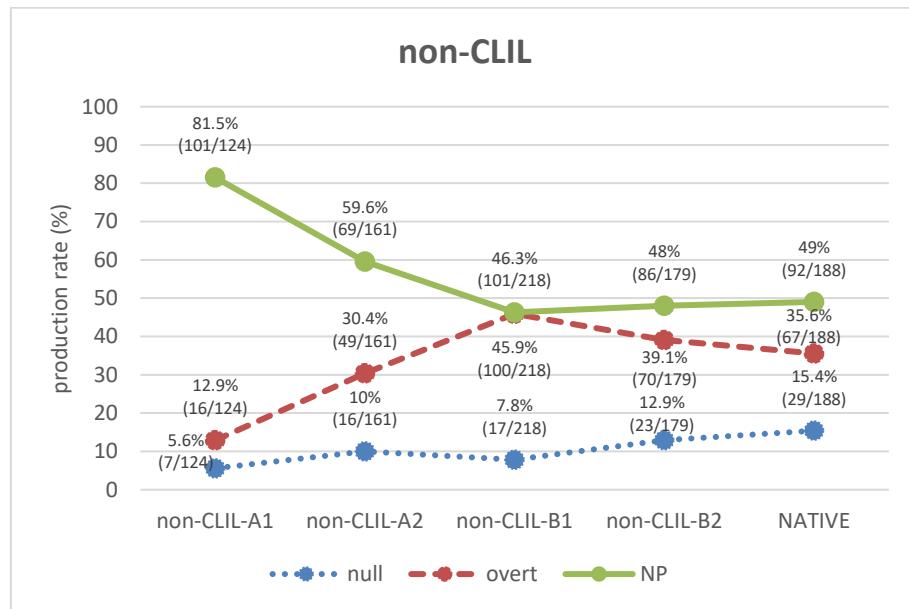


Figure 48. REs by group in non-CLIL (Study 2).

These results reveal that **H1a** is confirmed because all groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers in CLIL and non-CLIL and English natives produce more overt pronouns and NPs than null pronouns, which corroborates the findings in Study 1. Importantly, differences between same proficiency groups attending CLIL or non-CLIL are found and there are also differences between some groups of L2ers in CLIL and non-CLIL and natives, which confirms **H1b**. Such differences initially

suggest that the CLIL groups behave more native-like (especially at beginner levels) than non-CLIL groups. Additionally, the results initially indicate that exposure through CLIL instruction can be beneficial for the acquisition of AR, which would be in line with the beneficial effects of CLIL on general proficiency or vocabulary reported in previous studies (*inter alia*: Martínez Adrián, 2011; Pérez Cañado, 2018; Ruiz de Zarobe & Jiménez Catalán, 2009). Crucially, these results show the overall production of REs and, thus, say little about how different factors affect the production of REs and where such differences between L2ers and natives occur.

#### *7.2.4.2 Information status (topic continuity and topic shift)*

The production of REs is shown according to information status (topic continuity and topic shift) in this subsection. Here, we address research questions and hypotheses in research question 2 above (cf. 7.2.2.2, p. 167).

In **topic-continuity contexts**, Figure 49 and Figure 50 show that the most frequently produced REs are overt pronouns across groups, except for the non-CLIL-A1 group (that mostly produced NPs). The production of overt pronouns is followed by null pronouns and then NPs in natives (null: 29%; NP: 18%). This pattern is also shown in the CLIL-A2 group (null: 19.8%; NP: 9.9%) and the non-CLIL-B2 (null: 28.4%; NP: 7.4%). The rest of the groups show the opposite pattern producing more NPs than null pronouns in topic-continuity contexts. There are significant differences for null, overt and NP between CLIL-A1 and non-CLIL-A1 (overt:  $\chi^2=9.509, p<0.02$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=10.335, p<0.02$ ), CLIL-A2 and non-CLIL-A2 (overt:  $\chi^2=5.744, p<0.02$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=8.895, p<0.02$ ), and CLIL-B2 and non-CLIL-B2 (null:  $\chi^2=7.591, p<0.02$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=5.226, p<0.05$ ). Also, there are significant differences between English natives and different groups of L2ers for null (CLIL-B1:  $\chi^2=10.764, p<0.02$ ; CLIL-B2:  $\chi^2=8.683, p<0.02$ ; and non-CLIL-B1:  $\chi^2=6.924, p<0.02$ ), overt (CLIL-A2:  $\chi^2=6.029, p<0.02$ ; CLIL-B1:  $\chi^2=8.552, p<0.02$ ; CLIL-B2:  $\chi^2=4.959, p<0.05$ ; non-CLIL-A1:  $\chi^2=6.924, p<0.02$ ; and non-CLIL-B1:  $\chi^2=9.260, p<0.02$ ), and NP (non-CLIL-A1:  $\chi^2=17.861, p<0.02$ ; and non-CLIL-B2:  $\chi^2=4.366, p<0.05$ ).

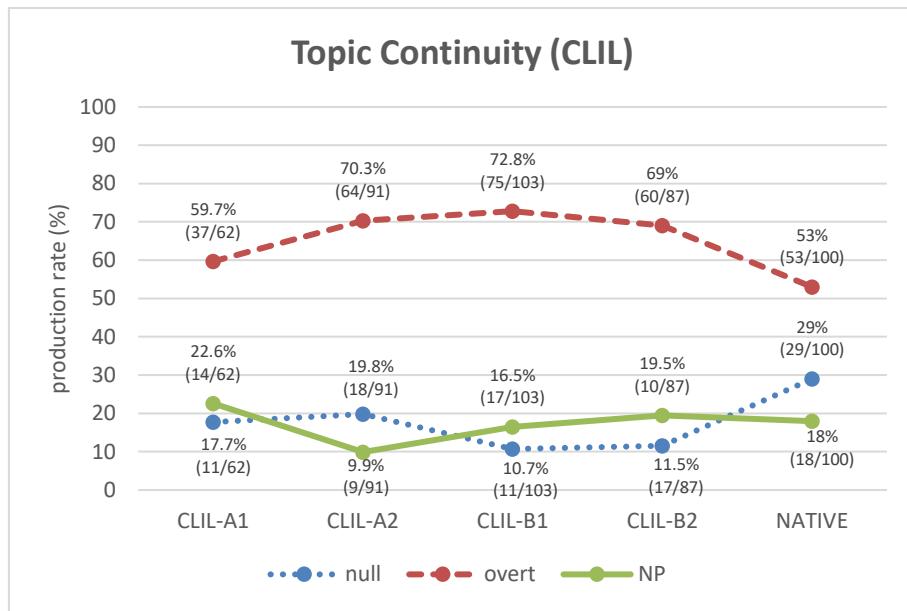


Figure 49. REs according to topic continuity by group in CLIL (Study 2).

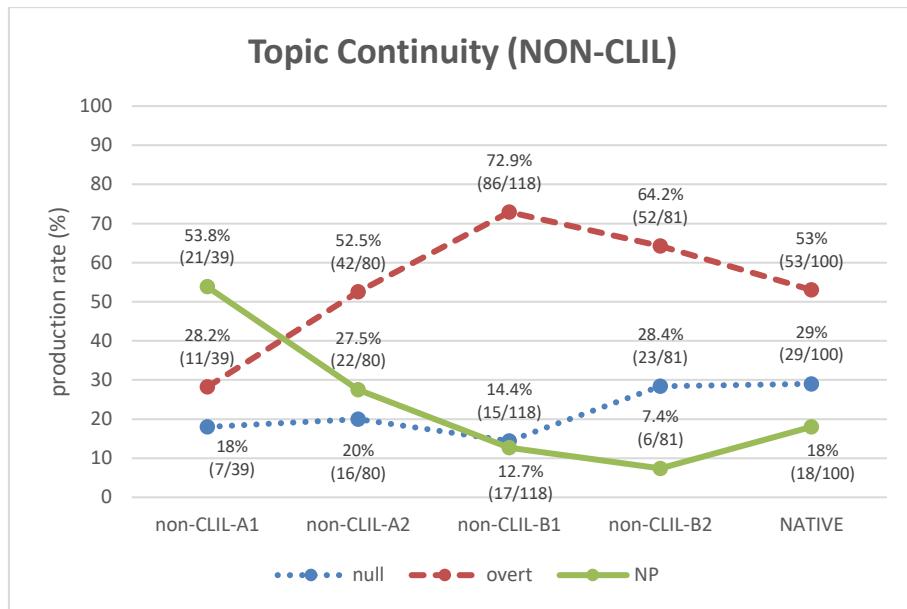


Figure 50. REs according to topic continuity by group in non-CLIL (Study 2).

In **topic-shift contexts**, Figure 51 and Figure 52 show that all groups produce mostly NPs followed by overt pronouns and there is no production of null pronouns. However, there are some significant differences for overt pronouns and NPs between CLIL-A2 and non-CLIL-A2 (overt:  $\chi^2=9.673, p<0.02$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=10.754, p<0.02$ ) and CLIL-B1 and non-CLIL-B1 (overt:  $\chi^2=5.051, p<0.05$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=5.051, p<0.05$ ). Also, there are significant differences for overt and NP between CLIL-A2 and natives (overt:  $\chi^2=4.331, p<0.05$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=5.147, p<0.05$ ) and between non-CLIL-A1 and natives (overt:  $\chi^2=3.844, p<0.05$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=3.844, p<0.05$ ).

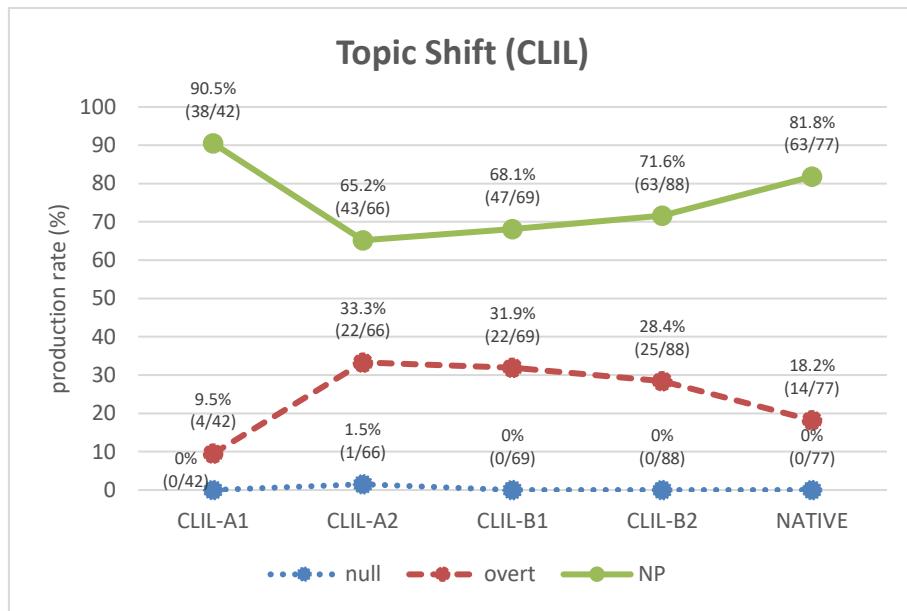


Figure 51. REs according to topic shift by group in CLIL (Study 2).

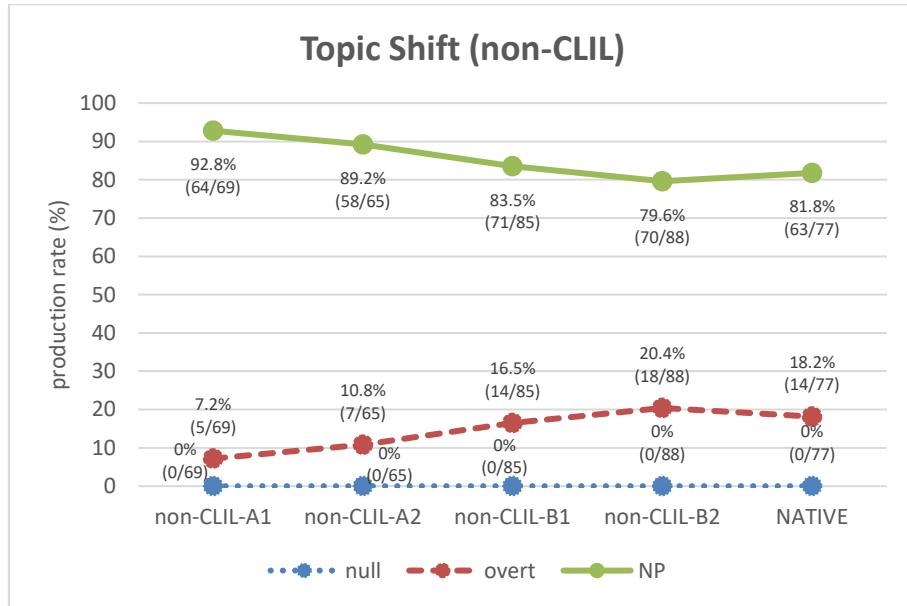


Figure 52. REs according to topic shift by group in non-CLIL (Study 2).

Results reveal that, in **topic-continuity contexts**, **H2a** (cf. 7.2.2.2, p. 167) is confirmed because English natives produce mainly overt pronouns followed by null pronouns and NPs, which is in line with Study 1. Similarly, **H2b** (cf. 7.2.2.2, p. 167) is confirmed because, in topic-continuity contexts, there are significant differences between some CLIL and non-CLIL groups of same proficiency level and some CLIL and non-CLIL groups and natives (except for the CLIL-A2 and the non-CLIL-B2 groups). In particular, there are significant differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups at A1, A2 and B2 levels. Curiously, the CLIL-A1 behaves more native-like than the non-CLIL-A1 because the former produces more overt pronouns than NPs as in (96a), while the latter

produces more NPs than overt pronouns as in (96b). Importantly, the non-CLIL groups catch up and behave more native-like at A2 and B2 levels than the CLIL groups at the same proficiency levels. Crucially, it is the non-CLIL-B2 group that behaves as natives in topic continuity.

- (96) a. In the next morning, the boy<sub>i</sub> didn't see the frog<sub>j</sub> and he<sub>i</sub> went to the street to fought (encontrar) the frog<sub>j</sub> but he<sub>i</sub> can't saw the frog<sub>j</sub> and he<sub>i</sub> back home very very sad because he<sub>i</sub> wanted to had the frog<sub>j</sub>. [ES\_WR\_A1\_13\_7\_13\_ACL] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, CLIL-A1)
- b. The boy<sub>i</sub> was worried. The boy<sub>i</sub> was looking four, the boy<sub>i</sub> shout in the forest. The boy<sub>i</sub> looking foor the frog<sub>j</sub> lookin. The boy<sub>i</sub> was in one rock. [ES\_WR\_A1\_14\_3\_13\_TMH] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, non-CLIL-A1)

Therefore, it seems that a major exposure to the input makes CLIL beginner groups to initially behave more native-like than the non-CLIL groups, but the non-CLIL groups then catch up as proficiency increases and outperform the CLIL-B2 group. So, CLIL initially seems to be beneficial at beginner levels, which would be in line with CLIL studies that have reported the benefits of CLIL in general proficiency level or vocabulary (inter alia: Martínez Adrián, 2011; Pérez Cañado, 2018; Ruiz de Zarobe & Jiménez Catalán, 2009), but this is disconfirmed when we observe the L2ers' production at intermediate levels. Non-CLIL-B2 group ultimately behaves more native-like than the CLIL-B2 group, which would be in line with previous CLIL studies that have tested specific areas of language (inter alia: Gallardo del Puerto et al., 2009; García-Mayo & Villarreal Olaizola, 2011; Martínez Adrián & Gutiérrez Mangado, 2015a). Additionally, these results reveal that both CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers are redundant because they use fuller REs than required in contexts where minimal REs would be felicitous. This corroborates previous findings in Study 1 in this dissertation and in L2 English production studies (Crosthwaite, 2011; Hendriks, 2003; Leclercq & Lenart, 2013; Ryan, 2015). Also, this is in line with the PPVH and the IH, as we discussed in Study 1 (cf. 7.1.4.2, p. 149) and we will further discuss in the general discussion in Chapter 8 (cf. 8.3, p. 297).

Regarding **topic-shift contexts**, results reveal that H2a is confirmed because English natives produce mostly NPs followed by overt pronouns in these contexts, which is in line with Study 1. H2b is also confirmed because CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers produce mainly NPs followed by overt pronouns, but there are significant differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups at the same proficiency and between some CLIL and non-CLIL groups and natives. Crucially, these significant differences occur at beginner levels, but not at intermediate levels, which reveals that topic-shift contexts are not as problematic as topic-continuity contexts, which is again in line with

Study 1 (cf. 7.1, p. 141). In addition, this is in line with the L2 Spanish literature that has shown that not all contexts at the syntax-discourse interface are equally problematic (Lozano, 2016, 2018).

#### 7.2.4.3 Transfer (information status and syntax)

In this subsection, the production of REs is shown in topic continuity and coordinate contexts and topic continuity and not coordinate contexts. These results address research question 3 above (cf. 7.2.2.3, p. 167).

Figure 53 and Figure 54 show that all groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers in CLIL and non-CLIL and English natives produce null and overt pronouns in **topic continuity and coordinate** contexts and the production of NPs is the lowest. Importantly, percentages of production for null and overt pronouns vary across groups and there are minor significant differences among them. In particular, there are differences between the CLIL-B1 and the non-CLIL-B1 groups for NPs ( $\chi^2=5.033, p<0.05$ ) and between the CLIL-B2 and the non-CLIL-B2 for null pronouns (null:  $\chi^2=5.115, p<0.05$ ). As for the differences between the L2ers and natives, there are significant differences for null and overt pronouns between CLIL-A1 and natives (null:  $\chi^2=8.794, p<0.02$ ; overt:  $\chi^2=10.170, p<0.02$ ), CLIL-A2 and natives (null:  $\chi^2=7.433, p<0.02$ ; overt:  $\chi^2=10.832, p<0.02$ ), CLIL-B1 and natives (null:  $\chi^2=14.929, p<0.02$ ; overt:  $\chi^2=13.887, p<0.02$ ), CLIL-B2 and natives (null:  $\chi^2=8.004, p<0.02$ ; overt:  $\chi^2=8.988, p<0.02$ ), non-CLIL-A1 and natives (overt:  $\chi^2=6.157, p<0.02$ ), non-CLIL-A2 and natives (overt:  $\chi^2=5.190, p<0.05$ ), and non-CLIL-B1 and natives (null:  $\chi^2=11.890, p<0.02$ ; overt:  $\chi^2=17.801, p<0.02$ ).

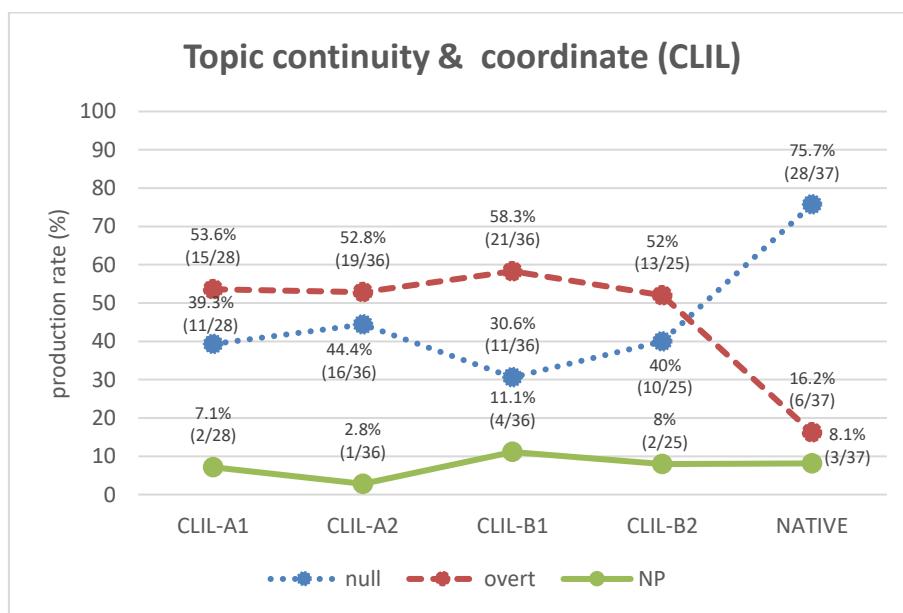


Figure 53. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group in CLIL (Study 2).

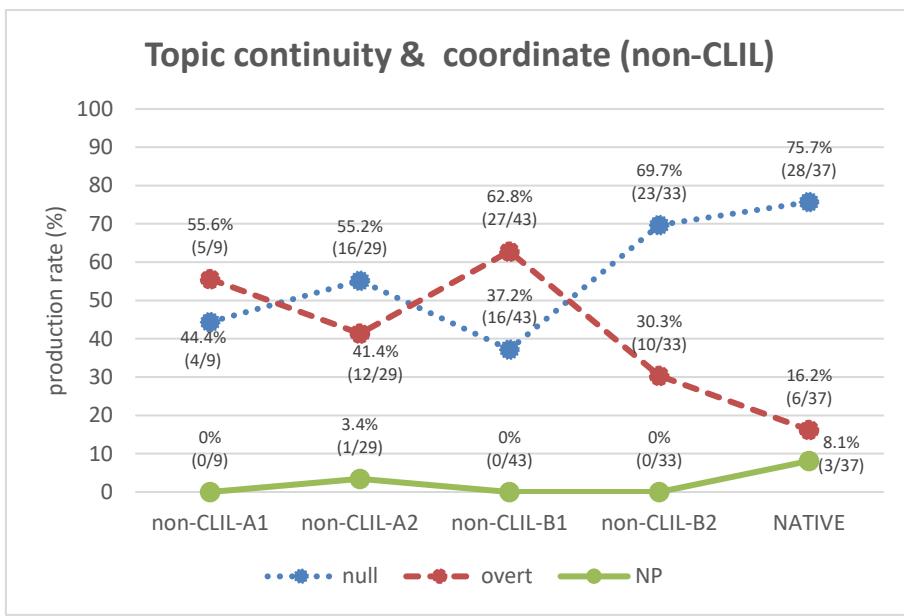


Figure 54. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group in non-CLIL (Study 2).

Regarding **topic continuity and not coordinate contexts**, Figure 55 and Figure 56 show that all groups produce mainly overt pronouns followed by NPs (except for the non-CLIL-A1 that produces more NPs than overt pronouns) and there is no production of null pronouns. There are significant differences for overt pronouns and NPs between the CLIL-A1 and the non-CLIL-A1 groups (overt:  $\chi^2=12.943$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=7.686$ ,  $p<0.02$ ) and between the CLIL-A2 and the non-CLIL-A2 groups (overt:  $\chi^2=6.762$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=9.443$ ,  $p<0.02$ ). As for the differences between L2ers and natives, there are significant differences between non-CLIL-A1 and natives (overt:  $\chi^2=24.720$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; NP:  $\chi^2=18.276$ ,  $p<0.02$ ).

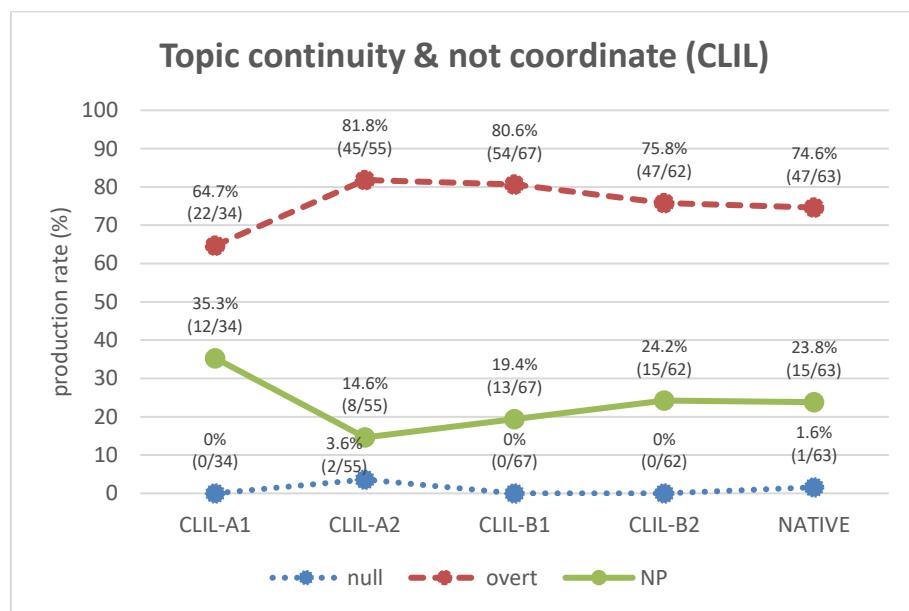


Figure 55. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group in CLIL (Study 2).

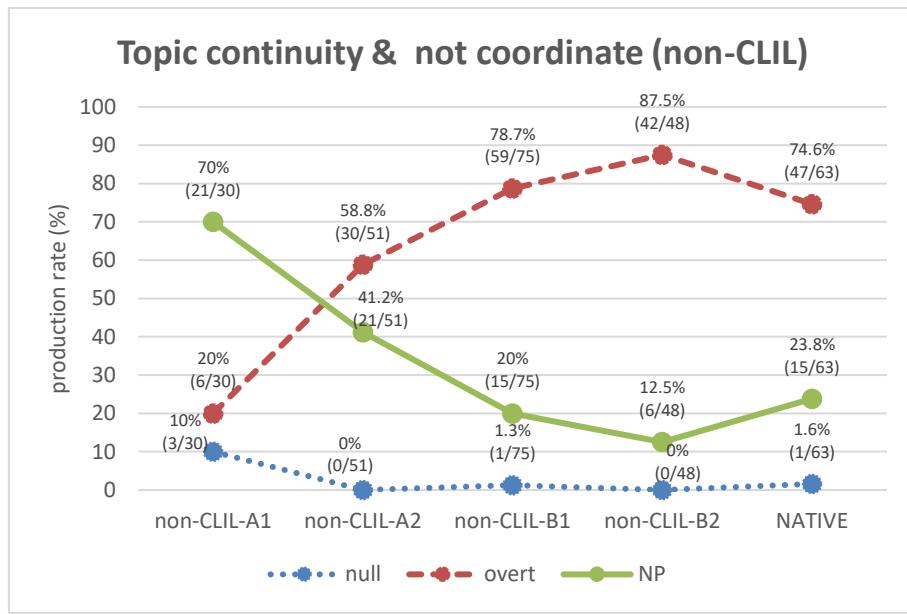


Figure 56. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group in non-CLIL (Study 2).

Results reveal that **H3** is confirmed because L2ers **do not transfer** null pronouns from their L1. This is in line with the results in Study 1, which also showed a lack of production of null pronouns in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts, but is opposite to previous L2 English experimental studies that have reported the acceptance of ungrammatical null pronouns (Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014). These differences could be explained by the type of data analysed (corpus vs. experimental data). Regarding the production of null and overt pronouns in **topic continuity and coordinate contexts**, all groups of CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers (except for the non-CLIL-B2 group) show significant differences with respect to natives' production. Crucially, it is the non-CLIL-B2 group that shows a native-like behaviour and produces more null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, as shown in (97a), than the CLIL-B2 group that produced mainly overt pronouns, as shown in (97b). These results are in line with Study 1 because native-like attainment is possible at the non-CLIL-B2 group, which would disconfirm the IH.

- (97) a. During the night, while the boy<sub>i</sub>, called John<sub>i</sub>, was sleeping, the frog<sub>j</sub> jumped of the jar and Ø<sub>j</sub> escaped (...)<sup>71</sup> He<sub>i</sub> went to the countryside near the forest and Ø<sub>i</sub> shouted the frog<sub>j</sub>'s name (...) Then he<sub>i</sub> went to the top of a rock and Ø<sub>i</sub> shouted again the frogs<sub>j</sub> name (...) [ES\_WR\_B2\_15\_9\_13\_EMR] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, non-CLIL-B2)
- b. One day, Luck<sub>i</sub> was in his bedroom (...). He<sub>i</sub> wanted to stay awake all night, but he<sub>i</sub> fell asleep. (...) Luck<sub>i</sub> lost it<sub>j</sub> and he<sub>i</sub> couldn't ever name her<sub>j</sub>! (...) He<sub>i</sub> started to run because

<sup>71</sup> This indicates that there is more text between the two sentences presented. We shorten examples to focus on the phenomenon that we want to illustrate.

he<sub>i</sub> was afraid of the deer<sub>k</sub> and he<sub>i</sub> didn't notice that he<sub>i</sub> was coming close to the river  
(...) [ES\_WR\_B2\_16\_10\_13\_CNL] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, CLIL-B2)

All in all, the results indicate that CLIL groups initially behave more native-like, but the non-CLIL groups catch up and show native-like behaviour in a particular context (i.e., topic continuity and coordinate contexts). Therefore, these results reveal that i) L2ers are sensitive to the input (regardless of the type of instruction: CLIL vs. non-CLIL) because they do not transfer and they produce null pronouns in the context that is allowed in English; and ii) the CLIL input does not seem to be beneficial at the syntax-discourse interface and, in particular, in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, which is again in line with previous CLIL studies investigating specific areas of language (inter alia: Gallardo del Puerto et al., 2009; García-Mayo & Villarreal Olaizola, 2011; Martínez Adrián & Gutiérrez Mangado, 2015a).

#### 7.2.4.4 *Characterhood*

The production of REs is shown according to the characters (*the boy*, *the dog*, or *the frog*) in this subsection. The results here address the last research question in Study 2 (cf. 7.2.2.4, p. 168).

Figure 57 and Figure 58 show that natives produce mainly overt pronouns (43.5%) when referring to ***the boy***, closely followed by NPs (41.7%) and null pronouns (14.8%). CLIL groups across proficiency levels and non-CLIL B1 and B2 follow this same pattern, while non-CLIL A1 and A2 produce mainly NPs followed by overt pronouns. Importantly, there are significant differences between CLIL A1 and non-CLIL A1 and between CLIL A2 and non-CLIL A2 for overt pronouns (A1:  $\chi^2=23.546$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; A2:  $\chi^2=20.402$ ,  $p<0.02$ ) and NPs (A1:  $\chi^2=10.384$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; A2:  $\chi^2=10.375$ ,  $p<0.02$ ).

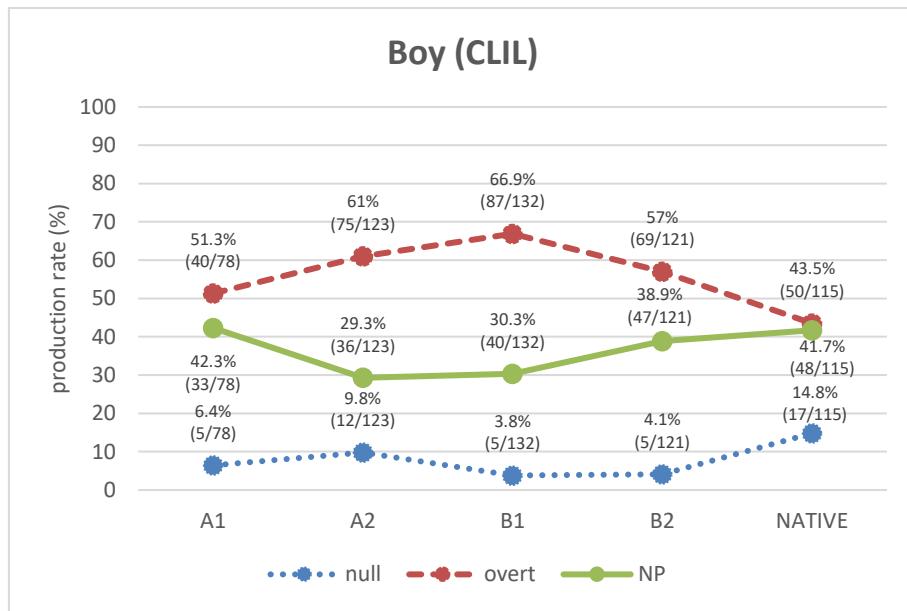


Figure 57. REs to refer to character (boy) by group in CLIL (Study 2).

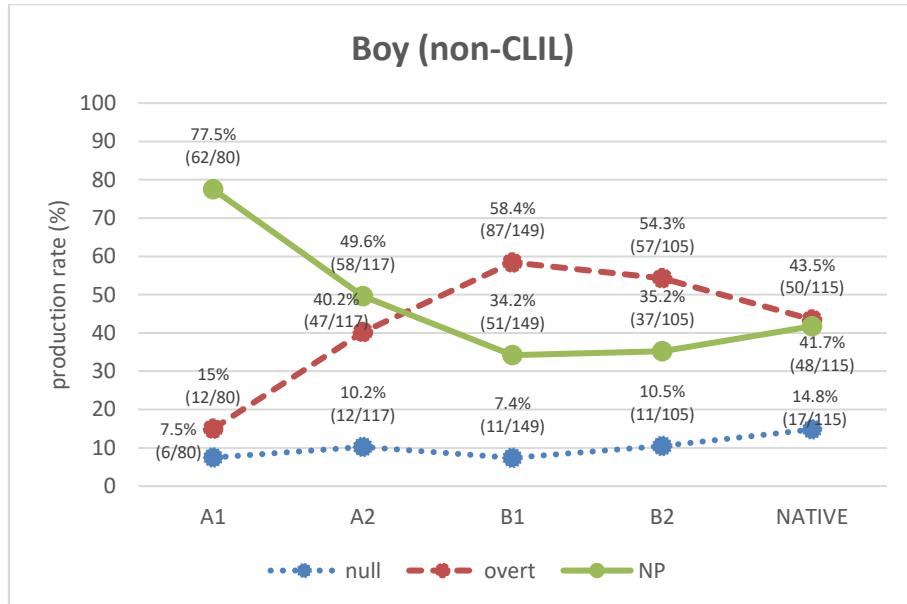


Figure 58 REs to refer to character (boy) by group in non-CLIL (Study 2).

As for *the dog*, Figure 59 and Figure 60 show that frequencies are lower than for *the boy* across groups. Natives produce mainly NPs (62.5%), followed by overt pronouns (25%) and null pronouns (12.5%). CLIL groups follow this pattern, except for the CLIL-B1 that produces NPs only.

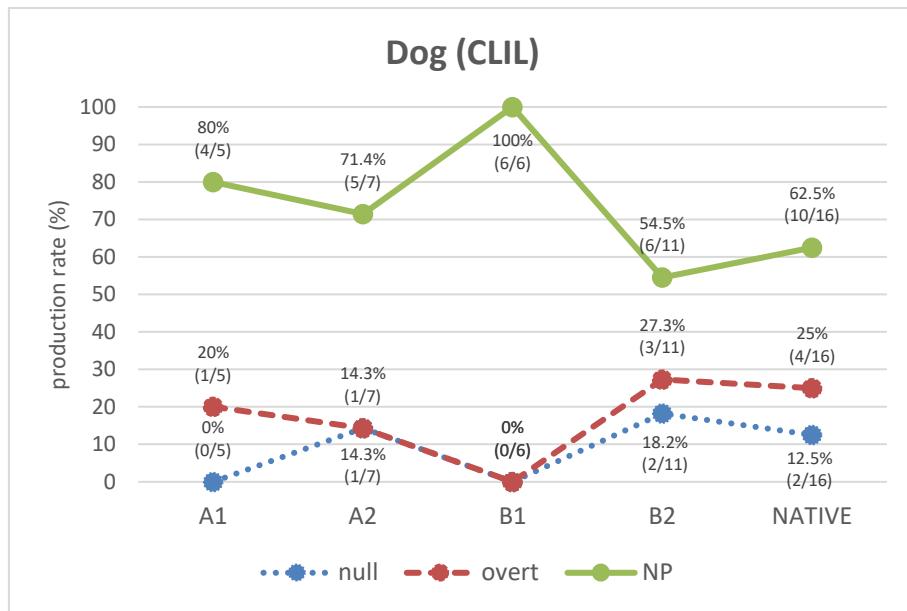


Figure 59. REs to refer to character (dog) by group in CLIL (Study 2).

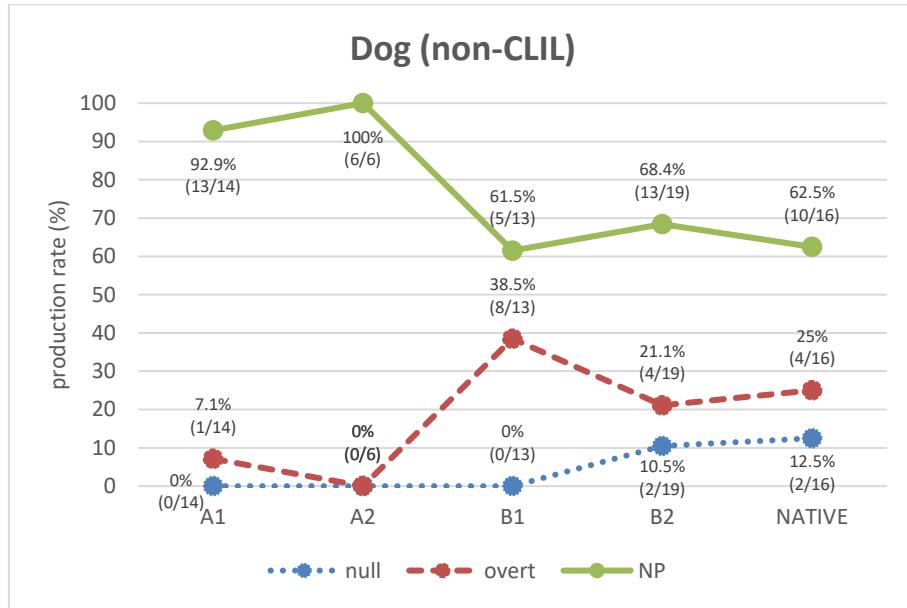


Figure 60. REs to refer to character (dog) by group in non-CLIL (Study 2).

Regarding **the frog**, Figure 61 and Figure 62 show that natives also produce mainly NPs (62.5%), followed by overt pronouns (22.5%), and null pronouns (15%). Overall, L2ers in CLIL and non-CLIL groups follow this trend.

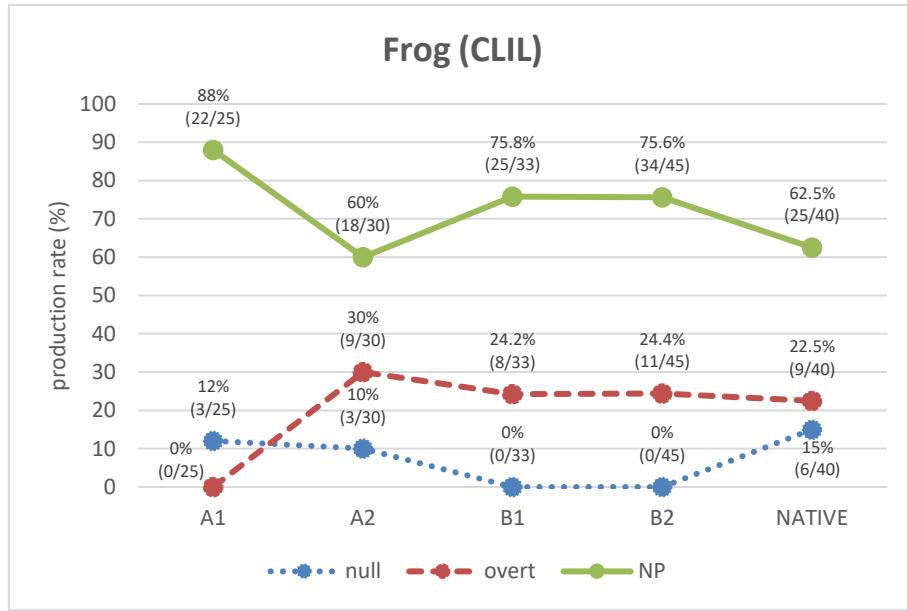


Figure 61. REs to refer to character (frog) by group in CLIL (Study 2).

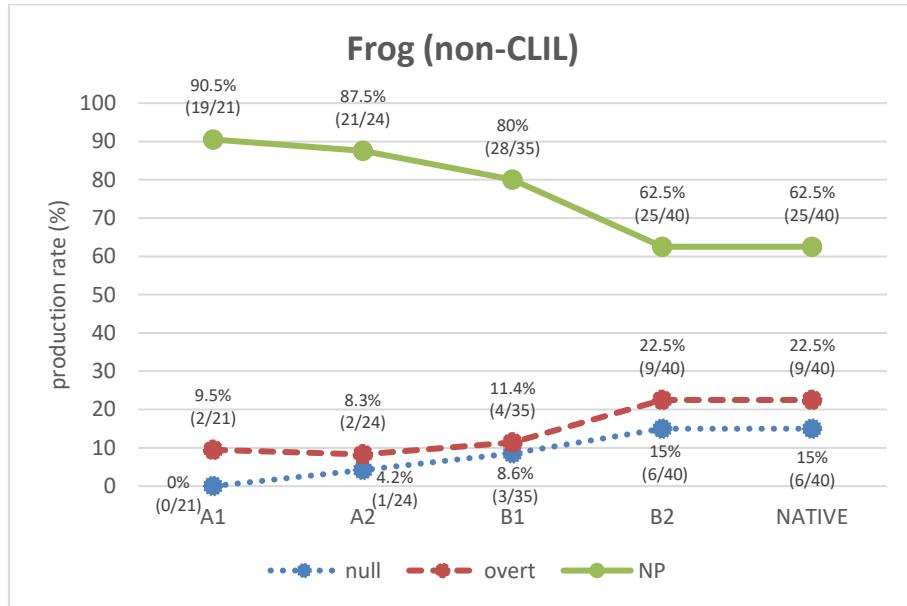


Figure 62. REs to refer to character (frog) by group in non-CLIL (Study 2).

These results confirm **H4** because the production of REs changes depending on the characters. In particular, most groups produce mainly overt pronouns for *the boy* (except for the non-CLIL A1 and A2), while producing mainly NPs for the characters *the dog* and *the frog*, although frequencies are low for these two characters. Therefore, the fact that there are higher frequencies for the character *the boy* across groups than for *the dog* and *the frog* indicates that ***the boy* is the main character**. In turn, ***the dog*** and ***the frog*** are considered **secondary characters**. Additionally, different REs are produced depending on the character and, in particular, overt pronouns are mainly employed for the main character, while NPs are mainly

produced for *the dog* and *the frog*. However, this pattern is not found in non-CLIL A1 and A2 L2ers because they produce more NPs than overt pronouns for *the boy* and this was statistically significant from CLIL A1 and A2 L2ers' production. This again suggests that CLIL L2ers initially behave more native-like than non-CLIL L2ers, but then non-CLIL L2ers catch up and show native-like patterns. The findings in this subsection corroborate the characterhood effect (i.e., the type of character influences the production of REs) found in Study 1 and are also in line with previous production studies (Crosthwite, 2011; Kang, 2004), which will be further discussed in the General Discussion in Chapter 8.

### 7.2.5 Summary of findings and highlights of Study 2

Table 30 overleaf summarizes all the findings of Study 2 and shows that the production of REs is modulated by different factors, which corroborates findings in Study 1. If we observe the column of English natives, we see that the pattern of production of REs when no factor is considered changes when other factors are considered. The same occurs in the CLIL and non-CLIL L2ers. Regarding the significant differences between CLIL and non-CLIL and natives, Table 30 shows that there are different patterns of production depending on the group (CLIL vs. non-CLIL) and the proficiency level. Additionally, the significant differences also vary depending on the group and the proficiency level.

In conclusion, results in this study confirm that multiple factors affect the choice of REs. In addition, this study aimed to check whether a greater amount of input through CLIL instruction would imply a more native-like behaviour at the syntax-discourse interface. Results revealed that L2ers attending CLIL behaved more native-like at beginner levels, but L2ers attending non-CLIL caught up at intermediate levels and even the non-CLIL-B2 group outperformed the CLIL-B2. It could be the case that the type of input received in this particular CLIL settings<sup>72</sup> does not make a difference for the acquisition of REs in discourse. Importantly, the sample taken for this study was small, so further investigation would be needed in order to corroborate these results.

---

<sup>72</sup> Recall from section 4.1.4 (p. 68) that the implementation of CLIL programmes varies depending on the region.

Factor	English native speakers	L2 English CLIL (**=see note below)	L2 English non-CLIL (**=see note below)
No factor (overall production of REs)	<b>NP &gt; overt &gt; null</b>	A1: NP* > overt* > null A2: overt** > NP* > null B1: overt* > NP > null* B2: NP > overt > null**	A1: NP** >> overt** > null* A2: NP** >> overt* > null B1: NP > overt* > null* B2: NP > overt > null*
	<b>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</b>	A1: overt* > NP* > null* A2: overt** > null* > NP* B1: overt* > NP > null* B2: overt* > NP* > null**	A1: NP** > overt** > null* A2: overt* > NP* > null* B1: overt* > NP > null* B2: overt > null* > NP**
	<b>NP &gt; overt</b>	A1: NP > overt A2: NP** > overt** B1: NP* > overt* B2: NP > overt	A1: NP*> overt* A2: NP* > overt* B1: NP* > overt* B2: NP > overt
	<b>Topic shift</b>		
Information status	<b>Top cont &amp; coordinate</b>	<b>null&gt;&gt; overt &gt; NP</b>	A1: overt* > null* > NP A2: overt* > null* > NP B1 overt* > null* > NP* B2 overt* > null** > NP
		<b>overt &gt; NP</b>	A1: overt** > NP** A2: overt* > NP* B1 overt > NP B2 overt > NP
	<b>Top cont and not coordinate</b>	<b>overt &gt; NP &gt; null</b>	A1-A2: NP > overt > null B1-B2: overt > NP > null
		<b>NP &gt; overt ≈ null</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt ≈ null</b>
Transfer	<b>Boy</b>	<b>overt &gt; NP &gt; null</b>	A1-A2: NP > overt > null B1-B2: overt > NP > null
	<b>Dog</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt ≈ null</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt ≈ null</b>
	<b>Frog</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt ≈ null</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt ≈ null</b>
Characterhood			

Note: Asterisks (\*) indicate the significant differences between natives and L2ers for an RE. There are two types of asterisks: i) black asterisks indicate significant differences between a group of L2er and natives for a particular RE; and ii) orange asterisks indicate significant differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups of the same proficiency level for a particular RE.

Table 30. Summary of findings in Study 2.

Study 1 and Study 2 investigated the acquisition of AR in a non-null subject language (English).

An interesting question is whether the acquisition of AR in a null subject language (Spanish) resembles the acquisition of AR shown in Study 1 and Study 2. This led us to our third corpus-based study.

## 7.3 STUDY 3: L1 English – L2 Spanish corpus study (PAS)

### 7.3.1 Justification

After investigating AR in L1 Spanish-L2 English in Study 1 and Study 2, L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers were targeted so as to investigate the phenomenon in a bidirectional way: L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish. Crucially, investigating a phenomenon in a bidirectional way allows researchers to know which aspects of the language are universal and which aspects are language-specific (Lozano, 2021b). Regarding the acquisition of AR, a bidirectional comparison of two typologically different languages (L2 English vs. L2 Spanish) would determine the universal aspects vs. the language-specific aspects in the acquisition of AR, which led to the design and implementation of Study 3. This study investigates AR in L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels taking into account the factors of Study 1 and Study 2. Importantly, Study 3 particularly focuses on the PAS, which has been widely investigated in the Spanish experimental literature (cf. 4.2.3, p. 85). The PAS was also investigated in Study 1, but it was not the main focus of the study because the PAS has been traditionally investigated in null subject languages (like Spanish), as the alternation of REs is richer in null subject languages than in non-null subject languages (like English). Crucially, PAS scenarios have not been investigated following a corpus-based method before (cf. 4.2.4, p. 85 for an overview of the PAS literature), as done here.

### 7.3.2 Research Questions

The research questions and hypotheses below are motivated by the general research questions and hypotheses in Chapter 5 (p. 97). Here, we provide more specific research questions and hypotheses related to the participants and factors analysed in this particular study.

#### 7.3.2.1 *RQ1: Frequency of PAS scenarios vs. other AR scenarios in natural production*

As we showed in the literature review of PAS studies in Chapter 4 (cf. 4.2.4, p. 85 for an overview of PAS studies), there are plenty of experimental studies investigating the PAS in inter-sentential and intra-sentential sentences and taking into account two potential antecedents (one in subject position and the other in non-subject position) and two REs (null pronoun and overt pronoun). This PAS literature leads to think that the PAS configuration: i) can be investigated experimentally only; ii) is the only way to resolve AR; iii) can be investigated at the sentence level and in inter-sentential or intra-sentential contexts only; and iv) is restricted only to two potential antecedents and two REs. These initial assumptions lead us to investigate the PAS using

corpus-based methods, which offer rich and ecologically valid natural scenarios to investigate the phenomenon, and formulate the following research questions and hypotheses.

**RQ1a:** Are PAS scenarios frequent in the production of Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers compared to other AR scenarios?

**H1a:** The production of PAS scenarios is expected in natives and L2ers, but the frequencies of these scenarios are expected to be lower than other AR scenarios.

**RQ1b:** Are there more complex PAS scenarios than the standard PAS scenarios?

**H1b:** Standard PAS scenarios are expected to be produced, but other complex PAS scenarios are also expected in both natives and L2ers.

### *7.3.2.2 RQ2: Overall production of REs*

In Chapter 3, we explained the typological difference between non-null subject vs. null subject languages (cf. 3.1.1, p. 30). As Spanish is a null subject language, null pronouns are the predominant REs in this language. Importantly, the PAS literature (cf. 4.2.4, p. 85) has typically included null and overt pronouns to investigate the PAS, but, crucially, the Spanish literature (cf. 4.2.2, p. 78) has shown that NPs also play a role in AR (Lozano, 2016). PAS studies have overlooked that other REs (i.e., NPs) can occur in PAS scenarios, which motivated the second research question and hypothesis.

**RQ2:** What REs do Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers produce in PAS scenarios?

**H2:** We expect that natives will predominantly produce null pronouns, followed by overt material (NPs and overt pronouns). Regarding L2ers' production, they are not expected to produce null pronouns to the same extent as natives, especially at intermediate levels, because they are still in the process of acquiring the L2 and the use of null pronouns is more restrictive in their L1 English.

### *7.3.2.3 RQ3: Division of labour*

As mentioned in the PAS literature review subsection (cf. 4.2.4, p. 85), the division of labour of PAS scenarios is typically divided between null pronouns, which are supposed to bias towards subject antecedents, and overt pronouns, which are supposed to bias towards non-subject antecedents. However, such division of labour was not always corroborated in Spanish. Crucially, these PAS studies did not include NPs in the division of labour of PAS scenarios (except for Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011). Importantly, we also include NPs in the division of labour of PAS in our study, which leads to the third research question and hypothesis.

**RQ3:** What division of labour do Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers show in PAS scenarios? Are NPs also included in this division of labour?

**H3:** Natives are expected to produce null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents and overt pronouns and NPs biasing towards non-subject antecedents. L2ers are not expected to produce this very same pattern, but they are expected to produce both null and overt pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents and overt pronouns and NPs biasing towards non-subject antecedents.

#### *7.3.2.4 RQ4: Information status*

The PAS is a purely syntactic configuration that proposes a particular parsing strategy. Importantly, if we consider discursive factors like the information status (cf. 3.1.2, p. 32), a parallelism between syntactic configuration of the PAS and information status (i.e., topic continuity and topic shift) could be established. In a PAS scenario, a null pronoun that biases towards a subject antecedent would be marking a topic-continuity context, as in (73a) above, whereas an overt pronoun or NP that biases towards a non-subject antecedent would be marking a topic shift, as in (73b) above. Importantly, the PAS literature has not addressed the relationship between PAS configuration and information status. Additionally, in Study 1 and 2, we showed that deficits among L2ers vary depending on the information status. These observations lead to our fourth research question and hypothesis.

**RQ4:** Does the production of REs according to the information status resemble the production according to the syntactic configuration of PAS scenarios in Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers? Do L2ers at different proficiency levels show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface?

**H4:** In natives, the production of REs according to information status is expected to overlap with the production of REs according to PAS scenarios and the pattern of production will be similar. L2ers are expected to acquire the use of REs in topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts, but their production will differ from natives' production showing deficits at the syntax-discourse interface.

#### *7.3.2.5 RQ5: Transfer (topic continuity and coordinate contexts)*

Transfer is a classic research question in SLA, as explained in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2, p.13), and we check if transfer occurs in the acquisition of AR. The L1 of Spanish L2ers in Study 3 is a non-null subject language (English) and the use of null pronouns is restricted to topic continuity and coordinate contexts, as Study 1 and 2 in this dissertation showed. Thus, transfer would occur in

L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers if they restrict the production of null pronouns to topic continuity and coordinate contexts. The L2 Spanish literature has shown that, in general AR scenarios, L1 English – L2 Spanish restrict the production of null pronouns to topic continuity and coordinate contexts only (Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020). Considering this finding and the lack of transfer found in our previous studies (Study 1 and Study 2), it seems that L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers do not show transfer from their L1, while L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers do transfer from their L1. This asymmetry leads to our fifth research question and hypothesis.

**RQ5:** Do L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers transfer the use of null pronouns from their L1 English?

**H5:** As the L2 Spanish literature shows that L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers transfer the use of null pronouns from their L1, we expect to find the transfer effect in our L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers.

#### *7.3.2.6 RQ6: Syntactic configuration*

As we saw in the PAS literature review (cf. 4.2.4, p. 85), experimental studies included inter-sentential or intra-sentential sentences and, within intra-sentential sentences, different order of presentation (i.e., main-subordinate vs. subordinate-main), which could partly explain the contradictory results shown above. The PAS studies have not questioned whether the type of syntactic configuration (i.e., the type of sentence) could influence the division of labour, which leads to the following and last research questions and hypotheses.

**RQ6a:** What kind of sentences (inter-sentential vs. intra-sentential) are mostly produced? Which is the preferred order (main-subordinate vs subordinate-main) in intra-sentential sentences?

**H6a:** In production data, we expect that both inter-sentential and intra-sentential sentences will be produced almost to the same extent, while main-subordinate order is expected to be more frequent than subordinate-main order. This is expected in Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers.

**RQ6b:** Does the type of sentence affect the division of labour of PAS scenarios?

**H6b:** As this issue has not been addressed in the PAS literature before, we expect that the type of sentence will not affect the division of labour.

### 7.3.3 Method

#### *7.3.3.1 Corpus and participants*

The corpus used for Study 3 was CEDEL2 (cf. 6.1.1.1, p. 101 for an overview). A sample of L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers with different proficiency levels and a control group of Spanish native speakers was taken from this corpus. Importantly, we first selected all the texts in CEDEL2 that met the selection criteria (i.e., the proficiency levels that were of our interest and the task that

the participants produced). From all these texts, which are shown in Table 31 (cf. N total texts initially targeted), we chose all the texts that at least included one PAS scenario. Out of all these texts, the final number of texts included in the study is shown in Table 31 (cf. N texts with PAS finally analysed).

Group	N (total texts initially targeted)	N (texts with PAS finally analysed)
<b>Intermediate</b>	69	21
<b>Lower advanced</b>	37	19
<b>Upper advanced</b>	13	8
<b>Natives</b>	103	27

Table 31. Number of potential texts and number of final texts included in Study 3.

Table 32 shows an overview of the participants that were finally included in Study 3. Additionally, the appendices section includes the participants' metadata (cf. Appendix H, p. 363).

Group	N	Mean age	AoO	LoI
<b>Intermediate</b>	21	30	14	5.3
<b>Lower advanced</b>	19	21.3	14.5	5.5
<b>Upper advanced</b>	8	25.5	12.2	8.8
<b>Natives</b>	27	25.6	-	-

Table 32. Sample of Study 3.

### 7.3.3.2 Task, tagsets and analysis

In Study 3, two more open tasks were chosen (i.e., *Talk about a famous person* and *Retell a film that you have recently seen*), as mentioned above (cf. 6.1.2, p. 107). The tagset included the features explained in the General Method in Chapter 6 above (cf. 6.1.4, p. 112), where we explained each feature individually. Here, we provide with the complete tagsets for Study 3, but features in each tagset are not explained one by one, as they were explained and illustrated in section 6.1.4 above (p. 112). Figure 63 shows the tagset that was used to tag PAS scenarios vs. Other AR scenarios and address research question 1 above (cf. 7.3.2.1).

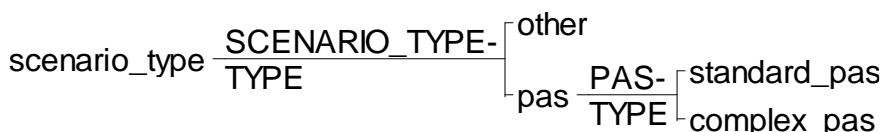


Figure 63. Tagset Scenario type: Study 3.

Figure 64 shows the main tagset of Study 3. This tagset includes all the necessary features to investigate the PAS and address the research questions in the section above (cf. 7.3.2). As we

can see in Figure 64, some of the features are shared with the tagsets in Study 1 and Study 2, but this tagset is more PAS-oriented. Importantly, the feature *anaphora resolution* contains additional tags in this tagset, but we analysed the basic tags explained above (cf. 6.1.4.8, p. 122).

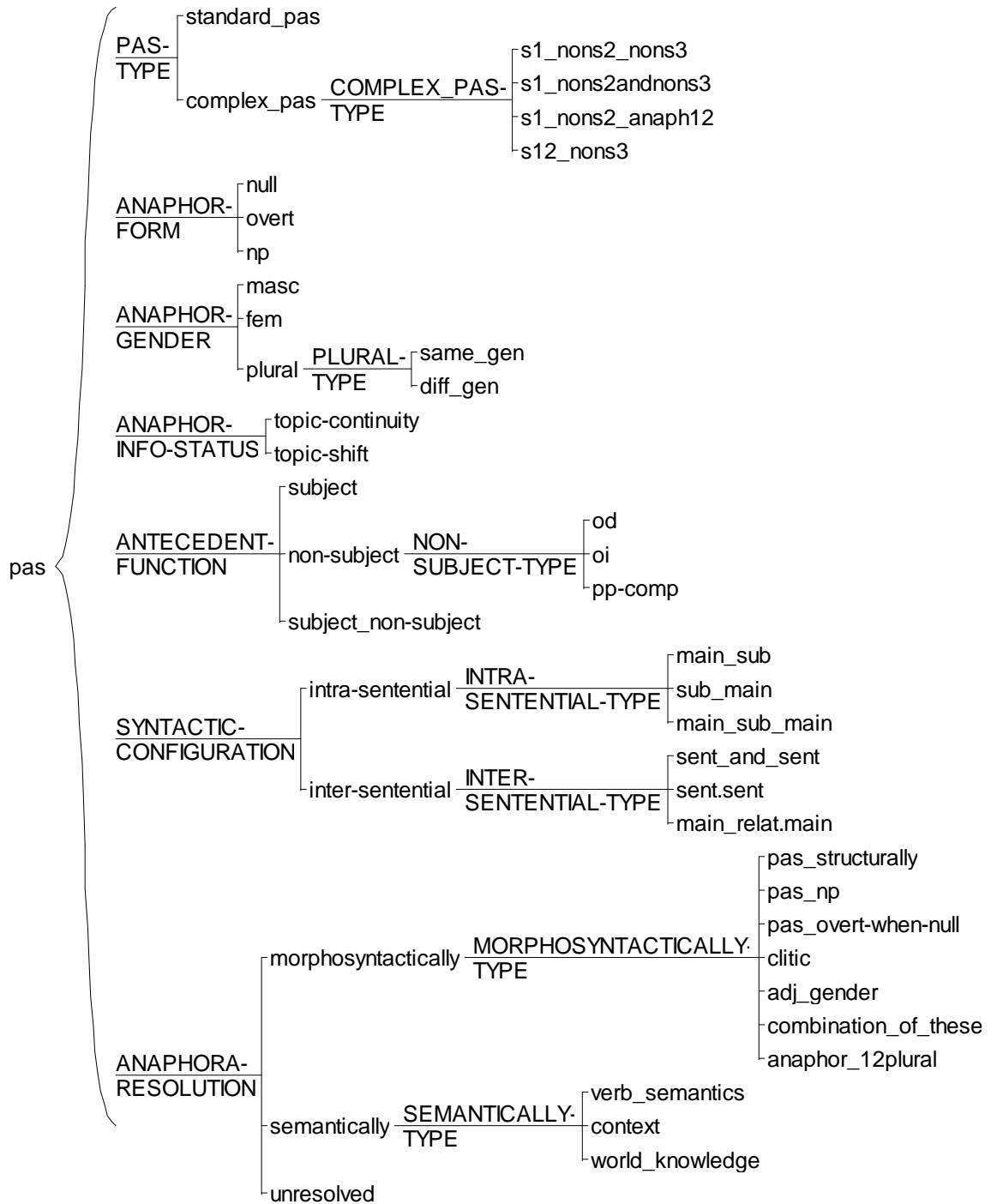


Figure 64. Tagset PAS: Study 3.

Finally, Figure 65 shows the tagset that we used to tag the proficiency levels. As mentioned in Table 32, the sample of this study includes L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers (intermediate, lower-advanced, and upper-advanced) and Spanish natives.

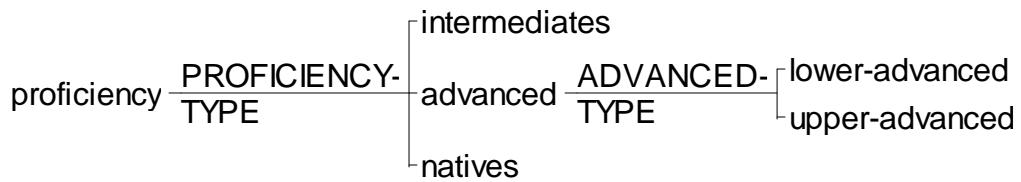


Figure 65. Tagset proficiency level: Study 3.

Regarding the analyses, they were carried out with the UAM Corpus Tool, as mentioned in the General Method (cf. 6.1.3, p. 110). Multiple comparisons were made between the different groups of L2ers and the native group (i.e., intermediate vs. natives; lower-advanced vs. natives; upper-advanced vs. natives). The differences between these groups are reported with  $\chi^2$  values with three levels of significance, as explained in Table 16 above (p. 112). Importantly, we should mention two exclusions in the analysis: i) we excluded complex PAS scenarios<sup>73</sup> when showing the PAS results because we wanted to stick to the standard PAS so as to compare our results with previous research; and ii) we excluded REs that were semantically resolved because the semantics of the verb affects the resolution, as explained above in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.5, p. 38). Regarding the exclusion of REs that were semantically resolved, we decided to exclude them because we found that there were null pronouns biasing towards non-subject antecedents. Thus, we explored these cases and realized that such null pronouns were semantically resolved, as illustrated in (98).

- (98) a. Todo parece que funciona de maravilla hasta que el protagonista<sub>i</sub> de la película se enamora de la chica<sub>j</sub> y ella<sub>j</sub> le<sub>i</sub> pide por favor que Ø<sub>i</sub> deje el negocio (...) [ES\_WR\_23\_3\_EM] (Spanish native)

'Everything seems to work perfectly until the main character<sub>i</sub> of the film falls in love with the girl<sub>j</sub> and she<sub>j</sub> asks him<sub>i</sub> to (Ø<sub>i</sub>) leave the business'

- b. Sin embargo, ella<sub>i</sub> no quiere seguir esa vida y Ø<sub>i</sub> le convence a Don D<sub>j</sub> que Ø<sub>j</sub> le compra una casa (EN\_WR\_43\_28\_8\_3\_KEM2, upper-advanced).

'However, she<sub>i</sub> does not want to continue with this life and Ø<sub>i</sub> convinces Don D<sub>j</sub> to (Ø<sub>j</sub>) buy her<sub>i</sub> a house'.

As shown in Table 33, the tagged REs are divided into AR scenarios and PAS scenarios and we then provide with the total number of tagged REs per group. In total, Study 3 includes 1,712

<sup>73</sup> When results are not restricted to PAS scenarios (e.g., REs according to information status), all PAS scenarios are included (standard and complex PAS).

tagged REs, but recall from previous studies (cf. Study 1 and Study 2) that each tagged RE includes around 10 terminal tags. So, the total number of terminal tags is around 17,120.

Group	N	REs tagged		
		AR scenarios	PAS scenarios	Total
Intermediate	21	397	120	517
Lower advanced	19	373	102	475
Upper advanced	8	199	87	286
Natives	27	296	138	434
<b>Total tagged REs</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>1,265</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>1,712</b>

Table 33. Number of tags in Study 3.

### 7.3.4 Results and discussion

#### 7.3.4.1 Frequency of PAS scenarios vs. other AR scenarios

These results address the research questions in RQ1 (cf. 7.3.2.1, p. 186). So, the frequencies of PAS scenarios vs. other AR scenarios are shown here.

Results in Figure 66 shows the production of **PAS scenarios** and **other AR scenarios** to answer H1a. Both scenarios are produced, but, crucially, the percentage of production is higher for other AR scenarios across groups of L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives (intermediate: 76.8%; lower-advanced: 78.5%; upper-advanced: 69.6%; natives: 68.2%) than the production of PAS scenarios across groups (intermediate: 23.2%; lower-advanced: 21.5%; upper-advanced: 30.4%; natives: 31.8%). There are weak significant differences between the natives and the upper-advanced L2ers in PAS scenarios ( $\chi^2=0.152$ ,  $p<0.1$ ) or other AR scenarios ( $\chi^2=0.152$ ,  $p<0.1$ ), but there are significant differences between natives and lower-advanced L2ers and between natives and intermediate L2ers in PAS scenarios (lower-advanced  $\chi^2=12.439$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; intermediate  $\chi^2=8.799$ ,  $p<0.02$ ) and in other AR scenarios (lower-advanced  $\chi^2=12.439$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; intermediate  $\chi^2=8.799$ ,  $p<0.02$ ).

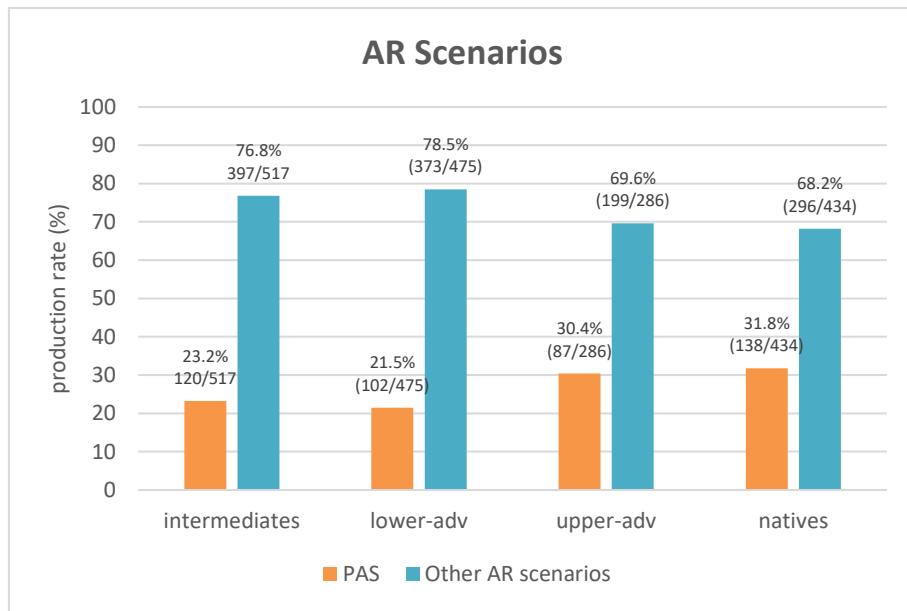


Figure 66. Anaphora Resolution scenarios by group (Study 3).

Focusing on the **type of PAS scenarios** (i.e., standard PAS vs. complex PAS), Figure 67 answers H1b by showing that the production of **standard PAS scenarios** is higher across groups of L2ers and natives (intermediate: 62.5%; lower-advanced: 71.6%; upper-advanced: 75.9%; natives: 66.7%) than the production of **complex PAS scenarios**<sup>74</sup> across groups (intermediate: 37.5%; lower-advanced: 28.4%; upper-advanced: 24.1%; natives: 33.3%). There are no significant differences between the natives and the upper-advanced L2ers in standard PAS scenarios ( $\chi^2=0.355$ ,  $p<0.1$ ) or complex PAS scenarios ( $\chi^2=2.166$ ,  $p<0.1$ ), but there are significant differences between natives and lower-advanced L2ers in standard PAS scenarios ( $\chi^2=5.188$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) and in complex PAS scenarios ( $\chi^2=12.439$ ,  $p<0.02$ ). As for the intermediate L2ers, there are significant differences between natives and intermediate L2ers in standard PAS scenarios ( $\chi^2=6.050$ ,  $p<0.02$ ), but not in complex PAS scenarios ( $\chi^2=0.979$ ,  $p<0.1$ ).

<sup>74</sup> The frequencies of complex PAS scenarios are low in order to be further analysed. In specific results related to the PAS, we will take into account standard PAS only. In general results (like information status in 7.3.4.4, p. 159), complex PAS scenarios are also included.

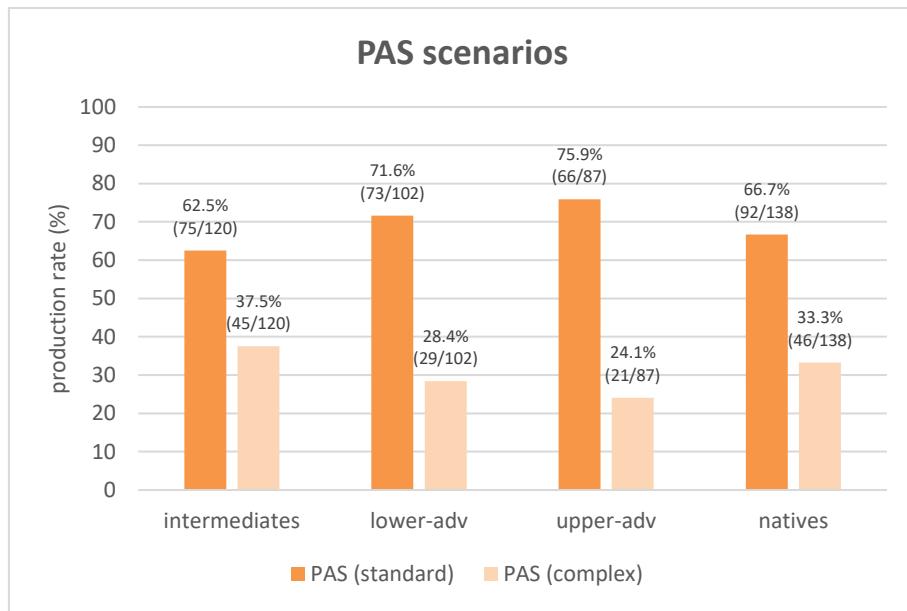


Figure 67. PAS scenarios by group (Study 3).

The results in this subsection reveal that **H1a** and **H1b** are confirmed. In particular, **H1a** is confirmed because both PAS and other AR scenarios are produced, but other AR scenarios are more frequent than PAS scenarios and this is shown across groups, which is in line with the PAS results in Study 1. Importantly, there are significant differences between natives and two groups of L2ers (intermediate and lower-advanced), whose production of PAS scenarios is even lower than the natives' production of PAS scenarios. In any case, all groups show that other AR scenarios are highly frequent in their natural production and PAS scenarios represents less than one fifth of their overall production. This suggests that PAS scenarios are possible in natural production, but the experimental literature has overestimated the PAS configuration and has not considered other AR scenarios. As for **H1b**, this hypothesis is confirmed because the production of standard PAS scenarios is higher than complex PAS across groups of natives and L2ers (despite some significant differences between the natives and the intermediate and lower-advanced groups), but they also produce complex PAS scenarios. These results again reveal that the PAS literature has overlooked the fact that PAS scenarios can include more than two antecedents (one in subject position and the other in non-subject position) and, thus, can be more complex than previously assumed, as shown in (99 a,b).

- (99) a. Dunst<sub>i</sub> decide que se divorcia de su<sub>i</sub> esposo<sub>j</sub> contra el consejo de su<sub>i</sub> madre<sub>k</sub>. **Dunst**<sub>i</sub> da se cuenta que el mundo y la sociedad no siempre tienen razón.  
[EN\_WR\_36\_18\_6\_3\_JYL] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, lower-advanced)

'Dunst<sub>i</sub> decides to divorce his<sub>i</sub> husband<sub>j</sub> against his<sub>i</sub> mother<sub>k</sub>'s advice. **Dunst**<sub>i</sub> realizes that the world and the society are not always right'.

b. Así pues, Jasper<sub>i</sub> intenta atacar a Bella<sub>j</sub> pero Edward<sub>k</sub> y Emmet<sub>l</sub>, otro de los hermanos, la<sub>j</sub> salvan. Sin embargo, Edward<sub>k</sub> se resiente emocionalmente... [ES\_WR\_21\_3\_ICH] (Spanish native)

'So, Jasper<sub>i</sub> tries to attack Bella<sub>j</sub> but Edward<sub>k</sub> and Emmet<sub>l</sub>, which is the other brother, safe her<sub>j</sub>'. However, Edward<sub>i</sub> suffers emotionally...'

#### 7.3.4.2 Overall production of REs in PAS scenarios

This section focuses on the overall production of REs in PAS scenarios only, as justified in footnote 74, and addresses research question 2 (cf. 7.3.2.2, p. 187).

Figure 68 shows that Spanish natives produce mainly null pronouns (66.1%), followed by NPs (23.2%) and overt pronouns (10.7%). As for L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers, there are different patterns of use: the intermediate group produces mainly overt pronouns (39.1%), closely followed by NPs (38.1%), and a low percentage of null pronouns (22.8%); the lower-advanced group produces mainly overt pronouns (35.7%), but closely followed by null pronouns (34.5%) and NPs (29.8%); and the upper-advanced group produces mainly null pronouns (57.9%) (as natives do), followed by overt pronouns (26.3%) and NPs (15.8%). Importantly, there are significant differences between natives and all groups of L2ers for null pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=37.963$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=19.159$ ,  $p<0.02$ ), overt pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=22.667$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=17.818$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=7.803$ ,  $p<0.02$ ), and NPs (intermediate:  $\chi^2=5.299$ ,  $p<0.05$ ).

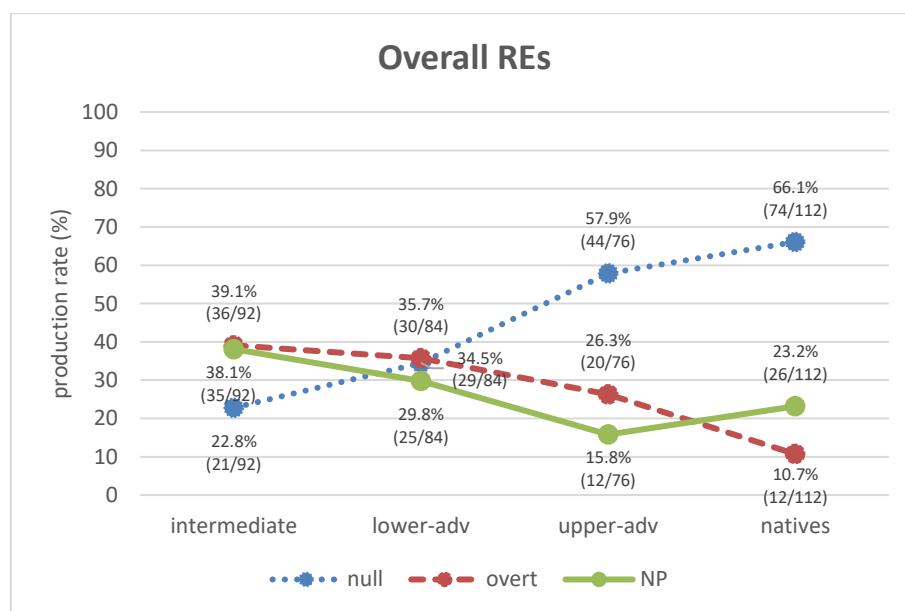


Figure 68. REs by group (Study 3).

These results confirm **H2** because natives produce mostly null pronouns, followed by overt material (NPs and overt pronouns). Crucially, these results reveal that NPs are actually produced in PAS scenarios and, additionally, are more frequent than overt pronouns, which is a finding that has been overlooked in the PAS literature. This finding is line with the Spanish literature, which has reported the production of NPs (Lozano, 2016). Thus, NPs also play a role in the division of labour of PAS scenarios, as we will see in the next subsection. Regarding the L2ers' production, they show different patterns of production, but none of the groups completely behave native-like. Particularly, L2ers show a developmental production of null pronouns (i.e., there is an increase in the production of null pronouns as their proficiency level increase) and the upper-advanced group behaves like the natives showing no significant differences. As for the production of overt pronouns, they are more frequent than NPs across groups of L2ers and there are significant differences between natives and all L2ers' groups for overt pronouns. These results reveal the overall production of REs and initially suggest that Spanish L2ers do not use REs in a native-like manner and are in the process of acquiring Spanish pronouns. Importantly, these results are general and cannot inform about the contexts that are particularly problematic for L2ers, as it is shown in the following subsections.

#### *7.3.4.3 Division of labour in PAS scenarios*

These results address research question 3 (cf. 7.3.2.3, p.187) and show the production of REs in PAS scenarios (i.e., whether REs bias towards subject or non-subject antecedents). It is important to mention that, for these results, the REs that were resolved semantically were excluded from the analyses, as justified in the method section above (cf. 7.3.3.2, p. 190).

Focusing on **Spanish natives'** production first, Figure 69 shows that they produce mostly null pronouns (93.6%) for subject antecedents, while they produce both overt pronouns (32.4%) and NPs (64.7%) for non-subject antecedents.

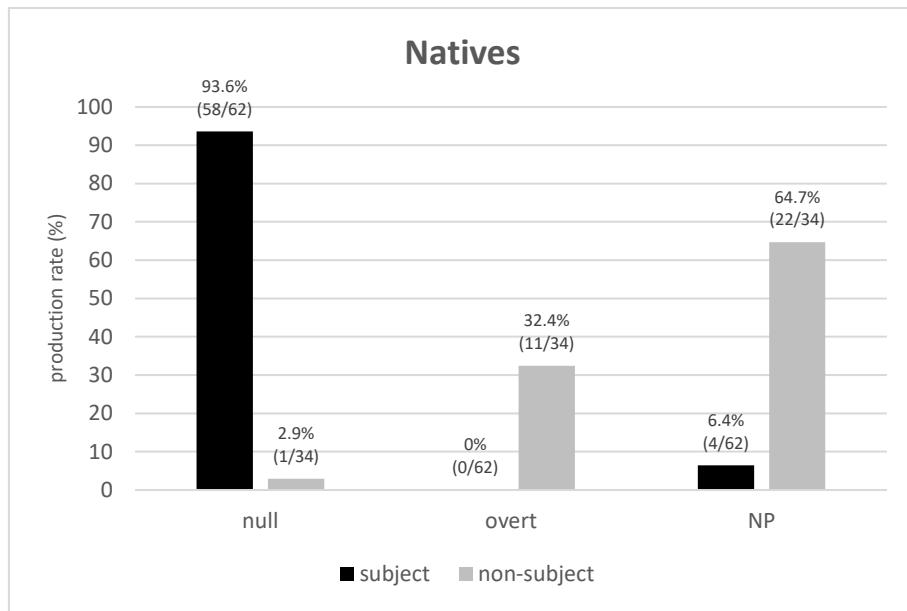


Figure 69. PAS scenarios with subject and non-subject antecedent: REs in natives (Study 3).

As mentioned in the previous subsection (cf. 7.3.4.2), NPs occur in PAS scenarios and we actually observe that they play an important role in the division of labour because NPs are more frequent than overt pronouns (cf. Figure 69). To further investigate this, we decided to join the frequencies of overt pronouns and NPs and consider them as overt material. Crucially, Figure 70 shows a division of labour in Spanish: **null pronouns (93.6%) bias towards subject antecedents** and **overt material (97.1%) bias towards non-subject antecedents**.

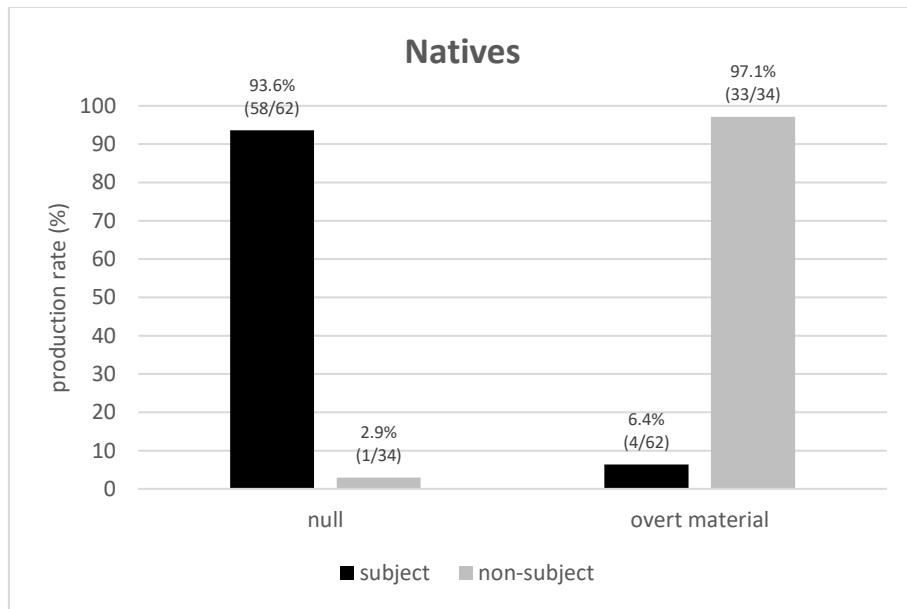


Figure 70. PAS scenarios with subject and non-subject antecedent: REs in natives (Study 3).

The division of labour for L1 English – L2 Spanish **L2ers** varies across groups, as shown in Figure 71. All groups of L2ers produce mainly null pronouns biasing towards **subject antecedents**,

although the production of null pronouns increases across proficiency levels (intermediate: 35.2%; lower-advanced: 47.8%; upper-advanced: 75.5%). To different extents, all L2er groups also produce overt pronouns (intermediate: 35.2%; lower-advanced: 26.1%; and upper-advanced: 17.8%) and NPs (intermediate: 29.6%; lower-advanced: 26.1%; and upper-advanced: 6.7%) biasing towards subject antecedents. There are significant differences between natives and all groups of L2ers for null pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=44.052, p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=28.746, p<0.02$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=7.003, p<0.02$ ), overt pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=26.088, p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=18.196, p<0.02$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=11.913, p<0.02$ ), and NPs (intermediate:  $\chi^2=10.867, p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=8.068, p<0.02$ ).

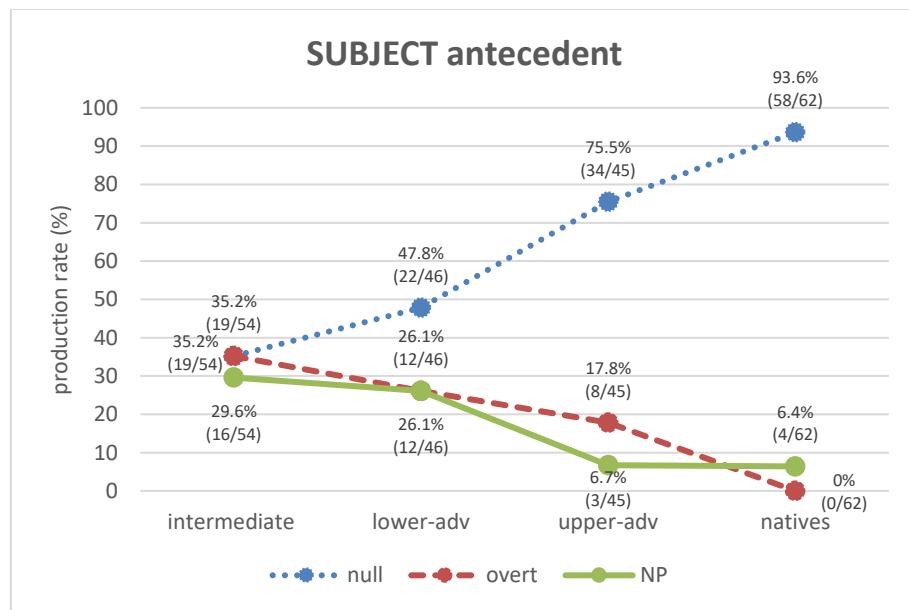


Figure 71. PAS scenarios with subject antecedent: REs by group (Study 3).

As for **non-subject antecedents**, Figure 72 shows that the intermediate group produces more NPs (52.8%) than overt pronouns (47.2%), while lower-advanced and upper-advanced groups produce more overt pronouns (lower-advanced: 56.3%; upper-advanced: 54.6%) than NPs (lower-advanced: 40.6%; upper-advanced: 40.9%). There are weak significant differences between natives and both advanced groups for overt pronouns (lower- advanced:  $\chi^2= 3.822, p<0.1$ ; upper- advanced:  $\chi^2=3.838, p<0.1$ ) and NPs (lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=2.718, p<0.1$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=3.061, p<0.1$ ).

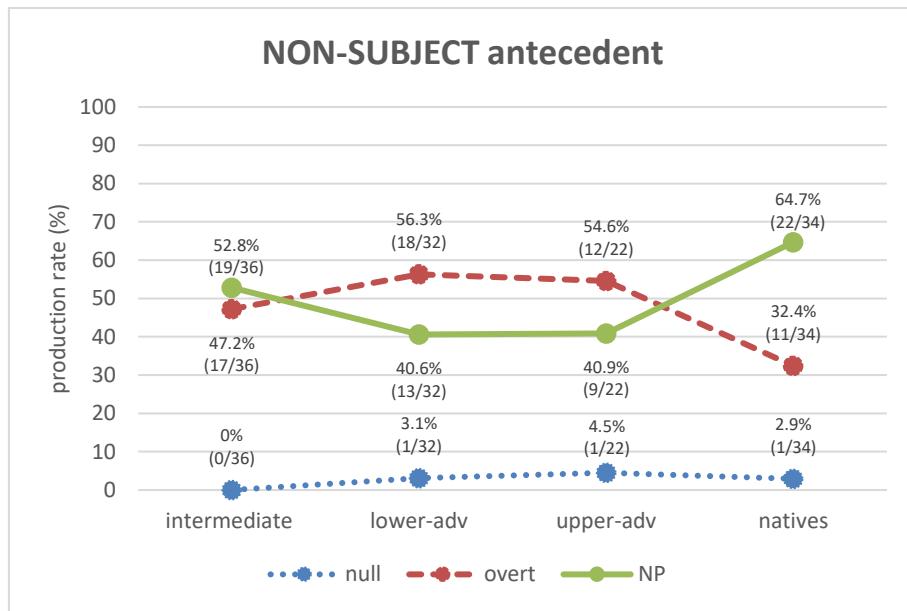


Figure 72. PAS scenarios with non-subject antecedent: REs by group (Study 3).

The results in this subsection confirm the hypotheses formulated for both Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers across groups in **H3**. In particular, the **Spanish natives'** results reveal that there is a **division of labour** in Spanish because null pronouns bias towards subject-antecedents and overt material (NPs and overt pronouns) bias towards non-subject antecedents, which is in line with previous online experimental studies (Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011; Keating et al., 2016). By contrast, other offline and online experimental studies (*inter alia*: Alonso-Ovalle et al., 2002; Chamorro et al., 2015; Filiaci et al., 2014) did not find such division of labour (cf. 4.2.4, p. 85 for an overview of the Spanish PAS literature). Crucially, previous PAS studies (except for Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011) have not included **NPs** in PAS scenarios and have **overlooked** that NPs play a role in the division of labour. Importantly, our results reveal that NPs do bias towards non-subject antecedents and are actually more frequent than overt pronouns, which again shows the importance of investigating the phenomenon in natural production.

**H3** is also confirmed in **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** because they timidly show the natives' PAS bias, but there are significant differences between natives and L2ers. In particular, they know that null pronouns bias mainly towards **subject antecedents** from intermediate levels (although the production is low in the intermediate group compared to the advanced L2ers) and the production of null pronouns increases across proficiency levels. Additionally, L2ers across groups also produce overt pronouns, as the RE in bold in (100a), and NPs, as the RE in bold in (100b), biasing towards subject antecedents. Importantly, L2ers' production of REs biasing towards

subject antecedents is significantly different from natives, which shows that they have not acquire the subject antecedent bias.

- (100) a. La madre<sub>i</sub> es sumisa al padre<sub>i</sub> a través de la película. Ella<sub>i</sub> no ha sabido una diversa manera de la vida (...) [EN\_WR\_25\_22\_17\_3\_BBB] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, intermediate)

'The mother<sub>i</sub> is submissive to the father<sub>i</sub> through the film. She<sub>i</sub> has not known a diverse manner of life (...)'

- b. Cady<sub>i</sub> fue amable a Regina<sub>j</sub>, pero en secreto, ella<sub>i</sub> hizo cosas malas a Regina<sub>j</sub>. Luego, **Cady**<sub>i</sub> fue plástico como las chicas<sub>k</sub> ella<sub>i</sub> había tratado de destruir. [EN\_WR\_37\_18\_7\_3\_KAR] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, lower-advanced)

'Cady<sub>i</sub> was nice to Regina<sub>j</sub> but she<sub>i</sub> secretly did bad things to Regina<sub>j</sub>. Then, **Cady**<sub>i</sub> was plastic as the girls<sub>k</sub> that she<sub>i</sub> tried to destroy.'

Regarding the production of REs biasing towards **non-subject antecedents**, all L2ers' groups produce overt and NPs, but both advanced groups produce more overt pronouns than NPs, opposite to natives' production. All L2ers' groups also show significant differences for non-subject antecedents, although these differences are weaker than the differences for subject antecedents. All in all, the results reveal that L2ers have not acquired the PAS bias and this could be due to the fact that the alternation of REs is richer in Spanish than in L2ers' L1 (i.e., English). In fact, L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers in Study 1 showed a native-like bias, which could confirm that the L2 Spanish acquisition of REs is more problematic than the L2 English acquisition of REs, as we will discuss in our General Discussion (cf. Chapter 8). Crucially, the lack of acquisition of PAS bias is in line with previous L2 Spanish experimental studies (Bel, Sagarra, Comínguez, & García-Alcaraz, 2016; Jegerski et al., 2011; Keating et al., 2011).

To summarise, the division of labour in PAS scenarios is possible in Spanish, but it is crucial to include NPs in the analyses and exclude REs that are semantically resolved. Recall from the PAS literature review section (cf. 4.2.4, p. 85) that some experimental studies (Bel, Sagarra, Comínguez, & García-Alcaraz, 2016; Chamorro et al., 2015) found that null pronouns biased towards subject and non-subject antecedents and this could be related to the semantics of the verb factor (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.1.5, p. 38 for an overview of this factor). As for L2ers PAS bias, their production tends to the native norm, but they show significant differences even at very-advanced levels, which reveals that the acquisition of REs in general and PAS bias in particular is problematic for L2 Spanish L2ers.

#### 7.3.4.4 Information status and deficits at the syntax-discourse interface

The results in this subsection show the production of REs according to information status (i.e., topic continuity and topic shift) and address research question 4 (cf. 7.3.2.4, p. 188). Importantly, results in this subsection also exclude the REs that were semantically resolved.

In **topic-continuity contexts**, Figure 73 shows that Spanish natives produce a high percentage of null pronouns (95%), followed by NPs (5%) and no production of overt pronouns (0%). To different extents, all L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers show higher production of null pronouns (intermediate: 38.8%; lower- advanced: 47.8%; upper- advanced: 76.2%) than overt pronouns (intermediate: 30.6%; lower-advanced: 26.1%; upper-advanced: 19%) and NPs (intermediate: 30.6%; lower-advanced: 26.1%; upper-advanced: 4.8%). There are significant differences between natives and all groups of L2ers for null pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=40.392$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=30.523$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=7.860$ ,  $p<0.02$ ), overt pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=21.298$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=17.650$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=12.401$ ,  $p<0.02$ ), and NPs (intermediate:  $\chi^2=12.834$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=9.530$ ,  $p<0.02$ ). If we compare Figure 73 (topic continuity) with Figure 71 (subject antecedent) above, we observe that the pattern of production is similar in both charts, which answers RQ4.

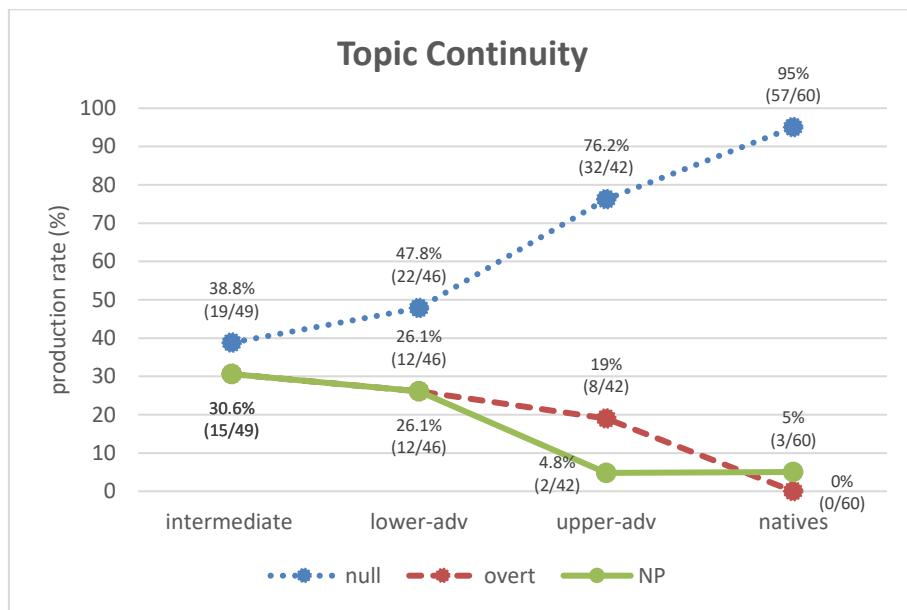


Figure 73. REs according to topic continuity by group (Study 3).

In **topic-shift contexts**, Figure 74 shows that natives produce a higher percentage of NPs (63.9%) than overt pronouns (30.6%) and null pronouns (5.6%). Regarding L2ers' production, the intermediate group produces more NPs (54.1%) than overt pronouns (45.9%), and the advanced groups produce more overt pronouns (lower-advanced: 58.1%; upper-advanced: 50%) than NPs (lower-advanced: 41.9%; upper-advanced: 41.7%). There are minor significant differences

between natives and the advanced groups for overt pronouns (lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=3.229$ ,  $p<0.05$ ), but weak differences for NPs (lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=3.229$ ,  $p<0.1$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=2.843$ ,  $p<0.1$ ). If we compare Figure 74 (topic shift) with Figure 72 (non-subject antecedent) above, we observe that the pattern of production is similar in both charts and this again answers RQ4.

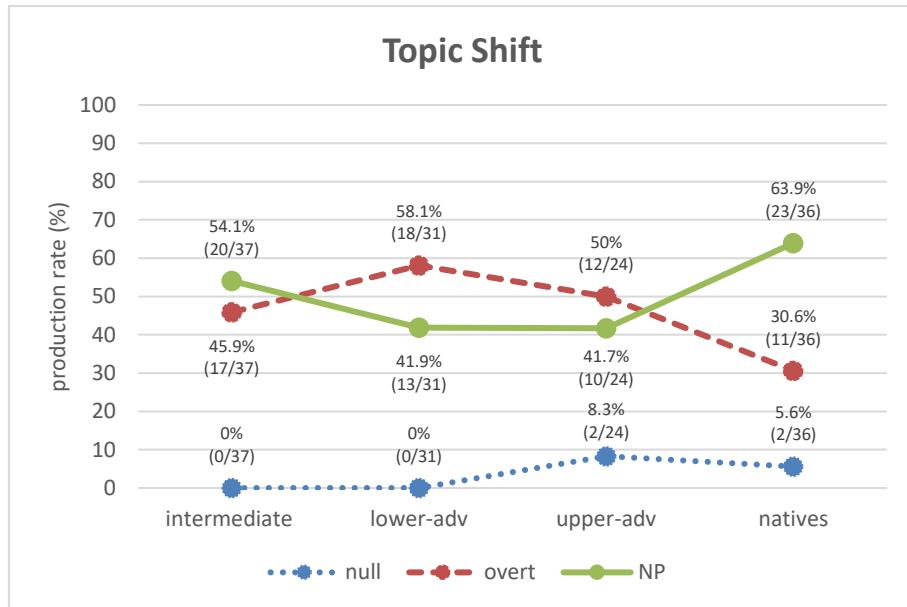


Figure 74. REs according to topic shift by group (Study 3).

These results confirm **H4** in two different ways. Firstly, H4 is confirmed because **the information status overlaps with the syntactic configuration**. If we compare the charts in this subsection with the charts in the previous subsection (cf. 7.3.4.3), we observe that the patterns of production are similar across groups. Importantly, percentages are not exactly the same because topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts include standard PAS scenarios and also complex PAS scenarios, but an overlap is observed.

Secondly, H4 is also confirmed because L2ers' production differs from natives' production and, thus, L2ers show **deficits at the syntax-discourse interface**. In particular, natives produce mostly null pronouns in topic-continuity contexts, while they produce mostly NPs and overt pronouns in topic-shift contexts. L2ers show the natives' trend, but percentages change. In topic-continuity contexts, L2ers acquire the use of null pronouns developmentally and the more advanced they are, the higher the production of null pronouns. However, all L2ers' groups show significant differences for null and overt pronouns in topic-continuity contexts. To illustrate this, example (101a) shows a redundant overt pronoun (*ella*) in a topic-continuity context and example (101b) shows a redundant NPs (*Rose*) in a topic-continuity context. In these two contexts, a null pronoun would be felicitous. Thus, L2ers start overproducing overt pronouns

and NPs and being redundant, and they acquire an appropriate use of null pronouns as their proficiency level increases, but significant differences remain at upper-advanced levels. By contrast, topic-shift contexts are not so problematic, as L2ers use overt and NPs in a native-like manner here. There are some minor significant differences, but, overall, they show a native-like behaviour.

- (101) a. Ella<sub>i</sub> le<sub>j</sub> rogaran ellos<sub>j</sub> no hace este, porque ella<sub>i</sub> no era como la gente<sub>k</sub> rico que ellos<sub>j</sub> odiaban [EN\_WR\_34\_21\_4\_3\_LLD] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, intermediate)

'She<sub>i</sub> begged them<sub>j</sub> not to do that, because she<sub>i</sub> was not as the rich people<sub>k</sub> that they<sub>j</sub> hated'.

- b. Rose<sub>i</sub> quiere a ve Jack<sub>j</sub> así que Rose<sub>i</sub> busca a Jack<sub>j</sub>. [EN\_WR\_26\_18\_3\_3\_BRS] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, intermediate)

'Rose<sub>i</sub> wants to see Jack<sub>j</sub> so Rose<sub>i</sub> looks for Jack<sub>j</sub>'.

These results are in line with the findings in Study 1 and Study 2 in this dissertation because we showed that topic-continuity contexts were more problematic for L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers than topic-shift contexts. Additionally, this is in line with previous literature that has reported that not all contexts at the syntax-discourse interface are equally problematic (*inter alia*: Contemori et al., 2019; Lozano, 2016; White, 2011b). This reveals the importance of investigating AR in natural production to determine the contexts that are problematic for L2ers. Importantly, these results would confirm the PPVH (cf. 3.3, p. 51 for an overview) proposed by Lozano (Lozano, 2016) because they show that L2ers are redundant and, thus, violate the Informativeness/Economy Principle, but are not ambiguous and do not violate the Manner/Clarity Principle, which will be further discussed in the General discussion (cf. Chapter 8, p. 285). Finally, these results also inform about the IH (cf. 2.3, p. 14) proposed by Sorace (2011) because they show that native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse interface is not possible, but, such attainment crucially depends on the context as not all contexts are equally problematic.

#### *7.3.4.5 Transfer (topic continuity and coordinate contexts)*

As results in the previous subsection (cf. 7.3.4.4) showed that syntactic configuration and information status overlap, we present the results in this subsection according to information status, as we wanted to check the transfer effect in Study 1 and Study 2 in this dissertation. Thus,

these results show the production of REs in topic continuity and coordinate contexts and in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts and address research question 5 (cf. 7.3.2.5, p. 188).

In **topic continuity and coordinate** contexts, Figure 75 shows that Spanish natives produce null pronouns only. L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers also show a high percentage of null pronouns (intermediate: 70%; low-advanced: 77.3%; upper-advanced: 90.9%), but they also produce overt pronouns (intermediate: 20%; low-advanced: 22.7%; upper-advanced: 9.1%) and the intermediate group produces some NPs (10%). There are significant differences between natives and all groups of L2ers for null pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=10.540, p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=7.779, p<0.02$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=2.929, p<0.02$ ), overt pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=6.728, p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=7.779, p<0.02$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=2.929, p<0.02$ ), and NPs (intermediate:  $\chi^2=3.227, p<0.02$ ).

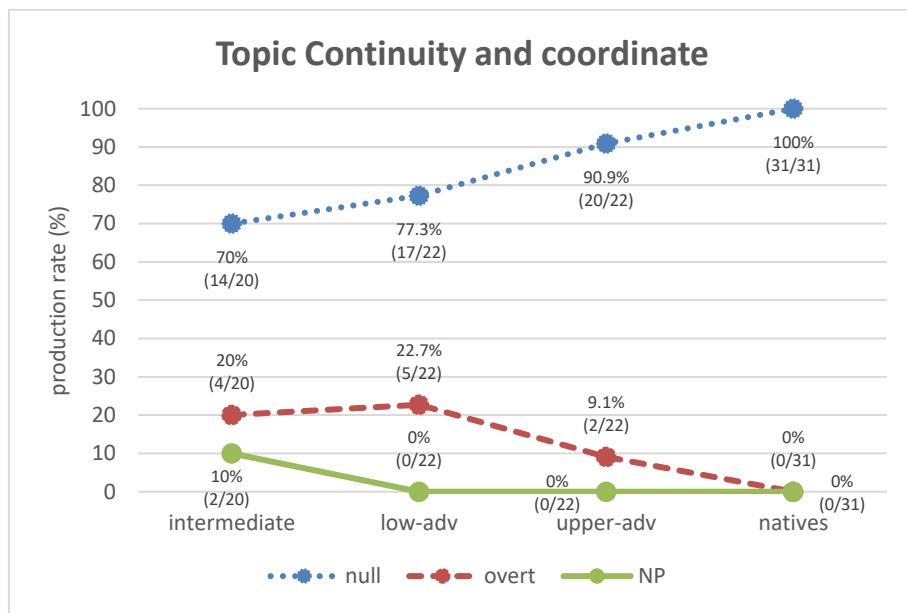


Figure 75. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group (Study 3).

Figure 76 shows that the pattern of production changes in **topic continuity and not coordinate** contexts. Here, natives produce mostly null pronouns (89.7%) followed by NPs (10.3%). As for L2ers: the intermediate group produces mostly overt pronouns (45.5%) followed by NPs (39.4%) and null pronouns (15.1%); the lower-advanced group produces mostly NPs (48%) followed by overt pronouns (28%) and null pronouns (24%); and the upper-advanced group produces mostly null pronouns (60%), followed by overt pronouns (30%) and NPs (10%). These varied patterns of production reflect the significant differences found between natives and all groups of L2ers for null pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=34.272, p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=23.972, p<0.02$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=5.979, p<0.02$ ), overt pronouns (intermediate:  $\chi^2=17.389, p<0.02$ ; lower-

advanced:  $\chi^2=9.329$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; upper-advanced:  $\chi^2=9.914$ ,  $p<0.02$ ), and NPs (intermediate:  $\chi^2=6.803$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; lower-advanced:  $\chi^2=9.489$ ,  $p<0.02$ ).

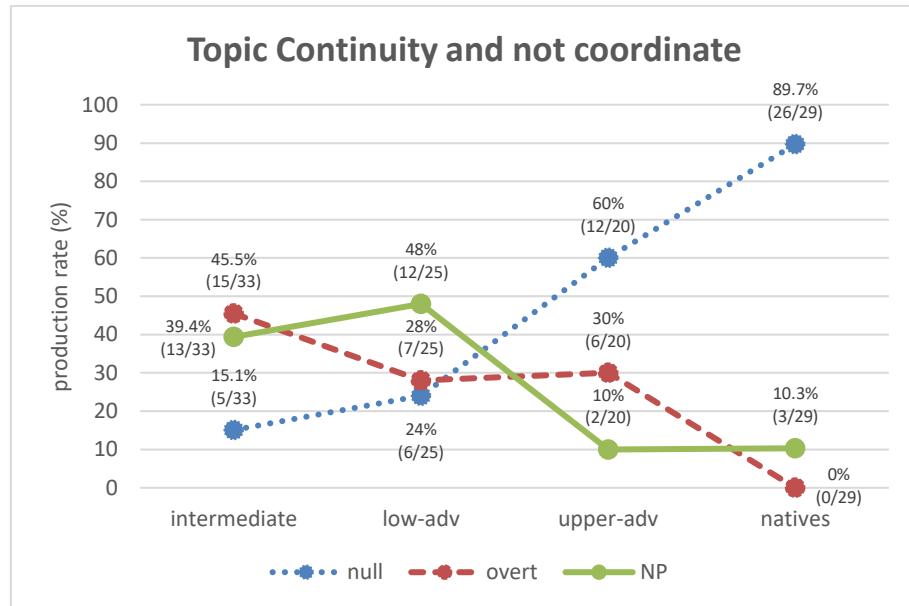


Figure 76. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group (Study 3).

Results in this subsection confirm **H5** because L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers **transfer** the use of null pronouns from their L1 English. The results show that natives produce mostly null pronouns in topic continuity regardless of the distinction between coordinate vs. not coordinate contexts. However, L2ers show a change in the production of REs in coordinate vs. not coordinate contexts. In particular, all L2ers' groups show higher production of null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts than in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts. In topic continuity and not coordinate contexts, L2ers' production of null pronouns decreases and L2ers produce redundant overt pronouns or NPs instead, as illustrated in (101a,b). Therefore, L2ers transfer the use of REs and restrict the use of null pronouns to topic continuity and coordinate contexts, while they produce redundant REs in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts, which is in line with previous research (Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020). L2ers acquire the use of REs developmentally and the upper-advanced group shows the highest production of null pronouns in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts (compared to the other L2ers' groups), but they still show significant differences with respect to natives' production. Curiously, Study 1 and Study 2 showed that there was no transfer of null pronouns from their L1. Thus, the findings in Study 1, 2 and 3 in this dissertation reveal that there is an asymmetry in the acquisition of AR depending on the language pair. Crucially, the use of null pronouns in English is restricted to topic continuity and coordinate contexts and the use of null pronouns in other contexts would mean producing a grammatical error. By contrast, the use of null pronouns in Spanish is open to

other contexts apart from topic continuity and coordinate contexts. The lack of production of a null pronoun would be pragmatically incorrect, but not grammatically incorrect. Therefore, it seems that the acquisition of pragmatics is more difficult than the acquisition of syntax, as early L2 Spanish studies reported (Lozano, 2002; Pérez-Leroux & Glass, 1999). All in all, the language pair influences the acquisition of AR, as we will further discuss in the general discussion (cf. Chapter 8).

#### *7.3.4.6 Syntactic configuration in PAS scenarios*

These results firstly show the frequencies of intra-sentential vs. inter-sentential sentences. Then, the results show the production of REs in PAS depending on the type of sentence (intra-sentential vs. inter-sentential) and we will also show the frequencies of intra-sentential sentences depending on the clause order (main-subordinate vs. subordinate-main). These results address research question 6 (cf. 7.3.2.6, p. 189). Importantly, these results are very specific and the frequencies decrease in some tables/charts in comparison with results in previous subsections. Thus, the significance is not shown here, as the chi-square is not completely reliable with such low frequencies.

Table 34 shows that there is a higher production of inter-sentential contexts across groups than intra-sentential contexts because we can see that there are higher frequencies for inter-sentential than for intra-sentential contexts, which answers H6a.

SENTENTIAL CONFIGURATION	Intermediate	Lower-adv	Upper-adv	Natives
<b>Intra-sentential</b>	20.65% (19/92)	14.29% (12/84)	30.26% (23/76)	35.71% (40/112)
<b>Inter-sentential</b>	79.35% (73/92)	85.71% (72/84)	69.74% (53/76)	64.29% (72/112)

Table 34. Frequencies according to sentence type by group (Study 3).

Focusing on the production of REs in **intra-sentential contexts**, results show the division of labour now. Figure 77 shows that natives produce only null pronouns (100%) biasing towards subject antecedents, while they produce mostly overt pronouns (85.7%) biasing towards non-subject antecedents followed by NPs (14.3%), as shown in Figure 78. In these contexts, advanced groups also produce mainly null pronouns (lower-advanced: 100%; upper-advanced: 76.9%) biasing towards subject antecedents, while the intermediate group produces mainly overt pronouns (60%), and all groups of L2ers produce mainly overt pronouns (intermediate: 66.7%; lower-advanced: 80%; upper-advanced 100%) biasing towards non-subject antecedents, as shown in Figure 78.

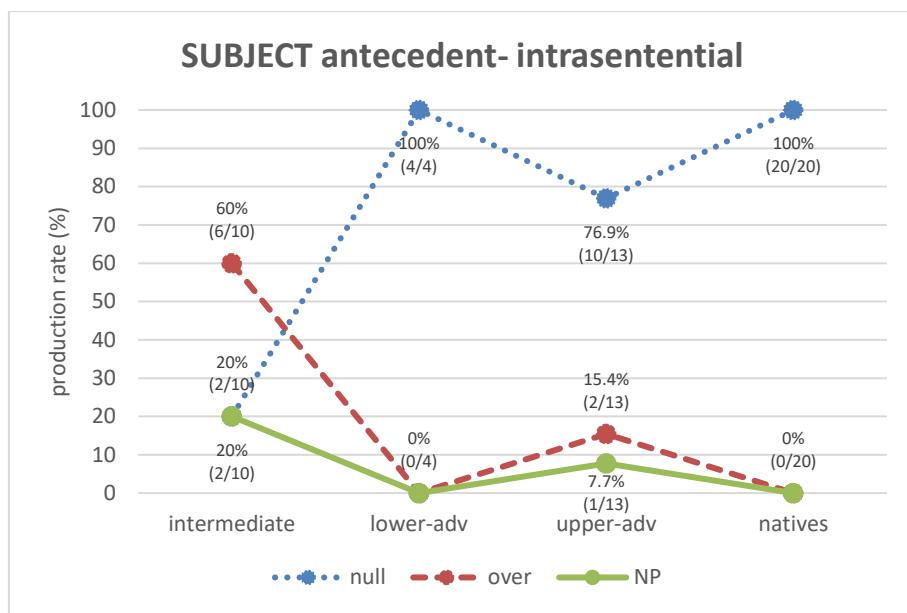


Figure 77. PAS scenarios with subject antecedent in intra-sentential: REs by group (Study 3).

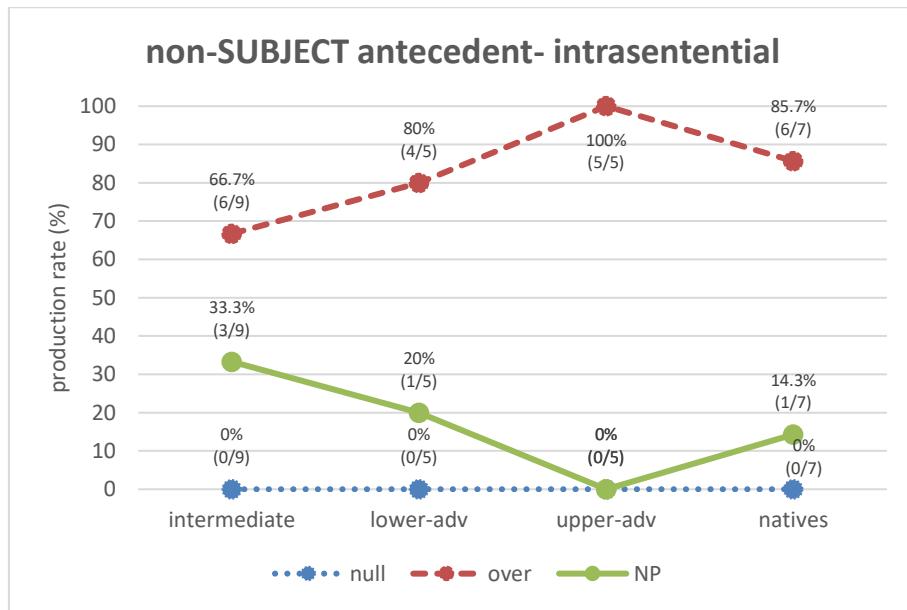


Figure 78. PAS scenarios with non-subject antecedent in intra-sentential: REs by group (Study 3).

Regarding the **clause order** in **intra-sentential** contexts, Table 35 shows that main-subordinate order is more frequent across groups than subordinate-main order, although the frequencies are overall low.

INTRA-SENTENTIAL CONFIGURATION	Intermediate	Lower-adv	Upper-adv	Natives
<b>Main_subordinate</b>	94.74% (N=18)	83.3% (N=10)	91.3% (N=21)	90% (N=36)
<b>Subordinate_main</b>	5.26% (N=1)	16.67% (N=2)	8.7% (N=2)	10% (N=4)

Table 35. Frequencies according to intra-sentential order by group (Study 3).

As for the production of REs in **inter-sentential** contexts, Figure 79 shows that natives also produce mostly null pronouns (90.5%) biasing towards subject-antecedents, while they produce mostly NPs (77.8%) followed by overt pronouns (18.5%) biasing toward non-subject antecedents, as Figure 80 shows. L2ers also produce mostly null pronouns (intermediate: 42.5%; lower-advanced: 41.4%; upper-advanced: 74.2%) biasing towards subject antecedents (although frequencies vary across groups) and similar frequencies of overt pronouns (intermediate: 40.7%; lower-advanced: 51.9%; upper-advanced: 41.2%) and NPs (intermediate: 59.3%; lower-advanced: 44.4%; upper-advanced: 52.9%) biasing towards non-subject antecedents.

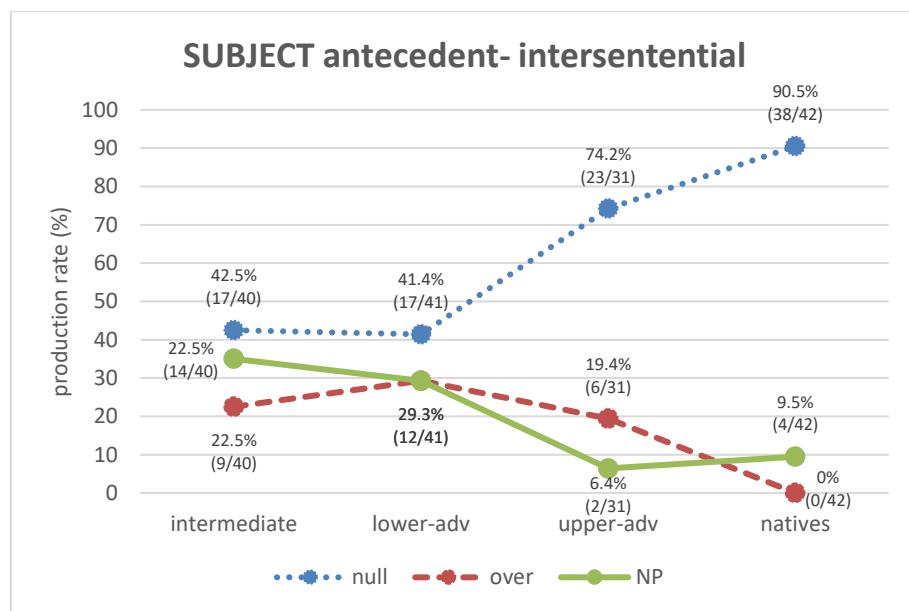


Figure 79. PAS scenarios with subject antecedent in inter-sentential: REs by group (Study 3).

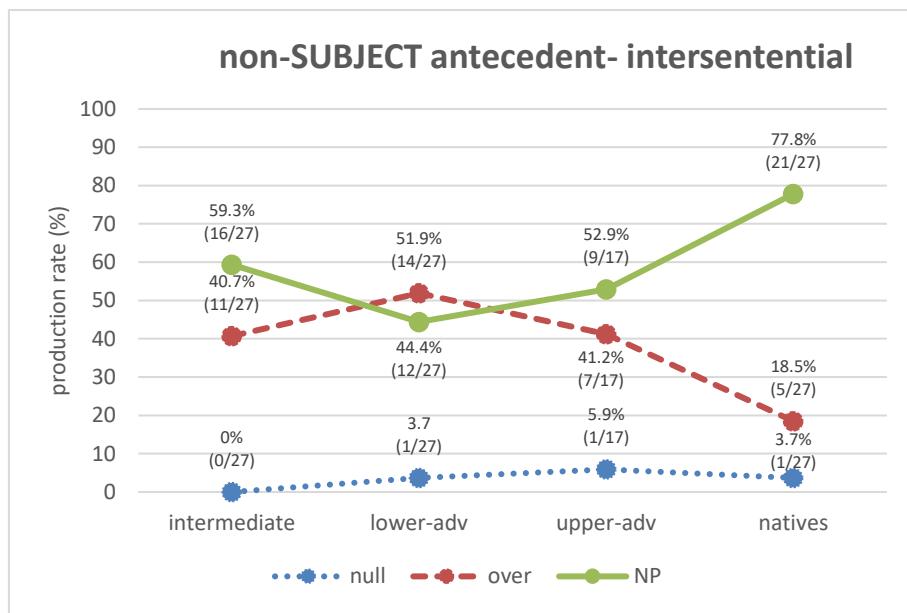


Figure 80. PAS scenarios with non-subject antecedent in inter-sentential: REs by group (Study 3).

These results partially confirm **H6a** and **H6b**. **H6a** hypotheses that i) both intra-sentential and inter-sentential sentences would be equally frequent; and ii) in intra-sentential sentences, main-subordinate order would be more frequent than subordinate-main order. Results show that inter-sentential contexts are more frequent than intra-sentential contexts across groups of Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers. In this sense, H6a is not confirmed. Regarding the clause order in intra-sentential sentences, results show that main-subordinate order is more frequent than subordinate-main order, which confirms H6a.

As for the production of REs in intra-sentential and inter-sentential sentences, results show that natives produce null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents regardless of the configuration (i.e., intra-sentential vs. inter-sentential), but, importantly, they produce mostly overt pronouns biasing towards non-subject antecedents in intra-sentential contexts and produce mostly NPs biasing towards non-subject antecedents in inter-sentential contexts. In fact, if we compare the first figure that presented the subject antecedent bias (cf. Figure 71) with Figure 77 (subject antecedent, intra-sentential) and Figure 79 (subject antecedent, inter-sentential), the pattern of production in both figures is similar to Figure 71. By contrast, if we compare the first figure that presented the non-subject antecedent bias (cf. Figure 72) with Figure 78 (non-subject antecedent, intra-sentential) and Figure 80 (non-subject antecedent, inter-sentential), the pattern of production changes with respect to Figure 72. This reveals that the type of sentence determines the use of REs in the division of labour, which disconfirms **H6b**. This is a crucial fact that was overlooked in the literature, and we again show the importance of

investigating a phenomenon in natural production. Importantly, these aspects should be further investigated in natural production because the frequencies presented here are low.

As for the L2ers' production, they also produce mostly null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents in intra-sentential and inter-sentential contexts (although frequencies differ from natives), but they did not show a clear difference in the production of overt pronouns and NPs biasing towards non-subject antecedents in intra-sentential vs. inter-sentential contexts, which could be due to the fact that they have not acquired PAS biases in a native-like manner.

### 7.3.5 Summary of findings and highlights of Study 3

Table 36 overleaf offers a summary of the findings of Study 3. As we can see in this table, corpus-data offers new insights into the PAS research. Firstly, PAS scenarios have been overestimated in the PAS experimental literature because we showed that PAS scenarios were infrequent compared to other AR scenarios (cf. 7.3.4.1, p. 193). Additionally, PAS scenarios can be more complex than previously assumed and can include more antecedents, as we showed in Study 3. Secondly, there is a division of labour in Spanish. Importantly though, we must include NPs in such division of labour, a fact that has been overlooked in the Spanish PAS literature. If we include NPs, the division of labour is as follows: null pronouns bias towards subject-antecedents and overt material (overt pronouns and NPs) biases towards non-subject antecedents (cf. 7.3.4.3, p. 197). Then, we also showed that syntactic configuration overlapped with information status (cf. 7.3.4.4, p. 202). So, the PAS, which has been traditionally considered a configurational parsing strategy, can be also related to discursive aspects of the language, which has been also undetected in previous experimental studies. Finally, we showed that the type of sentence (inter-sentential vs. intra-sentential) played a role in the division of labour of REs (cf. 7.3.4.6, p. 207), which is an essential aspect to consider in future PAS research. Regarding the production of L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers, L2ers acquired the PAS and the Spanish REs developmentally across proficiency levels. Importantly, L2ers did not show native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse interface, but this is highly dependent on the context because not all contexts are problematic for them (cf. 7.3.4.4, p. 202). Additionally, we reported an asymmetry in the acquisition of REs when we compared the results in this study with the results in Study 1 and Study 2. In particular, L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers in this study (Study 3) showed transfer of null pronouns and restricted their use to topic continuity and coordinate contexts (i.e., the context where their L1 allows null pronouns), while L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers did not show transfer from their L1 (i.e., they restricted the use of null pronouns to topic continuity and coordinate contexts). So, the acquisition of AR in L2 Spanish seemed to be more problematic than the acquisition of AR in L2 English, as discussed above (cf. 7.3.4.5, p. 204).

Factor		Spanish native speakers	L2 Spanish learners (*= see note below)
PAS vs. Other AR		Other AR scenarios >> PAS scenarios	
AR Scenarios	Standard vs. Complex	Standard PAS >> Complex PAS	
<b>No factor (overall production of REs)</b>		<b>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</b>	Intermediate: <b>NP*</b> ≈ <b>overt*</b> > <b>null*</b> Low-adv: <b>overt*</b> ≈ <b>null*</b> > <b>NP</b> Upper-adv: <b>null*</b> > <b>overt*</b> > <b>NP</b>
<b>Bias towards subject or non-subject antecedent</b>	<b>Subject antecedent</b>	<b>null &gt;&gt; (NP)</b>	Intermediate: <b>overt*</b> ≈ <b>null*</b> > <b>NP*</b> Low-adv & upp-adv: <b>null*</b> > <b>overt*</b> ≈ <b>NP</b>
	<b>Non-subject antecedent</b>	<b>NP &gt;&gt; overt &gt; (null)</b>	Intermediate: <b>NP &gt; overt</b> Low-adv & upper-adv: <b>overt*</b> > <b>NP*</b>
<b>Information status</b>	<b>Topic continuity</b>	<b>null &gt;&gt; (NP)</b>	Int & Low-adv: <b>null*</b> > <b>overt*</b> ≈ <b>NP*</b> Upper-adv: <b>null*</b> > <b>overt*</b> > <b>NP</b>
	<b>Topic shift</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt &gt; (null)</b>	Intermediate: <b>NP &gt; overt</b> Low-adv: <b>overt*</b> > <b>NP*</b> Upper-adv: <b>overt</b> > <b>NP*</b> > <b>(null)</b>
<b>Transfer</b>	<b>Top cont &amp; coordinate</b>	<b>null</b>	Intermediate: <b>null*</b> > <b>overt*</b> > <b>NP*</b> Low-adv & upper-adv: <b>null*</b> > <b>overt*</b>
	<b>Top cont and not coordinate</b>	<b>null &gt;&gt; (NP)</b>	Intermediate: <b>overt*</b> ≈ <b>NP*</b> > <b>null</b> Low-adv: <b>NP*</b> > <b>overt*</b> ≈ <b>null*</b> Upper-adv: <b>null*</b> > <b>overt*</b> > <b>NP</b>
<b>Syntactic configuration</b>	<b>Inter vs Intra-sentential</b>	<b>Inter-sentential &gt; Intra-sentential</b>	
	<b>Main-sub vs Sub-main</b>	<b>Main-subordinate &gt; Subordinate-main</b>	
<b>Syntactic configuration by bias</b>	<b>Intra-sentential</b>	<b>Sub-ant</b>	<b>null</b> Intermediate: <b>overt</b> > <b>null</b> ≈ <b>NP</b> Low-adv & upper-adv: <b>null</b>
		<b>Non-sub-ant</b>	<b>overt &gt; (NP)</b> <b>overt &gt; (NP)</b>
	<b>Inter-sentential</b>	<b>Sub-ant</b>	<b>null &gt; NP</b> Intermediate: <b>null</b> > <b>NP</b> > <b>overt</b> Low-adv: <b>null</b> > <b>NP</b> ≈ <b>overt</b> Upper-adv: <b>null</b> > <b>overt</b> > <b>NP</b>
		<b>Non-sub-ant</b>	<b>NP &gt; overt</b> Intermediate: <b>NP &gt; overt</b> Low-adv: <b>overt</b> > <b>NP</b> Upper-adv: <b>NP &gt; overt</b>

Note: Asterisks (\*) indicate the significant differences between natives and L2ers for an RE. For instance, if we see **overt\*** in the intermediate group, this means that there is a significant difference between the intermediate group and the native group for overt pronouns in such context.

Table 36. Summary of findings in Study 3.

Crucially, the comparisons between Study 1,2 and 3 are not completely licit because some of the aspects in the method (i.e., proficiency levels or task) are not exactly the same, which led us to our fourth and final corpus-based study in this dissertation: Study 4.

## 7.4 STUDY 4: L1 Spa – L2 Eng vs. L1 Eng – L2 Spa corpus study

### 7.4.1 Justification

Study 1, 2 and 3 showed how REs are constrained by multiple factors across two language pairs (i.e., in L1 Spanish – L2 English and in L1 English – L2 Spanish). Results in these studies showed problematic areas in the acquisition of REs, but these problematic areas did not always coincide across language pairs so that the acquisition of AR was asymmetric. In particular, native-like attainment was shown in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers, while it was not the case for L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers. Crucially, these comparisons across language pairs are not completely licit because there are differences regarding the method followed. For instance, the type of task or the L2ers' proficiency levels differed across studies. These methodological differences motivated Study 4 in this dissertation. The focus of Study 4 is to corroborate the findings of Study 1, 2 and 3 by investigating AR in a bidirectional way. This means that the same phenomenon (i.e., AR) is investigated simultaneously in the same study in a mirror image manner by analysing the production of L2ers and native speakers in two languages (i.e., English and Spanish) in two different directions: i) L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and a control group of L1 English speakers; and ii) L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and a control group of Spanish speakers. Additionally, these L2ers are investigated across proficiency level (A2-C2). In Study 4, the research questions are similar to the ones presented above but the difference is that we keep constant the tagset, the task type (cf. 6.1.2, p. 107), and the L2ers' proficiency level, and we only change the language pair for comparative purposes (i.e., L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish). This allows us to make licit comparisons between these two languages and, thus, inform about potential differences in the acquisition of AR depending on the language pair.

### 7.4.2 Research questions

The research questions and hypotheses below are motivated by the general research questions and hypotheses in Chapter 5 (p. 97). Here, we provide more specific research questions and hypotheses related to the participants and factors analysed in this particular study.

#### 7.4.2.1 RQ1: Overall production of REs

In Chapter 3, we explained that the type of RE is constrained by the type of language (cf. 3.1.1, p. 30), as there is a typologically distinction between non-null subject languages (like English) and null subject languages (like Spanish). Previous studies in this dissertation (Study 1-3) showed that the overall production of REs varied depending on the language pair. In particular, overt pronouns and NPs are predominantly produced in English, while null pronouns are

predominantly produced in Spanish. Importantly, the studies above employed different tasks<sup>75</sup> and we saw in Study 1 that the type of task can influence the production of REs (cf. 7.1.4.6, p. 162). Therefore, we address the same general research question as in previous studies in this dissertation, but, in Study 4, we test both languages (English and Spanish) in a bidirectional way (L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish) and using the same task (Retell a short clip from *The Kid*). The first research questions and hypotheses are organised as follows. First, we focus on English and Spanish natives' production. Then, we focus on L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers' production.

**RQ1a:** What REs do English and Spanish native speakers produce? Can we corroborate the different nature (in terms of production of REs) of English and Spanish?

**H1a:** Considering the results obtained in Studies 1-3, English natives are expected to show higher production of overt material (overt and NPs) than null pronouns, while Spanish natives are expected to produce more null pronouns than NPs and overt pronouns.

**RQ1b:** Do L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels show a native-like behaviour in their overall production of REs or do they show differences with respect to natives' production?

**H1b:** Considering the results obtained in Studies 1-3, English L2ers are expected to show a more native-like behaviour than Spanish L2ers, whose production is expected to differ from natives' production especially at beginner and intermediate levels.

#### 7.4.2.2 RQ2: Information status (topic continuity and topic shift)

The information status is one of the factors that constrains the use of REs, as we explained in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.2, p. 32) and as the literature has reported (Lozano, 2009b, 2016). In fact, we corroborated this in Study 1-3 by showing that there is a division of labour in the production of REs according to the information status (i.e., topic continuity and topic shift). In particular, our results showed that English natives produced mainly overt pronouns followed by null pronouns in topic continuity, but produced mainly NPs in topic shift (cf. Study 1 and Study 2). As for Spanish natives, they produced mostly null pronouns in topic continuity, but produced NPs followed by overt pronouns in topic shift (cf. Study 3). Regarding the production of L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers, they seemed to acquire the use of REs according to the information status developmentally. Importantly, native-like attainment in topic-continuity

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<sup>75</sup> Recall from studies above that Study 1 and 2 used the task *Frog, where are you?*, while Study 3 used a more open task and participants *had to retell a film that they had recently seen or talk about a famous person* (cf. 6.1.2, p. 103 for an overview).

contexts was neither found in L2 English nor in L2 Spanish in the previous studies in this dissertation, while native-like attainment was possible in topic-shift contexts in both L2 English and L2 Spanish. Crucially, some methodological aspects were different in our previous studies and comparisons across language pairs should be carefully considered. This is why we again address the information status factor in Study 4. Additionally, there was an interesting finding in Study 3 that was not properly addressed and we will explore it in Study 4. In particular, in Study 3, we found that there was a percentage of production of null pronouns biasing towards non-subject antecedents and, in turn, production of null pronouns in topic shift<sup>76</sup>. We noticed that such null pronouns were semantically resolved, as illustrated in (98), and we decided to exclude them from the analyses. Importantly, the Spanish literature (Blackwell, 1998; Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006) has reported the production of null pronouns in contexts where they were not expected, so it can be worth investigating these null pronouns. Thus, in Study 4, we consider and explore null pronouns in topic shift. With all these previous findings regarding the information status, we propose the second research questions and hypotheses for Study 4.

**RQ2a:** What REs do English and Spanish speakers produce in topic continuity and topic shift?

**H2a:** Following results in Study 1 and 2, English natives are expected to produce overt pronouns followed by null pronouns in topic-continuity contexts, but overt pronouns and NPs in topic-shift contexts. Following the results in Study 3, Spanish natives are expected to produce mostly null pronouns in topic-continuity contexts, but NPs and overt pronouns in topic-shift contexts.

**RQ2b:** What REs do L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers produce in topic continuity and topic shift? Are there significant differences between natives and L2ers' production? Do L2ers show a developmental acquisition of REs?

**H2b:** These hypotheses are informed by the results in our previous studies. In topic-continuity contexts, L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers are expected to produce mostly overt pronouns and also null pronouns, but their production will differ from English natives' production. L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers are expected to produce mostly null pronouns in these contexts, but to a different extent to Spanish natives, and they will also produce overt pronouns. Both groups of L2ers are expected to overproduce infelicitous overt pronouns and no native-like attainment is expected in topic continuity. In topic shift, both L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers

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<sup>76</sup> Recall that, in Study 3, we found that the PAS configuration overlapped with the information status (cf. 7.3.4.4, p. 169).

are expected to produce mostly NPs and show a native-like behaviour with minor significant differences between natives and L2ers.

**RQ2c:** Do L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and English and Spanish native speakers produce null pronouns in topic shift?

**H2c:** L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English native speakers are not expected to produce null pronouns in topic shift because such null pronouns would be ungrammatical<sup>77</sup>. As for L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish native speakers, we expect that they will produce null pronouns, but these null pronouns will be resolved.

#### *7.4.2.3 RQ3: Transfer (topic continuity and coordinate contexts)*

As we saw in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2, p. 13), transfer is a phenomenon that has been traditionally investigated in SLA. We investigated the effect of transfer in the previous studies in this dissertation and we found the effect of transfer depending on the language pair. In particular, L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers did not transfer the production of null pronouns from their L1 Spanish, which was in line with previous English production studies (Hendriks, 2003; Kang, 2004), but it was against previous experimental studies (Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014). By contrast, L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers transferred the production of null pronouns from their L1 English and restricted the production of null pronouns to topic continuity and coordinate contexts, which was in line with previous L2 Spanish production studies (Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020). The asymmetry found in relation to the transfer issue leads us to our fourth research questions and hypotheses in order to corroborate this phenomenon making licit comparisons in a bidirectional way.

**RQ3a:** What REs do English and Spanish natives produce in topic continuity and coordinate contexts vs. topic continuity and not coordinate contexts?

**H3a:** English natives are expected to produce mainly null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, while overt pronouns and NPs are expected in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts. By contrast, Spanish natives are expected to produce mainly null pronouns in both topic continuity and coordinate and topic continuity and not coordinate contexts.

**RQ3b:** Do L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers show the same production as natives? Do they transfer the production of REs in topic continuity and coordinate contexts?

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<sup>77</sup> Recall that, in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.2, p. 19), we explained that null pronouns can occur in English, but their use is restricted to topic continuity and coordinate contexts only.

**H3b:** Considering the results obtained in Study 1, 2 and 3, L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers are not expected to transfer null pronouns from their L1 Spanish and they will restrict the production of null pronouns to topic continuity and coordinate contexts only. By contrast, L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers are expected to transfer the production of null pronouns from their L1 and they will produce mostly null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, but not in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts.

#### 7.4.2.4 RQ4: Characterhood

The type of characters in the stories that are used to trigger the production of REs can influence such production, as we explained in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.6, p. 39) and we showed it in Study 1 and 2. In particular, Study 1 and 2 showed an effect on the type of character in two different ways. First, we found that *the boy* was the main character because the frequencies for *the boy* were much higher than for other characters (*the dog* and *the frog*). Then, the production of REs was influenced by the character because both L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives produced mainly overt pronouns for *the boy*, but NPs for *the dog* and *the frog*. Importantly, the story included [+human] and [-human] characters and we argued that this may influence the production of REs (cf. 7.1.4.4, p. 156 for a discussion). In Study 3, a more open task was employed (cf. 7.3.3.2, p. 190) and the effect of characterhood could not be investigated. In Study 4, the same task is used in both language pairs (L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish) and a possible characterhood effect can be investigated here. Importantly, this task includes [+human] characters only. This leads to our fourth research questions and hypotheses.

**RQ4a:** Is there a difference in prominence depending on the character in the production of English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers?

**H4a:** In the video used in Study 4, there is one character (i.e., *Chaplin*) that appears repeatedly in the scenes. As in the *Frog story*, we expect that this will lead to a difference between main and secondary characters across groups of natives and L2ers.

**RQ4b:** Does the character influence the type of REs produced in English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers?

**H4b:** As the task employed includes [+ human] characters only, no effect of characterhood in the production of English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers is expected.

#### *7.4.2.5 RQ5: Activated and intervening antecedents*

The number of activated antecedents is another factor that affects the production of REs, as we explained in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.3, p. 35) and as the literature has reported (Arnold & Griffin, 2007; Lozano, 2016). In fact, we found that the number of activated antecedents affected English natives and (some) L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers' production of REs in Study 1. In particular, they produced more overt pronouns than NPs with 2 activated antecedents, but more NPs than overt pronouns with 3 activated antecedents. This factor was not investigated in Study 3 because this study was PAS-oriented and not all AR scenarios (where more than 2 activated antecedents occur) were included in the analyses. Additionally, the antecedent factor has been investigated by means of number of intervening antecedents (cf. 6.1.4.6, p. 118) and we also include the number of intervening antecedents in this study. Therefore, Study 4 further explores the factor of activated and intervening antecedents, which leads us to our fifth research question and hypothesis.

**RQ5:** Does the number of activated and intervening antecedents affect the production of REs in English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers?

**H5:** Following the results in Study 1 and previous studies in the literature, it is expected to find an effect on the production of REs depending on the number of activated antecedents. Particularly, full REs (i.e., overt and NPs) will be produced when there is a high number of activated antecedents. As for the number of intervening antecedents, we also expect to find an effect and a high number of intervening antecedents will trigger full REs.

#### *7.4.2.6 RQ6: PAS scenarios*

PAS scenarios were mainly investigated in Study 3 in this dissertation, but were also investigated in Study 1. The main concerns in investigating PAS scenarios in natural production (i.e., following corpus-based methods) were that i) the PAS has been mostly investigated in null subject languages, but not in non-null subject languages; ii) most PAS studies are experimental studies but the PAS has not been sufficiently investigated in production; and iii) the Spanish PAS literature has overestimated these scenarios (cf. 4.2.4, p. 85 for an overview of the PAS literature). Study 1 and 3 showed that PAS scenarios are not as frequent as other AR scenarios. Additionally, other REs (i.e., NPs) play a role in the division of labour of PAS scenarios. In Study 4, PAS scenarios are also investigated to further confirm these findings, which leads us to our final research questions and hypotheses.

**RQ6a:** Are PAS scenarios less frequent than other AR scenarios in both English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers?

**H6a:** In line with previous findings in Study 1 and Study 3, PAS scenarios are expected to occur in production, but these scenarios will be less frequent than other AR scenarios. This is expected in both natives and L2ers.

**RQ6b:** Is there a division of labour of REs in PAS scenarios in both English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers? Do L2ers show a developmental acquisition of PAS biases?

**H6b:** Following the findings of Study 1 and Study 3, a division of labour is expected in both English and Spanish natives. In particular, in English natives, overt pronouns are expected to bias towards subject antecedents (mainly but not exclusively), while NPs and, to a lesser extent, overt pronouns are expected to bias towards non-subject antecedents. In Spanish natives, null pronouns are expected to bias towards subject antecedents, while overt material (overt pronouns and NPs) are expected to bias towards non-subject antecedents. Regarding L2ers' production, they are expected to show the native PAS bias, but will show such bias developmentally across proficiency levels and differences between L2ers and natives are expected.

### 7.4.3 Method

#### 7.4.3.1 *Corpus and participants*

The corpora used for Study 4 were COREFL (cf. 6.1.1.2, p. 106) and CEDEL2 (cf. 6.1.1.1, p. 101), which were the corpora used in Study 1 and 2 and Study 3 respectively. A sample of L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers with different proficiency levels (A2-C2) and two control groups of English and Spanish native speakers were taken from these corpora, as shown in Table 37. The appendices section includes the participants' metadata (cf. Appendix I, p. 396). As we can observe in Table 37, the different groups across languages are comparable because we included i) similar number of participants per group; ii) same proficiency levels across languages; and iii) similar mean ages across groups.

<b>Group name</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>	<b>Mean age</b>	<b>AoO</b>	<b>AoI</b>
<b>English</b>	13	A2	23.1	9	9.8
	11	B1	21.2	7.1	12.5
	10	B2	22.2	7.4	14.8
	10	C1	20.8	7.5	12.9
	8	C2	23.7	6	17.4
	13	Native	22.2	NA	NA
<b>Spanish</b>	14	A2	21.6	15.6	2.8
	15	B1	20.9	13.7	4.8
	14	B2	21.1	13.6	6.6
	10	C1	21.2	12.5	8.3
	8	C2	25.5	12.5	8.4
	12	Native	20.7	NA	NA

Table 37. Sample of Study 4.

#### 7.4.3.2 *Task, tagset and analysis*

In Study 4, the same task was chosen for all participants. They had to retell a short clip of Charles Chaplin, as explained above (cf. 6.1.2, p. 107). Recall from section 6.1.2 that this task was particularly chosen to investigate AR because it mainly triggered the production of [+ human] 3<sup>rd</sup> person REs and topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts. The tagset included the features explained in the General Method above (cf. 6.1.4 for an explanation and illustration of each feature), but we include the complete tagset here for convenience. Figure 81 shows the tagset of Study 4. Additionally, Figure 82 shows the tagset used to group the participants.

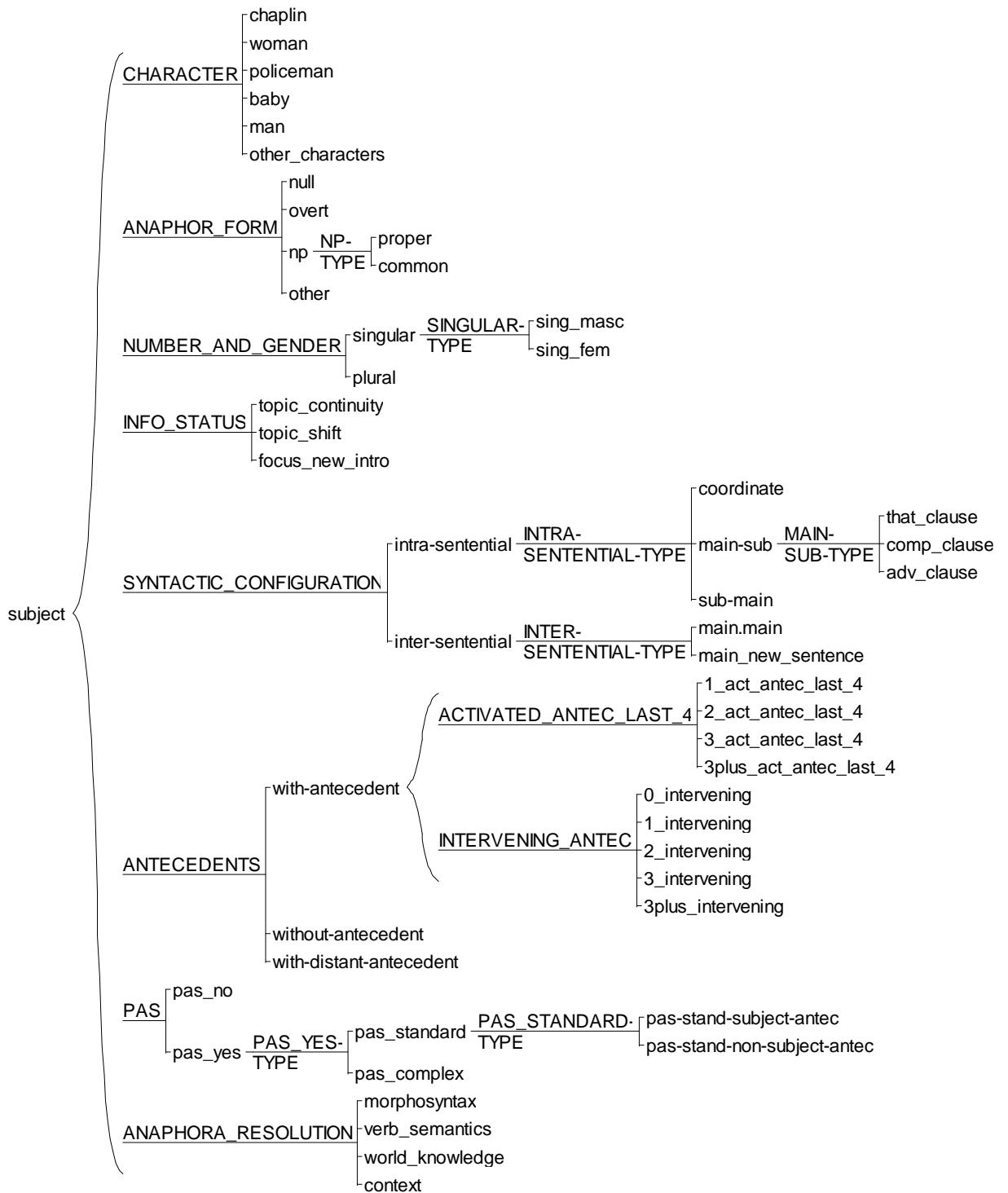


Figure 81. Tagset AR: Study 4.



Figure 82. Tagset proficiency level: Study 4.

The analyses were carried out with the UAM Corpus Tool software, as mentioned in the General Method (cf. 6.1.3, p. 110). Multiple comparisons were made between i) L1 Spanish – L2 English (across groups) and English natives; and ii) L1 English – L2 Spanish and Spanish natives. The differences between the groups were reported using  $\chi^2$  values with three levels of significance, as explained in Table 16 above (p. 112). As shown in Table 38, a total of 2,967 REs in subject position were included in this study. Recall from previous studies in this dissertation that each RE in subject position contains around ten terminal tags so, the total number of tags in Study 4 would be around 29,670.

<b>Group name</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>	<b>Total tags per group</b>
<b>English</b>	13	A2	234
	11	B1	242
	10	B2	241
	10	C1	267
	8	C2	257
	13	Native	288
<b>Spanish</b>	14	A2	183
	15	B1	220
	14	B2	230
	10	C1	221
	8	C2	243
	12	Native	341
<b>Total tagged REs</b>	-	-	<b>2,967</b>

Table 38. Number of tags in Study 4.

## 7.4.4 Results and discussion

### 7.4.4.1 Overall production of REs

This subsection shows the overall production of REs in L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and the control groups of English and Spanish natives. This subsection addresses research questions and hypotheses 1a and 1b. Importantly, we first address research question 1a and we show natives' production only. Then, we address research question 1b and show L2ers' production according to their language pair (L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish).

Figure 83 shows the overall production of **English and Spanish native speakers**. English native speakers produce mainly overt pronouns (43.3%), followed by NPs (31.7%) and null pronouns (25%). By contrast, Spanish native speakers produce mostly null pronouns (60.4%), followed by NPs (36.6%) and overt pronouns (3%).

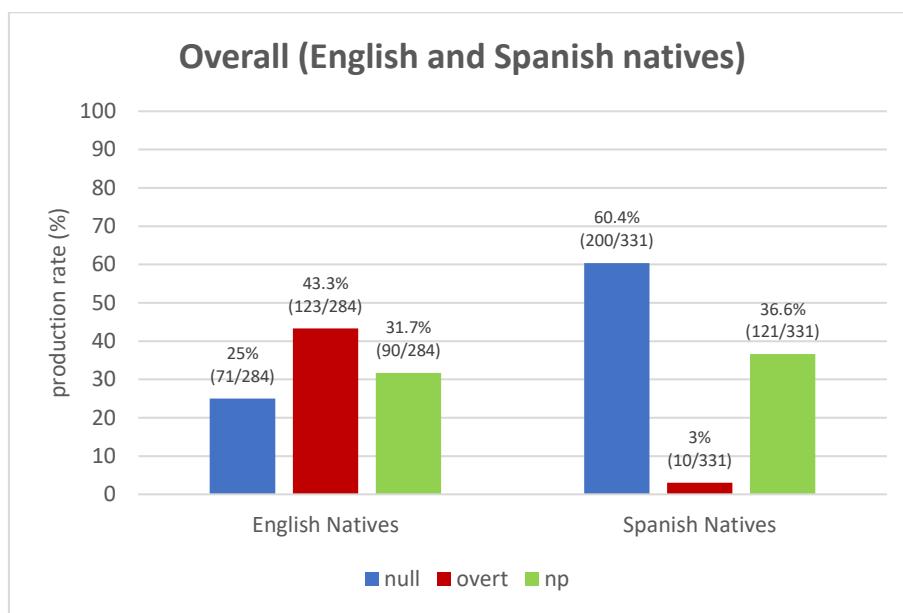


Figure 83. REs by group: native speakers (Study 4).

As for the L2ers, different patterns of use are observed. Figure 84 shows that **L1 Spanish -L2 English L2ers** show an overall native-like behaviour and produce mainly overt pronouns (A2: 46.3%; B1: 51.5%; B2: 46.3%; C1: 49.4%; C2: 50.2%) followed by NPs (A2: 36.4%; B1: 36.7%; B2: 38.7%; C1: 32.1%; C2: 31.3%) and null pronouns (A2: 17.3%; B1: 11.8%; B2: 15%; C1: 18.5%; C2: 18.5%) across proficiency levels. Importantly, although English L2ers seem to behave native-like, there are some significant differences between some L2 English L2ers' groups (A2, B1 and B2) and English natives for null pronouns [ $\chi^2=4.448, p<0.05$ ]; B1 ( $\chi^2=14.594, p<0.02$ ); and B2 ( $\chi^2=8.005, p<0.02$ )].

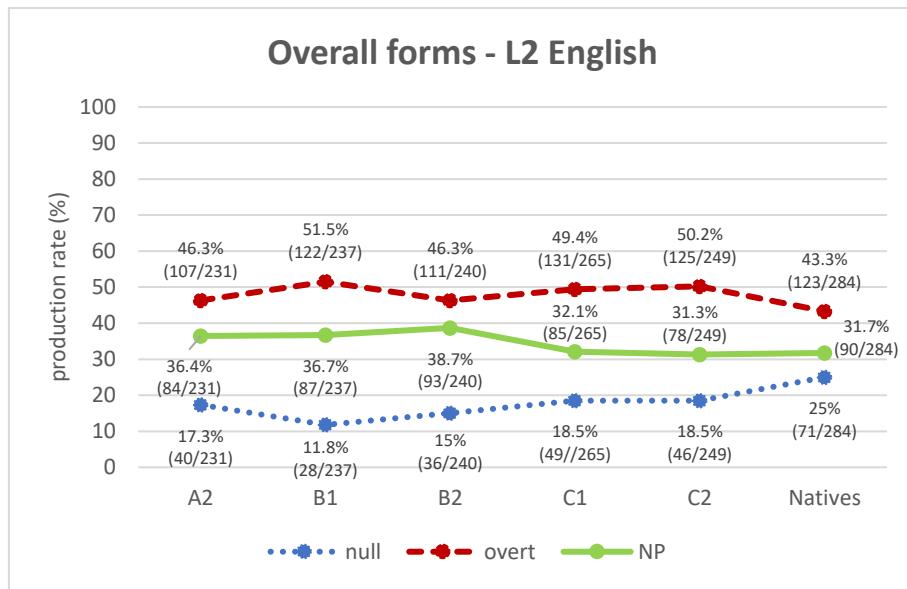


Figure 84. REs by group: L2 English (Study 4).

Regarding **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers**, beginner and intermediate groups do not show a native-like behaviour. Figure 85 shows that A2, B1 and B2 L2 Spanish L2ers produce more NPs (A2: 46.2%; B1: 46.5%; B2: 46.9%) than null pronouns (A2: 32.9%; B1: 34.1%; B2: 30.9%), while C1 and C2 learners show the native pattern and produce more null pronouns (C1: 51.4%; C2: 49%) than NPs (C1: 39.5%; C2: 38.2%). However, there are significant differences between L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives in all groups: null pronouns [ $\chi^2=35.416, p<0.02$ ]; B1 ( $\chi^2=36.324, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=47.464, p<0.02$ ); C1 ( $\chi^2=4.421, p<0.05$ ); C2 ( $\chi^2=7.419, p<0.02$ )]; overt pronouns [A2 ( $\chi^2=44.156, p<0.02$ ); B1 ( $\chi^2=40.715, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=51.367, p<0.02$ ); C1 ( $\chi^2=9.458, p<0.02$ ); C2 ( $\chi^2=20.301, p<0.02$ )]; and NPs [A2 ( $\chi^2=4.509, p<0.05$ ); B1 ( $\chi^2=5.426, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=6.077, p<0.02$ )].

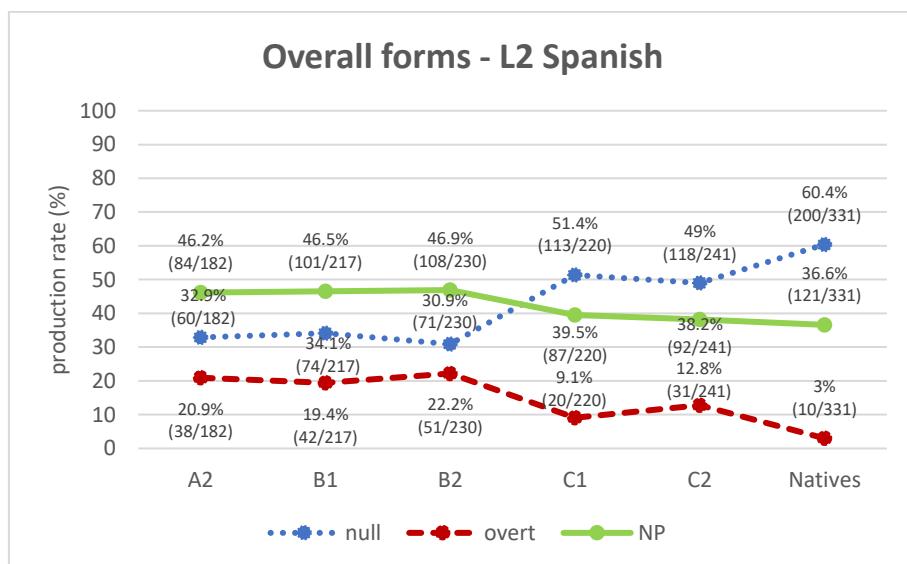


Figure 85. REs by group: L2 Spanish (Study 4).

The results in this subsection confirms **H1a** because **English natives** produce mainly overt pronouns and NPs followed by null pronouns, while **Spanish natives** produce mostly null pronouns followed by NPs and overt pronouns. These patterns of production confirm results in previous studies (Study 1-3) in this dissertation. Thus, it is clear that the nature of these languages (in terms of use of REs) is different, as we explained in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.1, p. 30). Regarding L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers' production, **H1b** was partially confirmed because **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** show a native-like pattern (as we predicted in H1b), but there were significant differences between beginner and intermediate groups and English natives for null pronouns. The expectations for **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** were confirmed because beginner and intermediate groups show a different pattern of production compared to the Spanish natives' production and there were significant differences between all groups of L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives. Initially, these results suggest that the production of L2 English L2ers is more amenable to native-like pattern than the production of L2 Spanish L2ers, whose overall production is different from the Spanish natives. Additionally, this could suggest that the acquisition of REs is more complex in L2 Spanish than in L2 English. Crucially, these results show the overall production of REs without considering different factors and, thus, subsequent results will better inform us about where these significant differences occur and what the potential problematic areas are.

#### *7.4.4.2 Information status: topic continuity and topic shift*

The production of REs is shown according to the information status (i.e., topic continuity and topic shift) now. The results in this subsection address research questions and hypotheses 2a, 2b and 2c. Results firstly show English and Spanish natives' production and then L2ers' production according to their language pair (L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish) in topic continuity. Secondly, results show the production of natives and L2ers (in the same order of presentation) in topic shift. Finally, the results focus on the production of null pronouns in topic shift.

In **topic continuity**, there is a clear difference between **English and Spanish natives'** production, as Figure 86 shows. English natives produce mainly overt pronouns (51.5%), followed by null pronouns (40.1%) and NPs (8.4%), while Spanish natives produce mostly null pronouns (83.6%), followed by NPs (15.4%), and overt pronouns (1%).

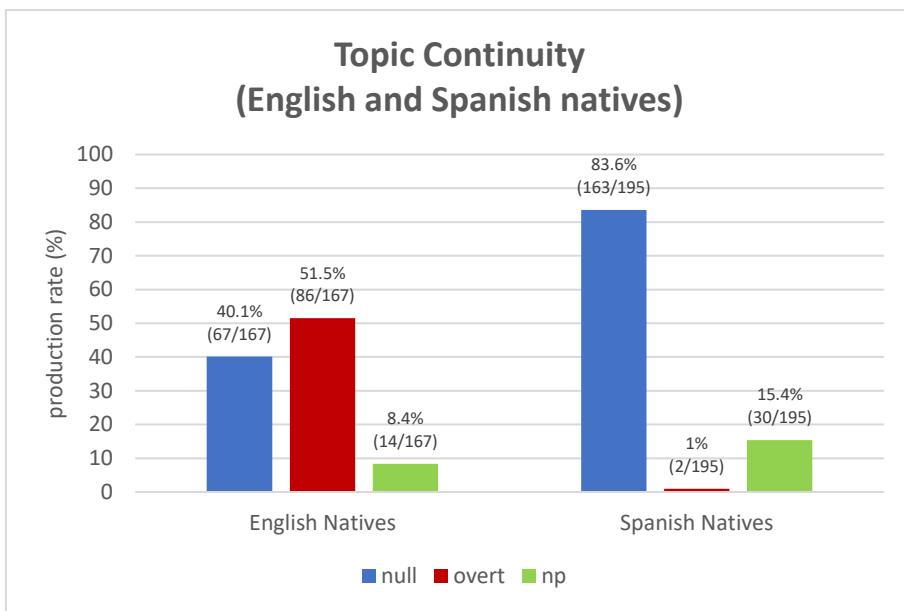


Figure 86. REs according to topic continuity by group: native speakers (Study 4).

As for the **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers**, Figure 87 shows that their production in **topic continuity** is apparently similar to English natives as they produce mainly overt pronouns (A2: 59.8%; B1: 67.9%; B2: 65.4%; C1: 60.4%; C2: 60.5%) followed by null pronouns (A2: 27.7%; B1: 18.7%; B2: 25.2%; C1: 32.2%; C2: 29.6%) and NPs (A2: 12.4%; B1: 13.4%; B2: 9.4%; C1: 7.4%; C2: 9.9%). However, there are significant differences between some groups of L2ers and natives for null pronouns [ $\chi^2=5.104, p<0.05$ ]; B1 ( $\chi^2=17.072, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=7.193, p<0.02$ ); C2 ( $\chi^2=3.861, p<0.05$ )], and overt pronouns [B1 ( $\chi^2=8.766, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=5.668, p<0.02$ )].

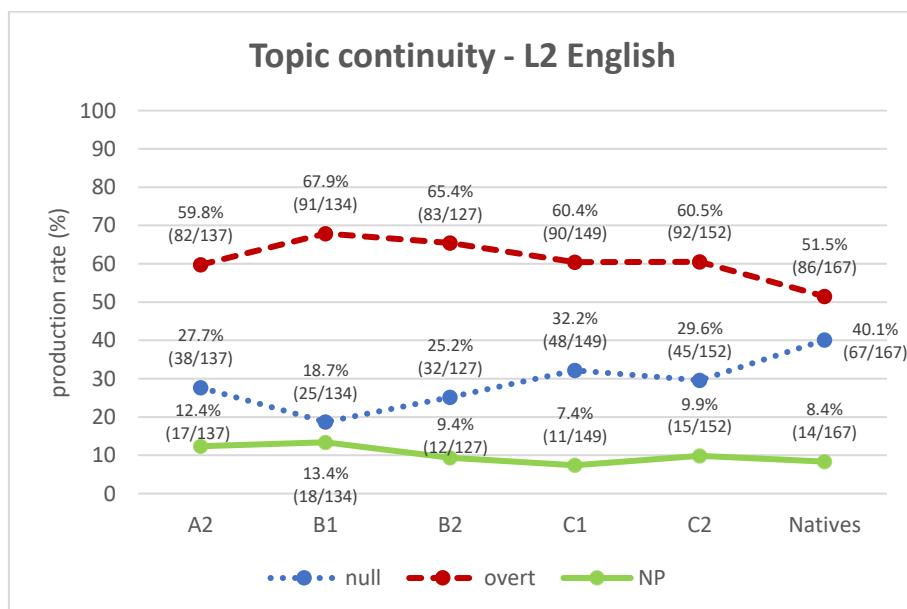


Figure 87. REs according to topic continuity by group: L2 English (Study 4).

Regarding **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers**' production in **topic continuity**, Figure 88 shows that they behave native-like when it comes to the production of null pronouns, which are the most frequently produced REs across proficiency levels (A2: 47.7%; B1: 61.5%; B2: 55.4%; C1: 73.9%; C2: 71.6%). When it comes to overt pronouns and NPs, A2, B1 and B2 groups produce more overt pronouns (A2: 33.7%; B1: 23.9%; B2: 24%) than NPs (A2: 18.6%; B1: 14.6%; B2: 20.6%), which is opposite to natives' production. By contrast, C1 and C2 groups behave as Spanish natives, as they produce more NPs (C1: 19%; C2: 18.3%) than overt pronouns (C1: 7.1%; C2: 10.1%). There are significant differences between Spanish natives and L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels for null pronouns [ $\chi^2=38.697, p<0.01$ ; B1 ( $\chi^2=17.419, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=30.014, p<0.02$ ); C1 ( $\chi^2=4.695, p<0.05$ ); C2 ( $\chi^2=7.123, p<0.02$ )] and overt pronouns [A2 ( $\chi^2=64.999, p<0.02$ ); B1 ( $\chi^2=43.081, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=44.416, p<0.02$ ); C1 ( $\chi^2=8.661, p<0.02$ ); C2 ( $\chi^2=14.822, p<0.02$ )].

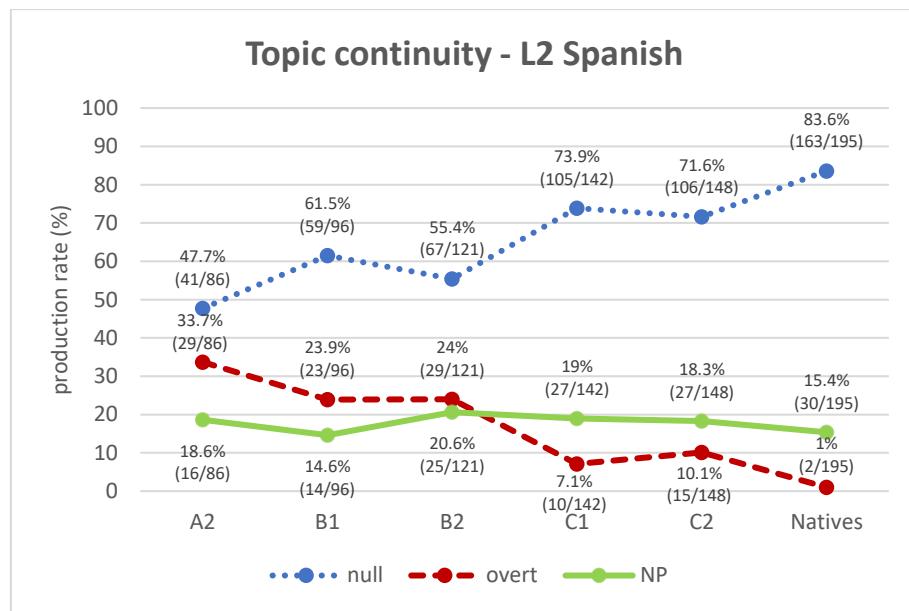


Figure 88. REs according to topic continuity by group: L2 Spanish (Study 4).

In **topic shift**, Figure 89 shows that both **English and Spanish natives** produce mostly NPs (English: 56.8%; Spanish: 60.5). English natives produce then overt pronouns (39%) followed by a small percentage of null pronouns (4.2%). By contrast, Spanish natives produce more null pronouns (32.5%) than overt pronouns (7%).

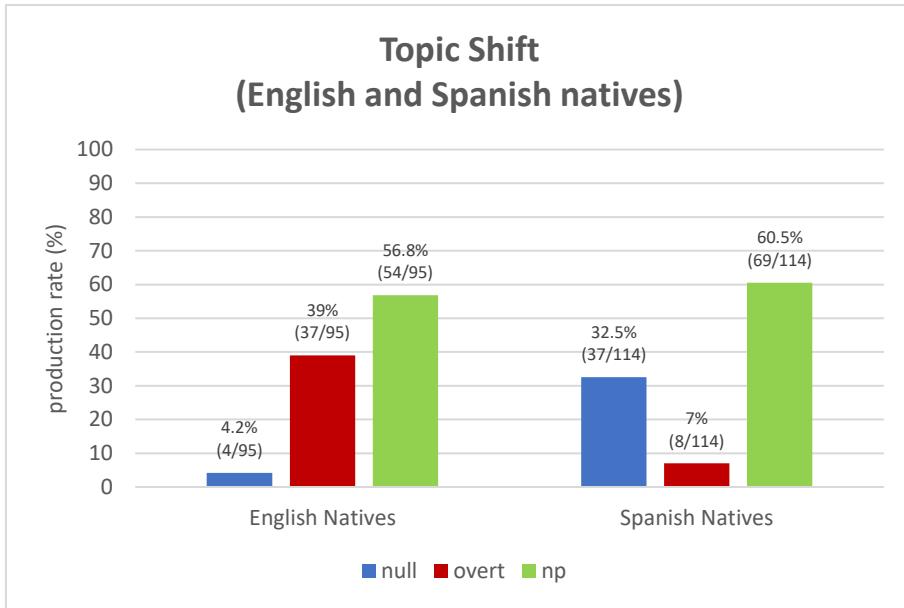


Figure 89. REs according to topic shift by group: native speakers (Study 4).

Regarding L2ers, both **L1 Spanish – L2 English** and **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** produce mostly NPs in **topic shift**, as shown in Figure 90 and Figure 91. In L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers (Figure 90), NPs are followed by overt pronouns (A2: 33.8%; B1: 35.7%; B2: 30.4%; C1: 43.2%; C2: 38.6%) and there are a few cases of null pronouns (A2: 2.7%; B1: 2.4%; B2: 4.4%; C1: 1%; C2: 1.2%). Importantly, there are no significant differences between English L2ers (across proficiency level) and English natives.

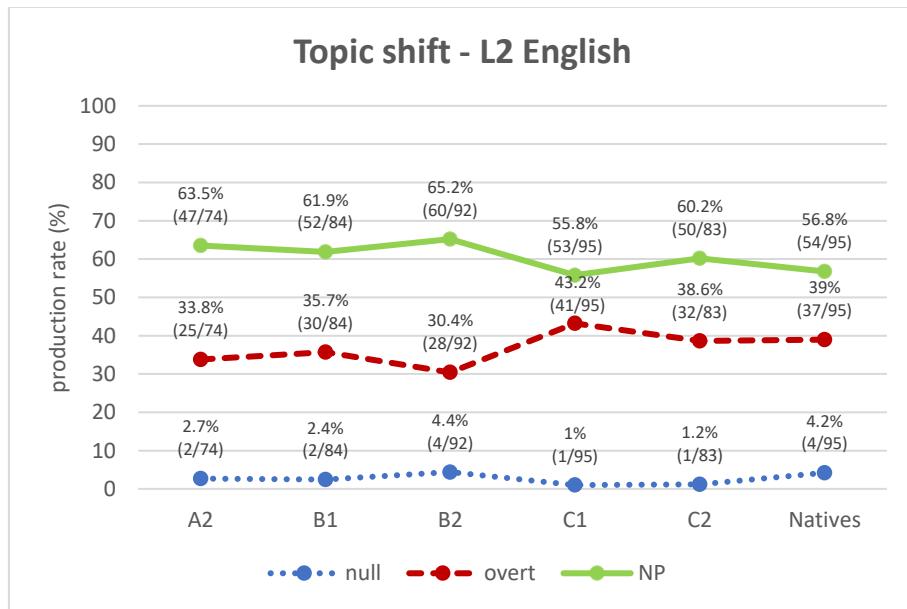


Figure 90. REs according to topic shift by group: L2 English (Study 4).

As for L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers (Figure 91), most groups (B1, B2, C1, and C2) produce more overt pronouns (B1: 18.8%; B2: 26.2%; C1: 15.9%; C2: 20.3%) than null pronouns (B1: 15.6%; B2:

4.8%; C1: 12.7%; C2: 13.9%), which is contrary to natives' tendency. Curiously, the A2 group produces more null pronouns (25.7%) than overt pronouns (12.1%), which is similar to natives' production. Importantly, there are significant differences between L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives for null pronouns [B1 ( $\chi^2=7.924, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=22.591, p<0.02$ ); C1 ( $\chi^2=8.354, p<0.02$ ); C2 ( $\chi^2=8.577, p<0.02$ )] and overt pronouns [B1 ( $\chi^2=6.613, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=13.829, p<0.02$ ); C2 ( $\chi^2=7.507, p<0.02$ )].

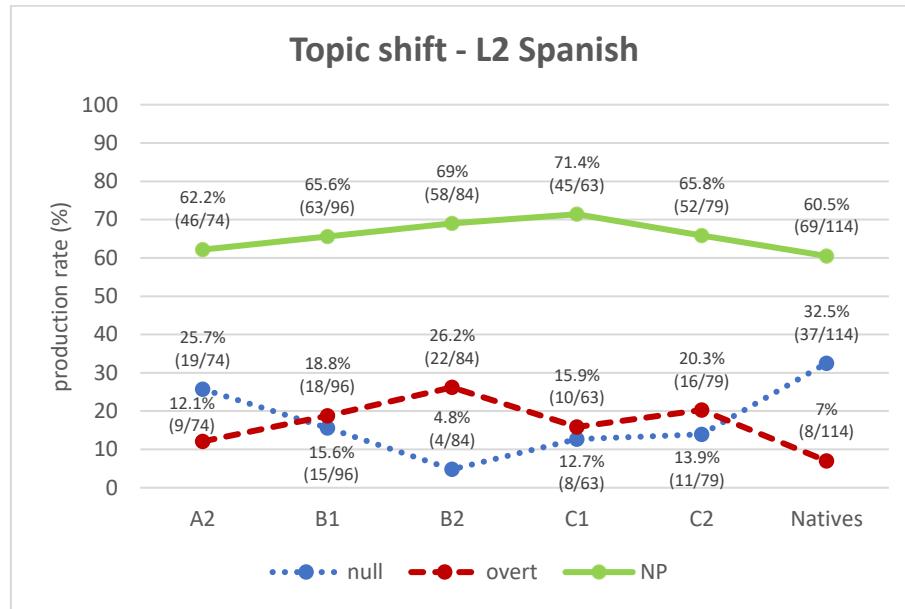


Figure 91. REs according to topic shift by group: L2 Spanish (Study 4).

We discuss the results of topic continuity and topic shift above now. The results show that **H2a** is confirmed because, **in topic-continuity contexts, English natives** produce mainly overt pronouns, followed by null pronouns and NPs, while **Spanish natives** produce mostly null pronouns. As for **L2ers'** production in **topic continuity**, **H2b** is confirmed because both L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers show significant differences in these contexts. In particular, **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** across proficiency levels follow the English natives' production (i.e., they produce mainly overt pronouns followed by null pronouns), but show significant differences for null pronouns (except for the C1), which indicates that they do not use null pronouns in a native-like manner. **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** across proficiency levels show the Spanish natives' production (i.e., high production of null pronouns), but there are significant differences between all groups of L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives for null and overt pronouns. The L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers' results reveal that they are redundant because they overproduce overt pronouns in topic-continuity contexts, where null pronouns would be felicitous (as shown in the English and Spanish natives' production). The overproduction phenomenon is illustrated in (102). As we can see, these L2ers produce overt pronouns (marked

in bold) where a null pronoun would be felicitous. Crucially, the level of significance in topic continuity was weaker in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers than in L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers; that is, most groups of L2 English L2ers show  $p < 0.05$ , while most groups of Spanish L2ers show  $p < 0.02$ . This suggests that L2 English L2ers' distribution of REs in topic continuity is more amenable to native-like patterns than L2 Spanish L2ers' distribution of REs in topic continuity.

- (102) a. Charlie<sub>i</sub> finds a sewer and **he<sub>i</sub>** sits close to it. Then, he<sub>i</sub> looks at the baby<sub>j</sub>'s clothing and **he<sub>i</sub>** find a note that it was written [ES\_WR\_A2\_19\_12\_14\_IRM] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, beginner)
- b. Cuando el hombre<sub>i</sub> ve al policia<sub>j</sub> **el<sub>i</sub>** corre porque **el<sub>i</sub>** no quiere problema con udstedes<sub>k</sub>. Cuando **el<sub>i</sub>** vea la mujer<sub>i</sub> **el<sub>i</sub>** quiere ella<sub>i</sub> tomar le bebé<sub>m</sub>. [EN\_WR\_15\_19\_1\_14\_YD] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, beginner)

'When the man<sub>i</sub> sees the policeman, **he<sub>i</sub>** runs because **he<sub>i</sub>** does not want problems with them<sub>k</sub>. When **he<sub>i</sub>** sees the woman<sub>i</sub> **he<sub>i</sub>** wants her<sub>i</sub> to take the baby<sub>m</sub>'.

As for **topic-shift contexts**, **H2a** is also confirmed because both **English** and **Spanish natives** produce mostly NPs. The production of NPs is followed by overt pronouns in English natives, while it is followed by null pronouns in Spanish natives. The high production of null pronouns in Spanish natives is an interesting finding, which will be further explored below. As for **L1 Spanish – L2 English** (across proficiency levels) and **L1 English – L2 Spanish** (across proficiency levels) L2ers, they all produce mostly NPs in topic shift, as English and Spanish natives do, which confirms **H2b**. The production of NPs is followed by overt pronouns in both language pairs. The L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers' production resembles the English natives' production, while the L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers' production does not resemble the Spanish natives' production, as Spanish natives produce more null pronouns than overt pronouns in topic shift. Importantly, there were no significant differences between L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives in topic shift, but there were significant differences between L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives for null and overt pronouns, which would partially confirm H2b. These results show that the distribution of REs in topic-shift contexts can be also problematic for L2ers. Importantly, it is problematic for L2 Spanish L2ers only.

All in all, these results reveal that L2ers' distribution of REs according to information status is different depending on the language pair and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers' production is more amenable to native-like patterns. Thus, it seems that it is more difficult to acquire the distribution of Spanish REs than the distribution of English REs, a fact that will be further

discussed in the general discussion (cf. Chapter 8, p. 285). Crucially, most of these results are in line with our previous findings in this dissertation (cf. Study 1-3) and also with the L2 English literature (Leclercq & Lenart, 2013; Ryan, 2015) and the L2 Spanish literature (Lozano, 2016; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020). The production of null pronouns in topic shift was not found in our previous studies and we address such production below. Additionally, the PPVH (cf. 3.3. p. 51) and the IH (cf. 2.3, p. 14) can account for these results. In particular, the **PPVH** proposed that L2ers violate the Informativeness/Economy Principle more frequently than the Manner/Clarity Principle. We corroborate this because L2ers are redundant in topic continuity and violate the Informativeness/Economy Principle, but they are not ambiguous and do not violate the Manner/Clarity Principle, which will be further discussed in the general discussion (cf. 8.3, p. 297). Regarding the **IH**, it proposed that deficits at the syntax-discourse interface are observable even at very-advanced levels. The results show that there are deficits at the syntax-discourse interface in both L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish, but these deficits depend on the context (topic continuity vs. topic shift) and the language pair (L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish), which will be further discussed in the general discussion (cf. 8.3, p. 297). Now, we focus on the production of null pronouns in topic shift and address **research question** and **hypothesis 2c**.

The production of null pronouns in topic shift is classified depending on whether these null pronouns are eventually resolved or not<sup>78</sup>. Null pronouns that are not resolved are considered ambiguous cases, as illustrated in (78) on page 123. By contrast, null pronouns that are resolved can be resolved via morphology or via semantics. If null pronouns are resolved via morphology, they can be resolved by an adjective, as illustrated in (76a) on page 122, or by a demonstrative, as illustrated in (76b) on page 122. When null pronouns are resolved via semantics, they can be resolved by world knowledge, as illustrated in (77b) on page 123, or by the semantics of the verb, as illustrated in (77b) on page 123.

In **English natives** and **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** across groups, null pronouns are produced in **topic shift**, as Table 39 shows, but the frequencies are low. We observe that all null pronouns cases are resolved via morphology or semantics and there are no ambiguous cases (i.e., unresolved null pronouns). There was a total of four null pronouns resolved via morphosyntax, as illustrated in (103a). In this example, the anaphor is eventually resolved by the possessive pronoun *her* after the verb *goes*. Initially, we think that the null pronoun before the verb *goes* refers to *Chaplin*, but we then realise that the null pronoun refers to *the woman*. As for the null

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<sup>78</sup> Recall that the types of resolutions were explained in the General Method (cf. Chapter 6, section 6.1.4.8, p. 98).

pronouns resolved via semantics, there was a total of ten cases and they were always resolved by world knowledge, as illustrated in (103b). In this example, the subordinate clause before the null pronoun (marked in bold) does not break the topic continuity and refers back to the overt pronoun *he*. The null pronoun could refer to *the man*, but we infer from the context that it refers to *Chaplin*.

Proficiency English	N (null pronouns in top shift)	N (ambiguous; not resolved)	N (unambiguous; resolved via morphology)	N (unambiguous; resolved via semantics)
<b>A2</b>	2	0	1	1
<b>B1</b>	2	0	0	2
<b>B2</b>	4	0	0	4
<b>C1</b>	1	0	1	0
<b>C2</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>NATIVES</b>	4	0	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>

Table 39. Frequencies of null pronouns in topic shift: English (Study 4).

- (103) a. He<sub>i</sub> takes the child<sub>j</sub> in his<sub>i</sub> arms and Ø<sub>i</sub> thinks what to do while a woman<sub>k</sub> passes by with a baby trolley and Ø<sub>i</sub> goes towards her<sub>k</sub>, thinking that was her<sub>k</sub> baby<sub>i</sub>. [ES\_WR\_C1\_21\_13\_14\_AOV] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, lower-advanced)
- b. Chaplin<sub>i</sub> takes the baby<sub>j</sub> once more and in the moment he<sub>i</sub> encounters with another man<sub>k</sub>, he<sub>i</sub> puts the baby<sub>j</sub> in the man<sub>k</sub>'s arms and, when the man<sub>k</sub> gets distracted, Ø<sub>i</sub> runs away. [ES\_WR\_B2\_21\_17\_14\_VCR] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, upper-intermediate)

In **Spanish natives** and **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** across groups, null pronouns are also produced in topic shift, as Table 40 shows. Importantly, the frequencies here are higher than the frequencies shown in Table 39. Most null pronouns are resolved via morphology or semantics, but there are three ambiguous null pronouns (i.e., cases where the anaphor is unresolved).

Proficiency Spanish	N (null pronouns in topic-shift contexts)	N (ambiguous; not resolved)	N (unambiguous; resolved via morphology)	N (unambiguous; resolved via semantics)
<b>A2</b>	19	1	2	16
<b>B1</b>	14	2	1	11
<b>B2</b>	4	0	0	4
<b>C1</b>	8	0	0	8
<b>C2</b>	11	0	1	10
<b>NATIVES</b>	37	0	3	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>83</b>

Table 40. Frequencies of null pronouns in topic shift: Spanish (Study 4).

Example (104) shows an unresolved null pronoun (marked in bold). If we observe the previous REs in subject position, this null pronoun should refer to *la madre* (*the mum*). However, we know that the character who is sitting at the end of the story is *Chaplin*. Thus, we cannot know whether this participant means that *the mum* is sitting or whether it is *Chaplin*, but the participant is underexplicit. Regarding the null pronouns that are eventually resolved, most null pronouns are resolved via semantics. In particular, they are resolved via world knowledge, as illustrated in (105a), and via the semantics of the verb, as illustrated in (105b). In (105a), the previous antecedent in subject position to the null pronoun (marked in bold) is *alguien* (*someone*). However, we infer through the context that the null pronoun refers to *Chaplin* because *Chaplin* is trying to leave *the baby*. In (105b), we have the directive verb *say someone to do something* so, we assume that the null pronoun (marked in bold) refers to *Chaplin*. Importantly, most cases of null pronouns are resolved via world knowledge (N= 83) and not by the semantics of the verb (N=10). Additionally, some null pronouns are resolved via morphology, as illustrated in (105c), where the null pronoun (marked in bold) is resolved in the adjective *enfadada* (*angry*).

- (104) señor chaplin<sub>i</sub> da a un hombre<sub>j</sub> y el hombre<sub>j</sub> da a la misma<sub>k</sub>. la madre<sub>k</sub> ve a señor Chaplin<sub>i</sub> y Ø<sub>k</sub> se molesta. sentarle con el bebe<sub>l</sub> y Ø<sub>?k</sub> no sabe que hacer. antes de fin, señor Chaplin<sub>i</sub> comprende debe guardarle<sub>l</sub> [EN\_WR\_23\_27\_4\_14\_GACJ] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, lower-intermediate)

'Mr Chaplin<sub>i</sub> gives to a man<sub>j</sub> and the man<sub>j</sub> gives to the same<sub>k</sub>. the mother<sub>k</sub> sees Mr Chaplin<sub>i</sub> and gets angry. sit with the baby<sub>l</sub> and Ø<sub>?k</sub> does not know what to do. before the end, Mr Chaplin<sub>i</sub> understands that should keep him<sub>l</sub>.'

- (105) a. Charles<sub>i</sub> puso al bebe<sub>j</sub> de vuelta donde Ø<sub>i</sub> lo<sub>j</sub> encontró. Alguien<sub>k</sub> lo<sub>i</sub> vio poniendo al bebe<sub>j</sub> de nuevo en el suelo. Ø<sub>i</sub> Le dio el bebe<sub>j</sub> a un anciano<sub>m</sub> y Ø<sub>i</sub> huyo. [EN\_WR\_20\_18\_2\_14\_SA] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, upper-beginner)

'Charles<sub>i</sub> left the baby<sub>j</sub> where Ø<sub>i</sub> found him<sub>j</sub>. Someone<sub>k</sub> saw him<sub>i</sub> putting the baby<sub>j</sub> on the floor. Ø<sub>i</sub> Gives the baby<sub>j</sub> to an old man<sub>m</sub> and Ø<sub>i</sub> ran away.'

b. La mujer<sub>i</sub> le<sub>j</sub> dijo que Ø<sub>j</sub> sacara al bebé<sub>k</sub> de la carriola [EN\_WR\_23\_22\_4\_14\_DW] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, lower-intermediate)

'The woman<sub>i</sub> said him<sub>j</sub> to (Ø<sub>j</sub>) take the baby<sub>k</sub> from the pushchair.'

c. Luego, el hombre<sub>i</sub> dio el bebe<sub>j</sub> a una persona<sub>k</sub> y Ø<sub>i</sub> corrió. Esa persona<sub>k</sub> puso el bebe<sub>j</sub> en el coche de la mujer<sub>i</sub> otra vez y Ø<sub>i</sub> estaba enfadada con el hombre<sub>i</sub> (...) [EN\_WR\_25\_20\_1\_14\_SM] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, lower-intermediate)

'Then, the man<sub>i</sub> gave the baby<sub>j</sub> to a person<sub>k</sub> and Ø<sub>i</sub> ran. This person<sub>k</sub> left the baby<sub>j</sub> in the pushchair of the woman<sub>i</sub> and Ø<sub>i</sub> was angry with the man<sub>i</sub> (...)'

These results show that null pronouns are actually possible in topic shift in both English and Spanish, which partially confirms **H2c**. In particular, H2c is **not confirmed** in **L1 Spanish – L2 English and English natives** because we hypothesised that null pronouns would not be produced in topic-shift contexts, but there are some cases of null pronouns. These results contradict the literature (cf. 3.1.2, p. 32) that has argued that null pronouns are possible in English in topic continuity and coordinate contexts only. Thus, these null pronouns would be ungrammatical in English but, crucially, the frequencies are very low, so the findings are not robust. By contrast, **H2c is confirmed** in **L1 English – L2 Spanish** and **Spanish natives** because we hypothesised that null pronouns would be produced in topic shift and they are produced in these contexts. Importantly, the frequencies are higher in Spanish than in English. Therefore, these results reveal that i) null pronouns in topic shift are actually possible in Spanish; and ii) the distribution of REs in topic shift can be more complex than previously assumed. Crucially, the L2 Spanish literature (Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006) has reported the production of infelicitous null pronouns in topic shift, but it has been argued that null pronouns in topic shift can be felicitous in Spanish (cf. Liceras et al., 2010 for a discussion) and we have proved so in Study 4. Importantly, most null pronouns are resolved via world knowledge and not via the semantics of the verb (as it was the case in Study 3), so this may suggest that the task could trigger the production of these null pronouns, a fact that will be further explored and discussed below (cf. 7.4.4.4, p. 239). Regarding the production of null pronouns in L2 Spanish L2ers, they show lower frequencies than Spanish natives (except for the A2 group) and we showed in the results above that there were significant differences between L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives for null pronouns and

overt pronouns. Therefore, the results reveal that topic-shift contexts can be problematic for L2 Spanish L2ers because these contexts can be more subtle than previously assumed and L2ers find it difficult to acquire such subtleties.

To conclude, all the results in this subsection have shown that the distribution of REs in English and Spanish natives is constrained by information status (topic continuity and topic shift). Interestingly, we showed that, in Spanish, the distribution of REs in topic shift can be more complex than previously assumed. Regarding the production of L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers, we showed that the distribution of REs according to information status is more amenable to native-like patterns in L2 English than in L2 Spanish. Both L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface, but such deficits differ depending on the context and the language pair, as we will further discuss in the general discussion (cf. Chapter 8, p. 285).

#### *7.4.4.3 Transfer (topic continuity and coordinate contexts)*

The production of REs is shown in topic continuity and coordinate contexts vs. topic continuity and not coordinate contexts in this subsection. We focus on these contexts in order to answer the issue of transfer, as postulated in research questions and hypotheses 3. We firstly show the production of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives and then show the production of L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives.

Figure 92 (first chart) shows that **English native** speakers produce mostly null pronouns (90.5%) in **topic continuity and coordinate contexts**, while they show no production of null pronouns in **topic continuity and not coordinate contexts** (Figure 92, second chart). As for L2ers, of **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** show that they developmentally acquire the use of null pronouns in **topic continuity and coordinate contexts**, as Figure 92 (first chart) shows. As we can observe in this figure, their production of null pronouns (A2: 42.7%; B1: 41.7%; B2: 59.3%; C1: 70.6%; C2: 81.8%) increases across proficiency level. Figure 92 (second chart) shows that L2 English L2ers do not produce null pronouns in **topic continuity and not coordinate contexts**, except for four cases produced in the A2 group. Importantly, in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, there are significant differences between natives and all groups of L2ers (except for the C2 group) for null pronouns [ $\chi^2=28.360, p<0.02$ ]; B1 [ $\chi^2=37.774, p<0.02$ ]; B2 [ $\chi^2=17.433, p<0.02$ ]; C1 [ $\chi^2=9.161, p<0.02$ ]) and overt pronouns [A2 ( $\chi^2=22.761, p<0.02$ ); B1 ( $\chi^2=36.227, p<0.02$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=16.141, p<0.02$ ); C1 ( $\chi^2=8.507, p<0.02$ )].

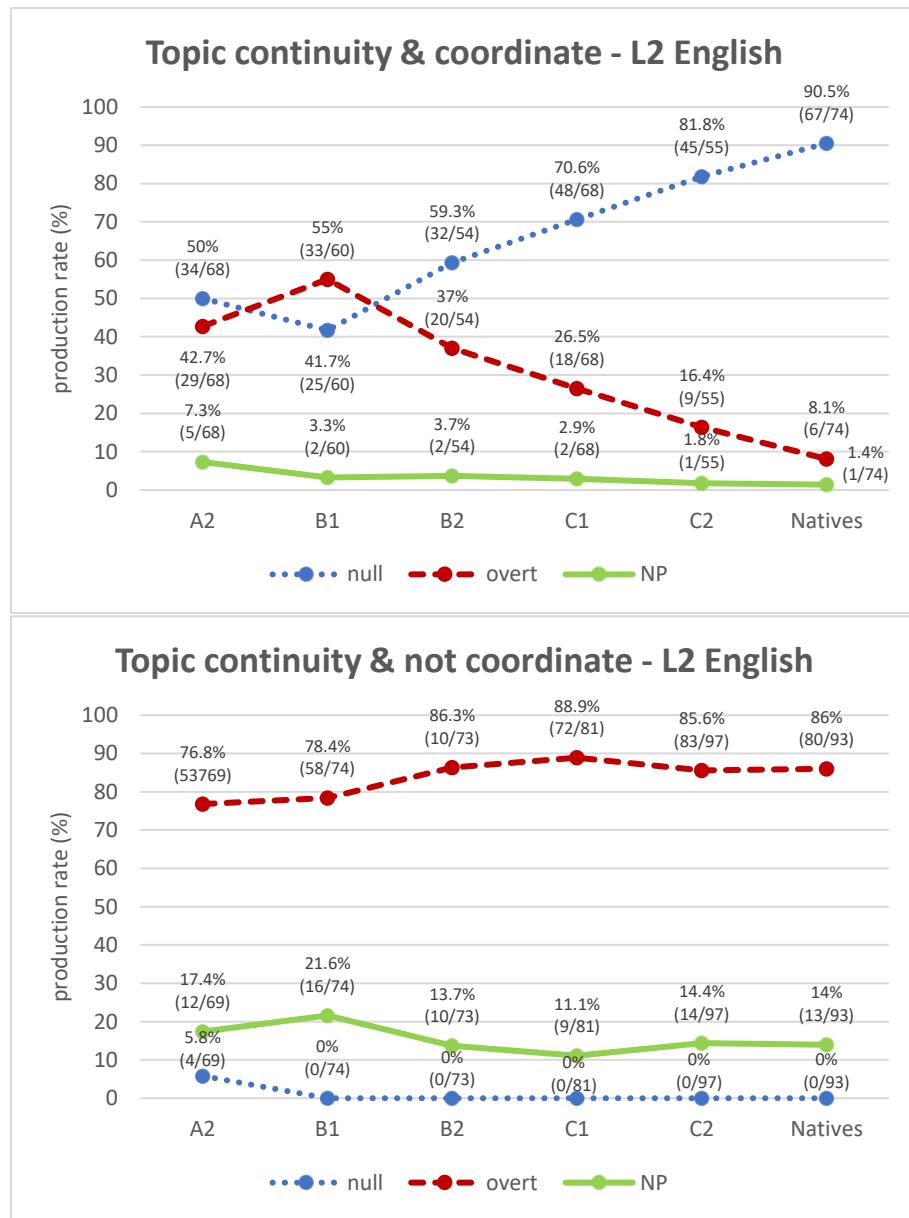


Figure 92. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group: English (Study 4).

Regarding the production of **Spanish natives**, Figure 93 (first and second chart) shows that they produce mostly null pronouns in both contexts: 93.1% in **topic continuity and coordinate contexts** and 73.4% in **topic continuity and not coordinate contexts**. By contrast, **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** produce mainly null pronouns (A2: 100%; B1: 92.1%; B2: 85.2%; C1: 96%; C2: 93.8%) in **topic continuity and coordinate contexts**, as natives do, but the production of null pronouns (A2: 26.7%; B1: 41.4%; B2: 31.3%; C1: 50%; C2: 54.2%) decreases in **topic continuity and not coordinate contexts**. They do produce null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, but their production is lower than natives' production and there are significant differences between Spanish natives and all groups of L2 Spanish L2ers for null pronouns [A2 ( $\chi^2=34.609, p<0.01$ ); B1 ( $\chi^2=15.490, p<0.01$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=28.073, p<0.01$ ); C1 ( $\chi^2=9.334, p<0.01$ ); C2

$(\chi^2=7.079, p<0.01)$ ] and overt pronouns [A2 ( $\chi^2=52.170, p<0.01$ ); B1 ( $\chi^2=35.786, p<0.01$ ); B2 ( $\chi^2=36.028, p<0.01$ ); C1 ( $\chi^2=10.092, p<0.01$ ); C2 ( $\chi^2=12.897, p<0.01$ )] in these contexts.

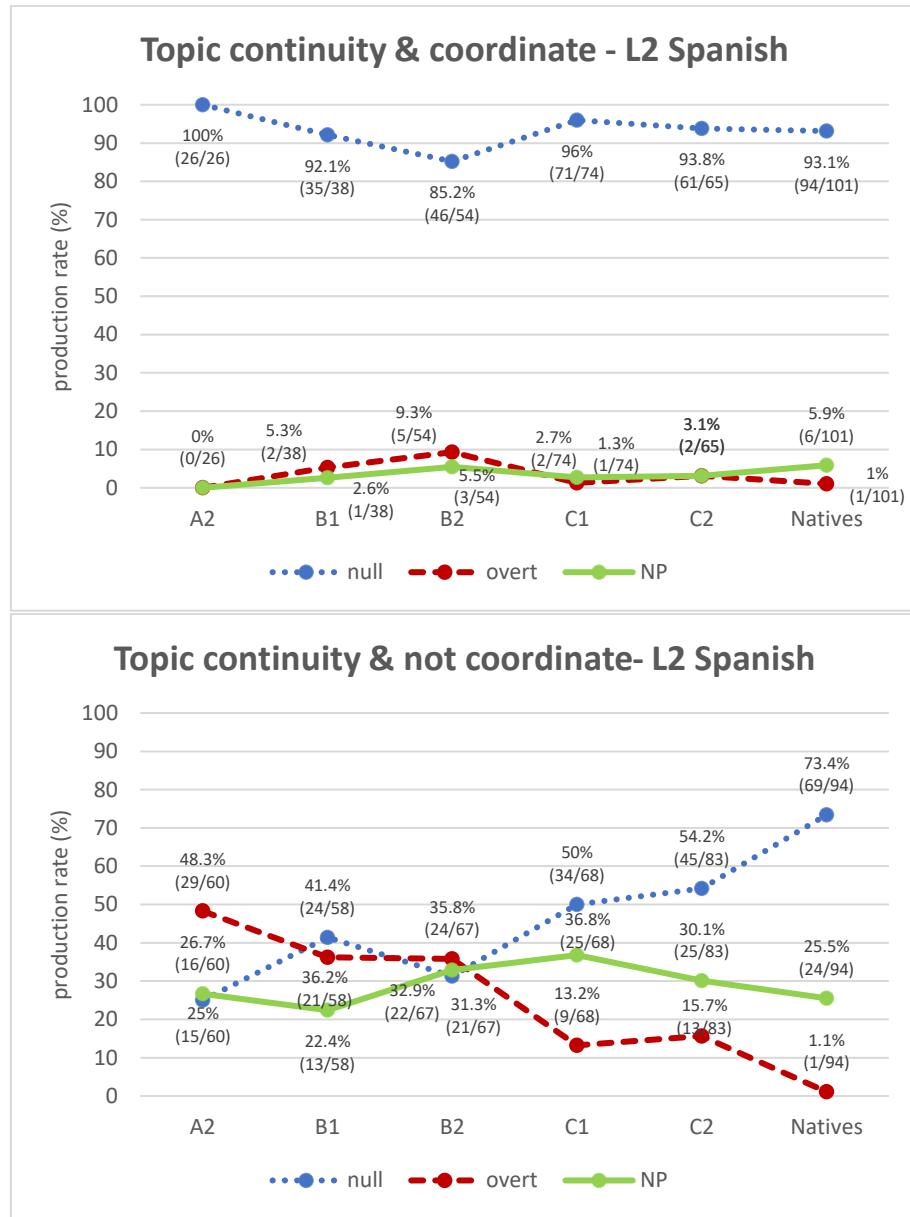


Figure 93. REs in topic continuity according to sentence type by group: Spanish (Study 4).

These results confirm **H3a** because **English natives** restrict the production of null pronouns to topic continuity and coordinate contexts only, while **Spanish natives** produce null pronouns both in topic continuity and coordinate and in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts. When it comes to **L1 Spanish – L2 English** and **L1 English – L2 Spanish** L2ers, **H3b** is confirmed because there is lack of transfer in L2 English L2ers, but there is transfer in L2 Spanish L2ers. In particular, **L2 English L2ers do not transfer** null pronouns from their L1 Spanish because they restrict their use to topic continuity and coordinate contexts only (except for 4 cases of null pronouns). Importantly, there are significant differences between English natives and L2 English

L2ers across groups (except for the C2 group) in topic continuity and coordinate contexts. L2 English L2ers show a developmental acquisition of null pronouns because the production of null pronouns increases as their proficiency level increases. Example (106a) shows a beginner L2er that produces mainly overt pronouns (and sometimes null pronouns would be felicitous), while example (106a) shows an advanced L2er that produces several instances of null pronouns. Crucially, native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse interface is possible at very-advanced levels (i.e., C2 level) because C2 L2ers did not show significant differences, which would contradict the IH (as we will further discuss in the General Discussion in section 8.3, p. 297). Importantly, it could be argued that beginner and intermediate levels avoid coordination, which could explain lower frequencies of null pronouns. However, this was checked and there were higher frequencies of intra-sentential sentences than inter-sentential sentences and, within the different types of intra-sentential sentences, coordinate sentences were the most frequently produced sentences across groups.

- (106)    a. After the impact, Chaplin<sub>i</sub> lights another cigar and then **he<sub>i</sub>** see a baby<sub>j</sub> by surprise. He<sub>i</sub> picks the baby<sub>j</sub> up from the floor but **he<sub>i</sub>** doesn't really know what to do with him<sub>j</sub> [ES\_WR\_B1\_20\_14\_14\_FMJ] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, lower-intermediate)
  
- b. The woman<sub>i</sub>, surprised, starts yelling at him<sub>j</sub> and **Ø<sub>i</sub>** tells him<sub>j</sub> to hold the baby<sub>k</sub> again, as it is assumed it<sub>k</sub> is not hers<sub>i</sub>. He<sub>j</sub> obeys, but almost **Ø<sub>j</sub>** takes the wrong baby<sub>i</sub>. Finally, he<sub>i</sub> retrieves the right baby<sub>k</sub> from the stroller and **Ø<sub>j</sub>** runs away from the woman<sub>i</sub> [ES\_WR\_C2\_30\_24\_14\_RSR] (L1 Spanish – L2 English L2er, upper-advanced)

By contrast, **L2 Spanish L2ers transfer** the use of null pronouns from their L1 English because they produce mostly null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, but not in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts (while Spanish natives produce them here). Example (107a) shows an extract from an intermediate L2 Spanish L2er and illustrates that null pronouns are produced in topic continuity and coordinate contexts. By contrast, (107b) shows an extract from an intermediate L2 Spanish L2er that produces redundant overt pronouns in topic continuity and not coordinate contexts. Crucially, there are significant differences between Spanish natives and L2 Spanish L2ers across groups, which would confirm the IH because L2 Spanish L2ers (even at very-advanced levels) show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface. Again, these results reveal that the acquisition of REs is more problematic in L2 Spanish than in L2 English, a fact that will be further discussed in the general discussion in Chapter 8 (cf. 8.2, p. 294).

- (107) a. Charlie<sub>i</sub> tomó el bebé<sub>j</sub> y eventualmente Ø<sub>i</sub> encontró un carro de una mujer<sub>k</sub> con otro bebé<sub>l</sub>, y Ø<sub>i</sub> intentó ponerlo<sub>j</sub> en el carro. La mujer<sub>k</sub> vino y Ø<sub>k</sub> vio lo que Charlie<sub>j</sub> estaba haciendo y Ø<sub>k</sub> le<sub>i</sub> golpeó. [EN\_WR\_34\_21\_6\_14\_CO] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, upper-intermediate)

'Charlie<sub>i</sub> took the baby<sub>j</sub> and eventually Ø<sub>i</sub> found a pushchair of a woman<sub>k</sub> with another baby<sub>l</sub> and Ø<sub>i</sub> tried to put him<sub>j</sub> in the pushchair. The woman<sub>k</sub> came back and Ø<sub>k</sub> saw what Charlie<sub>j</sub> was doing and Ø<sub>k</sub> hit him<sub>i</sub>.'

- b. El video esta en negro y blanco. el video esta mas viejo. el<sub>i</sub> tiene una gorra. El<sub>i</sub> fume un cigarrete. El<sub>i</sub> mira un bebe<sub>j</sub>. el<sub>i</sub> no se donde esta el madre<sub>k</sub> o el padre<sub>l</sub> [EN\_WR\_21\_21\_4\_14\_AS] (L1 English – L2 Spanish L2er, lower-intermediate)

'The video is in black-and-white. the video is old. he<sub>i</sub> has a cap. He<sub>i</sub> smokes a cigarette. He<sub>i</sub> looks at a baby<sub>j</sub>. he<sub>i</sub> does not know where the mother<sub>k</sub> or the father<sub>l</sub> are.'

#### 7.4.4.4 Characterhood

The results in this subsection address research questions and hypotheses 4. Firstly, we show the overall raw frequencies by character in English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels. Secondly, we show the overall production of REs for two characters independently (*Chaplin* and *the woman*) and for all secondary characters. Then, we also show the raw frequencies of production in topic continuity and topic shift for *Chaplin* and *the woman*. Finally, we show the production of REs according to information status (topic continuity and topic shift) for *Chaplin* and *the woman*.

Figure 94 (first and second chart) shows that *Chaplin* is the character with the highest percentages of production in both English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels, followed by *the woman* also in both languages and across groups. For convenience, we show the raw frequencies of these percentages in the tables below.

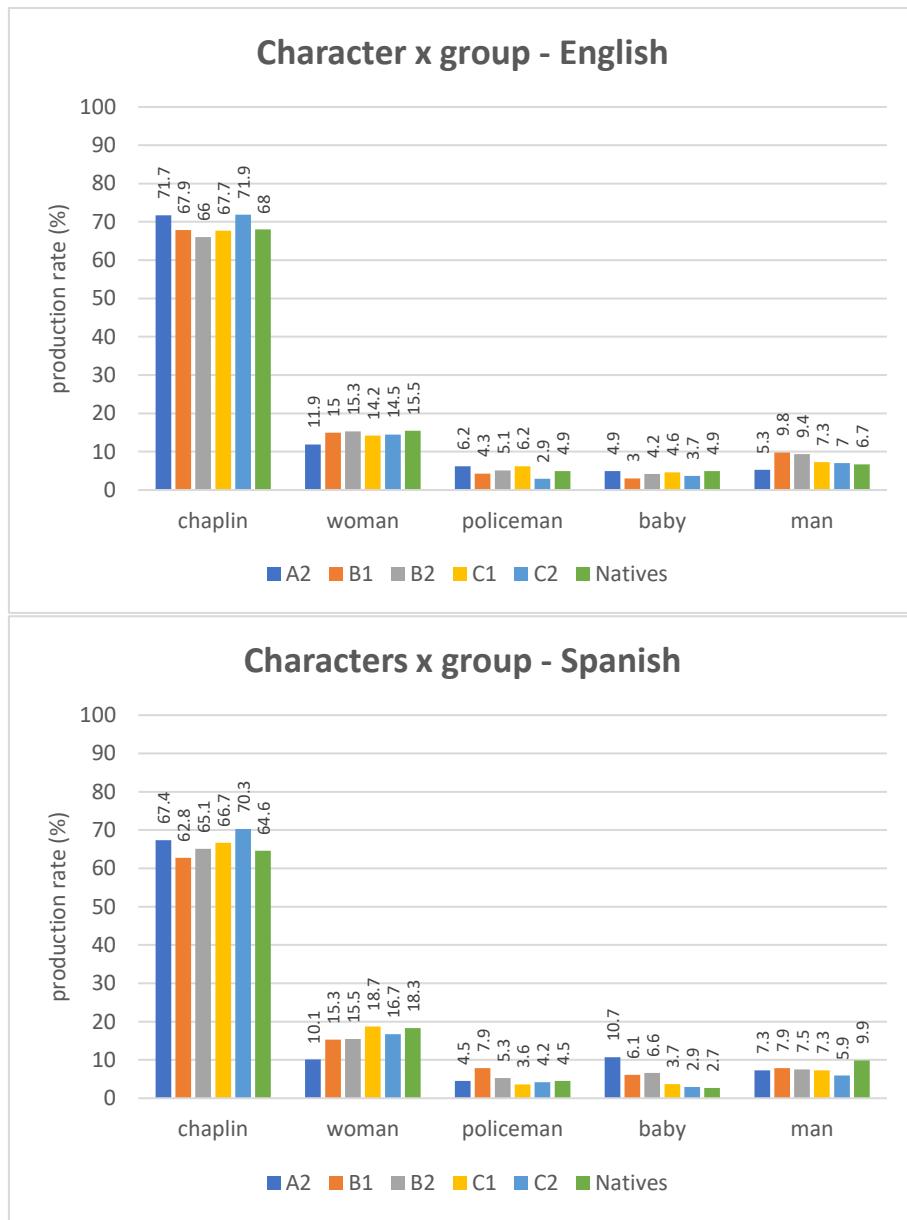


Figure 94. Overall REs across groups by character (Study 4).

Table 41 shows that the raw frequencies of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives for *Chaplin* are much higher than the raw frequencies for the other characters (*the woman*, *the policeman*, *the baby*, and *the man*). Among the other characters, Table 41 shows that the raw frequencies for *the woman* are the highest.

Character English	A2 N=226		B1 N=234		B2 N=235		C1 N=260		C2 N=242		Natives N=284	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Chaplin</b>	162	71.68%	159	67.95%	155	65.96%	176	67.69%	174	71.90%	193	67.96%
<b>Woman</b>	27	11.95%	35	14.96%	36	15.32%	37	14.23%	35	14.46%	44	15.49%
<b>Policeman</b>	14	6.19%	10	4.27%	12	5.11%	16	6.15%	7	2.89%	14	4.93%
<b>Baby</b>	11	4.87%	7	2.99%	10	4.26%	12	4.62%	9	3.72%	14	4.93%
<b>Man</b>	12	5.31%	23	9.83%	22	9.36%	19	7.31%	17	7.02%	19	6.69%

Table 41. Overall REs according to character by group: English (Study 4).

Likewise, Table 42 shows that the raw frequencies of L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives for *Chaplin* are the highest, and, among the other characters, the raw frequencies for *the woman* are higher than for the other characters.

Character Spanish	A2 N=178		B1 N=215		B2 N=226		C1 N=219		C2 N=239		Natives N=333	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Chaplin</b>	120	67.42%	135	62.79%	147	65.04%	146	66.67%	168	70.29%	215	64.56%
<b>Woman</b>	18	10.11%	33	15.35%	35	15.49%	41	18.72%	40	16.74%	61	18.32%
<b>Policeman</b>	8	4.49%	17	7.91%	12	5.31%	8	3.65%	10	4.18%	15	4.50%
<b>Baby</b>	19	10.67%	13	6.05%	15	6.64%	8	3.65%	7	2.93%	9	2.70%
<b>Man</b>	13	7.30%	17	7.91%	17	7.52%	16	7.31%	14	5.86%	33	9.91%

Table 42. Overall REs according to character by group: Spanish (Study 4).

As we observed in the figures and tables above in this subsection, *Chaplin* shows the highest frequencies across groups and language pairs and, thus, can be considered the **main character** of the story. The rest of the characters would be considered **secondary characters** because the frequencies are considerably lower than the frequencies for *Chaplin*. These results confirm **H4a** because characters have different prominence and can be classified as main or secondary characters. Crucially, the results are similar across languages (i.e., English and Spanish), which suggests that the narration is similar regardless of the language. Importantly, the frequencies for *the woman* are the highest among the secondary characters and we will see the production of REs for *the woman* alone and, then, we will group all secondary characters. Therefore, we show the production of REs for *Chaplin*, *the woman*, and secondary characters now. Firstly, we show the overall production of REs for these characters in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers (across proficiency levels) and English natives. Then, we show the overall production of REs for the same character, but in L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers (across proficiency levels) and Spanish natives.

Figure 95 shows that **English natives** produce mainly overt pronouns (50.8%) followed by null pronouns (26.4%) and NPs (22.8%) for *Chaplin*. **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** across groups also

produce mainly overt pronouns (A2: 53.7%; B1: 60.4%; B2: 58.7%; C1: 60.2%; C2: 59.2%) for this character, but followed by NPs (A2: 24.7%; B1: 25.8%; B2: 25.8%; C1: 19.9%; C2: 20.7%) and null pronouns (A2: 21.6%; B1: 13.8%; B2: 15.5%; C1: 19.9%; C2: 20.1%).

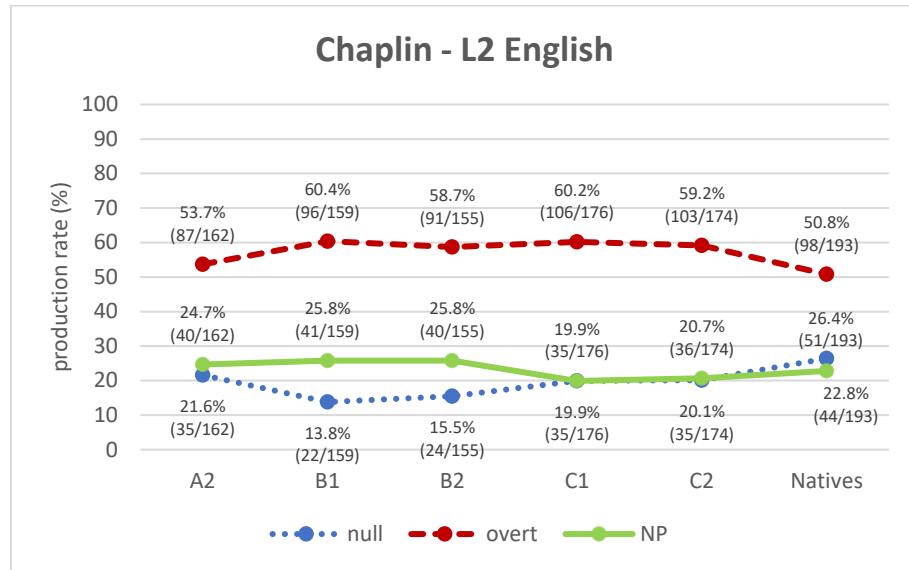


Figure 95. REs to refer to Chaplin by group: English (Study 4).

Regarding ***the woman***, English natives produce mainly NPs (37.2%), closely followed by overt pronouns (34.9%), and null pronouns (27.9%), as Figure 96 shows. All groups of **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** also show this pattern of production as produce mainly NPs (A2: 48.2%; B1: 48.6%; B2: 50%; C1: 35.1%; C2: 45.7%), followed by overt pronouns (A2: 40.7%; B1: 40%; B2: 33.3%; C1: 51.4%; C2: 45.7%) and null pronouns (A2: 11.1%; B1: 11.4%; B2: 16.7%; C1: 13.5%; C2: 20%). If we observe the percentages of production, the C1 groups are the exception here because this group produces more overt pronouns than NPs.

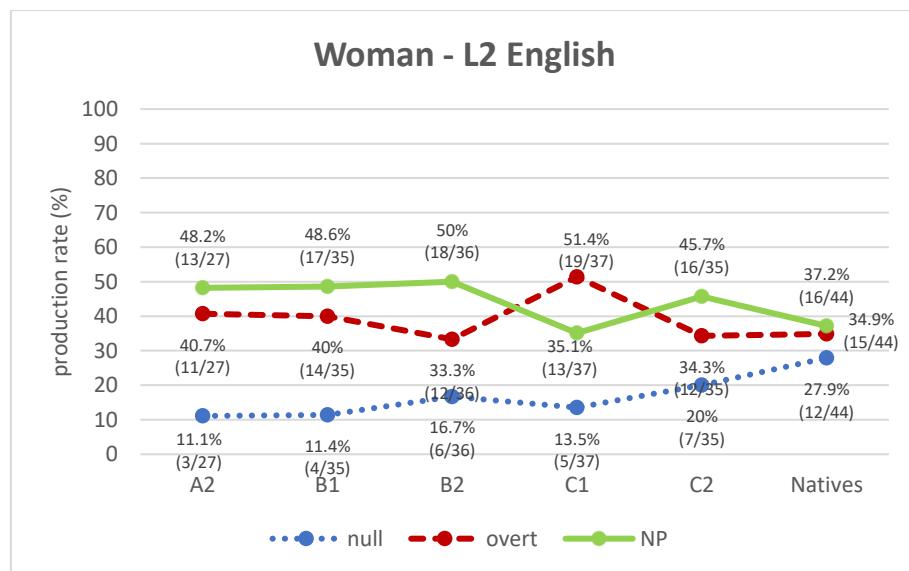


Figure 96. REs to refer to woman by group: English (Study 4).

If all the **secondary characters** (*the woman, the baby, the policeman, the man*) are grouped, Figure 97 shows that the pattern of production is the same as for *the woman* across groups: higher production of NPs (A2: 62.5%; B1: 60%; B2: 60%; C1: 55.9%; C2: 57.3%; natives: 50%) than overt pronouns (A2: 29.7%; B1: 32%; B2: 25%; C1: 27.4%; C2: 26.5%; natives: 27.3%) and null pronouns (A2: 7.8%; B1: 8%; B2: 15%; C1: 16.7%; C2: 16.2%; natives: 22.7%).

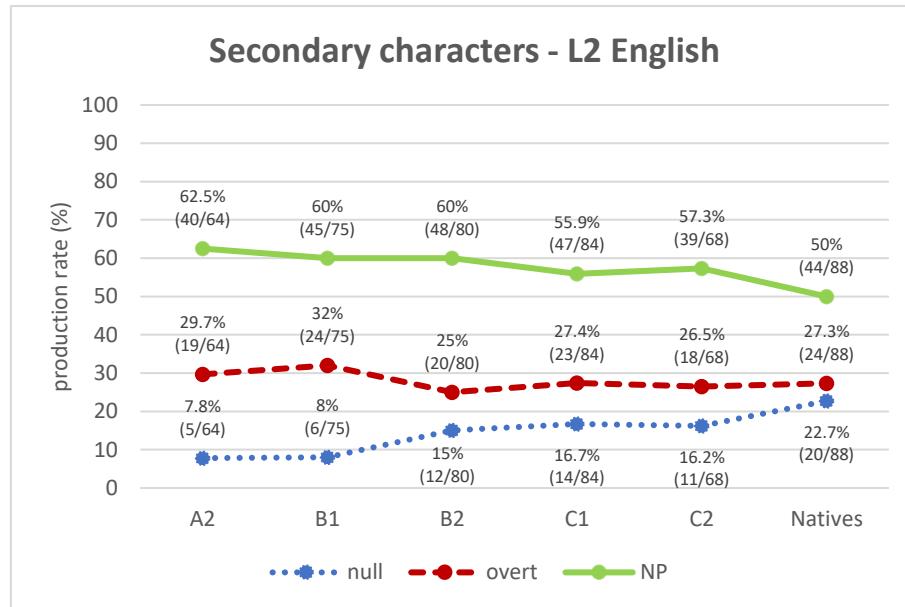


Figure 97. REs to refer to secondary characters by group: English (Study 4).

We move to the production of **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives** now. Figure 98 shows that Spanish natives produce more null pronouns (69.3%) than NPs (28.3%) and overt pronouns (2.4%) for *Chapin* and most L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers show this very same pattern (except for the B2 group that produces more NPs than null pronouns): null pronouns (A2: 40%; B1: 43%; B2: 34.7%; C1: 55.5%; C2: 55.4%); NPs (A2: 33.3%; B1: 31.1%; B2: 44.2%; C1: 36.3%; C2: 34.5%); and overt pronouns (A2: 26.7%; B1: 25.9%; B2: 21.1%; C1: 8.2%; C2: 10.1%).

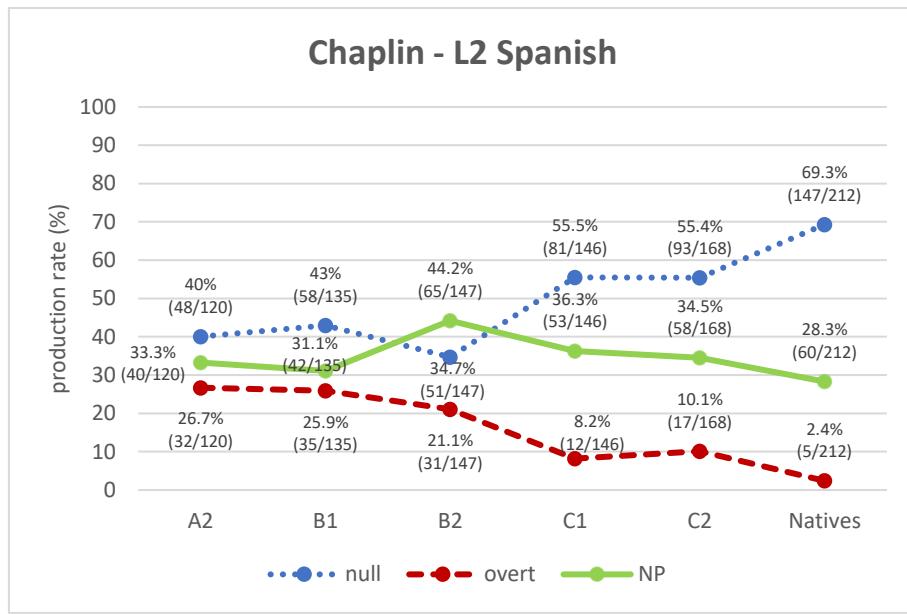


Figure 98. REs to refer to Chaplin by group: Spanish (Study 4).

Regarding *the woman*, Figure 99 shows that **Spanish natives** also produce mainly null pronouns (50%) followed by NPs (43.3%) and overt pronouns (6.7%), but **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers'** production changes and there are different patterns of production: A2 and B1 groups produce mainly NPs (A2: 61.1%; B1: 60.6%), the B2 group produces mainly overt pronouns (B2: 42.9%), and the C1 and C2 groups produce mainly null pronouns (C1: 48.8%; C2: 46.2%).

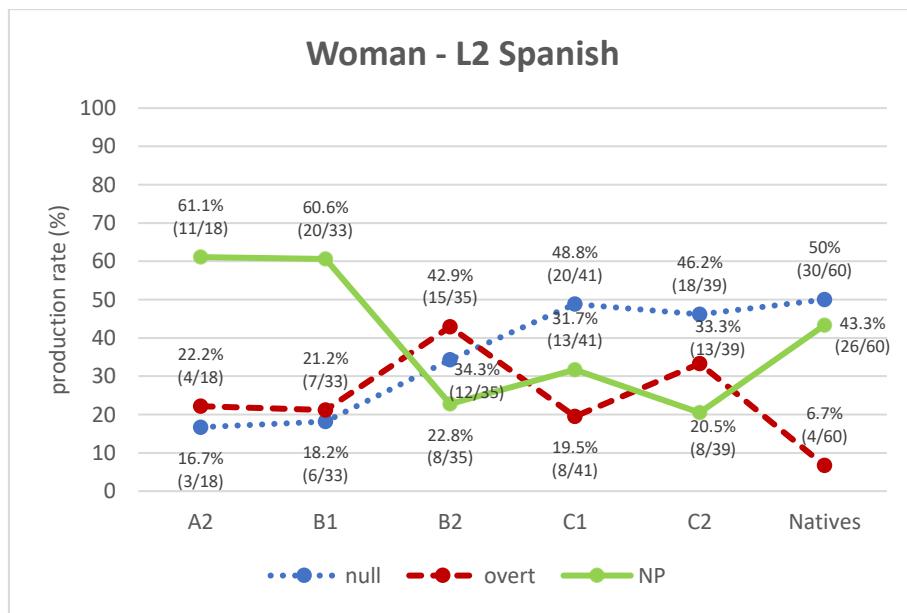


Figure 99. REs to refer to woman by group: Spanish (Study 4).

We now group all of the **secondary characters**. Figure 100 shows that the pattern of production changes in comparison with the production for *the woman*. In particular, the production of L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives shows that all groups produce mainly NPs (A2:

70.7%; B1: 71.3%; B2: 49.4%; C1: 45.2%; C2: 45.7%; natives: 51.7%), followed by null pronouns (A2: 20.7%; B1: 20%; B2: 25.3%; C1: 43.8%; C2: 35.7%; natives: 44%) and overt pronouns (A2: 8.6%; B1: 8.7%; B2: 25.3%; C1: 11%; C2: 18.6%; natives: 4.3%).

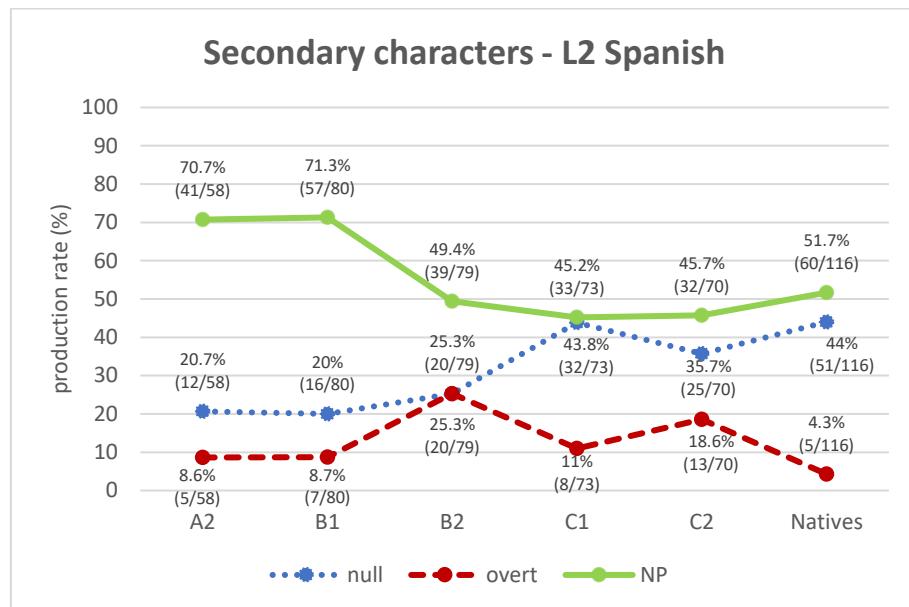


Figure 100. REs to refer to secondary characters by group: Spanish (Study 4).

The results regarding the production of REs by characters confirm **H4b** because the production of REs in English and Spanish natives and in L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers changes depending on the character. In particular, **English natives** and **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** produce mainly overt pronouns followed by null pronouns and NPs for **Chaplin**. This pattern of production changes for **the woman** and all **secondary characters** together (i.e., *the woman*, *the policeman*, *the baby*, and *the man*). English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers produce mainly NPs for *the woman* as well as for secondary characters. Importantly, the pattern of production is more stable when we group all secondary characters than when we show the production for *the woman*. **Spanish natives** and **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** produce mainly null pronouns for **Chaplin** (except for the B2 group). The pattern of production changes for **the woman** and all **secondary characters**. In the character *the woman*, there is variability among Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers. Spanish natives and L2 Spanish L2ers at C1 and C2 produce mainly null pronouns but closely followed by NPs or overt pronouns (depending on the group). L2 Spanish L2ers at A2, B1 and B2 show variability in their production of REs for *the woman*. If all secondary characters are grouped, we find a more stable pattern across groups of L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives, as they produce mainly NPs followed by null pronouns and overt pronouns. All in all, these results reveal that less explicit REs (i.e., null and overt pronouns) are produced for Chaplin and more explicit REs (i.e., overt pronouns and NPs) are produced for

secondary characters. Interestingly, this occurs across languages, which suggests that this is universal. These results would be in line with the characterhood effect found in Study 1 and Study 2. In Study 4, we include [+ human] characters only, but the protagonisthood affects the production of REs. To further investigate this factor, recall that, in Study 1, we showed the production of REs according to character and according to information status (cf. 7.1.4.4, p. 156). Therefore, we further investigate this factor in Study 4 and show the production of REs according to character and information status. Importantly, the results above reveal that the production of REs is more stable across groups when we group all secondary characters. So, we consider main character (i.e., *Chaplin*) vs. secondary characters (i.e., *the woman*, *the policeman*, *the baby*, and *the man*) for the following results in this subsection. First, we will show the production of REs for main character vs. secondary characters in topic continuity and topic shift in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives. Then, we will show the same results in L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives.

Figure 101 shows the production of **L2 English L2ers** and **English natives** for ***Chaplin* in topic continuity**. All groups produced mainly overt pronouns (A2: 59.5%; B1: 69.1%; B2: 68.9%; C1: 64.5%; C2: 63.1%; natives: 55.8%) followed by null pronouns (A2: 27.3%; B1: 17.3%; B2: 20.7%; C1: 27.4%; C2: 26.1%; natives: 36.2%) and NPs (A2: 13.2%; B1: 13.6%; B2: 10.4%; C1: 8.1%; C2: 10.8%; natives: 8%). This pattern of production resembles the pattern of production of the general topic continuity in English in Figure 87 above (cf. section 7.4.4.2, p. 225).

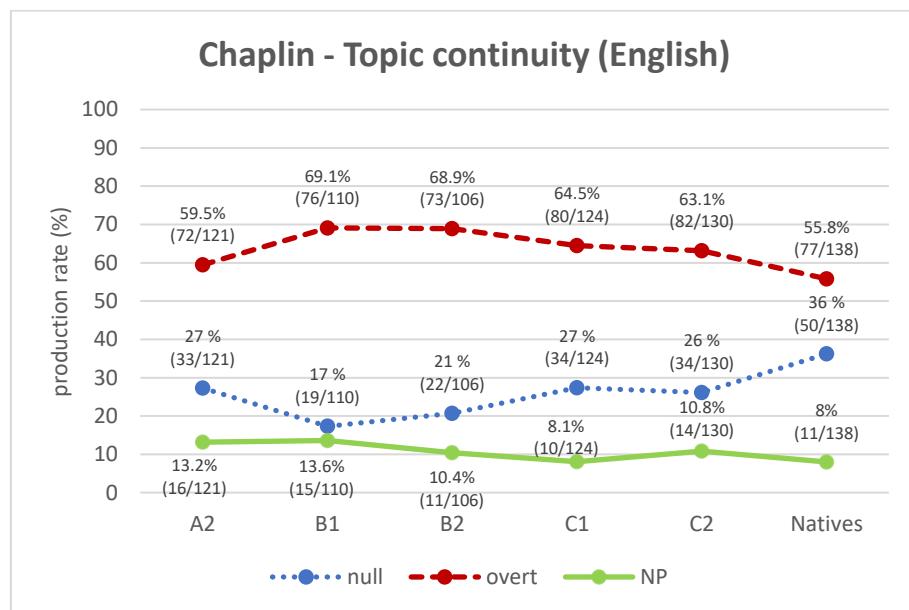


Figure 101. REs for Chaplin according to info status (top cont) by group: English (Study 4).

Figure 102 shows the production of **L2 English L2ers** and **English natives** for ***Chaplin* in topic shift**. The percentages of production of overt pronouns (A2: 46.9%; B1: 48.8%; B2: 40.9%; C1:

56.5%; C2: 50%; natives: 44.7%) and NPs (A2: 46.9%; B1: 46.3%; B2: 54.6%; C1: 41.3%; C2: 47.5%; natives: 53.2%) are similar across groups, while the production of null pronouns is very low. The percentages of production are slightly different here compared to the general topic shift (cf. Figure 90, p. 228) because more NPs than overt pronouns were produced across groups in the general topic shift. Here, there are different patterns of production depending on the group, but all groups overall do show a preference (i.e., they produce overt pronouns and NPs to similar extents).

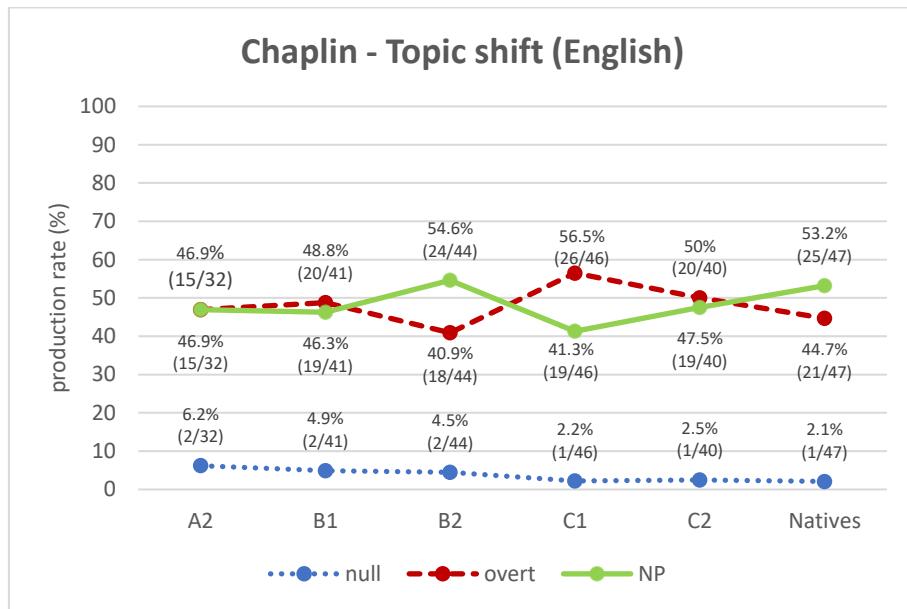


Figure 102. REs for Chaplin according to info status (top shift) by group: English (Study 4).

Figure 103 shows the production of **L2 English L2ers** and **English natives** for **secondary characters in topic continuity**. A2 and B1 L2ers produce more overt pronouns (A2: 62.5%; B1: 62.5%) and null pronouns (A2: 31.3%; B1: 25%). The B2 group produces null pronouns (47.6%) and overt pronouns (47.6%) to the same extent. By contrast, the C1 and C2 groups and the natives produce more null pronouns (C1: 56%; C2: 50%; natives: 58.6%) than overt pronouns (C1: 40%; C2: 45.4%; natives: 31%). The frequencies of NPs are low in all groups. The pattern of production changes if we compare these results with the general topic continuity (cf. Figure 87, p. 226). In particular, the C1, C2 and native groups produce more null pronouns than in the general topic continuity.

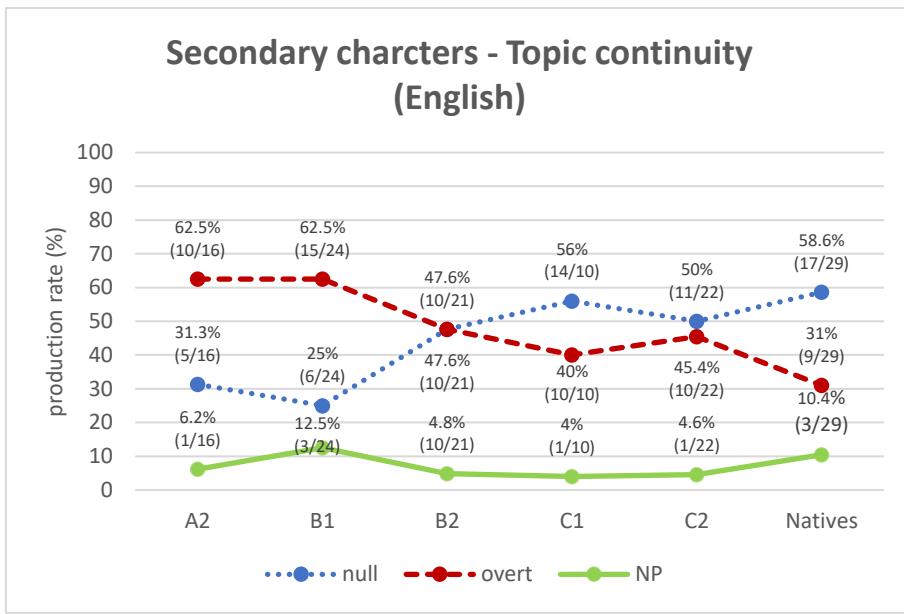


Figure 103. REs for secondary characters according to info status (top cont) by group: English (Study 4).

Figure 104 shows the production of **L2 English L2ers** and **English natives** for **secondary characters in topic shift**. All groups produce more NPs (A2: 76.2%; B1: 76.7%; B2: 75%; C1: 69.4%; C2: 72.2%; natives: 60.4%) than overt pronouns (A2: 23.8%; B1: 23.3%; B2: 20.8%; C1: 30.6%; C2: 27.9%; natives: 33.3%) and the frequencies for null pronouns are very low. The pattern of production here is the same as in the general topic shift (cf. Figure 90, p. 228).

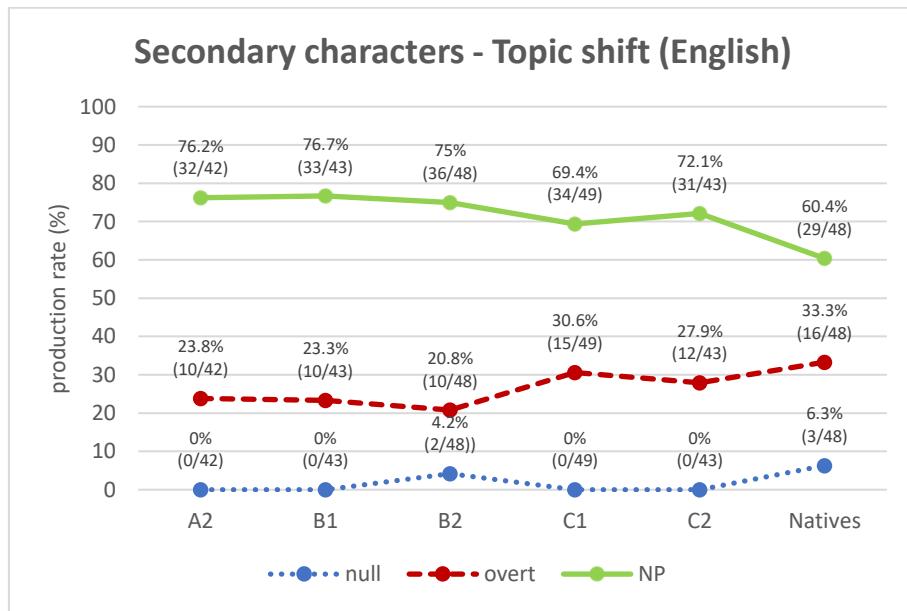


Figure 104. REs for secondary characters according to info status (top shift) by group: English (Study 4).

Figure 105 shows the production of **L2 Spanish L2ers** and **Spanish natives** for **Chaplin in topic continuity**. All groups produce mainly null pronouns (A2: 48%; B1: 61%; B2: 51.6%; C1: 70.9%;

C2: 70.2%; natives: 83.6%) followed by overt pronouns (A2: 34.7%; B1: 26.8%; B2: 25.3%) in A2, B1 and B2 groups and by NPs (C1: 21.8%; C2: 20.1%; natives: 15.7%) in C1, C2 and natives. The pattern of production here is the same as in the general topic continuity (cf. Figure 88, p. 227).

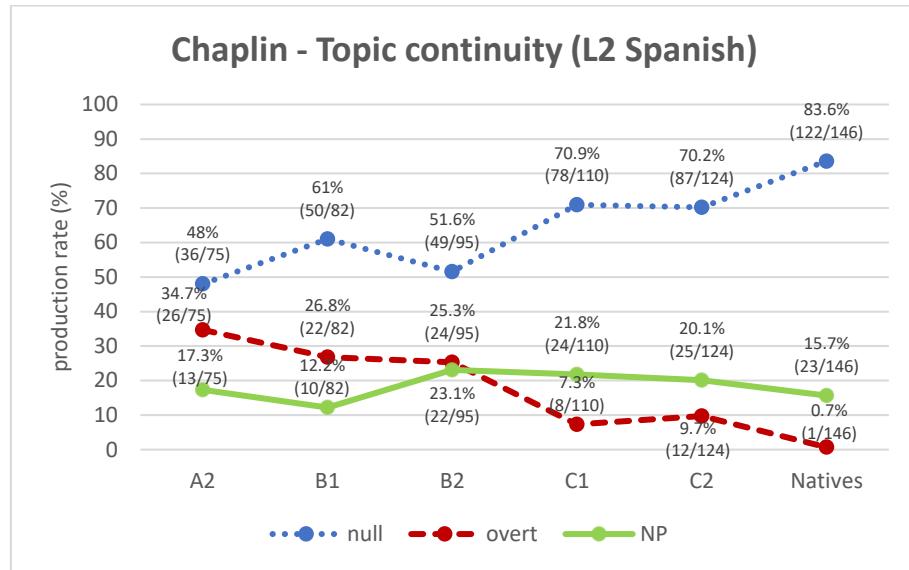


Figure 105. REs for Chaplin according to info status (top cont) by group: Spanish (Study 4).

Figure 106 shows the production of **L2 Spanish L2ers** and **Spanish natives** for **Chaplin** in **topic shift**. All groups produce mostly NPs (A2: 50%; B1: 52.4%; B2: 77.5%; C1: 75.9%; C2: 73.6%; natives: 50%). The production of NPs is followed by null pronouns (A2: 33.3%; natives: 43.1%) in the A2 and native groups, while it is followed by overt pronouns (B1: 28.6%; B2: 17.5%; C1: 13.8%; C2: 13.2%) in the other L2ers' groups. This pattern of production is similar to the general topic shift shown above (cf. Figure 91, p. 229). Importantly, the production of null pronouns in the A2 and natives' groups is higher here than in the general topic shift.

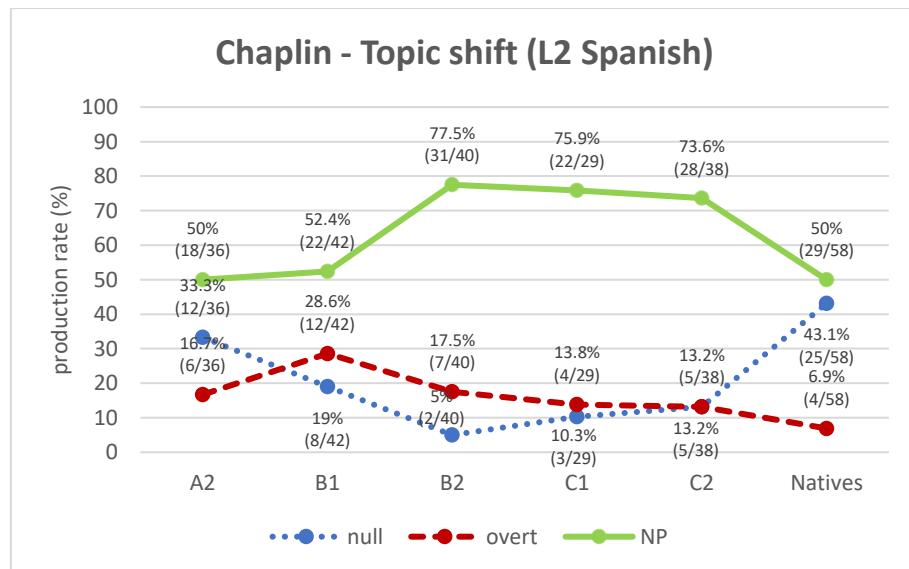


Figure 106. REs for Chaplin according to info status (top shift) by group: Spanish (Study 4).

Figure 107 shows the production of **L2 Spanish L2ers** and **Spanish natives** for **secondary characters in topic continuity**. All groups produce mostly null pronouns (A2: 45.4%; B1: 64.3%; B2: 69.2%; C1: 84.4%; C2: 79.2%; natives: 83.7%). The production of null pronouns is followed by overt pronouns and NPs and there is variability among groups of L2ers and natives for these two REs. Importantly, the most frequently produced RE is a null pronoun across groups, which again resembles the pattern of production of the general topic continuity (cf. Figure 91, p. 229).

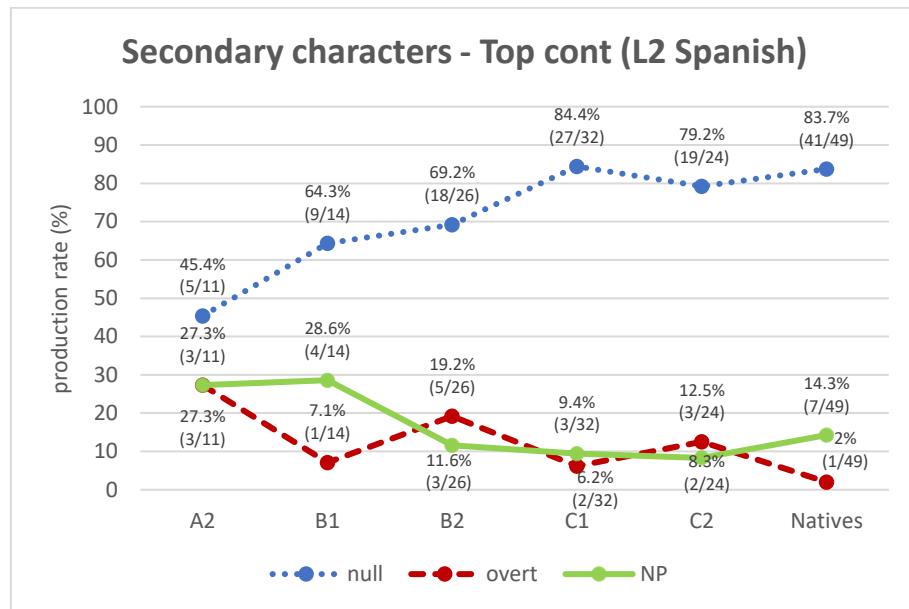


Figure 107. REs for secondary characters according to info status (top cont) by group: Spanish (Study 4).

Figure 108 shows the production of **L2 Spanish L2ers** and **Spanish natives** for **secondary characters in topic shift**. All groups produce mostly NPs (A2: 73.7%; B1: 75.9%; B2: 61.4%; C1: 67.7%; C2: 58.6%; natives: 71.4%). The production of NPs is followed by null pronouns (A2: 18.4%; B1: 13%; natives: 21.4%) in the A2, B1 and native groups, while it is followed by overt pronouns (B2: 34.1%; C1: 17.6%; C2: 26.8%) in the other L2ers' groups. This pattern of production is similar to the general topic shift shown above (cf. Figure 91, p. 229). Importantly, the production of null pronouns in the A2 and natives' groups is lower here than in the general topic shift.

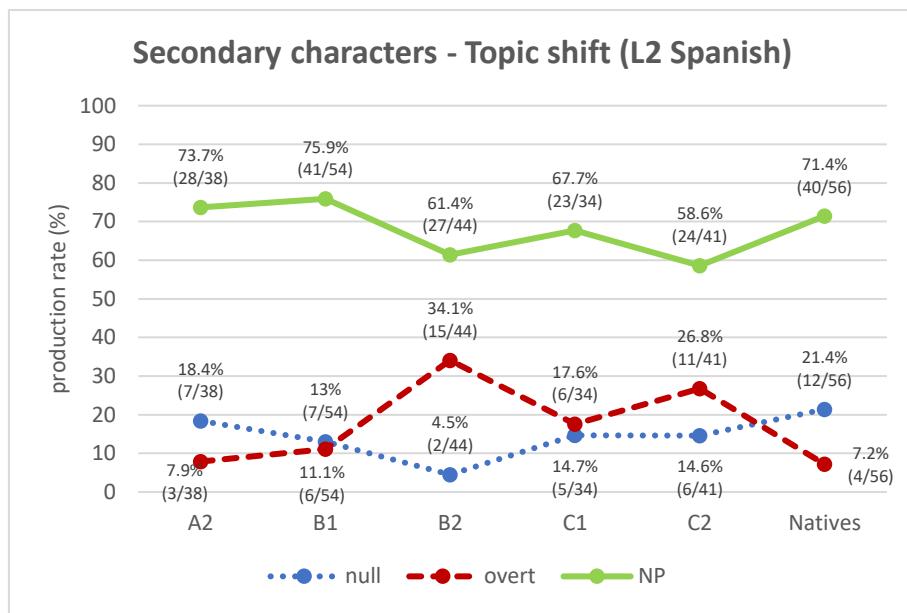


Figure 108. REs for secondary characters according to info status (top shift) by group: Spanish (Study 4).

These results reveal that the information status is not affected overall by the characters. Importantly, when we compared the charts above with the general topic continuity and topic shift, we found some differences, which is worth discussing. **English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** show similar percentages of overt pronouns and NPs for *Chaplin* in topic shift, whereas more NPs than overt pronouns were produced in the general topic shift. Additionally, English natives and C1 and C2 L2 English L2ers produce more null pronouns than overt pronouns for secondary characters in topic continuity, whereas the general topic continuity showed higher production of overt pronouns than null pronouns. Importantly, these differences do not seem to be affecting the distribution of REs according to information status because i) overt pronouns and NPs are still predominantly produced in topic shift (which is the expected pattern); and null pronouns are produced in topic continuity. The finding that more null pronouns than overt pronouns are produced for other characters can be related to the fact that more coordinate contexts are created with these characters.

**Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** produce more null pronouns in topic shift for *Chaplin* than for secondary characters compared to the general topic shift. Importantly, the discourse is mainly about *Chaplin*, and this could make Spanish natives produce more null pronouns than overt pronouns in topic shift. This character is more activated throughout the discourse and Spanish natives find it appropriate to use null pronouns to refer to him, even if he appears in a topic-shift context. Therefore, we could say that there is a characterhood effect, but it only applies to Spanish native speakers.

To conclude, the results in this subsection have shown that i) there is a difference between main character vs. secondary characters across language pairs; ii) the production of REs is modulated depending on the character that is analysed across language pairs; and iii) the type of character does not affect the distribution of REs according to information status (with the only exception of high production of null pronouns for Chaplin in topic shift in Spanish). We could say that there is a characterhood effect in the sense that there is one main character, and more REs were produced to refer to this character. Regarding the change in the pattern of production depending on the character, it can be motivated by the number of topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts that are created in each character, but this does not necessarily indicate a characterhood effect because we showed that the distribution of REs according to information was not affected by the type of character. The only context where a characterhood effect was observed was in Chaplin because he is the main character and Spanish natives produce a considerable number of null pronouns in topic shift to refer to him. Crucially, we have shown that most of these results are applicable across language pairs, so these results reveal that the way of narrating is in a way universal, as there are no big differences between languages and across groups.

#### *7.4.4.5 Activated and intervening antecedents*

The results in this subsection show the production of REs according to the number of activated and intervening antecedents. Importantly, previous studies (Lozano, 2016) have shown the number of activated antecedents according to information status, but we do not do so in this subsection. In Study 1, we showed the effect of activated antecedents without considering the information status, so we show the results here as in Study 1. Regarding the number of intervening antecedents, we will also show the results without considering information status. Firstly, we show the production of English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. Then, we show the production of Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers. Finally, we follow the same order of presentation for the intervening antecedents.

Figure 109 shows that **English natives** produce mostly overt pronouns followed by null pronouns with **1 antecedent**. Then, they start producing NPs with **2 antecedents** and the production of NPs increases for **3** and **3+ activated antecedents**. There are significant differences between 1 activated antecedent and 2 activated antecedents for NPs ( $\chi^2=7.206, p<0.02$ ); between 1 activated antecedent and 3 activated antecedents for NPs ( $\chi^2=8.474, p<0.02$ ); between 1 activated antecedent and 3+ activated antecedents for overt pronouns ( $\chi^2=11.301, p<0.02$ ) and NPs ( $\chi^2=18.225, p<0.02$ ); between 2 activated antecedent and 3 activated antecedents for overt

pronouns ( $\chi^2=13.300, p<0.02$ ) and NPs ( $\chi^2=5.506, p<0.02$ ); and between 2 activated antecedent and 3+ activated antecedents for overt pronouns ( $\chi^2=6.853, p<0.02$ ) and NPs ( $\chi^2=7.614, p<0.02$ ).

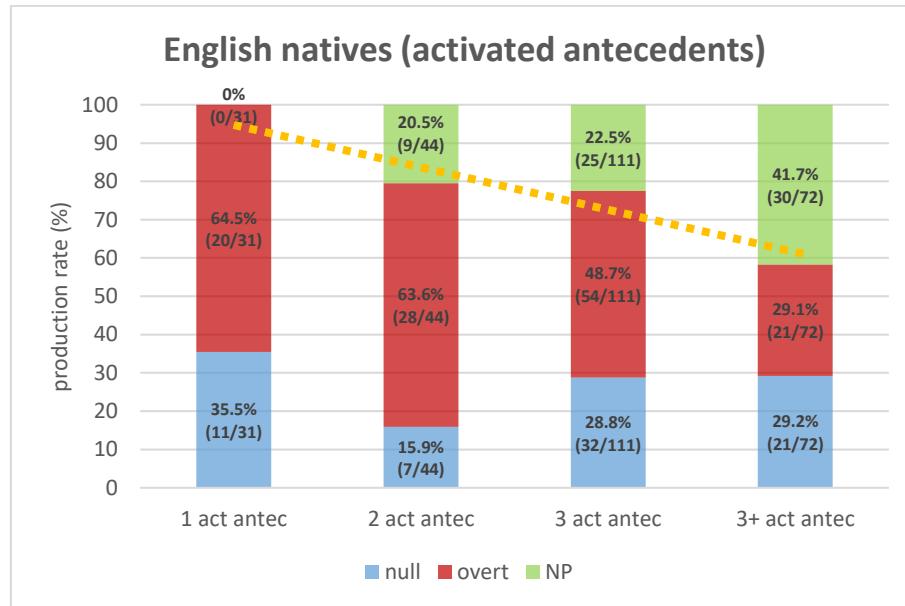


Figure 109. REs according to number of activated antecedents by group: English native (Study 4).

**L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** start producing more overt pronouns followed by null pronouns and NPs with **1 and 2 activated antecedents**, as shown in Figure 110 (upper left chart and upper right chart respectively). Then, they change the pattern of use with **3 and 3+ activated antecedents** (lower left chart and lower right chart respectively) and produce more overt pronouns followed by NPs and null pronouns. There are significant differences between 1 activated antecedent and 3 activated antecedents for overt pronouns (B1:  $\chi^2=5.410, p<0.05$ ; B2:  $\chi^2=7.198, p<0.02$ ) and NPs (B2:  $\chi^2=6.658, p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=5.501, p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=4.624, p<0.05$ ); between 1 activated antecedent and 3+ activated antecedents for overt pronouns (B1:  $\chi^2=6.771, p<0.02$ ; B2:  $\chi^2=9.700, p<0.02$ ) and NPs (A2:  $\chi^2=5.107, p<0.05$ ; B1:  $\chi^2=4.048, p<0.05$ ; B2:  $\chi^2=9.909, p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=4.614, p<0.05$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=5.128, p<0.05$ ); between 2 activated antecedent and 3 activated antecedents for overt pronouns (B2:  $\chi^2=5.785, p<0.02$ ) and NPs (B2:  $\chi^2=4.801, p<0.05$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=7.501, p<0.02$ ); and between 2 activated antecedent and 3+ activated antecedents for overt pronouns (B2:  $\chi^2=9.089, p<0.02$ ) and NPs (A2:  $\chi^2=5.307, p<0.05$ ; B2:  $\chi^2=9.945, p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=7.994, p<0.02$ ).

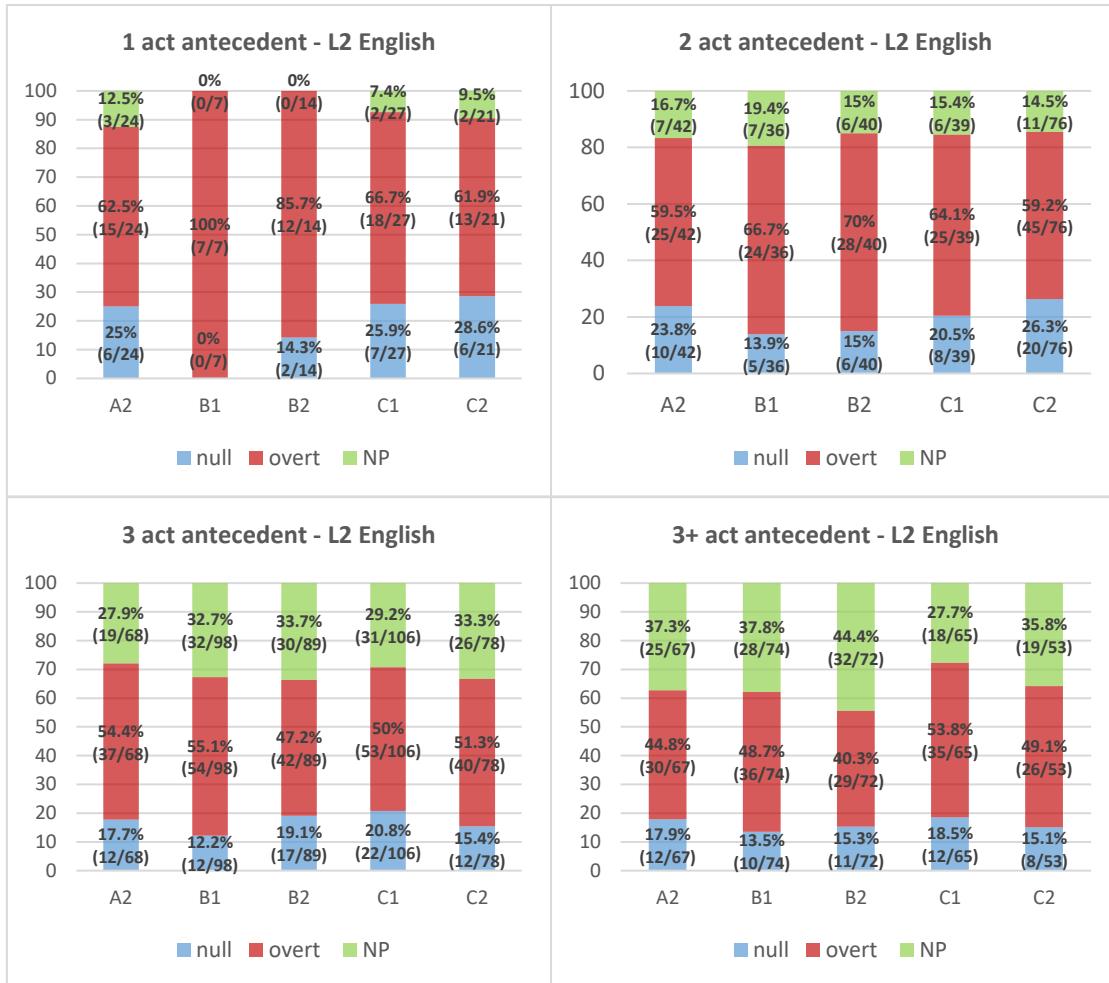


Figure 110. REs according to number of activated antecedents by group: L2 English (Study 4).

Figure 111 shows that **Spanish natives** produce mostly null pronouns with **1 activated antecedent** and some NPs. The production of NPs is higher as the number of activated antecedents increases and they also produce some overt pronouns. There are significant differences between 1 activated antecedent and 3+ activated antecedents for null pronouns ( $\chi^2=5.833$ ,  $p<0.02$ ) and NPs ( $\chi^2=4.636$ ,  $p<0.05$ ); between 2 activated antecedents and 3 activated antecedents for null pronouns ( $\chi^2=5.432$ ,  $p<0.02$ ) and NPs ( $\chi^2=4.179$ ,  $p<0.05$ ); and between 2 activated antecedents and 3+ activated antecedents for null pronouns ( $\chi^2=11.694$ ,  $p<0.02$ ) and NPs ( $\chi^2=9.535$ ,  $p<0.02$ ).

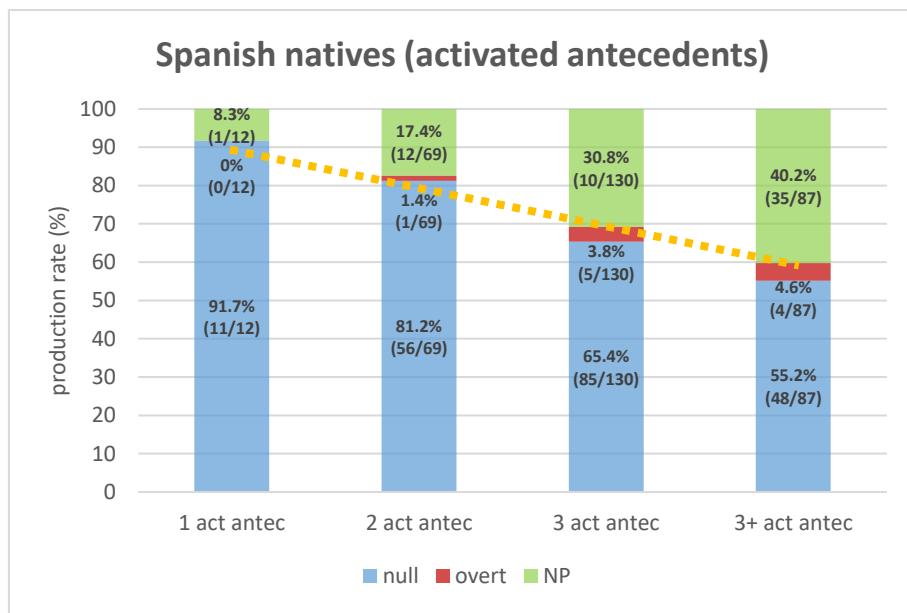


Figure 111. REs according to number of activated antecedents by group: Spanish native (Study 4).

As for **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers**, they produce mainly null pronouns followed by overt pronouns and NPs with **1 activated antecedent**, but they show different patterns of production for **2 or more activated antecedents** depending on the proficiency level, as Figure 112 shows. In particular, A2, B1 and B2 groups produce mainly null pronouns followed by overt pronouns and NPs with 2 activated antecedents, while C1 and C2 groups produce mainly null pronouns, followed by NPs and overt pronouns. With 3 and 3+ activated antecedents, A2, B1 and B2 groups produce mainly NPs followed by null pronouns and overt pronouns, while C1 and C2 groups produce mainly null pronouns, followed by NPs and overt pronouns. There are significant differences between 1 activated antecedent and 2 activated antecedents for null pronouns (C1:  $\chi^2=4.804, p<0.05$ ), overt pronouns (C2:  $\chi^2=4.141, p<0.05$ ), and NPs (C1:  $\chi^2=5.451, p<0.05$ ); between 1 activated antecedent and 3 activated antecedents for null pronouns (C1:  $\chi^2=6.398, p<0.02$ ) and NPs (B2:  $\chi^2=7.619, p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=7.836, p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=4.299, p<0.05$ ); between 1 activated antecedent and 3+ activated antecedents for null pronouns (B2:  $\chi^2=3.927, p<0.05$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=7.437, p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=4.141, p<0.05$ ) and NPs (B1:  $\chi^2=6.663, p<0.02$ ; B2:  $\chi^2=6.650, p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=8.241, p<0.02$ ); between 2 activated antecedent and 3 activated antecedents for null pronouns (C2:  $\chi^2=6.895, p<0.02$ ) and NPs (B2:  $\chi^2=4.809, p<0.05$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=4.819, p<0.05$ ); and between 2 activated antecedent and 3+ activated antecedents for null pronouns (B2:  $\chi^2=3.972, p<0.05$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=7.640, p<0.02$ ), over pronouns (C2:  $\chi^2=9.218, p<0.02$ ) and NPs (A2:  $\chi^2=4.664, p<0.05$ ; B1:  $\chi^2=8.536, p<0.02$ ).

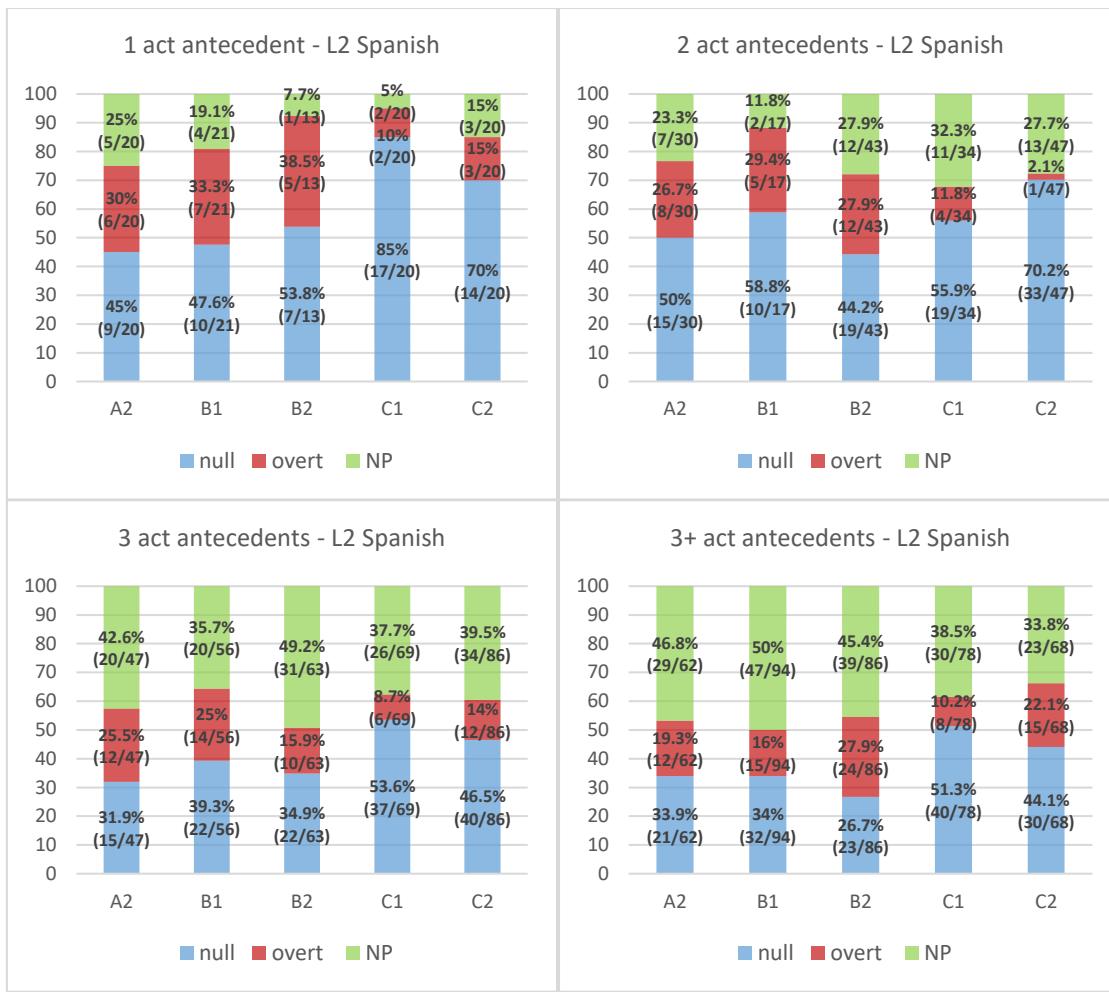


Figure 112. REs according to number of activated antecedents by group: L2 Spanish (Study 4).

Now, we show the production of REs according to the **number of intervening antecedents**. Crucially, the raw frequencies for 3 and 3+ intervening antecedents were low, so we show the results for 0, 1, and 2 intervening antecedents. Regarding the production of REs with **0 intervening antecedents in English**, Figure 113 shows that all groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers across proficiency levels and English natives produce mainly overt pronouns with 0 intervening antecedents (A2: 56.1%; B1: 64.9%; B2: 65.1%; C1: 64.6%; C2: 63.1%; Native: 54.6%). The production of overt pronouns is followed by null pronouns in C1, C2 and native groups (C1: 22%; C2: 25%; Native: 30.3%), while it is followed by NPs in A2, B1 and B2 groups (A2: 25.7%; B1: 27%; B2: 22.2%).

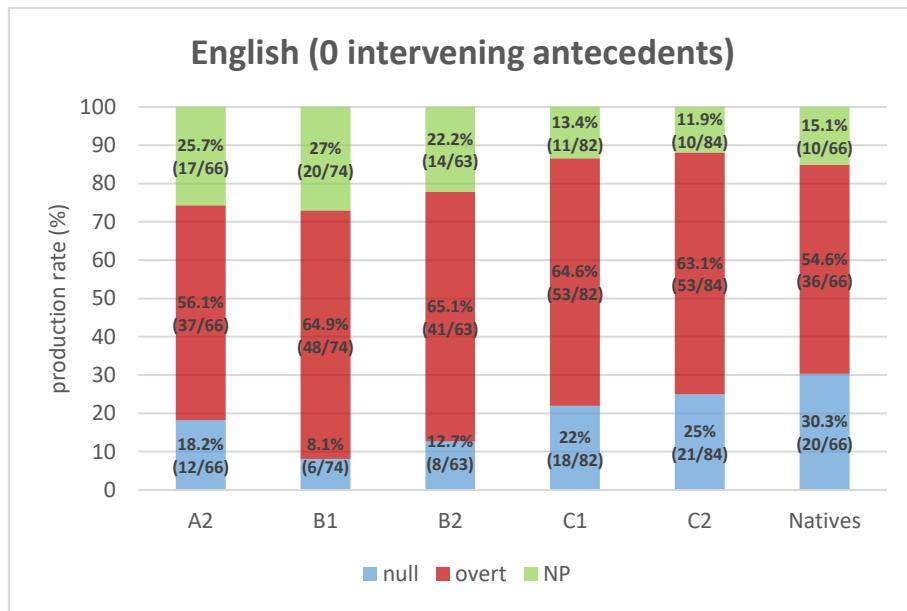


Figure 113. REs according to 0 intervening antecedents by group: English (Study 4).

As for the production of REs with **1 intervening antecedents in English**, Figure 114 shows that all groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers across proficiency levels and English natives produce mainly overt pronouns (A2: 56.4%; B1: 55.4%; B2: 56.2%; C1: 57%; C2: 55.6%; Native: 48.8%). The production of overt pronouns is followed by null pronouns in all groups (A2: 23.4%; B2: 24%; C1: 25.2%; C2: 23.2%; Native: 33.1%) except for the B1 group, which produces more NPs (26.1%) than null pronouns (18.5%).

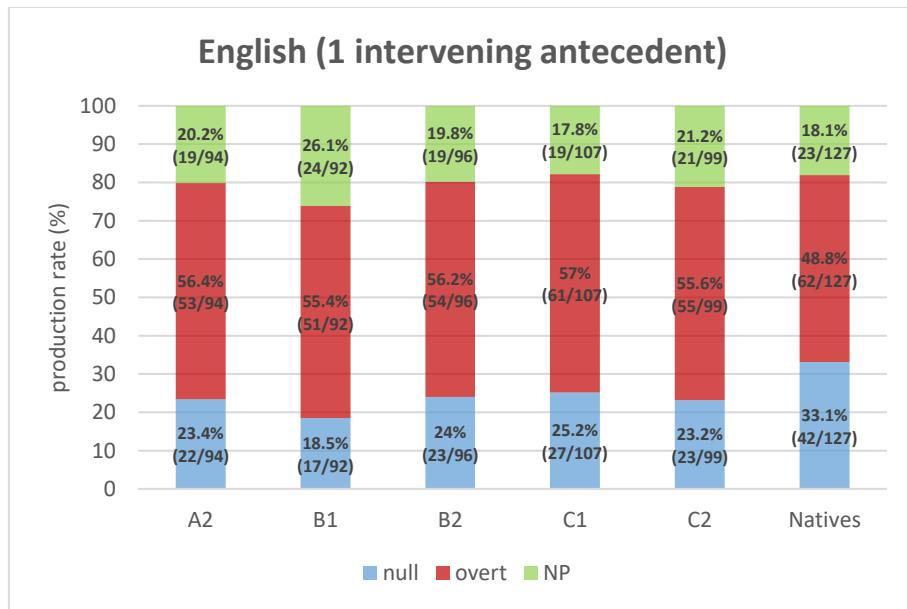


Figure 114. REs according to 1 intervening antecedent by group: English (Study 4).

Figure 115 shows the production of REs with **2 intervening antecedents** and the pattern of production changes. In particular, B2, C1 and C2 **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** produce more

NPs (B2: 59.6%; C1: 52.3%; C2: 61.1%) than overt pronouns (B2: 29.8%; C1: 38.6%; C2: 33.3%), while **English natives** produce NPs (42.5%) and overt pronouns (42.5%) to the same extent. By contrast, A2 and B1 L2ers produce more overt (A2: 46.9%; B1: 53.8%) pronouns than NPs (A2: 34.4%; B1: 35.9%).

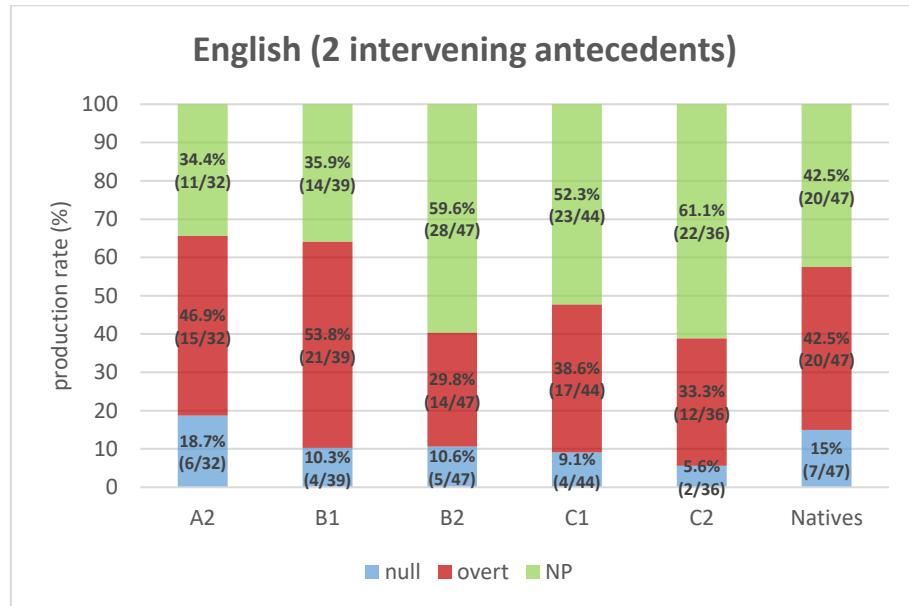


Figure 115. REs according to 2 intervening antecedents by group: English (Study 4).

Importantly, there are some **significant differences** depending on the number of intervening antecedents. In particular, there are no significant differences between **0 and 1** intervening antecedents across groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives. By contrast, there are significant differences between **0 and 2** intervening antecedents for null pronouns (C2:  $\chi^2=6.150, p<0.02$ ), overt pronouns (B2:  $\chi^2=13.411, p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=7.838, p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=8.991, p<0.02$ ) and NPs (B2:  $\chi^2=15.911, p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=21.945, p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=31.201, p<0.02$ ; Native:  $\chi^2=10.570, p<0.02$ ), and between **1 and 2** intervening antecedents for null pronouns (C1:  $\chi^2=4.980, p<0.05$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=5.467, p<0.02$ ; Native:  $\chi^2=5.603 p<0.02$ ), overt pronouns (B2:  $\chi^2=8.859, p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=4.215, p<0.05$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=5.215, p<0.05$ ) and NPs (B2:  $\chi^2=22.632, p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=18.500, p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=19.361, p<0.02$ ; Native:  $\chi^2=11.016, p<0.02$ ).

We show the results for Spanish now. Figure 116 shows that all groups of **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** across proficiency level and **Spanish natives** produce mainly null pronouns with **0 intervening antecedents** (A2: 36.4%; B1: 33.8%; B2: 39.7%; C1: 58.2%; C2: 61.4%; Native: 82.2%). The production of null pronouns is followed by NPs in most groups (A2: 40%; B1: 41.5%; C1: 26.9%; C2: 21.4%; Native: 15.1%) except for the B2 group, which produces more overt pronouns (33.8%) than NPs (26.5%).

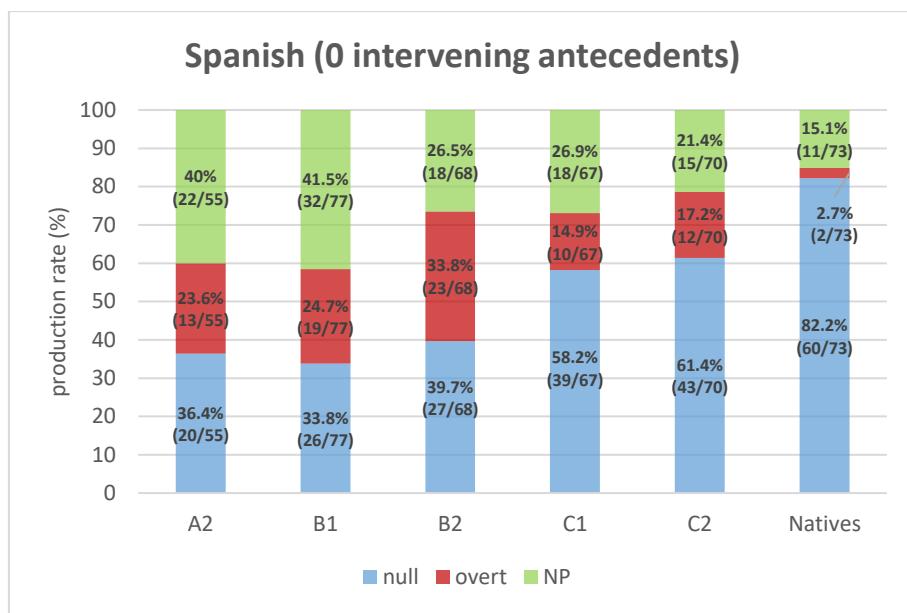


Figure 116. REs according to 0 intervening antecedents by group: Spanish (Study 4).

Regarding the production of REs with **1 intervening antecedent**, Figure 117 shows that all groups of **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** across proficiency levels and **Spanish natives** produce mainly null pronouns (A2: 47.3%; B1: 53%; B2: 38.7%; C1: 65.9%; C2: 59.2%; Native: 74.2%), but the percentages of null pronouns are lower than in Figure 116. Null pronouns are followed by NPs across all groups of L2ers and natives (A2: 27%; B1: 27.9%; B2: 35.2%; C1: 26.1%; C2: 28.2%; Native: 23.9%).

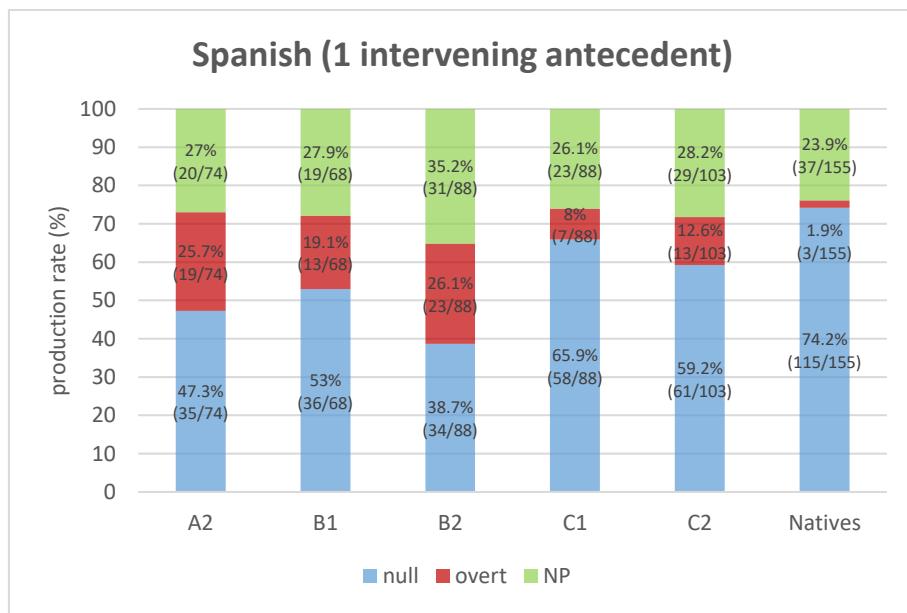


Figure 117. REs according to 1 intervening antecedents by group: Spanish (Study 4).

Figure 118 shows the production of REs with **2 intervening antecedents** and the pattern of production changes. In particular, Spanish natives and most groups of L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers produce mainly NPs (A2: 70%; B2: 64.9%; C1: 53.1%; C2: 58.6%; Native: 54.4%). The only exception is the B1 group that produces mainly null pronouns (40%).

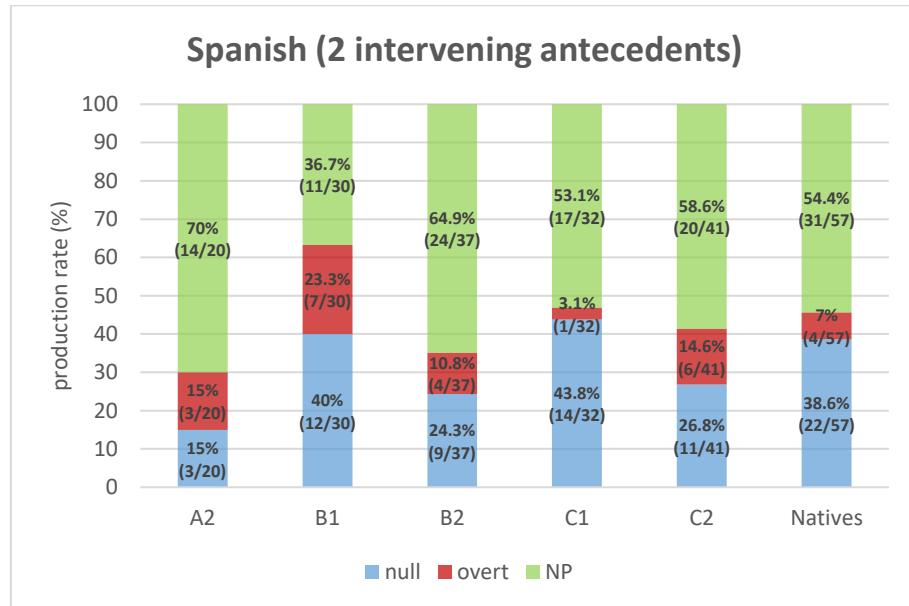


Figure 118. REs according to 2 intervening antecedents by group: Spanish (Study 4).

Importantly, there are some **significant differences** depending on the number of intervening antecedents. There are significant differences between **0 and 1 intervening antecedents** for null pronouns in one group only (B1:  $\chi^2=5.425$ ,  $p<0.02$ ). There are significant differences **between 0 and 2 intervening antecedents** for null pronouns (C2:  $\chi^2=12.390$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; Natives:  $\chi^2=23.099$ ,  $p<0.02$ ), overt pronouns (B2:  $\chi^2=6.643$ ,  $p<0.02$ ) and NPs (A2:  $\chi^2=5.288$ ,  $p<0.05$ ; B2:  $\chi^2=14.718$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=6.534$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=15.662$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; Native:  $\chi^2=17.881$ ,  $p<0.02$ ). There are significant differences between **1 and 2 intervening antecedents** for null pronouns (A2:  $\chi^2=$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; Native:  $\chi^2=$ ,  $p<0.02$ ) and NPs (A2:  $\chi^2=12.594$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; B2:  $\chi^2=9.286$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; C1:  $\chi^2=7.692$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; C2:  $\chi^2=11.638$ ,  $p<0.02$ ; Native:  $\chi^2=22.625$ ,  $p<0.02$ ).

These results reveal that **H5** is confirmed because the **number of activated and intervening antecedents** is a **factor** that influences the production of REs in both **English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers**. Regarding the **number of activated antecedents**, in English, results reveal that the higher the number of activated antecedents, the higher the production of NPs in both English natives and L2 English L2ers. This tendency is also observed in Spanish natives and L2 Spanish L2ers, although there are different patterns of production among L2 Spanish L2ers. In particular, A2, B1 and B2 groups produce mostly overt material (overt pronouns and NPs) with 3 and 3+ activated antecedents, while C1,

C2 and natives produce mainly null pronouns followed by NPs and overt pronouns. Despite this, the tendency of an increase in the production of NPs is also observed in these groups, which confirms that the number of activated antecedents is a factor in its own right. Additionally, these findings were corroborated by the significant differences between the different number of activated antecedents for the different REs. Importantly, these results corroborate the findings in Study 1, and, crucially, the effect of activated antecedents is also shown in Spanish in Study 4. As for the **number of intervening antecedents**, we observe an overlap with the number of activated antecedents because the higher the number of intervening antecedents, the higher the production of NPs and this is shown in English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels.

All in all, these results reveal that i) different ways of counting antecedents lead to similar results and the number of activated and intervening antecedents is a factor that affects the production of REs; and ii) the factor of antecedents can be universal as it was observed across groups (natives and L2ers) and across languages.

#### *7.4.4.6 PAS scenarios*

These results focus on PAS scenarios and address research questions and hypotheses 5. In particular, we firstly show the production of PAS scenarios vs. Other AR scenarios in English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. Secondly, we show the frequencies of REs biasing towards subject or non-subject antecedents for the same participants. Then, we focus on the production of REs biasing towards subject antecedents only. Finally, we show the same results in Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers.

Focusing on the frequencies for **PAS scenarios** and other **AR scenarios in English**, Figure 119 shows that other AR scenarios are more frequent than PAS scenarios across groups, although A2, B1 and B2 groups show higher frequencies of PAS scenarios compared to C1, C2 and native groups.

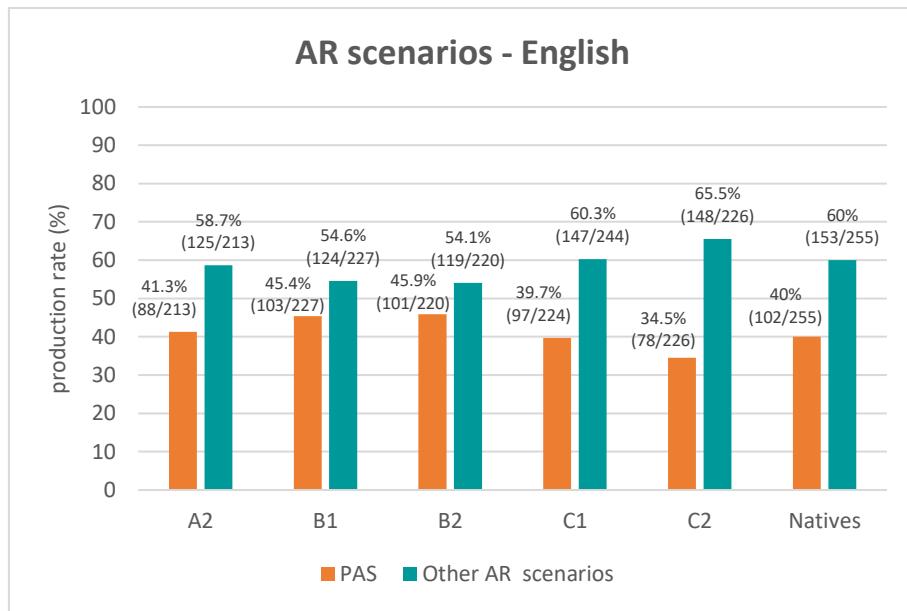


Figure 119. Anaphora Resolution scenarios by group: English (Study 4).

As for the **type of PAS scenarios** (i.e., standard PAS or complex PAS), Figure 120 shows that standard PAS scenarios are clearly more frequent than complex PAS scenarios across groups of English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers.

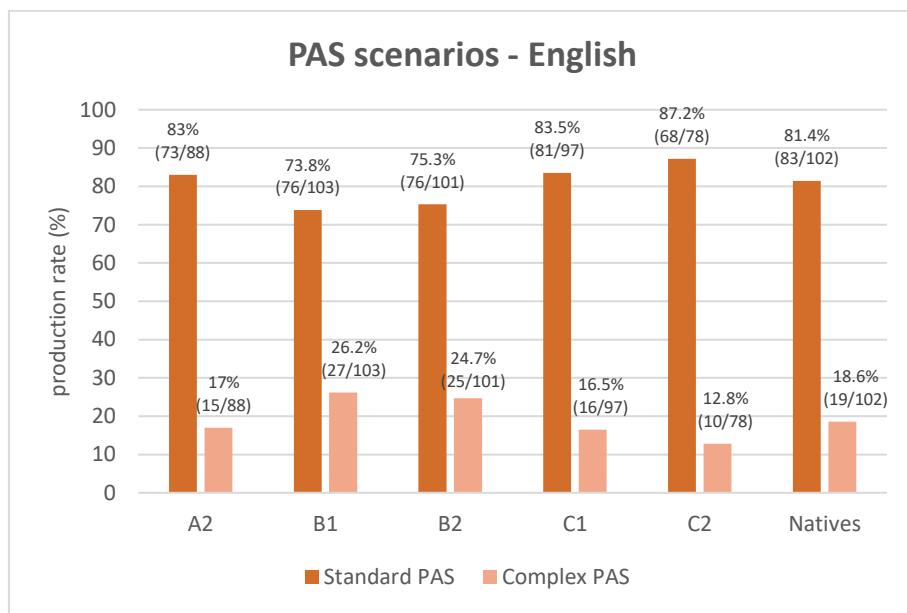


Figure 120. PAS scenarios by group: English (Study 4).

Regarding the **type of context** produced in **standard PAS scenarios** (i.e., an anaphor biasing towards a subject or a non-subject antecedent), Table 43 shows that the frequencies of contexts where an anaphor biases towards a **subject antecedent** are much higher across groups than contexts where an anaphor biases towards a **non-subject antecedent**.

Standard PAS English	A2 N=76		B1 N=76		B2 N=77		C1 N=81		C2 N=68		Natives N=84	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Subject ant	64	84.21%	66	86.84%	63	81.82%	69	85.19%	62	91.18%	78	92.86%
Non- subject ant	12	15.79%	10	13.16%	14	18.18%	12	14.81%	6	8.82%	6	7.14%

Table 43. PAS scenarios in English: frequencies by group (Study 4).

Then, we focus on the production of REs in **anaphor-subject antecedent** contexts. Figure 121 shows that **English natives** produce mainly null pronouns closely followed by overt pronouns and NPs, while **L2 English L2ers** produce mainly overt pronouns followed by null pronouns and NPs across groups.

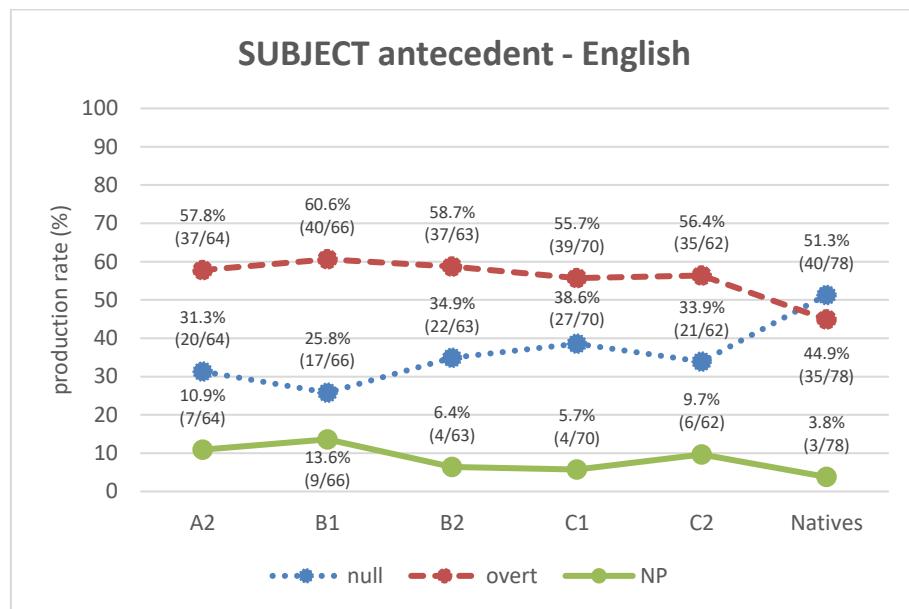


Figure 121. PAS scenario with subject antecedent: REs by group (Study 4).

Regarding the frequencies of **AR scenarios in Spanish**, Figure 122 shows that **other AR scenarios** are more frequent than PAS scenarios across groups. Again, A2, B1 and B2 groups show higher frequencies of PAS scenarios compared to C1, C2 and native groups.

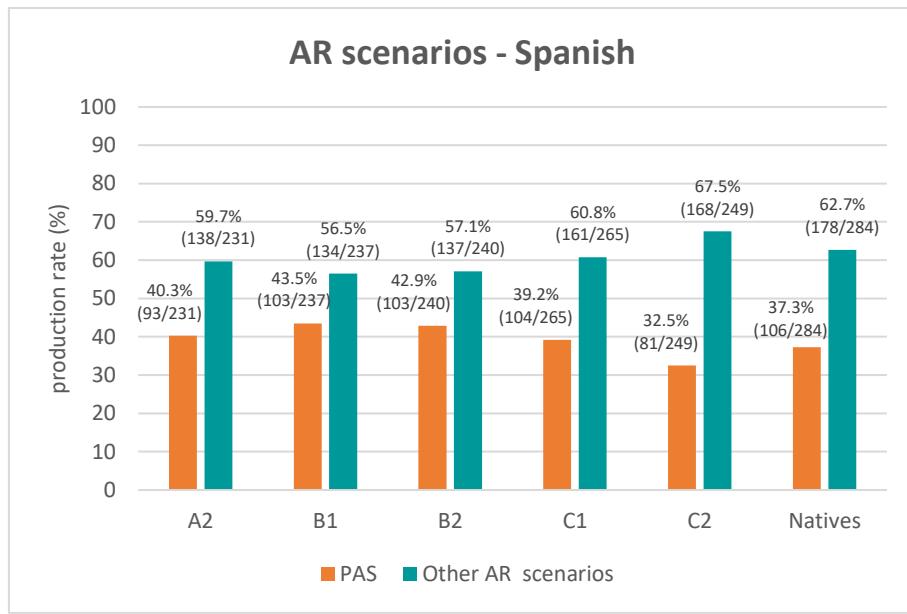


Figure 122. Anaphora Resolution scenarios by group: Spanish (Study 4).

As for the differences between PAS scenarios, Figure 123 shows that **standard** PAS scenarios are more frequent than **complex** PAS scenarios across groups of Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers.

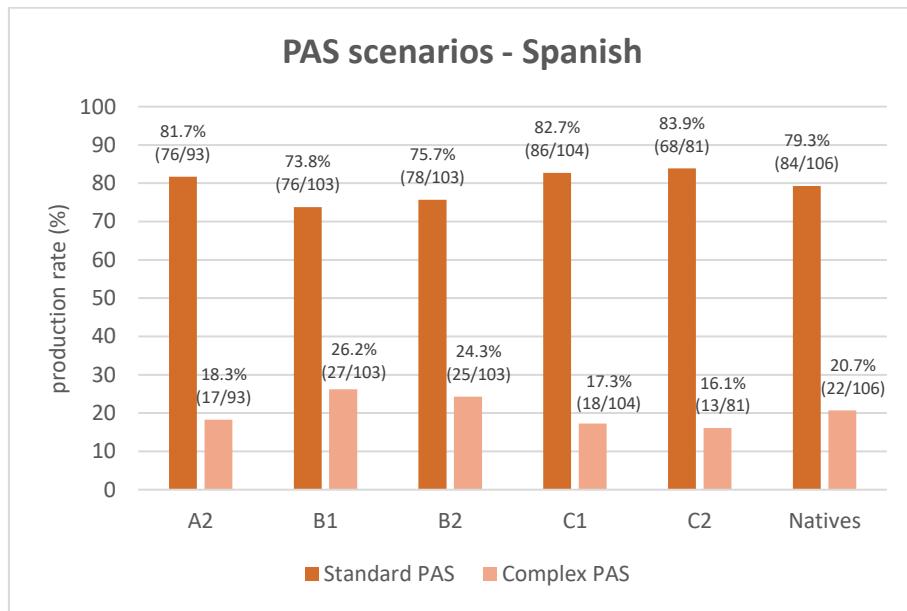


Figure 123. PAS scenarios by group: Spanish (Study 4).

Focusing now on the **type of context** produced in standard PAS scenarios (i.e., an anaphor biasing towards a subject or a non-subject antecedent), Table 44 shows that the frequencies of anaphor-subject antecedent contexts are much higher across groups of Spanish natives L2 Spanish L2ers than anaphor-non-subject antecedent contexts, so we focus on the production of REs in anaphor-subject antecedent contexts.

Standard PAS Spanish	A2 N=76		B1 N=76		B2 N=77		C1 N=81		C2 N=68		Natives N=84	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Subject ant	39	73.58%	43	68.25%	50	81.97%	65	85.53%	61	88.41%	105	89.74%
Non-subject ant	14	26.42%	20	31.75%	11	18.03%	11	14.47%	8	11.59%	12	10.26%

Table 44. PAS scenarios in Spanish: frequencies by group (Study 4).

Figure 124 shows that Spanish natives mainly produce null pronouns biasing towards **subject antecedents** followed by a small percentage of NPs and there is no production of overt pronouns. As for **L2 Spanish L2ers**, they all produce more null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents, although the production of null pronouns is lower in the A2 group (compared to the other L2ers groups). Then, null pronouns are followed by overt pronouns and NPs in A2 and B1 groups and vice versa for B2, C1 and C2 groups.

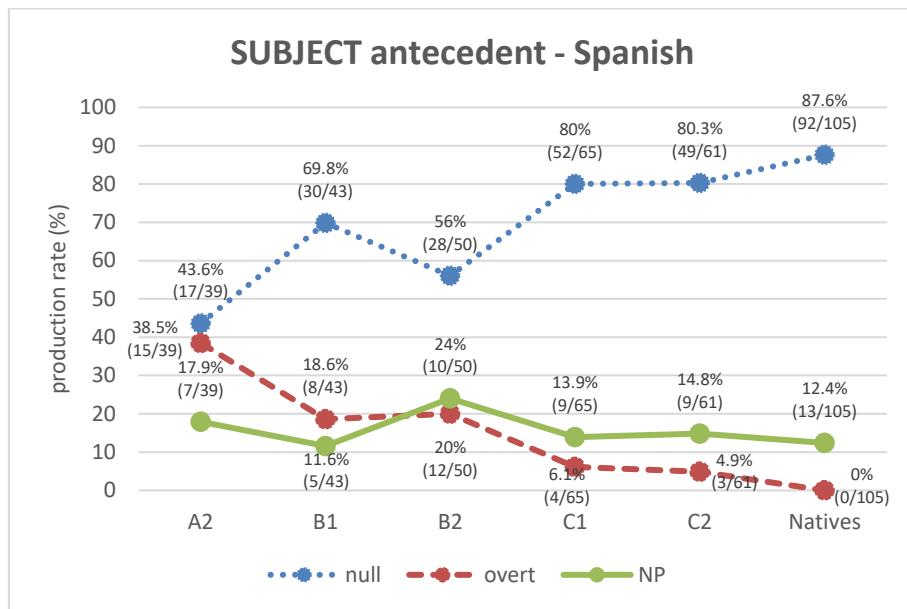


Figure 124. PAS scenario with subject antecedent: REs by group (Study 4).

The results in this subsection confirm **H6a** and **H6b**. Firstly, **H6a** is confirmed because **PAS scenarios** are less frequent than **other AR scenarios** and, crucially, we confirm this in both English and Spanish, which shows that the experimental literature (especially the Spanish one) has overestimated PAS scenarios because PAS scenarios are not frequent in natural production. Additionally, results reveal that **standard PAS scenarios** are more frequent than **complex PAS scenarios** across groups in both languages, but complex PAS scenarios are also produced. Therefore, the PAS can offer more complex scenarios than previously assumed in the literature. Crucially, these results are in line with the results in Study 1 and 3. Therefore, corpus-based methods reveal the importance of investigating a phenomenon in natural production because

the phenomenon can be investigated beyond the sentence level and further insights can be discovered.

Regarding the relation between anaphor and subject antecedent or non-subject antecedent, results show that subject antecedent contexts are more frequent across groups in both languages. These two contexts are related to the information status factor<sup>79</sup> because a topic-continuity context is created when an RE refers back to the subject antecedent and a topic-shift context is created when an RE refers back to a non-subject antecedent (recall from Study 3 that information status and PAS configuration overlap). As we discussed above (cf. 6.1.2, p. 107), the *Charles Chaplin video* promotes more topic-continuity contexts than topic-shift contexts and, thus, more subject antecedent contexts are also produced. Thus, this fact could be related to the task itself and it does not necessarily mean that non-subject antecedent contexts are infrequent because we found non-subject antecedent contexts in Study 3. This would imply that this is not the ideal task if we want to investigate the PAS deeply.

As for the REs produced in **subject antecedent contexts**, H6b was partially confirmed because English natives produce mainly null pronouns followed by overt pronouns and the opposite pattern was expected. This could be due to the fact that these PAS contexts occurred in coordinate sentences, which leads to more null pronouns. Importantly, English L2ers follow the expected pattern and produce mainly overt pronouns followed by overt pronouns and NPs. Therefore, they show the PAS-bias of English and they do not transfer the PAS-bias from their L1 Spanish. Regarding the Spanish production, H6b is confirmed for Spanish natives because they produce almost exclusively null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents. Spanish L2ers produce mainly null pronouns (although percentages varied across groups) and these null pronouns are followed by overt pronouns and NPs in A2 and B1 groups and the other way round for B2, C1 and C2 groups. Therefore, beginner groups show a lack of acquisition of the Spanish PAS-bias, but it is acquired developmentally because the more advanced groups show the natives' bias.

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<sup>79</sup> A parallel can be established here but note that topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts include wider scenarios and are not restricted to scenarios where two antecedents preceding the anaphor should appear.

#### 7.4.5 Summary of findings and highlights of Study 4

Table 45 overleaf summarises the findings of Study 4. Notably, not only did Study 4 corroborate the findings in Study 1-3, but it also revealed new findings (i.e., production of null pronouns in topic shift). If we focus on the overall production of REs, we can see that the overall distribution of REs is different in English natives and in Spanish natives. Additionally, L2ers' overall production of REs is sometimes different from the natives' production. Crucially, the overall production of REs is modulated by several factors in both English and Spanish natives: information status, syntactic configuration, characterhood, number of activated and intervening antecedents, and PAS configuration. The results reveal the production of REs is also modulated by these factors in L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers. Importantly, these L2ers do not always show native-like patterns and native-like attainment is not always possible. Therefore, L2ers show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface, but these deficits depend on the context and the language pair. This shows that there is an asymmetry in the acquisition of REs depending on the language pair. In particular, we find that the production of REs in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers is more amenable to native-like pattern than the production of L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers.

Study 4 has corroborated some of the findings of previous studies in this dissertation and has also shown new findings, so this study has made our findings robust. All the corpus-based findings informed us about the most relevant factors in AR to create the linguistic experiment, which leads us to our final and only experimental study.

Factor	English native speakers	Spanish native speakers	L2 English learners	L2 Spanish learners
No factor (overall production of REs)	<i>overt &gt; NP &gt; null</i>	<i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>	<i>overt &gt; NP &gt; null*</i> (*A2, B1, B2)	A2-B2: <i>NP* &gt; null* &gt; overt*</i> C1-C2: <i>null* &gt; NP &gt; overt*</i>
Information status	Topic continuity		<i>overt* &gt; null* &gt; NP</i> (*B1, B2) (*A2, B1, B2, C2)	A2-B2: <i>null* &gt; overt* &gt; NP</i> C1-C2: <i>null* &gt; NP &gt; overt*</i>
	Topic shift		<i>NP &gt; overt &gt; null</i>	<i>NP &gt; overt* &gt; null*</i> (*B1, B2, C2) (*B1, B2, C1, C2)
Topic continuity and coordinate contexts	<i>null &gt;&gt; overt &gt; NP</i>	<i>null &gt;&gt; NP &gt; overt</i>	<i>null* &gt; overt* &gt; NP</i> B1: <i>overt* &gt; null* &gt; NP</i> (*A2, B1, B2, C1) (*A2, B1, B2, C1)	<i>null* &gt;&gt; NP ≈ overt*</i> (*all groups) (*all groups)
Characterhood	All characters	Chaplin > The woman > Other characters (the man, the baby, the policeman)		
	Chaplin	<i>overt &gt; null ≈ NP</i>	<i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>	A2-B2: <i>overt &gt; NP &gt; null</i> C1-C2: <i>overt &gt; null ≈ NP</i>
	The woman	<i>NP ≈ overt &gt; null</i>	<i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>	<i>NP &gt; overt &gt; null</i> A2, B1: <i>NP &gt; overt ≈ null</i> B2: <i>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</i> C1-C2: <i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>
Activated antecedents	1 act ant	<i>overt &gt; null</i>	<i>null &gt;&gt; NP</i>	<i>null &gt; overt &gt; NP</i>
	2 act ant	<i>overt &gt; NP &gt; null</i>	<i>null &gt;&gt; NP &gt; overt</i>	A2-B2: <i>null &gt; overt &gt; NP</i> C1-C2: <i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>
	3 act ant	<i>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</i>	<i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>	A2-B2: <i>NP &gt; null &gt; overt</i> C1-C2: <i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>
	3+ act ant	<i>NP ≈ overt &gt; null</i>	<i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>	A2-B2: <i>NP &gt; null &gt; overt</i> C1-C2: <i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>
Intervening antecedents	0 int act	<i>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</i>	<i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>	A2-B2: <i>overt &gt; NP &gt; null</i> C1-C2: <i>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</i>
	1 int act	<i>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</i>	<i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>	A2-B2: <i>overt &gt; NP &gt; null</i> C1-C2: <i>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</i>
	2 int act	<i>NP ≈ overt &gt; null</i>	<i>NP &gt; null &gt; overt</i>	A2-B2: <i>overt &gt; NP &gt; null</i> C1-C2: <i>NP &gt; overt &gt; null</i>
PAS	PAS vs. Other AR	Other AR scenarios > PAS scenarios		
	Standard vs. Complex	Standard PAS > Complex PAS		
	Subject vs. Non-subject	Subject antecedent > Non-Subject antecedent		
	REs in Subject ant	<i>null &gt; overt &gt; NP</i>	<i>null &gt;&gt; NP</i>	<i>overt &gt; null &gt; NP</i> A2: <i>null ≈ overt &gt; NP</i> B1: <i>null &gt; overt &gt; NP</i> B2-C2: <i>null &gt; NP &gt; overt</i>

Table 45. Summary of findings in Study 4.

## 7.5 Study 5: experiment

### 7.5.1 Justification

The final aim of this dissertation is to triangulate some of the previous corpus-based findings (Study 1-4) in an experiment. The design of the experiment is informed by our corpus-based findings. Significantly, we previously justified the importance of triangulating corpus and experimental methods in SLA (cf. 2.4.3 Triangulating corpus and experimental data, p. 25). Therefore, our experimental study is the start of such a triangulation process. Crucially, we cannot test all the factors in the corpus-based studies in this dissertation, so the triangulation has not been fully completed in this final study. In fact, this study remains as a pilot study because, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, there were delays in the data collection and not all the data could be gathered (cf. 6.2.3, p. 139). We could have used a data collection server to collect the data online during the quarantine, but we are dealing with reaction times (RTs), which are sensitive measurements and should be gathered *in situ* under lab conditions. Thus, the results presented below should be carefully considered because not all groups include an appropriate number of participants, and the findings should therefore remain as preliminary findings. Although this experimental study remains as a pilot study, the results inform us about AR and offer new insights into the field. The research questions, the method and the results below are restricted to the sample that we could gather. In particular, the sample of Study 5 includes mainly Spanish natives, but also very-advanced<sup>80</sup> L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers.

### 7.5.2 Research questions

The research questions and hypotheses below are motivated by the general research questions and hypotheses in Chapter 5 (p. 97). Here, we provide more specific research questions and hypotheses related to the participants and factors analysed in this particular study.

#### 7.5.2.1 RQ1: Type of RE

The online experimental literature in Spanish natives (*inter alia*: Filiaci et al., 2014; Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011; Keating et al., 2016) has revealed that null pronouns are read faster than overt pronouns and NPs when they bias towards subject-antecedents, which is similar to encounter a topic-continuity context<sup>81</sup>. Additionally, the only experimental study (cf. Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011) including NPs has revealed that NPs are read faster than overt pronouns

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<sup>80</sup> Recall from Chapter 6 (cf. 6.2.3, p. 108) that we target very-advanced L2ers to test the IH and the PPVH.

<sup>81</sup> Recall from results in Study 3 (cf. 7.3.4.4, p. 171) that PAS configuration and information status overlap.

in the very same contexts. As for L2ers, L2 Spanish experimental studies (*inter alia*: Bel, Sagarra, Comínguez, & García-Alcaraz, 2016; Jegerski et al., 2011) have shown that advanced L2ers tend to show the native-like pattern, but showed deficits at the syntax-discourse interface confirming the IH. Importantly, previous experimental studies have not focus on topic continuity and coordinate contexts, as we do in this experiment, in a bidirectional way (L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish). We have evidence of such bidirectional comparisons in our corpus-based studies. In particular, our production data showed that null pronouns were mostly produced in topic-continuity and coordinate contexts in English and Spanish natives and in L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers. In respect to the production of NPs and overt pronouns, the production of NPs was higher than the production of overt pronouns in Spanish, while the production of overt pronouns was higher than NPs in English. Our results revealed that native-like attainment was possible in L2 English because there were no significant differences between very-advanced (*i.e.*, C2) L2ers and natives, while native-like attainment was not possible in L2 Spanish. Our results did not confirm the IH in L2 English (as native-like attainment was possible), which is in line with previous L2 English experimental studies (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017), but it was confirmed in L2 Spanish (as L2ers did not show native-like attainment), which is also in line with L2 Spanish experimental studies investigating topic continuity (among other contexts) (Judy, 2015; Lozano, 2018). Crucially, the IH was proposed for processing rather than for production, so we tested the IH in our experiment further to check whether production data can give us information about the IH. Additionally, the PPVH accounted for our corpus findings and we checked whether it accounts for our experimental findings, as has been done in previous experimental studies (Lozano, 2018). Therefore, we follow the experimental literature and our corpus-based findings and we formulate the following research questions and hypotheses.

**RQ1a:** Keeping the number of activated antecedents constant, does the type of RE affect the reaction time (RT) in Spanish native speakers, very-advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers and very-advanced L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers?

**H1a:** Following the experimental literature and our corpus-based findings, we expect that null pronouns will be read faster than overt pronouns and NP regardless of the number of activated antecedents across the three groups. Regarding overt pronouns and NPs, we expect that NPs will be read faster than overt pronouns in Spanish natives and L2 Spanish L2ers, while overt pronouns will be read faster than NPs in L2 English L2ers. For convenience, we illustrate our conditions in (108), which were presented in Chapter 6 (cf. 6.2.1.3, p. 130).

- (108) a. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw a film the other day and  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> cried a lot.
- b. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw a film the other day and **she**<sub>i</sub> cried a lot.
- c. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw Peter<sub>j</sub> the other day and **Mary**<sub>i</sub> cried a lot.
- a'. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw Peter<sub>j</sub> the other day and  $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> cried a lot.
- b'. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw Peter<sub>j</sub> the other day and **she**<sub>i</sub> cried a lot.
- c'. Mary<sub>i</sub> saw Peter<sub>j</sub> the other day and **Mary**<sub>i</sub> cried a lot.

Considering our six conditions, Table 46 summarises our predictions for RQ1.

Spanish		English	
1 antecedent	2 antecedents	1 antecedent	2 antecedents
A < B (null < overt)	A' < B' (null < overt)	A < B (null < overt)	A' < B' (null < overt)
A < C (null < NP)	A' < C' (null < NP)	A < C (null < NP)	A' < C' (null < NP)
C < B (NP < overt)	C' < B' (NP < overt)	B < C (overt < NP)	B' < C' (overt < NP)

Table 46. Predictions for RQ1.

**RQ1b:** Do the RTs of very-advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish and very-advanced L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers confirm the IH and the PPVH?

**H1b:** Following the experimental literature and our corpus-based findings, we expect that the IH will not be confirmed in L2 English, but it will be confirmed in L2 Spanish. As for the PPVH, we expect that very-advanced L2 English L2ers will have acquired the L2 pragmatic principles in topic continuity and coordinate contexts and will behave in a native-like manner. By contrast, we expect that very-advanced L2 Spanish L2ers will not have acquired the L2 pragmatic principles and will not behave in a native-like manner.

#### 7.5.2.2 RQ2: Number of antecedents

The experimental literature (Arnold & Griffin, 2007; Contemori & Dussias, 2016) has shown that the number of antecedents influence the RT. Likewise, the production literature in Spanish (Lozano, 2016) and our corpus-based findings in English and Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers (across proficiency levels) and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers (across proficiency levels) have shown that the number of antecedents influence the production of REs. As mentioned in the General Method (cf. 6.2.1, p. 125), we focus on the simplest contrast of

antecedents and compare 1 antecedent vs. 2 antecedents. Considering this, we formulate our second research question and hypothesis.

**RQ2:** Keeping the RE constant, does the number of antecedents affect the RT in Spanish native speakers, very-advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers and very-advanced L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers?

**H2:** Considering the experimental and production literature and our corpus-based findings, we expect that the number of antecedents will affect the RT of the different REs across groups. In particular, REs with one antecedent will be read faster than REs with two antecedents, as summarized in Table 47.

REs	
<b>Null</b>	A < A' (1 antecedent < 2 antecedents)
<b>Overt</b>	B < B' (1 antecedent < 2 antecedents)
<b>NP</b>	C < C' (1 antecedent < 2 antecedents)

Table 47. Predictions for RQ2.

### 7.5.3 Method

#### 7.5.3.1 Data collection procedure

The data collection was done at the University of Granada. A call for participation (cf. appendix K, p. 421) was made by sending an email to several mailing lists at the university. The main target population at the University of Granada was Spanish native speakers<sup>82</sup> and very-advanced L1 Spanish-L2 English L2ers. We also expected to find very-advanced L1 English-L2 Spanish L2ers at the University of Granada and also other institutions in Granada. For the English native speakers' group, a research stay in the UK would be needed and this was not possible. As mentioned before in this dissertation, not all the target participants could be reached due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Now, we explain the data collection procedure that we followed at the University of Granada. The email with the call for participation included a link that directed participants to a questionnaire (cf. appendix K, p. 421). Participants (both native speakers and L2ers) had to fill a questionnaire related to their background. In particular, we included questions related to age, gender, actual degree and course, knowledge of other languages, and proficiency level in these

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<sup>82</sup> Recall from Chapter 6 (cf. 6.2.3, p. 133) that Spanish natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers did the experiment in Spanish and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers did the test in English.

languages. L2ers additionally had to complete a placement test<sup>83</sup>. We asked participants to fill the background questionnaire so that we could filter them because there were some requirements to participate. The requirements for participating in the experiment as a native speaker of Spanish were: i) age between 18-30 (to avoid the effect of working memory<sup>84</sup> in people older than 30); ii) lack of knowledge of an additional language or if they knew an additional language, they had to be beginner L2ers (below B1 level); and iii) the courses that participants were attending should be taught in Spanish. For the L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers, the requirements were: i) age between 18-30 (to avoid effect of working memory in people older than 30); ii) high proficiency level (C2 or upper C1) in the L2 (English or Spanish); and iii) the courses that participants were attending should be taught in English (for L2 English L2ers) and in Spanish (for L2 Spanish L2ers). If the participants met the requirements, they received an email to get an appointment and come to the faculty to do the experiment.

Once they arrived at the lab, this was the procedure followed, as explained in Chapter 6 (cf. 6.2.2, p. 133). They first read a consent form and they had to accept it to participate. Then, they read the instructions and they did a practice. While they were doing this, the experimenter was there to resolve any doubts. If everything was clear, they started the experiment<sup>85</sup> on their own. Before doing so, they were given anechoic headphones and they had to use them during the experiment so that they were concentrating because the lab was not soundproof.

### 7.5.3.2 *Participants*

Table 48 shows the participants included in this study (cf. Appendix J, p. 419 for an overview of participants). As we can see, only the Spanish native speakers' group is complete, while the number of participants in the other groups is not sufficient<sup>86</sup>. Therefore, the results below for the Spanish natives are robust, while the results for the L2ers should be carefully considered.

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<sup>83</sup> For the English L2ers, the placement test was the same employed for the COREFL: the Oxford English placement test. For the Spanish L2ers, the placement test was the same used in CEDEL2: the University of Wisconsin Placement Test.

<sup>84</sup> Recall from footnote 42 (p. 103) that the literature has shown that WM plays a role in Anaphora Resolution (*inter alia*: Almor, 1999; Nieuwland & Van Berkum, 2006; Sorace, 2011) and, additionally, WM decays with age (Park et al., 2003).

<sup>85</sup> Recall from section 6.2.2.2 (p. 122) that, in Figure 27 (p. 123), we illustrated a trial of an experimental item. That is the sequence that participants see during the experiment.

<sup>86</sup> Recall from section 6.2.2.2 (p. 122) that the number of participant should be around 10 participants per condition (Keating & Jegerski, 2015). In this experiment, we have 6 conditions so, we need at least 60 participants.

Group	N	Mean age	Mean AoO
Spanish native speakers	67	22.1	NA
L1 English – L2 Spanish	3	26.3	9.3
L1 Spanish – L2 English	19	20.8	5.7

Table 48. Participants in Study 5.

#### 7.5.3.3 Analysis

The process followed to analyse the data is as follows. First, the CVS files generated by *OpenSesame* were converted to EXCEL files. For each subject (i.e., participant), the accuracy rate of the comprehension question was checked and if it was appropriate<sup>87</sup>, the experimental items of such subject were pasted into another EXCEL file. All the valid data were pasted in this EXCEL file. After, all the data in the EXCEL file were exported to SPSS. Secondly, all the valid data were analysed with SPSS. The data were cleaned first and the outliers were removed. To remove the outliers, we removed the cases in which the answer was 3 standard deviations away. When the data were cleaned, a 3 x 2 repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out for each group. Two factors were considered: antecedents (1 antecedent, 2 antecedents) and REs (null, overt, NP). The ANOVA test was used to check whether there was an interaction between these factors. Additionally, multiple comparisons using t-tests were carried out to ascertain whether the differences proposed in the hypotheses above (cf. 7.5.2) were correct. The analyses mainly focused on the RTs of target sentences, but the RTs of the comprehension questions were also analysed in case there were spillover effects. All the analyses were carried out within groups because the number of subjects was not sufficient to carry out between groups' analyses.

#### 7.5.4 Results and discussion

This section firstly shows the results of the ANOVA tests for the target and comprehension question sentences. The target sentence is of particular interest for our results, but we also check the RT for the comprehension question in case that spillover effects were produced. Then, multiple planned contrasts (following the analyses in Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011) were made to answer the research questions above.

Regarding the target sentence, the ANOVA test showed no significant interaction between the two factors (antecedent\*RE) in Spanish native speakers ( $F(1, 66) = 1.871, p=0.176$ ), in very-advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers ( $F(1, 2) = 0.124, p=0.758$ ), and in very-advanced L1

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<sup>87</sup> The accuracy threshold was around 80%. Participants with an accuracy rate below 80% were excluded from the experiment.

Spanish – L2 English L2ers ( $F(1, 18) = 0.090, p=0.768$ ). There was an effect for the RE factor in the Spanish natives' group ( $F(1, 66) = 58.527, p<0.001$ ) and in the L2 English group ( $F(1, 18) = 24.744, p<0.001$ ), but not in the L2 Spanish group ( $F(1, 2) = 9.059, p=0.095$ ). However, there was no effect for the antecedent factor in any of the groups: Spanish native speakers ( $F(1, 66) = 2.482, p=0.120$ ), L2 Spanish L2ers ( $F(1, 2) = 1.757, p=0.316$ ), and L2 English L2ers ( $F(1, 18) = 0.204, p=0.657$ ). Now, we further explore the REs and the number of antecedents in isolation in the target sentence to answer our two research questions. The ANOVA revealed that there is an effect on the RE only, but we also explore the number of activate antecedents to check how close the  $p$  values are to encounter a significant difference. Importantly, there was no interaction between factors and no effect of factors in the comprehension question, so we do not carry our additional analyses below for the comprehension question.

#### 7.5.4.1 Type of RE

This subsection addresses research questions 1a and 1b. Therefore, we firstly show the RT of the REs keeping the number of activated antecedents constant to check whether there is an effect of the type of RE. We show the RTs of the REs with 1 antecedent, and then show the RTs of the REs with 2 antecedents. These results are shown in Spanish natives, very-advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and very-advanced L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. Then, we discuss whether these results confirm the IH and the PPVH.

Figure 125 shows that **Spanish natives** read null pronouns (1483.28 ms) faster than overt pronouns (1680.64 ms) and NPs (1699.3 ms) with **1 antecedent**. The t-test shows that there are significant differences between null and overt pronouns ( $t(66) = -3.656; p = .001$ ) and between null and NPs ( $t(66) = -4.339; p <.001$ ), but there are no significant differences between overt pronouns and NPs ( $t(66) = -0.426; p = .671$ ).

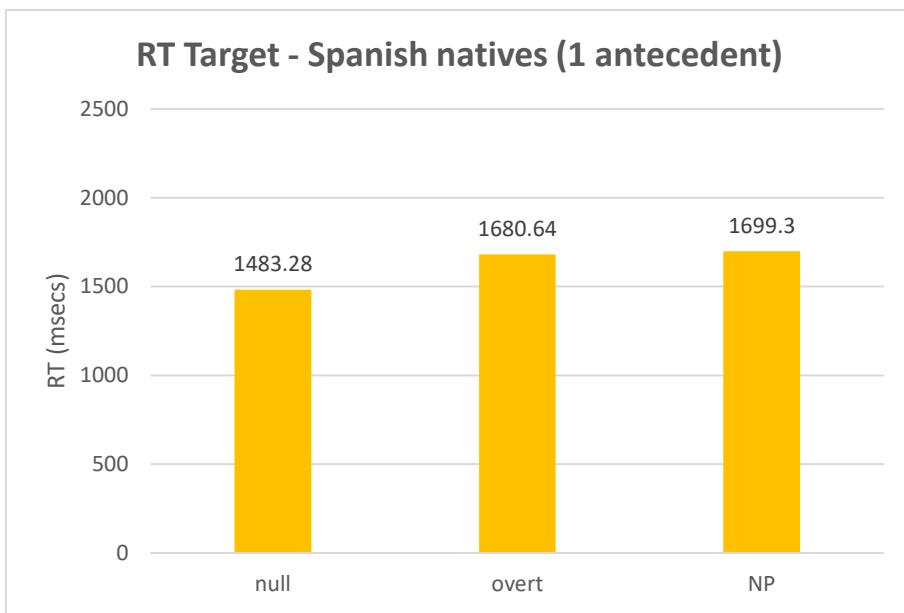


Figure 125. RTs of REs in target sentence with 1 antecedent (Spanish natives).

Figure 126 shows that Spanish natives read null pronouns (1476.23 ms) faster than overt pronouns (1750.67 ms) and NPs (1784.58 ms) with 2 antecedents. The t-test shows that there are significant differences between null and overt pronouns ( $t (66) = -5.684; p <.001$ ) and between null and NPs ( $t (66) = -6.652; p <.001$ ), but there are no significant differences between overt pronouns and NPs ( $t (66) = -0.948; p = .347$ ).

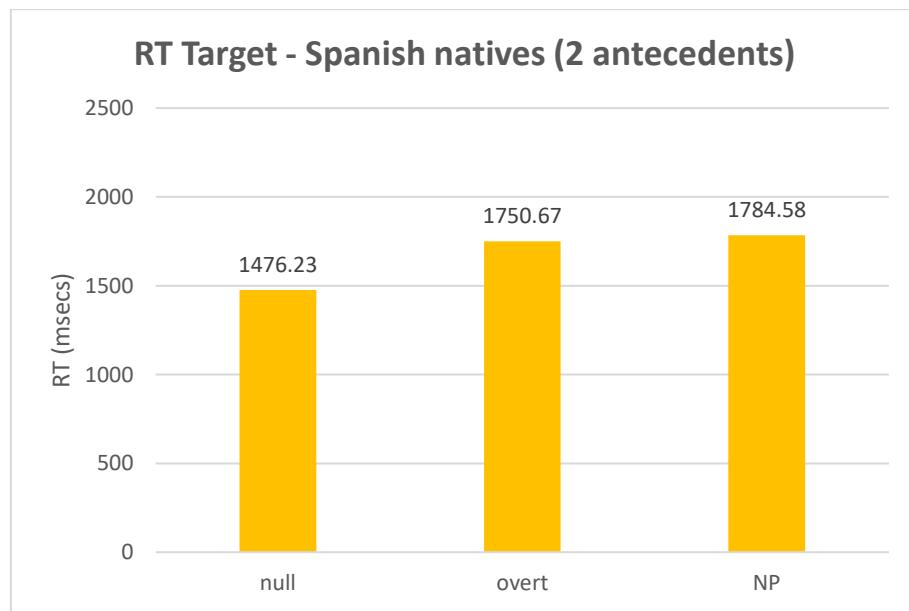


Figure 126. RTs of REs in target sentence with 2 antecedents (Spanish natives).

Figure 127 shows that **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** read null pronouns (1675.94 ms) faster than overt pronouns (1985.5 ms) and NPs (2192.16 ms) with **1 antecedent**. The t-test shows that there are significant differences between null and overt pronouns ( $t (2) = -5.127; p = .036$ ), but

there are no significant differences between null and NPs ( $t(2) = -2.279; p = .150$ ) and between overt pronouns and NPs ( $t(2) = -0.740; p = .537$ ). Importantly, results here include three participants only, so the statistical tests are not completely reliable.

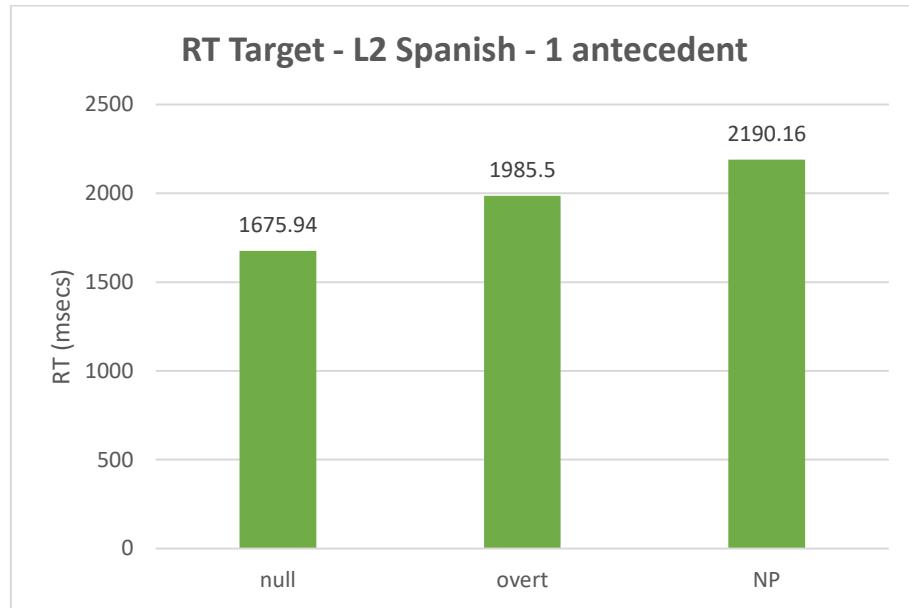


Figure 127.RTs of REs in target sentence with 1 antecedent (L2 Spanish).

Figure 128 shows that **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** read null pronouns (1816.45 ms) faster than overt pronouns (2459.61 ms) and NPs (2268.61 ms) with **2 antecedents**. Importantly, the t-test shows that there are no significant differences between null and overt pronouns ( $t(2) = -2.572; p = .124$ ), between null and NPs ( $t(2) = -3.555; p = .071$ ), and between overt pronouns and NPs ( $t(2) = 0.591; p = .614$ ).

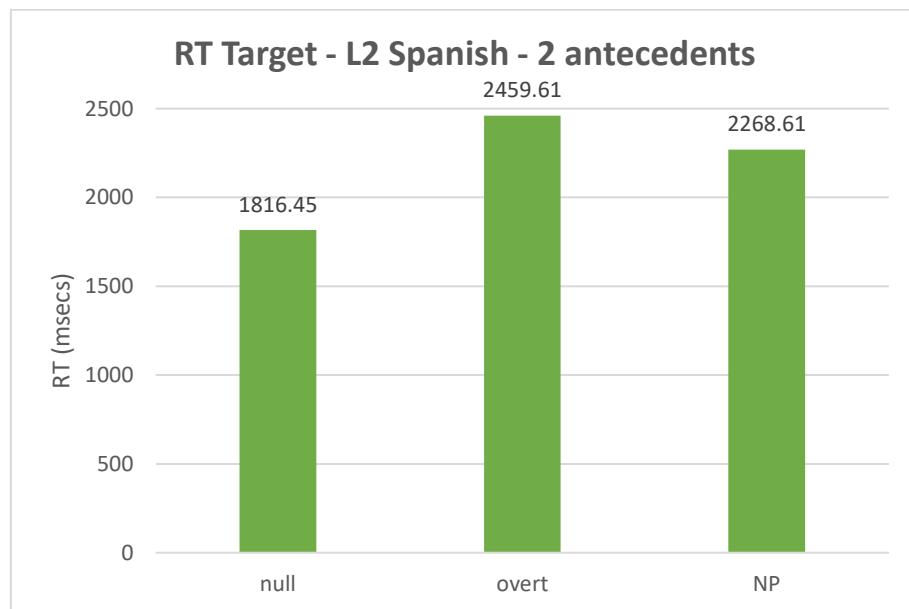


Figure 128. RTs of REs in target sentence with 2 antecedents (L2 Spanish).

Figure 129 shows that **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** read null pronouns (1459.94 ms) faster than overt pronouns (1720.43 ms) and NPs (1774.6 ms) with **1 antecedent**. Importantly, the t-test shows that there are significant differences between null and overt pronouns ( $t (18) = -2.903; p = .009$ ) and between null and NPs ( $t (18) = -3.506; p = .003$ ), but there are no significant differences between overt pronouns and NPs ( $t (18) = -0.600; p = .556$ ).

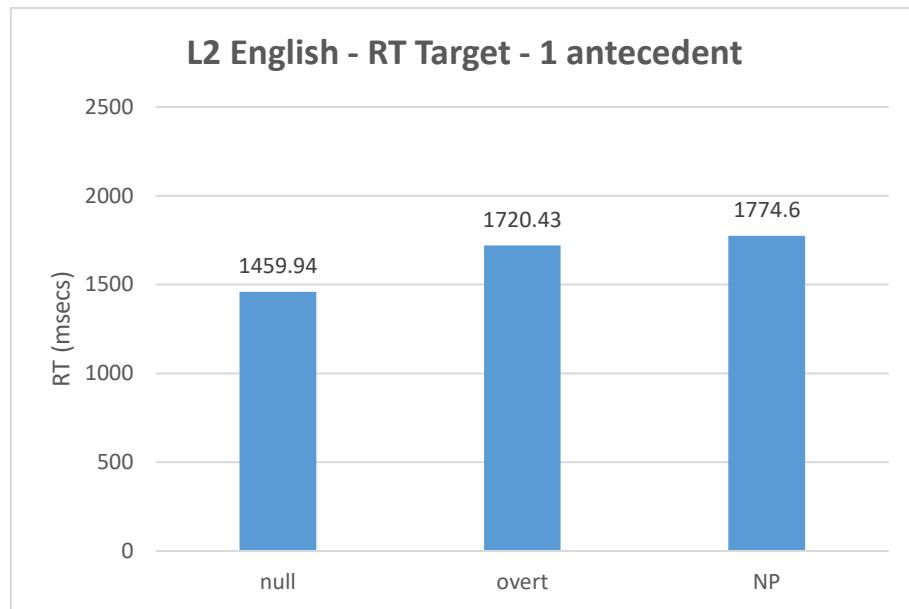


Figure 129. RTs of REs in target sentence with 1 antecedent (L2 English).

Figure 130 shows that **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** read null pronouns (1526.31 ms) faster than overt pronouns (1708.81 ms) and NPs (1789.14 ms) with **2 antecedents**. Importantly, the t-test shows that there are significant differences between null and overt pronouns ( $t (18) = -2.940; p = .009$ ) and between null and NPs ( $t (18) = -2.252; p = .037$ ), but there are no significant differences between overt pronouns and NPs ( $t (18) = -0.709; p = .487$ ).

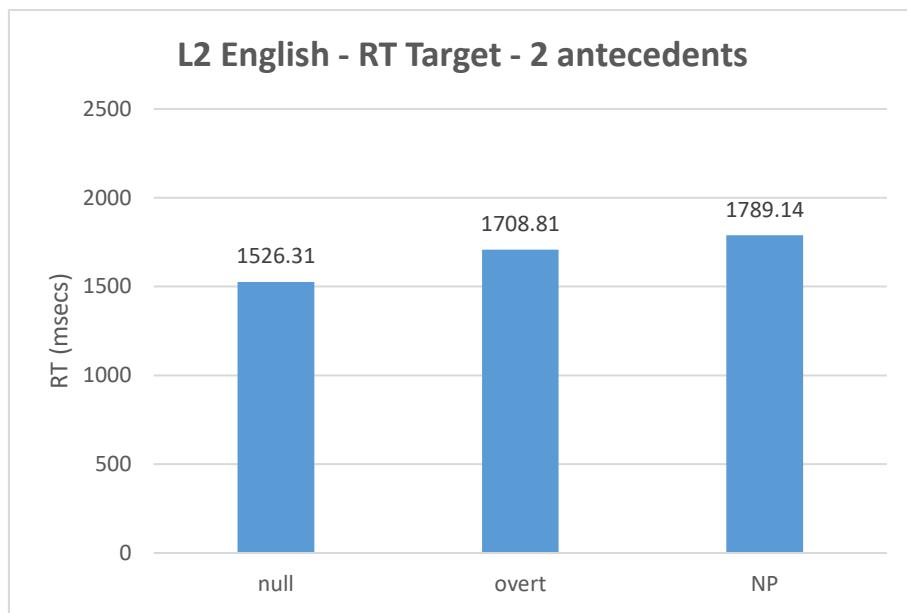


Figure 130. RTs of REs in target sentence with 2 antecedents (L2 English).

The results in **Spanish natives** partially confirm **H1a** because null pronouns are read faster than overt pronouns and NPs regardless of the number of activated antecedents and there are significant differences between them, but there are no differences between overt and NP. The lack of significance between overt and NPs is opposite to our production findings in Spanish (as we showed that the production of NPs was higher than the production of overt pronouns in these contexts) and is opposite to Gerlormini-Lezama and Almor (2011)'s study considering NPs (as they found that NPs were read faster than overt pronouns). Importantly, Gerlormini-Lezama and Almor (2011)'s study included inter-sentential sentences and we include intra-sentential sentences. Additionally, the type of resolution is different in their study compared to our study. Considering the RTs of null pronouns, these results are in line with the production studies in this dissertation and confirm that null pronouns are clear markers of topic continuity and coordinate contexts in Spanish and English. Regarding overt and NPs, overt pronouns are hardly produced by Spanish natives in topic continuity, while NPs are produced. However, overt and NP are processed in a similar manner in comprehension. This is an interesting finding because the Spanish experimental literature (cf. 4.2, p. 73) has considered null and overt pronouns and have overlooked the role of NPs. Here, results show that NPs can be considered anaphoric forms and their processing is similar to the processing of overt pronouns. The difference between overt and NP would be more interesting in topic-shift contexts, but we leave this for future research.

Regarding the very-advanced **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers**, results show that they read null pronouns faster than overt pronouns and NPs with 1 and 2 antecedents (as natives do). Overt pronouns are read faster than NPs with 1 antecedent, but NPs are read faster than overt

pronouns with 2 antecedents. Importantly, there are no significant differences between the different REs, which could indicate that L2ers process all the REs similarly and, thus, H1a is not confirmed. Crucially, these results are not completely reliable because we only have three participants, but we will start making assumptions of what we can find when we have enough data. Therefore, these preliminary findings initially reveal that L2ers do not behave in a native-like manner and could confirm H1b: i) the PPVH is confirmed because L2ers' processing of overt pronouns and NPs is similar to null pronouns, which confirms the redundancy strategy found in the corpus-based studies above; and ii) the IH is confirmed because L2ers do not show native-like processing at the syntax-discourse interface.

As for the **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers**, results reveal that null pronouns are read faster than overt pronouns and NPs and these differences are statistically significant, while overt pronouns are read faster than NPs, but these differences are not significant. As in Spanish natives, H1a is partially confirmed because only null pronouns are statistically different from overt pronouns and NPs and, thus, null pronouns are clear markers of topic continuity and coordinate contexts in English. These results should be carefully considered because the sample includes only 19 participants and we do not have the control group of English natives. However, we can start making assumptions of what we will find when we have collected all the groups. If English natives would also show that null pronouns are clear cases of topic continuity and coordinate contexts and the RTs of null pronouns would be statistically different from the RTs of overt pronouns and NPs, the IH would not be confirmed in L2 English because these very-advanced L2 English L2ers would show native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse interface. As for the PPVH, very-advanced L2 English L2ers would also show that the acquisition of pragmatic principles is possible in L2 English. These two assumptions would confirm H1b.

#### *7.5.4.2 Number of antecedents*

This subsection addresses research question and hypothesis 2. We show the RTs depending on the number of antecedents and we keep constant the type of REs. We show the results of Spanish natives, very-advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and very-advanced L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers.

Figure 131 shows that **Spanish natives** read null pronouns with 2 antecedents (1476.23 ms) faster than null pronouns with 1 antecedent (1483.28 ms), but there are no significant differences between them ( $t (66) = 0.135; p = .893$ ). Overt pronouns are read faster with 1 antecedent (1680.64 ms) than with 2 antecedents (1750.67 ms), but there are no significant differences between them ( $t (66) = -1.443; p = .154$ ). Likewise, NPs are read faster with 1

antecedent (1699.3 ms) than with 2 antecedents (1784.58 ms), but there are no significant differences between them ( $t(66) = -1.934; p = .057$ ).

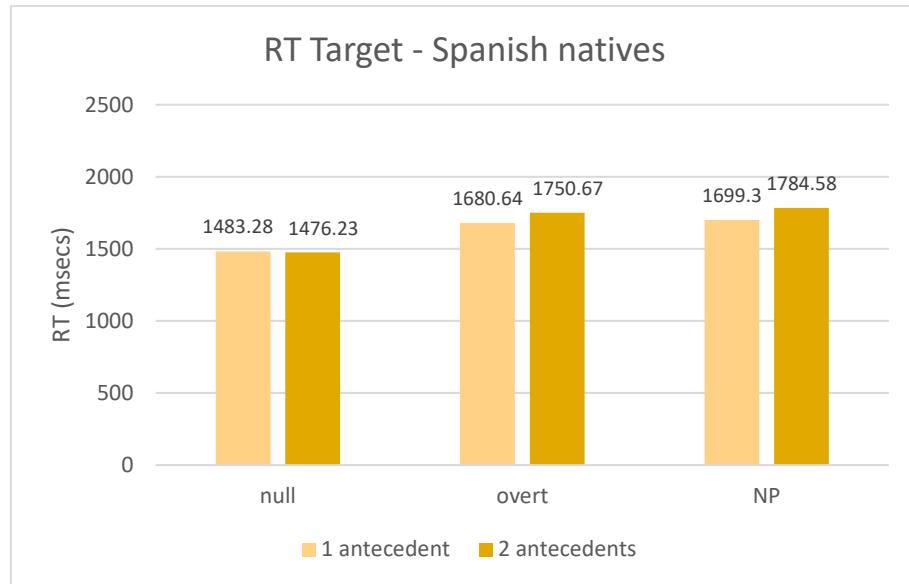


Figure 131. RTs of REs depending on number of antecedents (Spanish natives).

Figure 132 shows that **very-advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** read null pronouns with 1 antecedent (1675.94 ms) faster than null pronouns with 2 antecedents (1816.45 ms), but there are no significant differences between them ( $t(2) = -0.836; p = .491$ ). Overt pronouns are read faster with 1 antecedent (1985.5 ms) than with 2 antecedents (2459.61 ms), but there are no significant differences between them ( $t(2) = -1.972; p = .187$ ). Likewise, NPs are read faster with 1 antecedent (2190.16 ms) than with 2 antecedents (2268.61 ms), but there are no significant differences between them ( $t(2) = -0.254; p = .823$ ).

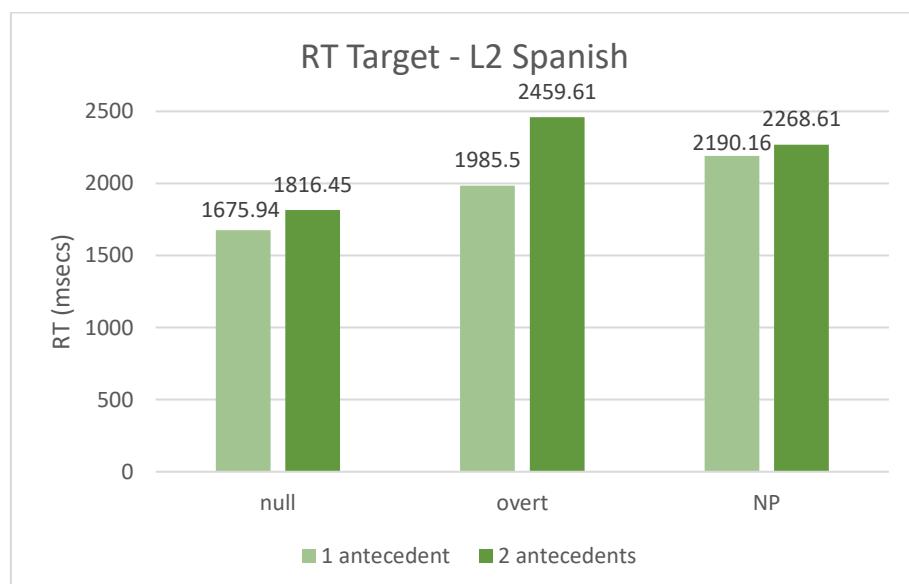


Figure 132. RTs of REs depending on number of antecedents (L2 Spanish).

Figure 133 shows that very-advanced **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** read null pronouns with 1 antecedent (1459.94 ms) faster than null pronouns with 2 antecedents (1526.31 ms), but there are no significant differences between them ( $t(18) = -0.910; p = .375$ ). Overt pronouns are read faster with 2 antecedents (1708.81 ms) than with 1 antecedent (1720.43 ms), but there are no significant differences between them ( $t(18) = -0.161; p = .874$ ). NPs are read faster with 1 antecedent (1774.6 ms) than with 2 antecedents (1789.14 ms), but there are no significant differences between them ( $t(18) = -0.108; p = .915$ ).

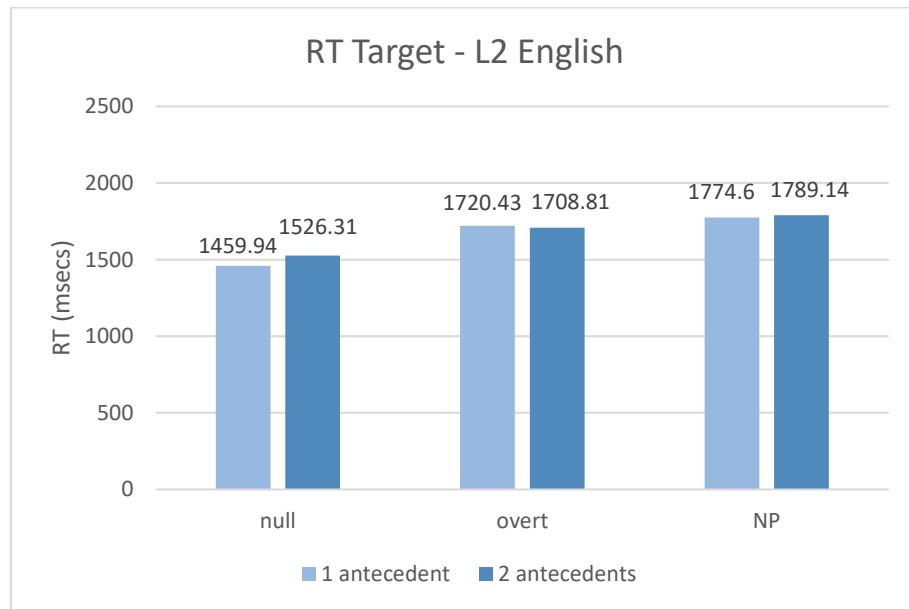


Figure 133. RTs of REs depending on number of antecedents (L2 English).

The results in this section do not confirm **H2** because target sentences with 1 antecedent are read faster than sentences with 2 antecedents across groups (except for null pronouns in Spanish natives and overt pronouns in L2 English L2ers), but these differences are not statistically significant. These results would initially seem to contradict our corpus-based studies because there is no effect of number of antecedents, but if we have a close look at them, we observe that these findings are in fact in line with our corpus-based findings. Recall from Study 4, that a high number of activated and intervening antecedents triggered a high production of NPs (cf. 7.4.4.5, p. 252). Importantly, the differences between 1 and 2 activated antecedents or between 0 and 1 intervening antecedents, which are the number of antecedents included in this experiment (cf. 6.1.4.6, p. 118 for an explanation and illustration of activated and intervening antecedents), were not particularly significant. Despite this, we decided to focus on the simplest combination of antecedents because we would expect extra processing costs in an online experiment. In this experiment, we have 1 activated antecedent and 0 intervening antecedents in conditions *a*, *b* and *c* (83, p. 131), while we have 2 activated antecedents and 1 intervening

antecedent in conditions *a'*, *b'* and *c'* (83, p. 131). Our corpus-based findings showed that the differences in the production of REs between 1 and 2 activated antecedents and between 0 and 1 intervening antecedents were not as high as the differences in the production of REs with more than 2 activated antecedents or 1 intervening antecedents. All in all, our experimental findings would show that the processing of REs resembles the production of REs and the difference between 1 and 2 activated antecedents (or 0 and 1 intervening antecedents) does not affect REs. Thus, future researcher is needed to make further comparisons with more than 2 activated antecedents (and 1 intervening antecedents) to check whether there is an effect there.

### 7.5.5 Summary of findings and highlights of Study 5

The experimental study focused on topic continuity and coordinate contexts and tested two factors: type of REs (null vs. overt vs. NP) and number of antecedents (1 antecedent vs. 2 antecedents). The results revealed that there was no interaction between type of RE and number of antecedents in any of the groups, but there was an effect on the type of RE in the Spanish natives and in the L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. In particular, these two groups read null pronouns faster than overt pronouns and NPs with 1 and 2 antecedents and this difference was statistically significant. By contrast, the L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers' group processed all REs in a similar manner and there were no significant differences. Although these results should be carefully considered (due to the small number of participants in two of the groups), they showed that null pronouns were clear markers of topic continuity and coordinate contexts both in Spanish natives and in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. Additionally, these results initially suggested that L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers did not show a native-like attainment of REs as they processed all REs in a similar manner, which would confirm the IH and the PPVH. Additionally, our experimental findings revealed that the difference between 1 antecedent vs. 2 antecedents does not affect the processing of REs, which was unexpected, but confirmed our corpus findings.

This is the last study in this dissertation and, now, we turn to the general discussion of all the studies in this chapter.



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## Chapter 8. General discussion

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This section discusses all the results in the five studies shown above (cf. Chapter 7) and answers the general research questions addressed above (cf. Chapter 5). Each specific subsection in this chapter will address each of the research questions in Chapter 5 and a general discussion is presented for each research question.

### 8.1 Factors that constrain AR

This section addresses the set of questions in RQ1 posed in our general research questions section in Chapter 5 (cf. 5.1, p. 97). The results above revealed that the production of REs is constrained by multiple factors, which confirms the general **H1a** (i.e., multiple factors will constrain the production of REs). For each corpus-based study, the overall production of REs was shown. Results revealed how the pattern of production in the overall production changed depending on each factor (i.e., information status, activated and intervening antecedents, syntactic configuration, verb semantics and resolution type, characterhood, and picture transition). Some of the factors were previously reported by cognitive models (cf. 3.2.2, p. 44 for an overview of cognitive models) and production studies on AR (cf. 4.1.2, p. 65 and 4.2.2, p. 78 for a review of corpus-based studies on AR). In our corpus-based studies, there were, however, some new findings (e.g., picture transition or PAS scenarios). Crucially, another novelty in this dissertation is that these factors were investigated systematically in a unified way across the different studies and bidirectionally in two different language pairs (L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish). We found that these factors affected the production of REs in both languages (English natives and L2ers, and Spanish natives and L2ers). Importantly though, results revealed that i) not all factors were equally problematic for L2ers and, crucially, ii) these difficulties among L2ers varied depending on the language pair (L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish), which confirms the general **H1b** (i.e., L2ers' production will vary depending on the factor and not all factors will be equally problematic). Finally, topic-continuity and coordinate contexts with 1 and 2 activated antecedents were tested in the experiment (i.e., Study 5) and it was shown that the processing of REs was partially affected by these factors, which partially confirms the general **H1c** (i.e., the processing of REs will be affected depending

on the factor that we will manipulate). Next, in the following subsections, the different factors that constrain REs both in production and comprehension are further discussed.

### 8.1.1 Information status

This factor has not been addressed in production studies in L2 English, but it has been addressed in L2 Spanish production (see Lozano, 2021a for an overview). Results from the different corpus-based studies in this dissertation showed that i) REs were constrained by the information status factor (topic continuity and topic shift) and ii) there was a division of labour of REs in topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts. Additionally, this division of labour differed depending on the language (English vs. Spanish).

In **English**, results revealed that both L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers and English natives produced mainly overt pronouns, followed by null pronouns and NPs in **topic-continuity** contexts, while they produced mainly NPs followed by overt pronouns and some null pronouns (depending on the study) in **topic-shift** contexts. These results were in line with previous L2 English production studies that found higher production of overt and null pronouns in topic continuity (Leclercq & Lenart, 2013; Ryan, 2015), but other studies found higher production of overt pronouns and NPs in topic continuity (Crosthwaite, 2011; Hendriks, 2003). Importantly, not all these studies investigated information status as we did<sup>88</sup>, which could explain these contradictory results. Crucially, the production of REs in topic continuity was **developmental** (i.e., L2ers showed native-like patterns as their proficiency increased) and there were significant differences between different groups of L2ers and natives. Importantly, results also revealed that both contexts were not problematic in L2 English. In topic-shift contexts, the production of REs was similar across groups and there were no significant differences between English L2ers and English natives.

In **Spanish**, L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and Spanish natives produced mainly null pronouns followed by NPs and overt pronouns<sup>89</sup> in **topic-continuity** contexts, while, in **topic-shift** contexts, they (natives and L2ers) produced mainly NPs. In Spanish natives, the production of NPs in topic shift is followed by null pronouns and overt pronouns, while, in L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers, NPs are followed by overt pronouns and null pronouns. L2ers' production of REs in topic-continuity contexts was significantly different (even at very-advanced levels) from natives' production both in Study 3 and Study 4, which confirms previous experimental and production

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<sup>88</sup> They considered coreferential and non-coreferential contexts that, strictly speaking, are not exactly the same as topic continuity and topic shift.

<sup>89</sup> Note that there is variability across proficiency levels in the production of overt pronouns and NPs in topic-continuity contexts among L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers.

studies (inter alia: Blackwell & Quesada, 2012; Judy, 2015; Lozano, 2016, 2018; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020). The production of null pronouns in topic-shift contexts, especially in Spanish, was a new finding in this dissertation. Such production of null pronouns has been previously reported in the literature (inter alia: Blackwell & Quesada, 2012; Lozano, 2016; Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006), but this issue has not received sufficient attention. The production literature has typically reported native-like attainment in topic-shift contexts (Lozano, 2016) and we found so in Study 3, but not in Study 4. The experimental literature has reported acceptance of null pronouns in topic-shift contexts in natives and L2ers (Judy, 2015), which could indicate that null pronouns in topic shift can be possible. In fact, we showed in Study 4 (cf. 7.4.4.2, p. 225) that null pronouns in topic shift are produced, but, importantly, can be eventually resolved by different mechanisms (i.e., verb semantics, morphosyntax, world knowledge, etc.). This finding is essential because i) it justifies the importance of investigating AR in natural production because the contexts provided by the corpus data reveals how the anaphor is eventually resolved; and ii) it shows that AR can be more complex than previously assumed. This finding is further discussed in the following subsections (cf. 8.1.4 and 8.1.5)

All in all, these results revealed that there is a **division of labour** of REs in topic continuity and in topic shift in native English and native Spanish. In particular, results showed that, in **English**, overt pronouns and null pronouns are mainly produced in topic continuity, but NPs and overt pronouns are mainly produced in topic shift, while, in **Spanish**, null pronouns are mainly produced in topic continuity, but NPs and overt pronouns are produced in topic shift. Crucially, we showed that that NPs are anaphoric forms and play an important role in such division of labour, which has been overlooked in the literature (Lozano, 2016).

As for **L2ers**, L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers across groups showed significant differences in the production of REs in topic-continuity contexts across studies, but not in topic-shift contexts (except for the Spanish natives and some L2ers in Study 4), which indicates that not all anaphora resolution contexts at the syntax-discourse interface are equally problematic (Lozano, 2016) and, thus, topic-continuity contexts are more difficult to be fully acquired. Crucially, Spanish L2ers also showed significant differences in topic-shift contexts in Study 4. The production of null pronouns in topic-shift contexts was a new finding in this study and results revealed that L2ers found it difficult to acquire the use of these null pronouns, which again confirms that **AR** can be more **complex** than initially assumed. However, further research would be needed to account for the production of null pronouns in topic-shift contexts.

When it comes to the **comprehension** of REs (i.e., experiment in Study 5), results also revealed that information status (in particular, topic continuity and coordinate contexts) is a key combination of factors that constrains the processing of REs. **Spanish native** speakers processed

null pronouns faster than overt pronouns and NPs in topic continuity, which is in line with previous experimental studies (Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011). Regarding the RTs of overt pronouns and NPs, overt pronouns were read faster than NPs (which is contrary to Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011), but there were no significant differences between these two REs. As for L2ers, **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** showed faster RTs in null pronouns but there were no significant differences between the different REs (i.e., null vs. overt vs. NP). These are preliminary findings because the data collected was insufficient (due to the COVID-19 pandemic), but this could be related to i) the acceptance of redundant overt pronouns in topic continuity found in previous L2 Spanish experimental studies (Judy, 2015; Lozano, 2018); and ii) the production of redundant REs found in previous L2 Spanish production studies (Lozano, 2016; Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020). If L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers accept and produce redundant overt pronouns, it could be the case that, in topic continuity, the processing of overt pronouns would be similar to the processing of null pronouns, though further research would be needed to confirm this. **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** showed faster RTs for null pronouns (compared to the RTs of overt pronouns and NPs) and this was statistically significant. These findings are in line with the production results in Study 4 and this would imply that L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers had acquired the pragmatics of REs in English and know that null pronouns can occur in topic continuity and coordinate contexts. However, these are very preliminary findings and are not conclusive due to the small number of participants (3 L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers, 19 L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers, and no English natives). Thus, the experimental study included very preliminary findings, but they tentatively showed that the processing of REs is affected by information status and in particular topic-continuity and coordinate contexts, which was shown in our corpus-based findings in Study 1, 2, 3 and 4.

To conclude with this factor, we found that the information status is a factor in AR and, additionally, it can be more or less complex for L2ers depending on the language pair because only topic continuity was problematic in L1 Spanish – L2 English, while both topic continuity and topic shift were problematic in L1 English – L2 Spanish. These differences between language pairs will be further discussed in section 8.2 (p. 294). Additionally, the IH and the PPVH will also account for these findings in section 8.3 (p. 297).

### 8.1.2 Activated and intervening antecedents

Previous studies have shown the effect of the number of activated antecedents on REs in English and Spanish natives and L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers (Arnold & Griffin, 2007; Contemori et al., 2019; Lozano, 2016). Additionally, the antecedent factor has been investigated by means of intervening antecedents (Torregrossa et al., 2015, 2019) (cf. 3.1.3, p. 35 and 6.1.4.5, p. 116 for

an overview of activated and intervening antecedents). In this dissertation, we initially investigated the factor of the number of **activated antecedents** in Study 1 and further explored this factor, together with the number of **intervening antecedents**, in Study 4. Results in Study 1 timidly suggested that the number of activated antecedents was a factor that affected the production of REs and these findings were robust in Study 4. In particular, results in Study 4 showed that a high number of activated antecedents triggered a high production of NPs and this was shown across all groups of L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and English and Spanish natives. Similarly, results in Study 4 showed that a high number of intervening antecedents triggered a high production of NPs across the same groups. Therefore, all these findings show that the number of activated and intervening antecedents is a **universal cognitive factor** that modulates AR. In particular, the higher the number of antecedents, the higher the cognitive load, and a bigger cognitive load implies the use of fuller REs regardless of the group (natives vs. L2ers) and L2ers' proficiency level. This is a crucial finding that has not been reported in the production literature before. The Spanish literature reported the effect of potential antecedents (cf. Lozano, 2016) (which is the same as our activated antecedents), but this effect was found according to the information status (i.e., in topic shift, the higher the number of potential antecedents, the fuller the RE), while, in Study 4, the effect was found without considering the information status. Therefore, we showed that the effect of activated and intervening antecedents is a factor in its own right and there is no interplay between the antecedent factor and other factors (such as the information status).

When it comes to the processing (i.e., Study 5) of the REs depending on the number of activated antecedents (1 antecedent vs. 2 antecedents), Study 5 showed that there were no significant differences in the processing of REs depending on this factor across groups of Spanish natives, L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. Even though corpus findings showed that differences between 1 and 2 antecedents were weaker than differences with 2 antecedents or more antecedents, we decided to keep the simplest comparison of antecedents (1 vs. 2) because online processing would require an extra cognitive load and because we did not want to make the design of the experiment too complex. Surprisingly, this was not the case because there were no differences between 1 and 2 antecedents, which would be in line with our corpus findings. So, future experimental research needs to make further comparisons with more antecedents to check whether a high number of antecedents influences the processing of REs.

### 8.1.3 Syntactic configuration

Several findings across the different studies showed that the type of syntactic configuration in which the anaphor appears also constrains the production of REs. This was a novelty in this dissertation because previous production studies (cf. Chapter 4 for an overview) have seldom addressed this factor as we have done here.

Firstly, let's consider **PAS scenarios**. Results showed that PAS scenarios were not as frequent as previously assumed in the Spanish experimental literature, although the production of REs was constrained by the PAS configuration, as shown in previous experimental PAS studies in English and Spanish (inter alia: Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017; Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011; Keating et al., 2016). In **English**, both English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers produced mainly overt pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents, while they produced mainly NPs biasing towards non-subject antecedents. Other REs biasing towards subject and non-subject antecedents were produced (i.e., null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents and overt pronouns biasing towards non-subject antecedents), but the production varied depending on the group proficiency level. These results showed that English L2ers had acquired an English PAS-bias and were not transferring from their L1 Spanish because they did not show high production of null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents, which is in line with previous experimental studies in L2 English (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017). Such experimental studies only included overt pronouns to test the PAS-bias but, crucially, we showed in our studies that **NPs** were also produced in PAS contexts, which again indicates the importance of using corpus-based methods to investigate linguistic phenomena (such as AR).

In **Spanish**, **Spanish natives** showed a clear division of labour of PAS, as they produced mainly null pronouns biasing towards subject antecedents and overt pronouns and NPs towards non-subject antecedents. This is in line with the confirmation of the division of labour of PAS that was found in two online experimental studies (Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011; Keating et al., 2016). Crucially, NPs were also included in one of these studies (Gelormini-Lezama & Almor, 2011). Thus, the division of labour of PAS scenarios is possible in Spanish, but we must crucially include **NPs** in such division of labour. **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** showed different patterns of production depending on the level, but they tended to show a native division of labour as their proficiency level increased. However, the production of our L2ers is not native-like even at advanced levels, which is in line with previous L2 Spanish studies (cf. Jegerski et al., 2011; Keating et al., 2011). Thus, the syntactic configuration is also a problematic factor for Spanish L2ers.

In addition to the PAS configuration, the **type of sentences** (i.e., **inter-sentential vs. intra-sentential**) employed in PAS contexts **also** affected the production of REs and this was observed in Study 3. In particular, Spanish natives and some L2ers' groups changed the division of labour in non-subject antecedent depending on the sentence because **intra-sentential** sentences triggered a higher production of overt pronouns than NPs biasing towards non-subject antecedent, while **inter-sentential** sentences triggered a higher production of NPs than overt pronouns biasing towards non-subject antecedent. Crucially, the PAS studies reviewed in Chapter 4 (cf. 4.2.4) did not consider NPs and some included inter-sentential sentences, while others included intra-sentential sentences. As we showed, the type of REs and sentences could be influencing the results, so these aspects should be considered in the design of a future experiment investigating the PAS.

Secondly, the type of sentence in general (and not focusing on PAS contexts only) was shown to affect the production of REs. To check this, a contrast between **coordinate vs. not coordinate sentences** was carried out. Results revealed that i) **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** and **English natives** produced null pronouns in coordinate sentences only; and ii) **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** produced more null pronouns in coordinate sentences than in not coordinate sentences, while **Spanish natives** produced null pronoun both in coordinate and not coordinate sentences. These findings are reasonable in L2 English because null pronouns can be produced in topic continuity and coordinate sentences only, but they are not reasonable in L2 Spanish because null pronouns are allowed irrespectively of the type of sentence in native Spanish. Therefore, these findings were crucial to reveal that L2 Spanish L2ers (especially at beginner levels) transferred the use of null pronouns from their L1 English, while it was not the case for English L2ers. This asymmetry is further developed below in 8.2 (p. 294). In this dissertation, we crucially showed that the syntactic configuration is another problematic factor for L2ers, but, importantly, it is only problematic for Spanish L2ers.

### 8.1.4 Verb semantics and resolution type

As mentioned in the factors section in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.5, p. 38), the semantics of the verb can affect the RE and this was corroborated with Spanish data in Study 3. In particular, results in Study 3 showed production of **null pronouns** in **topic-shift** contexts, but such null pronouns disappeared when we did not include REs that were resolved via semantics. Considering this finding, we further investigated the resolution types in Study 4 and also found an effect on the production of REs depending on the resolution type in English and Spanish. In Study 4, results showed that null pronouns in topic-shift contexts were produced in Spanish and also in English.

As we saw in the results in Study 4 (cf. 7.4.4.2, p. 225), most of these null pronouns were resolved via not only the semantics (i.e., world knowledge or verb semantics), but also via morphosyntax.

These findings could be partially explained in terms of the **task type**. In Study 3, the task employed was more open (as each participant could retell any film), while, in Study 4, the task was the same for all the participants (the Charles Chaplin video). Curiously, the production of null pronouns in topic shift was less frequent and more related to the verb semantics in Study 3 than in Study 4. Thus, the task employed in Study 3 triggered the production of directives verbs and REs were semantically resolved. By contrast, most of the null pronouns in topic shift in Study 4 were resolved via world knowledge. The task in Study 4 included a clear main character (*Chaplin*) and this makes participants to be less explicit and use minimal REs (when referring to this character<sup>90</sup>) in contexts where full REs would be expected. This is developed further in our next subsection (cf. 8.1.5). Therefore, the task could be playing a role in the way that speakers resolve the anaphor and an interplay between factors seems to occur here.

### 8.1.5 Characterhood

Previous studies in the literature (Kang, 2004; Montrul & Rodríguez Louro, 2006) have shown that the type of characters in the story could influence the type of REs, as discussed in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.6, p. 39). Study 1 and 2 used the same task as in Kang (2004) (*Frog, where are you?*) and, initially, her results seemed to be replicated in this dissertation. In particular, there seems to be characterhood effect because English natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers produced full REs (i.e., NPs) to refer to the [- human] characters (i.e., *the frog* and *the dog*), while they produced less explicit REs (i.e., overt pronouns) to refer to the [+ human] character (i.e., *the boy*). Importantly, Kang (2004) did not analyse the production of REs according to information status so she could not further check whether the production of REs according to information status was maintained regardless of the character. Crucially, we additionally focused on one character only (i.e., *the boy*) and checked whether the production of REs according to information status was maintained as discussed above in the information status factor. Results revealed that the production of REs for *the boy* according to information status was the same as reported above, so the characterhood effect was discarded.

By contrast, in Study 4, where the **Charles Chaplin task** was used, a characterhood effect in a particular context (i.e., null pronoun in topic shift) and language (i.e., Spanish) was found. Importantly, this task included [+ human] characters only. Our results crucially showed that

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<sup>90</sup> Recall from section 7.4.4.4 (p. 233) that most null pronouns in topic shift occurred with the character Chaplin.

there was a change in the production of REs depending on the character both in English and Spanish. In particular, fuller REs were used for secondary characters, while more minimal REs were used for the main character (i.e., *Chaplin*). When we checked the production of REs, taking into account one character and according to information status, results were in line with Study 1 and the production of REs according to information status was not affected by the character. However, there was an important exception that should be addressed here. Notably, it was found that, in Spanish, the frequencies of null pronouns in topic shift for *Chaplin* were higher compared to the frequencies in topic shift without considering the character. The issue of null pronouns in topic shift was addressed in the information status factor and is in line with the results in Montrul and Rodríguez Louro (2006), which reported infelicitous cases of null pronouns in topic shift. By contrast, we do not consider our null pronouns in topic shift infelicitous. Our null pronouns are instead related to the high frequencies of resolutions via world knowledge, mentioned above (cf. 8.1.5). In fact, Liceras et al. (2010) criticized the infelicitous null pronouns in Montrul and Rodríguez Louro (2006) arguing that null pronouns are actually possible in topic shift and occurred in Montrul and Rodríguez Louro (2006) because they employed a well-known task (*Little Red Riding Hood*) and null pronouns were resolved via world knowledge. In our study, the story itself was not well-known, but null pronouns in topic shift were still produced. Thus, this is the context where a characterhood effect would take place. Importantly, such null pronouns were not ambiguous, but they were rather resolved via world knowledge, as shown in the results (cf. 7.4.4.2). Therefore, the results may indicate that there was a characterhood effect, but it is also important to consider that null pronouns can occur in topic-shift contexts and that they can be eventually resolved, which indicates that AR can be more complex than previously assumed. Importantly, L2 Spanish L2ers did not show native-like production of null pronouns in topic-shift contexts, which again indicates that the acquisition of REs in L2 Spanish is more difficult than in L2 English, as discussed in our next section (cf. 8.2).

All in all, results in our corpus-based studies showed that the type of character can influence the production of REs because main characters triggered the production of less explicit REs. Importantly though, the production of REs according to information status did not change when we considered one character only, so the information status factor is more prominent than the characterhood factor. Crucially, there is one exception where the characterhood factor is more prominent than the information status factor because, in Spanish, the production of REs for the character *Chaplin* in topic shift is different from the production of REs in the general topic shift.

### 8.1.6 Picture transition

This factor was especially relevant for the studies that included the task *Frog, where are you?* (i.e., Study 1 and 2) because of the presentation of the prompts. The literature has shown that a transition between boundaries can trigger the use of fuller REs (cf. Collewaert, 2019 for an overview). In this dissertation, we crucially showed that the change of picture also triggered the production of fuller REs. To check this, we focused on topic-continuity contexts, where minimal REs are expected. In topic-continuity contexts, a change of picture triggered a production of fuller REs, while minimal REs were produced when the picture did not change. Even though there was a textual continuity (i.e., the RE referred back to previous antecedent in subject position), the visual break between pictures triggered the production of more explicit REs. Importantly, this is a new finding in this dissertation that has been overlooked in previous AR studies in English using similar prompts (Contemori & Dussias, 2016; Crosthwaite, 2011; Kang, 2004). Therefore, the task can be a factor that could influence the RE produced, so it is important to consider the type of task employed when investigating AR. Crucially, the picture effect was found across groups of L2ers and natives. Thus, it is a universal factor and it is not as related to the acquisition of REs as other factors are.

## 8.2 Acquisition of REs

This section addresses the set of questions in RQ2 posed in our general research questions section in Chapter 5 (cf. 5.2, p. 98). One of the main observations in the acquisition of REs is that L2ers are **redundant**<sup>91</sup> (i.e., they overproduced REs in contexts where minimal REs would be expected) regardless of the language pair, which confirms previous production studies (*inter alia*: Crosthwaite, 2011; Lozano, 2016; Ryan, 2015). Importantly, we found that this redundancy strategy is specially observed in topic continuity and in topic continuity *and* coordinate contexts. L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers start being redundant, especially at beginner levels, and they are less redundant and behave more native-like as their proficiency increases, but they do not show native-like production even at very-advanced levels with the exception of the L1 Spanish – L2 English C2 group in topic continuity and coordinate contexts in Study 4. Therefore, L2ers' acquisition is developmental across proficiency levels, which confirms the general **H2a** (i.e., L2ers are expected to acquire the use of REs developmentally). Thus, the native English and Spanish input seems to influence L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers' production of REs because more advanced levels had had higher exposure to the input and they showed an improvement in the production of REs. However, the type of input is crucial as it may not always

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<sup>91</sup> Note that the L2 English literature has also employed the term overexplicit.

be beneficial. In fact, Study 2 in this dissertation aimed to investigate the role of input through CLIL immersion, but this type of immersion does not seem to be beneficial for the acquisition of REs in discourse. In particular, we found that beginner L1 Spanish – L2 English CLIL L2ers behaved more native-like than beginner L1 Spanish – L2 English non-CLIL L2ers, but intermediate non-CLIL L2ers caught up and outperformed intermediate CLIL L2ers showing native-like patterns at B2 level. We concluded that additional input through CLIL immersion did not seem to be beneficial at least at the syntax-discourse interface.

The different factors discussed above showed that i) not all factors were problematic for L2ers; and ii) problematic factors were not equally problematic for all L2ers (i.e., L2 English vs. L2 Spanish L2ers). In fact, results showed that there was an **asymmetry in the L2 acquisition** of REs because English L2ers were more amenable to native-like patterns than L2 Spanish L2ers, which also confirms the general **H2a** (i.e., the language pair would make a difference in the acquisition of REs). Additionally, the preliminary findings of the experiment showed that the processing was more native-like in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers than in L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers. Therefore, the production studies and the comprehension study in this dissertation confirmed that it is difficult to acquire phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface (as postulated by the IH), and, additionally, its ultimate attainment can be crucially determined by the L1-L2 language pair. This could be due to the fact that, pragmatically speaking, Spanish is more complex than English because the alternation of REs in topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts is richer (cf. Table 3, p. 35 for an overview of the distribution of REs in topic continuity and topic shift), as discussed above.

With regards to the issue of **transfer**, results revealed that **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers did not transfer** null pronouns from their L1 Spanish, which confirms the general **H2b** (i.e., L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers will not transfer null pronouns from their L1), because they restricted the production of null pronouns to topic continuity and coordinate contexts, while null pronouns are allowed in other contexts in their L1 Spanish. Additionally, results showed that these L2ers did **not transfer PAS-biases**, which is in line with previous comprehension data (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Cummings et al., 2017). However, our L2 English production results contradicts the L2 English experimental literature, which found that L2 English L2ers transferred null pronouns by accepting them in ungrammatical conditions (cf. Mitkovska & Bužarovska, 2018; Pladevall Ballester, 2013; Prentza, 2014), which could be explained by the type of method employed. By contrast, **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers transferred** the use of null pronouns from their L1 English, which also confirms the general **H2b** (i.e., L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers will transfer null pronouns from their L1), because they produced mainly null pronouns in topic continuity and

coordinate contexts (especially at beginner and intermediate levels), but Spanish natives produced null pronouns both in coordinate and not coordinate contexts. This is in line with recent studies (Martín-Villena & Lozano, 2020) and is a crucial finding because the Spanish literature has traditionally reported that L2 Spanish L2ers, from beginner levels, know that null pronouns can be produced in Spanish (see M. L. Quesada, 2015 for an overview), but our results suggested that such null pronouns were produced mainly in topic continuity and coordinate contexts and, thus, were transferred from the L1 English. Crucially, the issue of transfer focusing on coordinate vs. not coordinate sentences and in mirror-image language pairs has not been addressed before. This allowed us to find an asymmetry regarding the issue of transfer showing the importance of carrying out bidirectional comparisons to reveal which aspects of the L2 language acquisition are language-specific (Lozano, 2021b).

These differences between language pairs can be related to the **acquisition of pragmatics**, which seems to be more costly in L2 Spanish than in L2 English. In particular, **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** acquire the use of overt pronouns in topic continuity from beginner levels. Not using an overt pronoun would suppose a grammatical error, unless it is produced in a coordinate context, and this is rapidly acquired. By contrast, **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers** can use overt pronouns in topic continuity in Spanish (even if they are redundant), but this does not imply a grammatical error. Rather, the alternation of null pronouns and overt pronouns in Spanish has to do with pragmatics. The findings in our production studies suggest that it is easier to acquire the grammatical side of REs (i.e., the obligatoriness of overt pronouns in English) than the pragmatic side (i.e., the optionality of null/overt pronouns in Spanish). The fact that it is harder to acquire pragmatic aspects than syntactic ones was in fact shown in the early Spanish literature (Lozano, 2002; Pérez-Leroux & Glass, 1999). This finding is corroborated in topic continuity and coordinate contexts in English. In this particular context, we find a pragmatic phenomenon because it is more felicitous to use a null pronoun than an overt pronoun though an overt pronoun can be also used. English native speakers mostly produced null pronouns in topic continuity and coordinate contexts, while it is in these contexts where L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers start overproducing overt pronouns, but they acquire the use of null pronouns developmentally across proficiency levels. One could argue that null pronouns are not produced because L2ers avoid producing coordinate sentences, but this was checked in Study 4, and this was not the case because coordinate sentences were produced from beginner levels. Thus, the discourse (pragmatic side) of the syntax-discourse interface is where L2ers show deficits.

## 8.3 The IH and the PPVH

This section addresses the set of questions in RQ3 posed in our general research questions section in Chapter 5 (cf. 5.3, p. 99). The factors discussed above are crucial to account for AR, but, crucially, the IH and the PPVH can also account for the data. We, firstly, discuss the IH with production and comprehension data and, then, discuss the PPVH with production and comprehension data.

Regarding the **IH** (cf. 2.3, p. 14), we propose that it can account for our **production data**, although it is argued that optionality at the syntax-discourse interface is better observed in online processing data (Sorace, 2011). We argue that our corpus-based findings partially confirm the IH because L2ers, even at very advanced levels, do not show native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse interface, but we found an exception. In particular, we found that very-advanced (i.e., C2 level) L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers showed native-like attainment in topic-continuity and coordinate contexts. Our participants had to write their discourse and they had time to think about what they wrote so we can consider our data as offline (and not online) data. However, the time that they had to plan their discourse does not seem to override their infelicitous production of REs (i.e., their redundant production of overt pronouns in topic continuity). Importantly, Sorace (2011, p. 20) argues that “The over-extension of overt pronouns, under the processing resources account, becomes a default strategy that compensates for occasional failure to compute the correct syntax-pragmatics mappings in real time”. Crucially, our corpus-based findings also showed that L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers used the ‘over-extension’ of overt pronouns in topic continuity as a default strategy. Therefore, we believe that analysing written data is a suitable method to investigate L2ers interlanguage (cf. Myles, 2015 for a discussion) of this particular phenomenon and the IH can account for our “offline” production findings.

Our **comprehension data** (i.e., experiment) initially indicated that the IH is confirmed in very-advanced L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers (as they did not show native-like attainment at the syntax-discourse interface), while it is not confirmed in very-advanced L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers. Crucially, these assumptions should be cautiously considered because, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of subjects was low and the sample must be enlarged. However, assuming that these tendencies continued with more subjects, this would imply that L2ers show deficits at the syntax-discourse interface, but this would be dependent on the L1-L2 language pair. The deficits at the syntax-discourse interface would disappear in very-advanced L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers in these contexts (topic continuity and coordinate), which would be in line

with our corpus-based findings, but not in L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers. The partial confirmation of the IH is also in line with previous experimental studies in L2 English and L2 Spanish (Contemori & Dussias, 2020; Judy, 2015; Lozano, 2018). Such studies argued that the (lack of) confirmation of the IH depends on the context that is investigated, which is in line with the statement that not all anaphora resolution phenomena are equally problematic (Lozano, 2016). Thus, the IH is confirmed, but two crucial nuances play a role in such confirmation: i) the anaphora resolution context; and ii) the language pair that is investigated. Importantly, these findings confirm the general **H3a** (i.e., deficits at the syntax-discourse interface are expected, but will depend on the factor and the language pair). Therefore, production and processing data represent different cognitive processes, but our results did not show contradictory results when investigating the same phenomenon across two different L1-L2 language pairs.

As for the **PPVH** (cf. 3.3, p. 51), this hypothesis can also account for our data. Importantly, the PPVH was initially proposed for the production of advanced L2 Spanish L2ers, but it has not been tested in production across proficiency levels and in other L1-L2 language pairs. We do so in this dissertation and the original PPVH (version 1) (cf. Lozano, 2016 for a discussion) accounts for our production data, but we additionally introduce some nuances to the original proposal, which is again shown in Figure 134 for convenience. Originally, the PPVH argued that advanced L2 Spanish L2ers (and to some extent Spanish natives) violate the Informativeness/Economy Principle (mild violation) more frequently than the Manner/Clarity Principle (strong violation). Thus, L2 Spanish L2ers are more redundant than ambiguous. Additionally, the PPVH argued that a mild violation has different degrees depending on the number of antecedents. In particular, producing a redundant RE with 2 antecedents is milder than producing a RE with 1 antecedent because there is no room for ambiguity when there is 1 antecedent only. With this in mind, we explain how this hypothesis accounts for our production data.



Figure 134. Original PPVH (version 1)

(Source of figure: Lozano, 2016, p. 261)

Our **corpus-based findings** confirmed that the **Informativeness/Economy Principle** was more frequently violated than the Manner/Clarity Principle. As discussed above, results showed that both L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers were redundant and overproduced REs (overt and NPs) where null pronouns would be felicitous. By contrast, L2ers were hardly

ambiguous and, therefore, they seldom violated the Manner/Clarity Principle. Therefore, it is confirmed that the PPVH is also applicable to L2 English L2ers and also **across different proficiency levels** in both L2 Spanish and L2 English L2ers, which adds new insights into this hypothesis. In fact, L2ers are more redundant at beginner levels, but they are less redundant as their proficiency level increases. Figure 135 presents a new version of the PPVH (PPVH new proposal, version 2) and tries to illustrate these **new insights into the PPVH** (see new elements in orange). If we observe the long line between strong and mild violations, a dashed vertical line is added in the middle. Let's consider that such line is in the middle between complete ambiguity and complete redundancy. Below the violation type, another aspect is introduced in the PPVH: the **L2ers and the proficiency level**, which tries to illustrate the pragmatic violations produced by L2ers across levels. As we can see, all L2ers are placed on the right side of the scale, which means that all L2ers are predominantly redundant but hardly ambiguous. Then, we can see that **L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers** are closer to the dashed vertical line (in the middle of the scale), which means that they are less redundant than the **L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers**. Additionally, we found that some of the factors investigated in this dissertation can be added to the PPVH, as shown in Figure 135, because some **factors** triggered a redundant violation, which can be more or less mild depending on the factor. In particular, production of REs was more redundant in: i) topic continuity and topic continuity *and* coordinate than in topic shift; ii) new picture than in same picture; and iii) secondary characters than in main character. Crucially, there is one factor of the original PPVH that is not particularly addressed in this dissertation. This aspect is the relationship between **redundancy** and **number of antecedents**. As it was mentioned above (cf. 8.1), the antecedents' factor in this dissertation was found without considering the information status. The original proposal of the PPVH argued that a violation of the Informativeness/Economy Principle was milder when there were more potential antecedents, but such potential antecedents were analysed according to information status. In this dissertation, we did not analyse antecedents according to information status so we cannot account<sup>92</sup> for that aspect of the PPVH, as done in Lozano (2016). With our data, however, we can corroborate the Informativeness/Economy Principle is more frequently violated and this affects L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels and this violation also depends on the factors.

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<sup>92</sup> Note that the antecedents in Figure 135 are in bracket in our proposal of the PPVH.

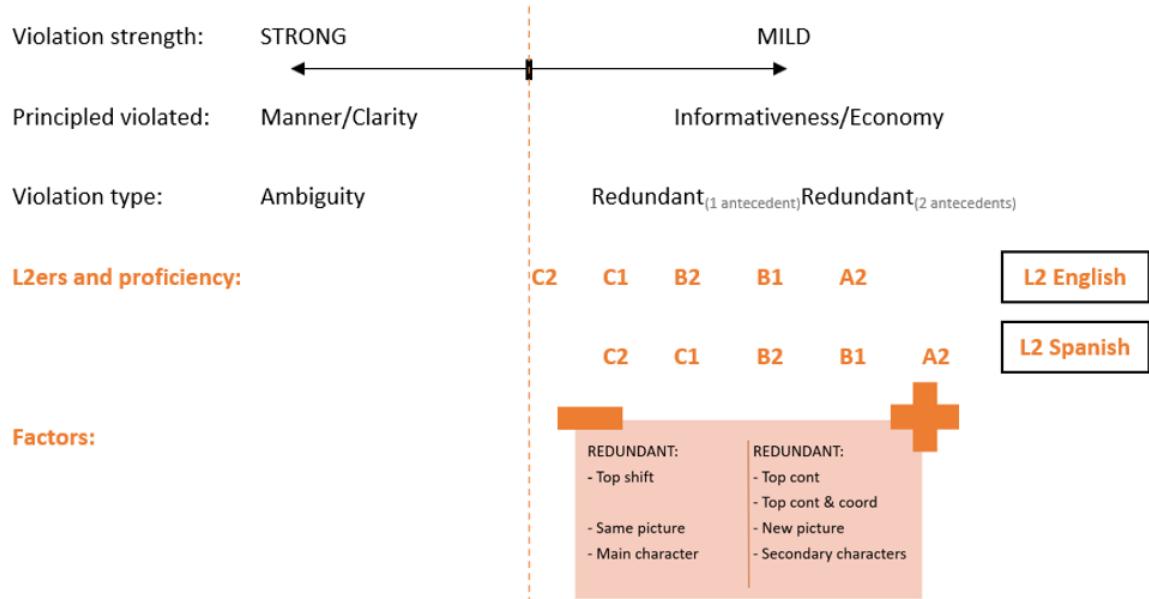


Figure 135. PPVH (new proposal, version 2).

Therefore, we can observe that the violation of pragmatic principles could be universal as the PPVH appears to work in two different L1-L2 language pairs and across several proficiency levels, which confirms the general **H3b** (i.e., pragmatic violations are expected to be found in the production of both L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers and across proficiency levels). Additionally, we observe that the acquisition of pragmatic principles in the L2 is developmental. In this dissertation, we are dealing with bilingual adults and they are supposed to already manage pragmatic principles in their L1. However, this knowledge does not entail a felicitous management of pragmatic principles in the L2 because they have to “reacquire” the mappings between a RE and the pragmatic principle that it entails. L2ers do not always attain native-like levels even at very-advanced levels, which implies that it is a difficult phenomenon. Therefore, the **pragmatic principles** are **universal**, but the **REs** that encode such pragmatic principles are **language-specific**.

When it comes to the **comprehension data**, it was observed that L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers behaved as English natives were theoretically expected to behave<sup>93</sup>. Particularly, L2ers processed null pronouns faster than overt pronouns and NPs in topic-continuity and coordinate contexts. In production data, we observed that the very-advanced L2 English group was the only one that behaved native-like and in a way stopped violating informativeness/economy principles. Thus, the faster processing of null pronouns is related to the felicitous production of null pronouns in these contexts. Regarding L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers, they did not show

<sup>93</sup> Recall from Study 5 (cf. 7.5, p. 264) that we could not collect data from English natives due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

differences in the processing of null pronouns, overt pronouns and NPs. In production, the very-advanced L2 Spanish group showed differences with respect to natives so they still violated pragmatic violations and the comprehension data also indicated so.

## 8.4 Recapitulation

All in all, our findings were firstly accounted by **multiple factors** that affected the production and comprehension of REs (cf. 8.1). As explained in previous chapters, these factors have been previously investigated by different models (cf. 3.1 and 3.2 for an overview of the factors and the models), but have not been investigated systematically in a unified way as we did in this dissertation. Then, L2ers' production and comprehension of REs were a reflection of how the **acquisition of REs** took place in **L1 Spanish – L2 English** and **L1 English – L2 Spanish** L2ers (cf. 8.2). Finally, the **IH** and the **PPVH** accounted for L2ers' production and comprehension of REs (cf. 8.3) and showed how different hypotheses can account for L2ers' production and processing of REs. Crucially, in this dissertation, we showed that AR is a **complex** and **multifactorial** phenomenon that needs to be investigated from different perspectives. Therefore, we did not stick to one factor/model but rather opt for multiple factors that can be accounted by different hypotheses (i.e., the IH and the PPVH). In particular, the IH accounts for the phenomenon of anaphora resolution in general, but does not particularly specify the contexts and the L2s where the deficits occur. The PPVH accounts for the contexts where L2ers show optionality, but has not been tested in different L1-L2 languages pairs. Thus, the IH and the PPVH accounted for our data, but we crucially incorporated new insights because we investigated multiple factors **simultaneously** in a **bidirectional** way and **developmentally** across proficiency levels. Therefore, these hypotheses are suitable to account for our data, but the systematic investigation of multiple factors and the bidirectional and developmental comparisons were essential to obtain a wider picture of the phenomenon of AR. Importantly, we also combined different research methods (i.e., corpus and experimental) and both types of data were accounted by the IH and the PPVH. As mentioned above in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.4.3, p. 25), **triangulation** is essential in research and we are proving so in this dissertation. Although triangulation was not the main aim of this dissertation, we showed production and comprehension results and how each method added valuable insights into the field. As shown in the Research Cyclic Model (cf. Figure 5, p. 27) proposed by Mendikoetxea and Lozano (2018), research questions that are motivated by experiments can be explored in a corpus and such corpus findings can motivate new research questions that can be investigated in a new experiment. This dissertation is a reflection of such cyclic model, but, unfortunately, the experiment could not be fully completed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and the completion of the triangulation process is left for future research.

However, the preliminary experimental findings together with the production findings crucially suggest that they are related and both types of methods make significant contributions to the field of SLA.

Chapter 8 presented the general discussion of the dissertation. Finally, Chapter 9 offers the conclusions and directions for future research.

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## Chapter 9. Conclusion

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In this dissertation, we investigated the **L2 acquisition of AR** by analysing the **production** and **comprehension** of REs in bilingual adults in a **bidirectional** manner, as two mirror-image language pairs were included and compared: L1 Spanish – L2 English vs. L1 English – L2 Spanish. Additionally, the L2 acquisition of AR was investigated **developmentally** across different proficiency levels. Although the majority of the data in this dissertation were production data (corpus studies), there was also room for comprehension data (experimental study) so that we could, to some extent, investigate the phenomenon in a **triangulation** fashion (i.e., combination of corpus and experimental studies). We carried out **five independent studies** to investigate the phenomenon in question. In production studies, we crucially investigated multiple factors affecting AR in a **unified** manner following **systematic** and **fine-grained** analyses. In order to design the **linguistic experiment**, we departed from some of the most relevant factors found in the corpus studies and tested the comprehension of REs. To the best of our knowledge, there is no previous research addressing the acquisition of AR in this articulated way. After carrying out this research, the following **conclusions** can be drawn:

- i) AR is a complex phenomenon that is affected by **multiple factors** and, thus, all these factors can account for the phenomenon. Therefore, such factors need to be investigated in natural production and in a systematic and unified manner, as done in this dissertation. Crucially, such factors (i.e., information status, syntactic configuration, antecedents, verb semantics, characterhood, and picture transition) affect the production of REs across all groups (both L2ers and natives). Importantly though, there are some factors (information status and syntactic configuration) that are particularly problematic for L2ers as they do not show native-like attainment and their production differs from natives' production. Accounting for all these factors is crucial as we provide new insights for the future research on AR and researchers will have a more fully-rounded picture of the factors to consider when investigating AR.
- ii) The **bidirectional** comparisons across language pairs showed that the **acquisition of AR** is **asymmetric** and depends on the L1-L2 language pair. In particular, results indicated that the acquisition of AR in L2 English is easier than in L2 Spanish and

native-like attainment is possible, while the acquisition of AR in L2 Spanish imposes difficulties to L2ers and native-like attainment is not achieved. Additionally, **transfer** occurs in L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers, but not in L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers, which again shows that the acquisition is asymmetric. Crucially, the acquisition of AR in English is more syntax-constrained, while, in Spanish, it is more pragmatic-constrained. Therefore, **pragmatics** play a crucial role in such asymmetric acquisition. In English, only topic continuity and coordinate contexts lead to optionality and are pragmatically-constrained because the alternation of null and overt pronouns is possible in these contexts. In Spanish, both topic-continuity and topic-shift contexts lead to optionality and are pragmatically-constrained because the alternation of the different REs is possible, as shown in this dissertation.

- iii) To some extent, the **IH** also accounted for the corpus and experimental findings in this dissertation. The production of L2ers was not native-like even at very-advanced levels, so we could say that L2ers showed deficits at the syntax-discourse interface. Crucially, such deficits did not occur across factors (i.e., not all contexts were problematic) and across languages (L2 English vs. L2 Spanish). The finding that deficits at the syntax-discourse interface are dependent on the context was previously addressed in the literature (*inter alia*: Contemori et al., 2019; Lozano, 2009b, 2016, 2018) and it is corroborated here. Additionally, we also showed that such deficits also depend on the L2. These findings were also corroborated in the comprehension data. All in all, our results and their relationship with the IH revealed that it is essential to go beyond the original formulation of the IH and investigate the phenomenon in natural production and in different language pairs to have a wider picture of it and add new insights.
- iv) The **PPVH** predicted that AR is accounted by pragmatic principles and, in fact, our corpus-based and experimental findings were accounted by such pragmatic principles. We showed that L1 Spanish – L2 English and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers across proficiency levels were redundant/overexplicit and violated the Informativeness/Economy Principle. The finding that the acquisition of AR is more problematic in L2 Spanish than in L2 English because pragmatics play an important role in Spanish is also corroborated with the PPVH. As shown above in the discussion (cf. 8.3, p. 297), we proposed a new version of the PPVH (version 2) and added new insights into the original PPVH. In particular, we added the L2 (L2 English and L2 Spanish) and the proficiency levels (A2-C2). There, we could see that both L2 English and L2 Spanish L2ers were placed on the redundant side of the scale, but L2 English

L2ers were less redundant than L2 Spanish L2ers and very-advanced L2 English L2ers could eventually attain native-like levels. Additionally, we argued that some of the factors can be included in the scale and in particular on the redundant side of the scale because redundant violations were stronger depending on the factor (e.g., redundant violations were stronger in topic continuity than in topic shift).

- v) Therefore, it was firstly crucial to investigate the above-mentioned factors in a **bidirectional, systematic and unified manner** to account for AR. After doing so, the IH and PPVH accounted for our corpus and experimental findings, but we crucially added new insights, especially to the PPVH. The PPVH accounts for universal violations of pragmatic principles, but specific nuances are essential to account for specific aspects of the language acquisition that prevent L2ers from showing a native-like attainment of the mapping between the REs and the pragmatic principles.
- vi) The findings in this dissertation showed that **written data** and **corpus-based methods** are perfectly suitable and ecologically valid methods to investigate learner language. Such methods can better inform us about L2ers' acquisition of AR because we investigate the phenomenon in context and are aware of the potential factors that can influence the phenomenon in the previous context.
- vii) Although corpus-based methods perfectly inform about AR, it is also essential to **triangulate** the data using experimental methods. The pilot study in this dissertation proved so because the findings in the experimental study partially corroborated the results found in the corpus-based studies and added new insights to further explore the phenomenon. Therefore, corpus and experimental methods offer different but complementary and enriching insights.

Importantly, this dissertation has some **limitations**, which are potential topics for **future research**:

- i) **Analyses** of the corpus-based data could be deeper. All the most relevant factors were analysed, but further analyses of features that are already tagged could be carried out in the future to add new insights to the field (e.g., the gender of the characters or the type of subordinate sentences). Production data offers the possibility of analysing many different aspects because the contexts created are richer. Additionally, we included fine-grained and extensive tagsets with a considerable number of tags in our studies. This offers the possibility of carrying out

- multiple analyses with many different combinations of tags. However, an endpoint has to be established because, on the contrary, the dissertation would never end.
- ii) Additional **language pairs** can be analysed in the future. Two language pairs were included in this dissertation and it was shown that the language pair influences the acquisition of AR. Future research should determine whether different null subject language vs. non-null subject language pairs (and vice versa) can corroborate the findings in this dissertation. For instance, we could investigate the acquisition of REs in L1 Italian – L2 Spanish vs. L1 German – L2 Spanish L2ers (i.e., L1 null subject – L2 null subject vs. L1 non-null subject – L2 null subject).
  - iii) In relation to the language pairs, additional language pairs could be analysed to test the **PPVH**. A new version of the PPVH was proposed, but further comparisons between different language pairs could corroborate this new proposal or add new insights.
  - iv) Written data were a valuable source to account for AR, but **oral data** could be analysed and contrasted with written data in the future. Oral data is associated with online processing and it is argued that this type of data better informs us about L2ers' interlanguage in real time (Sorace, 2011).
  - v) The **experimental data** was **not sufficient** because the COVID-19 pandemic imposed restrictions in the data collection procedure. So, the data collection of the experiment has to continue in the future.
  - vi) The **number of activated antecedents** was not a factor in our comprehension data, but we only compared 1 vs. 2 antecedents. So, future research should consider more antecedents to check whether the number of activated antecedents is a factor in comprehension (as it was shown in production).
  - vii) We could not account for the relationship between **redundancy** and number of activated **antecedents** shown in the **PPVH**. Further analyses addressing this aspect are left for future research.
  - viii) The **type of input** was not analysed in a fine-grained manner in the present dissertation. Participants' metadata (e.g., AoO, LoI or type of instruction) can be analysed in the future to check whether there is a correlation between the quantity and the quality of input and the acquisition of AR.
  - ix) As we could not gather enough experimental data, the **triangulation** process could not be completed. Importantly, we do not consider this as a negative aspect but rather a positive one because we have preliminary and promising results in our experiment and we are now collecting more experimental data. Therefore, this

dissertation is not the end of our investigation, but it is rather the beginning of a new stage. In this stage, we will further develop the triangulation of different types of data and we will additionally add other experimental techniques, such as **eye-tracking**, to continue investigating AR.



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## Conclusiones

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En esta tesis investigamos la **adquisición de la resolución de anáfora** (RA) mediante el análisis de la **producción y comprensión** de las expresiones referenciales (ERs) en adultos bilingües de un modo **bidireccional**, ya que dos pares de lenguas en espejo fueron comparados: L1 español – L2 inglés vs. L1 inglés – L2 español. Además, estudiamos el **desarrollo** de la adquisición de la RA analizando el lenguaje de aprendices con diferentes niveles de competencia. Aunque esta tesis principalmente incluye datos de producción, también incluye datos experimentales por lo que, en cierta medida, pudimos **triangular** los datos. Llevamos a cabo **cinco estudios independientes** para investigar el fenómeno en cuestión. En los estudios de producción, de manera crucial investigamos múltiples factores que afectan a la RA de una manera **unificada** y llevando a cabo un análisis **sistemático y detallado**. Para el estudio de comprensión, hicimos uso de algunos de los factores más relevantes reportados en los estudios de producción y creamos un **experimento lingüístico** para testear la compresión de las ERs. Hasta donde sabemos, no hay investigaciones previas que aborden el estudio de la adquisición de la RA de esta forma articulada. Después de llevar a cabo esta investigación, se exponen las siguientes **conclusiones**:

- i) La RA es un fenómeno complejo, el cual se ve afectado por **diversos factores** y todos estos factores explican este fenómeno. Por tanto, es necesario investigar estos factores en producción natural y de forma unificada y sistemática, tal y como se ha hecho en esta tesis. Fundamentalmente, dichos factores (i.e., estatus informativo, configuración sintáctica, antecedentes, semántica del verbo, tipo de personaje, y transición de imagen) afectan a la producción de ERs en todos los grupos (aprendices y nativos). Sin embargo, cabe destacar que algunos factores (i.e., estatus informativo y configuración sintáctica) son particularmente problemáticos para los aprendices ya que no logran alcanzar una competencia nativa y su producción difiere de la producción de los nativos. Dar cuenta de todos estos factores es crucial porque así proporcionamos visiones útiles para investigaciones futuras y sabremos más precisamente los aspectos que hay que considerar al investigar la RA.
- ii) Las comparaciones **bidireccionales** entre lenguas mostraron que la **adquisición de la RA es asimétrica** y depende de la combinación de L1 y L2. En concreto, los

resultados indicaron que la adquisición de la RA en L2 inglés es más fácil que en L2 español y es posible alcanzar una competencia nativa, mientras que la adquisición de la RA en L2 español impone más dificultades para los aprendices y no es posible lograr una competencia nativa. Adicionalmente, hay **transferencia** de ERs en L1 inglés – L2 español, pero no en L1 español – L2 inglés, lo que de nuevo muestra que la adquisición es asimétrica. Cabe destacar que la adquisición de la RA en inglés está restringida por la sintaxis, mientras que en español está restringida por la pragmática. Por tanto, la **pragmática** juega un papel fundamental en dicha adquisición asimétrica. En inglés, únicamente los contextos de continuidad de tópico en oraciones coordinadas dan lugar a optionalidad y están restringidos por la pragmática porque la alternancia de pronombres nulos y explícitos está permitida en estos contextos. En español, contextos de continuidad y cambio de tópico dan lugar a optionalidad y están restringidos por la pragmática porque la alternancia de pronombres nulos y explícitos es posible en ambos contextos.

- iii) En cierta medida, la **Hipótesis de la Interfaz (IH)** también da cuenta de los resultados de producción y comprensión de esta tesis. La producción de los aprendices no era nativa incluso en niveles muy avanzados por lo que podemos decir que los aprendices mostraron carencias en la interfaz sintáctico-discursiva. Cabe destacar que dichos déficits no ocurren en todos los factores (i.e., no todos los factores son problemáticos) ni en ambas lenguas por igual (i.e., L2 inglés vs. L2 español). El hallazgo de que las carencias en la interfaz sintáctico-discursiva dependen del contexto había sido reportado anteriormente en la literatura (inter alia: Contemori et al., 2019; Lozano, 2009b, 2016, 2018) y lo corroboramos en esta tesis. Adicionalmente, en esta tesis mostramos que estas carencias también dependen de la L2. Estos hallazgos fueron también encontrados en los datos de comprensión. Por tanto, nuestros resultados en relación con la IH mostraron que hay que ir más allá de la propuesta original de la IH y que es esencial investigar el fenómeno en producción natural y en diferentes lenguas para tener una visión más amplia y añadir nuevos aspectos.
- iv) La **Hipótesis de la Violación de los Principios Pragmáticos (PPVH)** predijo que la RA se explica mediante principios pragmáticos y de hecho nuestros datos de corpus y experimentales son explicados por dichos principios. En nuestros resultados mostramos que aprendices de L1 español – L2 inglés y L1 inglés – L2 español fueron redundantes y violaron el principio informativo/económico. El hallazgo de que la adquisición de la RA es más problemática en L2 español que en L2 inglés debido a

- que la pragmática juega un papel importante es también corroborado con la PPVH. Como se muestra más arriba en la discusión (cf. 8.3, p. 297), un nuevo aspecto relacionado con la L2 de los aprendices fue introducido a la escala de la PPVH. En particular, añadimos la L2 (L2 inglés y L2 español) y el nivel de competencia (A2-C2). En esta escala vimos que tanto los aprendices de L2 inglés como los de L2 español están situados en el lado redundante de la escala, pero que los aprendices de L2 inglés eran menos redundantes que los aprendices que L2 español e incluso los aprendices de L2 inglés mostraron una competencia nativa. Adicionalmente, propusimos que algunos de los factores podían ser incorporados en la escala y en particular en el lado redundante porque las violaciones redundantes eran más o menos fuertes dependiendo del factor (e.g., las violaciones redundantes eran más fuertes en contextos de continuidad de tópico que de cambio de tópico).
- v) Por tanto, fue imprescindible investigar los factores mencionados anteriormente de una **forma bidireccional, unificada y sistemática** para explicar la RA. Después de ello, la IH y la PPVH dieron cuenta de nuestros datos de corpus y experimentales, aunque cabe destacar que ofrecimos una nueva visión a ambas hipótesis y especialmente a la PPVH. Esta da cuenta de violaciones universales de principios pragmáticos, pero matices específicos son necesarios para explicar los aspectos específicos de la adquisición del lenguaje que son particularmente problemáticos para los aprendices, los cuales les impiden alcanzar una competencia nativa del mapeo entre las ERs y los principios pragmáticos.
- vi) Los hallazgos de esta tesis mostraron que la **producción escrita** y los **métodos de corpus** son métodos apropiados y ecológicamente válidos para investigar la interlengua de los aprendices. Dichos métodos nos pueden informar mejor sobre la adquisición de la RA porque investigamos el fenómeno en contexto y podemos observar los factores potenciales que pueden influir al fenómeno en cuestión.
- vii) Aunque los métodos de corpus nos informan sobre la RA, también es esencial **triangular** los datos de corpus con datos experimentales. Así lo mostró el estudio piloto de esta tesis porque los hallazgos del estudio experimental parcialmente corroboraron los resultados de los estudios de corpus y añadieron una nueva visión para explorar el fenómeno en el futuro. Por tanto, los métodos de corpus y experimentales ofrecen diferentes, pero también complementarios y enriquecedores enfoques.

Cabe destacar que esta tesis tiene algunas **limitaciones**, que se abordarán en **futuras investigaciones**:

- i) Los **análisis** de los estudios de corpus podrían haber sido más extensos. Los factores más relevantes fueron analizados, pero más análisis pueden ser realizados en el futuro (e.g., género de los personajes o tipo de oraciones subordinadas). Los datos de producción ofrecen la posibilidad de analizar muchos aspectos porque ofrecen contextos muy ricos. También cabe mencionar que, en nuestros estudios, incluimos esquemas lingüísticos muy detallados con un número considerable de etiquetas. Esto ofrece la posibilidad de llevar a cabo múltiples análisis con muchas combinaciones diferentes de etiquetas. Sin embargo, hay que poner un punto final porque si no, la tesis no terminaría nunca.
- ii) Adicionalmente se pueden investigar otros **pares de lenguas**. Dos pares de lenguas fueron incluidas en esta tesis y se mostró que el par de lenguas influye en la adquisición de la RA. Investigaciones futuras podrán determinar si diferentes pares de lenguas de sujeto nulo vs. lenguas de sujeto no nulo (y viceversa) pueden corroborar los hallazgos de esta tesis. Por ejemplo, se podría investigar la adquisición de RA en aprendices de L1 italiano – L2 español vs. L1 alemán – L2 español (L1 sujeto nulo – L2 sujeto nulo vs. L1 sujeto no nulo – L2 sujeto nulo).
- iii) En relación con los pares de lenguas, otros pares de lenguas pueden ser analizados para testear la **PPVH**. Una nueva versión de la PPVH fue propuesta, pero futuras comparaciones con otros pares de lenguas pueden corroborar esta nueva propuesta o añadir nuevos enfoques.
- iv) La producción escrita es una valiosa fuente para explicar la RA, pero la **producción oral** también puede ser analizada y contrastada con la escrita en el futuro. Los datos orales suelen ser asociados con el procesamiento online y se argumenta que este tipo de datos nos informan mejor sobre la interlengua de los aprendices (Sorace, 2011).
- v) Los **datos experimentales no** fueron **suficientes** debido a que la pandemia por la COVID-19 impuso restricciones en el proceso de recolección de datos. Por tanto, la recopilación de datos del experimento continuará en el futuro.
- vi) El **número de antecedentes activados** no fue un factor en nuestros datos de comprensión, pero solo comparamos 1 antecedente frente a 2 antecedentes. Por tanto, investigaciones futuras podrían considerar más antecedentes para comprobar

- si el número de antecedentes activados es un factor en datos de comprensión (como se mostró en la producción).
- vii) No pudimos dar cuenta de la relación entre **redundancia** y **número de antecedentes activados** propuesta en la **PPVH**. Adicionales análisis en futuras investigaciones podrían abordar este aspecto.
- viii) El **tipo de input** no fue analizado de una forma detallada en esta tesis. Los metadatos de los participantes (e.g., AoO, Lol, o tipo de instrucción) pueden ser analizados en un futuro para comprobar si hay una correlación entre la cantidad y la calidad del input y la adquisición de la RA.
- ix) Debido a que no se pudieron recoger todos los datos experimentales requeridos, el proceso de triangulación no fue completado. Sin embargo, no consideramos esto como un aspecto negativo sino como uno positivo porque tenemos hallazgos preliminares muy prometedores. Por tanto, esta tesis no es el final de nuestra investigación sino el comienzo de una nueva etapa. En esta etapa, continuaremos desarrollando la **triangulación** de diferentes tipos de datos y adicionalmente añadiremos otras técnicas experimentales, como el **rastreo ocular**, para continuar investigando la RA.



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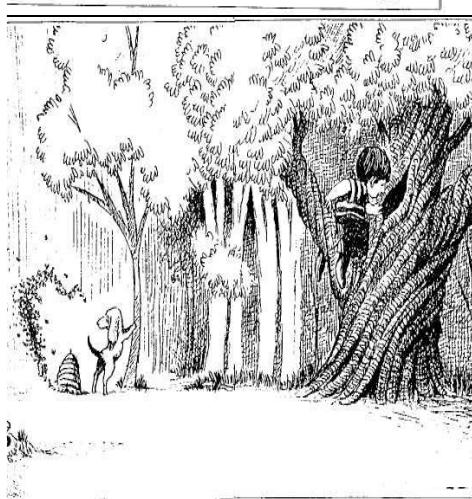
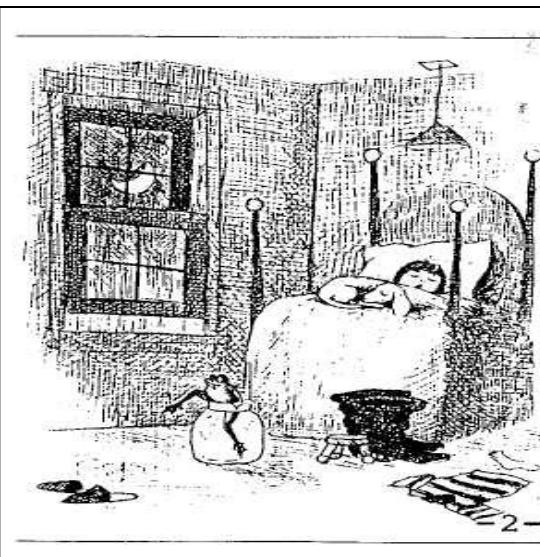
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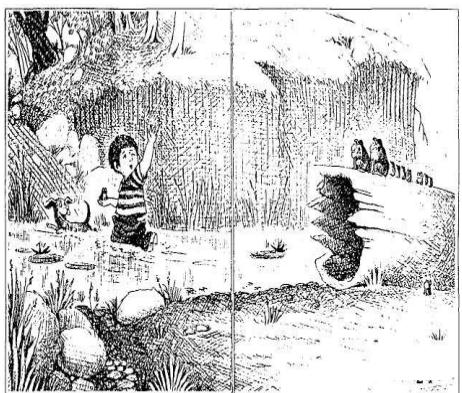
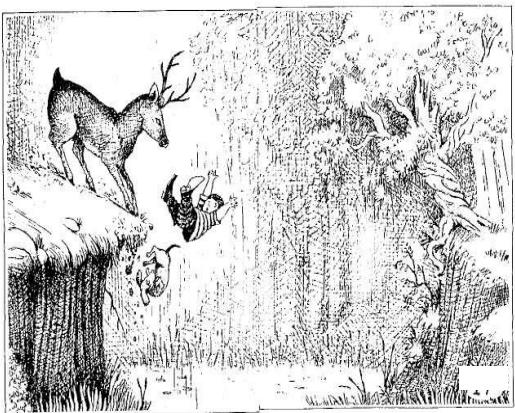
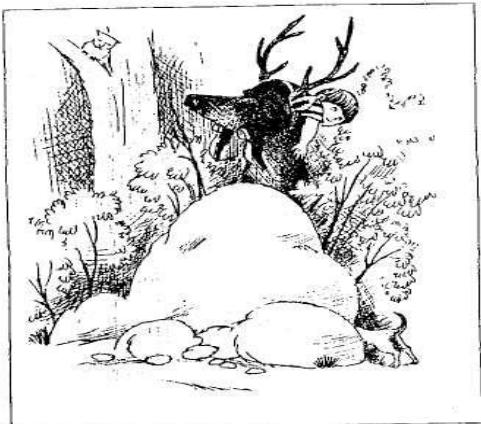
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## Appendices

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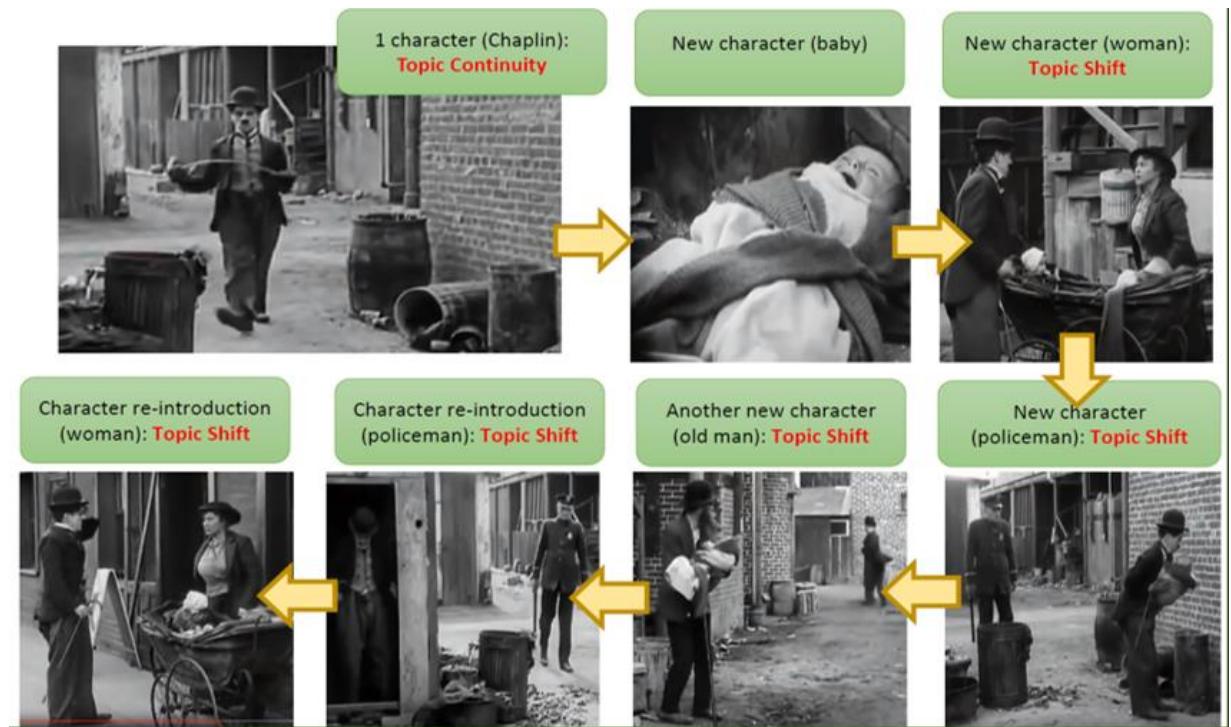
## A. Study 1 and 2: Prompts of 'Frog, where are you?'





## B. Study 3: Prompts of Charles Chaplin's video (some screenshots)

Link to the video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eO1HvF2G2Sw>



## C. Studies 1-4: software UAM Corpus Tool interface

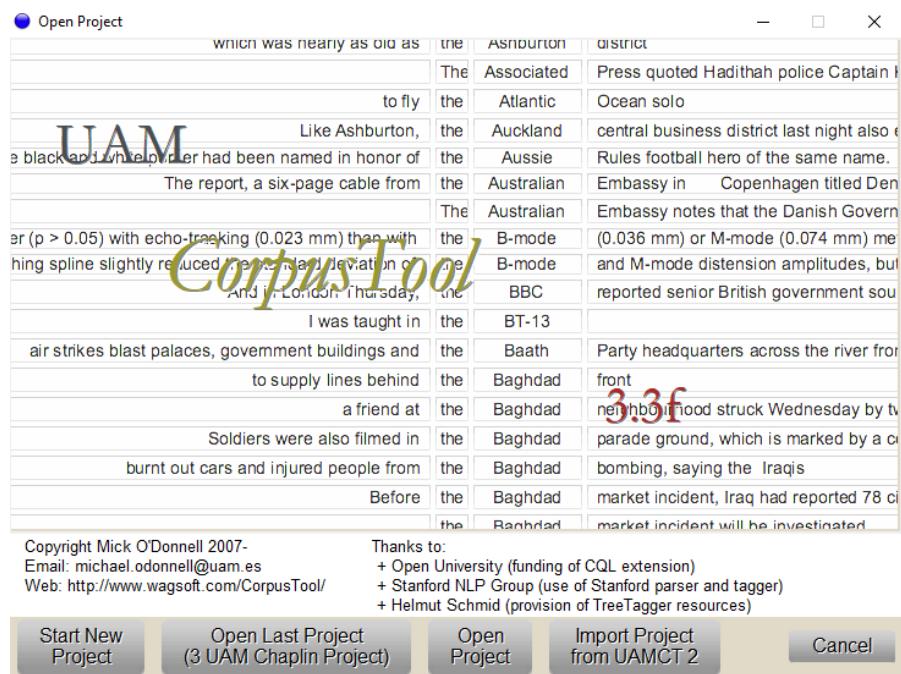


Figure 136. Initial menu.



Figure 137. Project layout.

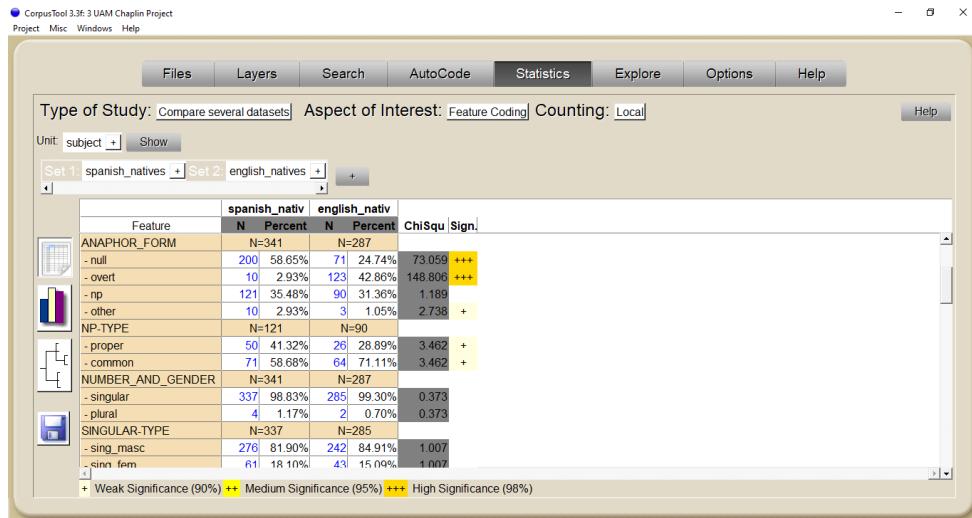


Figure 138. Results.

## D. Study 5: software OpenSesame interface

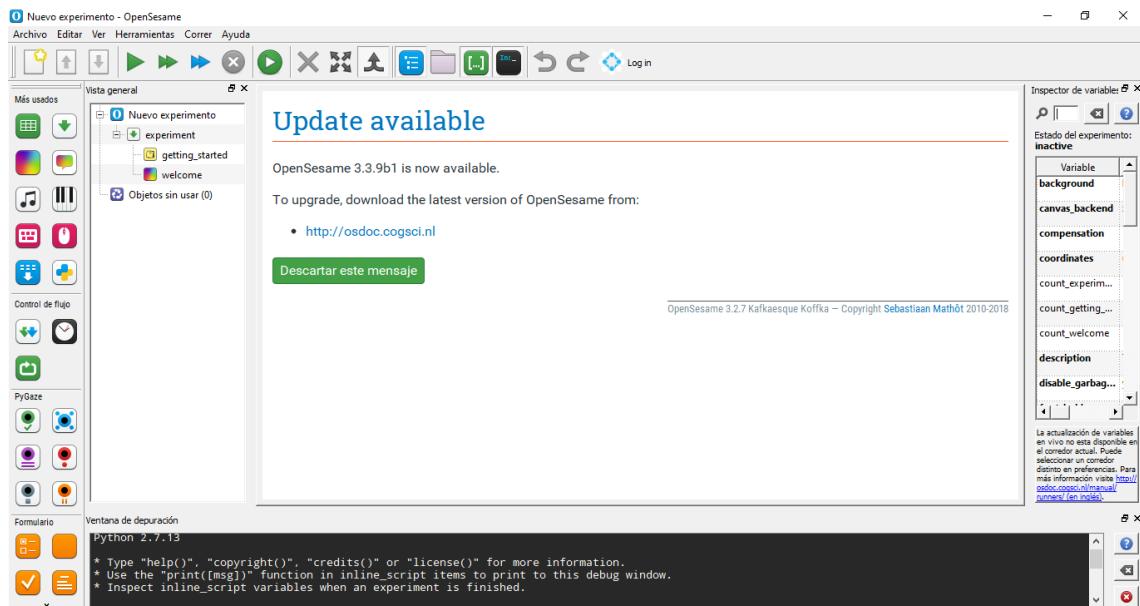


Figure 139. General overview of the software.

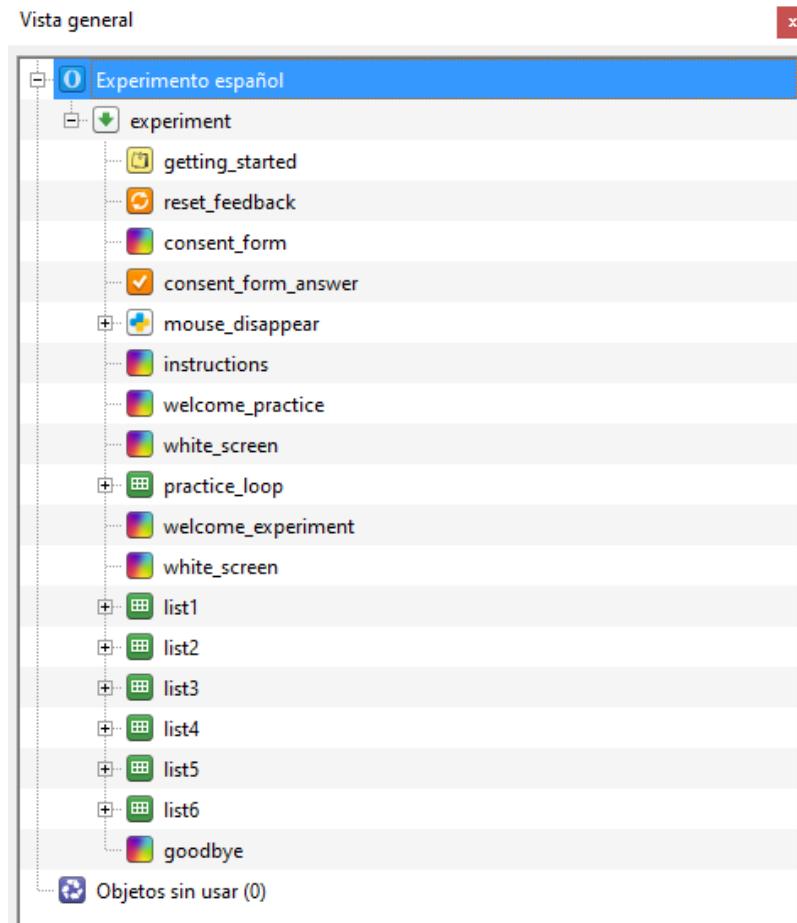


Figure 140. Overview of the experiment.

## E. Study 5: OpenSesame (layout of the experiment)

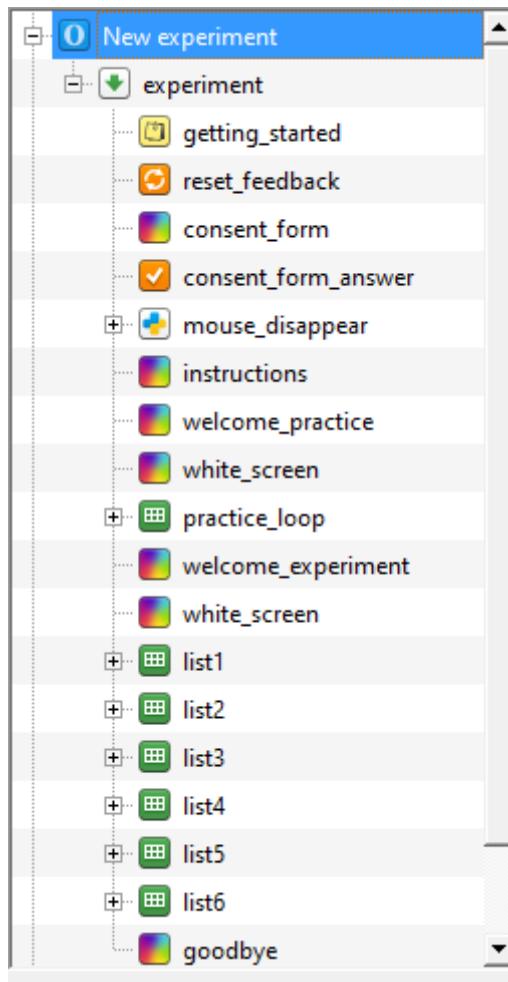


Figure 141. General sequence of the experiment.

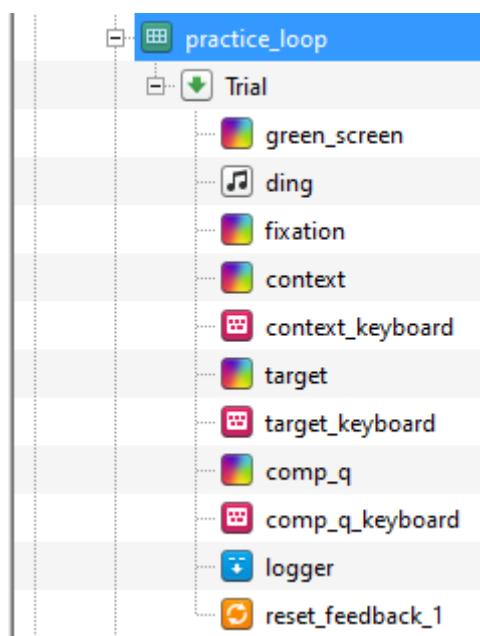


Figure 142. Sequence of the practice loop.

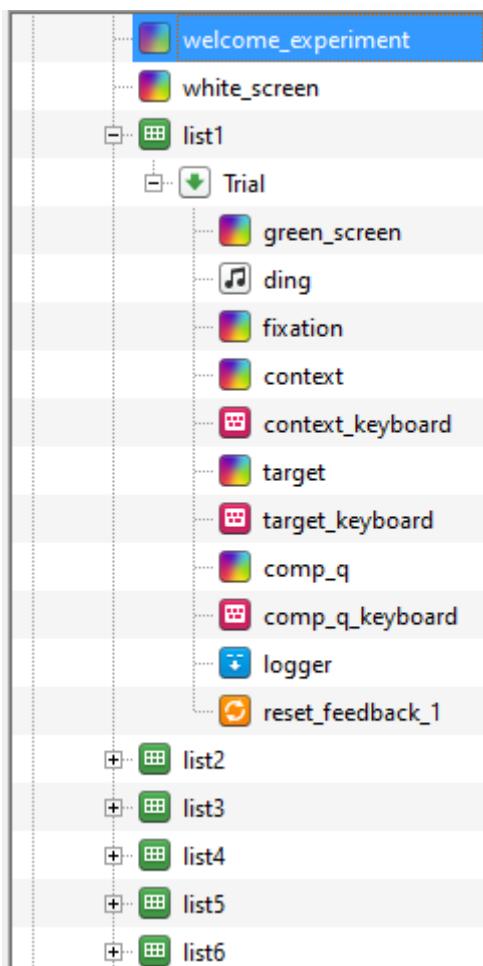


Figure 143. Sequence of list 1.

## F. Study 1: participants biodata and texts

### English natives

FILENAME	SEX	AGE	ENGLISH	TEXT
			NATIVES (VARIETY)	
EN_WR_20_13_AMS	Female	20	American English	<p>One day, a small boy decided to catch a frog and keep it in a jar. The frog was not a fan of this living arrangement and escaped while the boy and his dog slept. In the morning the child and dog went to go look in the forest for the frog. They startle a deer and are pushed into the river, but manage to climb onto a log. While sitting on the log, the boy and his dog see the frog that was abducted earlier. The boy realizes that the frog has a family and that he was terribly wrong to try and take them away, so he waves goodbye and leaves with his dog.</p>
EN_WR_21_13_JD	Female	21	American English	<p>One day, young Timothy and his dog, Patrick, caught a frog at the pond down the street from Timothy's house. They brought him home and put him in a glass jar at the end of Timothy's bed. That night, however, unbeknownst to Timothy or Patrick, the frog escaped! Saddened by this turn of events, Timothy decided to return to the forest where he had found the frog and bring him back. Timothy and Patrick wandered the forest for several hours, Timothy calling for his small friend to come home and Patrick trying to smell for the frog.</p> <p>As Timothy climbed a rock beside a set of barren branches, trying to call for the frog, the branches shifted and Timothy realized that they were not branches at all. In fact, Timothy was holding onto a young buck! The buck did not care for Timothy's manhandling at all, and he twisted his large head, sending Timothy tumbling down a small drop into a pond.</p> <p>Patrick, ever a good dog, leapt after Timothy and helped him swim to safety outside the water. Timothy was sad now, fearing he would never find the frog now.</p> <p>Suddenly he heard a loud croak, and Timothy turned to see the very frog that he was searching for! However, the frog was not alone. The frog had a partner and several smaller frogs with it. Timothy realized that he should not have taken the frog from his proper habitat and family, and he resolved to leave the reptile alone with its family to live out its life in the pond.</p>
EN_WR_21_13_SWS	Male	21	American English	<p>One day, Joe caught a frog. He put it in a jar in his bedroom, and after looking at it for a while he went to sleep. When he woke up, it was gone. Saddened by its absence, he went to search for it in the forest with his dog. He searched high and low without success, until a wild elk knocked him and the dog off an escarpment into a lake. He climbed out, drenched and depressed, and ready to go home. Then, he heard a "ribbit" from behind a log. He climbed over it, and saw the frog with another frog and a bunch of smaller frogs. He suddenly realized that he'd taken the frog from the wild without wondering whether the frog had a family, and he left the frog in peace.</p>
EN_WR_21_13_LC	Female	21	American English	<p>One day, a little boy came home to find that his parents had brought him a pet frog. He brought the frog in his jar to his room and spent all afternoon watching the frog with his pet dog. The frog was afraid of the dog and didn't much like his jar, so he hatched a plan of escape. That night, while the boy and the dog were sleeping, the frog climbed out of the jar and hopped away. When the boy woke up, he realized that his frog had gone missing. He was in a panic and immediately turned the house upside-down in search. The boy realized that the frog must not be in the house, so he and his dog went outside to search. They called for the frog into the woods, "Frog! Frog, where are you?" but he didn't come back. The boy and the dog headed into the forest to search. High and low, left and right, in a tree, on a rock- the two searched everywhere. The boy just couldn't find his frog. He did, however, find a new animal: a huge buck. The buck didn't like the boy's intrusion into his territory, and rapidly threw him over a short ledge. The boy and his dog landed with a thud in a soft marsh. When he got up and brushed himself off, the boy noticed a whole family of frogs watching him curiously. Among them he saw his pet frog. He had found him! His pet, touched that the boy had gone through so much to find him, decided to go back home with the boy and his dog. They waved goodbye to the frog family and trekked back home, where the three became great friends and lived HOPpily ever after.</p>

EN_WR_21_13_AG	Female	21	American English	<p>One day Eleanor was out in the woods with her dog, Buster. The two enjoyed following the stream behind their house pretending to be famous explorers, or pirates, or spies. They would sometimes get lost in their imaginary games for hours. One day in the middle of the summer as Eleanor and Buster were looking for dragon eggs in a calm pool on the edge of the river a frog hopped right onto Eleanor's shoulder. Eleanor was enchanted with her new friend, who spoke to her about life as a frog and how he had traveled all the way down the stream to the Big Pond and there were pirates in the big pond. Buster was dubious about trusting the Frog, and he was a little jealous of the interest Eleanor had her new friend. He made it clear that he was not interested in being the Frog's friend. Eleanor invited the Frog up to her house for a sleep over. She prepared his bowl and fed him a big supper. Buster, was still not delighted by the Frog's presence. He did not believe that the Frog had ever been down to the Big Pond or that there were pirates there. Once Eleanor fell asleep the Frog decided to leave. While he enjoyed Eleanor's company, he felt like Buster didn't like him. When Eleanor and Buster woke up and the Frog was gone Eleanor became worried that the Frog was kidnapped. She insisted that Buster come with her to help her find the Frog. Buster was reluctant but goes along to support his best friend. The two went further down the stream than they have ever been. They saw strange new animals, and felt a little afraid when they didn't recognize where they were. The area was all new, but Eleanor insisted that finding the Frog is essential. Eventually Eleanor decided to stop and rest on top of a little ledge. She saw some black berries and went to reach for them, but suddenly she found herself on top of a deer. The deer was so startled that he flicked his head and she went flying into a body of water. Buster jumped in right after her. When they resurfaced they realized that they must be in the Big Pond. The Frog noticed the disruption from the other side of the pond and swam over immediately to investigate and help out. The three realized what had happened and were simultaneously irritated and touched. The Frog apologized for being rude and not leaving a note and lying about the pirates. He said that he would be lucky to have Eleanor and Buster as his friends. Buster apologized for not being nice to the Frog. Eleanor forgave Buster for being grumpy, and the Frog for exaggerating the truth.</p>
EN_WR_20_13_MP_G	Female	20	American English	<p>One day a little boy and his dog caught a frog put it in a glass jar. They brought the frog up to his room and went to bed looking forward to the adventures they would have the next day together. But, when the dog and boy woke up the next morning the frog was gone! "Oh no!" said the boy to his dog. "We must go find him!" So the boy and his dog went outside to look for the frog. They looked high and low, but they could not find the frog. "What if we never see him again?" the boy cried. Finally, after searching all day, the boy and his dog reach the bank of a little pond in the middle of the woods. And there, sitting next to his family, was the frog! He croaked happily as if to say "Hello!" The boy and his dog were very happy that they had found their friend again. They came back many times to play with the frog. The end.</p>
EN_WR_21_13_MTH	Male	21	American English	<p>One day, a boy captured a frog. In the middle of the night, the frog snuck out and ran off on the boy. He went to go find the frog with his best friend, his loyal dog. They searched high and low through the forest, but could not find the frog. They had almost given up when the young boy fell off of a cliff into a lake, and found the frog. He had gone back to be with his family! The boy saw all the baby frogs, and he was very happy.</p>
EN_WR_20_13_SS	Female	20	American English	<p>One day my dog and I caught a frog out in the woods. I kept him in a jar next to my bed, but I didn't put a lid on so that he could breathe. He escaped while we were asleep! I looked everywhere for my beloved frog, but he wasn't in my room. He wasn't in the field where I caught him. I climbed trees and rocks looking for him, but he was nowhere to be found. While I was climbing a boulder a deer scared me! (I think I scared it too...) I fell off of a small ledge, and into a pond. The water was cold, but I'm a good swimmer so I wasn't worried. As I lay on a log to dry off, my dog started barking. On the other side of the log was my frog! A few more frogs started making noises at me when I picked my frog up. They must have been his family! I knew I would be upset if someone tried to take me from my family, so I tried to put him back down. The frog jumped back up into my hand. He wanted to come with me! My frog said goodbye to his family and the three of us went home together.</p>
EN_WR_20_13_JC	Female	20	American English	<p>One day a boy found a frog and captured it in a jar. While the boy was asleep that night the frog had managed to jump out of the jar and escape. When the boy woke up the next morning he was sad to find his new friend had disappeared. So he set out with his dog, Rufus, to search for the frog. The boy went through valleys and called "Here frog, frog, frog, frog!". He then entered into the forest. He climbed high in the trees, and on top of rocks, searching in every nook and cranny for the little frog. While searching on top of the rock the boy had stumbled across a deer. The deer was not happy to see an imposter in his territory. He picked the boy up with his head and flung him and the dog into the shallow river below. Rufus and the boy quickly scrambled away. While climbing over a log, they came upon a frog family. The boy recognized his frog as one of them. Seeing the frog amongst his family made the boy realize that he could no longer take him home with Rufus. So the boy waved goodbye to his friend and hope to visit him again soon.</p>
EN_VWR_20_13_SPB	Male	20	American English	<p>One day, a boy and his dog caught a frog while playing outside. He found a jar and put the frog there, but, the frog, being a frog, did not like being imprisoned in the jar. So he hatched a scheme to wait until all his wardens retired to bed, when he would escape into the night and continue his life as a frog. When the boy woke up, he had found that his prisoner had escaped so he went on a frog-hunt. In his searches he found a karmic dear that saw into his soul and saw how he had cruelly imprisoned that frog. So to teach him a lesson, the dear kidnapped the boy and his dog and threw them in a woodland prison of the dear's own creation. It is there that the boy lived out the rest of his days as a prisoner of nature.</p>
EN_WR_20_13_LH	Female	20	American English	<p>One day a boy brought a frog home. When he was sleeping the frog escaped. The boy and his dog went looking for the frog. A moose pushed the boy over a cliff and he fell into a pond, where he found the frog with his frog family.</p>

	EN_WR_21 _13_JDC	Male	21	American English	<p>One day a boy took off the lid of his frog jar to let his frog breath at night. But the frog escaped as he slept! The boy was very worried about his frog when he woke to find it missing, so he and his dog went on a search for the frog. They looked high and low, climbing over many obstacles and avoiding dangers. The boy disturbed a buck in the woods and, startled, the buck pushed him off of a ledge into a pond. Splash! The boy's dog pulled him from the water. Just as they were giving up on their search to go home, the boy spies his frog with a family on a log, and the boy is happy.</p>
	EN_WR_20 _13_RW	Female	20	American English	<p>One day, little Garrett sat and admired his frog. Oh how he loved that frog. He went to sleep dreaming of playing with his frog. But the mischievous frog saw a fly buzzing past and hopped out of his bowl to chase it! When little Garrett woke up he was distraught over his missing frog. He searched high and low for his dear frog, all over the nearby forest. He was just starting to despair when he flopped over onto a log. Suddenly, a large deer pushed him over a waterfall and he fell into the river with a great splash! What was that for? He angrily thought. But look, over there! His dear little frog happily munching on flies. Little Garrett was overjoyed at finding his frog.</p>
	EN_WR_21 _13_SY	Female	21	American English	<p>One day, a boy and his dog were playing with their frog. During the night, the frog got out so the boy and his dog decided to look for it. They looked everywhere until the boy accidentally angered a deer. The deer took them and dumped them into a creek. Upon swimming to shore and climbing onto a log, they found the frog! The frog had started a family so, with smiles on their faces, the boy and his dog left the frog on the log with its family.</p>
	EN_WR_19_13_DL	Female	19	American English	<p>"One day, Penny's small human (whose mother called him James) found a Mr. Frog in the storm drain across the street, just before dinner, and brought him home in a glass jar. Penny tried to ask for the gentleman frog's given name in her most polite voice, but James reproached Penny for barking and seemed content to spend the evening without even attempting conversation, so Mr. Frog suffered through a most improper silence until James' bedtime. It was the middle of the night, and a gentle breeze was wafting through the open window, when Penny heard a soft, reedy voice from the windowsill:      ""Pardon this unmannerly exit, ma'am,"" whispered Mr. Frog, ""but I really must be getting home to my family."" Penny nodded briefly, not wanting to wake James, and the gentleman frog disappeared into the night.      The next morning, James was distraught to find Mr. Frog missing from his glass jar, despite Penny's reassurances that their guest was really all right.      ""Where did he go?"" cried James. ""What if he is lost in the forest?""      ""Mr. Frog went home to his family,"" said Penny.      ""Oh, don't bark, Penny,"" said James. ""I know you must be worried, but we'll find him and bring him home.""      ""He's already home,"" said Penny.      ""Shh, Penny,"" said James.      Since James could not be convinced of Mr. Frog's safety, Penny's only choice was to accompany her human into the forest in pursuit of their recent guest. Like most humans, James went about making an unbelievable amount of noise, calling for ""Froggy!"" incessantly and stepping on every loud twig that could possibly lie in his path.      ""I rather think 'Froggy' is a disrespectful moniker,"" said Penny. ""Also, oughtn't we check the pond first?""      ""That's right, girl,"" said James. ""You call for Froggy too! Keep barking!""      ""What izz your human doing, what izz he looking for?"" asked several bees from a nearby hive.      ""We had a run-in with a gentleman frog last night; I didn't catch his name,"" Penny explained. ""My human seems intent on finding him again, though I'm not sure he knows where to look.""      The commotion brought Tom Weasel wiggling out of his house to laugh uproariously at the sight of James calling into the hollows of Owl Tree.      ""Does your human know ANYTHING about animals?"" said Tom, wheezing with laughter. ""All he's going to get out of that is a very angry Mrs. Owl - she's just gone down for a nap, just watch -""      Sure enough, Virginia Owl soon appeared in her tree's branches, although James had since moved on to the large rock at the front door of another house. One of Virginia's eyes was still closed, and her beak was downturned in a fantastically sleepy scowl. She took a deep breath.      ""WHO,"" bellowed Virginia. She paused to yawn. ""WHO dares -""      ""FROGGY WHERE ARE YOU?"" yelled James.      Tom snickered so loudly that Penny took it upon herself to forcefully remind him of his manners, and as such, almost missed the sudden hush that swept through the whole clearing. Even James fell silent, which was sufficiently strange for Penny to go immediately running to her human's side, but she found him sprawled helplessly over Sir Roland Buck's wide face and rising steadily as the buck stood up.      ""Oh, for the love of all good creatures in this forest,"" said Sir Roland in his slow, rumbling way.      ""Sir, I apologize,"" yelped Penny. ""My human -""      ""Yes, yes,"" said Sir Roland, while James clung to his antlers, terrified. ""Come along."""      It turned out that the pond was much closer than Penny remembered from her last trip to the forest, which was comforting. She did think that Sir Roland could have dropped her and James off in a less literal fashion, though."</p>
	EN_WR_19_1 _3_SCJ	Female	19	American English	<p>"One day a little boy found a frog in the park. He decided to take it home and call him Fred. While the little boy was sleeping, Fred jumped from the jar and hopped away. The little boy woke up the next morning and could not find Fred. He looked everywhere. The little boy yelled, ""Fred! Where are you? I want you to come home now."" The little boy was walking through the forest when all of the sudden a deer attacked him. The little boy flew through the air and landed in the river. His dog saved him and the little boy was thanking his dog when he saw something move in the water. There were tons of little frogs swimming and then he looked up and saw Fred sitting with his wife and eight kids. The little boy was happy Fred found his family again."</p>
	EN_WR_20 _13_CP	Male	20	American English	<p>One day Johnny and his dog were playing with their new friend Froggy. After a long day and lot's of fun, they all went to bed. The next morning, Johnny woke to find that Froggy was missing! They looked all over the forest, in logs and around bushes. They even met a buck who was not very nice and pushed them off a ledge into the creek. But when they looked around in the creek, they saw Froggy! And he had a friend with him.</p>

EN_WR_21_13_AGS	Male	21	American English	One day, a boy and his dog has a frog in a jar. In the dark of the night, the frog escaped, with its powerful legs. in the morning the boy woke up perplexed, the jar was empty, the frog had gone! So boy and his dog went searching outside, he called through the forest but just could not find the frog in the tree, the frog on a rock, but the stick he was leaning on started to walk! the boy fell forward on the nose of a deer, and the deer quickly dumped him into a river, and boy and his dog will never forget how awfully, dreadfully, terribly wet they had gotten when suddenly behind from a log as rotten as possible out came a frog! Boy and his dog had encountered their friend, but realized froggy had run from their bed because froggy had family just like the boy, so they left little froggy in his home filled with joy.
EN_WR_19_13_MK	Female	19	American English	One day a little boy and his dog brought home a frog in a jar. That night, they went to sleep but the frog jumped out and escaped. The little boy woke up to see the jar was empty. He and his dog went searching for the frog. They searched high and low, and while they were searching they came across a deer. The deer lifted the two up and threw them over the edge of the cliff into a pond. They crawled onto a log near the water and right on the other side of that log they found a family of frogs! They had found their missing frog! They took him back home and waved goodbye to the rest of the frog family.

## L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers

FILE-NAME	PLACE-MENT TEST % SCORE	SEX	AGE	AoO	LoI	TEXT
ES_WR_A2_22_15_13_RM_V	42.5	Female	22	7	15	One day, a little boy was in his room with a dog and a frog. The frog was inside of a vase and the little boy was looking at it with happiness. When the little boy was sleeping with his dog, together in the bed. the frog escapes and left the room and the boy. At the next morning, the little boy woke up and when he didn't saw the frog,, he felt worried. So he changed his clothes and he went looks for the frog to the forest. First, he looking for around the trees, when he and his dog were closed to the bees. He shout strange but the frog don't appearances. He climbs a tree for see better but he keep without see it. He climbs, this time, a rock, he was shouting and he was hold suppose a branches. Then these branches are a deer that push him to the river. He and the dog dropped inside the river, both swimming to a trunk. When he lean over the trunk he found the frog. The frog had a family and it wants to back with them. The little boy saw the happiness of the frog and he decided to back home with another frog, this new frog doesn't had a family. The little boy and his dog waves goodbye with the new friend in his hand.
ES_WR_A2_21_15_13_E_TG	40.0	Female	21	6	15	One day, Harry's parents gave him an unusual present, a green frog! This night, he was sitting opposite his frog with his dog Tobby. His mother said to him: at it's too late! You must sleep! While Harry and Tobby were sleeping, the frog jump and it escaped. The next day, when Harry woke up, there was no frog on the vase, Harry was so worried because he lost his new frog. They looked for in the forest, in the middle of the trees and although in the rocks, but the green frog didn't appear. He shouted: little frog come with me! And suddenly an enormous deer appeared, Harry screamed and Tobby tried to save him. The deer push them and both fell in the river. Harry said: Tobby, are you O.K?, Tobby said: wow!! Behind the trunk where they lounged, they found the green frog. Harry said: frog where were you?, but the frog wasn't alone, it was with his family. Finally, Harry decided to leave the frog with his real family, the forest was his home. Harry and Tobby waved goodbye.
ES_WR_A2_19_12_13_LPD	45.8	Female	19	7	12	One day,... a boy was playing with his dog and his frog. The frog was in a vase on the floor of the bedroom. By night the boy and the dog went to the bed to sleep. The frog escaped when the day arrived the boy was worried because he didn't find his frog, so he decided to look at the forest. He looked for, with the help of his dog, in the trees, but there only had bees. After, he looked for in a rock and a deer pushed him, he fell to the river and he shouted. He held in a trunk and he found his frog with a big frog's family. He decided to leave the frog with his family and he waved goodbye.
ES_WR_A2_19_13_13_VFC	45.8	Female	19	6	13	One day, there was a boy in his bedroom. The boy looked at the frog and the dog smell the frog. The frog was in a vase in the floor. At the night, the boy went to the bed, and when the boy slept the frog escaped. The next day, when the boy slept he worried, because the frog wasn't in the vase and the boy and his dog went to look for at the forest. He shouted, but he didn't find it. He looked for in the trees, but he only found a lot of bees, also he looked for in the rock, and in the rock he found a deer. He was very frightened. and he fell in the river and he held in the trunk that there was and there, he found his frog, but the frog was with his family. The boy decided to leave the frog live with his family and he waved goodbye.
ES_WR_A2_19_11_13_MRT	40.0	Female	19	8	11	One day, a boy was in his bedroom with his dog. He loves animals. This day was his birthday and his parent gave him a frog. The frog was in a vase. The boy and the dog go to sleep very happy. In the night, the frog escaped. In the morning the boy was worried and he and his dog go to the forest to look for the frog. They shout for a long time. Look for in the forest but they didn't find the frog in the forest. Then a animal very big did that the boy and his dog fall in a river. They found a branch and in this way they go out water. Finally the boy and his dog found the frog. The frog was with the family. The boy put the frog in his hand and he goes to the home very very funny. He waves goodbye to the other frogs.

	38.3	Female	19	17	2	<p>One day, a boy was with his dog looking at a frog that his parents had give him. At night, when the boy was sleeping and his dog also rested on the bed, the little frog scaped, whose was in a vase, escaped and jumped until to disappear. Next morning, when the boy got up, quickly he looked the vase but he doesn't looked her frog. The boy stayed very surprised and shouted with all his strength. He began to devise a plan and he went to the forst with his dog. There, while he was looking for the frog he experimented a lot of adventures. He had escaped of a swarm of bees, he ressisted the attack of a deer falling for a river, and thanks to a trunk he saver her life. When the boy and his dog got to arrive to the bank of river, they looked tween four frog between the shrubs and they found his frog together the multitude.</p> <p>Finally, the boy caught his frog in her main and with her other main he waved goodbay.</p>
	30.8	Male	24	6	18	<p>One day, on the night. It had a boy what was looking after dog and frog in his bedroom. The frog escaped when he was sleeping with his dog. At the next day, when he got up he didn't found his frog and he started to look for frog. The boy and dog went to the forest then they was looking for her in trees. It had a beehive on a tree which the dog went to search. The bees chased to him but they scaped. The boy was desperaring that's he went up rock in order to call to his frog. When he was up to rock, starting to call to his frog but he didn't saw a big deer lean over himself. When he saw deer he tried going up of bees but the boy and his dog couldn't go up on the deer.</p>
	24	Female	Unkn own	Un kn ow n		<p>ES_WR_A2_2 4_Uknown_13_AAP</p>
	60.8	Female	20	10	10	<p>One day, George and his dog were looking at a frog in a vase. It was night, so the boy and the dog went bed.</p> <p>The moorning after, George wake up and the frog didn't stay yet. He and his dog search it on the floor, but they didn't found it. Where it was? George was very worried and sad, so they went to look for the forg in the forest. He shouted and shouted, and the dog found bees, and began to enter more and more in the forest. They searched it for the rocks, the plants and the river, a deer pushed him and George fall to the water. They found the frog! He was with his family, so George knews that he shouldn't pick up wild animals. He wave goodbye to the frog and his family and left the river.</p>
	50.8	Female	19	8	11	<p>One day, a boy bought a frog and he carried it at home with his dog. He was very happy! In the vening night the boy was on the bed and he was sleeping while the frog was trying to escape of the vase. Next day, boy look at the floor, but the frog wasn't. He was worried for his frog, as he went out and look for with his dog but they didn't find. Then, he started to shout the name frog's name in a rock, but this didn't result. Too he climb in a trunk to see it. When boy was in the rock, a deer pushed it and boy and failed at river. They went out the water and looked for in a trunk and here was his frog. They leaff the frog with them and the boy waved goodbye.</p>
	50.8	Female	19	8	11	<p>One day, a boy was site down the floor, saw like his dog was smell a frog. Later, the boy was sleeping when suddenly he is awaked and saw that his frog had escaped. He was very worried and he and his dog were look for the forest. the dog shouted and the boy cimbed up a tree and the rock. Suddenly, it appeared a deer and they were very astonished when the two fell the river. the boy pushed a trunk and finally he found the frog.</p>
	55.8	Male	21	8	13	<p>One day, there was a child sitting along a vase with a frog inside. One night, when he was sleeping, the frog escaped from the vase and next moming, the boy got up and he got worried so he decided to look for the frog outside with his dog, then they went into the forest and went on searching for the frog. They looked for it in many trees and in a rock too. Suddenly they were ta attacked by a deer and pushem them and they fell into the water and then, they heard a group of frogs crocking, it seemed to be a frog family and they saw the last frog there so they rescued it and waved goodbye to the family.</p>
	50.8	Male	19	6	13	<p>One day, a boy, whose name is PEpe, was walking for forest when he found a small frog, them he ran to take frog, but the frog escaped. Pepe though in a solution, his dog, pepito could look for to frog. After, Pepe wnt to his house to leave his dog and to got back to the forest. In the forest, Pepe and Pepito found the frog which was in the rive, Pepe fell to the river after he tried to take frog. Finally he could take the frog and hold it into a vase. Them, they went back to their house In his house, family Pepe, could see frog and said that he should the frog in the river where he found it. But he didn't like so he tried think a solution but he couldn't think, he preferred to hope until the following day. In that night, the frog escaped from the vase and when it was at morning, the boy was worried for the frog, so he looked for on the river, forest, rocks, trees but he didn't find it, them appeared a bear and ate their. End.</p>
	58.3	Female	18	6	12	<p>One day, a boy, who could be six years old had got a frog in a box. He also had a dog. it is very small. While the boy was sleeping, the frog went out of its box. When the boy wake up , he saw that the frog wasn't there. So the boy and his dog went out to the forest to look for the frog. The boy was worried nd because he wanted found it. The boy with his dog shouted very aloud in the forest and they looked for anywhere (between the trees...) but they didn't find anything. The boy rode on a rock and then the boy and his dog were threw by a deer to the river. The boy and his dog fall to water and they continued looking for to the frog. The boy and his dog looked behind of a trunk and there the frog was with other more. It could be the rest of his family, but the boy didn't mind it, nd so he caught to his frog and he said goodbye to the others frogs. He knew that this frog was of him because he knew very well how it was. So finally he acrossed the river with his dog and his frog. He was very excited and he was smiling because he had found his frog.</p>

ES_WR_B1_18_12_13_MP_S	48.3	Female	18	5	13	One day, One day, a little girl and her dog observed a frog and after while they are sleeping, the frog escape for the window and the next morning they are worried and they decided to look for the frog. In fact, they went to the wood and they screamed a lot the name of the frog and after the girl looked for the trees... and the dog smelt all things, but the frog don't appear. Finally, they found the frog when they across the river and it stayed in the water with the rest of frogs and the little girl and her dog understood that the frog wanted stay in the river and they returned to her house!
ES_WR_B1_18_12_13_MBG	53.3	Female	18	6	12	One day, Max was in his bedroom with his dog named Guantes and his frog. When Max was sleeping the frog jumped to the floor. At the morning Max discovered that the frog was desapeared and he was really sad, the boy decided to wanted the frog in the forest near his house. First, he smelled the name of the frog "Laly", then Max saw in one three, and finally when he was on one rock a big animal pushed he and the little boy with his dog all fallen in the river. All the boy was full of water and the dog too. When Max and Guantes could exit to the river !Surprise! the frog was with her family. Max was descovered that the frog who he was adopted have a lot of little frogs, and they house was near the river. Max and Guantes leave home really happy and they say goodbye at this lovely frogs family.
ES_WR_B1_18_10_13_MHF	52.5	Female	18	8	10	One day, one boy and his dog find a frog and he put it in a bottle. Later, the boy go to the bed. This night, the frog escape qhile the boy and the dog are sleeping. The next day, they are worried and look for the frog in the forest. The boy climb a rock and then he fall in to the river. Finally, his dog and he can save them. Sudenly, they are in a trunk and see the frog. But there isn't a frog, there are a lot of frogs. His pet was with his family in the pond, and for this reason the frog had escaped. In the end, the boy and the dog back home and wave goodbye. Now, the boy is happy because know that the frog is with his family in the forest.
ES_WR_B1_18_12_13_MTR	58.3	Female	18	6	12	One day, a boy whose name is Tony was in his bedroom with his small dog. Tony had a great pet; a frog; but this frog was very unhappy because it wanted to go to the forest because it loved the nature. That night, while Tony and his dog were sleeping the frog scaped of the house. The next morning, Tony went to see the frog and he started to cry when he see the bottle with nothing. Inmediately his dog and he went to the nearer forest and started to find but the frog didn't appear and they was very worried because there was a very dangerous snake which ate frogs. The boy found in trees, in rocks and when he was in a high mountain a big animal appeared. They were very scared because of this and they jumped to the river. and they started to listen a peculiar sound. It was the frog! And it was with another big frog and small frogs. Tony was happy and he decided that the frog must be in the forest with his friends but the frog didn't want to live without Tony and they decided to live together but they go everyday to the forest. But this isn't the final because when they were coming to hom they saw the big snake but it was eating flowers. When Tony saw it do this he asked it and it said Tony that people invented this story. They were speaking about four hours and finally the snake went to live with Tony, the frog and the dog.
ES_WR_B1_18_12_13_LRG	50.8	Female	18	6	12	One day, a boy was watching his frog in a vase at night. His dog was watching the frog too. Then, while the boy was sleeping in his bed, with his dog, his frog escaped. The next day, the boy doesn't watch his frog and he looked for it. The boy shouted in the forest and his dog smell his frog so his dog helped the boy to find his frog. The boy jumped to look for it in the trees. The boy was in the rock fore after. While the boy was shouting in the rock, he fell in the branch and finally he fell in the river because a deer beat him. His dog fell in the river too. They was in the water but they found a trunk and they sit in the trunk. Finally, they realised that the frog was in the floor and it was with other frogs. The boy caught his frog and the boy and his frog wave goodbye. They was smiling. Probably other frog was the family of frog.
ES_WR_C1_25_19_13_JAD	80.8	Female	25	6	19	One day, Marco's frog, which was usually in a vase he had in his bedroom, managed to escape while Marco was sleeping. Marco got very sad and worried so he decided to look for it in the forest. Marco decided to take his dog with him so that it helped him in the search. They even climbed on a small hill, what wasn't the best decission at all, as there was a deer that pushed both, Marco and his dog, to the river. Fortunately the could swim and, with the help of a trunk they came out of the river. What was more surprising is that his frog was just behind that trunk. It was with more frogs, which Marco suposed that were its family. As Marco knew the importance of the family, he decided not to take the frog again and let it live with its family.
ES_WR_C1_21_13_13_SML	88.3	Female	21	8	13	One day, when little Toby went to sleep, his frog called Marvin, decided to get out of his jar and go for a walk around the forest. The next morning, when Toby woke up and realised that Marvin was gone, he was sad. With the help of his dog, he went to look for Marvin. He shouted its name to the wind; he looked behind the trees; he climbed a rock to see if Marvin was between the bushes, but the only thing he found was a deer. The deer that was eating peacefully got scared by the shouting of the boy and the backing of the dog and pushed them down a cleef and into the water. They got up and dripped away the water. Suddenly, they heard the singing of many frogs behind a fallen branch, when the leaned over to have a look, there was Marvin! Marvin seemed really happy in between those frog, but he was also relieved when he saw Toby. They said goodbye to the other frogs and headed back home. Apparently, at some point of his midnight walk, Marvin got lost. He wandered around for hours until he found the other frogs, that welcome him in their group. Marvin was sure all along that Toby was gonna find him.
ES_WR_C1_21_13_13_NGS	82.5	Female	21	8	13	One day, a boy and his dog found a frog so the put the frog on a jar. When he went to bed with his dog, the frog scaped. The next day, they woke up and the frog was gone. He decided to go out and look for the frog in the forest. He started to shout and his dog to bark. In front of him there was a tree with a big hole and he thought that the frog could be there. He started climbing the tree while his dog at the background was playing with bees. The frog wasn't there so they started walking again. Suddenly, he saw a big rock and he thought that from there he may see the frog. He saw a branch and he grabed himself and shouted again. Suddenly, what he imagined to be a branch was a very big deer which scared him so much that he and his dog felt to the water! He saw a trunk and to his surprise he found the frog on the other side! But he wasn't alone! He had a big family. Finally one of this littles frog decided to come back with the boy and his dog. He waved his hand to say goodbye to the rest of the frog. He looks as if he was very happy with his too friends.

	80.0	Female	20	10	10	One day,... John found a frog in the wood. He really liked it so he decided to take it home. At home, he put the frog in a vase; "He will be comfortable here", he thought. After spending like an hour looking at it, John and Snoopy, his dog, decided that it was time to go to bed. Next day, when John woke up, he realised that the fog had escaped during the night! John, worried, decided to look for it in the wood. In the forest, John and Snoopy looked for it, shouting his name (John called it Mike). In their way, they found a lot of bees, they looked for between the branches, behind the rocks ... but there weren't signs of it. In one moment, John was attacked by a deer, who pushed him to a river. However, John wasn't afraid, he was convinced looking for it in the forest. A little time after his fall, he found a trunk. John decided to jump over the trunk and...there was Mike!!! He found Mike with all his family. Then, John understood why it escaped during the night: it was worried about its family and it was sad because they were separated. When John saw how happy was Mike there, he decided that the best was leaving it there. A little sad, John said goodbye and came back home.
ES_WR_C1_19_13_EOJ	83.3	Female	19	6	13	One day,... there was a kid with his dog sitting in front of the bed, looking at a frog in a jar; it was at night so the little boy soon turned off the lights and headed to sleep with his dog on top of him. But what he didn't know was that, during the night, the frog had escaped from the jar; so when the boy woke up and saw the empty jar in front of him, he decided to go search the frog outside. He went to the forest with his dog, where he looked and searched in the trees, he even got on top of a big rock, but unfortunately there was a male deer hiding in some bushes behind it, so the deer took the little boy on his snout and horns and then he dropped him into a pond that was nearby. The poor kid tried his best to get out of the water, and so did his dog. They used a trunk that was close to help them get out and as soon as he leaned over it, he found the frog, and not just the frog, all the frog's family was living in the pond. That's how he realised he had to leave the frog with its family, so he smiled and waved goodbye while heading back home with his dog.
ES_WR_C1_19_13_A_GA	80.8	Male	19	6	13	One day,... a dog and a boy were looking at a frog, which was inside a vase. It had been caught the last night. The dog did not stop smelling the frog. Nevertheless, the frog decided to escape and it went away. In the afternoon, when the boy and his pet woke up, they noticed that the frog had escaped. For this reason, they tried to look for it. They looked for everywhere. However, they could not find out where it was. Despite the fact that they went to the forest and shouted in order to find it, they couldn't find it. In the forest, they couldn't avoid seeing bees. When they saw it, they realised that perhaps the frog may be in the branches of the tree. This is because the deer had dropped. The problem is that the branch had fallen into a river and a deer was pushing it. The frog, fortunately, found his family. The boy and the dog realised and waved goodbye. Definitely, if they had been careful, the frog would not have escaped from the vase. Nevertheless, to my mind, the more free an animal is, the happier it is.
ES_WR_C1_19_11_13_JRJ	81.7	Male	19	8	11	One day, Melissa the frog, tired of being a pet, decided to run away from her jar. She did it while his owner, James, and his dog Lupo, were sleeping. When they woke up, they realized that their dear friend wasn't at home, so they started a little journey in order to find her. First, they looked for Melissa through the surrounding field of their house. James was calling her from, but Melissa didn't come. Suddenly, Lupo started to smell something. It was Melissa's essence! They walked into the wood, climbed trees, rocks... but nothing. During their journey, James committed a mistake. He thought that a deer's horns were simple branches, and he held the horns in order to make sure that Melissa wasn't behind a huge rock. The deer, angry because James woke up while it was taking a nap, pushed James and Lupo into a river. Fortunately, they reached the shore and escaped from the river. After this, they found Melissa, and they were really happy because then they could altogether return to home. However, Melissa has been already at home. She ran away because she wanted to be with her family. At last, James and Lupo returned to home and gave to Melissa their wave goodbye. "Be happy, and take care of your family" said James. So, we can say that they all lived happily ever after.

## G. Study 2: participants biodata and texts

### English natives

FILENAME	SEX	AGE	ENGLISH NATIVES (VARIETY)	TEXT
EN_WR_20 _13_AMS	Female	20	American English	One day, a small boy decided to catch a frog and keep it in a jar. The frog was not a fan of this living arrangement and escaped while the boy and his dog slept. In the morning the child and dog went to go look in the forest for the frog. They startle a deer and are pushed into the river, but manage to climb onto a log. While sitting on the log, the boy and his dog see the frog that was abducted earlier. The boy realizes that the frog has a family and that he was terribly wrong to try and take them away, so he waves goodbye and leaves with his dog.
EN_WR_21_13_JD	Female	21	American English	One day, young Timothy and his dog, Patrick, caught a frog at the pond down the street from Timothy's house. They brought him home and put him in a glass jar at the end of Timothy's bed. That night, however, unbeknownst to Timothy or Patrick, the frog escaped! Saddened by this turn of events, Timothy decided to return to the forest where he had found the frog and bring him back. Timothy and Patrick wandered the forest for several hours, Timothy calling for his small friend to come home and Patrick trying to smell for the frog. As Timothy climbed a rock beside a set of barren branches, trying to call for the frog, the branches shifted and Timothy realized that they were not branches at all. In fact, Timothy was holding onto a young buck! The buck did not care for Timothy's manhandling at all, and he twisted his large head, sending Timothy tumbling down a small drop into a pond. Patrick, ever a good dog, leapt after Timothy and helped him swim to safety outside the water. Timothy was sad now, fearing he would never find the frog now. Suddenly he heard a loud croak, and Timothy turned to see the very frog that he was searching for! However, the frog was not alone. The frog had a partner and several smaller frogs with it. Timothy realized that he should not have taken the frog from his proper habitat and family, and he resolved to leave the reptile alone with its family to live out its life in the pond.
EN_WR_21 _13_SWS	Male	21	American English	One day, Joe caught a frog. He put it in a jar in his bedroom, and after looking at it for a while he went to sleep. When he woke up, it was gone. Saddened by its absence, he went to search for it in the forest with his dog. He searched high and low without success, until a wild elk knocked him and the dog off an escarpment into a lake. He climbed out, drenched and depressed, and ready to go home. Then, he heard a "ribbit" from behind a log. He climbed over it, and saw the frog with another frog and a bunch of smaller frogs. He suddenly realized that he'd taken the frog from the wild without wondering whether the frog had a family, and he left the frog in peace.
EN_WR_21_13_LC	Female	21	American English	One day, a little boy came home to find that his parents had brought him a pet frog. He brought the frog in his jar to his room and spent all afternoon watching the frog with his pet dog. The frog was afraid of the dog and didn't much like his jar, so he hatched a plan of escape. That night, while the boy and the dog were sleeping, the frog climbed out of the jar and hopped away. When the boy woke up, he realized that his frog had gone missing. He was in a panic and immediately turned the house upside-down in search. The boy realized that the frog must not be in the house, so he and his dog went outside to search. They called for the frog into the woods, "Frog! Frog, where are you?" but he didn't come back. The boy and the dog headed into the forest to search. High and low, left and right, in a tree, on a rock- the two searched everywhere. The boy just couldn't find his frog. He did, however, find a new animal: a huge buck. The buck didn't like the boy's intrusion into his territory, and rapidly threw him over a short ledge. The boy and his dog landed with a thud in a soft marsh. When he got up and brushed himself off, the boy noticed a whole family of frogs watching him curiously. Among them he saw his pet frog. He had found him! His pet, touched that the boy had gone through so much to find him, decided to go back home with the boy and his dog. They waved goodbye to the frog family and trekked back home, where the three became great friends and lived HOPpily ever after.

EN_WR_21_13_AG	Female	21	American English	<p>One day Eleanor was out in the woods with her dog, Buster. The two enjoyed following the stream behind their house pretending to be famous explorers, or pirates, or spies. They would sometimes get lost in their imaginary games for hours. One day in the middle of the summer as Eleanor and Buster were looking for dragon eggs in a calm pool on the edge of the river a frog hopped right onto Eleanor's shoulder. Eleanor was enchanted with her new friend, who spoke to her about life as a frog and how he had traveled all the way down the stream to the Big Pond and there were pirates in the big pond. Buster was dubious about trusting the Frog, and he was a little jealous of the interest Eleanor had her new friend. He made it clear that he was not interested in being the Frog's friend. Eleanor invited the Frog up to her house for a sleep over. She prepared his bowl and fed him a big supper. Buster, was still not delighted by the Frog's presence. He did not believe that the Frog had ever been down to the Big Pond or that there were pirates there. Once Eleanor fell asleep the Frog decided to leave. While he enjoyed Eleanor's company, he felt like Buster didn't like him. When Eleanor and Buster woke up and the Frog was gone Eleanor became worried that the Frog was kidnapped. She insisted that Buster come with her to help her find the Frog. Buster was reluctant but goes along to support his best friend. The two went further down the stream than they have ever been. They saw strange new animals, and felt a little afraid when they didn't recognize where they were. The area was all new, but Eleanor insisted that finding the Frog is essential. Eventually Eleanor decided to stop and rest on top of a little ledge. She saw some black berries and went to reach for them, but suddenly she found herself on top of a deer. The deer was so startled that he flicked his head and she went flying into a body of water. Buster jumped in right after her. When they resurfaced they realized that they must be in the Big Pond. The Frog noticed the disruption from the other side of the pond and swam over immediately to investigate and help out. The three realized what had happened and were simultaneously irritated and touched. The Frog apologized for being rude and not leaving a note and lying about the pirates. He said that he would be lucky to have Eleanor and Buster as his friends. Buster apologized for not being nice to the Frog. Eleanor forgave Buster for being grumpy, and the Frog for exaggerating the truth.</p>
EN_WR_20_13_MP_G	Female	20	American English	<p>One day a little boy and his dog caught a frog put it in a glass jar. They brought the frog up to his room and went to bed looking forward to the adventures they would have the next day together. But, when the dog and boy woke up the next morning the frog was gone! "Oh no!" said the boy to his dog. "We must go find him!" So the boy and his dog went outside to look for the frog. They looked high and low, but they could not find the frog. "What if we never see him again?" the boy cried. Finally, after searching all day, the boy and his dog reach the bank of a little pond in the middle of the woods. And there, sitting next to his family, was the frog! He croaked happily as if to say "Hello!" The boy and his dog we're very happy that they had found their friend again. They came back many times to play with the frog. The end.</p>
EN_WR_21_13_MTH	Male	21	American English	<p>One day, a boy captured a frog. In the middle of the night, the frog snuck out and ran off on the boy. He went to go find the frog with his best friend, his loyal dog. They searched high and low through the forest, but could not find the frog. They had almost given up when the young boy fell off of a cliff into a lake, and found the frog. He had gone back to be with his family! The boy saw all the baby frogs, and he was very happy.</p>
EN_WR_20_13_SS	Female	20	American English	<p>One day my dog and I caught a frog out in the woods. I kept him in a jar next to my bed, but I didn't put a lid on so that he could breathe. He escaped while we were asleep! I looked everywhere for my beloved frog, but he wasn't in my room. He wasn't in the field where I caught him. I climbed trees and rocks looking for him, but he was nowhere to be found. While I was climbing a boulder a deer scared me! (I think I scared it too...) I fell off of a small ledge, and into a pond. The water was cold, but I'm a good swimmer so I wasn't worried. As I lay on a log to dry off, my dog started barking. On the other side of the log was my frog! A few more frogs started making noises at me when I picked my frog up. They must have been his family! I knew I would be upset if someone tried to take me from my family, so I tried to put him back down. The frog jumped back up into my hand. He wanted to come with me! My frog said goodbye to his family and the three of us went home together.</p>
EN_WR_20_13_JC	Female	20	American English	<p>One day a boy found a frog and captured it in a jar. While the boy was asleep that night the frog had managed to jump out of the jar and escape. When the boy woke up the next morning he was sad to find his new friend had disappeared. So he set out with his dog, Rufus, to search for the frog. The boy went through valleys and called "Here frog, frog, frog, frog!". He then entered into the forest. He climbed high in the trees, and on top of rocks, searching in every nook and cranny for the little frog. While searching on top of the rock the boy had stumbled across a deer. The deer was not happy to see an imposter in his territory. He picked the boy up with his head and flung him and the dog into the shallow river below. Rufus and the boy quickly scrambled away. While climbing over a log, they came upon a frog family. The boy recognized his frog as one of them. Seeing the frog amongst his family made the boy realize that he could no longer take him home with Rufus. So the boy waved goodbye to his friend and hope to visit him again soon.</p>
EN_WR_20_13_SPB	Male	20	American English	<p>One day, a boy and his dog caught a frog while playing outside. He found a jar and put the frog there, but, the frog, being a frog, did not like being imprisoned in the jar. So he hatched a scheme to wait until all his wardens retired to bed, when he would escape into the night and continue his life as a frog. When the boy woke up, he had found that his prisoner had escaped so he went on a frog-hunt. In his searches he found a karmic deer that saw into his soul and saw how he had cruelly imprisoned that frog. So to teach him a lesson, the dear kidnapped the boy and his dog and threw them in a woodland prison of the dear's own creation. It is there that the boy lived out the rest of his days as a prisoner of nature.</p>
EN_WR_20_13_LH	Female	20	American English	<p>One day a boy brought a frog home. When he was sleeping the frog escaped. The boy and his dog went looking for the frog. A moose pushed the boy over a cliff and he fell into a pond, where he found the frog with his frog family.</p>
EN_WR_21_13_JDC	Male	21	American English	<p>One day a boy took off the lid of his frog jar to let his frog breath at night. But the frog escaped as he slept! The boy was very worried about his frog when he woke to find it missing, so he and his dog went on a search for the frog. They looked high and low, climbing over many obstacles and avoiding dangers. The boy disturbed a buck in the woods and, startled, the buck pushed him off of a ledge into a pond. Splash! The boy's dog pulled him from the water. Just as they were giving up on their search to go home, the boy spies his frog with a family on a log, and the boy is happy.</p>

EN_WR_20 -13_RW	Female	20	American English	<p>One day, little Garrett sat and admired his frog. Oh how he loved that frog. He went to sleep dreaming of playing with his frog. But the mischievous frog saw a fly buzzing past and hopped out of his bowl to chase it! When little Garrett woke up he was distraught over his missing frog. He searched high and low for his dear frog, all over the nearby forest. He was just starting to despair when he flopped over onto a log. Suddenly, a large deer pushed him over a waterfall and he fell into the river with a great splash! What was that for? He angrily thought. But look, over there! His dear little frog happily munching on flies. Little Garrett was overjoyed at finding his frog.</p>
EN_WR_21 -13_SY	Female	21	American English	<p>One day, a boy and his dog were playing with their frog. During the night, the frog got out so the boy and his dog decided to look for it. They looked everywhere until the boy accidentally angered a deer. The deer took them and dumped them into a creek. Upon swimming to shore and climbing onto a log, they found the frog! The frog had started a family so, with smiles on their faces, the boy and his dog left the frog on the log with its family.</p>
EN_WR_19_13_DL	Female	19	American English	<p>"One day, Penny's small human (whose mother called him James) found a Mr. Frog in the storm drain across the street, just before dinner, and brought him home in a glass jar. Penny tried to ask for the gentleman frog's given name in her most polite voice, but James reproached Penny for barking and seemed content to spend the evening without even attempting conversation, so Mr. Frog suffered through a most improper silence until James' bedtime.  It was the middle of the night, and a gentle breeze was wafting through the open window, when Penny heard a soft, reedy voice from the windowsill:  ""Pardon this unmannerly exit, ma'am,"" whispered Mr. Frog, ""but I really must be getting home to my family.""  Penny nodded briefly, not wanting to wake James, and the gentleman frog disappeared into the night.  The next morning, James was distraught to find Mr. Frog missing from his glass jar, despite Penny's reassurances that their guest was really all right.  ""Where did he go?"" cried James. ""What if he is lost in the forest?""  ""Mr. Frog went home to his family,"" said Penny.  ""Oh, don't bark, Penny,"" said James. ""I know you must be worried, but we'll find him and bring him home.""  ""He's already home,"" said Penny.  ""Shh, Penny,"" said James.  Since James could not be convinced of Mr. Frog's safety, Penny's only choice was to accompany her human into the forest in pursuit of their recent guest. Like most humans, James went about making an unbelievable amount of noise, calling for ""Froggy!"" incessantly and stepping on every loud twig that could possibly lie in his path.  ""I rather think 'Froggy' is a disrespectful moniker,"" said Penny. ""Also, oughtn't we check the pond first?""  ""That's right, girl,"" said James. ""You call for Froggy too! Keep barking!""  ""What izz your human doing, what izz he looking for?"" asked several bees from a nearby hive.  ""We had a run-in with a gentleman frog last night; I didn't catch his name,"" Penny explained. ""My human seems intent on finding him again, though I'm not sure she knows where to look.\""" The commotion brought Tom Weasel wiggling out of his house to laugh uproariously at the sight of James calling into the hollows of Owl Tree.  ""Does your human know ANYTHING about animals?"" said Tom, wheezing with laughter. ""All he's going to get out of that is a very angry Mrs. Owl - she's just gone down for a nap, just watch - ""  Sure enough, Virginia Owl soon appeared in her tree's branches, although James had since moved on to the large rock at the front door of another house. One of Virginia's eyes was still closed, and her beak was downturned in a fantastically sleepy scowl. She took a deep breath.  ""WHO,"" bellowed Virginia. She paused to yawn. ""WHO dares -""  ""FROGGY WHERE ARE YOU?"" yelled James.  Tom snickered so loudly that Penny took it upon herself to forcefully remind him of his manners, and as such, almost missed the sudden hush that swept through the whole clearing. Even James fell silent, which was sufficiently strange for Penny to go immediately running to her human's side, but she found him sprawled helplessly over Sir Roland Buck's wide face and rising steadily as the buck stood up.  ""Oh, for the love of all good creatures in this forest,"" said Sir Roland in his slow, rumbling way.  ""Sir, I apologize,"" yelped Penny. ""My human - ""  ""Yes, yes,"" said Sir Roland, while James clung to his antlers, terrified. ""Come along.\""" It turned out that the pond was much closer than Penny remembered from her last trip to the forest, which was comforting. She did think that Sir Roland could have dropped her and James off in a less literal fashion, though."</p>
EN_WR_19_1 3_SCU	Female	19	American English	<p>"One day a little boy found a frog in the park. He decided to take it home and call him Fred. While the little boy was sleeping, Fred jumped from the jar and hopped away. The little boy woke up the next morning and could not find Fred. He looked everywhere. The little boy yelled, ""Fred! Where are you? I want you to come home now.\""" The little boy was walking through the forest when all of the sudden a deer attacked him. The little boy flew through the air and landed in the river. His dog saved him and the little boy was thanking his dog when he saw something move in the water. There were tons of little frogs swimming and then he looked up and saw Fred sitting with his wife and eight kids. The little boy was happy Fred found his family again."</p>
EN_VWR_20 -13_CP	Male	20	American English	<p>One day Johnny and his dog were playing with their new friend Froggy. After a long day and lot's of fun, they all went to bed. The next morning, Johnny woke to find that Froggy was missing! They looked all over the forest, in logs and around bushes. They even met a buck who was not very nice and pushed them off a ledge into the creek. But when they looked around in the creek, they saw Froggy! And he had a friend with him.</p>

EN_WR_21_13_AG5	Male	21	American English	One day, a boy and his dog has a frog in a jar. In the dark of the night, the frog escaped, with its powerful legs. in the morning the boy woke up perplexed, the jar was empty, the frog had gone! So boy and his dog went searching outside, he called through the forest but just could not find the frog in the tree, the frog on a rock, but the stick he was leaning on started to walk! the boy fell forward on the nose of a deer, and the deer quickly dumped him into a river, and boy and his dog will never forget how awfully, dreadfully, terribly wet they had gotten when suddenly behind from a log as rotten as possible out came a frog! Boy and his dog had encountered their friend, but realized froggy had run from their bed because froggy had family just like the boy, so they left little froggy in his home filled with joy.
EN_WR_19_13_MK	Female	19	American English	One day a little boy and his dog brought home a frog in a jar. That night, they went to sleep but the frog jumped out and escaped. The little boy woke up to see the jar was empty. He and his dog went searching for the frog. They searched high and low, and while they were searching they came across a deer. The deer lifted the two up and threw them over the edge of the cliff into a pond. They crawled onto a log near the water and right on the other side of that log they found a family of frogs! They had found their missing frog! They took him back home and waved goodbye to the rest of the frog family.

## L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers

FILE-NAME	PLACE MENT TEST SCORE (%)	SEX	AGE	AOO	LOI	TEXT
ES_WR_A1_1_3_7_13_ACL	30	Female	13	6	7	One day,...there was a boy that capture a ugly frog, he and his dog came home to observe the frog, the hours past, and he fall sleep, and the frog scape from the glass.   In the next morning, the boy didn't see the frog and he went to the street to fought (encontrar) the frog but he can't saw the frog an he back home very very sad because he wanted to had the frog.   In the next morning he did the same and he find the frog witch old of his family and he comprehend that he can't gave the frog because he had a family of frogs.   He back home with his dog called "Kai".
ES_WR_A1_13_8_13_JMGS	27.5	Male	13	5	8	One day,...a boy found a frog, and he put the frog in a great glass. the frog went to the forest, because the boy must ate the frog to the next day. The dog and the boy searched the frog by all the part of the forest, but the frog is in a tree. The dog saw the frog in other tree, but when he go to catch the frog, some bee attack him. The boy and the dog run to the house. The frog thing that this is a dangerous tree for live. The frog run and go to a lake to swim. The boy went other time, and he searched, but don't found the frog. The frog run because a shark ate the frog, but the boy ate the shark and the dog a night ate the boy.
ES_WR_A1_1_3_Unknown_13_DB	24.2	Male	13	0	Unkn own	One day,... a boy bought a beautiful frog, but in the night a boy sleep in her bed and the frog escape. In the day the boy don't saw the frog and he is worried. The boy try find the frog with her dog. The boy and the dog went to forest. The boy for look in the trees and rocks. When the boy for look appear one deer and this push a boy and a dog to the river. Later the boy and the dog find the frog but the frog has got a family.
ES_WR_A1_1_4_8_13_ARG	42.5	Male	14	6	8	One day, a boy was playing whit a frog and his dog. At night the forg escape. When the boy get up he was preoccupied. he shout, but the forg didn't apair, so he goig to loock for the frog in the forest. When he was looking for the frog a deer take him and drop the boy in a river. He begining swiming and he saw the forg and his family in a trunk
ES_WR_A1_1_4_9_13_MA_MG	29.2	Male	14	5	9	A day, David and his dog (Perry) looked at a frog that found in the forest and put in a vase. Then, David and Perry went to the bed. The frog, take advantage of the David and Perry didn't look at it, try escape and escaped of the vase and went out of the house. At the morning again, David and Perry got up and looked at the vase's frog and ... the frog didn't is in the vase! They was worry
ES_WR_A1_1_5_7_13_LCH_A	20.8	Female	15	8	7	One day,...A boy has a frog in the booth, and he look and the dog's boy too. The boy going to the bed and when he gets up the frog scape. The boy very worried about the frog, he goes to look for the frog. He goes to the forest and shouts-FROOG! -FROOG!, CAME HERE. The boy up to the truk, look for the frog and he shout, call the frog. The boy very sad about the frog, go to your house and your mother has the frog. The mother find the frog in the kitchen. END.
ES_WR_A1_15_9_13_MGR	44.2	Female	15	6	9	One day,... a boy was sitting on the floor with her dog and frog. When the boy was sleeping, the frog scapped from the bottle. The Next Day, when the boy woke up, the frog wasn't at the bottle and the boy was very nervous and he and her dog ran to the forest to search the frog. they look in the trees, stones... Suddenly, an animal appear toward their and hit them. they fall to the river. they look in the water and they saw the frog with their family. the boy was very happy because he had found the frog, but he left the frog with their family. He up the hand and wave goodbye to the frog's family Finally the dog and the boy return to her house.

	22.5	Male	15	6	9	One day.... Nico found a frog and he was playing all the night. Then the frog escape while the dog and the boy were sleeping. At the next morning, the boy and the dog to look for the frog and they don't find. More after, they to look for in the forest, in the trees and about a rock. Suddenly he rode in a deer and the deer drop the frog and the boy at river. More after they leaved of river and they went to look behind of trunk. Then they found the frog with its family. Finally Nico, him dog and the frog went to him house.
	27.5	Female	16	4	12	One child with his dog saw one frog in the vase when the boy went to the bed, the frog escaped of the vase. When the child didn't saw the frog, worried he went to the forest and looked for the frog. The boy droped in the river, next the boy looked for the frog in the trunk. Next, the boy finded the frog with his family and his wave goodbye.
		Male	16	7	9	One day,...one boy and one frog and one dog are playing in the bedroom in at night. When the boy and the dog are sleeping the frog escape. In the morning when the boy and the dog get up the frog isn't in the bedroom and the boy is very frightened and he go to look for the frog in the forest in the tree but the frog isn't there after two hours the dog see the frog and the dog run to tell the boy where is the frog and the frog is sleeping next to the tree when the boy see the frog the boy was very happy.
	30.8	Female	16	7	9	One day,... Pedro is in his bedroom with his dog and his frog. He goes to bed and he sleeps all the nigh. He getsup and his frog escapes. He goes to the forest to look for his frog. He is very worried. He look at in the trees, in the floor, He shout all the time. He sit in the rock and
	39.2	Male	15		15	One day,... a boy was in his bedrrom and he put his frog in a vase for keep it. At the next morning, the frog scaped of his vase and it dessappeared. When the boy woke up, he was very surprised because he didn't see the frog. He and his dog went to the forest to look for the frog. He shout the name of the frog but it didn't appear. He look in all sides but it didn't appear. Whe he was in a rock lookin for the frog, he though that it was a branch, but it was the com of a deer. The deer was very frightened so he threw the boy to a river. When he gots up, he found a family of frogs and in this family was the dissappeared frog, so he taked it to his house.
	38.3	Female	15	6	9	One day,... a boy was playing with her dog and with her frog when the dog tryed to smell the frog, In this moment the boy look at the mirror and he saw that it was night so he went to sleep. In the morning he discovered that the frog has escaped and he was very worried so he decided go with her dog for look for it. They search it in the forest but they didn't found it, so he held in a branch but it wasn't a branch it was a horn of a deer so the deer start to fight with the boy and the boy fall into the river, he swam and he hold a trunk when he found the frog with her family so he decided it is an good condition and he left the frog in the river, he wave goodbye to the frog.
	47.5	Female	15	6	9	One day,... a boy buy a frog because he loves all the animals. He too has a dog so cute. He and his dog look at the frog, they think that is very interesting. Finally the boy goes to the bed because he is tired. When he is sleeping the frog escape and leaves for the window. The next day the boy gets up and see that the frog escape so he is worried. He decides go to the forest with the dog to look for the frog. The boy shouts very strong but the frog doesn't appear. Then they enter in the middle of the forest and see a big tree so the boy sube to the tree to look for his frog. Later he walk for twenty minutes and "sube" at a rock for shout the name of the frog. He is tired and drops under the rock. He cries but he see the frog. He is very happy with his two animals and comes back with his family. He sais goodbay to his parents and goes his bedroom. He sais goodbay to his animals and goes to bed happy and tired.
	43.3	Male	16	8	8	One day,... Pepito was very happy because he found a little frog near his bed. But whe he was sleeping the frog go out. At the morning when Pepito get up, he found that his frog "Pope" had go out. He go out with his dog "Jos" and they went to the jungle for loock for his. Pepito went to a rock for see better, but a deer push him and he fall in a river. When Pepito kick up he watch a trunk and he thinks that the frog can be near the trunk, after this he found his frog and he leaved the frog with his soon and he waved goodbye.
	45	Female	16	8	8	One day,... Juan was very happy because his father has given a frog for his good marks at school. Pepe, who Juan called his frog start to be very sad because he wants to returned to his house on the lake near Juan's house. Juan's dog also was happy to discover other new friend, but that change fast. The same day at night Juan and his dog was sleeping and the frog Pepe was in a vase with water on the floor. So Pepe jump and escape for the open window to go to his lack. Next day, on the morning Juan saw that Pepe isn't there and with his dog, they go to look for Pepe isn't there and with his dog, they go to look for Pepe. When they are at the mountain and near the river they listeng to same sound that Pepe's do so Juan became happy but a deer who run faster push Juan into the river, Pepe and his family who are in the river and saw all help Juanwith a trunk, thank to that Juan could go out and the dog understand what happened because he talk with Pepe and tell him that Juan was a very good person but he prefer stay with his family. Finally the dog and Juan very afraid return to his house and two months ago Pepe go to Juan house for see how he is. So some days Juan go to the river and others Pepe go to Juan's house, and they became good friends.
	36.7	Female	16	7	9	One day, a boy with his dog had a frog. At night, when the boy and the dog where sleeping the frog escapes. The next morning they don't know where is the frog, and they go out to look for at the forest. They shout his name worried. They looked for the trees. the rocks_ suddenly when the boy was on a rock appeared a deer and pushed him to the river and the boy droped in the water. He helps woth a trunk to go out the river and he find the frog's family. He leaved the frog with his family and arrived to his house. He waved good bye with the hand.

ES_WR_A2_16_9_13_MDB	35	Male	16	7	9	One day, ther is a frog into a vase of glass. A boy and his dog saw this frog. When the boy and his dog go to bed, the frog escape of the vase. Next morning, when the boy got up look at the vase and start to lloking for the frog in forest. The boy shouted in all the forest. After that they climbed trees but they don't find the frog. Later, the boy and his dg go to a rock and he hold a branch, but this branch, but this branch was a deer so the deer started to run and finally stip and they fall into the river. They could see a trunk and they hold that. Finally they found the frog's family and the understood that the frog wanted to stay with his family. Then, they leave wanted to stay with his family. Then, they leave this family saying goodbye and return to house.	
ES_WR_A2_16_Unknown_13_JPM	35.8	Male	16	0	Unkn own	One day, a children with his dog had a frog in a bottle. At night when the boy was sleeping the frog jumped out of the bottle. The frog go out throw the window. At the next day the children was surprised because the frog had gone to the forest. The children and the dog went to look for the frog. They looked for in the river, in all the trees, and rocks. The bad thing was own a big rock there was a deer. The deer take the boy and the dog, and pushed them into a river. They failed near a trunk and behind him there were a frog family and in this family was his frog. The boy saw that the family was very happy and left his frog there with the family and wave goodbye and the boy and the dog arrived to them hause.	
ES_WR_A2_17_10_13_PRM	40.8	Female	17	7	10	One day, a boy was boring looking his frog that this morning had found in the lake, later his mum said him that it was late and he had to go to the bed. While he was sleep, the frog, which was so intelligent, scaped of the vase. In the morning woke up quickly to see the frog but it wasn't there, worried he said to his mum that he had to look for the frog because it might be in danger. He went with his dog to the lake where he found it and shouted and shouted but it hadn't result. He looked inside of a tree, in the wood bot nothing there wasn't nothing. Suddenly he heard a noisy behing of him, it was a deer that was caught with a brach. He had to do nothing for save the deer. When he was trying to help it he fall down to the lake but he was so lucky because there was a branch in the lake and he could scape. he found and tried to go to his house again, but he didn't remember the wall. Finally his parents were looking for him and found him next to the lake.	
ES_WR_A2_17_11_13_MP5	44.2	Female	17	6	11	One day, a boy had a frog in a vase. In the night, while the boy was sleeping, the frog scaped from the vase. In the next morning when he put the frog the day before and the by was worried. Then, the boy went to the forest with the dog to look for his frog, and he started to shout to call the frog. He was worried and climbed a tree to llok for the frog and he climbed a rock too, but he didn't find the frog. Suddenly, a deer pushed the boy and he fall to the river and he couldn't swim, but the dog rescated him and took him to a trunk. In the trunk there was a family of frogs, and here was the boy's frog he catched the frog. One hour later, the boy catched the frog said goodbye to the family and returned to his house.	
ES_WR_A2_17_8_13_JGM	33.3	Male	17	9	8	One day, the little peter hunted a frog. That night the frog were put on a vase by peter and his super-intelligent dog, that can speak three languages, Toby. While they were sleeping the frog escaped to the forest because he want to find his family. The next morning Peter woke up early because he wanted to play with him and his dog. But when he found the vase without the frog he started to cry. The dog said him.- Do not worry Peter, i think he can't be very for-. I am agree with you Toby-, said Peter.- Where we should be start to looking for him?-. In the forest! Both friends started to walk along the little forest but it started to be clark and the return to home.	
ES_WR_B1_16_10_13_DAB	57.5	Male	16	6	10	One day,... a little boy had a frog, but when he went to sleep, the frog got out from the vase where it was and it escaped from the boy's house. The next day the boy was very sad because he had lost his frog. So, he decided to look for it, since he was very worried, in the forest. Also, his dog helped him. But while he was looking for the frog, a deer pushed him because he had mistaken its horns with branchs, and the boy felt in a river. There he found the frog behind a trunk with its family, and the boy understood that the river was the frog's home, and not his house. Finally the boy went back his house with his dog.	
ES_WR_B1_16_10_13_MDD	58.3	Female	16	6	10	One day, a boy was resting at his bedroom with his two pets wondering what he will do without them becasue he use to play with them. When the boy went to the bed the frog jumped out of the vase and go away. Next morning, when the boy woke up he realised that the frog wasn't in the vase so, he became really sad and he decided to go to the countryside to tray to found it. He started to shout but it doesn't help, then he looked in the trees, in the rocks but the frog wasn't there. When he was standing on a rock, a deer kick him and he fell down on a river. when he could_. He arrive to a trunk so he was safety. Suddenly when he was staying there je look behind the trunk and he discovered that the frog was there. He saw that frog was not lonely, it was with its family. So he decided to go away and returned home. The frogs stay in the river and he wave goodbye	
ES_WR_B1_16_11_13_LGCH	46.7	Male	16	5	11	One day, a little boy was playing in his_bedroom bedroom with his dog, when suddenly, his father nocked the door and went into the bedroom. His father give him a present, it was a frog the he had found in the river. The boy his two pets were playing all the eve_ played with his two pets all day. This night by the time he was sleeping, the frog escaped. Next day, when he woke up he saw that his frog escaped. The boy was very worried and he decided to go to the forest they couldn't found it. furthermore a deer pushed them and they fell down in a river, when they found the frog. The discovered frog's family, so the left the frog with them and wave goodbyy.	
ES_WR_B1_16_11_13_MPM	49.2	Female	16	5	11	One day, A little boy bought a frog, he was so happy for his new pet, he and his dog Toby were all day staying at boy's room looking at the frog, but, in the night the boy, Dany, and his dog fall asleep. In the morning they woke up and they realised that the frog has escaped, Toby started to look for the frog going everywhere in Dani's bedroom and smelling the vase wher the frog was. Dani and Toby were so unhappy about their missing frog, so they decided to go out and look for the frog in the countryside, they were getting worried about the frog, they didn't know of she was ok. The boy shouted loud time to time, but the boy wasn't there, they decided to move on and look otherway, while they boy was shouting worried , Toby found many bees on the floor, they were flying around Toby; it appeared like they were friends, Toby climbed a rock Hhe was still shouting and in a few seconds a deer appeared in front of him, the deer took dani and toby and pushed them into a rver, they fall down and get into the river, luckily they gwere ok, they climbed a trunk and found a family's frog. Now the understood why she leaved their home and thought it was better if they leave them, so they said goodbye to their frog and her family and return home calm and pleased about the frog.	

	51.7	Female	16	5	11	One day, a boy went to a trip with his father to get a frog because it was his birthday and had always wanted to have a frog so that he could call it Gustave. He had heard that his friend got one from the river behind their house, so his father and him went there. He choosed the one he liked the most an he brought it to his home, the boy also had a dog, and Gustave was frightened of him, so that night, the frog decided not to continue at the house, becasue he was very small and he missed a lot his family. The next afternoon, when the boy got up, he saw the frog wasn't in the bottle, and he decided to go with his dog to the river and look for it. But the frog was hidden behind a rock, and they didn't see it. While they were looking for it, a group of bees attackted the dog. At the end the boy decided to get another frog that wasn't so small so that it won't miss its family. The frog was very happy with Gtave II, but the frog not so much
	55.8	Female	16	4	12	One day, a boy was playing in the forest when he found a frog. He took of and he looked after it during a month. One night, while he was sleeping, the frog escaped and he_ during many days, he was worried about it so he decided to look for the frog. He went to te forest with his dog and he looked for the frog in the all forest but, he didn't find it. on his birthday's day, his mother had a surprised for him. She have bought a new frog but he continuou looking for the first frog in every trunk on under the stones because he wanted that his two frogs became friends. So, he looked for his frog in another part of the forest. He was having a look around a stone when, suddenly a deer appeared and push the boy so the boy felt in a river. He swam to the cost and there, he found his old frog! He was very happy because his dream became true, his two frogs together.
	47.5	Female	16	8	8	One day, a boy, who's name was Jack, have a frog in his bedroom, he was looking at the frog by the dog smell it, at the night the boy was sleeping in his bed when the frog escaped. The next morning bo Jack was worried about the frog and the started looking for it, with his dog. They went to the forest and shouted ""frog, frog". The young boy went up to the brach of a tree by the time some bees went to them. Jack was on a rock and pushed trunk two branchs, but the found a deer which pushed him ino the river. The dog failed with him and they get wet. They found a trunk and behind that trunk, they found the frog with it familly. Jack and his dog leaved the happy familly and they said them goodbye with the hand.
	54.2	Female	16	7	9	One day, a boy found a frog in a river and he decided to adopt it as a pet. In the nigh, the frog escaped. When the boy woke up woke up he was worried about it so he and his dog went to look fot it in the forest. the boy look into the trees, he shouted its name but he didn't dound it. Suddenly, while he was shouting, a deer heared him and pushed him and his dog. They fall into a rive, The dog helped the boy to find a trunk that was next to the river shore. The boy was very surprised because behind the trunk he found a family of frogs and his frog was there. He asked the frog if it wanted to come back to the house with him and the frog accepted. They say goodbye to the other frogs and went to the house together. Now they are very happy living together and they are good friends.
	60	Male	16	7	9	One day, there was a boy in his bedroom with its dog, called Clue and a new frog. It was very late so the boy called Maria decided to sleep. While he was sleeping, the frog escaped from the vase. In the morning, Mario saw that the frog wasn't there, so he decided to look for it. He went to the forest and he started to shout, he wanted found its frog! He looked behind the trees, a shore_ and when he was on a shorea deer pushed him and he fell in a river. He was a little scary and he helped himself with a trunk. When he was on the trunk, he saw the frog with all its family. It missed them! He caught the dog and they come back to home.
	58.3	Female	17	6	11	One day.... a boy found a little frog when he was walking with his dog and he took the frog to his house and put it on a vase. When he went to sleep, he put the vase in front of his bed and he slept with the dog. The next morning, when he woke up he saw that the frog had escape from the vase. The boy was very worried so he went out to the forest and he started looking for his frog. He shouted all the time and he asked a bee if she had seen a little frog, but she hadn't seen anything. He was sitting on a rock when suddenly a deer hold him and his dog and walked to the river. When the deer arrived to the river, he pushed down the boy and his dog and both fell to the water. They swim to a trnk and there they found a big frog's family. The boy took his little frog and they left the forest waving goodbye with their hands.
	49.2	Female	17	3	14	One day, a boy was in his bedroom with his frog and his dog. The frog was inside of a vase, and when the boy went to sleep the frog escaped from the vase. The next day, the boy saw that the frog wasn't there, so he and his dog went to look for the frog to the forest. The boy was shouting and looking for the frog in trees, behind the branches but suddenly a dder took the boy and pushed him to the river and the failed. In the river he hold a trunk and finally behind the trunk, was the frog. The frog was with his family but the boy took his frog and waved goodbye.
	65.8	Male	15	4	11	One night, the child was playing with his animals (one frog and one dog), it was late and the child started to fell asleep, so he decided to go to bed with his dog. There was a problem, the child didn't realised that he didn't put the cap of the bottle where the frog was. So, during the night, the frog escaped while the child an his dog were sleeping. In the next morning, the frog wasn't there, the child was worried about it. After that, both of them, went outside the house to look after the frog, who was mising. It was such a big problem, they were searching for all places in the forest, but they didn't see anything. They were startatting to get nervous, the child decided to climb a rock and start shouting, but he was unlucky, a deer who was there got scared and in an accident he pushed the child an his dog down a cliff, both of them fell into the river. They went to a nearest trunk and finally they encountered the frog. The frog was with his family. The child and his dog decided to let him go.

	68.3	Male	16	6	10	One day, a boy was looking at the frog that his parents had gave him. He called the frog Charizar. Charizar felt comfortable at its new house, but at night, the frog started to miss its family, so she decided to scape. The next day, when the boy, Ruben Dario woke up, he show the empty glass vase where Charizar should be. He started to felt sad, so he went into the forest looking for it and shouting: "Charizar, Charizar, please, come back to your vase; if you don't like it, I will but you a Pokeball but please come back" While he was looking for the frog, he make a deer to wake up. The deer, Vicente, was very angry and it took to buy and carried him and push him throught a very high rock. Unfortunately, behind the rock, ther ewas a river, so he felt down into the river. Ruben Dario started to feel afraid because he couldn't swim, and when he wast almost died, Charizar appear and pull him to the sand, where Ruben Dario started to feel better and better. After twenty minutes, the boy was able to get up. Charizar spoke him about its family and Ruben Dario decided to leave it in the forest becasue the frog wanted to take care of it frog-babies.
	70.8	Female	16	6	10	One day, Luck was in his bedroom, staring at his frog and playing with Arthur, his dog. He wanted to stay awake all night, but he fell asleep. When he woke up in the morning, he noticed that his frog wasn't there. Luck lost it and he couldn't aver name her! So he decided to go outside and look for her. Luck went to the forest and AQtthur went with him. He looked everywhere, even inside of every tree he found, but his little frog still missing. While he was trying to find her, he almost stucked in the branch of a tree. Everything seemed to be calmed, but suddenly a big deer came out of nowhere and scared him. Due to this he fell off in the floor. Arthur with him. He started to run because he was afraid of the deer and he didn't notice that he was coming close to the river, and Luck fell into the water, becoming all wet. He almost lost his hopes on finding the frog, but he realized that next to the river, it was a big tree on the floor and it was full of frogs. He undesrtood that all the frogs were a family and he decided to leave them there to live free and happy. "Sorry for the Disney happy ending, but it wasn't not time to make it better"
	64.2	Male	16	6	10	One day,... a little boy was very happy because of his new pet. It was a frog which he had hounted at a lake near his house. That night, he went to sleep at his bed in his bedroom. While he was sleeping the frog started to escape from the vase, so it was finally free. In the next morning, the little boy looked at the vase, but the frog wasn't there. He was very worried because he had lost his new pet. The boy decided to look for his frog at a big forest near his house. His other pet helped him to find the frog at a very large forest. They shouted the name of his other pet because he wished the frog answer him, but anyone was there. He decided to climb into a big tree to look into, but it was very difficult to see his frog. When he was in the top of a big rock shouting the frog's name, a deer with large horns holded him. Then, he was pushed into a lake. It was the same lake where he founded his frog. He and his dog started to search it. It was very difficult but finally they founded the frog behind a big trunk. He was very happy because he founded his frog at the same lake he founded it. He decided to wave goodbey to the pet because he thinkded that the frog had founded some friends at his natural house. The frog was very happy living with its new family and they probably will be happiest with its friends, in a free area
	77.5	Male	16	6	10	One day,... a kid and a dog were watching a frog that was bought by the kid that afternoon. Then, when the kid and the dog fell asleep, the frog escaped from the jar where it was locked. The next morning, the kid and the dog looked for the frog. They searched everywhere. The kid would even have googled if Google had been invented before that day. Instead of that, the dog and the kid went to the big forest. They called it from the distance, they searched it inside a tree, they looked for see it above the rocks, and everywhere in the forest. Suddenly, while the kid was searching, sitting on a rock, he and his dog were caught by a big deer, who threw them to the river nearby. Trying to survive, they jumped on an old trunk that fortunately decided to pass by them. At the other side of the trunk, they saw a green amphibious face which looked familiar to them, joined with other green unknown faces. ow, their frog, which wasn't feeling comfortable inside the glass vase where it was caught, was with its froggy family, living happily together, until they tried to cross the mad. The End.
	65.8	Male	16	6	10	One day,... a boy was playing with his dog and his frog in the bedroom. In the night, while the boy was sleeping the frog escaped frog the vase quietly. When he got up, he realized that the frog had escaped. The boy and his dog were very worried, so they are decided to look for their friend. Paul (the boy) and Nikki (the dog) go into the forest shouting the name of the frog, Kara. As the time goes by, they became very exhausted. Due to the bees they had to run during ten minutes to escaped from them. But all those problems don't led Paul to stop. Suddenly, when Paul and Nikki took a minute to breath, a deer pushed them to the river. Paul had a broken arm. He and Nikki used a trunk to save their lifes. Paul was exhausted, he couldn't find Kara for more. But when he looked to the floor Kara was with her family. She was enjoying with her sisters. Kara jump to Paul's shoulder like a "boadbye". Paul went home so happy to see Kara with her family. But Paul's heart was crying...
	58.3	Female	16	5	11	One day, a boy called Dougie, was in his bedroom watching the frog that his parents gave him for his birthday. This dog (Kitty) like liked the smell of the frog so she started to smeel it. That night, while Dougie was asleep the frog escaped from the bottle where she was. The next day, Dougie started to look for rhe little frog in the forest. He shouted and shouted the name of the frog (Delsie) but she didn't appeared . He looked of the frog inside the tree but she wasn't there. While Dougie was looking for the frog some bees bit Kitty, but a few months she_ she didn't suffer any damage. Dougie continued looking for frog, and while he was shouting again a deer appeared! held the deer held kitty and throved into the river too! after getting out of the river, they looked behind a trunk and ther she was!It was Delsie and she was visiting her family. Then Dougie told Delsie that him and Kitty were upset becasue the missed her a lot, so Delsie came home again with Dougie and Kitty.

ES_WR_B2_17_10_13_JLR	72.5	Male	17	7	10	One day, a boy called John bought a frog. When he brought it home, Jimmy a dog that was his other pet was curious about the frog, he smelled it and looked at it for a long time. As any other day John went to the bed early. The day after when John woke up, the first thing he did was to look at his frig but... it wasn't there! Rapidly John went with Jimmy to the forest in order to find the frog. They searched everywhere, inside the bushes, behind the rocks, inside a tree... Suddenly he was over a deer's horns and the deer started to run after some minutes the deer stopped it letting the child to fall into the river. He was wet and angry, Jimmy started to bark and John realised that his frog was there. he realised also that the frog was with his family and since that day John carry the frog there to allow him to be with his family.
ES_WR_B2_1_7_11_13_AAO	69.2	Female	17	6	11	One day, a boy was with his dog in a room, they had captured a frog. When they went to sleep the frog escape from the vase while they was sleeping in the bed. The next day they look at the floor and the frog wasn't in the vase so they went to look for the frog. The boy and his dog were shouting and looking for the frog when suddenly the boy come in the forest and a deer push him into a river with his dog. When they go oir of the river they found a group of frogs and his frog was in this group. He takes his frog and wave goodbye to the family of frogs.
ES_WR_B2_17_7_13_LCQ	74.2	Female	17	10	7	One day, a boy called TJ, and his dog found a frog and decided to look after it. They spent days looking at the frog, but one night, while TJ and his dig were sleeping, the frog went our the vase and it escaped. The next morning, when they woke up, they realized the frog was not there, so TJ decided to look for it. First, they went to the forest and there he tried to find the frog shouting, but he found nothing. Second, TJ and his dog looked for it in a rock zone. TJ went up on a rock and he continued shouting but, again he didn't find anything. While doing this suddenly a wild deer appeared and rapidly pushed it TJ.   TJ and his dog fell down on a river and got wet and dizzy. The boy could reach a trunk and held it. Due to the falling, they fould the frog with its family. After that, he waved goodbye and went home again. Finally, he realised that if he hadn't fallen, he wouldn't have found his frog.
ES_WR_B2_17_9_13_CCG	72.5	Female	17	8	9	One day, a happy boy called Peter caught a frog, a green and jumpy frog. He was helped by his friendly dog, Pooppi, because the frog always tried to escape. Peter left the frog into the vase, becasue it's transparent, so he could always look how his frog was or what it doing. It was doing. Suddenly, the frog went out of the big glass for having fun outside. The next mornig, Peter realised it wasn't there, and worried decided to look for it with Poppi. Peter shouted Frog!frog, where are you? Pooppi and i want you to come back home! But the frog didn't appear. They kept on searching it, around the trees behind the rocks... but nothing at all. While Peter and Pooppi were looking for the small animal, something touched and caught the boy. Peter, terrified didn't know what was happening when he felt down into the water... The cold waters of the small lake of the forest where they were carried them that sounded_ boy and his dog followed the noises until the found a dead trunk. The noise was stonger. When they looked behind it... surprise! The frog was there with its family and friends! Happily. Peter and Pooppie came back with their green friend and the story 's got an awesome ending.

FILENA-ME	PLACE-MENT TEST SCORE (%)	SEX	AGE	AOO	LOI	TEXT
ES_WR_A1_1_4_3_13_TMH	0.8	Male	14	11	3	One day, a boy was on the floor. He had a frog. The frog escape at night. The boy was worried. The boy was looking four, the boy shout in the forest. The boy looking foor the frog lookin. The boy was in one rock. The deer push a boy a dogs the river. The boy a the dogs was in trunk. The boy finding the frog. The frog was family the boy leaving the frog the boy a the doog and wave goodbye a family the frog.
ES_WR_A1_13_3_13_SCG	15.8	Male	13	10	3	One day, there were a dog and Brey look at the frog in the bedroom. The frog escape to the bootle. While the boy sleep in the bed letter the boy turn up. The boy and dog find the frog in the forest. That boy be worried because don't find the frog. the boy fall the peel the boy and the dog fallen in the river in the end the boy and dog find the frog.
ES_WR_A1_1_5_10_13_PG_R	17.5	Male	15	5	10	One day, at the night the boy was playing with his dog and his frog. when at night, and the dog and the boy slept the frog escape fish tank. The boy the get up and the dog look what wasn't! The boy with his dog, arrive a wanted a the dog at camp. The boy look for a his frog under the trehh, he wasn't. The deer kill at the boy. And the boy was go at the tumb because was catolic and next resucited.
ES_WR_A1_13_3_13_CRT	19.2	Female	13	10	3	One day, a boy find a frog. He put the frog in a vase and the boy and the dog look at it. In the night, while the boy sleep, the frog escape. Tomorrow the boy and the dog is worried on the bed. They look for the frog in a forest, in a trees, in a rock... they shout and shout. While the boy look for in the tree the dog look at bees. He shout and the dog look for under the rock too. They doesn't find a frog but they find a deer. It push to boy and dog and they catch to a trunk because there is one in the water. Look at under the trunk and they find a family of frogs. They hold to the frog with his hand and leave to the family and wave goodbye.

	21.7	Male	14	10	4	One day, a boy and a dog look at a frog in glass the boy was sleeping when the frog escaped. At the next morning the boy was surprised because the frog was escaped. The dog was smelling and the boy was worried and he was shouting in the forest. The boy was smelling and the boy was worried and he was shouting in the forest. The boy was search in the trunk and the dog saw bees. And the boy is more worried. The dog was in the rock and he was holding in the branch the boy was find a deer and they swimming but the deer push they and fall at river. The boy didn't like water. Behind the trunk! oh! saying the boy. Were the frog family. The boy didn't was worried. The boy is fun and he wave woodbe the family.
	24.2	Male	15	10	5	One day,... in a bedroom, a boy looked at frog next to the dog, the boy go to sleep to his bed. Late, the frog escape frog the vase. When the boy up of the bed, looked at the vase and the frog no was here. The boy up of the worried boy went to look for the frog on the forest. The boy shouted very and quickly. The boy look for trees and the stupid dog look for and the trees and find bees, they attack to the dog and he escape. The boy up in a rock and a branch hold his body. A deer push the boy and he dropped to the river. The river no have very water but his dog save he. The boy is in a trunk and he find his frog. He is with his family and the boy leave the frog with them. The boy up his hand and wave goodbye forever. Alternative end: The boy was an alcoholic and he kill is frog.
	25	Female	15	10	5	One day, the frog lived with the boy. The boy has a dog. For the night the frog escaped the vase because a boy are in the bed. The boy get up and worried when doesn't see. Them the boy went look for the forest and a deer pushed at the boy and the dog at the river. The boy swim and went at the tronc. The boy found the frog and the family on the rock. THe boy and the dog went to house.
	26.7	Male	15	7	8	One day,... one boy and one dog found one frog and the dog smell the frog and the boy look at the frog. The frog was in the floor in a vase. The dog and the boy went to the bed to sleep. The frog escaped to the forest. For morning the boy went with the dog look for the frog. The boy was worried and disappointed. The boy began to find, but the frog wasn't. The dog smell the bee. The dog held in the trunk. The dog and the boy continued to find but the frog wasn't. One deer pushed the boy at the river and the boy fell to the river. The dog dropped to the river too. The boy and the dog continued to find the frog. The frog was next to the trunk with his family. The boy wave goodbye the frog's family.
	27.5	Female	15	6	9	One day,... The boy had a frog in his bedroom. When he (the boy) slept, frog left of his home. At the morning , boy looked at home of frog, but it wasn't. The boy worried left his home with his dog for look for frog. They shouted for forest. Suddenly fell a "colmena" of bees and ran for all forest.
	29.2	Female	15	3	12	One day, the boy was look the frog and the dog, and they start play. Atnight the boy sleep. The next day the boy isn't look the frog and he's sad. The boy and the dog go to the forest look for the frog. The dog helped the child to look for the frog. The deer suddenly push the boy. The boy was in the rock and he fell to the water. He clung to the trunk. The frog was behind the trunk. The the child is happy.
	30	Female	15	3	12	One day, the boy is looking for the frog and his dog too. He went for the bed, for the night the frog escape of vase. Next day the boy get up and don't look from the frog in the vase. He leave of the home. to look for from the frog. The boy go up from tree to look for. The boy call from the frog. Of pront appear a deer and push at the boy. The boy down the river and his dog. The boy and his dog on hold the trunk. Finally find the from in the river with his family.
	33.3	Male	15	7	8	One day,... a boy and a dog were looking at frog in a vase. One night, When the boy and the dog went to bed, the frog escaped for the window. Next day, in the morning, the boy wake up and watched the box. He was worry because he didn't know where is the frog. He went out to look out the frog. When he arrived to a forest, he shouted he frog's name and looked into a tree. Then, he went to a rock and shouted the frog's name again. When he did it, a deer
	35.8	Unknown	17	6	11	One day,... a boy was on her house with her dog and a frog a vase on the floor. In the night the boy and her dog was sleeping when the frog escaped. Next day the boy was worring and they went looked for the frog on the forest they shouted for find the frog. After they fand a deer, the deer pushed the boy a water.
	38.3	Female	16	6	10	One day,... Tim found a frog in his garden and he catched it. This night he put the frog in a vase and he went to sleep. When Tim was sleeping the frog escape to the Tim's bedroom... Next day, Tim woke up and looked to vase but the frog wasn't there so he went to the forest to looked for the frog. He shouted: Frog! Frog! but the frog wasn't coming, then Tim looked for trees, rocks, branches... when suddenly a deer pushed a Tim and his dog to the river. They fell into water and Tim heard a noise, he looked for a trunk and found the frog. She was with her family so Tim decided leave the frog there and waved goodbye.

	38.3	Male	16	6	10	A boy with a dog caught a big frog in the river. Then, the boy, put the frog in a bottle of his bedroom. When the boy was sleeping, the animal jumped and escaped of the vase. At the morning the boy didn't see the frog in the bottle. I was very worried and looked for his frog everywhere. He went to the forest and looked for in the trees and behind the rocks and he shouted too. A wild deer appeared and pushed the boy and his dog. The two friends failed in the river and saw a big trunk in the water. The boy watched behind the trunk and he found a big surprise. There are seven frogs and one of these frogs was his frog, then appeared other two baby frogs too. The frog of the boy lived in this river with other female frog and seven small timpoles. At the end, the boy decided leave the family in the forest. He waved goodbye with his hand and returned to his house with the dog.
	39.2	Female	17	8	9	One day,... a boy called John who had a frog went to bed and while he was asleep with his dog, the frog escaped. When the boy woke up and he didn't see his frog he went to the near forest because he was very worried, he looked for the little frog hard. On the one hand the boy looked for into a tree. On the other hand his dog was seeing bees. When the boy was above rock a deer pushed him and he failed down in a clean lake, when he tried to leave the water he grabbed a truck his dog and John found his frog with his family. John took his frog with a smile and wave goodbye with his hand to return home.
	40	Female	17	8	9	One day.... Marc's mother gave to her son a frog in a glass vase. The boy was very happy play with his dog and frog. On night the boy was sleeping when the frog scaped of the vase. Next day, Marc was very worried because his frog isn't in his vase, and he decided look for the frog on the forest. He and his dog looked for all the forest. The boy get on the roc for he can see better than before. But he holded in a branch that it isn't a branch, it was a deer, and this pushed the boy on the river. Marc swam to the trunk and his dog too. Finally, when he found his forg and all his family and Marc arriced with his dog and frog to his house.
	40.8	Female	17	9	8	One day.... the frog was in a vase. There, a boy and a dog look at the frog. Then, the frog escaped when the boy was sleeping. When the boy got up he saw the frop wasn't at look for the frog. Suddenly, the boy found some bees. The boy hold with the branch in the rock when a deer push his and drop his and the dog in the river. The boy found a trank in the water and he climbed it for go out at the water when he and his dog were in the truck found the frog at other side the truck with his family. The boy was happy and played with the frog in the river the dog wave goodbye at the family of his frog and they returned to home.
	41.7	Male	14	8	6	a boy was on his bedroom with his dog and his frog. The frog was into a vase of water in the floor. When the boy was sleeping at night, the frog escaped of the vase and went out of the boy's house. The next day, when the boy wake up, he saw the vase to looked at his frog, but the frog wasn't there. The boy was worried and he and his dog went out looked for the frog. They went to the forest, but the frog wasn't in the forest. then the boy climb a tree but there wasn't anything. After that, they went to a rock and the boy shouted to look for the frog, but when they were on the top of the rock a deer appeared and pushed them to a river. The boy and the dog failed into the river. And they were saving thanks to a trunk. When they went out of the water, the boy and the dog found the frog. But there were none than one frog. the boy's frog was with it family. And finally, the boy decided leave the frog with it family because it was very happy. And the boy and the dog wave goodbye to the family of frogs and they went to their house too happy because they found the frog and it family.
	43.3	Female	16	8	8	One day a boy put the frog into the vase. The boy's called Daniel and the frog called Reg. Reg was the new Daniel's pet and he was very happy. Daniel showed Reg to his dog and then he was going to sleep. He left the vase on the floor and when Daniel was sleep Reg escaped to the room. The next morning when Daniel woke up, he looked to the vase and he saw that Reg wasn't stay into the vase. Daniel was too worried and he went to look for the forest. Daniel's in a rock when he fall in a deer. The deer coming to run and pushed Daniel into a lake. In the lake Daniel saw a big branch and he went to look for Reg in these place. And finally Daniel found Reg. Reg was with her friends in the lake. Daniel held Reg and they wave goodbay to the other frogs and arrived to her home.
	45	Male	15	6	9	One night a boy was in his bedroom, and he played with his dog and his frog. He was very happy. Then. he went to the bed. When he slept, the frog scaped into the vasea and she went outside the house. In the mornig, the boy didn't find his frog and he with his frog looked for the frog outside. The boy was worried. They went into the jaden, and they shouted: "Frog, Frog" The frog didn't saty in the jader, in the forest and in the house. ;They was very worried! When the boy was shout, in the rock, one deer came. Then, the deer pushed the boy and the dog, and they droped into the river. The river was very dangerous. When, they was swim, the boy found a trunk and they caught this afortunatly they left the river. When he was stay into the floor, the boy met two frogs and they looked for his frog. All was very happ. The boy and the dog, waved goodbye to the frogs.
	45	Female	16	6	10	One day.... a boy has a frog in a vase, he loves the frog very much, he played with the frog and his dog cub. The boy isn't tired to look at the frog in the vase at the floor with his dog who smelled at frog always. In the night while the boy was sleeping in the bed, the frog escape of the vase. In the morning the boy was very worried and looks for the frog with his dog. They go to the forest and shout the frog's name. The boy look for the frog in a tree and the dog find a bees in a tree, they run away very fast. The boy jump up of rock and hold him in a branch, isn't a branch is a deer! The deer push at the boy and the dog, they fall in a river, they go out of the water and they hold in a trunk, they find a family frog! The frog jump forwards the boy, the boy caught the frog with his hand and they leave the family's frog and wave goodbye. The boy, his dog and his frog go home very happy. The end.

	45.8	Female	18	10	8	One day.... James was sitting in his bedroom watching his frog (called croac), he felt happy to have a so lovely pet like that. When he went to sleep, Croac escaped of the jar, where it was. next morning, James woke up so worried because, the frog hadn't been there during that night! He got nervous and he went outside to look for his frog. First he tried to shout if it could be possible the frog would heard him and then it'd come back. But his little pet didn't appear. Then, he was into the forest, but he just found a lot of bees flying around it home. After, James shouted Croac again, but a deer heardt him and it got scared because of James, so it dropped him to the river. Luckily, his dog had been walking next to him during all this time, and it jumped to the river to save James and it helped him to find a trunk. Finally, james was saved by it and he found Croac, who it had created a family! he called it to leave home, but Croac ignored him, but it let James to have like a pet one of her little frogs.
ES_WR_B1_18_8_13_RM	46.7	Male	15	6	9	One night a boy was with his dog looking to a frog. The frog was in a bottle and the boy went to sleep. When the boy was sleeping the frog desapeared and in the next morning the boy was so worried because he couldn't find his frog; so he got up and he went to the wood to look for his frog. He shaught a lot but the frog didn't appear. He look for the frog in the trees, the rocks, but the frog wasn't there. When he was looking for the frog in a rock, a deer appeared and threw the boy and the dog to a river. He swam to a trunk which there were near the water and he sat down there. When he was in the trunk he saw in his left there were a family of frogs and there he found his frog. He was so happy to see his frog again and he put it on her hand and wave goodbye to the other frogs.
ES_WR_B1_15_9_13_JMF	49.2	Male	15	6	9	One night a boy bought a frog with his dog, the boy was enjoying with his dog, then the boy began to sleep, and when he was sleeping, the frog escaped and leave the house. When the boy woke up, he saw that the frog wasn't in the house, so he went to the forest to find it with his dog. At first, they began to find the frog climbing trees, but in one of the trees the dog found a lot of bees and the bees followed the boy and the dog, but in the end they escaped to the bees. After it, the boy tried to find the frog behind some rocks, but he didn't see it. The boy was shouting to the frog, but the frog didn't appear, the dog was smelling but it didn't find the frog. Then, the boy and the dog saw a deer, at first this thought that the deer was going to attack them, so they started to run, when they were running, they fell to the river, but suddenly they saw next to the water a trunk, and they hold in the trunk. The boy saw suddenly a lot of frogs and he understood that it was a family, also he saw his frog in it family, so he wave goodbye to th frog and he return to his house.
ES_WR_B1_15_10_1_3_BNG	50	Female	15	5	10	One night a boy was in his bedroom with his pets, a dog and a frog. Before he went to bed, he put the frog in a vase. During the night the forg escaped of the vase and he went out of the house. When the boy got up he saw the vase but he didn't see the frog. The boy was very worried because he didn't know where is the frog, so he and his dog went to the forest to look for the frog. In the forest the boy shouted and look for the frog in the trees and the rocks. Later he put on a rock and he hold in a branch but it wasn't a branch, it was a deer. The deer pushed the boy and he fell into a river with his dog. When they were in the water, they took a trunk and they left the river. Behind the trunk there was a frog's family and there they found the frog. The boy took the frog in his hand and the dog, the frog and the boy went to their house saying goodboy to the frog's family.
ES_WR_B1_15_7_13_AAGF	50	Female	15	8	7	A night a boy was in his bedroom with his dog and his frog. The dog slept on the boy's bed and the frog was in a vase on the floor. That night, the frog escaped. The next morning, the boy and his dog were to look for the frog in the forest. The boy was very worried. He looked for the frog in a trunk but he didn't find anything. His dog found a lot of bees and he escaped very worried about it. Later, he was on a rock and he shouted at his frog, but he continued without her, he didn't find her. Then, he caught a branch, but it wasn't a branch, it was a deer! Later, the deer pushed the boy, and he fell into the river. In the water, he found a trunk and he left the river. In the trunk, there was a family of frogs, but his frog wasn't there. However, he caught a small frog and his dog and he left the others frogs there. They waved goodbye to the frogs and they returned home.
ES_WR_B1_16_11_13_EGS	53.3	Female	16	5	11	One day.... on a beautiful night, one boy whose name was James was very happy because he had a frog. He spent a lot of time with it and named it name was Bebby. After, he went to sleep and while he was sleeping, the frog away from the bottle where the boy kept it. On the morning when he got up, he saw that his frog wasn't in the bottle so he felt very sad. Minutes later he thought that he and his dog could looked for it in the forest. They looked for it in a tall tree and in it there was a lof of bees. They looked for it in the stones too, and there a deer caught him and threw him in a river. He and his dog could go out the water, and when they looked behind the trok, they found the frog Bebby. He caught his frog and wave goodbye to all the Bebby's family. They were very happy.
ES_WR_B1_15_9_13_LRR	54.2	Female	15	6	9	one night, Lucas was with his dog look after his frog. When Lucas went to sleep the frog escape and in the morning, he was so sad, so he decided to go look for his frog. When Lucas and the dog were in the forest, the shout the name of the frog ten times but they couldn't find it, but the saw a big tree so they decided to climb it but the dog started to play with a lot of bees. The children and the dog continues walking and Lucas climb a big rock to shout the name of the frog, but the frog, didn't appear. Suddenly a deer appear behind the rock and Lucas was so worried about it. The deer take them and throw the children and the dog into the river. Next, when they were in the river they could see a branch and they could escape of the river. When Lucas and the dog were out of the river they could see a family of frogs so they discovered than one of them was Manuela their frog. Lucas staret to shout her name and Manuela jump to his hand and before leave the forest all of them wave goodbye with the hand. When the frog Manuela, the dog and Lucas return to home they was so happy because all of them were together. THE END.

		54.2	Male	17	10	7	One day,... a little boy found a frog, he likes the frogs, so he wanted to make her a pet. When he was going to sleep he leave the frog inside a vase. During the night the frog jumped out the vase and go away. When the boy got up he saw the vase and the frog isn't there. He started looking for the frog in the forest, shouting frog, frog!! He saw a hole in a trunk and decided see inside, in that moment many bees frog a beehive follow the dog of the boy. The boy was worried and get on a tock and shouted again. The boy saw the horns of a deer and thought it were branch he got trapped in the branchs and the deer, furious drop him and the dog into the river. Luckily he leaves from the river and sits in a trunk, when he open his eyes he saw a family of frog and the dad were his frog, so he decided leave the frog in nature and waved goodbye.
	ES_WR_B1_15_7_13_AGP	55.8	Male	15	8	7	A night, a little boy was in his bedroom next to his bed looking at a frog who was in a vase between his dog and him. His name was Daniel. When he went to sleep the frog scaped from the vase in the middle of the night. In the morning the boy got up and looked for his frog. He didn't find it. Daniel was really worried so he took his clothes and went out. His dog Feliz and him run across the forest shouting: -Frog where are you? The little animal didn't answer. Two minutes later, Daniel held his body on a branch to look for inside a hole. While he was doing that, Feliz found next to him a bee group. He was afraid! Finally Daniel climbed to put himself on a rock. He started to say again: Frog, where are you? Suddenly, a deer appeared and throw Daniel down next to his dog. They fell down (or drop) to a small river. The water was very cold. They got to get out from the river with an enormous trunk. Between the plants, Daniel and Feliz found a frog family. Where there was his frog. Daniel was really excited! He took his frog and left the forest saying goodbye with his hand.
	ES_WR_B1_16_10_13_RSV	56.7	Female	16	6	10	THE BOY AND THE FROG. One night, a long time ago, there was a boy who had a little frog in his bedroom. His name was Harry, and he loved animals. He wanted to become a biologist one day in the future. Harry had a lot of animals but his favourite animal was that frog. Unfortunately, when he was sleeping, his favourite frog jumped and escaped, leaving Harry in the bed. The next morning, Harry realised that his frog wasn't in the room. He run into the forest, looking for his frog, shouting, so worried. "where is my frog?" "Where is my frog?" -Harry thought, with tears in his eYES, looking into a tree, pushing a branch for a better view. Then, when Harry was shouting, a wild and big deer appeared, and Harry fell, leaving the animal without vision. The animal was very very angry as he started to run very fast, running into the beautiful and big forest. Harry shouted, crying and feeling fear, but the deer didn't stopped, he continued running, pushing Harry away. Harry fell into the river, with the company of his dog...They were afraid of the water, because Harry didn't know how to swim but his dog helped him and they found a trunk, having a little rest after the nightmare. Anyway, Harry didn't know the big surprise that was waiting for him!! His little and beautiful frog was taking care of his own family! Harry felt happy for him, with emotion and more tears falling into his clean clothes. At the end, Harry know that his frog had to go with his happy family and they said goodbye to each other, crying of the emotion they felt. -I will not forgive you! -Harry said, with a big smile.
	ES_WR_B1_17_10_13_CPM	62.5	Female	17	7	10	One day.... A boy was looking his new frog, he had caught it in the morning and he was so proud, but, when he go sleeping, the frog scapes to go with his family, later, the boy wakes up and he feels very sad, he wants his frog, in this moment, he decides to looking for his frog, he searchs it in the wood neir his house, but he has an accident with a deer which pushes him to a river, he finds a trunk and he be capable of save his life, then he meets a family of frogs and he catch one, finally, he has his frog and he was so happy, but he decides to gives his frog a comfortable home and he buys it a large and beautiful cage where the frog loves very happy and once a week he lets it to go and visit it family.
	ES_WR_B2_15_9_13_LRR	63.3	Female	15	6	9	Some time ago, a boy was with his dog in his bedroom, watching a little frog that he had in a big vase. It was at night, when he was preparing himself to go to bed. Then, the boy went to bed, with his dog. The frog, that was too clever, waited until they fell sleep. When she saw that, she came out of the vase and disappeared. Next morning, the boy got up, the same as the dog, and he had a big surprise, the frog was gone, she wasn't in her vase. They saw that she wasn't there so they decided to go and find her. They went into the forest, shouting at her, becasue they thought that he'll listen that way. The boy climbed a tree and the dog looked nest to the bees, because they wanted to know where was the frog. Later, the boy climbed a rock, and he held himself on a branch, because he was going to dropped down. At the same time, his dog was hidden of an owl, he was so scared of that animals. Suddenly, a deer appeared, he wasn't held to a branch, he was held to the deer. The deer took the boy and dropped him down. The animal was a little bit nervous so he pushed the boy, and he fell into some water. The dog, had the same end, unfortunally. The water went to a big river, so the boy and the dog had to go to a trunk for safe their lives. When they got out of the water, they saw the frog with other frog and some little frogs, they were a family. The boy decided to leave the frog with her family and he waved goodbye with his hand.
	ES_WR_B2_16_10_13_GGS	64.2	Female	16	6	10	One day,... Alexander, a small boy, was playing with his pets, a dog and a frog. He was having fun but it was too late for keep playing so he decided going to the bed. While he and the dog were sleeping the frog jumped out of the vase and escaped. The next morning he realised that the frog was missing. So he and the dog went out to the forest and looked for the dog. Alex didn't stopped of shouting bout the time was passing for without any signe of the frog. After having some problems with bees and a deer, which pushed them into a river they finally found the frog; it was with lots of others frog. At the end the three returned home after waving goodbye to the others frog.
	ES_WR_B2_15_9_13_PMG	65.8	Male	15	6	9	One night a boy put a forg in a vase, but he left it open. Then he went to bed, when he got up, he realised that the frog escaped while he was sleeping. Next, he went to the forest a look for the frog with his dog. He tried to find it behind some branches but those things weren't branches, they were the horns of a deer. The deer pushed the boy and the dog, and they fell into a river. They went out of the river, when they were out of it, they found the frog with his family behind a trunk. The boy catched by the other site the frog to take it back to his house. In the end, the dog and the boy with the frog in his hand crossed the river again. While they were crossing it, the boy waved goodbye to the frog's family.

	66.7	Female	15	6	9	One night a boy called Jim and his dog Toby were watching a frog that was on a vase. It was a Jim's birthday present and was called Jane. When Jim and his dog were sleeping, the frog escaped of the vase. In the morning, when Jim woke up, he realised that Jane wasn't in the vase and he felt sad and worried. He decided to find the frog out of the house and he took his dog with him too. They went to the forest and Jim started to shout, but he didn't listen any answer. Then he climbed a tree and looked for the frog, but the frog wasn't there. Toby had some problems because a group of bees were following him, so they had to leave the tree faster. When Jim was shouting on a rock, he was holding a branch, but it wasn't a branch, it was a deer head! The deer pushed Jim and his dog to a river and both of them got a terrible cold. When they got out of the river, Jim looked at a trunk and he found a family of frogs. He realised that Jane was with them. He was very happy because he found his frog. At the end, he took Jane in his hand and with the other hand he said goodbye to the family of frogs. Then he returned home with his two friends, Toby and Jane.
ES_WR_B2_15_9_13_AMGF P	66.7	Female	16	5	11	One day.... a boy called Max was playing with his dog and his frog but it was too late so he had to go to bed. While he was sleeping the frog escaped from the vase that it was in. The next morning the frog wasn't in the house, it had left it. Then Max decided to look for his frog with the dog. They went to the forest, but the frog didn't appear. Suddenly they found a deer that push Max and his dog into the water. They swim through a trunk and then they find the frog but it was with his family so Max decided to leave the frogs there and to go home with his dog.
ES_WR_B2_15_9_13_EMR	70	Male	15	6	9	one night, a boy was looking at a frog with his dog. The frog was trapped into a vase. During the night, while the boy, called John, was sleeping, the frog jumped of the jar and escaped. When John got up, he realized that the frog had gone. He was very worried. He went to the countryside near the forest and shouted the frog's name, but he got no answer. He started looking for it with his dog in the forest. They looked inside a tree trunk and around the place where the bees live, but he didn't find it. Then he went to the top of a rock and shouted again the frogs name, with the same result of the first time. Suddenly, a deer trapped John with his horns. The deer to him to a river and threw him to it. He fell into the water and got wet. John held himself to a fallen tree trunk and got out of the water. Near the trunk, there was a frog family, and between them,he could recognize his one. He took it, said goodbye to the frog family and returned home.
ES_WR_B2_15_9_13_IAC	70.8	Male	15	6	9	One night a boy was having some fun with his pets in his bedroom. These pets were a frog and a dog. The frog was in a bottle and the dog was looking at the frog while standing next to the boy. When the boy feel asleep the frog got out of the bottle and went out of the bedroom. The frog scaped during the night so the boy didn't feel anything and he continued sleeping even the dog which was sleeping with him knew that the frog was scaping. Early in the morning, the boy woke up and saw an empty bottle in front of his bed, then he understood that the frog have scaped and he needed to look for it if he didn't want to lose it. Next, the boy and the dog ran to the forest and tried to find the frog, both of them love it so much so they were ready to do everything to find it. They were looking for the frog in all the places of the forest, the boy started searching at some trees while the dog was helping him looking at other different trees. The boy climbed a little rock and called his frog as loud as he could. After that, he saw that he was not holding a branch to maintain his equilibrium, he was holding a deer! Then, the deer pushed him down the mountain and the boy dropped with his dog. The boy and the dog fell in the water, but they didn't suffer any injury or hurt. They returned to loonk for the frog pulling a trunk that they found next to them. When they got on the trunk, they could see a family of little frogs where the dog were looking for was. The boy caught his frog and then, all of them went back home. The boy and his dog felt very happy and they wave goodbye to the frog family.
ES_WR_B2_16_7_13_ADMIN	72.5	Male	16	9	7	One day.... Tobby and his little dog Poppy, were one day in the forest when they found a frog, they took it to their house and they put it in a jug of glass, as the matter of fact they had been all day walking, as soon as the sun set, they went to sleep. The next day they realised that the frog had escaped so they decided to seek for the frog, worried that something could have happened. Tobby and his dog went to the forest again and they started shouting and barking trying to tell the frog they were there. Tobby was climbing up a tree while Poppy was running away from the bees. Hidden behind a rock the frog was staring at them. It was getting a bit late but they still were looking for their lost friend. Tobby was in a rock and Poppy, exhausted because of the seeking, was having a break near him. Suddenly, a deer appeared and caught Tobby by surprise, meanwhile Poppy was looking inside a hole that was in a rock. The deer started running with Tobby in his horns and dropped him in the river. Poppy was following them so fast that when he had to break he couldn't and fell down too. Tobby, because of the fall, fainted but Poppy was there to push him to land and save him. When he woke up, he saw his little friend with a new family, founded the true love. After telling the frog they were looking for it, Tobby and Poppy decided they had to let them alone so they waved goodbye
ES_WR_B2_16_8_13_RPF	74.2	Female	16	8	8	One day.... the little boy Tom decided to keep a nice frog with him, just because he thought his dog was feeling lonely. Suddenly, at night, the frog went out of the box and started to live on its own. The next morning Tom woke up and realised that his frog wasn't there. He was really worried that something bad could had happened to it, so as to make sure his frog was fine he started to look for it all around the forest. Tom and his dog started to shout in order to make themselves heard. They also climb trees and rocks just because they thought they wald have a better view from there. Although it was a little forest, a great number of dangers were waiting for this boy and his dog. Suddenly while Tom was on a big rock, a deer stopped. But then, they unfortunately fell into a river and got wet. This accident didn't stop the search of this brave boy, and that's why by chance, they finally fand the little frog. They then understood why it had escaped: It has a beautiful family waiting for it! Tom decided that his frog wald be happier living with its family, so as to not disturb them more he put his hand up and waved goodbye to them. Tom and his dog arrived home exhausted but happier than ever. And he decided that, at least once a month, he wald go to the forest to visit this fantastic family of frogs!

## H. Study 3: participants biodata and texts

### Spanish natives

FILENAME	SEX	AGE	SPANISH NATIVES (VARIETY)	TEXT
ES_WR_21_3_CPV	Female	21	Spain	<p>La última perlícula que he visto es "Encantada." Me la recomiendo mi hermana. Es la historia de una princesa de un cuento de dibujos animados, que es empujada al mundo real por la madrastra de su príncipe, y aparece en Nueva York. Allí la encuentran un abogado especializado en divorcios y su hija pequeña. Al principio piensan que esta loca, y deciden acogerla solo por esa noche. Mientras esto ocurre, también han llegado a la ciudad varios personajes más del mismo cuento, entre ellos el príncipe y su amigo, que es en realidad un enviado de la reina, con el encargo de impedir que el príncipe se reencuentre con su princesa. Para ello deberá matarla con una manzana envenenada. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Durante algún tiempo al perlícula nos muestra todas las situaciones cómicas que se producen cuando los personajes de un cuento se enfrentan con el mundo: confunden los autobuses por monstruos, cantan canciones en el parque en las que de repente todo el mundo participa y sabe la letra. Son escenas propias de los cuentos, pero que aquí se vuelven muy divertidas. Una de mis favoritas fue cuando ella intenta limpiar la casa como lo habría hecho Blancanieves: llamando a los animales del bosque para que la ayuden. Pero en la ciudad los animales que acuden son solo ratas, palomas y cucarachas, con las que se encuentran al levantarse la niña y su padre al levantarse. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Por fin la princesa se reencuentra con su príncipe, y parecen que volverán a su reino de fantasía, pero antes ella quiere una última cosa: una cita. Al final ella y el príncipe van a un baile temático, donde se encuentra con su salvador y su prometida. Bailan y cuando parece que ella va a irse definitivamente, la madrastra aparece, y ella come la princesa como la manzana envenenada que le ofrece. Entonces se desmaya, y para que no muera, debe recibir un beso de amor antes de las doce. Al final es el abogado el que logra resucitarla, y vencer a la reina. Al final ocurre lo que se esperaba: ella se queda en el mundo real, con el abogado y su hija. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Aunque la perlícula se compone de escenas típicas y tópicas de los cuentos de hadas, creo que le da un giro diferente. Me pareció una perlícula muy divertida, que puede gustar tanto a niños como adultos, aunque vaya dirigida a un público infantil en principio. Se disfruta mucho con ella, porque es una historia de amor con un final feliz, pero con un toque distinto.</p>
ES_WR_21_3_ICH	Male	21	Spain	<p>Siempre he sido una persona que aborrece al principio las cosas a la moda: libros que causan euforia, perlícias que atraen a miles de personas al cine, estilos de ropa... Y esto fue lo que me pasó cuando se estrenó Crepúsculo, esa perlícula basada en los libros de Stephenie Meyer sobre un vampiro hermoso y una humana que se enamoran. Tras leerme los libros vi la peli. Me encantó. Y hace nada estrenaron la segunda parte, Luna Nueva que voy a intentar resumir en las siguientes líneas. &lt;br/&gt; Isabella Swan, la protagonista, se hace a la idea que nunca había concebido: tiene novio, pero no es un novio cualquiera, sino el hermoso, glorioso y encantador vampiro Edward Cullen. Tras mostrarnos durante los primeros minutos el amor que se muestran la peli se encauza hacia la acción. Bella celebra su cumpleaños con la familia de Edward que son todos vampiros pero vegetarianos, esto es, se alimentan tan solo de sangre animal respetando de esa manera la vida humana. Cuando Bella intenta abrir un regalo el papel le hace sangrar ligeramente provocando la sed de Jasper, el hermano de Edward que es el vegetariano más reciente por lo que le resulta difícil acostumbrarse a los hábitos de su nueva familia. Así pues, Jasper intenta atacar a Bella pero Edward y Emmet, otro de los hermanos, la salvan. Sin embargo, Edward se resiente emocionalmente porque piensa que él y su familia son un peligro para Bella por lo que decide abandonarla diciéndole una mentira: que no la quiere y que nunca la había querido. &lt;br/&gt; Por lo tanto, Bella ve que toda su vida se ha ido con Edward, que se va muriendo poco a poco sin él. Pero en ese momento de gran depresión aparece su querido amigo Jacob Black, un chaval de la tribu de los Quileutes con el cual empieza a pasar el tiempo y con el que consigue cerrar el agujero en el pecho que le había provocado la partida de Edward. Sin embargo, Jacob también se distancia de ella por algo que no le quiere explicar. Bella se vuelve a sentir sola y moribunda hasta que decide hablar con Jacob y descubre que es un licántropo cuya función es matar vampiros -excepto a los Cullen porque éstos no matan humanos-. &lt;br/&gt; En un momento en que decide ver a Edward -cuando experimenta sensaciones adrenalinicas Bella ve en visiones a su vampiro- Bella se tira por un acantilado. Es rescatada de las corrientes marítimas por Jacob que la lleva a casa. Cuando entran Bella se encuentra con Alice, la hermana pequeña de Edward que ve el futuro, y ésta le dice que la había visto por el acantilado y la daba por muerta. Al haberse enterado de eso, Edward decide morir también porque no concibe un mundo sin ella así que decide exponerse al sol ante los humanos para que los Vulturis, la poderosa realeza vampírica, le maten, ya que los vampiros han de mantener en secreto su existencia. &lt;br/&gt; Al saber de sus propósitos a través de las visiones de Alice, Bella y ella viajan a Volterra, donde residen los Vulturis, para rescatarle. Llegan a tiempo aunque Edward ya había mostrado un pie al sol ante la gente. Cuando vuelve a encontrarse y decidir que nunca más se separarían, Aro, el líder Vulturis, les reclama. Tras probar que Bella es inmune a los talentos de los vampiros, por ejemplo, ni Edward ni Aro le pueden leer la mente ni Jane Vulturis le puede infligir dolor con la mirada, Aro se encuentra en un dilema: matar a Bella por saber tanto de los vampiros o no. Entonces hacen un trato, si Edward convierte a Bella en vampiro ella saldría viva de ahí. Aro acepta no sin antes avisarles de que les visitaría para verificar la transformación. &lt;br/&gt; De vuelta a Forks, lugar donde residen Bella y la familia Cullen, Bella se da cuenta de que Jacob está enamorado de ella y ella también un poco de él. Sin embargo, el sentimiento no es tan poderoso como el que tiene para con Edward. Tras una pequeña discusión entre el lobo y el vampiro, aquél se marcha con el orgullo herido y Bella se siente completamente egoísta al haber utilizado a Jacob para subsanar el dolor de la ausencia de Edward. &lt;br/&gt; La perlícula termina con una proposición de matrimonio a Bella por parte de Edward y con muchos enigmas por resolver en las tres entregas siguientes.</p>

ES_WR_21_3_PMA	Female	21	Spain	<p>Una de las películas destacables que he visto recientemente es "Scoop" de Woody Allen. La película es entretenida y supuestamente pertenece al género de la comedia, pero más allá de ser entretenida, gracia tiene en momentos contados. Habiendo visto bastantes películas de Woody Allen con anterioridad, y comparando "Scoop" ésta deja mucho que desear. No siendo mala, de todas las películas de director creo que se podría decir que es una de las peores. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; La película trata sobre una estudiante de periodismo llamada Sondra que vive la aparición del fantasma de un famoso periodista muerto recientemente, el cual le cuenta una exclusiva mundial que no sabe absolutamente nadie: el famoso asesino del tarot que ultimamente lleva aterrorizando los prostíbulos de Londres con sus crímenes es un famoso y respetable empresario inglés, Peter. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Cuando Sondra comienza a investigarlo en colaboración de su amigo ilusionista Sid (Woody Allen), es incapaz de impedir lo inevitable, que surja una relación entre ella y el supuesto asesino, por lo que Sondra con el paso del tiempo, estará más convencida de que el testimonio del fantasma es falso. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Pero finalmente, ante el amor ciego que siente Sondra, Sid comenzará a investigar por su cuenta y dejará en evidencia a Peter demostrando con pruebas de que él si que es el asesino del tarot.</p>
ES_WR_22_3_AFL	Male	22	Spain	<p>Hace una semana, unos cuantos amigos decidimos ir al cine a ver "La Carretera", un filme protagonizado por Viggo Mortensen que se desarrolla en un futuro post-apocalíptico. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; En la película el mundo tal y como lo conocemos ha sido destruido por un cataclismo que no se llega a explicar (tal vez una explosión atómica, tal vez un desastre natural). Las plantas han muerto, y a la mayoría de los animales no les queda mucho tiempo. Muchos de los supervivientes humanos que quedan se han visto obligados a recurrir al canibalismo para sobrevivir. En este escenario tan desolador, un padre (Mortensen) trata por todos los medios de llevar a su hijo de diez años hasta el mar, donde espera encontrar algo más o menos parecido a una civilización. Sin embargo, la carretera que allí lleva estará llena de peligros y no será nada fácil sobrevivir. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Lo cierto es que si algo asusta realmente de la película es su realismo. En diversas escenas es imposible no tener escalofríos, por lo que no es apta para personas no acostumbradas a ver thrillers o películas de terror. Hasta que consiguen llegar a la costa, el padre tiene que enfrentarse a los supervivientes (algunos caníbales, otros no), convivir con el triste recuerdo de su esposa (que optó por suicidarse mucho antes) y soportar una enfermedad que poco a poco acaba con él. El apartado técnico es muy bueno, sobre todo los decorados, que ayudan a que el espectador se meta totalmente en la película. Pero si hay algo que podemos destacar de la película, además del guión, son las interpretaciones. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Viggo Mortensen ya llevaba varios años trabajando en el mundo del cine, pero no fue hasta el año 2001 cuando de la mano de Peter Jackson se convirtió en toda una estrella gracias a la trilogía de "El Señor de los Anillos". Desde entonces se ha convertido en un buen reclamo para la taquilla, ha participado en producciones de calidad e incluso ha sido nominado al Oscar (creo recordar que por "Promesas del Este"). El niño, aunque ahora es un completo desconocido, hace un papelón, por lo que supongo que no tardarán en llamarle para películas que necesiten menores que de verdad sepan actuar. Además, destacar que brevemente también aparecen Robert Duvall (ya toda una leyenda) y Charlize Theron (quizás la sudafricana más famosa del mundo) en el papel de madre. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; A modo de conclusión, decir que se trata de una buena película y que recomiendo su visionado a cualquiera que le guste el buen cine.</p>
ES_WR_22_3_IFV	Male	22	Spain	<p>El sábado pasado fui al cine con varios amigos para ver la película "21 Black Jack", cuyo título original en inglés es "21". El actor principal de la película es Kevin Spacey. El resto del reparto y el director no los conozco. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; La película trata de un adolescente, Ben Campbell, que estudia en el Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) y es un genio con los números. Además, Ben ha sido aceptado por la Universidad de Harvard para estudiar medicina. El problema es que para poder estudiar allí, Ben necesita una gran cantidad de dinero de la que no dispone, por lo que se ve obligado a solicitar una beca que cubra todos los gastos. Conseguir la beca no es tarea fácil y uno de las personas encargadas de concederlas le dice a Ben que la clave para que le den esta beca es el ensayo que tiene que escribir y en el que debe de relatar una experiencia vital que asombe al jurado. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Uno de los profesores de Ben en el MIT, Mickey Rosa (Spacey), se da cuenta de las habilidades numéricas de Ben y le hace acudir a una reunión con él y otros cuatro alumnos. Cuando Ben acude a la reunión descubre que el profesor Rosa entrena a estos alumnos para contar cartas en el juego de Black Jack y así poder ir en contra del azar y ganar grandes cantidades de dinero. Ben se une a ellos y se convierte en un "jugador" de gran talento. Los cinco alumnos y el profesor comenzaran a llevar a cabo una serie de viajes a Las Vegas en cuyos casinos ganan cientos de miles de dólares. Ben ve en esto una gran oportunidad de conseguir el dinero que necesita para poder ingresar en Harvard y se promete así mismo que cuando reuna el dinero que necesita dejará de jugar. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Las cosas parecen ir bien hasta que una noche en el casino Ben se deja llevar más por el azar que por las matemáticas y pierde mucho dinero. El profesor Rose se enfurece y le dice a Ben que le tendrá que devolver el dinero perdido. Ben se niega y el profesor les abandona en Las Vegas. El grupo de amigos decide seguir jugando a pesar de la ausencia del profesor. Sin embargo, Rose les relata a uno de los guardias del casino que ya llevaba un tiempo siguiendo sus pasos. El guardia capture a Ben y le da una paliza. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; De vuelta en Boston, Ben descubre que Rose ha entrado en su habitación y le ha robado el dinero que había ahorrado hasta ahora. Ben pide perdón a Rose y le propone volver a Las Vegas por última vez para dar un gran golpe que les hará inmensamente ricos. Rose acepta y el grupo entero vuelve a Las Vegas. Como tenían previsto, ganan mucho dinero, pero cuando todo parecía ir bien, el guardia reaparece y comienza a perseguir a Ben y Rose que tratan de escapar. Rose le dice a Ben que le de la bolsa con las fichas y que le espere en otro casino cercano. Se separan y Rose se sube en un coche que le lleva al aeropuerto. Sin embargo, de camino se da cuenta de que la bolsa está llena de chocolatinas, de que Ben se ha quedado con las fichas y de que el conductor es un ayudante del guardia. De vuelta al casino se descubre que Ben había hecho un pacto con el guardia el día de la paliza para capturar a Rose. El guardia se queda con Rose y con las fichas. Ben se queda sin dinero pero con una gran experiencia vital que le hace un excepcional candidato para la beca que había solicitado.</p>

ES_WR_22_3_LLM	Female	22	Spain	"Lo imposible."     La película titulada "Lo imposible" trata sobre un fenómeno catastrófico que ocurrió hace un par de años en Haití. La película gira en torno a las vacaciones de una pareja y sus respectivos hijos (tres hijos) y cómo experimentan tal catástrofe.     Al principio la familia llega al hotel donde se hospedaban y todo estaba bien, pero de repente, una mañana, todo empieza a temblar, la madre había salido a la playa con los niños, mientras que el padre, dormía. El padre, sobresaltado por el temblor, se despierta y lee una nota de su mujer donde decía que había salido con los niños a la playa, tras leer esto el padre se preocupa mucho y entonces, ocurre el huracán, éste lo arrasa todo, o al menos gran parte del territorio. La película continua con la búsqueda mutua del padre y la madre, para poder reunirse todos de nuevo. Entre caos, miedo y desesperación finalmente todos acaban reunidos y pueden volver sanos y salvos a su país.     Esta película esta basada en una historia real y hay críticas que la clasifican como "de las mejores películas de este año".
ES_WR_23_3_A_BM	Female	23	Spain	La última película que he visto se titula <i>Contratiempo</i> , es una película de intriga y suspense, un empresario exitoso es declarado culpable de un asesinato aunque él se declara inocente, el juicio en su contra se celebra al día siguiente. Para su defensa contrata los servicios de una prestigiosa Abogada especialista en la preparación y de testigos trabajan juntos una noche para encontrar un argumento que le permita librarse de la cárcel, sin embargo a lo largo de la película se va descubriendo que este empresario esconde muchas cosas que irán siendo desveladas conforme le cuenta la historia a la abogada e irá recomponiendo las piezas de un puzzle con el tiempo en su contra.
ES_WR_23_3_EM	Female	23	Spain	Una de las películas que he visto recientemente, y una de las que más me ha gustado, ha sido la producción cinematográfica titulada "El Niño". Esta película trata sobre un muchacho, al cual llaman "Niño", que decide cruzar el Estrecho con el fin de transportar droga. En su primera misión es interceptado por la policía pero tras un duelo en alta mar consigue despistarlos y que la mercancía llegue a buen puerto, no sin antes darse cuenta de que simplemente lo habían utilizado como cebo para que otros en su lugar trasladaran el hachís. A pesar de que él no está satisfecho con lo ocurrido, su superior le paga y al ver que de esta manera se puede ganar dinero fácil decide hacer de esto su oficio.   Para comenzar su andadura en este negocio se asocia con un amigo suyo, un chico árabe y la hermana del último, Amina. Todo parece ser que funciona de maravilla hasta que el protagonista de la película se enamora de la chica y ella le pide por favor que deje el negocio porque lo único que le va a traer son problemas. Él acepta la suplica de la muchacha pero primero decide dar el último viaje. Éste comienza como cualquier otro pero la cosa se complica y termina siendo detenido y enviado a la cárcel. La película termina con una escena en la que Amina lo visita en el centro penitenciario y le dice que le esperara todo lo que sea necesario.
ES_WR_24_3_AGLL	Female	24	Spain	"Promesas del Este" narra la historia de Nikolai, el chófer de una de las familias más importantes de la mafia rusa afincada en Londres. Poco a poco, Nikolai se va introduciendo en la familia hasta tal punto que entra a formar parte de ella, con todo lo que eso conlleva (crímenes de todo tipo, robos, extorsión, trata de blancas, etc).     Sin embargo, y lo que nadie sabe, es que Nikolai es un agente infiltrado que pasa información a la policía londinense y a la vez intenta ayudar a las víctimas de la mafia rusa, como por ejemplo, a una niña huérfana de madre, hija bastarda del patriarca de dicha familia, que fue adoptada por Anna (de la que Nikolai termina enamorándose, aunque es un amor imposible), o a una prostituta ucraniana.     Con todo esto, el filme nos enseña las barbaridades a las que puede llegar el ser humano (violencia extrema en el mundo de la mafia), pero también nos muestra que aún quedan personas que arriesgan su propia vida al servicio de la ley y el orden.
ES_WR_24_3_AVV	Male	24	Spain	Hace una semana, estuve en el cine para ver 'Los hombres que no amaban a las mujeres'. Se trata de una adaptación de la novela de Stieg Larsson, un escritor sueco que ha tenido mucho éxito después de su muerte.     La película es la primera de una trilogía, llamada 'Millenium'. En ella, un periodista investiga la desaparición de una rica heredera, hace cuarenta años. Para ello, cuenta con la ayuda de una pirata informática, con la que además iniciará una relación sentimental.     El periodista muestra sus dotes de deducción, enlazando la desaparición de la chica con una serie de asesinatos de mujeres judías. Aparentemente, la heredera descubrió que alguien de su familia se escondía detrás de dichos asesinatos, y por eso se vio obligada a desaparecer.     Finalmente se descubre que el padre y el hermano de la joven, con ideas neonazis, eran los responsables de los crímenes. Tras una impactante escena donde el hermano intenta ahorcar al periodista, la pirata descubre el paradero de la joven, que consiguió huir a Australia, ahora convertida en una mujer de mediana edad.

ES_WR_24_3_I2G	Female	24	Spain	<p>La última película que he visto es "Tiana y el Sapo", creación de la factoría Disney. En ella se narra la historia de Tiana, una niña de color que vive en el Nueva Orleans de los años 20.     Tiana vive con su madre, modista, y su padre en una casita en los suburbios de Nueva Orleans. Su padre sueña con abrir su propio restaurante para dejar de tener 2 y 3 empleos distintos, pero lamentablemente muere cuando Tiana es aún pequeña. por ello, Tiana toma la determinación de cumplir el sueño de su padre y para ello se pluriemplea, sin tiempo para nada más que para hacer todos los turnos posibles y ahorrar para el restaurante. Todavía le queda mucho dinero por juntar cuando sucede algo inesperado: el príncipe Naveen visita la ciudad en busca de una rica heredera para casarse. Su amiga Charlotte, una niña rica cuya modista era la madre de Tiana, le encarga hacer buñuelos en la fiesta de recepción del príncipe para ayudarla a conquistarle, y por este favor le da una gran suma de dinero con el que Tiana, por fin, podrá comprar la azucarera abandonada que quiere convertir en su restaurante. Pero los planes de ambas se tuercen: alguien supera la oferta de Tiana por el local y el príncipe Naveen es convertido en rana por el malvado Dr. Facilier, un brujo vudú que quiere matar al padre de Charlotte y heredar toda su fortuna casando al mayordomo de Naveen con Charlotte (al que ha embrujado para que parezca el propio Naveen). El príncipe, ya convertido en rana, se encuentra a Tiana vestida de princesa con un traje que Charlotte le ha prestado y, creyendo que es una princesa de verdad, le pide que le bese para romper el hechizo; a cambio le promete que le dará dinero para conseguir su local una vez se case con Charlotte. Ella accede y al besarse Tiana se convierte en rana.     Juntos tendrán que huir del Dr. Facilier a los pantanos, donde se encuentran con el caimán Louis que les dice que hay una bruja, Mamá Oddie, que puede ayudarles a convertirse en humanos de nuevo puesto que ella también es hechicera vudú. Mientras Louis intenta encontrar el camino hacia la cabaña de Mamá Oddie, se encuentran con la luciérnaga Randy que decide ayudarles también. Una vez encuentran a Mamá Oddie, ésta les dice que sólo si Naveen es besado por una princesa el hechizo se romperá; para ello les dice que vuelvan a Nueva Orleans, puesto que Charlotte será princesa del Mardi Gras al ser su padre el rey del desfile, aunque esto sólo durará hasta las 12 de la noche puesto que entonces habrá acabado el Mardi Gras.     Louis, Randy, Tiana y Naveen vuelven juntos a Nueva Orleans. Naveen se ha enamorado de Tiana y quiere pedirle matrimonio, pero como sólo podrá darle el dinero para el restaurante si se casa con la rica Charlotte, decide no decirle nada para que ella pueda cumplir su sueño al casarse él con Charlotte. Entretanto, el Dr. Facilier ha convocado a los espíritus del más allá para que persigan a Naveen y lo traigan de vuelta, puesto que necesitan su sangre para mantener el encantamiento del mayordomo del príncipe para lograr que éste se case con Charlotte, boda que se celebrará durante el desfile del Mardi Gras. Tras conseguir quitarle a Facilier el amuleto que mantiene este encantamiento, Naveen y Tiana van en busca de Charlotte para contarle lo que necesitan, pero aunque Charlotte accede a besar a Naveen aunque no se casen porque ve en Tiana y Naveen el amor verdadero, el encantamiento no se rompe porque dan las 12 de la noche.     Así, Tiana y Naveen deciden vivir juntos, aunque sea como ranas. Entonces, mientras se está celebrando su boda en los pantanos, sucede el milagro: al besar Naveen a Tiana ambos se convierten en humanos, ya que Tiana se había convertido en princesa al haberse casado con Naveen. Juntos vuelven a la ciudad, Naveen se pone a trabajar y consiguen el dinero para montar el restaurante de Tiana.</p>
ES_WR_24_3_JAO	Male	24	Spain	<p>"Stardust" cuenta la historia de un joven acomplejado que vive en un pueblo llamado Muro. Este joven se enamora de una chica, la cual no le corresponde. Una noche ven caer una estrella fugaz y acuerdan que si el muchacho vuelve con la estrella ella se casará con él.   Acto seguido, el protagonista emprende la marcha en busca de la estrella. Para llegar hasta ella, deberá cruzar un gran muro de piedra (de ahí el nombre de la localidad) que está vigilado por un guardián que no permite el paso a nadie. Cuando al fin consigue superar la barrera, descubre que al otro lado del muro se encuentra un mundo mágico.   En este mundo descubre que la estrella que va buscando tiene forma de mujer, además, de mal carácter. Una vez que la ha encontrado empiezan el viaje juntos de vuelta al pueblo del muchacho, pero poco a poco irán descubriendo que no son los únicos que quieren hacerse con la estrella: Iso hijos de un rey que compiten por el trono de su padre difunto, una bruja que gracias a la estrella quiere rejuvenecer...   Durante este viaje (físico e interior para el protagonista) se encontrarán con una serie de personajes de lo más extraño: desde unos piratas que surcan los aires en su galeón, hasta cabras que de pronto se vuelven humanas.   Poco a poco, el joven empieza a enamorarse de la estrella, y quiere regresar a su pueblo para formar una familia con ella. Pero una ley mágica impide que la estrella cruce el muro que separa los dos mundos, así que la pareja protagonista deberá vencer a todos sus enemigos para poder vivir juntos para la eternidad en el mundo mágico.</p>

ES_WR_24_3_NMM	Female	24	Spain	<p>La última película que he visto se titula "La historia oficial". La historia transcurre en Argentina a principios de los años ochenta y describe el cambio social y político de esta época. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; El personaje principal es una profesora de historia que, de la noche a la mañana, se ve sorprendida por los cambios en su país y en su vida personal. Siempre ha creído todo lo que le han contado. Cuando era pequeña, sus padres fallecieron en un accidente de tráfico. Su abuela, para no hacerla sufrir, le contó que estaban de viaje y ella pasó años y años esperándolos. Ya de mayor descubrió la verdad cuando vio su tumba. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Ahora se hace preguntas sobre el origen de Gaby, su hija adoptiva. Su marido, un hombre de negocios, le contó que la madre no la quería y que por eso ellos la adoptaban. También le dijo que nunca debía hacer preguntas sobre el tema ni hablar con su hija cuando fuese mayor. Pero, de repente, se encuentra con las calles llenas de gente manifestándose para que cambie el sistema político y se reconozcan los crímenes cometidos. Empieza a pensar que su hija puede ser una de esas niñas que las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo están buscando. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; También la llegada de una amiga de la infancia despiertará su deseo de saber. Esta amiga tuvo que huir del país. La torturaron y violaron porque su antigua pareja era un "revolucionario". Ella no lo había visto en años, pero no la creyeron. La maltrataron sin piedad. Se vio sin fuerzas para seguir en el país, pero ahora, al cabo de siete años, vuelve. Por primera vez le confiesa a la protagonista todo su sufrimiento. Alicia, si no recuerdo mal este era su nombre, se niega a creer que esto haya ocurrido en un país civilizado como Argentina. Sin embargo, poco a poco su actitud irá cambiando. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Su trabajo como maestra se ve también afectado por este cambio. Al principio no quiere dialogar con sus alumnos sobre la historia. Es lo que pone en los libros de textos y han de aprenderlo de memoria. Esa es la labor del alumno, no reflexionar. Al empezar a darle vueltas a la historia de su amiga, al origen de Gaby, al motivo de las manifestaciones y a la rebelión de sus alumnos, se da cuenta de sus errores. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; El papel del marido es también muy interesante. Al principio de la película aparece como un hombre de negocios inteligente y espabilado, pero, poco a poco, las preocupaciones van acorralándole. Al final de la película es solo una sombra de lo que era. Alicia descubre que ha estado implicado en las atrocidades cometidas y posiblemente fue quién denunció a su amiga. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Esta película ganó un Oscar y numerosos premios. Me ha gustado mucho y creo que los premios son muy merecidos. Es una película muy dura pero muy interesante. La moral de la historia es que quizás no siempre podemos conocer la verdad de la "historia oficial", pero al menos debemos intentarlo.</p>
ES_WR_25_3_BGM	Female	25	Spain	<p>El viernes por la tarde, tras un duro día de trabajo y estudio en la Universidad, cuando llegué a casa decidí que iba a ver una película antes de acostarme. Así que, cuando llegué, me puse cómoda, me tumbé en el sofá y encendí la televisión. De todas las películas que tenía disponibles, me decanté por "El soldado de hierro" (creo que se llamaba así), una peli de Clint Eastwood que tiene el punto perfecto de comedia, de manera que podía ver una peli entretenida, con puntos de humor, pero que no llegara a ser una de esas insultas comedias románticas que, como muchas series, parecen que tienen a un tío sosteniendo un letrero que pone "Applause" y oyés cada 2,3 segundos las risas del público. Una vez elegida la película, le di al "play" y me tumbé en el sofá dispuesta a pasar una estupenda cita de dos horas y pico con Clint. &lt;br/&gt; Empezó la película y me gustó más de lo que creía en un principio. Resulta que Clint interpreta a un ex soldado de la guerra con muy mala boca y a punto de jubilarse, pero que aún tiene mucha metralla entre los dientes y el hombre no quiere quedarse en casa y disfrutar de su ocio. Así pues, lo mandan a "adiestrar" a una tropa de soldaditos cuyo anterior mando pasaba un poco del tema y, además, resulta que uno de ellos es un rapero que lo había estafado al principio de la película. La misión de Clint es, por tanto, hacer de esa tropilla un buen equipo a base de un duro entrenamiento, pero que poco a poco hace que los niños confíen en Clint y aborten sus intentos de echarlo del ejército. &lt;br/&gt; Cuando finaliza su periodo de entrenamiento, salen a pasarlo bien y en ese momento suena una alarma de Defensa y Clint debe ir con su tropa a realizar un rescate a una isla. Gracias al buen entrenamiento del "soldado de hierro", todos (menos uno, pobrecito) salen ilesos de su misión y comprenden que se han convertido en hombres de bien; de hecho, más de uno decide quedarse en el Ejército y anclar su carrera profesional en el campo de batalla.</p>
ES_WR_25_3_MJ	Female	25	Spain	<p>Hace un par de semanas he visto "Infiltrados", una película de Matt Damon, Leo Dicaprio y Jack Nicholson. Jack es el cabecilla de una banda de mafiosos y consigue que Matt Damon se infiltre en la policía. Por otro lado Leo es poli de verdad pero está infiltrado en la banda de mafiosos. A lo largo de toda la película se están intercambiando información y los mafiosos nunca pueden dar el golpe pero tampoco son pillados por la policía. &lt;br/&gt; Leo Dicaprio es policía, le ha costado mucho aprobar la academia, pero tiene una familia de delincuentes y le impiden entrar a formar parte del cuerpo. Entonces le proponen este trabajo, infiltrarse en una banda de mafia y dar chivatazos hasta que los pillen con las manos en la masa y los puedan arrestar. &lt;br/&gt; Jack Nicholson soborna desde pequeño a Matt Damon dándole dinero por pequeñas tareas como por ejemplo lavar coches. Consigue que entre en la academia policial con un currículum impecable y poco a poco va ascendiendo hasta que se convierte en el poli al mando de la caza de la banda de mafiosos. &lt;br/&gt; A pesar de que se sabe desde el principio que se han infiltrado, uno en la policía y otro en la mafia, la película consigue mantener el suspense. Tampoco hay que perder de vista que Matt Damon hace un papelazo.</p>
ES_WR_26_3_CGI	Male	26	Spain	<p>Una solvente banda sonora nos introduce desde el principio en la atmósfera triste y secreta de la película que vi ayer por la tarde: El orfanato. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Son la infancia, la imaginación, la debilidad, los juegos, el miedo y la muerte los temas que va tocando simultáneamente. El director, el guión y sus protagonistas logran mantenernos en tensión a lo largo de toda la película. El personaje principal es Laura, una mujer que reabre el orfanato donde fue criada años atrás. Ella y su marido ocultan a su hijo Simón dos verdades: que fue adoptado y que es portador del VIH. Cuando Simón se encierra en el sótano de la casa tras una disputa con su madre, sus padres y la policía empiezan la búsqueda al pensar que se escapó de casa. La desesperación de Laura le lleva a investigar en el pasado de la casa y en la trágica historia de otro niño, Tomás, y su perversa madre, personaje que provoca un par de intensísimos sustos al espectador. Al final, Laura encuentra muerto a su hijo y se suicida angustiada por sentirse culpable. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Me han impactado las escenas de la antigua asistente social, una noche en el cobertizo de la casa, y su inesperado atropello, con la imagen picassiana de su rostro sangrante y desencajado. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Supone una sorpresa dentro del mediocre cine español.</p>

ES_WR_26_3_EMP	Female	26	Spain	<p>La última película que he visto se llama "The Wicker Man", es un remake de una película antigua inglesa. Me dejó bastante indiferente sobre todo después de haber oído que la original era una película de terror impactante para la época. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; La trama trata sobre un policía californiano que recibe un día una carta de una exnovia a la que todavía no ha terminado de olvidar. La chica le había dejado plantado en el altar y muchos años después de eso, le escribe pidiéndole ayuda. Le comenta en la carta que su hija ha desaparecido y que necesita su ayuda. El policía emprende entonces un viaje a una remota isla al norte de EEUU o Canadá no recuerdo exactamente, donde la gente es bastante peculiar y misteriosa. Él cree ir desvelando misterios sobre el paradero de la niña pero al final resulta que las cosas son bastante diferentes a lo que él esperaba y la verdadera razón de la carta no era la de resolver una desaparición sino servir de mártir humano en un rito pagano para la prosperidad. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; El problema de la película no es la historia en sí, sino como está contada. No enlazan los diferentes momentos de una manera que resulte interesante, las interpretaciones no resultan muy creíbles y le falta definitivamente algo.</p>
ES_WR_26_3_MMM	Female	26	Spain	<p>La película que he visionado la última vez se llama La tumba de Legia. Esta película pertenece al género de terror y data mas o menos de los años 50. Su director es Roger Corman y está basada en la novela original de Edgar Allan Poe. &lt;br/&gt; El argumento de la película transcurre en un territorio alrededor de Londres, donde los paisajes naturales con verdes y singulares parajes se entremezclan con la presencia de una abadía abandonada, esta a su vez tiene como anexo un antiguo cementerio abandonado que alberga la tumba de la desaparecida propietaria de la abadía, cuyo nombre es Legia. Todo comienza con el entierro de esta dama por parte del marido en el cementerio, en cuya lápida y a modo de profecía deja una cita augurando que ella no descansaría en paz nunca. &lt;br/&gt; Tiempo después este solitario y bohemio hombre conoce por casualidad a una mujer que resulta parecerse mucho a su difunta esposa y estos finalmente se casan trasladando su residencia a esta antigua abadía. Intentan venderla tiempo después sin mucho éxito ya que el certificado de defunción de la antigua propietaria no aparece y por si no fuera poco una serie de extraños acontecimientos se suceden dando lugar a una serie de extraños sucesos todos relacionados con la muerte de esta extraña mujer que parece no querer dejar el mundo de los vivos. Todo esto derivará en un fatídico final lleno de sorpresa y ensorfiación que te hace enmudecer. &lt;br/&gt; La película está cargada de símbolos y ambiente inquietante, además de una atmósfera gótica muy bien conseguida que te tiene pegada a la butaca hasta el final del metraje.</p>
ES_WR_26_3_MPVI	Female	26	Spain	<p>Manhattan de Woody Allen &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Esta película, dirigida por Woody Allen, se sitúa en la ciudad de Manhattan. Los personajes son un escritor, una chica de 17 años, el amigo del escritor (que es profesor) y su mujer, y la amante de este último. El protagonista, representado por Woody Allen, es un hombre de mediana edad enamorado de una chica mucho más joven que él a la que acaba abandonando porque considera que la diferencia de edad es demasiado grande. Él cree que su amigo goza de un matrimonio ideal, pero descubre que tiene una amante, que deja poco después. La amante se convierte en amante del protagonista, pero poco tiempo después es abandonado. Estos hechos hacen que el protagonista se de cuenta de que no hay que racionalizar tanto los sentimientos, lo que le hace volver a buscar a su joven enamorada. La encuentra unos minutos antes de que ella se marche a Londres. Ella le pide que espere a que vuelva, unos meses más tarde, y ante la desconfianza de él, le pide que confie más en la gente.</p>
ES_WR_28_3_MAAO	Male	28	Spain	<p>Una película que he visto hace poco es "El piano", de Jane Campion. Es un drama romántico, rodado en Nueva Zelanda y que obtuvo muchos premios, entre ellos tres Oscars. Cuenta la historia de Ada, una mujer británica que de pequeña tomó la decisión de no hablar, y con el tiempo ha ido olvidando el lenguaje. Su piano es su forma de comunicarse con el mundo. El padre de Ada decide casarla con el señor Stewart, que vive en Nueva Zelanda, por lo que ella y su hija Flora tienen que trasladarse allí, y se llevan el piano con ellas. &lt;br/&gt; Cuando desembarcan en la playa, los indígenas dicen que es imposible trasladar el piano hasta el poblado, así que lo dejan allí, azotado por las olas. Pero Ada no quiere separarse de él, y vuelve a la playa todos los días; se pasa el tiempo tocándolo mientras Flora juega. Un día conoce a George, un ayudante de Stewart, británico de origen pero que se ha integrado en la comunidad maorí. Este siente lástima por ella y convence a varios indígenas para que le ayuden a trasladar el piano; pero, en vez de llevarlo a casa de Ada, lo lleva a la suya propia. Le dice a Ada que para recuperarlo tendrá que darle lecciones de piano, y que por cada lección le devolverá una teca. Enseguida se descubre que lo que quiere, en realidad, es tener relaciones con ella. Aunque al principio Ada se resiste, con el tiempo va enamorándose de George y acaba cediendo a sus propósitos. Encuentra en esta relación el cariño que no recibe de su marido. &lt;br/&gt; Sin embargo, Stewart empieza a sospechar la infidelidad de su esposa, y utiliza a Flora como espía. La niña colabora con él porque siente celos del amante de su madre. Cuando el marido por fin confirma sus temores, maltrata a Ada y llega a cortarle un dedo de un hachazo. Después intenta matar a George, pero cuando está a punto de dispararle, comprende que nunca conseguirá el amor de Ada, y al final renuncia a ella y la deja libre. &lt;br/&gt; Ada y George se embarcan de vuelta a Inglaterra. La barca amenaza con hundirse por el peso del piano, así que los maories deciden arrojarlo por la borda; entonces ella ata una de sus piernas al piano, para hundirse con él. Pero, cuando está a punto de ahogarse, decide que prefiere vivir; consigue soltarse y sale a flote. Ya en Inglaterra, Ada decide aprender a hablar de nuevo; George la fabrica un dedo de metal, y así puede volver a tocar. En conjunto, la película es muy compleja y creo que está rodada con mucha sensibilidad.</p>

ES_WR_29_3_ACP	Male	29	Spain	<p>Una película que me ha llamado la atención últimamente es la producción alemana "La vida de los otros". Esta película cuenta la historia de un agente de la policía secreta de la antigua República Democrática Alemana al que se le encarga la misión de vigilar a un prominente dramaturgo del país. Este dramaturgo es famoso por su adhesión al régimen, pero una (entre varias) razones por la que deciden vigilarte es porque el ministro de cultura está enamorado de la novia del dramaturgo, una actriz famosa de teatro (bastante atractiva, por cierto). Así pues, por una serie de circunstancias, el dramaturgo decide escribir un artículo contrario a los intereses de la RDA y publicarlo en una revista de Alemania Occidental. Cuando la policía secreta lo descubre, intentan incriminar al escritor. Y de hecho están a punto de pillarlo, porque la actriz, que después de un desplante al ministro de cultura y para salvar su carrera, decide convertirse en informadora de la policía secreta y revelar el lugar donde el dramaturgo esconde el material. Afortunadamente, el agente de la policía secreta que estaba encargado de la vigilancia decide "echar un cable" al dramaturgo y logra deshacerse de las pruebas antes de que los agentes de la policía secreta que registran la casa del escritor las encuentren. En ese momento, la actriz, que está presente en el registro, arrepentida, sale del edificio y se suicida arrojándose delante de una camioneta que pasaba por la calle. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Varios años más tarde, coincidiendo con la reunificación de Alemania, el dramaturgo accede a los informes que de él mantenía la policía secreta. Después de leerlos, se da cuenta de que había sido el agente el que le ayudó sacando las pruebas de su casa. La película acaba con el agente (que después de la caída del muro trabaja de cartero) entrando en una librería y comprando la última novela del escritor, que, en agradecimiento, ha dedicado la novela al agente, del que sólo conoce su identificación.</p>
ES_WR_30_3_JVM	Female	30	Spain	<p>La película sobre la que voy a hablar se titula Fish Tank. Cuenta la historia de una chica que vive en un barrio de clase humilde en Inglaterra. La chica tiene muchos problemas familiares (su madre es alcohólica, por ejemplo) y no sabe muy bien qué hacer con su vida. Lo único que le gusta es bailar y a eso dedica todo el tiempo. Poco a poco la historia se complica cuando la chica se enamora del amante de su madre hasta que al final acaba teniendo una pequeña relación con él. Él acaba rechazándola así que la chica, harta de todas las miserias de su vida acaba huyendo con un amigo a otra ciudad.</p>
ES_WR_30_3_RMC	Female	30	Spain	<p>HE VISTO LA PELÍCULA EN CASA &lt;br/&gt; ESSAY: Esta película narra la historia de un chico llamado Chris que es un tenista irlandés retirado, que busca trabajo (y lo encuentra) como profesor de tenis para personas de la alta sociedad londinense. Este trabajo le lleva a conocer a Tom Hewett, un joven miembro de la clase alta, que al conocer su afición por la ópera le invita al palco familiar, en donde entrará en contacto con personas de la alta sociedad. La hermana de Tom, Chloe, se enamora de Chris, le introduce en la empresa familiar y acaba casándose con él. El ascenso social de Chris le lleva a alcanzar casi todo aquello que puede desear, aunque se siente atraído por la novia de su cuñado, Nola , con la que mantendrá una relación. Al final las dos mujeres terminan llevándole a un callejón sin salida. Cómo su posición social está por encima de todo, decide matar a Nola , para que su mujer no se entere y termine el prestigio social que ha alcanzado. Al final no descubren la verdad y culpan a un vagabundo.</p>
ES_WR_30_3_SPH	Female	30	Spain	<p>La última película que he visto es la de "El ilusionista", creo. Me gustó bastante. Al principio parece que va a ser una película de amor, pero a medida que avanza la trama se va convirtiendo en una película de misterio. Los protagonistas son dos jóvenes que se conocen de niños y se enamoran. Él es de clase baja mientras que ella es de familia noble. Cuando los padres de ella se enteran de que anda con este chico la prohíben que vuelva a verle. Así pasan muchos años separados durante los cuales él se convierte en un mago o ilusionista muy reconocido por sus trucos increíbles. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Un día acude a ver su espectáculo el príncipe y su prometida (que no es otra que la chica de quien el ilusionista se enamoró de niño) y, cuando ambos se reconocen, se dan cuenta de que siguen enamorados y comienzan a verse a escondidas. El príncipe sospecha de que su prometida le es infiel y manda a uno de sus secuaces a perseguirla. Mientras tanto, todo el mundo está maravillado con los trucos del ilusionista, y esto hace que el príncipe se enfade mucho más. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Al final, el ilusionista y la chica preparan su huida haciendo que todo el mundo crea que el príncipe ha matado a su prometida. El príncipe termina suicidándose y al final el ilusionista y la chica consiguen estar juntos.</p>
ES_WR_31_3_EAC	Male	31	Spain	<p>La última película que he visto ha sido "Precious". &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; La vi la semana pasada con mi novia. Era una película norteamericana cuya protagonista era una adolescente afroamericana que vivía en el Bronx, en Nueva York. Tenía bastantes problemas, ya que era demasiado gorda para su edad y pertenecía a una familia de clase media baja y bastante desestructurada. Pero el principal problema que tenía era que sufrió un maltrato constante por parte de su madre y del novio de ésta. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; El novio de la madre había abusado sexualmente de la protagonista y eso había hecho que creciera de manera introvertida. No se relacionaba con la gente, ni siquiera con sus compañeros en el colegio y, aunque su rendimiento escolar no era del todo malo, estaba siempre al borde del fracaso y de la exclusión social. Para colmo, la madre era testigo de todo lo que su novio le hacía a la niña y había llegado incluso a ver en ella a una competitiva por el amor del canalla que tenía por novio, lo que había provocado que ella también acabara maltratando a su propia hija, convirtiendo su vida en un auténtico infierno. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Resumiendo: al final, como era una película americana, gracias a la ayuda de una guapa maestra y de su fuerte motivación, se nos ofrece un final esperanzador donde parecen triunfar la determinación y las ganas de vivir, lo cual está muy bien, pero seguro que no es representativo de lo que les sucede a las personas en su situación en la vida real. &lt;br/&gt; Eso sí, era un mensaje de esperanza que hacia que salieramos del cine con esa sonrisilla tonta que luchaba contra el nudo en la garganta que nos habían provocado las penurias de la pobre chica. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; La conclusión es que me gustó la película. Me gusta ir al cine y espero volver a ver más películas en los próximos días.</p>

	Female	32	Spain	<p>El lunes pasado fui a ver una película en versión original titulada 13 Tzameti. Prometía ser una buena película, ya que había recibido varios premios de la crítica, entre ellos el Gran Premio del Jurado del Festival de cine de Sundance. Ciertamente, la película es excelente, pero no se puede decir que sea una película de evasión en absoluto. El efecto que causa es más bien de sacudir la conciencia del mundo en el que vivimos que el de divertir. En eso me recordó un poco a "Tesis". &lt;br/&gt; 13 Tzameti trata de un joven de origen georgiano que arregla tejados y que vive en Francia en unas condiciones socio-económicas muy desfavorables. Mientras arregla el tejado de una casa, se entera casualmente de que el dueño de la casa iba a participar en un asunto que le iba a proporcionar una gran cantidad de dinero. El dueño de la casa muere, su compañera no puede pagar los servicios de saneamiento del tejado que había prestado y el joven decide ocupar el lugar del dueño de la casa en ese negocio del que no sabe nada. Así se ve envuelto en un juego de ruleta rusa macabro, en el que una serie de señores apuestan grandes cantidades de dinero. &lt;br/&gt; Por fortuna logra ganar y no es asesinado en el juego. Cobra su dinero, se escapa y envía lo que ha ganado a su hermano. Sin embargo, cuando regresaba a su casa en el tren, el hermano de uno de los participantes en la ruleta rusa, al que el joven había matado, lo asalta y lo asesina. &lt;br/&gt; Es una película en blanco y negro de una gran maestría que no deja indiferente.</p>
	Female	33	Spain	<p>Voy a hablar de una película que he visto esta misma tarde, "Pequeña Miss Sunshine". Podría hablar de otras actuales que me han gustado más, como "Babel", pero esta la tengo más reciente y por ello creo que me será más fácil. &lt;br/&gt; Lo que más destaca de la película es, en primer lugar, que parece una de bajo presupuesto y, aun así, es de mucha calidad por el trabajo de los actores, el argumento, el guión, la escenografía, etc. En segundo lugar, destacaría que transmite unos valores muy importantes y que hoy parecen olvidados en la sociedad occidental, como es la valía personal aparte del éxito social, y también el apoyo de la familia para las personas. &lt;br/&gt; En cuanto al argumento, trata de una familia de clase media estadounidense formada por el abuelo paterno, los padres, dos niños (una niña de 7 años y otro de 16) y un tío materno. Esta familia se "redescubre" como tal (supongo que es en la infancia cuando se "descubre" lo que es una familia, pero se olvida a partir de la adolescencia) gracias a una serie de acontecimientos donde cada uno tiene valor para los otros simplemente por estar a su lado, por escuchar y apoyar al otro. Primero, el hermano de la madre ha de pasar una temporada con la familia por recomendación médica, pues intentó suicidarse a causa de problemas laborales y amorosos. La familia debe desplazarse al completo, por sorpresa, a un concurso de talentos infantiles en el que debe participar la niña a más de 1000 km. de distancia (desde Alburquerque a California). En el viaje han de lidiar con problemas personales muy importantes, aquellos que han marcado su vida hasta el momento: el tío se encuentra con el amante que lo traicionó, el padre se da cuenta de que su socio lo ha engañado y lo ha dejado en la bancarrota, el hijo mayor descubre que es daltónico y ello le impedirá ser piloto, su sueño, y el abuelo, el peor parado de la historia, muere por sobredosis de cocaína cuando era el único que lo hacía salir de una vida "anodina"... Curiosamente, las únicas personas que no sufren un gran choque emocional por lo que les ocurre son las mujeres: la madre y la niña (aunque ésta no gana el concurso). Prefiero no sacar conclusiones sobre esto, pues sería muy largo. &lt;br/&gt; A pesar de lo frustrante de las situaciones que viven los personajes, la historia es muy reconfortante para el espectador porque todos (excepto el abuelo, claro) pueden sobreponerse por el apoyo del resto. Quizás eso se hace evidente al principio de la película cuando a la furgoneta en que viajan se le estropea el embrague y todos deben colaborar para ponerla en marcha. En realidad sería una metáfora: la furgoneta, vieja pero que sirve muy bien a su fin, es la misma familia. &lt;br/&gt; Para terminar, destacaría el trabajo de los actores, algunos famosos y otros desconocidos, y todos muy bien elegidos para su papel. La veracidad de la historia ayuda mucho a que el espectador se identifique en esta historia, pues todos tenemos una familia con miembros más o menos parecidos a los que aquí se escogieron, y eso hace que uno se implique en el desarrollo del argumento. La enseñanza que se extrae es que merece la pena prestar atención y ayudar a los otros porque eso nos será devuelto cuando lo necesitemos. Al fin y al cabo, no necesitamos demostrar nada a nadie para sentirnos bien y valorados, pues en nuestro entorno más inmediato somos importantes. Eso choca con muchos valores de la sociedad occidental actual, y darse cuenta de ello no es tan fácil. Por eso me ha gustado.</p>

## L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers

FILENAME	TEST % SCORE	PLACEMENT					TEXT
		SEX	AGE	AoO	LoI		
EN_WR_22_18_5_2_KAC	51.2	Female	18	13	5		Barack Obama está el persona más fornoso en el mundo hoy. Él está el presidente de las Estados Unidos. Pero, este presidente es uno de los más importantes presidentes de todo tiempo. Este es porque él es el primer presidente ser Africano Americano. Ese es muy importante en los Estados Unidos porque por un tiempo largo, los Africanos Americanos no tienen libertades. Nadie nunca se piensa que un presidente sería un Africano y la gente de los Estados Unidos están muy felices. La vida de Barack Obama es muy interesante. Él nació en Hawaii, su padre es de Kenia y su madre es de Estados Unidos. Su padre salió de su familia cuando Barack fue joven y Barack no vio hasta él cuando en colegio. Barack vivió con sus abuelos, las padres de su madre. Cuando él fue joven, su madre se casó a un hombre de Indonesia, y ellos se mudaron a Indonesia por su trabajo. Allí, su hermana nació. Cuando llegaron a los Estados Unidos, Barack fue diez. Él fue a Occidental College en California y luego se mudó a la Ciudad Nueva York. Mientras él estuvo viviendo en la ciudad, él aprendió que él tuvo otras hermanas y hermanos en Kenia. Él no le gusta la ciudad porque no tuvo mucho dinero y se mudó a Chicago trabajar por la ciudad y ayudar la gente pobres y africanos en la ciudad. Este trabajo fue muy difícil para él porque hay muchas problemas en la ciudad. Sin embargo, la gente de Chicago les gusta mucho Barack porque él es amable y quiso ayudarlos. Pero, este trabajo fue muy frustrado porque hay mucho trabajo hacer y no tiempo. Barack decidió ir a la universidad de Harvard en Boston estudiar ser un agobiado. Allí, él se casa su novia Michelle, y ellos tuvieron dos hijas se llaman Sasha y Malia. Barack fue un senador de Chicago para cuatro años y corrió para presidente contra de John McCain. La gente de los Estados Unidos fueron muy enojados a George Bush porque de la guerra en Iraq y porque los Estados Unidos no tiene mucho dinero. Porque de este, la gente quisieron Barack Obama porque él es inteligente y simpático y no le gusta George Bush. Ahora, Barack Obama es la presidenta de los Estados Unidos y todo el mundo espera que él pueda ayudar a los Estados Unidos. Él dice que él puede parar la guerra en Iraq, hacer amigos con otros países, ayudar al medio ambiente y estar el mejor presidente de el gobierno. También él comprendió el perro para sus hijas y todo el país sabe sobre de su perro. Me gusta mucho Barack Obama y pienso que será el mejor presidente en la historia de los Estados Unidos.
EN_WR_23_23_1_3_TTS	53.5	Male	23	20	1		Anteayer, mi novia y yo miramos una película. Se llama de la película es Los Diarios de motocicletas. Esta una película muy bien. Es sobre Che Guevara. Sr. Guevara y su amigo andan en motocicleta ver toda de la América del Sur. Ellos son Argentinos y aristocráticos. Sr. Guevara es un doctor y su amigo es uno también. Y ellos no son jóvenes y no son viejos. Sr. Guevara tiene veinticuatro años y su amigo tiene veintinueve años. Quieren ser a fin de excursión (Venezuela) en el cumpleaños del amigo de Sr. Guevara. Ellos saben que el excursion es algo tienen que hacer. Sr. Guevara tiene una novia y su familia que sale por lo, pero su amigo tiene no novia, no trabajo, y no familia.   In the movie Sr. Guevara tiene un otro nombre. El nombre es "Fuser". Su amigo, Alberto es como un hambriento muy joven. Se gusta chispa mucho y durante todo el película mira por las chicas.
EN_WR_23_23_3_2_IP	53.5	Male	23	15	3		José Antonio Domínguez Banderas nació el 10 de agosto de 1960 en Málaga. Su padre fue comisario de policía y su madre era profesora. Tiene un hermano que se llama Francisco.   Cuando él era joven él quería ser futbolista, pero cuando él tenía catorce años, se rompió el pie.   Había sido un aficionado del Real Madrid todo su vida.   Estudió en la Escuela de arte dramática en Málaga. Ganó sus primeros éxitos con las películas de director de cine Pedro Almodóvar. Él es muy guapo, bastante alto, delgado, tiene el pelo negro y los ojos oscuros, un típico amante latino. El nombre de Antonio Banderas empieza a hacerse popular en el resto del mundo.   Fue el primer actor español por hacer el papel del Zorro en La máscara del Zorro. Creo que fue fantástico. Está casado con Melanie Griffith. Tienen una hija Estela del Carmen. Él es también la voz del gato con botas en las películas Shrek 2 y 3. Me encanta ese gato.   Habrá una película nueva el año que viene.   Me gusta él como un cantante, así como un actor y según parece él está en YouTube cantando un dueto con Sarah Brightman.

EN_WR_25_21_4_3_RRP	58.1	Male	21	18	4	<p>Mi película favorita hasta hora es "No Country for Old Men" o No País para los Viejos". Uno de los actores en esta película es el actor de España, Javier Bardem. La parte de Bardem es un asesino en serie llamó Antón Chigurh. Chigurh fue a Tejas para colectar dinero de un acuerdo de las drogas. Antes de Antón pudo colectar su dinero, un cazador busque la locación del acuerdo de las drogas. El cazador buscando muchos hombres muertos, mucha heroína. El cazador pensaba que si estaría muchas drogas y hombres muertos que mucho dinero es cerca de la locación. El hombre busque dos millones dólares. En la maleta de dos millones dólares, el cazador no realice que un aparato de buscando la esta. El cazador le pensó que una persona regresará a la locación colectar la moneda. Pues el cazador tomó la moneda y cerró a México para esconder de Antón Chigurh. El asesino usando el aparto de buscando para seguir el cazador con su moneda. Chigurh realice que el cazador tiene la moneda y siguiendo él todo lo tiempo. El cazador es disparo de el cazador en un hotel y siguiendo en un carro por un mes. &lt;br/&gt; A lo mismo tiempo un miembro de policía investigado la escena de el acuerdo de drogas y comenzando que el cazador que busque la moneda probablemente no tomado la moneda porque el mismo asesino en serie es siguiendo el cazador. La policía no pudo para buscar el hombre con todo el dinero. Un oficial del policía va al Tejas a México y California para buscar el cazador con muchas problemas. La policía de el ciudad del cazador no esta contenta hasta que los dos millones dólares son buscan. Antón Chigurh tiene muchos careos con el cazador con su moneda, pero, no pudo matar el cazador. Antón usó muchas armas intentar a matar personas intentan a impedir a él de buscando su moneda. Chigurh no solamente el entidad que quiere al moneda de la escena de los drogas. Un cartel de mexicanas no tienen la moneda para la heroína suponen recibir. Los jefes de las mexicanas quieren la moneda ahora y en sus manos. Mientras Antón Chigurh y las mexicanas miran para el cazador, Chigurh matado las mexicanas en el proceso. En final, Antón Chigurh buscando el cazador con todo el dinero, y mató el hombre en un habitación de un hotel en California. Después de el cazador es muerto, Chigurh buscando la esposa del cazador y mató ella y tomado su carro. Chigurh tomó el carro y tiene un accidente con otra persona. Dos chicos vean el accidente y antes de policía llegando, Chigurh rompe su brazo. La policía nunca buscando el asesino y mucha gente son muertos.</p>
EN_WR_25_22_17_3_BBB	58.1	Male	22	5	17	<p>La película "Solas" contiene muchos aspectos de la vida cultural en Andalucía. Presenta dos diversos valores culturales con dos de los caracteres principales. Llega a ser más obvia en cómo los tiempos han cambiado a través de la historia. La madre es muy tradicional en sus opiniones, y la mayoría de esto está en el hecho de que ella ha vivido en un área rural de España su vida entera, pero María, su hija, vive en Sevilla y se ha adaptado a la manera de la ciudad. La manera de la vida rural incorpora varias ideas sobre sociedades tradicionales. Una idea importante es que las mujeres son inferiores a los hombres. La madre es sumisa al padre a través de la película. Ella no ha sabido una diversa manera de la vida, y el venir a la ciudad moderna aparece empujar su zona de la comodidad. Las ideas tales como entrar un bar con María se convierten en problemas porque su madre visión lo mientras que mal porque hay muchos hombres en el bar. La idea de la sumisa es evidente también con la presentación del vecino que la madre hace a amigo. Ella visita su esposo en el hospital, él demanda oler otros hombres en ella. Esto hace a madre nerviosa porque ella no desea desobedecer a su esposo, y en el proceso rompe una promesa al vecino no viiendo visitar y cocinar para él una tarde. María se parece ser una mujer moderna que se ajusta a la forma de vida de la ciudad. Ella encuentra la frustración en el hecho que su madre no utiliza a esta manera de la vida. María es embarazada y debe decidir cuál hacer con el bebé. Ella sabe que esto ningún sería agradable a su madre porque la no casan con el padre del bebé, porque esto es la cosa correcta en un sociedad tradicional. María en muchas maneras es el contrario de su madre. Ella tiene una buena amistad con el camarero, y obra recíprocamente con los hombres sobre una base diaria sin ser sumisa. Creo que su relación con su padre es muy temperamental debido al hecho de que ella no es como su madre, y ésta la hizo desechar salir de la aldea en una edad joven. En total, la representación de las diversas opiniones de la sociedad se presenta muy bien a través de la película.</p>

EN_WR_26_18_3_3_BRS	60.5	Female	18	15	3	<p>Hay una pelicula se llama Titanic. Hay una pelicula viejo pero es una pelicula muy bien. En la pelicula hay una chico se llama Jack Dawson. Jack Dawson no tiene rico. Es muy pobre pero está feliz. Jack y su amigo ganan dos boletos de un barco se llama Titanic. Ganen los boletos en un juego de loteria. Hay un otro persona se llama Rose. Rose es una chica y tiene diez y siete anos. Es muy rico. Su madre tiene a Rose a casar un hombre se llama Cal. Cal no es bueno. Es un hombre malo pero es muy rico tambien. El barco Titanic vaiendo a los Estados Unidos. Jack y Rose se encuentran cuando Jack ayuda Rose. Rose quiere matarse pero Jack ayuda Rose y ahora Rose no quiere matarse. Rose invita a Jack a la cena para agradeci. La dia proxima Jack y Rose andan en el barco y dicen. Jack es una artista y Rose ve a las dibujas de Jack. Las dibujas son muy interesante y muy bien. Rose le gusta. Rose tiene que salir y la amiga nueva de Jack le da un traje a Jack porque Jack no tiene un traje. Jack va a la cuarto de la clase primero. Jack y Rose se encuentran y van a la cena. Durante la cena Jack dice que no tiene mucho. Solo necesita papel y un lapiz y aire fresca. Despues de la cena Rose y Jack van a una fiesta en la cuarto de la clase tricero. Rose no le gusta la cena de la clase primero pero muy le gusta la fiesta de la clase tricero. La proxima mañana Cal grita a Rose porque no quiere a Rose a va a las fiestas de la clase tricero. Rose quiere a ve Jack asi que Rose busca a Jack. Encuentra Jack en la frente de la barco. Se encuentran y se besan. Rose quiere Jack a dibuja una pictura de Rose. Rose no quiere a llevar ropa. Solo llevar joyas. Jack dibuja una pictura de Rose y Rose se pone la pictura en la "safe" de Cal. Jack y Rose salen el cuarto de Rose y van en un otro parte del barco. Un hombre de Cal corre a Rose y Jack pero Rose y Jack escapan. Van en un carro y se besan mucho. Despues van en la "deck" del barco. Despues de un rato ven un "iceburg". El "iceburg" golpe el barco. El barco comienza a llenar de agua. Jack y Rose van a la madre de Rose pero la madre y Cal piensan que Jack habia les roba. La policia pone Jack en un cuarto. El cuarto comienza a llenar de agua. Rose deja su madre y Cal y va a buscar Jack. Rose encuentra Jack. Escapan a delantes del barco. El barco va en el mar. Jack y Rose nadan a un parte de una cama. Rose se subio en el parte de la cama pero Jack se queda en la agua. Rose le ama a Jack y Jack le ama a Rose pero Jack se mata. Los personas en un barco de vida ayuda Rose. Rose va a los Estados Unidos per nunca olvida a Jack.</p>
EN_WR_27_19_4_3_DM	62.8	Female	19	14	4	<p>Recientemente, yo ví una película llamó She's the Man. Este película es sobre una chica llama Viola y su sueña a jugar fútbol. Ella y su hermano son twins. Su hermano tocas la guitarra y ella le gusta jugar fútbol. Cuando el equipo de fútbol termina porque no estan muchas chicas para el equipo, Viola y sus amigas quieren jugar en el equipo del chicos, pero el coach del fútbol deciden que chicas no estan tan rapidos, atleticos y fuertes como los chicos por eso el coach no permite las chicas en el equipo. Viola no esta alegre con esto y regresa a su casa. Su hermano Sebastian tiene una novia, Monique, y ella esta loca. Cuando Viola regresa a su casa, su madre es muy alegre a presentar unas vestidas para su hija por su debutante programa. Viola es disgustado y explica a su madre que el coach no se pueden jugar y tambien Viola no tiene un novio porque él no es fresco no más. Ella va a la cuarto de su hermano Sebastian y él esta viendo a London para tocando su guitarra. Sebastian sale por la ventana porque no quiere su madre mirarse. Viola tiene una idea loca que ella puede ser su hermano y ir a su escuela, Illyria, y jugar fútbol con los chicos y defeatar los chicos de Cornwall (su escuela). Viola y sus dos amigas van a Paul para ayuda con transformando Viola en a su hermano Sebastian. Ella fingi que ella es su hermano y va a su escuela. Ella meets sus roommates Duke y sus dos amigos. Todos los ellos juegan fútbol. Ellos van al practicar fútbol y luego Principal Gold da a Viola un bienvenido. Después, Viola meets Olivia, una chica rubia que Duke le gusta. Luego, en química, Duke quiere "Sebastian" (Viola) a hablar con Olivia para estando con ella. Viola y Duke practican hablando porque Duke no sabes como hablar con chicas. Ellos hablan sobre queso. Luego, hay una fiesta carnival y la madre de Viola expecta a sus hijos atender. A la fiesta carnival, Viola y Duke se besando y el ex-novio de Viola se mira y fights con Duke. Al fin, Viola y Duke son en la debutante programa y juegan fútbol.</p>

EN_WR_28_20_4_2_BAC	65.1	Female	20	17	4	<p>El verano pasado, tuve una clase de la historia de España. En este clase, aprende mucho sobre los reyes de España, específicamente, Fernando y Isabel. Es muy interesante que estos reyes fueran independientes de cada otro. La frase "Tanto Manto. Manto Tanto" es el mejor motivo para explicar la reina de los reyes. Fernando fue el rey de dos regiones de España y Isabel fue la reina de dos otras regiones de España. Fernando nunca trabajó con las cosas de las regiones de Isabel. Pero, Isabel tuvo más poder y tierra que Fernando. Sin embargo, Isabel nunca trabajó con las cosas de las regiones de Fernando. &lt;br/&gt; Las relaciones entre Fernando y Isabel fueron solamente sobre emociones y amor. Cuando ellos se casaron, se casaron porque ellos se amaron. Actuadamente, los padres de Isabel y Fernando no querían la boda. Isabel y Fernando fueron primos, pero no creo que la boda fue desagradable porque esta razón. La boda no estaba sobre políticos, pero en el final, la boda estaba el mejor en la historia de España. &lt;br/&gt; Juntos, los dos hicieron España como uno. En España, fue solamente un religión y un gente. Yo sé que el gente de otros religiones que cristianos sufrían mucho, pero durante este tiempo, fue necesario por el país de España se hizo uno gran país. Las regiones de Isabel y Fernando se hicieron uno y la reina de Isabel y Fernando conquistó todo de España. En realidad, Isabel y Fernando son responsables por la reconquista de España del moros. La reconquista tuvo mucho tiempo, pero los reyes trataron con mucho fuerte. El mismo fuerte ha abierto la posibilidad donde Isabel y Fernando pusieron hacer España un gran país. También, Fernando y Isabel son los reyes que abrieron la puerta para Cristóbal Colón ir y descubrir América. &lt;br/&gt; No aprende mucho sobre la vida personal de Isabel y Fernando. Ella da la luz a una niña, Juanita. Ellos dicen que Juanita era la primera actual rey de España quien estaba una mujer porque Isabel estaba casada con Fernando. También, ellos dicen que Juanita estaba loca. Porque, Fernando y Isabel fueron primos y esposos, la niña de Fernando y Isabel tuvo problemas. Creo que Juanita no fue un actual rey porque ella parecía estar loca. Isabel no da la luz a un otro niño. &lt;br/&gt; Hoy, en España, una persona puede ver el impacto de Isabel y Fernando en la historia de España. En El Alcázar de Toledo, puedes ver "Tanto Manto. Manto Tanto." en el cuarto donde ellos decidieron las acciones de España. En un monasterio, los símbolos de los reyes están en la pared. También, en el Palacio Real, la influencia y el poder de los reyes pueden estar visitado y visto en las decoraciones del edificio. También, en los Estados Unidos, el hecho que hay es los Estados Unidos, es un símbolo del impacto de Fernando y Isabel. Fernando y Isabel son dos personas quienes juntas y independientes son muy famosos y muy importantes en la historia de España y en el mundo.</p>
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EN_WR_30_20_6_3_NJP	69.8	Male	20	14	6	<p>Una película que ha visto recientemente era "Role Modelos" con Paul Rudd y Seann William Scott. Al principio de la película los dos actores están yendo por escuela a escuela y hablando a los estudiantes que drogas son malas y en lugar de drogas los estudiantes deben beber la bebida energía que los dos están promoviendo. Sin embargo la personalidad que Paul Rudd juega en la película, "Danny," es muy aburrido con este empleo y cree que su vida no valer la pena. En la otra mano Seann William Scott o "Wheeler" en la película amo su trabajo y no tiene preocupaciones sobre su vida menos donde las chicas bellas están. Un día Danny necesito un cambio en su vida así el pide su novia a se casa. Ella se dijo no y él se volvió deprimido. El mismo día en el empleo Danny empieza una lucha con un conductor de un remolque. Los dos están arrestados y están de acuerdo hacer servicio de la comunidad en lugar de tiempo en la cárcel. La organización que el juez se pone en establa llamado "Alas Fornidas." Por su servicio los dos tienen ser un hermano mayor por un chico. Danny estaba asignado a Augie un chico que le gusto luchar en un mundo imaginario de la Edad Media. El chico que estaba asignado a Wheeler estaba Ronnie, un chico muy mala y no se lleva bien con ningún de su hermanos mayores. La directora de "Alas Fornidas" esta una mujer loca que usado ser un adicto de drogas. Cuando Danny y Wheeler primero empiezan sitio frecuentado con sus chicos los dos no quieren una amistad con los chicos. Ellos solamente quieren hacer las horas de servicio y salen. Pero durante muchas horas con los chicos los dos comienzan gustar sus chicos. Danny se junta Augie en las luchas imaginarias y durante unos tiempos él se divirtió. Wheeler trajo Ronnie a una fiesta con muchas chicas bellas porque Ronnie se amo chichas pero Wheeler salió Ronnie por una chica y Ronnie caminado a su casa. La mama de Ronnie no le gusto que su hijo estuviera salido solo y prohíbe Wheeler a visitar Ronnie. Y un tiempo en una lucha Danny se apoyo Augie en una pelea con el rey del mundo imaginario pero Augie tiene vergüenza y se dejó hablar con Danny. Desde que los dos se ponen amigos con sus hermanos menores ellos se sienten malos por sus acciones y quieren tomar la situación verdad. Wheeler básicamente habla muy amable con la mama de Ronnie sobre su hijo y Ronnie oír por casualidad la conversación y decide a perdonar Wheeler pero Danny necesito hacer más pero recibir la confianza de Augie. Danny hablo con el rey del mundo imaginario para que el rey permitir Augie a luchar en la batalla royal. El rey se le permitió pero ellos necesitan crear un país imaginario suyo. La sola problema era que crear un nuevo país hay necesita cuatro miembros del país. Así Danny llamado a Wheeler y pide si él y Ronnie pueden jugar con Danny y Augie para ganar la confianza de Augie. Cuando la batalla empieza todo están luchando y al fin es solo Augie y el rey todavía vivo. Los dos tienen un duelo y Augie gana pero una chica de un otro país estaba escondida y mata Augie. Pero la chica le gusta Augie y llamado el su rey. Y durante la batalla royal la novia de Danny viene y vio la lucha y realizado lo que Danny hago por Augie y ella permite la vuelvo de Danny en su vida. Al fin de la película todos son amigos y Danny y Wheeler no ir a la prisión.</p>
EN_WR_31_20_Unknown <sup>3</sup> _STS	72.1	Male	20	0		<p>yo vi una película que tiene una dictadora muy mala...muy fea. en la película hay un hombre y él odia esta dictadura. cada dia él esta mirando por una manera para hacer la vida de la dictadura el peor posible. ella no le gusta este hombre tambien. los dos necesitan hacer alguna cosa para cambiar el situación. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; un día el hombre estaba sentando en la selva y vio la dictadura y despues él vio un tigre y cuando el tigre trató atacar la dictadura el hombre dijó nada. él sentaba en el arból y miré durante el tigre mató la dictadura y él empecé sonrisar. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; cada dia despues este momento el hombre siento horrible, pero entonces él sonrisó porque la dictadura finalmente murió. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; la vida de este hombre fue muy oscuro y muy cerrado. él no habló con nadie, simplemente lloró todos los días. entonces un dia encontró una mujer muy hermosa y se enamorarse. luego los dos se casaron y vivían contento el resto de sus vidas. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; el fin.</p>

EN_WR_31_21_7_3_DNP	72.1	Female	21	11	7	<p>La película se llama legalmente rubia y salió el 26 de junio, 2001. Veo Legalmente Rubio a menudo porque es mi película favorita y yo lo poseo en DVD. La última vez yo vi la película fue el mes pasado. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; En la película, Elle Woods es una niña rica de Bel Aire, California. Ella va a la California Universidad de Los Ángeles y está a punto de graduarse. Ella espera que su novio, Warner, va a pedir a casarse con él. Pero Warner planea a ir al facultad de derecho de Harvard sin ella. El la dice que ella no es suficiente grave y que ella dificultará su futuro político porque ella es demasiado como Marilyn Monroe y no lo suficiente como Jackie Onassis. Elle está devastada y llora durante muchos días. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Entonces, ella descubre que el hermano de Warner es comprometido a una chica que va a la facultad de derecho de Yale. Ella decide que esto es la tipo de chica que ella necesita para llegar a ser para recuperar el corazón de Warner. Ella estudia duro y gana un 179 (ciento setenta y nueve) en el LSAT. Ella también tiene perfecto grados en diseño de moda y crea un video de admisiones que la muestra en un bikini. Estos factores impresionan el comité de admisiones y ella logra entrar en la facultad de derecho de Harvard. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Elle llega y descubre que Warner es comprometido a otro estudiante de derecho llamado Vivian. Ella es muy diferente de los otros estudiantes, por lo que es difícil para ella llegar a ser amigos con la gente. También, Vivian es muy popular. Ella y sus amigos son malos y artimañas de juego en elle. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Por último, elle, Warner, y Vivian son seleccionados para trabajar en un caso de alto perfil para su maestro. El maestro trata de seducir elle, así que ella consigue disgustado y deja. La cliente, llamado Brooke, que tiene una conexión con elle, averigua. Brooke se fía de elle. Así, Brooke despidió al maestro y emplea elle para representarla en tribunal. El caso fue muy difícil, pero elle ganó. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; A fines de la película, elle se gradúa con honores altos y la perfecta oferta de trabajo. Su clase elige a hablar en la graduación, porque ellos la quieren mucho. Ella tiene a un nuevo novio que planea proponerle a su esta noche. Vivian se separa con Warner y ahora, es la mejor amiga de elle. Warner se gradúa con ningunos honores, con ninguna ofertas de empleo, y con ninguna novia. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Me gusta esta película porque es muy cómica y mona. También, todo es maravilloso al fin y todos reciben lo que ellos merecen. Espero que estas dos circunstancias son ciertas en la vida real, por lo que es bueno para ver que son reales por lo menos en una película. Esta película es tan básica y tonta, que siempre me causa estar de buen humor. No he visto ninguna película similar a la legalmente rubia. Es una película muy única.</p>
EN_WR_32_18_6_3_MGC	74.4	Male	18	5	6	<p>La otra día me miró un película que se llama Taken. Es un película de acción y siempre hay algo pasando. Al principio, un hombre vaya a un fiesta de cumpleaños. La fiesta es de su hija, ella se llama Kim. Los padres de ella son divorciado y ahora ella vive con un hombre rico. La papa es un poquito pobre pero el ama su hija con todo su corazón. Unas días después de la fiesta, la hija llama su padre para salir a un restaurante para comer. El padre pensaba que solo vas a ser el y ella almorcando, pero la mamá vinó también. Cuando ellos están almorcando la hija pregunta a su papá si ella puede ir a Paris para una viaje con su amiga. El padre no piensa que es un buen idea porque no es seguro especialmente con dos chicas en un país extraño. La hija necesita preguntar su papá porque sus padres so divorciado y ningun niño puede salir de país sin permiso de ambos padres. Desde que el padre dijó que no, la hija sale corriendo del restaurante. Unas horas que ella dejó el restaurante el padre vaya a la casa de la Kim y le dice que ella puede ir a Europa con su amiga. Ella esta tan emocionado que ella está llorando y todo. Para su protección el padre da a ella un teléfono celular y le dice que ella necesita llamar a el cuando ella llegue al aeropuerto y cuando ella llegue al casa adonde ella está quedando. Cuando ella y su amiga llegan al aeropuerto ellos conocen un hombre que quiere compartir un taxi. Ellos llegan al destino y el hombre pregunta a ellos si ellos quiere ir a un fiesta. La amiga de Kim dice que si y les dicho su dirección y numero de apartamento. Ellos entre el apartamento y como treinta minutos después, tres hombres entran y secuestre la amiga de Kim. Kim corre al baño donde ella esconde y llama a su papa. Pero entonces, los hombres vengan al baño y secuestre a ella también y para el resto de la película el padre tiene setenta y dos horas para encontrarla.</p>
EN_WR_32_20_7_3_SK	74.4	Female	20	12	7	<p>Recientemente, yo ve una película que se llama Moana. La protagonista es una chica que vive en una isla en el mar Pacífico y es la hija del líder del pueblo. La chica, Moana, tiene una sueño que salir su isla y explorar el mar. También, ella ha tenido una conexión mágica con el mar por toda su vida: el mar le dio una roca mágica para ayudarle en su viaje. Primero, Moana navega a una otra isla para encontrar el dios Maui, que puede ayudarla en su objetivo. Los dos viaje juntos por el mar para dar la roca mágica a una diosa para salvar la isla, el pueblo, y la familia de Moana.</p>

EN_WR_33_29_12_3_JH	76.7	Female	29	14	12	<p>La gente nos dice que el cine es la puerta de escapar su vida; relajarnos y divertirnos. Estoy de acuerdo con esta idea. He visto una película que tiene dentro de su argumento las partes que igual una diversión por todos los adultos. La película se llama Underworld Evolution. La segunda parte de la película genial Underworld. Dentro de la película vamos a ver un cuento que satisface su audiencia en todos los niveles; drama, acción, amor con una poca violencia. Todos mantienen su curiosidad hasta el fin. &lt;br/&gt; La película empieza lo mismo día del fin a la otra, Los dos personajes principales son una pareja, ella se llama Selene quien es una vampiresa y él se llama Micheal, medio vampiro y medio lobo. Los dos están escondiéndose de los otros vampiros y lycans (humanos que pueden transformar de humano a lobo en cualquier punto deseado) porque han matado Victor el mayor de todos los vampiros en la primera película Underworld. Ella está explicando a Micheal que él no puede regresar su vida como humano porque ahora él es diferente, diferente de todo lo demás porque nunca antes existe un criatura que tienen ambos las habilidades y capacidades de vampiros y lycans. Ella salió a ver que esto ocurrió en la casa de vampiros afuera. Micheal le gustaría ir con ella pero no le permite porque era demasiado peligrosa. &lt;br/&gt; Próximo, nosotros descubrimos que Marcus, en realidad el vampiro más antiguo de todos, se despierta y sabía que pasó en la primera película, gracias a la sangre de cráven, el villano de la primera. Una batalla entre la pareja y Marcus pasó y nadie ganó pero la pareja puede escapar. Después tenemos una escena de amor un poco ilícito (por eso recomiendo la película solo para adultos) entre la pareja. &lt;br/&gt; Entonces Selene y Micheal fueron al lugar de un vampiro quien sabía la historia verdadera, no las mentiras del pasado. Después de ellos hablaron con el saben que la verdad es con un hombre que tiene un barco cerca. Ellos salieron y Marcus llegó y lo mató y de su sangre aprendió dónde estaban y la verdad también. &lt;br/&gt; Seguimos con la conversación entre la pareja y el hombre quien es Corvinus el padre de todos los vampiros y lycans. Marcus llegó a matar a su padre y Micheal. Consiguió la llave de la cárcel su hermano William quien es el primer lycan. Después de Marcus salió Selene recibió la sangre de Corvinus y la sangre contiene toda la historia y fuerza de él. El le dijo que ella es el futuro. &lt;br/&gt; Nostros fuimos próximo al lugar de la cárcel de William, encontramos William y Marcus y después de una batalla grande... pues tienes que mirar la película saber qué ocurrió. &lt;br/&gt; Esta película nos da una genial diversión para disfrutarla. Recomiendo que ve esta película enseguida.</p>
EN_WR_34_18_10_3_LKF	79.1	Female	18	8	10	<p>Una película muy buena que he visto recientemente es "Confessions of a Shopaholic." Me gusta esta película mucha porque era muy interesante y comica, y también podía relatar con la actriz. En este película, una mujer tiene un problema con comprando muchas cosas. Muchas veces, ella compra todo lo que ve que desea. Porque ella gasta tanto dinero, ella está en deuda y no puede pagar sus cuentas de tarjeta de crédito, y ella continúa gastar más dinero, haciendo el problema mucho peor. Un día, ella está buscando un trabajo y va para una entrevista en su revista de moda favorita. Mientras ella está en su manera allí, ella ve una hermosa bufanda verde que ella tiene que tener para su entrevista, así que ella la compra. Cuándo ella llega en su entrevista, ella descubre que ellos no están ofreciéndola más, y el recepcionista le dice que una revista diferente está ofreciendo entrevistas que buscan nuevos empleados, sin embargo es una revista de finanza. Ella va a la entrevista allí sólo porque ella piensa si ella puede conseguir un trabajo en esa revista, ella puede cambiar a la revista que ella desea actualmente. Aunque la entrevista no vaya bien, cuando ella vuelve en casa ella escribe dos cartas, uno a la revista de moda y uno a la revista de la finanza. En la carta a la revista de moda, ella envía una artículo bien escritas de relacionar de ir de compras y dinero, esperando que ellos lo gustarían y lo publicarán. En la carta a la revista de la finanza, ella es grosera y dice al entrevistador lo que ella piensa realmente en él. Sin embargo, en el correo, ellos son cambiados y las cartas van a los lugares equivocados. Cuándo la revista de finanza recibe su artículo, ellos son muy impresionados y le ofrecen un trabajo. Ella acepta porque ella necesita el dinero, y todo en su trabajo en esta revista era muy buena. Ella puede escribir una columna en la que ella discute finanza y lo hace interesante comparandolo a cosas como haciendo compras y la ropa. Me gusta mucho esta película porque a veces esto y como ella. No exactamente, porque no compro todos y no estoy en deuda, pero me encanta también ir de compras y tengo un problema cuando veo algo que quiero mucho. Es difícil decirme "no" porque solo puedo pensar en como la cosa es muy linda y como la necesito para algunos razones, pero actualmente no la necesito, solo quiero, y no puedo gastar mas dinero. Esta película tiene un mensaje bueno en el fin que las cosas no están todos y puede vivir sin esos porque hay cosas más importantes en la vida. Me gusta mucho porque me ayuda darme cuenta de eso.</p>
EN_WR_34_18_6.5_3_MN	79.1	Male	18	12	6.5	<p>Yo vi la película Get Out en la última fin de semana. Es una película de horror y la me gusto mucho. Es sobre el racismo y la relación entre la gente blanca y negra. Un hombre se llama Chris tiene una novia (no recuerdo como se llama). Él es un hombre negro y ella es una mujer blanca. Los dos van a la casa de la familia de la mujer porque ella quiere que Chris conozca a su familia. Cuando llegan, todo es un poco raro. La madre practica psicología y hipnotiza a Chris. Al fin, la audiencia le da cuenta que la familia usa la novia para salir con hombres negros y eventualmente, hipnotizarlos para poner la mente de una persona blanca y vieja en el cuerpo de una persona negra. Chris le mata a toda la familia para escapar y su amigo que trabaja por la seguridad de un aeropuerto le ayuda escapar la casa.</p>

EN_WR_34_21_4_3_LLD	79.1	Female	21	13	4	<p>La película, Secuestro Express, es sobre dos personajes les secuestran en Caracas. Carla y Martin son una pareja y están en Caracas donde viven. Carla condujo un coche caro en una ciudad donde la mayoría de la gente está pobre. Una parte de la ciudad no conoce como la otra parte de la ciudad vive. &lt;br/&gt; Secuestros son un problema muy grande en Venezuela y especialmente en la capital, Caracas. Un secuestro ocurre cada minuto. Muchos de los secuestros son 'secuestros express' en la persona está secuestra y le traigo a una ATM para tener dinero o su familia está llamado para tener dinero de ellos. Es imposible de entender una situación como así, pero esta película hacia demostrar muy bien la situación de un secuestro. El comentario en la película dice que durante la película algunos de las personas que eran incluye en la filiación de películas tenía familia u amigos que eran secuestrado durante la película. Está un problema muy grande. &lt;br/&gt; En la película los secuestradores quieren recibir dinero de la familia de Carla, porque el coche caro era suyo y ellos piensan que la familia de ella tiene mucho dinero. Ellos les obligaron a Carla y Martin entrar el coche. Ella le rogaron ellos no hace este, porque ella no era como la gente rico que ellos odiaban. Ella dije a los secuestradores que ella ofrece ayuda en un hospital de los niños. Durante la película ellos y ella crean una relación rara. Si ella quiere vivir, debe ayudar ellos no capturan, y por algo razón ellos les permitiere ella vivir. Después de algunos días horribles, ellos dejan ella a salir. Ellos quedan ella y 'la policía' encontró ella y les pone ella en su coche, pero ellos van a ser cosas horribles a ella, y por eso la relación rara que ella tiene con los secuestradores está bien. Los secuestradores ayudan ella para salir sin las policías. La realidad de este "secuestro express" no esta una realidad solamente en la película, pero una realidad entre el país en total en Venezuela. &lt;br/&gt; Esta película le pone rostro a los secuestros que ocurre cada día en Caracas, Venezuela. Este es un problema fatal de la ciudad y el país y su gobierno también. Este problema está grave y un problema que necesita una respuesta inmediatamente. Secuestro Express es un película muy real y muy espantoso, porque es un cuento real a mucho gente entre Venezuela. La película es una buena promoción para el país y el gobierno de Venezuela, porque este película abre los ojos de la gente que vean está película. Una película que había hecho entre Venezuela está mirada entre países del mundo. La gente que está mirando esta película pueden usar sus experiencias y sus voces entre sus países para luchar esta gran problema que ocurrió más en Venezuela, pero también ocurrió en otros países. Al mismo tiempo que los personajes entre Secuestro Express son ficcionales, ellos representan gente real que les secuestran en Venezuela. Podemos ver esta película como propaganda para ayudar el país y el gobierno de Venezuela.</p>
EN_WR_35_18_3_3_CRR	81.4	Female	18	15	3	<p>El sábado pasado estaba pasando muy lentamente para mí y no tenía nada que tenía que hacer, entonces he decidido a ir al cine. Antes de salí de mi casa, buscaba por internet cuales películas podía mirar en el cine mas cerca de mi casa. Cuando encontré la película "Plan Oculto" con Denzel Washington estaba emocionada, porque me encanta las películas suyas. Después de pasar un rato haciendo las cosas que necesitaba hacer antes de que pudiera salir de la casa, fui al cine. Por suerte llegué un poco temprano porque hubo una cola muy larga. &lt;br/&gt; Por fin empiezo la película y casi cinco minutos después, ya sabía que me la gustaría. La película era de un poli que estaba trabajando a resolver un problema con un banco. El problema con el banco era que un grupo de personas ha empezado a robarlo. El poli, Denzel, tenía que negociar con los robados para que pudiera salvar las vidas de las personas inocentes dentro del banco. Aunque Denzel era muy listo "para ser un poli", según el jefe robador, los robados tenían un plan prácticamente perfecto. &lt;br/&gt; Muy pronto después de que los robados han ganado control sobre el banco, el propietario del banco, Sr. West, estaba notificado. Pero por Sr. West, aunque es muy rico, ese problema no estuvo pequeño. Al contrario, para Sr. West el problema estuvo grave. Encontré que el problema que tenía Sr. West era un de su pasado cuando contrató a Jodi Foster, para que ella podía ayudarle. Jodi era una mujer muy fuerte que trabaja para su misma, haciendo cosas que tenían que ver con secretos muy graves. Con la ayuda del mayor de la ciudad, Jodi hablaba con Denzel y ella estaba permitida a entrar en el banco para hablar con el jefe robador. Ella quería hablar con el porque ella tenía que hacer su trabajo para que podía ayudar el Sr. West. Pasaron mas eventos, pero pocos importantes, y por fin, el clima ha llegado. &lt;br/&gt; El S.W.A.T. estaba listo a entrar el edificio para que pudieran recuperar los rehenes. El próximo problema para ellos era lo de quien eran los robados y quien eran los inocentes. Veríamos que ese plano que tenían los robados era en solo una palabra, perfecto. Los poli no sabían nada de quien tenía la culpa y por eso fue ingenio. &lt;br/&gt; Como todas las películas de acciona así, Denzel empiezo a buscar posibilidades de resolver la situación. Le busco a encontrar las personas pero también tenía otro problema, lo de una caja seguridad secreta. &lt;br/&gt; Hasta el fin de la película Denzel y su compañero de trabajo buscaron cada detalle que podían para resolver los problemas. Por supuesto ha encontrado todo que necesitaba para finalizar los problemas y tener una posición mas importante en su carrera. &lt;br/&gt; Me gusta mucho esta película. Estuvo inteligente, divertido, lleno de acción, y también tenía actores buenísimos. No puedo decirte que ha pasado por el fin, pero si te puedo decir que deberías de ver esta película. Lo juro que es la mejor del año hasta ahora.</p>

EN_WR_35_19_6_3_NMJ	81.4	Male	19	14	6	<p>La película, Diarios de motocicleta, presenta un Ernesto _x0091_Che_x0092_Guevara que, tal vez, el mundo no conoce. Muchos saben de sus tácticas de guerrillero, su apoyo de marxismo y su promoción como _x0091_Commandante_x0092_ durante la revolución cubana. Sin embargo, ¿quién es antes de la fama? Durante su viaje a través de Sudamérica, él está transformado. Al fin Ernesto dice, _x0093_Vagar alrededor de nuestra América me ha cambiado más que pensé. Yo no me soy ya, por lo menos yo no soy el mismo mí yo fui._x0094_. Sin embargo, a pesar de este principal tema de la transformación, la película presenta una característica muy prominente de Ernesto, su franqueza. &lt;br/&gt; Los dos amigos salen de Buenos Aires, su pueblo de origen, en el 4 de enero de 1952. Alberto Granado, la edad 29, es un estudiante de la bioquímica. Ernesto Guevara, la edad 23, es un estudiante de la medicina (especializando en la lepra). Los amigos cultos quieren explorar un continente ellos sólo habían sabido en los libros. Como Don Quijote tenía Rocinante, los dos tienen _x0093_El Poderoso_x0094_, una 1939 Norton 500 motocicleta. Ellos despiden a sus familias, y empiezan el viaje, desde Argentina, Chile, Perú, hasta Venezuela. Poco después de la salida, Ernesto dice, _x0093_Ido es _x0091_esta vida despreciable_x0092_, las conferencias aburridas, los papeles y exámenes médicos. Toda Iberoamérica es adelante de nosotros._x0094_ Ernesto no sabe _x0091_la vida despreciable_x0092_, no todavía. Pronto, Alberto y Ernesto faltarán mucho de las necesidades. &lt;br/&gt; Al fin del mes, están en San Martín de los Andes, Argentina. No tienen ninguna comida ni una carpeta (gracias a una ráfaga de viento). Ellos le preguntan a un hombre local, el Sr. Von Puttkamer, para un lugar para descansar. Ellos dicen que son médicos. Al oír esto, el Sr. Von Puttkamer los muestra una amontona en su cuello. Casi inmediatamente, Ernesto dice que es un tumor, y que no hay nada que ellos pueden hacer para ayudarlo. Mientras tanto, Alberto ve la oportunidad de refugio desapareciendo, y dice que es un diagnóstico prematuro. Pero Ernesto no permite las mentiras, y nuevamente dice que es un tumor. Luego, sin refugio con el Sr. Von Puttkamer, Alberto dice, _x0093_Próximo tiempo, trabaje conmigo._x0094_ Ernesto responde, _x0093_Sí, trabajaré con usted, pero no a costa de la vida de un hombre._x0094_ &lt;br/&gt; Luego, en Lima, Perú, los dos amigos visitan el Dr. Pesce. Los proporciona con la ropa, la comida, el dinero y las ideas. También, los favorece a leer su novela, "Latitudes de Silencio._x0094_ A fines de su tiempo juntos, el Dr. Pesce les pregunta si les gusta la novela. Alberto, con la opinión menos importante, dice que nadie puede contar una historia como él. Sin embargo, Ernesto dice, entre otras palabras, que _x0093_la escritura es mala, básicamente ilegible._x0094_ El autor, el Dr. Pesce, está sorprendido. Mientras aprecia la honradez de Ernesto, está decepcionado al mismo tiempo.</p>
EN_WR_35_20_10_3_CES	81.4	Female	20	11	10	<p>Recientemente, he visto Moulin Rouge, una película muy dramática y bonita. Hay muchas cosas que me gustan sobre esa película. Los actores son muy buenos porque puedan cantar y bailar en adición a decir las líneas. También, la ropa es perfecta por el periodo en historia y la ropa del desempeño del teatro. El cuento es muy triste pero me encanta la historia. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Nicole Kidman y Ewan McGregor fueron mis actores favoritos. Me encanta Nicole Kidman porque es una actora#940;a muy buena y cantó sus propias canciones. Algunas veces, actores solo actúan como están cantando en la película pero, en verdad, es la voz de otra persona. Pero en Moulin Rouge, ambos actores cantan sus propias canciones. También, los dos bailaron en la película y es muy bueno. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Me encantan los actores pero la ropa de una película es importante también, especialmente cuando la cuenta es de un tiempo en historia. El estilo de las vestidas Nicole llevó fue perfecto. Aunque la historia fue un poco polémica, mis abuelos se encantan esta película porque la ropa fue muy buena. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; La historia es sobre una mujer de la noche se llama Satine que vende el cuerpo propia a hombres muy ricos a un club de noche se llama Moulin Rouge en el año 1899. Nicole Kidman dijo las líneas de la mujer. Pero hay confusión cuando cayó en amor con un hombre muy pobre se llama Christian. Ewan McGregor dijo el parte de Christian. Eso es un problema porque un hombre muy rico quiere Satine. El hombre rico tiene mas poder que el hombre pobre. Pero el mensaje de la película es que amor se sobrepone todas obstrucciones. Al final, Satine y Christian gana pero Satine estuvo muy enferma y se muerta. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Es una historia muy triste pero el mensaje es muy bueno y esa película es una de mis favoritas. &lt;br/&gt; Así, porque de las actores, la ropa, y el mensaje, esa película gano mucho premios como 'Composer of the Year' y "Editor of the Year." Hay muchos mas premios que la película fue nominado por.</p>

EN_WR_39_30_4_2_CLR	90.7	Female	30	18	4	Voy a escribir sobre una persona famosa. !Se llama Jesus Cristo! Adivino que la mayoria de la gente en el mundo occidental haya escuchadado de El. Aunque en mi pais, Australia, solamente 10 porciento de la poblacion dicen que son 'cristianos' (es que, asisten regularmente a una iglesia cristiana y resan al Senor y leen la biblia), las tradiciones relacionado con el calendario cristiano forman una parte grande de la cultura occidental, como ella en la cultura de Australia. Casi cada familia en Australia celebra la navidad - bueno, la celebracion del nacimiento de Cristo. Tambien es tradicional celebrar la pascua aqua en Australia; comiendo muchos chocolates en el domingo de las pascuas.     El sabia que su mision en esta planeta fue para murir por los pecados del mundo - que fue la voluntad de su Padre en el cielo. Dice en el libro de la biblia 'Genesis' que el Hijo siempre era, es que aunque nacio en la carne en la tierra en aquello ano mas que 2 mil anos detras, siempre vivia con su Padre en el cielo. El Hijo, Jesus, segun la biblia, es parte de Dios como el hijo - pero todo eso esta describido como 'la trinidad' de Dios. Cristo nacio de su madre Maria en un nacimiento imaculado - con la intervencion de Dios y no fue necesario un padre humano en esa creacion. Su padre terrestrial era un carpintero quien se llamaba Jose, y seguro que Jesus crecio aprendiendo el trabajo de su padre. Tenia casi una ninez normal para aquel tiempo y lugar, asistiendo a clases con otros ninos. Cuando tenia doce anos, se quedo por horas una vez con los sacredotes en la iglesia alla, discutiendo las escrituras. Realmente la duracion de su ministerio evangelico fue solamente 3 anos, y en eso ministerio no viajo muchisima distancia. Empezo su ministerio como maestro a las 30 anos, y murió a las 33 anos (aproximadamente).     Los cristianos saben que el es el Salvador y Mesiah porque las escrituras en el testamento antiguo proclaman que el Mesiah va a venir, y que el va a hacer milagros y sanaciones para que todo el mundo pueda dar cuenta de que el es el Hijo prometido para salvar el mundo. El hecho que sepa que Cristo es el mesiah es su resurecion. La resurecion muestra a Jesus con un cuerpo eterno, que no pueda morir. Despues de tres dias se resurecto, para mostrar como la gente que son salvadas van a tener vida eterna con un cuerpo nuevo, exactamente como lo que paso con Cristo. Mas que 500 personas vio a Jesus cuando estuvo en la tierra con su cuerpo nuevo, y hay testimonios en el Nuevo Testamento sobre cuando Jesus se fue al cielo.     La persona de Cristo que podemos conocer con la biblia es un maestro, lider, y lo mas importante, es un serviente no de nosotros totalmente, pero de su Padre. El es el ejemplo para nosotros. Nosotros tenemos que ser servientes del Señor - de Jesus, de Dios. Pero no quiere que seamos servientes en el primero, pero nuevo en Jesus; si digamos que creamos que el murió para nosotros en la crucifixion y repentiamos de nuestros pecados. Jesus enseña en la biblia como el pecado nos separa de Dios - porque El no le gusta a los pecados. Los pecados nos dan el muerte. !!!Jesus no da VIDA ETERNA!!!
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EN_WR_36_18_6_3_JYL	83.7	Female	18	13	6	<p>Una película que yo vi recientemente es Mona Lisa Smile. La película salió en el año 2003. El reparto de esta película es increíble. Se incluye Julia Roberts, Kirsten Dunst, Julia Stiles, Maggie Gyllenhaal, Ginnifer Goodwin, and Juliet Stevens. La película pasa en los estados unidos en los años 1950's en una universidad tradicional. La universidad se llama Wellesley. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Julia Roberts es una maestro quien adquiriste un trabajo en la universidad que quería por un gran tiempo. Se llama Kathrine Watson, y ella es un mujere que tiene treintas años. Ella enseña un clase sobre la historia de los artes. Porque ella tiene treintas años, no tiene un doctorado, y no es casada, sus estudiantes no se repitan. Después del primer día de clase, Roberts da cuenta de que de estos hechos. Roberts decide a enseñarles en otra manera nueva. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Durante su tiempo en la univerisdad, ella se gana el respeto de su estudiantes. También Roberts se da cuenta de las expectaciones de su estudiantes. La sociedad expecta que mujeres se casan, se quedan en casa, y cuidan de los niños. La sociedad tiene lo mismo expecataciones para mujeres con una educación de la universidad. Roberts se repugna el fenómeno. Ella no entiende como mujeres pueden asistir a un a universidad y gastar su educación. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Una de su estudiantes, Kirsten Dunst se llama Betty Waren, tiene el efecto más fuerte por la sociedad. Ella se burla de Roberts mucho. Dunst trata a prevenir los cambios causa por Roberts. Dunst es premiera a casarse y se enjoa cuando no recibir tratamiento especial de Roberts. Ella se trata mal su amigas también. Dunst lo hace porque su casamiento está rotando, pero ella esta tratando a cubrir su tristeza. Su mejor amiga, Julie Stiles se llama Joan Brandwyn, le gusta a Roberts. Después de un discussion con Roberts, Stiles se da cuenta que hay más partes de la vida. La educación no significa la ausencia ni del amor, ni el casamiento, ni una familia, ni la felicidad. Roberts se anima a Stiles a solicita a Yale para cursar la ley. Ella es admitida a la escuela. Dunst se enoja porque cree que si Stiles asiste a Yale, los dos no pueden estar casadas y vivr cercas. Dunst también tiene cellos de Stiles porque Stiles y su novio se enamoran. El esposo de Dunst no se queda en casa mucho despues de la boda. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Dunst decide que se divorcia de su esposo contra el consejo de su madre. Dunst da se cuenta que el mundo y la sociedad no siempre tienen razón. Ella busca ayuda de la misma gente que se burla. Su madre es un ape las persona afectada por la sociedad y no ofrece ayuda a su hija. Una amiga de Dunst que tiene la reputación de estar promiscua, una reputación no respetada por la sociedad, se le da la ayuda que necesita. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Las estudiantes de Roberts aprenden mucha de ella, pero ella aprende mucho de ellas también. Las estudiantes entiende que hay opciones para mujeres educadas. Roberts aprende que la decisión a casarse, a veces, solamente es una decisión, no una estándar de la sociedad.</p>
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EN_WR_36_19_5_3_MWB	83.7	Female	19	14	5	<p>Recientemente, yo ví la película Casino Royale, y ahora es mi película favorita. Mis padres la compraron, y la ví con ellos en mi casa durante las vacaciones de la primavera. A ellos les gusta mucho también. Casino Royale es una película moderna de las películas de James Bond. El género es aventura y suspense con un poco de romance. El actor principal es Daniel Craig, quien hace el papel de James Bond, un agente secreto por el gobierno de Inglaterra. &lt;br/&gt; Primero, Bond va a Madagascar para observar un terrorista y tratar a recibir información de él sobre la organización terrorista. La misión de Bond le trae a las Bahamas, donde encuentra Dimitrios, un hombre rico con una esposa bonita. Dimitrios está implicado con Le Chifre, un banquero a los terroristas del mundo. Bond sigue Dimitrios a Miami, donde los terroristas están tratando explosionar un avión nuevo en el aeropuerto internacional de Miami. Bond le mata a Dimitrios y impide la explosión. &lt;br/&gt; Luego, Bond tiene que ir a Montenegro en Europa para jugar póker con Le Chifre. Bond necesita ganar el juego porque la puesta es por cien millones de dólares. Si Le Chifre gana, este dinero va a apoyar el terrorismo. Eva Green interpreta a Vesper Lynd, una mujer que trabaja por la tesorería del gobierno de Inglaterra y finge ser la esposa de Bond cuando los dos están en Montenegro. Bond gana el torneo. Luego, Le Chifre secuestra Vesper. Bond va a rescatar ella, pero él está capturado por Le Chifre. Le Chifre tortura Bond hasta Señor White, otro hombre implicado con los terroristas, entra, mata a Le Chifre, y permite que Vesper y Bond salen. &lt;br/&gt; Bond despierta en un hospital en el Lago de Como en Italia con Vesper. Los dos se enamoran y van a la playa por una vacación romántica. Luego, necesitan ir a Venecia para terminar su trabajo con los terroristas y depositar el dinero en el banco. Cuando Bond y Vesper están en un góndola en un canal, Vesper se fija en un hombre mirando los dos con binoculares. Llegan al hotel, y Vesper sale para depositar el dinero del juego de póker en el banco. Bond, un poco suspiciso, sigue Vesper a una plaza donde ella encuentra el hombre que estaba mirando Bond y Vesper en el góndola. Vesper da el dinero al hombre, y otros hombres con el primer hombre agarran a Vesper. Bond empieza a disparar a ellos. Los hombres entran una casa con Vesper, y Bond les sigue, disparando todo el tiempo. Bond dispara a las fundaciones del edificio, y el edificio empieza a hundirse. Bond encuentra Vesper, y ella se le disculpa, se cerra en el ascensor, y se ahoga. Ahora, la casa está hundida. Bond finalmente saca Vesper fuera del ascensor y la trae al exterior de la casa, pero ella está muerto. &lt;br/&gt; Bond, muy triste y enojado, cree que ella estaba trabajando por los terroristas todo el tiempo. Después, Bond se da cuenta que Señor White solamente acordó a permitir que Bond viva en Montenegro si Vesper le diera el dinero. Con esa información, Bond va a la casa de Señor White y le dispara en la pierna. Señor White le pregunta -¿Quién es?- Y Bond responde -El nombre es Bond. James Bond.- Y la película termina.</p>
EN_WR_36_21_6_3_JSB	83.7	Female	21	12	6	<p>Pedro Almodóvar ha vuelto con la película 'Volver'. Otra vez, Almodóvar ha producido una obra del cine de mujeres. La comedia es sobre tres generaciones de mujeres. En 'Volver' las heroínas tienen vidas influyentes de cosas naturales como el tiempo, la superstición, la muerte y las mentiras. También, las chicas sufren de los problemas. Raimunda, Penélope Cruz, trabaja mucho, tiene esposo que solamente bebe y una hija joven. Su hermana, Sole, aparece nerviosa, su marido la abandonó y tiene una peluquería en su casa. Su vecina en La Mancha, una zona dura, es Agustina. La mujer enferma piensa ha visto a Irene, la madre de Sole y Raimunda, como una fantasma, en la casa de la tía Paula. Es una buena interpretación la aparición. La madre se aparece a Sole pero necesita resolver problemas con su hija, Raimunda. La muerte es el tema importante. Aunque hay cosas surrealistas, 'Volver' no es una película surrealista. Es una comedia. Hay lágrimas dentro de la película y afuera en la cinem. La película provoca unas emociones sinceras y genuinas. Varios aspectos artísticos como la fotografía y la música sostienen la película. Almodóvar demuestra su dirección y interpretación muy fuertes.</p>

EN_WR_37_18_3_2_TAH	86	Male	18	16	3	<p>La persona de que quiero hablar no es viva todavía. Nació en 1940, el hijo de un famoso cantante de opera Chino. Fue famoso para sus contribuciones para lo que ha hecho para cambiar el mundo de los artes marciales y las películas de acción. La persona de que hablo es, por supuesto, Bruce Lee. &lt;br/&gt; Bruce Lee fue para vivir con sus parientes en Hong Kong cuando se hizo como actor de película cuando tenía solo nueve años. Bruce Lee no tenía muchos amigos y siempre luchaba con otros niños de su mismo edad o niños mayores. Como consecuencia sus padres le dieron que tenía que hacer Kung Fu, para disciplinarse. Fue enseñado por un gran master que se llamaba Yip Man, un artista marcial considerado con uno de los mejores maestros de Wing Chun Gung Fu en el mundo. Bruce desarrolló un estilo de su mismo. &lt;br/&gt; A la edad de 19 años, Bruce Lee fue a los Estados Unidos para estudiar la filosofía en La Universidad de Washington. Fue ahí donde empezó a enseñar los artes marciales a los que querían pagar. Mucho de las escuelas de artes marciales Japoneses causaron muchas peleas con Bruce pero cada vez los ganó, continuaba a practicar y enseñar. Fue ahí cuando Bruce Lee inventó su propio estilo de artes marciales que se llamaba Jeet Kune Do que es basada en el hecho de que: si eres más rápido que tu rival y peleas con tranquilidad puedes siempre ganar. Muchas estrellas querían aprender el estilo se ese misterioso chino así que Bruce Lee tenía alumnos como Steve Moqueen, James Coburn y Kareem Abdul Jabbar para decir pocos. &lt;br/&gt; En su Universidad encontró a su esposa para la primera vez cuando estudiaba. Su escuela de artes marciales desarrolló y tenía mucho éxito y graduó. Después de estudiar obtuvo algunos papeles en algunas películas como el Chino que hace Kung Fu. &lt;br/&gt; En 1964 Bruce y Linda se casaron y en 1965 nació su hijo Brandon. En 1969 su hija Shannon nació. &lt;br/&gt; A menudo hizo ejemplos y espectáculos públicos de sus poderes y lo que parecía como un poder inhumano. Así que un productor le vio y le invitó a hacer su propia serie "The Green Hornet". Tenía mucho éxito en los estados unidos pero especialmente en Hong Kong en 1968. &lt;br/&gt; Después de ese tiempo Bruce empezó a hacer grandes películas de Hollywood. Unos de esas son "The Big Boss", "The Game of Death", "Fists of Fury" y "Way of the Dragon". En 1972 empezó trabajando sobre su nueva película "Enter the Dragon". Ese película se permitiera hacerse como uno de los mas famosos del mundo. Bruce Lee murió a la edad de 33 años en 1973. Hasta ahora no sabemos porque. Pero su película "Enter the Dragon" hasta ahora es una de las películas clásicas del mundo. Todos le conocen para su papel en esa película. &lt;br/&gt; Lo que sabemos es que Bruce Lee es un hombre que revolucionó el mundo de los artes marciales como no otro. Será famoso para muchos años que venir.</p>
EN_WR_37_18_5_3_JEP	86	Female	18	14	5	<p>En diciembre, yo fui al cine para ver la película inglesa "Seven Pounds". Es una película muy interesante pero muy deprimida. Will Smith es la protagonista en la película. Se llamó Ben. Es una cuenta de un hombre que necesitó dar regalos a personas diferentes porque Él ha hecho algo terrible. Él trabajó para el IRS. Encontró una chica en su casa cuando llegó para pedir por dinero. Ella estaba enferma y necesitó una nueva corazón. Él encontró un hombre que no pudo ver porque sus ojos no funcionaron. Ben quería ayudar a las personas que necesitaban ayuda. También encontró un chico que estaba enfermo. Ben ayudó al chico. Ben ayudaba a muchas personas durante la película pero nadie sabía porque. Pero durante la cuenta Ben tenía memorias de su esposa y su vida con ella. Ella estaba muy bonita y ellos tenían una vida maravillosa. No tenían hijos pero siempre hablaban sobre la idea de tener hijos. Pero en el presente de la película, Ben estaba muy triste. Es una lástima. Ben continuó ayudando las personas que necesitaban ayuda con la salud. Ben no es médico pero quería ayudar. Ben y la chica se enamoraban durante la película pero ella no podía hacer mucho porque su corazón no funcionaba. Ben la compró regalos y pasaba mucho tiempo con ella. Ella le gustaba mucho. Pero, Él necesitó salir para ayudar más personas. Él quería ayudar una mamá que tenía tres hijos. Necesitó dejar de su esposo porque Él es un hombre muy peligroso. Ben la dio una casa para ella y sus hijos donde su esposo no puede encontrarlos. Es un momento en la cuenta muy feliz pero el resto de la película es muy triste y deprimida. Es evidente que la esposa de Ben se murió en un choque de coches. Ben y su esposa salieron de un restaurante y hubo un accidente en la calle. La esposa se murió pero Ben no se murió. Ben no podía funcionar sin ella y para mejorar la situación, decidió ayudar a las personas enfermas. Él las dio las partes de su cuerpo. Es la última cosa que puede dar personas. Es una inspiración para todos. En el fin, Él visitó a la chica una vez más y ellos durmieron juntos. Pero Él estaba muy triste porque ella no tenía tiempo para vivir sin una nueva corazón. Él salió de la casa y dijo a la chica "Te amo". Él fue al hospital para hablar con los médicos sobre la condición de ella. Los médicos no sabían pero no es bueno. Ben decidió que ella necesita la corazón y Él quería darla. Él se murió porque dio su corazón a la chica. El ha ayudado muchas personas y su vida fue una inspiración. Cuando su esposa se murió, Él supo que la vida es preciosa y decidió dar su vida para otras. Su vida no era importante sin su esposa, Sarah, pero su vida podía ser importante para otras. La película era muy excelente y la idea de la cuenta es muy inspirada. Me lloré durante todo la película. Era bonita y quiero verla muchas veces en el futuro. Me gustaba el protagonista, y me gustaba la cuenta. Era increíble.</p>

EN_WR_37_18_7_3_EM	86	Female	18	12	7	<p>Recientemente vi la película "la brújula dorada". Es una película que viene de un libro escrito en inglés por el escritor Phillip Pullman. Es el primer libro de tres. La película es acerca de una niña, Lyra, que vive en un otro mundo, un otro versión de nuestra mundo. Vive en Oxford en Inglaterra, en el colegio de Jordan, tiene un amigo que se llama Roger y él trabaja en la cocina del colegio. Hay unas personas que llevan a los niños, los niños desaparecen. Un día una mujer viene al colegio y quiere que Lyra ve con ella en un viaje, Lyra va con ella pero antes de ir no puede encontrar Roger y el maestro del colegio da a Lyra un "brújula dorada", que dice la verdad. Tiene muchos pequeñitos simbolos y cuatro manos, tres que puedes manipular para pedir un cuestión y el cuarto da la respuesta. Lyra va a muchas fiestas con Mrs. Coulter (la mujer quién va a viajar) y después de unos días descubre que Mrs. Coulter ha descubierto la brújula dorada, y quiere volarla. Lyra se va de la casa de Mrs. Coulter y unos amigos le encuentran y le ayudan. Son las personas que viven en barcos en el rivier. Ayuden a Lyra a descubrir que es la brújula dorada, y Lyra aprende como leerla. Viajan al norte del mundo, y en sus viajes encuentran un oso polar, Iorik Bynisson y deviene el amigo de Lyra y le ayuda con sus enemigos y encontrar los niños que han desaparecidos.</p>
EN_WR_37_18_7_3_KAR	86	Female	18	11	7	<p>Recientemente, yo he visto la película de "Mean Girls." Mean Girls es sobre de una chica llamada Cady. Cady vivió con sus padres en África toda su vida. Un día, la madre de Cady recibió un trabajo a una universidad en Illinois. La familia se mudó y Cady se matriculó en la escuela secundaria. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Cady nunca había ido a una escuela pública antes. Ella no supo las reglas normales del clase. En una clase, ella habló con dos estudiantes, Janice y Damien. Los dos les gusta Cady y decidieron a ser amigos con Cady. Ellos formaron una amistad. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Janice y Damien dijeron Cady sobre un grupo de chicas llamada "The Plastics." Estas chicas fueron muy populares y Janice y Damien odiaron estas chicas. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Un día, en la cafetería, el líder de The Plastics, Regina George, dijo Cady a sentarse con su grupo. Cady se sintió y Regina habló. Regina pensó que Cady fue bonita y entonces ella invitó Cady a ser un miembro. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Cady dijo Janice y Damien que Regina había dicho. Janice y Damien decidieron que Cady debe ser un miembro. Ambos tuvieron un plan a destruir con la ayuda de Cady. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Así, Cady empezó a comer y ir lugares con The Plastics. Cady fue amable a Regina, pero en secreto, ella hizo cosas malas a Regina. Luego, Cady fue plástico como las chicas ella había tratado destruir. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Después de Regina descubrió que Cady hizo cosas malas, ella fue muy enojada. Regina dió el principal un libro llamada "The Burn Book" que Regina había hecho pero dijo que el libro fue escrito a Cady. The Burn Book tuvo una página con una cosa mala sobre toda chica en la escuela. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Todas las chicas vieron las páginas de The Burn Book y fueron muy muy enojadas. Las chicas lucharon. El principal trató de parar las chicas y entonces, él formó un grupo de todas las chicas en el gimnasio. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Eventualmente, Cady dijo que ella había escrito The Burn Book. Para punir ella, Cady tuvo participar en un competición de matemáticas con otros miembros del club de matemáticas. Durante la problema final, Cady tuvo dar la respuesta. Su respuesta fue correcta y su escuela ganó. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Después del campeonato, Cady fue a la baile a su escuela. Allí, ella ganó el título de la reina. Cady habló sobre como la corona fue solamente plástica y que las personas necesitaron ser amable. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; El año próximo, todos grupos fueron amable pero entonces, ellos vieron un grupo de plásticos nuevos.</p>

EN_WR_37_21_7_3_CH	86	Female	21	15	7	<p>Recentemente, yo vi la película Munich. Era una película muy interesante porque examinó la violencia entre los árabes y los judíos en Israel. En las noticias es fácil a creer que hay un lado correcto pero la película muestra que los dos les falta por la violencia. &lt;br/&gt; Al principio de la película el actor Eric Bana quiso a ayudar el gobierno de Israel a matar los hombres quienes planean el ataque en los deportistas en los juegos olímpicos. Él y otros de su país creyeron que éste fue un ataque de los inocentes pero los árabes creyeron que lo fue necesario. Era interesante en la película porque durante el ataque, Spielberg utilizaban noticias a informar la gente del progreso del ataque en los deportistas. Cuando las noticias dan la información incorrecta que dice que los árabes fueron muertos, Spielberg mostró las familias de los árabes llorando y las familias de los deportistas como alegres. También cuando la verdad fue conocida, la gente árabe estuvo celebrando y los judíos quisieron atacar. La película demuestra que la gente de los dos lados son gente y no es gente malo. La gente tiene crecimientos muy fuertes porque por muchos años ellos les cocan el otro lado y este sentimiento es pasado a los niños. &lt;br/&gt; En la película, hay cinco hombres de Israel quienes pagaron a matar los líderes árabes que sea responsable por el ataque y muertos de los deportistas. Los hombres matan cinco o seis personas en la lista pero después de los matan ellos empiezan a preguntar porque esto es necesario. Muchas veces antes de matan un hombre, tienen la oportunidad a hablar a él y ahora no es solamente un hombre. En un parte de la película, el grupo de hombres están en un hotel y necesitan compartir el cuarto que un otro grupo de hombres. Los otros hombres son árabes y pues el grupo de hombres de Israel tienen proyectos secretos, dicen que son alemanes. El personaje de Eric Bana habla con el líder árabe y ellos están hablando de los deseos de los árabes. El líder comenta que solamente quieren un hogar y la tierra para las familias. En este momento, Bana se da cuenta que estos deseos son los mismos de su familia y gente. Los dos lados están matando el otro lado por las mismas razones. &lt;br/&gt; Después de el momento cuando Eric Bana habla al líder árabe, empieza cambiar su mente a cerca de las razones por los muertos. También los árabes tienen su nombre y una foto. Ahora él y su familia no tienen seguridad. Él no puede dormir porque siempre cree que hay una persona a matarle. Una noche, entró un cuarto y la ventana fue abierta. Antes de trató de dormir, miró en todos los lugares que él y los otros hombres ponen las bombas. Bana y un otro hombre tres de los cinco murieron mataron todos de los líderes y Bana regresa a su esposa y hija en los Estados Unidos. El gobierno de Israel viene a decirle que hay otros nombres. Bana no acepta el trabajo porque se da cuenta que siempre hay más nombres. &lt;br/&gt; Munich era una película muy violenta y larga. Spielberg mostró como esta lucha es una que no puede parar. Los dos lados quieren las mismas cosas pero la enojada es más grande para la paz.</p>
EN_WR_37_21_8_3_CMS	86	Female	21	14	8	<p>Recentemente, miré la película "The Sweetest Thing." La película trata de la aventura loca de dos mejores amigas, Christina Walters (Cameron Diaz) y Courtney Radcliff (Christina Applegate) con ayuda de su amiga Jane (Selma Blair). &lt;br/&gt; El novio de Jane rompió la relación y para ayudar su amiga a conocer otros hombres, Christina, Courtney y Jane van a un disco para divertirse. En el disco, Christina conoce a Peter, un hombre simpático. El hermano de Peter dice que mañana va a casarse y que Christina y sus amigas deban ir a la fiesta. Christina no va a la fiesta porque no sabe si es una buena idea salir con el hombre que conoció hasta poco. &lt;br/&gt; La proxima mañana, Christina, Courtney y Jane almuerzan en un café y Christina dice que es una lastima que no fue a la fiesta porque tiene algunos sentimientos por Peter. Courtney dice que hoy es el día de boda del hermano de Peter, y que deben ir a la boda para hablar con Peter. Entonces, ellas salen en una aventura maravillosa a Somerset. &lt;br/&gt; En ruta a la boda, las chicas encuentran varias misadventuras. Primero, el coche de Courtney es muy sucia y ella tiene comida muy vieja en la parte detrás y cuando Christina ve la comida, hay bichos en la comida. Después, ellas paran en un baño público y el baño de las mujeres no funciona, entonces usan el baño de los hombres. Cuando ellas tratan de usar los baños, se rompen y agua va por todas partes. Ellas deciden que no pueden ir a la boda con ropa mojada, y van a una tienda de ropa. Ellas encuentran algunos vestidos tan raros y feos, pero es la única tienda y necesitan ropa limpia. Entonces, ellas compran vestidos muy feos y cómicos. &lt;br/&gt; Llegan, por fin, a Somerset y es casi la hora de la boda. Christina dice a Courtney que tiene miedo de hablar con Peter y que quiere salir. Courtney dice que después de todo, no va a permitirlo. Antes de ir a la iglesia, ellas van al baño y encuentran la novia. Ella llora y dice que no sabe si está enamorada de su novio. Las chicas hablan un rato con ella y dicen que si no funciona, siempre se pueden divorciar. Con estas palabras, la novia sale para casarse. Las chicas entran la iglesia y encuentran que el novio es Peter, no su hermano. &lt;br/&gt; Antes de que ellas pueden salir, Peter reconoce a Christina y se da cuenta de que tiene sentimientos para ella, también. El novio y la novia deciden que no quieren casarse y Peter va en busca de Christina pero ya han salido. &lt;br/&gt; Después de regresar a San Francisco, Christina es muy triste y no quiere salir con ningún hombre porque tiene miedo de enamorarse de nuevo y sentir el dolor de nuevo. Al fin, algunas semanas han pasado y Christina, Courtney y Jane regresan a casa del disco. Encuentran a Peter, dormiendo en el patio con flores en los manos. Courtney y Jane entran en la casa y miran desde la ventana. Peter explica que está enamorada de ella y que quiere estar con ella. Al principio ella rechaza su ofreza porque tiene miedo de entrar en una relación. Peter empieza a caminar cuando ella cambia su decisión y corre a él. Es un fin perfecto.</p>

EN_WR_37_22_2_3_DH	86	Female	22	19	2	Esa semana he visto una película muy buena de Michael Haneke. Es una película austriaca que se intitula _x0093_La cinta blanca_x0094_ y ha ganado muchos premios, como la Palma de Oro y el Globo de Oro. Es interesante decir que la película no en colores, sino en negro y blanco, lo que me dio un poquito de angustia.   La película cuenta la historia de un poblado em Alemania donde cosas misteriosas ocurren y nadie sabe quien las ha hecho. La primera cena es de un hombre, el médico del poblado, que sufre un accidente, pues su caballo tropeza en un hilo amarrado entre dos arboles. El médico necesita cuidados, entonces lo llevan para otra ciudad.   No me recuerdo bien la secuencia de la película, pues hay muchos fragmentos mezclados. Pero la cena me más me ha gustado es la del chico que habla con su hermana más vieja sobre la muerte. Él pregunta lo que tenía una mujer y ella responde que ella está muerta. Él no sabe lo que es la muerte y su hermana le dice que es cuando la persona no vive más. Él quiere saber como se deja de vivir; cuando se está muy viejo o enfermo, responde su hermana. Todos mueren, pregunta el pequeño chico; sí, todos, le responde la chica. Hasta tú y papá? Sí. Hasta yo? Sí, pero todavía no, solo en muchos y muchos años, cuando tú bien viejito estás. Entonces él dice muy serio, mama no ha viajado. No, ella ha morido, responde ella. Nervioso, él lanza su plato de la mesa.   Además, dos niños son secuestreados y torturados, un granjero es prendido fuego y todos están consternados y no entienden el porqué de estos castigos que parecen ser rituales.   La película es narrada por el maestro que llegó hace poco tiempo en el poblado y tenta resolver el misterio. En el final de la película no se encuentra el responsable por los "castigos" y empeza la guerra.
EN_WR_37_40_4_3_RA	86	Female	40	16	4	No tengo mucho tiempo a ir al cine porque soy una madre de un niño de ocho años y tambien trabajo. Entonces, las películas que yo veo en el cine normalmente son las películas para niños! Voy a hablar de una película que he visto en el cine con mi hijo - se llama 'Harry Potter y el caliz de fuego'. La película es basado en la serie de libros de la autora inglesa, J.K Rowling. Esta película es numero 4 en la serie. Los libros son para niños pero muchos adultos les gustan tambien. Yo he leido todos los libros y me gustan mucho.   'Harry Potter y el caliz de fuego' es un libro bastante largo y creo que era mucho trabajo a convertir este libro en una película de 2 horas y cuarto. La película conta la historia de Harry, un mago joven de 14 años, quien es en su cuarto año en el colegio Hogwarts de brujería y hechizo. Tiene que competir en un concurso muy peligroso - el concurso de tres magos. Hay tres tareas en el concurso que Harry necesita completar - luchar contra un dragón y coger en huevo de oro, rescatar a su amigo Ron de las sirenas en un lago profundo y finalmente encontrarse su camino por un laberinto grande.   Harry se muy valiente y hace las tareas muy bien con la ayuda de sus amigos. Pero en la ultima tarea cuando toca la copa de tres magos en el centro del laberinto con otro alumno de Hogwarts, los dos estan transportados a otro lugar muy lejos de Hogwarts. El viejo enemigo de Harry, Voldemort esta allí y utiliza el sangre de Harry a recobrar su cuerpo y sus poderes, pero Harry escapa y vuelve a Hogwarts con el cadaver del otro alumno.   Los efectos especiales estaban excelentes, particularmente el dragón y las escenas dentro el agua y en el laberinto. Los actores son buenos y el cuento es emocionante y mueve rapidamente. Mi escena favorita era el baile de navidad porque era bonita y realmente divertida. La situación dificil para los jóvenes a hablar con las chicas y pedir a una salir con el, era realmente divertida.   Para concluir yo recomendaría esta película para niños y sus padres!
EN_WR_38_19_4_3_MTR	88.4	Female	19	18	4	El sábado anterior mi novio y yo vimos el película 'Vicky Cristina Barcelona'. Fue el día de San Valentín, pero no fue una cita. Mi novio es aficionado del director Woody Allen, y por eso eligimos ese película. Me gustó la película- el papel que tiene Penelope Cruz es muy bien hecho por ella. Tuve curiosidad también sobre la visión de Oviedo- porque viví ahí por unos meses. Reconocí algunas de las locaciones que eligió Allen- como el hotel, una iglesia. El pelí fue rodeado en Barcelona también (obviamente) y me parece muy bonita en la gran pantalla. Visité Barcelona, hace dos años, y ahora quiero volver otra vez.   Las mujeres en la pelí son muy lindas, muy elegantes- casi en el caso del rol de María (de Penelope Cruz). Es una mujer que tiene problemas mentales, y es el ex-novia de Juan Antonio, el pintor y el hombre sobre quein todas las mujeres revolvan. Es el locus de la acción. Carismático, con talento, Juan Antonio puede dormir con cualquiera mujer le gusta- y el hace eso. Dos estadosunidenses, en vacaciones en Barcelona encuentran a Juan Antonio, y van a Oviedo por un fin de semana. Juan Antonio tiene relaciones con las dos mujeres, y despues una, Cristina sale a vivir con el. La relación no es fácil, especialmente cuando el ex-mujer loca aparece. Los tres empiezan una relación pero ultimamente las dos turistas salen EspaNa.   Creo que no pareceza en la pelí 'la vida real', pero pasé dos horas sin gran problema con algo en la obra. Me gusta el género- es un comedie- pero ni el humor no es muy obvio ni infantil. El dialogó es inteligente, y en todo es una de las mejores películas de Allen que ha hecho recientemente.

EN_WR_38_19_5_3_KD	88.4	Female	19	14	5	<p>Por muchos meses pasados, un amigo de mi había sugerido a yo para ver una película se llame "El laberinto del fauno." Yo había conocido de esta película el año pasado, pero no lo vió nunca. Y el fin de semana pasada, mi amigo y yo lo vimos. Mi primer pensamiento sobre esta película fue curiosidad e interés. &lt;br/&gt; Al principio, una niña muy curiosa y su madre embarazada están viajando a un centro de militaria fascista en el campo de España, donde viven con un capitán malevolente. Mientras el guerra entre las fascistas y los rebeldes sigue en el bosque alrededor, la niña imagina un mundo fantasía, donde un fauno se llama Pan da a ella tres tareas para completar para que confirme que ella es la próxima reina del mundo fantasía. En el fin, el mundo real y el mundo fantasía encuentran en una conclusión muy emocionante. La descripción escrita de esta película parece una poca ridícula, pero la cuenta bonita está dicho en una manera para que la audiencia crea que todo es la verdad. &lt;br/&gt; Las tres tareas son peligrosas, y a veces tenía miedo por la niña. Por ejemplo, en la segunda tarea la niña tiene recoge una daga de un monstruo feo que come los niños, y ella no debe estar distraída por un gran fiesta de comida sabrosas. Y aunque este mundo fantasía es del imaginario de una niña inocente, el tema es un poco aterradora y no sugeriría esta película para los niños. Hay algas partes violencia con mucho sangre, como cuando el Capitán da a golpes a la cara de un rebelde con la botella hasta la cara está destruido. &lt;br/&gt; ¡Las interpretaciones de los papeles son perfectas! El actor que interpreta el Capitán tiene una presencia fuerte y memorable. La madre y la niña fueron caracteres realidad, con quienes la audiencia puede entender. También, me divierte mucho los efectos especiales en esta película. No son de la computadora, y por eso toda parece realística. Por ejemplo, el fauno está interpretado por un mimo que lleva los zancos en los pies y muchas fijaciones en el cuerpo. La banda sonora está de acuerdo con el tema del misterio y la maravilla. Además, el director, Guillermo del Toro, es de México y ha ganado mucho éxito en sus otras películas fantasía, como "El Orfano" y "Hellboy." &lt;br/&gt; La sola cosa que fue decepcionante para mí fue los subtítulos ingleses. Soy sola estudiante de español intermedio, pero entendí el diálogo español. Y me doy cuenta que los subtítulos, aunque ellos son el significado verdadero, no dio la justicia al guión elegante. Hay muchas veces cuando el narrador o el carácter dijo un renglón específico que en inglés estaba traducido a una frase aburrida o incómoda. &lt;br/&gt; El estilo de la cuenta fue un poco extraño, pero muy estimulado para ver porque hay muchos detalles en el modo de las escenas en el bosque misterioso. Hay muchas insinuaciones y simbolismo del fondo que prefiguran la gran conclusión, y por eso quiero verla otra vez o tal vez la compré. En mi opinión, esta película es como el diamante entre las piedras, y por estas razones, la recomendaría a todas las audiencias maduras.</p>
EN_WR_38_19_6_3_AEW	88.4	Female	19	14	6	<p>Recientemente, vi a una película, se llama "Love Actually." Es uno de mis películas favoritas. Había hecho en 2003, y muchos actores famosos interpretan en ella, incluyendo Colin Firth, Emma Thompson, Keira Knightley, Hugh Grant, Laura Linney, y Liam Neeson. Es una comedia romántica de la navidad y de amor. Me gusta verlo todos los años durante el tiempo de la navidad. &lt;br/&gt; Hay muchas cuentitos pequeños entre el cuento grande. Todos los cuentos y los personajes son relacionados, lo que es evidente en el fin de la película. Por ejemplo, mi cuentito favorito en ella es de un padrastro, interpretado por Liam Neeson, quien se llama Daniel en la película, y el niño, se llama Sam. La madre del Sam había muerto recientemente, y después de este acontecimiento horrible, Daniel y Sam se hacían amigos y familia más cercana. Sam no había hablado mucho después del muerto de su madre y Daniel no sabía lo que estaba pasando con él. Finalmente, Sam decía que estaba enamorado con una chica en su clase de escuela. Los dos trabajaban juntos para ganar el corazón de esta chica. Sam aprendió tocar los tambores para impresionar a la chica. El fin es muy divertido y lindo. Me gusta esta escena a causa de la inocencia y amor de un chico. &lt;br/&gt; Otro cuentito que me gusta es de un hombre, interpretado por Colin Firth, quien se llama Jaime en la película. Tenía una novia en el principio, pero ella tenía otro amante, su hermano. Entonces, él fue a Italia para escribir una novela y salir su vida en Gran Bretaña. Allí, conoció a una mujer, se llama Aurelia, quien ayudaba a él en su casa. Ella era de Portugal, así que los dos no podían hablar juntos, pero en alguna manera, podían comunicar. No entendían lo que el otro estaba diciendo, pero cómicamente, los dos decían las mismas cosas en sus idiomas diferentes. Una escena cómica entre ellos es cuando él estaba escribiendo encasa y ella limpiaba alrededor de él. Él preguntó en inglés si ella quería parte de su pastel, pero ella declinó. Ella digo en portugués que él necesitaba tener cuidado porque estaba engordándose un poquito cada día. Él digo en respuesta en inglés que tenía suerte porque nunca se engordaba. El fin de este cuentito es muy precioso y me encanta. &lt;br/&gt; Los cuentitos en la película se hacen solucionados en el fin, pero en maneras diferentes. Todos no son felices en el fin, porque en la vida, realidad no es felicidad siempre. El gran tema de la historia es que el amor esta realmente alrededor de todo. A veces, relaciones funcionan, y desafortunadamente otras veces no. Al principio y al fin, mostraba una escena en un aeropuerto de muchas familias y amigos que están saludando la gente después de su vuelo. Mostraba que el amor es por todas partes y es tan importante. El narrador durante estas escenas decía que cuando los terroristas estrellaron los aviones entre los "Twin Towers," las llamadas finales de los pasajeros a sus familias no fueron de odio ni ira. Fueron de amor.</p>

EN_WR_38_20_5_3_EL	88.4	Male	20	15	5	Hace tres o cuatro semanas vi la pelicula "Munich" con mis amigos. Antes de verla, sabía que es una película larga y violenta sobre los asesinatos de jugadores de Israel a los Olímpicos de 1972. También, sabía que la película se trata del conflicto en general del terrorismo, y el problema de resolverlo.   La película empieza con la cubierta (de noticias reales de 1972) de los asesinatos de los israelíes, y como el gobierno israelí comenzó a organizar miembros del Mossad en grupos para cazar y matar a la gente responsables por el acto de terrorismo. Por Europa (Francia, Grecia, Italia), el grupo israelí mata uno por uno, miembro grupo de terrorismo "Septiembre Negro". Para hacer esto, usan información de un hombre francés (Louis); muy pronto, el grupo israelí da cuenta que Louis está dando información a ambos lados. La escena probablemente más fuerte de la película ocurre cuando el grupo israelí y un grupo de Palestina se quedan (por accidente) en la misma "casa segura". Aquí, por no sabe quién es el grupo israelí, un hombre del grupo de terrorismo de Palestina habla con Avner, el líder de los israelíes, sobre la lucha por un estado palestino y libre. En general, la película tiene mucho éxito porque demuestra ambos lados del problema, y pregunta: ¿cuándo va a parar la violencia? Como los israelíes matan a más y más terroristas, y también están asesinados a sí mismos, podemos ver como real el problema es, y como universal.   Al final de la película, Avner está hablando con su jefe en el gobierno, y pregunta sobre las cosas que ha hecho. Da cuenta que, en la realidad, la violencia no es la respuesta, y que un camino de venganza solo va a parar con las muertes de los hijos, y los nietos, de los hombres de ambos lados. Como la película termina, vemos la ciudad de Nueva York, con las torres gemelas; sabemos, con tristeza, que a parar la violencia es una cosa casi imposible, especialmente con respecto al tema de que es una "nación". Los israelíes creen que su país es su nación con un derecho a existir, pero los palestinos creen también que tienen el derecho a su propio país. Pero a resolver este conflicto, una cosa es por cierto: la violencia no puede resolver nada.
EN_WR_38_20_7_3_AMK	88.4	Female	20	12	7	Resumen: Ay Carmela   La película Ay Carmela describe la Guerra Civil de España del punto de vista de los republicanos (los rojos). La película comenzó con una obra de teatro de algunos artistas (Carmela, Paulino, Gustavete) en los cuarteles de los rojos. Fue una presentación para subir los espíritus de los soldados en el frente de la guerra contra los nacionalistas. En esta primera escena, comenzamos a ver que la guerra parecía grave para los republicanos porque no había bastante comida, ni camas, ni nada. También, en la mitad de la presentación, había un avión que voló encima del cuartel y todos tenían muchísimo miedo del prospecto de una bomba.   Cuando terminó la obra, vimos que Carmela, la mujer de Paulino, nunca quería hacer una obra para los soldados del frente y estaba muy enfadada con Paulino por ponerlos en tanto peligro. Por eso, decidieron salir a Valencia para que estuvieran más seguros y afuera del peligro. Sin embargo, a comenzar tenían problemas porque no tuvieron ninguna gasolina para su coche. Entonces, mientras Paulino y Gustavete la robaron del otro coche, Carmela seducía a un hombre para que no se diera cuenta de lo que estaban haciendo sus amigos.   Finalmente, salieron por Valencia, pero todos estaban cansados y nadie podía conducir. Entonces, durmieron por el lado de la calle por el resto de la noche. Pero, en las primeras horas del día, Gustavete oyó algo extraño y salió del coche para ver lo que era. En este momento, conoció a un soldado de Franco que comenzaba a preguntarle muchas preguntas como "¿quién es?" y "¿adonde vas?". Gustavete no tenía la habilidad de hablar, entonces era tan difícil comunicarse con los soldados con su pizarra pequeña y antes de que supiera lo que había pasado, estaba en un aprieto. Pero, con todo el ruido, Paulino y Carmela se despertaron y trataban de salvar la situación. Paulino le dijo que eran nacionalistas también. Pero, el soldado vio a la bandera republicana en su coche y los tomó al general. Claro, cuando le explicó Paulino al general que la bandera no significaba nada y que solo era un parte de su acto, el general pensaba que era mentiroso. Todos fueron a la cárcel donde conocieron a algunos prisioneros.   La primera noche que se quedaban en la cárcel, los soldados asesinaron a algunos prisioneros, y por eso todos tenían miedo por sus propias vidas. El próximo día, Paulino, Carmela y Gustavete tenían que ir con algunos soldados italianos al otro sitio desconocido. Todos pensaban que iban a morir. Pero cuando llegaron a su destino, descubrieron que estaban enfrente de un teatro. Cuando entraron, conocieron al otro general que era director del teatro antes de comenzar la guerra. Él les dijo que si pudieran hacer una buena obra de teatro para los soldados nacionalistas, entonces les permitía salir.   Sin un segundo pensamiento, comenzaron a practicar su acto nuevo. Pero, un parte del acto con la bandera republicana era demasiado vulgar para Carmela. Aunque trataba de hacerlo para salvar sus vidas, por el fin, ella no podía. Por eso, durante la obra, ella inició una riña entre los soldados y los prisioneros que tuvieron que mirarla. El resultado fue trágico; Carmela fue asesinada enfrente de todos con una bala en la cabeza. En ese momento, Gustavete dijo sus primeras palabras en toda la película. Por el fin, vimos a Paulino y Gustavete a la tumba de Carmela. Pusieron flores y la pizarra pequeña de Gustavete encima de su tumba y se fueron en el coche.   Esta película representa muy bien los aspectos negativos de la Guerra Civil: la tortura, los asesinatos, el hambre y la muerte. Pero también, se puede ver la pasión que tenía la gente para su propia causa y como le cambiaba sus vidas. En el fin, pasión era la que comenzó y terminó la Guerra Civil.

EN_WR_38_30_9_3_JG	88.4	Female	30	21	9	<p>Sabado de la semana pasada, mi madre y yo hemos visto la pelicula "El Lector." Fue una exeriencia distinco porque pienso todavia en la trama de la pelicula y me interesa leer la novela. "El Lector" basicamente se trata de un bildungsroman de un joven aleman, pero tambien se trata de el choque entre dos generaciones de Alemania: los quien vivian durante de la segunda guerra mundial, y los nacidos despues, los ninos de ambos los colaboradores y los victimas del holocausto. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Un dia, Michael, el joven, esta en ruta a casa despues de la escuela cuando de repente esta enfermo. Una mujer le ayuda y le acompana a casa. Luego, cuando vuelve a su hogar decir gracias a ella, resulta que ellos convierten en amantes. Atras de un verano, Michael gasta mucho tiempo con la mujer, pero no sabe mucho mas de ella que su nombre, Hanna. Una custome de ellos fue la idea de Hanna: leer novelas antes de hacer el amor. Michael siempre lee. Hanna a veces esta apasionada, de luto, y a veces cruel con su amante, llamandole "nino." Al fin del verano, ella desaparece del pueblo y de la vida de Michael, quien, mientras triste, vuelve a su vida normal. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; En la segunda parte del novela, Michael es un estudiante de leyes en la universidad. Para una clase especial, el profesor y los alumnos van a ver un juicio. Michael esta sorprendido cuando ve Hannah de nuevo. Ella es una de las acusadas del juicio, para crímenes contra la humanidad durante del holocausto. Durante el juicio, Michael aprende que antes de conocerla, Hanna era una guardia de prisioneras en un campo de concentracion. Pero tambien aprende algo mas sobre Hanna. Michael da cuenta cuando el juez pregunta a Hanna para ver su caligrafia, que Hanna no puede escribir ni leer. En aquello momento sabe eso porque por el tiempo ellos han compartido juntos, el siempre leia a ella porque ella no pudo. Porque de su orgullo y verguenza de analfabetismo, Hanna admite a un crimen de hacer un informe sin incluir las muertes de un incendio. Ella preferia ir al carcel para todo de su vida en vez de revelar su secreto. Y eso es exactamente lo que hace, mientras Michael pue! &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Luego en la historia, vemos que Michael ha elegido la carerra de juez. El no puede olvidar a Hanna, y empieza grabar su voz mientras lee los libros favoritos de Hanna. El manda las cintas al carcel de Hanna, quien las escucha, y despues de un rato, las usa con libros para aprender como leer y escribir. Con su nueva habilidad, ella escribe algunas cartas a Michael. Pero Michael no responde. Un dia, una guardia llama a Michael un dia informarle que Hanna puede salir del carcel dentro de poco. Despues de pensar en eso, Michael ayuda en encontrar un piso para Hanna y tambien un trabajo. El visita Hanna en el carcel y la pregunta si ella ha pensado en el pasado, pensando en su crimen. Ella responde que los muertos todavia estan muertos, pero que a veces estan con ella. Hanna se suicida en el carcel antes de su dia de salida. Michael, quien esta divorcido, cuenta la historia desde el primera vez de conocer a Hanna a su hija, una nueva generacion.</p>
EN_VWR_39_18_6_3_SMM	90.7	Female	18	13	6	<p>Recientemente, he visto la pelicula se llama &lt;&lt;Spanglisch&gt;&gt;. Esta pelicula se trata de la madre mexicana y su hija quienes se cambiaron de lugar a los Estados Unidos. La madre no puede hablar ingles pero es muy trabajadora. Ella empieza a trabajar por una familia riquisima, lavando la casa y cosas asi. Ella no puede comunicar con esta familia porque ellos no pueden hablar espanol. Ella todavía aprende que la madre es loca, el padre es un cocinador rico, y la hija lucha contra su odio de su cuerpo. El amor que brota de la vida de la mexicana cambia cada persona de esta familia. &lt;br/&gt; Mientras la mamá trabaja por la familia, su hija asiste a la escuela del centro de la ciudad en Los Angeles. Aunque no es una escuela conocida por su buen educación, ella aprende inglés y lo puede hablar perfectamente. Ella es muy lista y hace buenas notas en la escuela. En la pelicula, la hija obviamente está tratando de capturar la atención de su madre, pero es muy difícil porque la madre siempre trabaja. &lt;br/&gt; Entonces viene el verano. La familia decide que veranean en Malibu y quieren que la trabajadora venga. Ella no quiere juntar porque de su hija. La trabajadora usa excusas como, "Yo no quiero trabajar tan lejos de mi hija." Pero, cuando la familia le invita a la hija también, no es obvio porque la trabajadora todavía no quiere venir. La madre no quiere que sus dos vidas, una de ser madre y otra de ser trabajadora, encuentren. Contra sus intuiciones, ella se va con la familia a su casa en Malibu. &lt;br/&gt; Su hija se enamora de la familia. La hija de la familia crece a su mejor amiga y los padres crecen ser como sus padres. La trabajadora está muy celosa y no le gusta la situación. A pesar de la situación, la trabajadora se queda en la casa y continua a trabajar. Mientras trabajar, ella finalmente aprende inglés. Este conocimiento de inglés le ayuda a comunicar con el padre de la familia, y se enamoran. Ellos no hacen nada, porque tienen respeto por el matrimonio, pero es muy difícil de ser fiel cuando la madre es loca. &lt;br/&gt; La trabajadora tiene que salir de su posición porque sus sentimientos son tan intensivos. Al fin de la película, la hija de la mexicana ha recibido un buen educación de la misma escuela de la familia rica. Todas las personas en esta pelicula han aprendido algunas cosas muy importantes: que el amor no tiene sola una lengua, y una cultura no es mejor que otra cultura. En la vida, cada persona, no importa la raza, tiene felicidad y apuros.</p>

EN_WR_39_25_2_3_ACC	90.7	Male	25	12	2	<p>El Domingo pasado fui a ver una pelicula se llama "V por vendetta". Esa Pelicula es basado en Inglaterra en el futuro. La historia es sobre un hombre que ha tomado todo el poder del gobierno de Inglaterra, él es como un dictador y la gente se llama "Líder". La protagonista es un hombre que ha sobrevivido tortura y inyecciones medical debajo del dictatorship del "Líder". Ahora el está liberado y intenta parar el dictador y devolver el poder a la gente de Inglaterra. La Protagonista tambien tiene un nombre obscuro, se llama solo "V". V, haber sobrevivido la tortura del ejercito del Líder aun tiene todo el cuerpo quemado, y de ese motivo lleva una mascara y es vestido en un disfraz como "Guy Fawkes" (un hombre que intentó explotar el parlamento de Inglaterra hace siglos). En el primer lugar que lo vimos es en una calle en Inglaterra donde unas malas personas estan a punto de atacar una mujer (Natalie Portman). El ayuda a ella escapar los malas y luego son amigos. Dentro ! &lt;br/&gt; de nada alcansan el cima de un alto edificio mirando los otros edificios en Londres. Es la noche y Big Ben soña las 12 y musica empieza reproduciendo en las calles de musica clasica, 1664 overture, y cuando alcanza el crecendo una edificio de justicia explota, y la pelicula empieza. &lt;br/&gt; Elijó ver esa pelicula sin aviso, es decir sin saber algo de la cuenta antes. La única cosa que sabía fue que el guion fue de los creadores del "matrix", The Walchowski Brothers, me gustó el primer pelicula del Matrix, y se nota que en la pelicula que tenía influencia de los del Matrix. El ritmo del pelicula estaba bastante bien, es decir que no había momentos aburrido, y también parece termina a un tiempo adecuado. Pero aunque me gustó esa pelicula, y doy un a marca de 6.5 de 10 por la, no pienso en verlo otra vez. No hace falta, el único motivo por verlo otra vez sería verla en Inglés, como la he visto en español el domingo. &lt;br/&gt; Me extraña a ver que durante la pelicula los stereotípicos de los ingleses, o sea, que el guion es de americanos, y lo he visto en español, y como soy inglés sentí que las españoles no ha entendido realmente como es Inglaterra realmente. Parece en ese pelicula que todos los inglés no sale de la casa por ejemplo, y están todo el tiempo viendo la televisión, no si no, están en un bar y la vida es muy aburrida. Pero bueno, tampoco somos personas que salen todo el tiempo. Otra cosa que me gustó sobre la pelicula fue que la protagonista, obviamente es un character inglés, pero porque el lleva una mascara todo el tiempo, no me molesta la doblación a español. &lt;br/&gt; En conclusión, diría que si quisieras ver una pelicula de acción, ejecutado bien con efectos y sonido bien, a lo mejor te la recomendaría a verla, pero recuerda que tampoco es un clásico.</p>
EN_WR_41_19_4.5_3_AEM	95.3	Female	19	16	4.5	<p>La película, Te Doy Mis Ojos, es muy fuerte porque trata de un tema muy actual. También, tiene, en mi opinión, dos niveles, en los que se puede evaluar la película: lo obvio de violencia contra la mujer y este mismo tema en el contexto de la transición en España de una dictadura a una democracia. &lt;br/&gt; Para empezar, tenemos que entender el argumento de la película. La protagonista es una mujer se llama Pilar quien está maltratado por su esposo, Antonio. El cuento es de su vida y el desarrollo de su propia personalidad y fuerza. Empieza cuando ella se va a la casa de su hermana después de una noche del abuso, suponemos. Ella nunca dice directamente qué está pasando en su vida ni habla de sus experiencias. Su hermana le ayuda a encontrar un trabajo a una iglesia y allí conoce a algunas mujeres fuertes con quienes Pilar empieza de desarrollar sus propias opiniones, fuera de su esposo. Su esposo ha comenzado una clase donde aprende cómo evitar las situaciones de violencia en su relación con su marido y a veces parece que está aprendiendo de controlar su rabia pero siempre algo pequeño y insignificante pasa y él le pone violento. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Además las situaciones peores son en las que su esposa quiere hacer sus propias decisiones porque él es muy machista, celoso, y paranoico, siempre piensa que su mujer le quiere a otro hombre o algo así. En mi opinión, él falta confianza y por eso tiene que dominar su mujer. La última escena es la más fuerte en toda la película. Es cuando ella quiere ir a Madrid con sus dos amigas para presentar una solicitud de trabajo o algo así. Él, por supuesto, no está de acuerdo con ella porque no quiere que ella trabaje y tenga su propia vida fuera de él. Por eso cuando ella está a punto de salir, empieza a gritar y decir que ella parece todo a juego y pintado porque ella quiere que la gente la vea desnuda y piense en su cuerpo desnudo. Ella trata de explicar, pero ahora el animal dentro de Antonio ha escapado de su jaula, y él está loco. Él quita de un tirón su chaqueta y vestido, mientras ella grita, y después él quita de un tirón sus medias y ropa interior, todo el tiempo él está gritando que ahora el mundo pueda ver ella como ella quiere. Como si no sea bastante, él la empuja a ella, desnuda, al balcón y cierra la puerta. Luego él la permite entrar y está a punto de pegar a ella cuando ella mea de miedo. Él se da cuenta de que está haciendo y sale. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Después de este evento ella encuentra la fuerza para irse de su casa, con su hijo, y sola regresa para coger todas sus cosas, con sus dos mejores amigas del trabajo. Suponemos que después de esta escena ella va a continuar con su vida y aprender quién ella es.</p>

EN_WR_41_28_15_3_KDH	95.3	Female	28	6	15	<p>La última película que vi se llama "Amores possíveis". Es una película brasileña que me encanta. Se lo mostré a mis alumnos. Es como "Sliding DOors" con Gwyneth Paltrow pero se trata de tres posibilidades en cuanto a la vida de Carlos si su enamorada llega al cine para ver la película con él o no. La primera opción básicamente se trata de un triángulo amoroso entre Carlos, Julia y Pedro. Carlos era casado con Julia pero se enamoró de un tipo con que jugaba futbol, Pedro, y decidió dejar a su esposa por Pedro. Ellos, Carlos y Julia, tienen un niño de 6 años, más o menos, que es súper listo y habla sinceramente con los dos y los hace pensar en lo que hacen y cómo lo que hacen les afecta a todos. La segunda opción trata de un Carlos más joven que todavía vive con la madre, Sonia, y no hace nada. Ella lo cuida como si fuera bebé, aunque tiene como 30 años. Tienen una relación muy unida pero tal vez demasiado unida porque son más como amigos y ellos hablan de cosas que no diré a mis padres. Un día Carlos se encuentra con Julia y deciden volver a intentar tener una relación seria. Julia en este episodio es muy loca, toma demasiado y le cae mal a la madre de Carlos. En la tercera opción, Carlos es un hombre casado con otra mujer, María, y no está tan feliz pero miserable tampoco. Un día cuando va a una galería de arte al aire libre, se encuentra con la mujer que lo dejó plantado 15 años antes, Julia, y comienzan a tener una relación amorosa extramarital. Carlos le dice a Julia que ha dejado a María, pero en realidad le dijo a María que iba de viaje por el trabajo. Cuando Julia se entera, se pone muy triste y enojada. Después de un rato, Carlos le dice que decidió regresar a su esposa y Julia está desilusionada, enfadada con el alma desgarrada. Al final de la película, se muestran las conclusiones de cada opción. En la primera, aunque por un momento Carlos decide regresar a Julia, en el corazón sabe que no la ama como antes y que su vida está con Pedro. EN la segunda, ya que no le cae bien Julia a doña Sonia, Carlos intenta encontrar una mujer de por vida, pero se da cuenta al final que, aunque un poco rara, Julia la es. Y la madre, también encuentra un nuevo amor, no entran en detalles de la vida personal de Sonia, solamente dicen que el papá de Carlos se había muerto hace mucho tiempo. En la tercera, deja su romance con Julia y regresa a su esposa, que en mi opinión sabía lo que estaba pasando con su esposo pero nunca quiso decirle nada sabiendo que tenía hacer su propia decisión de volver a estar con ella, jurándole que nunca jamás en la vida iba a ir de viaje por el trabajo. Me encanta la película no sólo por la trama sino por la buena actuación de Murilo Benício. Lo reconocen, probablemente, de la telenovela brasileña "El Clon". Creo que es una película buenísima, a mis alumnos les encantó y creo que vale la pena verla también porque habla de diferentes realidades, de la problemática de decidir cosas sin tomar en cuenta cómo las decisiones que uno hace les afectarán a los demás.</p>
EN_WR_41_30_8_3_JM	95.3	Male	30	20	8	<p>Anoche vi una película, que se llama "The Sweet Hereafter". No tengo ninguna idea como trasducir el título al español. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; La película trata de un pueblo pequeño, en el norte de los Estados Unidos, o a lo mejor en Canadá. Han muerto casi todos los niños del pueblo, porque su autobús de escuela tuvo un accidente muy grave. Un abogado llega en el pueblo, con la idea de buscar compensación para los padres de los niños muertos. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; Este abogado tiene sus propias problemas con su hija. Ella es una adicta de heroína, y le llama casi cada día, pidiendo ayuda o dinero. El abogado casi le ha renunciado, porque ya lleva muchos años así. En las últimas escenas de la película, su hija le llama para decirle que tiene SIDA. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; La película no tiene mucha resolución: la búsqueda de compensación fracasa al final, el abogado parece muy decepcionado, y los padres del pueblo todavía deprimidos. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; "The Sweet Hereafter" tuvo un cierto ambiente, pero no me ha gustado especialmente. La actuación no me pareció muy buena, y después de establecer un premiso interesante, no me pareció el director, Atom Egoyan, lo ha desarrollado mucho. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; La daria dos estrellas de cinco. &lt;br/&gt; &lt;br/&gt; [Se ve que no he utilizado acentos o diacriticos en esta composición. No se como sacarlos del teclado, y normalmente escribo sin ellos, y utilizando "nh" para representarlos en "ñ" con tilde.]</p>

95.3	Female	37	13	12	Hola, les voy a hablar de una película que vi ayer. Se llama _x0093_The Tide of Life_x0093_ o en español, _x0093_La marea de la vida_x0093_ o más bien _x0093_Los vaivenes de la vida_x0093_ o algo así.     Se trata de una muchacha inglesa de la clase media o clase media baja en el año 1901. Trabaja como sirvienta para un señor y su esposa. De repente la esposa muere y el señor queda viudo. Él le pide a la muchacha (ella se llama _x0093_Emily_x0093_) que se case con él y ella acepta pero tristemente él se muere en un accidente cuando va a confrontarle a un hombre que trata de atacar a la hermana de Emily. Emily tiene que rescatarle a su hermana de la casa donde vive por este hombre (inquilino) de una señora que quedó encargada de cuidarles a los hermanos pequeños de Emily cuando se va el padre de estos a trabajar en el mar). A Emily la botan de la casa del señor donde trabajaba porque la casa la heredó la familia de la esposa difunta de él.     Resulta que él tiene a una esposa enferma en cama y les hace la vida muy difícil a Emily y a su hermana gritándoles y acusándoles de acostarse con su esposo. También allí vive un muchacho, Con, que es medio bobo/atrásado mental pero de corazón noble y él se hace amigo de la hermana pequeña de Emily. Lucy se enferma de _x0093_consumición_x0093_, una enfermedad donde tose mucho y le afectan los pulmones. El dueño de la casa, Mr. Birch, decide enviarla a Lucy a un sanatorio para que se recupere de su enfermedad. Poco después resulta que un día los aldeanos del pueblo cercano le acusan a Con de embarazarle a una mujer que trabajaba de sirvienta anteriormente en la casa del Mr. Birch y los hombres de la aldea se juntan para atacarle a Con y él termina cayéndose por un precipicio al mar. Lucy trata de salvarle pero no puede y lo rescata muerto de la arena. El señor Birch se pone muy triste y angustiado con la muerte de Con que era como un hijo para él. Para un cuento largo más corto Emily trata de ser un apoyo para el señor Birch y poco a poco se están enamorando por los golpes de la vida que sobreviven juntos pero Birch se muestra violento con su esposa enferma, le pega cuando ella se pone pesada con él y un día la mata. Emily le dice al doctor de la esposa que ella si podía caminar (la señora Birch) porque tenía los pies sucios y como que trata de protegerle Birch porque el médico dice que le va a acusarle a Birch de asesinato. De alguna manera entonces Emily le dice al médico que él mantenía la esposa enferma y le daba medicinas que a lo mejor la ponían peor, etc. Esa parte no lo entendí muy bien.     Entonces para terminar Emily y el Mr. Birch tienen que irse de la casa de él cuando su esposa muere a una pequeña casita campestre _x0093_cottage_x0093_. Emily va con Birch, dice que no lo va a abandonar y terminan viviendo como pareja pero sin casarse porque Birch dice que nunca se va a casar con ella. Él se vuelve alcohólico y ella termina perdiendo un embarazo porque él la maltrata y la hace caminar lejos al pueblo a buscar bebida y comida. El golpe fatal a su relación sucede cuando Birch le deja una carta diciéndole a Emily que él se va a casar con otra, una mujer que era el amor de su vida, etc.. Emily saca los muebles de la casa que Birch le pide que deja para él y los quema y confronta a Birch cuando él vuelve a casa viendo todo quemándose. Esa es una de las partes más fuertes e impresionantes de la película.     Al final del cuento Emily vende una joya que el primer señor, Mr. McGilby, le había regalado como regalo de novios y con el dinero se compra la casa donde vivía y trabajaba para Mr. McGilby. Planea empezar un negocio como dueña de una casa de inquilinos. Desde que los problemas habían comenzado con Birch meses atrás un americano que se enamora de ella empieza a tratar de ayudarle y él le pide casar con ella y le promete ayudarle con su negocio de inquilinos. Más o menos esto es lo que pasa en la película.     Me impresionó mucho esta historia porque me han pasado cosas similares en la vida y me pareció muy realista y bien actuada. Me dio ideas de como enfrentar problemas y gente en la vida. Una tiene que ser fuerte y no tratar siempre de hacer felices a los demás porque hay gente que no pueden ser felices nunca. Primero uno tiene que pensar en uno mismo.
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EN_WR_42_20_8_3_JEL	97.7	Female	20	13	8	<p>Este fin de semana estreno la nueva pelicula de Pedro Almodovar, Volver. Estaba muy ansiosa de verla porque he visto bastante peliculas de el y me encantan muchas de ellas. Volver es una pelicula de mujeres, y de La Mancha, de donde viene Almodovar. Se trata de una mujer (Penelope Cruz, que es mucho mejor en peliculas espanolas que norteamericanas) que vive en Madrid con su hija y su marido, que vuelve a su pueblo en La Mancha con su hija y su hermana para cuidar la tumba de sus padres, que murieron en un fuego. Tambien visitan a su tia quien es muy vieja y casi no puede ver ni caminar, pero vive sola en una casa grande. Al otro lado de la calle vive una amiga, Agustina, que fuma marijuana. Vuelven a Madrid, y el marido de Penelope ha sido despedido. El proximo dia, cuando Penelope vuelve por la noche de sus tres trabajos, su hija la espera en la lluvia. Entran en la casa y descubren al marido acuchillado en la cocina. La hija le dice que el le dijo que no era su padre, y el intento forzarla, y ella le mato intentando protegerse. Penelope limpia todo el sangre y lo ocultan en la nevera del restaurante abajo, que esta cerrado y por venta. Penelope tiene las llaves por si acaso alguien quiera echar un vistazo para comprarlo. La tia muere este mismo dia, y la hermana va a La Mancha sola porque Penelope niega venir, y alli ve su madre (Carmen Maura, que ha actuado en muchas pelis de Almodovar y es maravillosa). Cree que es el espíritu de su madre, pero cuando llega a Madrid su madre esta en el maletero del coche, y esta viva. La madre ha vuelto para pedirle perdón a Penelope, porque ella no sabía que Penelope había sido abusado por su propio padre, y que su hija es también su hermana. Cuando entero la madre, estaba enfadadísima, y al buscar su marido lo encuentra acostado con la madre de Agustina, y ella enciende el fuego que los quemaron. Era la madre de Agustina que se murió, y no la madre de Penelope, quien vivía escondida en la casa de la tia cuidandola hasta que se murió. La madre, viviendo ahora con la hermana de Penelope, finge ser una inmigrante rusa que la ayuda en su peluquería ilegal hasta que pueda hablar con Penelope y resolver todas estas cosas. Mientras tanto, Penelope hace un poco de dinero cocinando comida para un equipo de film de 30 personas, y cuando terminan el film, ella cocina para la fiesta, y canta flamenco también. Ella alquila una furgoneta y con su amiga vecina que es prostituta, entierra el cuerpo de su marido que todavía está en la nevera. Cuando Penelope se entera de que su madre está viva ya y ellas hablan, todas vuelven a La Mancha para arreglar las cosas con la casa de la tia, pero quizás van a quedarse allí. Agustina está muriendo de cáncer y la madre decide cuidarla como había cuidado a la tia. Las mujeres de esta película son superfuertes, aunque sus vidas han sido muy desafortunadas. Me la he gustado muchísimo. (Aunque todavía mi favorita de Almodovar es Laberinto de Pasiones!)</p>
EN_WR_42_21_10_3_LBK	97.7	Male	21	10	10	<p>Hace unos meses fui a ver una película genial titulada "Nacho Libre". El título mismo es un juego de palabras, pues el protagonista se llama Ignacio (Nacho por apodo), y la acción que figura en primer plano es la lucha libre. Al principio, Nacho es un hermano que sirve de cocinero en un monasterio /orfanato, donde él mismo fue criado. Quiere mucho a los huérfanos, pero la institución carece de recursos para comprar comida de la buena. &lt;br/&gt; Nacho se percató del prestigio y el dinero de los que gozan los luchadores, y decide saltar la normas para competir en unas luchas a fin de suplementar los ingresos del orfanato y de esa manera mejorar la alimentación los huérfanos. Alcanza cierto éxito en su empresa, y eso le da mucha satisfacción. No obstante, tiene que hacerlo todo en la clandestinidad, y empieza a luchar con las pasiones, primero el orgullo, y dentro de poco, el amor. Por ejemplo, a pesar de su motivo principal de ayudar a los huérfanos, cuando ve un trozo de carne de primera calidad en el mercado, no la compra sino que opta por comprarse unos zapatos y ropa nueva para poder impresionar a una hermosa hermana (Encarnación) que ha venido a trabajar en el orfanatorio. Ella le tiene mucho cariño, pero se niega a desmentir sus votos para estar con él. &lt;br/&gt; Nacho se dejar guiar por un idealismo optimista en todo lo que hace, mientras su compañero en la lucha, Esqueleto, es la voz de la razón. Es un toque quijotesco al argumento, y al fin y al cabo triunfa el idealismo de Nacho cuando logra ganar el gran campeonato, y alcanza su meta de comprar un autobús para los huérfanos. Se da cuenta de que para él, ayudar a los demás es su verdadera vocación sean cuales fueren los medios, y que al servir a los huérfanos, encuentra la verdadera libertad. Es, al final de cuentas, Nacho Libre.</p>

EN_WR_42_21_8_3_LBK	97.7	Female	21	14	8	<p>Una película que he visto recientemente se llama "Dangerous Beauty." Esta película es de 1998, y el personaje principal se llama Catherine McCormack. La película se sitúa en Venecia, Italia en el siglo XVI. En ese tiempo, las mujeres no tenían muchos derechos y estaban sometidos a los hombres en la sociedad. Su rol principal era tener hijos y cuidar de la casa. La película muestra las opciones limitadas para mujeres y se basa en una historia verdadera. La historia era un libro primero que se llama The Honest Courtesan. &lt;br/&gt; La protagonista se llama Verónica Franco, quien es una joven muy hermosa de Venecia. Ella es muy independiente, inteligente, curiosa y un poco marimacho. Al principio de la película, ella se enamora de un hombre que se llama Marco Venier, el futuro senador en la ciudad. Todo parece perfecto hasta que Marco le dice a Verónica la verdad, que no podrán casarse. Verónica es de una familia buena, pero también es pobre y no puede pagar para una dote buena. Por eso, Marco tiene que casarse con otra mujer noble. No están contentos y Verónica no desea casarse con nadie. El gran problema del tiempo era que para una mujer que no se casó, sólo tenía dos otras opciones para su vida: ser monja o ser cortesana. &lt;br/&gt; Después de visitar un monasterio, ella tenía terror a una vida así. Su madre, sin embargo, ofrece enseñarle como ser cortesana. Al principio, esta idea le parece horrible y vergonzosa a Verónica, pero no tenía otra opción porque necesitaba ayudar su familia con seguridad financiera. Como su madre era cortesana muy famosa antes, ella le muestra todos los trucos del trabajo. Cuando Verónica le pregunta donde aprendió todo eso, ella responde por decir, "tu abuela." Aunque al principio no le gustaba tener que hacer este tipo de trabajo, empieza a gustarlo más cuando aprende de todos los derechos que las cortesanas tienen en comparación con otras mujeres. Por ejemplo, ella podría entrar en bibliotecas, leer y estudiar, aprendiendo que cortesanas son las mujeres más inteligentes en Venecia. &lt;br/&gt; Muy rápidamente, Verónica gana una reputación en la ciudad como una cortesana muy buena. Ella causa muy buena impresión a los hombres a causa de su hermosura e ingenio. Gana mucha fama y dinero, pero sigue estar enamorado de su primer amor, Marco. Marco está celoso y no se adapta bien a esta nueva vida de Verónica cuando ella empieza a tomar sus amigos como amantes. Cuando guerra entre Venecia y el Imperio Otomano sucede, la ciudad de Venecia le pide a Francia para ayuda. Verónica tiene la responsabilidad de seducir el rey de Francia para asegurarles de una alianza militar. Eso le enfada a Marcos y él sale para luchar en la guerra. &lt;br/&gt; Sin embargo, mientras que están luchando, una plaga pasa para Venecia y mata a muchas personas, incluyendo la madre de Verónica. La iglesia católica cree que la plaga es un castigo de Dios para el pecado de la ciudad. Por eso, Verónica tiene que aparecer antes de la inquisición para acusaciones de brujería. Asustado cuando descubre la cantidad de pecado en la ciudad, el inquisidor deja caer las acusaciones de brujería y Marco y Verónica viven felices.</p>
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EN_WR_43_28_8_3_KEM2	100	Female	28	20	8	Hace unos meses que alguien me recomendó ver una película que se llama "Casamiento al estilo italiano" (o bueno, es mi traducción!). Era una película de los 60s y no sabía si me iba a gustar o no. Lleva como actores principales Marcello Mastroianni y Sofia Loren. De verdad, nunca me ha gustado Sofia Loren como actriz pero decidí arriesgarme y compré la película porque no pude encontrarla en ninguna tienda. Ahora que la he visto, no me arrepiento comprarla para nada! Primeramente, está basada en Nápoles. Para la gente que me conoce, sabe que la ciudad de Nápoles es una ciudad muy cercana a mi corazón. Cuando tenía 17 años, viví allí bajo del ojo del volcán Vesuvio. Esta película empieza en una plaza muy famosa de Nápoles (la cual no me acuerdo como se llama!). Con muchos gritos, se ve un grupo de gente que llevan a Sofia Loren, muy enferma, dentro de una casa al lado de la Galería Umberto (otro sitio napolitano bastante conocido por visto). El personaje de e!   Ila se llama Filumena. Todo el mundo se preocupa porque piensa que Filumena va a morir. Le lleva arriba a una habitación y alguien va a buscar a lo que se cree que es su marido, Don Domenico (Mastroianni). Le encuentra en una tienda con otra mujer que se viste de un vestido de boda. Bueno, después de ver unas memorias de cómo se conocieron Don Domenico y Filumena. Resulta que desde los 17 años, ella trabajaba en un burdel y se conocieron durante un ataque de aviones durante la guerra. Unos años después, vuelven a verse y él se hace el mejor cliente de Filumena. Sin embargo, ella no quiere seguir esa vida y le convence a Don D que le compre una casa. Sigue así y finalmente la película llega al presente con Filumena en la cama casi inconsciente. Llaman al sacerdote de la iglesia para llevar a cabo la ceremonia porque no quieren que Filu se muera sin ser limpiado de sus pecados. Pero bueno, está claro del título de la película que el casamiento "al estilo italiano" to!   davaña no ha comenzado. En el momento de decir que "sí", Filu salta de la cama gritando que finalmente, recibió lo que mereció y que ahora que se están casados, Don D no puede casarse con esa cajera de la tienda. Despúes de dar tantos años a Don D, ella estaba completamente enfadada que iba a dejarle sola y casarse con la otra. Luego, nos enteramos que Filu tiene tres hijos bastante grandes y que uno es el hijo de Don D. Despúes de mucho jaleo gracioso, frustración de Don D y sus intentos de saber cuál de los hijos es verdaderamente suyo, Don D empieza a entender la razón de que Filu no le dice la verdad y decide casarse, sin los trucos de Filu, y les da a todos los hijos su apellido... el resultado que quería Filu hace tantos años. En las últimas escenas, lo que me dio más risa era el hecho de que se casaron en la iglesia de Gesù Nuovo y salieron a cruzar la plaza de Gesù Nuovo, entraron en un edificio que está en la misma plaza. ¿Por qué sé eso? Lo sé porque hace 5 años fui a una fiesta en el mismo edificio!!!
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## I. Study 4: participants biodata and texts

### English natives

FILENAME	SEX	AGE	ENGLISH NATIVES (VARIETY)	TEXT
EN_WR_26_14_NM	Male	26	American	The man with the mustache is walking through the alley when out of nowhere things start falling on him from the surrounding roofs. He stops, pulls out a tin containing his half smoked cigars and finds a suitable one to smoke and packs it down. He places the cigar in his mouth, lights a match using the bottom of his boot and starts to puff. While enjoying his afternoon smoke he gazes down and sees a baby on the ground next to a trash bin. The man looks at the crying baby and wonders to himself where the infant could have come from. A woman walks past with a large stroller with a child in it and tries to wave her down. He assumes the baby belongs to her and places the child in the woman's stroller. The woman turns around to find this strange man doing this and tells him to take the baby away with him. After grabbing the wrong child and being corrected by the woman, the man walks back to the place where he found the child and is approached by a police officer. To the officer it appears that the man is trying to abandon the child in the alley so he flees the scene swiftly. He tricks a man into holding the child while he pretends to tie his shoe and runs away. The elderly man who was tricked places the baby in the same woman's stroller while the mustached man hides. Not knowing the elderly man had placed the baby in the stroller the man walks past the angry woman and is chased with an umbrella. They get into an argument about who the baby belongs to when the police officer intervenes. The man scurries away with the child and sits on the street next to a water drain. He opens the drain to see if the baby will fit so he can finally get rid of this burden when he finds a letter in the babies blanket that reads "Please love and take care of this orphan baby." The man smiles, rises from the street with the baby and walks away happy.
EN_WR_26_14_BD	Male	26	American	A man, Chaplin, is walking down an alley and is struck with debris from a window above him. As his dusts himself off and lights another cigarette, he finds an abandoned baby. A woman passes through the alley with a stroller, so he returns the baby to her. Unfortunately, this is not her child and scolds Chaplin for attempting to stray away from his child. Chaplin then puts the baby back to where he found it, but he approached by a policeman and picks back up the baby. After handing it off to a stranger who places the baby back into the woman from the alley's stroller, Chaplin walks by, is chased down and beaten senseless by the woman, and the baby is returned to Chaplin. Hopeless and bruised, Chaplin sits with the baby on the street debating what to do. Holding the baby, he finds a note in its swaddling clothes. It reads: Please love and care for this child. Chaplin then begins to cradle and smile at the child, finally finding purpose in his haphazard life.
EN_WR_20_14_AS	Female	20	British	The video is a silent film based featuring Charlie Chaplin. The video begins with Charlie Chaplin walking out of a building on his own, however he gets something thrown on him. He continues to dust himself off, before spotting a baby on the floor. Throughout the video he attempts to return the baby to various people but isn't successful in finding the parent of the child. The first person he believes to be the mother, and places the baby in the stroller, however she begins to hit Charlie as she is not the owner. This continues throughout the video with similar reactions from the people. The video ends with Charlie holding the baby while sitting on the floor and finds a note stating the baby is a orphan and needs love and care. As a result he walks off holding the baby indicating that he will look after the child.
EN_WR_21_14_AH	Male	21	American	Charlie Chaplin stumbles upon a baby in an alley. He attempts to foist the child on a woman by placing the child in her buggy and claiming that she misplaced the child. Clearly, this is not the woman's child, and the woman refuses to take him. Chaplin returns the child to the exact spot where he found him in the alley. Unfortunately for Chaplin, a policeman appears and witnesses him do so. Presumably concerned about the legal consequences of abandoning a child, Chaplin collects the child and leaves the alley. While walking, Chaplin comes across an elderly man, and hands the child off to him. The elderly man, uncertain of what is happening, has no time to react as Chaplin flees. The elderly man eventually finds the buggy in which Chaplin originally placed the child. The elderly man places the child in the buggy and leaves without the woman noticing him. Just as the woman notices the second child in her buggy, Chaplin passes by. The woman infers, incorrectly, that Chaplin placed the child in the buggy and confronts him by beating him with an umbrella. While Chaplin and the woman argue, the policeman from earlier reappears, at which point Chaplin desists from arguing and departs with the child. Chaplin, sitting with the child, discovers a note attached to the child which reads, "Please love and take care for this orphan child." After reading the note, Chaplin smiles and walks away with the child.
EN_WR_28_14_KP	Male	28	American	The man was walking and randomly some bricks fell from the top of a building. He looked up to see how'd it fall but couldn't find anything. A few feet further, he saw a baby laying on the ground, wrapped up, by himself. He picked the baby up and looked for the caretaker, but no one was around. Then, a mother with a carriage, already carrying one baby, passed by, so he immediately assumed it must be hers and dropped the abandoned baby in the carriage. She freaked out, and took the baby out. He tried to give the baby up a few more times, but in the end, he decided to keep it and care for it as he found a note saying to do so for the orphan child.

EN_WR_27_14_JJ	Male	27 American	<p>Mr. Chaplin, wearing a half-decent suit, was casually strolling down a back alley, avoiding trash and debris that people were tossing out of their windows down to the trash cans below that he was next to. As one of the people dropped their trash right on top of him basically, his cigar was knocked out of his hand. He stepped away and then begun digging in his tobacco tin to find another one to smoke, having to sift through 4 or 5 half smoked cigars he had left in there. He removed his gloves to light it, and for some reason decided to trash the gloves afterward. He then peeked over to his left and discovered a baby bundled up inn rags crying next to another trash can. Turning around, he saw a woman with a carriage and another baby. He ran over to her and tried to leave the baby he found in the carriage with the baby already in it, however the woman rushed up to him and began shooing him away as it was not her baby. Mr. Chaplin then thought he'd go put the baby back where he found it, but a police officer happened to wander by and give him a stare as if to say "what the hell are you doing leaving a baby there?" So Mr. Chaplin quickly picked the baby back up and started retracing his steps to see if he could find the baby's parents or someone more suited to take care of the baby. He found a not so clean elderly man in a suit with a cane and handed him the baby, then took off running. Ironically the man he gave the baby too, discovered the woman with the carriage from before and left the baby in the carriage as Mr. Chaplin had done before. Mr. Chaplin then happened to run into the police officer again and began walking quickly in the other direction, which happened to be just beyond the woman and the carriage. As the woman turned each direction to try and find whoever had left the baby in her carriage again, she spotted Mr. Chaplin and chased him down, knocking him to the ground and then pummeling him with her umbrella, as she was under the impression it was Mr. Chaplin who had tried to sneak the baby into her carriage for a second time. She demanded he take the baby back when the police officer wanders by again. Mr. Chaplin, afraid he would be in trouble, took the baby back and walked away from both the woman and police officer. He found a curb to sit on near a storm drain. He looked at the storm drain, then back at the baby, then back at the storm drain, thinking to himself... "what if..." However, his better senses prevailed and he looked at the baby thinking, "I could never do that to you!" He then found a note in the rags covering the baby that read, "Please love and care for this orphan child." Joyful music began to play in the background as he cradled the baby and started walking back to his home to provide at least a temporary place to care for the sweet child.</p>
EN_WR_20_14_SK	Female	20 British	<p>Charlie Chaplin is walking along a street smoking when he gets hit on the head by falling materials being dropped from above. He then turns and sees a baby lying on the side of the street crying. He looks up, questioning whether it has been dropped from above. He then spots a woman with a pushchair so runs after her, and puts the baby in the pushchair, assuming that it is her child. The woman protests as it is not her baby, so he takes the baby and goes to put it back where he found it. However, a police officer shows up so he picks the baby up again and tries to give it to an old man with a walking stick, tricking him into taking it by pretending that he is just tying his shoe lace but then running away. The old man chases after him and, once again, puts the baby down in the same woman's pram. While trying to get away from the policeman again, Charlie Chaplin finds himself walking back past the pushchair, and as the woman had not seen who had actually put the baby in her pushchair this time, she assumes that it was him, chases after him and hits him with her umbrella, demanding that he take the baby back. The policeman turns up again so Charlie takes the baby again and sits down on the pavement. While holding it, he discovers a note saying 'Please love and care for this orphan child'. He stands up and walks away with baby.</p>
EN_WR_19_14_HT	Female	19 American	<p>Charlie Chaplin stopped to smoke a hand rolled cigarette when he found a baby laying in an alleyway. He tried to give a the baby to those who passed by including a woman pushing her own child in a baby stroller and then an old man with a cane. He even tried to put the baby back in the alley when a police officer saw him, causing him to pick the child back up. He eventually found a letter with the child asking for somebody to please love the orphaned child. He then quit trying to pass her off and walked away with her himself.</p>
EN_WR_21_14_SM	Female	21 American	<p>Charles Chaplin is walking when he finds a baby. The baby is wrapped up in a blanket on the ground and is crying. He picks up the baby and as he tries to set the baby back down, a police officer approaches. It appears like he is trying to abandon his own baby so he picks it back up and moves on. He continues to try to get rid of the baby, each time with no luck. Finally, he finds a note in the baby's blanket saying that he's an orphan and needs to be cared for and loved. Charles smiles and walks off with the baby.</p>
EN_WR_21_14_TS	Male	21 American	<p>The video is about a man that is walking along a street one day when he sees a child in alley way. Feeling sorry for the abandoned child, he picks the child up and looks around to see if it belongs to anyone. Seeing a mother with a stroller, he tries to leave the child with her. However, she does not want it either and forces him to keep it. He returns to the spot where he found the child and tries to put it back. Suddenly, a police officer appears and he is forced to keep the child once again. Next, he tricks an older gentleman into taking the child and then runs away. The older gentleman tries to follow, but loses him. Ironically, he ends up next to the mother's stroller and he puts the baby in there and leaves. As the man that found the child first walks past the stroller the mother comes out of the store and sees the abandoned child. She hits the man with her umbrella and forces him to take the child. The man finds a note stating the child is an orphan. The story ends with the man keeping the child.</p>
EN_WR_20_14_CP	Female	20 American	<p>The video starts with a man out walking and stops to smoke. He is hit on the head by something that falls from above him and proceeds to smoke. He then notices a baby wrapped in blankets left by a wall and some bins. He looks around to see if anyone nearby seems to have lost the child or missing a child. A woman with a baby carriage comes by and appears to be looking for someone and the man assumes the baby belongs to her. He puts the baby in the carriage and she gets mad at him and says the baby is not hers. He continues to try and pass the baby along to others during his walk. The police man sees what he is doing and keeps a close eye on him. Eventually, after several attempts at getting rid of the child, the man sits down with the baby and finds a note saying the child is an orphan and to please love and care for him/her. The man takes the baby with him as he happily walks away.</p>

EN_WR_20_14_AB	Female	20	American	This video was about a man who found a orphaned baby next to the dumpster and did not understand what that meant. He Saw a woman with a large stroller and presumed that she had forgotten the baby. This shows that he may not have been able to pick up the social cues. The woman however, upon placement of the orphaned child in her stroller she was upset because she did not want to have to care for another baby. Thus, the man put the baby back where he found it, however, due to his poor luck there was a police man right behind him so man couldn't just place the babe back where he found it and therefore he gave the baby off to someone else. But that man did not want the baby and so the man was stuck with the orphaned baby. He finally sat down to contemplate the other options that he had and realized there was a note in the clothes of the baby. The note read "please love and care for this orphaned baby." And he went off to do just that (it is assumed).
EN_WR_20_14_SM	Female	20	American	During this video there was a man just walking around and doing his daily routine. All of a sudden many things started happening to him. Bricks fell down from the building, something was shot at him. He then found a baby lying on the ground. He picked up the baby wondering where it had come from. He later then noticed a lady walking by with a stroller and he put the baby inside her stroller when she wasn't looking. The woman got mad and he took the baby back, because although she was in search of a baby; this was not her baby. He then picked it up and went on his way, and didn't leave the baby because of the cop watching his every move. Later on, the man gave the baby to another older man who put the baby back into the same woman's stroller. The main man happened to walk by and the woman freaked out and got mad again. So he took the baby back and sat down with it. He all of a sudden changed when he saw the note that said to take care of this orphan child. His perspective changed, so when so many things went wrong to him. It was all in goodness because of how much his heart and personality was challenged.

## Spanish natives

FILENAME	SEX	AGE	SPANISH NATIVES (VARIETY)	TEXT
ES_WR_21_14_MD	Female	21	Español peninsular	Está el protagonista en la calle, diría un sitio donde están construyendo o algo, cuando de repente le tiran como basura, entonces saca de la cajetilla un cigarrillo, lo enciende, tira sus guantes y encuentra a un bebé, lo coje, ve a una madre con un carrito paseando, como buscando algo, y se piensa que el bebé es suyo, resultando al final que no. Prosigue a dejar al bebé donde lo ha encontrado, le ve un guardia y vuelve a cogerlo. Ve a un hombre y se lo da, huyendo de éste rápidamente, el señor ve a la mujer mencionada anteriormente y pone al bebé en el carrito. La mujer ve a Chaplin, le pega y al final éste acaba llevándose al bebé. Se sienta en un bordillo de la acera y encuentra una nota que dice: "Quiere y cuida de este niño huérfano" y finalmente se lo lleva.
ES_WR_25_14_CMJ	Female	25	Español castellano	Érase una vez un bebé abandonado y moribundo, que fue hallado por un simpático señor llamado Chaplin. En un día común, este distraído hombrecillo estaba paseando despreocupadamente por la calle cuando de repente vio al indefenso niñito entre un enorme montón de basura pestilente. Estaba completamente anonadado. A prisa antes de que nadie se diera cuenta de la embarazosa situación, deambuló de un sitio a otro pasando su inocente cuerpillo a desconocidos de la zona. Le pillaba demasiado desprevenido ser papá tan de casualidad. Hasta que en ese preciso momento surge un milagro... Descubre una breve nota dentro de la candida ropa del bebé. Lee: "Por favor ama y cuida de este niño en la orfandad". Chaplin se sentía tan comovido que sin pensárselo dos veces decidió convertirse en un encantador papá del dulce bebé.
ES_WR_18_14_CRM	Female	18	Español peninsular	En este video podemos ver a Chaplin caminando por un sitio en ruinas, cuando de repente se encuentra a un bebé, al cual coge en brazos. Chaplin empieza a buscar a alguien que haya podido perder al bebé cuando de repente se encuentra a una mujer con un bebé en su carrito y Chaplin piensa que el bebé que él se ha encontrado pertenece a esa mujer. Chaplin se acerca al carro y deja al bebé allí, cuando de repente llega la mujer y le dice que ese bebé no es suyo y que se lo lleve de allí. Chaplin decide dejar al bebé en el sitio que lo encontró, cuando de repente se encuentra con un policía y tiene que irse de allí con el bebé. Mientras está caminando por otra calle se encuentra a un hombre mayor y Chaplin le pide que coja al bebé mientras él se abrocha el zapato. Cuando el hombre está distraído, Chaplin echa a correr, así que el hombre no tiene más remedio que quedarse con el bebé, hasta que caminando por una calle más transcurrida se encuentra con la mujer con la que anteriormente se había encontrado Chaplin y deja al bebé en el carro mientras ella no estaba mirando. Justo cuando la mujer se gira, pasa por ahí Chaplin y la mujer le dice de nuevo que ese bebé no es suyo y que se lo lleve; así que Chaplin resignado coge al bebé y se va con él/ella de allí. Chaplin se sienta en el suelo y empieza a mirar al bebé, cuando de repente se encuentra una nota en su ropa en la que pone: Cuidad y quered a este niño/a del orfanato, así que después de leer esa nota Chaplin se levanta y se va con el bebé suponemos que a su casa.
ES_WR_18_14_MR	Female	18	Español peninsular	En este breve video se cuenta la historia de cómo Chaplin encuentra a un bebé huérfano. Aparece fumando, y unos maceteros le caen encima, entonces, encuentra un bebé abandonado al lado de la basura, y lo coge para averiguar de quién puede ser. Aparece una mujer con un carrito y otro bebé, e intenta entregárselo a ésta, que reniega. Lo intenta volver a dejar dónde lo encontró, pero un policía lo ve y vuelve a llevarse al niño. Encuentra un hombre al que le entrega el huérfano y se va, y éste lo deja en el carrito de la primera mujer, que cuando ve pasar a Chaplin le obliga a llevárselo. Se sienta con el niño pensando en abandonarlo, pero de repente encuentra una nota en la manta del pequeño que pide que amen y cuiden al niño, por lo que decide llevarlo con él.

ES_WR_19_14_JMR	Male	19	Español meridional seseante	Chaplin aparece por una calle estrecha y se encuentra a un bebé abandonado en el suelo. Decide cogerlo y ve a una mujer con un carrito y su bebé, él piensa que el bebé que ha encontrado es de ella y lo pone en el carrito. Entonces, la mujer se enfada, le devuelve el bebé y se marcha. Chaplin intenta volver a poner al bebé donde lo encontró, pero justo en ese momento aparece un policía y Chaplin recoge al bebé y finge que no quería abandonarlo. A continuación, engaña a un hombre mayor, hace que él coja en brazos al bebé y sale corriendo. Entonces este hombre decide dejar al bebé en el mismo carrito donde lo dejó Chaplin antes. La mujer, que estaba dentro de una tienda, cuando sale ve al bebé allí y justamente pasa Chaplin por su lado, ella piensa que él volvió a ponerlo allí y comenzó a pegarle. El policía aparece de nuevo y Chaplin recoge al bebé y se va para evitar problemas. Entonces se sienta en la acera y por un momento pensó en tirarlo por la alcantarilla, pero decide no hacerlo. A continuación encuentra una nota entre la ropa del bebé en la que poner que él es huérfano. Finalmente Chaplin se encariña de él y decide adoptarlo.
ES_WR_22_14_FNG	Male	22	español peninsular	Chaplin va caminando por la calle y la gente arroja basura y escombros desde la ventana. De repente, se encuentra un bebé en el suelo y mira hacia las ventanas como si alguien hubiera podido arrojarlo desde allí arriba. Acto seguido coge al bebé buscando a la persona responsable y aparece una madre con un carrito de bebé y un bebé dentro de él. Chaplin intenta darle el bebé a esta señora, pero ella se niega ya que ella tiene a su bebé. Después Chaplin decide dejar al bebé en el mismo lugar, pero aparece un policía, entonces Chaplin se queda con el bebé hasta que el policía desaparece. Esta vez, Chaplin intenta darle el bebé a un anciano. Chaplin hace como que se ata los zapatos mientras el anciano coge al bebé en brazos, y entonces Chaplin sale corriendo y se esconde. El anciano, con el bebé en los brazos, pasa por delante de una tienda y encuentra un carrito con un bebé, que casualmente es el mismo carrito que el de la señora anteriormente mencionada. El anciano deja el bebé junto al otro bebé en el carrito, ya que la madre estaba dentro de la tienda. Cuando la señora sale de la tienda y ve en el carrito al otro bebé lo reconoce y sabe que es el mismo bebé que Chaplin había intentado darle. A lo que Chaplin se encontraba por allí y la mujer sale detrás de él y le pega con un paraguas. Los dos vuelven donde estaba el carrito y de nuevo pasa el policía, así que Chaplin coge al bebé y se va. Chaplin se sienta en la acera y abre una alcantarilla como insinuando tirar al bebé dicho agujero. Pero Chaplin es una buena persona y no lo hace, acto seguido, Chaplin coge un papel de entre el bebé que dice : "quiere y cuida a este niño huérfano". Chaplin mira al bebé con cara de afectación y se queda con el bebé.
ES_WR_23_14_MCG	Female	23	Español peninsular	Chaplin es un hombre, el cual, va por la calle y se encuentra a un niño abandonado. Tras cogerlo no sabe que hacer con él e intenta que alguien se haga cargo del niño. Primero lo deja en el suelo abandonado, pero un policía le pilla, seguidamente, se lo deja en el carrito a una mujer que tenía otro niño, pero la mujer se da cuenta y se lo devuelve. Después de la mujer intenta dárselo a otro hombre (le engaña, haciéndole pensar que se ata los cordones), cuando le deja el niño sale corriendo. Ese mismo hombre vuelve a dejar al niño en el mismo cochecito de la mujer del principio. Chaplin, desafortunadamente, pasa al lado de la mujer y esta enfadada le recrimina que no abandone al niño y que lo coja el carrito. Chaplin lo coge nuevamente y finalmente se queda con el niño.
ES_VR_19_14_AMO	Female	19	Peninsular	El video nos muestra una escena cómica en la que Chaplin encuentra un bebé en la calle. Cuando lo coge, ve pasar a una señora con un carrito y otro bebé dentro así que piensa que puede ser de ella y lo deja dentro del carro. La señora, sin embargo, se da cuenta y se lo devuelve enfadada. Chaplin no sabe qué hacer con el bebé y lo vuelve a dejar en la misma calle pero cuando se da la vuelta un policía lo intercede, así que lo vuelve a coger y se lo da a otro hombre que pasa por allí. El hombre, bastante confuso, encuentra el carro de la mujer anterior y al igual que Chaplin lo deja ahí, cuando la mujer se da cuenta de que otra vez le han dejado un bebé que no es suyo y ve a Chaplin pasando por allí, piensa que es culpa suya. La mujer le devuelve el niño por segunda vez más enfadada aún. Chaplin ya no sabe qué hacer con él y decide sentarse a pensar cuando entre las mantas del niño ve una nota que dice que quien lo coja que le de mucho cuidado y cariño ya que es huérfano.
ES_WR_21_14_L	Female	21	español peninsular	El protagonista aparece dando un paseo mientras se fuma un cigarrillo por los alrededores de unas construcciones en no muy buen estado. De repente caen a su lado restos de desperdicios que alguien parece haber arrojado desde lo alto; justo cuando pasaba al lado de los contenedores donde ve un bebé abandonado. Coge al bebé y mira a su alrededor buscando averiguar de dónde procedía cuando ve a una madre dejando el carrito con su bebé y aprovecha en un descuido de ésta para colocarlo dentro del cochecito junto con el otro pequeño. Sin mucha fortuna la madre lo descubre y le devuelve a la criatura. El hombre corre a dejar al niño donde lo encontró cuando un policía lo pilla con las manos en la masa e intentando disimular sigue su camino con el bebé en brazos. Mientras andaba con el pequeño, divisó a un hombre en entrada edad con un bastón que le ayudaba a caminar. Aprovecha e intenta dejarla al niño y huir mientras finge que necesita ayuda para atarse los cordones y le pide que por favor sujeté unos momentos a su pequeño. En un descuido del viejo, el protagonista sale corriendo y se esconde del hombre mayor que sale en su búsqueda con el pequeño. El viejo ve el mismo carrito del principio con el otro bebé dentro así que aprovecha para dejarlo allí y salir corriendo antes de que la madre vuelva y se encuentre con la sorpresa. Al salir la madre ve que de nuevo le han dejado al bebé en su carrito y con gesto de enfado mira para encontrar al culpable y justo en ese momento pasa Charles. La mujer va tras él y comienza a propinarle golpes con su sombrilla, le obliga a coger al bebé que le habían vuelto a dejar en su carrito y comienza a acusarlo muy enfadada haciendo gestos de indignación por lo que había hecho con ese pobre bebé. En ese instante aparece el policía que se percató de la discusión y la mujer comienza a explicarle lo ocurrido. Charles coge al bebé de nuevo y todos se van y continúan su camino. Al llegar a una calle vacía se sienta con el pequeño en una acera y empieza a mecerlo, cuando se encuentra con una nota en que piden cuidarlo y amarlo porque se trata de un niño huérfano. Charles conmovido por la nota y casi con lágrimas en los ojos, mira al bebé sonriendo y se va con él en brazos.

ES_WR_21_14_RRT	Female	21	Español peninsular	El video comienza con un hombre paseando por la calle. De repente este personaje ve en el suelo y entre unos cubos de basura a un bebé liado en una manta. Tras cogerlo en brazos, el hombre no sabe qué hacer con él e intenta abandonarlo de varias maneras pero ninguna tiene éxito, siempre es pillado por un policía. Este personaje intenta dárselo a una madre que pasaba con su bebé; intenta dejarlo donde lo había encontrado; y diciéndole a un hombre que lo cogiera y él mientras salir corriendo. Tras no poder conseguir su objetivo de abandonar al bebé, pensando incluso en dejarlo dentro de una alcantarilla, el personaje encuentra una nota que dejó la madre de éste pidiendo que lo cuidaran y lo quisieran. Finalmente, el hombre se marcha con el bebé y parece que se va a quedar con él.
ES_WR_22_14_CLA	Female	22	Español peninsular	En el video se puede ver a Charles Chaplin caminando por un escenario que está en obras. Tras caminar unos pocos metros, restos de obra le caen encima y mira hacia arriba. Decide encender un cigarro y tirar los guantes que lleva puestos a la basura. Despues de esta acción, ve a un bebé llorando en el suelo. Decide recogerlo e introducirlo en un carrito de bebé junto con otro infante. La señora que conduce este carrito discute con Charles Chaplin y éste vuelve a recoger al bebé e intenta abandonarlo donde lo recogió. Un policía ve lo que trata de hacer y Charles Chaplin vuelve a recogerlo. Caminando con el bebé en brazos decide entregárselo a otro señor y huye corriendo. El señor le persigue pero no le encuentra porque éste se esconde, así que, decide encontrar otra manera de deshacerse del bebé. El carrito de antes vuelve a aparecer en escena, y el hombre aprovecha la situación y deja al bebé. Charles Chaplin sale de su escondite y sin darse cuenta, pasa junto al carrito. La señora que conduce el carrito decide golpearle con un paraguas porque cree que él ha sido el que ha abandonado al niño. Comienzan a discutir y el señor policía de antes aparece de nuevo. Por tal de evitar problemas, Charles Chaplin recoge al bebé y camina con él durante un tiempo hasta que decide sentarse en la acera. Acto seguido, ve que hay una nota en la manta que envuelve al infante, esta dice que cuide del niño porque se ha quedado huérfano. Finalmente sonríe y opta por quedarse con él.
ES_WR_20_14_ASR	Female	20	español peninsular	El personaje principal, Charles Chaplin, va paseando por la calle evitando cosas que una mujer tira por la ventana, cuando se encuentra a un bebé al lado de la basura. Lo coge, y justo por detrás pasa una señora con un cochecito de bebé, y como Chaplin piensa que es de esa señora, se lo deja en el carrito. Cuando la señora sale de la tienda en la que había entrado, se enfada con él, porque el niño no es de ella, y no lo quiere. Charles lo coge e intenta dejarlo otra vez donde lo encontró, pero apareció un policía y tuvo que cogerlo e irse. Al dar la vuelta a la esquina, se encuentra con un hombre que iba paseando, al que se acerca, y le pide que sujeté al bebé mientras se ata los cordones de los zapatos. Cuando se lo da, Chaplin se agacha un momento y luego se va corriendo. El hombre intenta seguirlo pero no puede, entonces sigue andando y se encuentra con el mismo carrito de antes, donde deja el bebé y se va. Cuando la señora sale de la tienda, se enfada por ver otra vez al mismo bebé en su cochecito, y justo en ese momento pasa Charles, la señora lo va, y corre detrás de él y le pega con el paraguas porque está muy enfadada con él. Cuando le estaba exigiendo entre gritos que se llevase al bebé, aparece el mismo policía de antes, Chaplin se ve obligado a cogerlo e irse. Charles se sienta en la acera y levanta la tapa de la alcantarilla, pensando en dejar al bebé ahí, pero se arrepiente. Empieza a acariciarle cuando algo le hace daño, mira que es, y descubre que es una carta; la abre y es una nota que pone "Por favor, amor y cariño para este niño huérfano". Entonces se apiada de él y decide llevárselo.

## L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers

FILE-NAME	PLACEMENT					TEXT
	TEST % SCORE	SEX	AGE	AOO	LOI	
ES_WR_A2_19_14_IDN	43.3	Female	19	5	14	Firstly, in this video Charles Chaplin is walking for a dirty street when he is smoking a cigarrete and somebody starts to throw the rubbish across the window. After, he listen to a baby that is crying in this same street. He take the baby and don't know to do with him. Suddenly, appears a women with a buggy and with a baby inside. The, Charles see the opportunity to put the other baby in the buggy because he thinks that this baby belong to this women. Secondly, he takes the baby and walks with him at the same place when was the baby and appears a police officer and look at him with long face. Finally, Charles picks up the baby again and then he gives him to another men that put the baby in the same buggy of the first women that Charles saw. After, appears again the police officer and the women accuses to Charles but he takes the baby and he sits with him in the street. Charles finds a paper with a text that said that this baby is orphaned. Charles then smiles and decides to be in charge with the baby.

	38.3	Male	19	7	12	We are watching a part of Charles Chaplin's film. At the first, we can see Chaplin, and he is dressed with some old clothes, gloves and a hat. He walks over the foreground while some rubbles falls over the buildings around him. Charles takes out a cigarette case with all the broken cigarettes. To burn the cigarettes, Charles takes off her gloves and takes out a pull from his pocket and light it with the shoe. Chaplin throw out his gloves in a rubbish. He finds a baby who are crying in the floor and Charles calls a woman who is going in the opposite direction. Charles put the baby in the baby carriage that the woman wore. In the carriage there is another baby. The woman gets angry with Charles because this is not her baby. Chaplin gets the baby and come back where the baby was, but at this moment, a policeman appears and Charles picks up the baby again and leaves. He finds a man and gives him the baby and runs away but the man starts to pursues him and he finds the same baby carriage and he leaves the baby. When te mother appears, find the same baby that Charlie, who was going on at this moment, had left her and she pursues Charlie, she beats him with an umbrella, Charlie falls out. The policeman appears again and charlie takes the baby and he gets away. Charlie finds a sewer and he sits close to it. Then, he looks at the baby's clothing and he find a note that it was written: Love and care... He looks the baby and smile, then, Charlie gets up and disappear with the baby...
ES_WR_A2_19_12_14_RM	41.7	Male	20	7	7	its a short story. In the first part Chaplin showed up he was walking on the street while he smoked cigars; suddenly any random person threw garbage over his head but he didn't matters. after he was starting to smoke other cigar when looked to the ground, its a little baby, he made nervous so, he started to look any place for the kid: a baby carriage, in the trash, trying to give the baby to old man but he couldn't throw off the little boy. later he finded inside a little piece of paper. it said: please love and care for this orphen child and finally chaplin decided to adopt the kid
ES_WR_A2_20_7_14_JMCC	41.7	Female	20	6	10	A Chaplin falls something of the sky. Then he looks for a cigar, removes his gloves and turns it on. He later hears a baby, who is abandoned. He puts it in a woman's car thinking it's hers, but no, he leaves it where it was. Just a policeman sees it and picks it up again. He gives it to a man and runs out to hide. The man puts him in the woman's car and she thinks that Chaplin has put it. They argue and the police give the baby to Chaplin, this seated sees a note in the baby that puts that of love to the child who is an orphan. This baby stays at the end.
ES_WR_A2_20_10_14_LYL	43.3	Female	20	3	17	This video is a well-known video and it is black and white. It also belongs to the silent cinema. Charles Chaplin is a man. He doesn't speak. He is walking and dancing on the street when he finds a baby ; this baby is alone. Charles doesn't want the child so he leaves the child with a woman, in the street, with an old man... But he never gets it. But finally he wants the child because he feels pain.
ES_WR_A2_20_17_14_LG	41.7	Female	20	6	12	Chaplin was walking on the street and people threw things outside. He saw a one baby was crying on the street. He dind' want a baby so he saw one mum with her baby, and put the baby that he found inside the baby buggy. But the mum didn't want other baby, he neither, so found opportunities for to leave the baby away from him but he dind't have lucky. Finally, he read a letter and stayed with the child.
ES_WR_A2_20_12_14_AC	46.7	Female	20	3	15	Charles Chaplin is walking while smoking a cigarette. Suddenly someone throws trash and his cigarette falls, so light another. Then he hears a baby crying so he picks it up and leaves it to a mother in her baby car, but since it's not his son, Charles Chaplin has to take it with him. Faced with this situation, he tries to return it where he has found it but a police officer sees him so he has to take it back. Take advantage of an oversight of a person who was walking down the street to stay with the baby and this man casually left in the car of the same mother. The woman meets with Charles and makes him take the baby again. Finally, Charles finds a note among the baby's clothes that says he is an orphan child that needs affection and it seems that he is willing to give it to him.
ES_WR_A2_20_15_14_LCR	43.3	Male	22	13	5	The film is ebaut a man whit a bad lucky ; he found a baby in the street and he try give the baby to a woman , leave the baby in the ground , give the baby to a old man;he falls in all this trys so the man dont know how to do whit the baby, finally he sit down on the street whit the baby on his armns , he saw the baby and read a note where say "please care the baby whit love..." he saw the baby again and finally he decide's care the baby.
ES_WR_A2_23_4_14_B	41.7	Male	23	16	4	There was a man, Charles Chaplin who was smoking a ciggarette and suddenly he found a lonely baby. After he took the baby and looking for his or her parents, then he saw a woman with a buggy, so he thought that baby was her, however she had already another child and he tried dropped the child in the buggy, but woman said: pardon me, you dropped something, then he took the child again. There was another moment, where he tried to leave in the same street, but one policeman appeared, so he took the baby again. while he was walking with the child, he saw a man and he give the baby and he ran. This man saw the same woman before and he leave the baby in the buggy and he ran, when she found two babies look around and she saw to Charles Chaplin and as the policeman was there, he had to take the baby. The last time he tried leave the child in the street, but suddenly look a note, where it says: Please love and care for this orphan child. Therefore he kept the orphan baby.

ES_WR_A2_2 5_1_14_A G M	33.3	Female	25	6	1	Chaplin found a baby and he decided to look the baby's family. First, he found a woman with a baby carriage but she wasn't his mother. Then, Chaplin left the baby at the same place where he found, but a policeman saw him. Also, Chaplin gave the baby to a man and he went away. The man put the baby at the same baby carriage and the woman saw chaplin again and she hit him. Finally, Chaplin decided adopt the baby.
ES_WR_A2_2 6_10_14_ISJ	45.0	Female	26	6	10	Carles Chaplin goes to by the street when he find the a baby on the floor. The street is dirty and the buildings fall. He decides to put the baby in a baby cart the other mother , but she doesn't like it because the baby is not hers. Then, he gives it to him a other man that returns its to the baby cart. The woman finds him and gives it to him. In the end he found a note and decided to stay with the baby
ES_WR_A2_31_1_14_LP	41.7	Male	31	30	1	Chaplin was walking alone in the street, then someone threw trash for the windows on his body, after that he threw his gloves in the trash bin and searched a cigarette, turned on and was smoking. Next he looked the floor and there was a baby and picked baby up. he looked up and searched baby's parents but can't find them. then he looked a woman with her baby, the baby was in the stroller. Chaplin went until the stroller and put baby on but the woman looked him and she said that took a baby and went, he put baby on de floor but in that moment arrived a police and he had picked on again. next he looked a man was walking and asked carry on baby but Chaplin took advantage for run. the men woke with the baby and found stroffe with another baby and put him on. then the woman outside and looked the other baby but in that moment Chaplin woke and the woman looked and ran behind he, she hit him with umbrella, He picked baby on and sit down in the street and thought do with the baby as he found a note in side baby's clothes. the note said please love and care for this orphan chield.
ES_WR_A2_3 6_20_14_MV	48.3	Male	36	10	20	Charles Found a Baby in the garbage and dont know what did with the baby and try to leave them on the street but cops and other people doesn't it allow...Finally Charles read a Letter that the baby brings on his clothes and decide taking care the baby. Charles is trying to dissappear but the cops its looking him y the cop thought that him is leaving the baby. Later charles understood that he had to take care the baby
ES_WR_B1_18_12_14_CRM	65.0	Female	18	6	12	In this video we can see Chaplin walking on a street while he is smoking. While he was walking he saw a baby and thought that someone lost his/her baby and some seconds later he saw a woman looking for something and Chaplin thought it was the baby so he carried the baby to the woman but he was wrong, the woman was looking other thing, so Chaplin wanted to leave the baby at the same place but a police watched what he was doing and he carried the baby again and went to another place where he saw a man. So Chaplin told the man to carry the baby while he was cleaning his boots and when the man was'nt looking he ran away. The man didn't know what to do with the baby so when he saw the woman with the trolley that Chaplin saw previously, he left the baby there and went away. Some minutes later Chaplin was walking over there and the woman give him the baby again. Chaplin sat and read a letter that the baby was holding, in which it was writing: Please love and care for this orphan child. And at the end Chaplin left with the baby on his arm.
ES_WR_B1_21_4_14_JIMM	61.7	Male	21	17	4	Chaplin was walking in a narrow street, somebody was throwing things on the second floor back to Chaplin. Then something dropped over Chaplin, and he realized that a baby was there, he saw at the distance a woman with a car for babies, and he carry the baby to the woman and put the baby in the car for babies, but the woman said that baby wasn't hers. Then he went back to the place where he took the baby and a policeman saw him doing that. The policeman didn't let him putting the baby there. So he picked up the baby and gave the baby to an old man, then he ran to the same direction where the policeman was. The old man saw the car for babies, so he put the baby there because no one was watching him. When Chaplin saw the policeman again, he went back to the same direction of the old man. Then the woman saw the baby on the car and she saw Chaplin and went to hit him with the umbrella, so Chaplin picked again the baby and went to have a seat on the pavement. Then he saw a letter (I didn't see clear the video). He smiled and he stood up and began to walk. The end.
ES_WR_B1_22_16_14_FDA	61.7	Female	22	6	16	In this video, Charlie Chaplin is walking around the street in a marginal neighbourhood. Some people are throwing rabbish through a window and he decides to stop walking and smoke a cigarette. Then, he discovers a baby who is crying and he tries to find his family. He sees a woman who is having a walk with her baby and he thinks that the baby maybe owns to her, so he puts the baby next to the other child who is in a baby cart. The woman realises of that and she has a dispute with him because he was not allowed to do that. After that event, Charlie Chaplin tries to abandon the baby in the same place whe he found him but a policeman sees him and he obligues him to look after the child. Then, Chaplin sees an old man and he gives him the baby. The poor man does not react after a few seconds and he feels nervous so he decides to follow him. After that, the old man put the child in a baby cart which is next to a shop and he goes. When the owner of the baby cart (a lady) leaves from the shop, she realises that there is another child next to her baby. Finally, Charlie Chaplin is having a walk in the same street and the woman sees him. She hurts him with an umbrella and he is forced to care about the baby. To sum up, Chaplin discovers a note inside the blanket of the baby and he feels sad for him so he decides to live the rest of his life with him.

ES_WR_B1_20_14_14_FMJ	56.7	Male	20	6	14	<p>At the beginning of the clip leaves a house smoking a cigar. From this house they are throwing waste.</p> <p>Suddenly, something falls on him and it hurts him, so Chaplin shouts at him that he is an awkward.</p> <p>After the impact, Chaplin lights another cigar and then he sees a baby by surprise. He picks the baby up from the floor but he doesn't really know what to do with him. At this moment, a woman goes behind with a baby carriage. Chaplin thinks that woman has lost the child and leaves the child in the carriage. Then begins an argument between the woman and Charles that finish with the baby in Charles Chaplin's hands again. Right after this, Chaplin leaves the baby on the floor but a police surprises him and Charles picks the baby up and goes away. Next, he sees an innocent man who Chaplin's fools giving him the baby. The man leaves the baby in the same carriage as before by chance. Casually, he meets her again and she gives the baby again, after hitting him with an umbrella. Finally, Charles sits on the street and he also opens a culvert, thinking about leaving the baby there, but he can't do it. He closes the culvert and suddenly finds a letter between baby's clothes that says that baby is an orphan. Because of this, Charles cares for baby and they go away together</p>
ES_WR_B1_23_11_14_IGG	53.3	Male	23	8	11	<p>A man is walking down the street, then someone throws him a bucket full of lettuce. He's annoyed. After this he smokes a joint and starts to happen strange things. He sees an abandoned baby next to him. He gathers up and thinks what to do with him. Chaplin takes the baby and puts it into the baby carriage of a woman. The woman becomes angry about this incident and returns the baby to him. Chaplin tries to look for someone who can take care of the baby. He finds a man walking by the street and gives it to him. Finally, he realizes that the abandoned kid has been left for her mother in order to find him loves and cares him.</p>
ES_WR_B1_20_14_14_ASR	56.7	Female	20	6	14	<p>Chaplin was walking on the street when he found a baby lying on the floor. A woman was passing by, and as Chaplin thought he was her baby, he ran over to give it to her. The woman got very angry and he came back to lay the kid back again on the floor, but a police man arrived just in time, and Chaplin carries on the little boy again and he left hurried. Walking on the street, Chaplin found an old man, and making him believe that he had stained his shoe, he gave him the baby for a moment, but he left running. The old man passed in front of the same woman, and he left the baby in the baby carriage and left. When Chaplin walks in front of the lady, she gets very angry again and she forced him to take the child. Since he had no place to leave the child, he sat on the street and he thought about laying the baby in the sewers, but he regret it. Then he pricked himself with something and looking through the child's clothes he found a note that said: "Please, love and care for this orphan child"</p>
ES_WR_B1_20_14_14_ABТ	63.3	Male	20	6	14	<p>At first we see Chaplin walking while people throw rubbish from their houses, then he starts smoking until he finds a baby in the street. He tries to give the baby to a woman but she doesn't want it, after that tries to put him back where he found him but there was a police man looking at him, then he finds a man and tricks him to make him take the baby and hides from the man. After that the man left the baby with the woman again and when the woman notices that the baby is there she gets mad at Chaplin who is walking in the street. Then Chaplin found a note in baby's clothes which asks him to take care of the baby.</p>
ES_WR_B1_2_2_14_14_IM CG	53.3	Female	22	6	14	<p>Well, Charles finds a baby abandoned at the street. He ends up in a confusion with a, because he thinks it's her baby, but it's not. He pulls on the child several times, taking no responsibility of the situation, but at the end, alone with the baby, he reads a note hidden in the baby's cloth, which explains that it is an orphan child, so please take care of him. It's a really sad story because someone dropped him but none wants to face the problem.</p>
ES_WR_B1_19_11_14_NLLB	60.0	Female	19	8	11	<p>This story starts with a man, who is walking and somebody is throwing "things" from the balcony. Suddenly, he finds a baby in the floor of the street. So, he takes it, and tries to look for somebody that could belong to that baby. He sees a woman, with a baby carriage, and thinks about the baby he has could be of that woman too. But when he leaves the baby in the car, the woman gets really angry, and they take over. He's going to leave the baby in the same place where he found it, but a police man sees it. So he knows he couldn't do that. The man continues looking for somebody to give the baby, and he cheats an old man. That old man surprisingly meets with the same woman as before and leaves again the baby in the same baby carriage. When the woman sees it, the first man is casually walking on there. So she calls the police man and gives back the baby really angry. The man realizes that he can't get rid of that baby. He sits down in the street and finds inside the baby a letter which said "Love and care for that orphan baby". The man smiles and decides to stay with the baby.</p>
ES_WR_B1_2_7_10_14_NR	58.3	Female	27	6	10	<p>One day, when Charles goes on the street, he finds a kid on the street floor, and he tries to get rid of him. Then, he meets a miss with other baby, a policeman, and other man. Charles Chaplin gives a found baby to him, however, that man puts a baby in the stroller of the miss, and she gives him to Charles again. Then, he sits down, and when he takes the baby, Charles realizes that baby has a note where someone asks to be cared for.</p>

	63.3	Female	21	3	18	ES_VR_B1_21_18_14_CCM	Charles Chaplin is walking around the street. Suddenly, someone throws trash out of a window and hits Charles. He stops by and starts smoking. Then, he hears a child crying, and he finds a child laying on the floor. Quickly, he picks up the child from the ground and starts looking for someone who can take care of him. He tries to give the child to a woman who is walking around with another baby and a cart, but she refuses to take care of the unknown baby. Once he has tried it, he comes back to the place where he found that baby and leaves him on the floor again. But in that moment, a police appears, so he picks up the child again. Later, Charles starts walking around and finds another man. Charles, pretends to be tying his laces and gives the child to that man, then, he starts running away again. This man goes to find Charles but instead of that, he gives the child to same lady as the beginning. The lady comes out of a shop and sees the same baby in her cart. Suddenly, Charles starts walking around so the woman sees him. She starts to chase and hit Charles and she gives back the baby to him. Finally, Charles sits down on the street while he has the baby in his arms. He takes the decision to take care of the baby.
	70.0	Female	21	8	13	ES_VR_B2_21_13_14IRT	In this video, we can see Charles Chaplin walking around smoking a cigarette in the middle of the street when suddenly, something falls down in him. He gets a little annoyed and gets another cigarette. Right after that, he finds an abandoned baby on the floor next to him. He decides to get him/her and tries to give it to different people. Firstly, he tries to give the baby to a lady who already has one on her own, he says "Pardon me, you dropped something." The lady gets angry and gives the baby back to him. He comes back to the place where he found it and leaves it on the floor. However, a policeman sees him and he has the obligation to take it again. Now, he leaves the baby to a man he finds walking in the street and starts running. This man leaves it in the lady's pram we saw at first, when the lady realises she gets really angry and gives the baby to Charles Chaplin again. At the end, we see him quite happy with the baby and we guess he has decided to keep it.
	68.3	Female	21	6	15	ES_WR_B2_21_15_14_RCC	Chaplin is walking down the street, where there are a lot of reformations, and meanwhile he is smoking a cigarette. Then he realises that there is an abandoned baby next to a wall. He thinks that the baby's mother is a lady who has already had another baby and he tries to leave the baby to an old man until he discovers a paper that begs for care and attention to the baby. Consequently, he decides to look after the baby.
	76.7	Female	21	4	17	ES_WR_B2_21_17_14_VCR	The video is a short film by Charles Chaplin, in which he finds an abandoned baby while he's walking on the street. Then he sees a woman with a stroller, walking around another baby so Chaplin mistakenly thinks that the baby he's just found is hers too. He leaves the baby in the stroller, but the woman fights back at him as that baby is not hers. Chaplin takes again the baby in his arms and proceeds to leave him again where he found him in the ground, but the policeman approaches him from his back and tells Chaplin off for abandoning the baby. Chaplin takes the baby once more and in the moment he encounters with another man, he puts the baby in the man's arms and, when the man gets distracted, runs away. The strange man looks strangely at the baby, and as Chaplin did shortly before, leaves the baby again in the woman's stroller, which is stopped in front of a shop. The man escapes, but right in that moment Chaplin walks past the shop and the woman goes running after him and hits him repeatedly with her umbrella, until Chaplin takes again the baby from the stroller. Chaplin sits on the sidewalk with the baby on his lap, and discovers a letter folded in the baby's blanket: It turns out that the baby is an orphan and needs someone who can protect and care for him, which Chaplin does in the end of the video.
	71.7	Female	22	12	10	ES_WR_B2_22_10_14_ASMR	This scene belongs to the film The Kid by Charles Chaplin. At first, it shows Charles Chaplin going for a walk and smoking a cigarette. There is a man throwing rubbish through the window. During his walk he finds an abandoned little baby crying next to a trash bin. He tries to find her mother and tries to give the baby to every single person he finds; first to a woman that is wearing a little child in his buggy. But the woman rejects him because he is not his baby. Then Chaplin decides to leave the baby where he finds him, but a police officer appears and decides to carry the baby with him. Later, he sees an old man and leaves the baby with him while he is tying his laces. Then, the old man sees the buggy's woman and leaves the baby there and runs away. The woman realizes that again the abandoned baby is on his buggy and sees Chaplin walking over there, so she gives him the baby once again. Finally, Chaplin discovers that the baby is wearing a note that says 'please love and care for this orphaned child', and he can't abandon this little child another time.
	68.3	Male	22	6	16	ES_WR_B2_22_16_14_JEH	Chaplin is passing through a narrow street and he finds a baby. He thinks the baby belongs to the woman with another baby, but he is wrong and the woman gives the baby back to him. Chaplin puts the baby down again, but a police officer tells him he cannot do it. Chaplin takes the baby again and, while he pretends he is touching his shoes, he asks a man to hold the baby and Chaplin runs away. The man with the baby gives him back to the lady and the lady sees Chaplin and she gives him the baby. At the end Chaplin finds a note in the baby's clothes whose words say that he had to love him.
	71.7	Female	22	10	12	ES_WR_B2_22_12_14_AHP	Chaplin's character was walking around the street when he sees that there's a baby abandoned in the middle of the street. He grabs him and, as he didn't know what to do with the poor baby, he drops him or her in a baby carriage of a woman he comes up to. But the woman gets mad about it and Chaplin has to take the baby back and leave him or her back in the street. Then, another man shows up and grabs the baby as well but he doesn't know what to do with him or her, so, again, he leaves the baby in the same baby carriage that he finds while the owner is not looking. As the police is watching around, these characters are trying to escape from him. Finally, Chaplin has to grab the baby again, but he discovers a note that the baby has hidden between the blankets. This note says to take care of the baby with love, so that is what Chaplin finally does.

	68.3	Female	22	6	16	<p>It is about Charles Chaplin, he is walking in the street when he notices that people is throwing some rubbish through the window. Although he tries to avoid that, he can not and some of the rubbish is thrown upon him and that makes him loses his cigarette. Then, he takes a can from his pocket that contains some more cigarettes and gets another one. Suddenly, he finds an abandoned baby near the bins, he does not know what the baby is doing there. So, he decides to take the baby and look for their parents but Charles does not find anyone in the street, the only person he sees is a woman who is carrying a little baby car and he decides to leave the baby in that car. When the woman notices that, she begins to tell him very angrily that it is not her baby, he takes the baby again and he is going to leave it in the same place where he found it but in a sudden the police is behind him, so he takes the baby as if nothing were happening. He goes left and he finds a man who is walking, he says to him that if he could maintain the baby whereas he makes something with his shoes and rapidly, he runs away and abandons the baby. The man with the baby chases after him but he does not find him. The only thing he finds is newly the woman with the baby car, so he puts the baby there again and leaves the place. When the woman realises that the baby is there, she thinks that Chaplin has put the baby again on his baby car. On the other hand, Chaplin is trying to avoid the police everytime, she sees him and he starts to run just in the direction which the angry woman is. The woman chases after him thinking that he was the one who put the baby in his car and she hits Chaplin with an umbrella. Chaplin does not know what to do with the baby, then he discovers that the baby has a note within the clothes that says something like "Take after him" and he finally adopts the baby.</p>
	76.7	Female	23	8	15	<p>In this video, we can see Chaplin is walking around the poor part of the city. He takes one cigarette when he hears the crying of a baby. The baby is lying on the floor, so Chaplin takes the boy and he looks around to find if his mother or any member of the family of that baby is near it. In that moment a woman goes through and Chaplin thought she was the mother of that baby. Chaplin proudly gives the baby to the woman and he leaves. However it's not her son and the woman runs after Chaplin and hits him with an umbrella. Therefore Chaplin takes again the baby and put him back where he found it. Unfortunately a policeman saw what he was doing and Chaplin, afraid that the cop took him to the jail, takes again the baby with him. He tries to give the baby to a lame man but again did not work. At the end, Chaplin sits down on the street and he saw a little piece of sheet inside the baby's clothes. It says that he was an orphan so someone please take care of him so Chaplin feels sorry for the baby and adopts him.</p>
	76.7	Male	23	8	15	<p>At the beginning of the video we can see a man smoking, walking in a funny way and trying to avoid rubbish that someone is throwing away through the window. However, a second person hit him with the rubbish and annoyed, he begins to prepare another cigarette since the first one is now off. When he finishes, he finds a baby next to a bin and decides to take him. By chance, he finds a woman with another baby and goes to give her the baby he has just found, but the woman tells him to go away with him because the baby doesn't belong to her. After that confusion, the man tries to return the baby back to where it was, next to the bin, but a policeman discovers him and he takes the baby and goes in another direction. Suddenly he finds another man and lies to him to take the baby because he is supposedly preparing his shoes, but runs away. This new man runs following the other and leave the baby just next to another baby, which is the same one from the woman at the beginning. When the woman comes out of the shop, the first man is passing by and she thinks that he tried to give her back the found baby again so she hits him. After an argument in which the woman tries to force him to take the baby and go away, the policeman comes back and the man has no other option, he takes the baby and leaves. After a while thinking about how to get rid of the baby, the man finds a letter inside of the baby's clothes asking someone to love and care for the baby. He feels sorry for the baby and finally decides to keep him.</p>
	76.7	Male	25	6	19	<p>Chaplin is walking on the street while some women are throwing rubbish from their windows. Once he has insulted the last of these people, Chaplin lights a cigarette. He throws his old gloves to the rubbish and, suddenly, he discovers a crying baby on the floor. He takes the baby and, while he was thinking that it had fallen from the buildings, he sees a woman with a baby car (with another baby in it). Chaplin gives her the baby, but she aggressively refuses him. He is about to abandon the baby where he first found him, but a policeman catches him. Chaplin takes the baby again and this time he gives him to an old man with a long beard. Chaplin runs and hides on a corner. Curiously enough, the old man puts the baby on the woman's baby car, and when Chaplin is walking next to it, the woman discovers the baby. She gets angry and violently hits Chaplin with her umbrella, forcing him to take the baby away. The policeman arrives and Chaplin has to run away with the baby. He then sits down on the street and finds a note within the baby's clothes: "Please love and care for this orphan child". Chaplin's attitude changes: he kindly looks to the baby, smiles and goes away carrying him.</p>
	90.0	Female	18	4	13	<p>Chaplin is walking down the street when he suddenly finds a baby lying on the floor. He sees a woman with a baby carriage so he thinks the baby is hers, but when he puts the baby in the carriage, the woman starts to scream at him angrily, so he takes the baby again. Then he decides to let the baby lying on the floor where he has found it, but a policeman appears and Chaplin decides to take the baby again. He sees an old man then. He gives him the baby and he runs. The old man decides to put the baby in a carriage baby. This is the carriage baby of the same woman who screamed at Chaplin at the beginning!. Then she realizes that the wrong baby is again in her carriage and she sees Chaplin, she hits him with her umbrella and he takes the baby again. He is thinking about another idea when he finds a letter hidden in the clothes of the baby. In that letter, someone wrote that the child was an orphan and asked for love and care. Then, Chaplin decides to keep the baby and they both leave.</p>

ES_WR_C1_19_11_14_MOR	83.3	Male	19	8	11	A tramp is walking towards the camera from the background. In spite of his worn-out clothes, he looks pretty classy and elegant: he is wearing a black suit and a bowler hat, and also uses a cane. After having been beaten by some rubbish that have fallen from a window, he searches for a cigar, takes one of the fag-ends that he keeps in a cigarette case, and, after taking off his ragged gloves, he lights it with a match and throw the gloves away. Suddenly, the tramp finds a baby who is weeping desperately on the floor next to some bins. He picks him up and looks up to see if the baby has fallen from a window too. Then, a woman with a pram passes in front of them and the tramp runs to her to give her the baby, since he thinks she has dropped him accidentally. The woman, who already has a baby of her own, seems to be really upset with the tramp and tells him that that baby is not hers, so the tramp takes him back and put him in the same spot where he found him. However, a police officer is just behind him and the tramp picks up the baby again from the floor. After that, he asks a bearded man to hold the baby for a moment so he can lace his shoe, but that is just a trick to get rid of him and run away. Next, the bearded man follows the tramp to give the baby back to him, but does not find him and puts the baby in the woman's pram instead. When the woman finds that the tramp's baby is in her pram again, she hits him with her umbrella, the police officer arrives and she accuses the tramp of abandoning the baby, so he takes him back.
ES_WR_C1_21_10_14_PLH	80.0	Female	21	12	10	The tramp does not know what to do with the baby. He sits on the sidewalk for a moment and thinks of dropping him in the gutter, but repents of it. Then, the tramp finds a note hidden in the baby's clothes: it asks whoever who find the baby to love and take care of him. After reading the note, the tramp smiles cheerfully at the baby and walks away with him.
ES_WR_C1_20_12_14_CAG	86.7	Male	20	8	12	In the video we can see Charles Chaplin walking down a street, while people throw the trash out the window. Suddenly, a bag full of rubbish hits him and he gets very angry. Then, he takes a metallic box from his pocket which is full with cigars, puts one in his mouth and lights it. After that, he takes his gloves off and throws them into a litter bin. He keeps walking but suddenly he finds a baby crying on the floor. He takes the baby in his arms and takes a look around to see where his mother is. Then he sees a lady walking with a baby in a stroller and Chaplin puts the baby he found in the stroller with him. He tells the lady she has dropped the baby, but she tells him that the baby is not hers and leaves very angry. Then, Chaplin takes the found baby and puts him in the place where he found it. In the meanwhile a police officer watches him, so he has to take the baby again and keep walking. Then he finds an old man, gives him the baby while pretending he is tying his shoes, and runs away. The old man, then follows him and finds the same lady with the stroller where he leaves the baby and runs away. When the lady sees Chaplin passing by, she thinks he has put again the baby in her stroller, so she attacks him with an umbrella. Then Chaplin is forced to take the baby with him and they sit together on the street. Finally he finds a note under the baby's clothes where it read that the baby was orphan, so he decides to take care of him.
ES_WR_C1_24_18_14_CRJ	80.0	Female	24	6	18	Chaplin was taking a walk and smoking when suddenly he found a baby abandoned in the street. He saw a woman with a baby carriage and he thought that the baby was hers, but she said to him that it was not, so he decided to leave the baby where he had found it, but he couldn't because a police officer was watching him. Then he asked a man to grab the baby for a moment, and he ran away. The man with the baby couldn't find him, so he left the baby in the baby carriage of the woman, and she returned it again to Chaplin. Finally, he found a note which said that the baby was an orphan, and he decided to keep it.
ES_WR_C1_21_13_14_AOV	85.0	Male	21	8	13	At the beginning we see Chaplin walking down a road when someone suddenly hits him with rubbish thrown from the window. After that, he gets out of his pocket a metal box from which he takes a cigarette end that he lights and starts to smoke. He intends to continue walking, but a baby wrapped in sheets calls his attention. He takes the child in his arms and thinks what to do while a woman passes by with a baby trolley and goes towards her, thinking that was her baby. But it wasn't, so the woman angrily tells him to take the kid and go and so does Chaplin. His next idea is to leave the kid in the same spot he found him, so whoever had lost him could find him, but a police officer sees him and thinks he is abandoning the baby so he takes him again and leaves. Desperate, he finds a man to whom he asks to grab the baby and, while he pretends to tie his shoelaces, runs away and hides. At the same time, the other man leaves the baby in a baby trolley he finds in the street, which is by chance the same woman's one. Chaplin gets out of his hideout and when the woman sees him, she hits him repeatedly and starts arguing with him to take the child. In that moment, the policeman comes and Chaplin is forced to take the baby again. At the end Chaplin sits to think what to do and finds between the baby's sheets a note asking to take care of him since he is an orphan. Chaplin gets up and finally walks away with the baby.

ES_WR_C1_21_13_14_MIRP	80.0	Female	21	8	13	<p>One morning, a gentleman with a peculiar hat and a moustache walks by the side of an alleyway, he is thrown debris and litter by the rude neighbours. In a hault, he stops to light a cigarette, and suddenly he realises that there is a small baby abandoned in the street. Where did that baby come from? Immediately after, he tries to leave the baby on the stroller of a nearby woman. Is the newborn hers? She complains and leaves. Then, the gentleman goes again to the corner he found the baby and he gently places the little creature on the pavement. Soon, he regrets his choice by seeing a policeman just behind his back. He takes the baby and walks away, he approaches to an old bearded man and tries to give him the child by distracting him. The curious hat-man runs and runs. He hides from the bearded man. Again, the same stroller appears and the old man is tempted to leave the baby there. From a near shop, the woman comes out and thinks that the hat-man gentleman has for a second time left the baby in her stroller. Angrylly, she bets the gentleman again and again with the help of an umbrella. Few seconds after and the policeman appears and the gentleman is forced to take the baby with him. He carries the baby through an alley and sits down. He hesitates what to do with the little one, but then he finds a paper note that triggers his feelings. "Please love and care for this orphan child". He smiles and takes the baby in his hands.</p>
ES_WR_C1_24_18_14_ARM	88.3	Female	24	6	18	<p>Chaplin is walking down the street while some neighbours are throwing rubbish through the window so it drops on him twice. Then he takes a cigarette out of a box and lights it with a match. After that, he finds a baby alone and picks him up. He sees a woman pushing a pram who seems to be looking for something, so he leaves the baby in the pram when the woman is not looking. She notices and tells him not to leave the baby there as it is not hers. He considers to leave it where he found it but a policeman appears, therefore he can't. He keeps on walking and sees another man, who is asked to hold the baby for a moment and then Chaplin runs away. This man carries the baby and sees the same woman with the pram and he leaves the baby in there again and walks away. When the woman notices, Chaplin passes her by chance and she blames him. The policeman appears again so Chaplin has to take the baby again. Finally, he sits on the pavement and, considering what to do with the baby, he finds a note asking to love and care the orphan child, so he decides to keep it.</p>
ES_WR_C1_1 9_13_14_IM PA	80.0	Female	19	6	13	<p>This video tells the story of a man called Charles Chaplin who finds a baby in an industrial city. Charles is poor man who was having a stroll and smoking when he found an abandoned kid on the floor. He tried to give the kid to a woman that already had her own baby. The woman tell him off for doing that and Chaplin ran away. Then, he tried to leave the kid in the same place where he found him. But surprisingly, a policeman was there and didn't let him leave the child. After all, Charles faced the situation and decided to look after the child.</p>
ES_WR_C1_21_8_14_LAR	86.7	Female	21	9	8	<p>Chaplin is walking on a street and trash is thrown down onto him from above. He opens a pack of cigarettes and takes off his gloves in order to light one with a matchstick. He finds a crying baby lying on the floor and picks the baby up. He runs towards a trolley where he sees another baby and tells the mother of the second baby that she dropped her other baby, but she scolds him and he takes the baby and goes away. He is proceeding to leave the baby where he found it but a police officer comes by and he is forced to take back the baby. He finds a man with a limp and drops the baby on that man's arms and runs away. The man chases after him and he hides, so the man drops the baby in the previous trolley again and runs away. When Chaplin passes by the trolley, the mom sees him and chases him while scolding him so he picks up the baby and take it out of the trolley. The police officer is nearby so Chaplin feels responsible for picking up the baby and after walking with it in his arms, he sits down next to a sewer and opens it while contemplating the option of throwing the baby down, but soon after he discovers a letter which was wrapped in the baby's blanket which says something along the lines "please take good care of me", so he smiles at that and decides to keep the baby.</p>

ES_WR_C2_21_14_14_ETC	91.7	Female	21	6	14	<p>Charles is smoking while walking down an alley in what seems to be a lower-class neighbourhood. Everything is covered in dust and dirt and people are throwing their trash out of the window, and as it is to be expected, Charles gets bathed with one of these garbage rains. He looks up at the person in the window and screams some obscenities before taking a small box out of his blazer to get another cigarette since the one he was previously smoking fell off his mouth with the impact. Putting the box back in its original place and ungloving his hands, Charles takes a match out of his waistcoat pocket and lights it using the sole of his shoe and proceeds to start his cigarette, getting rid of his gloves and throwing them into a trash can near him right after. He's just dusted his hands and taken the first puff when he hears a noise. Looking down to his left he sees a baby wrapped in some thin sheets and blankets lying on the ground. Charles bends down and checks under covers to make sure it is in a baby and then looks around confusedly, trying to find someone, probably someone who could be this kid's parent. Seeing, there's no one, he picks it up, and that's when a woman with a stroller passes by. Charles calls her up but the woman doesn't hear him, so he walks after her. However, when he catches up and gets to the stroller, the woman is nowhere to be seen, so he does what he considers logical and puts the baby in it, next to the woman's kid. The woman reappears seconds after and Charles tells her "she's dropped something" and attempts to leave, but the woman won't let him. Gesticulating and making her anger very visible, she gets Charles to take the baby back into his arms, but not before he mistakenly tries to pick up the wrong kid, which only makes the woman more agitated. After the encounter both people go their separate ways, Charles going back to the corner where he found the baby with the intention of leaving him there, never realising he's being watched by a police officer that's standing right behind him. The baby barely gets the chance to touch the ground because, as soon as Charles turns around and sees the expression of the imposing officer, he quickly changes his mind and picks the baby back up, walking away from the officer immediately. Once he's far enough, Charles tries his luck again. Seeing an old man, he stops him and gets him to hold the baby with the excuse of needing to tie his shoes. Charles kneels down just long enough for the old man to believe the lie before he sets off running to go and hide. The old man goes in his search, but not being able to find him, decides to do what Charles had done earlier and puts the baby in the woman's stroller that is now next to a shoe store and runs away. The woman shows up a moment later and is looking at the two babies incredulously when she sees Charles, who's has left his hiding place, walk past her without a care. She runs after him and attacks him from behind with her big umbrella, tackling him down to the ground where she keeps hitting him. This diverts into a heated discussion that only finishes when the police officer reappears and both the woman and Charles leave with their respective babies. Charles then sits on the pavement, with the baby still in his arms, contemplating what to do next. A manhole cover next to him catches then his attention. He lifts it up, briefly considering whether he could do what he's thinking of doing, but then disregards the idea within a second. It's then, looking at the baby, that he realises there's a note stuck to its clothes, a note which reads "Please, love and care for this orphan kid". Charles doesn't have the heart to get rid of the kid after that. He looks down at the kid and smiles. Taking the walking stick he had laid next to him on the pavement, he gets up and leaves, holding the baby protectively against his chest.</p>
ES_WR_C2_30_24_14_RSR	91.7	Female	30	6	24	<p>At the beginning of the video, we can see Charles Chaplin in the background walking towards the foreground. While he is walking and smoking, somebody is throwing debris to the street from a window. He keeps walking. Then, near some rubbish bins, some rubbish falls on him from above. He looks up to see who did that and retrieves a metal box from his jacket pocket. Inside, cigars and cigarettes can be found. He takes a cigarette and removes his gloves; after that, he lights a match in his right sole to light his cigarette. Then, he throws his gloves away and looks to his left. There, next to the rubbish bins, a baby, wrapped in blankets, lies on the floor. He touches the baby carefully and looks around as if trying to find whose baby this is. Since he finds nobody, he holds the baby. While he is trying to find its parents, a woman pulling a baby stroller appears in the background. He calls her and runs towards her. And, immediately after reaching her, he places the baby in the stroller, where there is already another baby. The woman, surprised, starts yelling at him and tells him to hold the baby again, as it is assumed it is not hers. He obeys, but almost takes the wrong baby. Finally, he retrieves the right baby from the stroller and runs away from the woman. He goes back to the corner where he found the baby and puts it in the same place. A police officer appears. He blows a kiss to the baby but after seeing the police officer he takes the baby again. He starts walking and sees another man, with a cane, on his way. He asks him to hold the baby while he cleans his shoes as he stepped into a muddy puddle. Once the stranger is holding the baby, Chaplin runs away. The stranger follows him as fast as he can, but Chaplin finds a place with a door open and hides there. In his search, the stranger finds the abovementioned stroller and, since nobody is watching it, he puts the baby inside and runs. When Chaplin leaves his secret place he finds the police officer on his way so he starts walking fast in the opposite direction. Then, the previous woman returns to her stroller and finds two babies instead of one. So, when Chaplin passes by them, she calls him in the middle of the street. However, he pretends not to have heard anything and keeps walking. So she starts running after him and hits his head with her umbrella until he is lying on the floor. She grabs him and takes him with her until they both reach the stroller. Then, she warns him to take the baby. In fact, as the police officers passes by, she calls him to inform about their situation. Finally, Chaplin takes the baby again and everybody resumes their way. After a few steps, Chaplin drops his cane by a sewer. So he sits down to retrieve it and lifts the top of the sewer thinking about putting the baby there. Nevertheless, he thinks twice and rejects this idea. While he is figuring out how to hold the baby and his cane at the same time, he finds a letter between the baby's blankets indicating to love and care for that orphan child. After reading it, Chaplin feels sorry for the baby, keeps the letter in his inner pocket and smiles at the baby. He stands up and eventually takes the baby with him.</p>

ES_WR_C2_29_20_14_MCMs	93.3	Female	29	8	20	<p>The story starts with the tramp roaming through a street surrounded by decaying buildings. As he walks past the buildings, some of the people inside throw rubbish out the windows, hitting the tramp. When he reaches the foreground, and after cursing the last person who's thrown his or her rubbish on him, he searches for his cigarette box in his jacket pockets. There are only butts in his box, but he lights one and smokes. He removes his mittens in the process to do it more easily, but then decides to just throw them away instead of putting them back on or in his pocket.</p> <p>At that precise moment he hears a baby crying next to him, and finds him on the ground, wrapped in some blankets, by a rubbish can. The tramp looks up, thinking that maybe someone has thrown the baby away through the window with the trash. He lifts the infant. Behind him a lady passes with a pushchair. The tramp sees her and walks up to her to give her the child--"Excuse me, you've dropped something"--says the tramp to her. If he is either innocently trying to return the baby to his mother, or cunningly trying to get rid of the child, we are not told; his attitude is ambiguous. The tramp then tries to leave the baby in the pushchair. The lady, outraged by what she perceives as the tramp's knavery, rebukes him severely and forces him to take the baby back with him. When Charlot is about to leave the child back where he found him, a policeman catches him red-handed, so he sees himself in the obligation to take the baby with him again. After that, he comes across a bearded hobo, and pretends he has to do his shoelace to ask him to hold the baby for a second, taking advantage of this to escape without the baby. He runs off and hides; the bearded vagabond looks for him, but, unable to find Charlot, he tries to leave the baby in a pushchair he sees at the door of a shoe-shop. He walks off. Charlot gets out of his hideout, but stumbles upon the police officer, which makes him turn around and take the opposite direction. The lady he encountered before steps out of the shop where the pushchair was, and just at that moment he passes by. This coincidence makes the lady think it is him again who has tried to sneak another baby in her pushchair. This time the furious lady beats the tramp violently with her umbrella. The policeman arrives while they are quarreling, and in consequence the tramp has no choice but to take the baby again with him. As he wanders along the sidewalk with the child in his arms, the tramp drops his cane stick. He sits on the curb, picks up his stick and suddenly notices the gutter. He considers for a dramatic moment to throw the baby down the gutter, but discards the brutish option. He begins examining the child, who bites his finger. Thus, he finds a piece of paper among the baby's clothes, with a message written on it: "Please love and care for this orphan child". This message at last convinces him to take responsibility. He smiles at the baby, gets up and walks off with him.</p>
ES_WR_C2_2 3_18_14_TO TTI	93.3	Female	23	4	18	In this video, we can see an extract from the silent movie "The Kid" starring by Charles Chaplin. In this scene, Charles Chaplin has found an orphan baby. Firstly, he didn't want the responsibility of caring him and he tried to get rid of that baby. Unfortunately, he didn't success but he got attached to him and tried to become softer. Finally, he decided to take on this baby. They look adorable when they are together.
ES_WR_C2_2 4_8_14_MM R	93.3	Female	24	6	8	We see Charlie Chaplin walking through a rough neighborhood when he discovers a baby amongst the trashcans. He then proceeds to give it to a woman with a baby stroller. When she angrily tells him that the baby is not hers, Charlie tries to put the baby back where he found it. After a series of misunderstandings that includes an altercation with a policeman, he realizes (via a note found inside the baby's blanket) that the kid is an orphan. At the end, he decides to care for the infant.
ES_WR_C2_21_13_14_MSG	96.7	Female	21	9	13	He is walking in the street and someone is throwing something out the window. Another person is throwing rubbish and it hits him. After that he takes a cigarette and he starts smoking. He finds a baby who is crying and he starts looking in every direction to see if he finds someone. He sees a woman with another baby and he thinks the baby is hers and he tells her: 'Pardon me, you dropped something.' The woman seems to be saying the baby is not hers and he takes the baby back again and when he is going to put him/her where he found her/him a police man sees him abandoning the baby so he picks the baby up again. He gives the baby to a man in the street while he pretends to tie his shoelaces and then he runs away. The man follows him and when he does not find him the man decides to put the baby in the stroller again. The woman comes back to the stroller and she finds a second baby again but in that moment Chaplin is walking next to her so she starts hitting him with an umbrella. The police man appears again and the woman seems to be telling him that Chaplin was abandoning the baby so he takes it back. Chaplin finds a note which says to take care of the orphan baby.
ES_WR_C2_2 3_18_14_LA M	96.7	Female	23	5	18	While walking on the street, Charles Chaplin finds a baby on the ground. He tries to give it back to its mother, and get rid of it by leaving it where it was found and passing it to another man, but eventually the baby is given back to him and he finds himself stuck with it. Finally, Chaplin finds a note hidden in the baby's blankets saying that the baby needs someone to love it and care for it.
ES_WR_C2_19_15_14_LP	100.0	Female	19	4	15	Charles Chaplin is walking down a narrow and dilapidated street. He is struggling to avoid the rubble while smoking a cigar when he suddenly sees a baby lying on the floor. He picks it up and brings it to a woman carrying a pram, who refuses to take him though. Back with the baby, Chaplin gives the kid this time to an old man, trying to avoid the policeman who is following him. However, the old man puts the baby again in the pram of the woman, making her mad. Chaplin has no option but to take the kid and leave. He finally ends pitying the baby and taking care of him.

## L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers

FILENAME	TEST % SCORE	PLACEMENT					TEXT
		SEX	AGE	AoO	LoI		
EN_WR_19_23_3_14_EN	44.2	Female	23	17	3		<p>La escena empieza con Charlie caminando por un callejón, y las cosas son arrojadas por la ventana. Sigue caminando por el callejón y luego procede a sacar un cigarrillo de un cartón, se quita los guantes y luego golpea un fósforo fuera de su zapato. Despues de encender el fósforo, él tira aways sus guantes. Mientras que Charlie fumar, apagado a la izquierda, es un bebé que llorando en el piso. Mira y luego recoge al bebé. Mientras recoge al bebé, pasa una mujer con un bebé en el cochecito. Charlie procede a decirle a la mujer que piensa que dejó caer a su bebé. Charlie agarra al bebé y lo coloca en su cochecito. La mujer se enoja por sus acciones y se ve obligado a recoger al bebé. Él regresa a donde estaba el bebé y mientras está acostado al bebé, un oficial de policía se acerca a él y Charlie recoge al bebé y se va. Trate de dar al bebé a un extraño y el hombre corre tratando de encontrar a Charlie. Se tropieza con la mujer con el coche de bebé desde antes y deja caer al bebé en el carro. Charlie camina más allá de la mujer y ella lo golpea sobre la cabeza con un paraguas. Ella entonces banderas abajo el policía y Charlie termina para arriba con el bebé otra vez. Él termina de sentarse en la acera y descubre una nota que dice "por favor, el amor y el cuidado de este niño huérfano". La escena termina con Charlie caminando con el bebé en sus brazos.</p>
EN_WR_15_29_1_14_IM	34.9	Male	29	28	1		<p>Realmente disfruté de la película que acabo de ver sobre Charlie Chaplin. Este cortometraje era sobre Chaplin se encontró con un bebé vivo mientras caminaba por un estrecho dispar. Él pensó que el bebé era una señora que tenía un cochecito con un bebé ya dentro y se enteró de que no lo era. Se podría decir que no quería la responsabilidad así que siguió tratando de entregar el bebé a alguien con fuera de poner el bebé de vuelta en el callejón. Al final, él ve una nota diciendo que el bebé es huérfano y por favor ama al bebé. Entonces sintió que debía.</p>
EN_WR_20_22_05_1_4_KR	46.5	Female	22	22	0.5		<p>La gente estaba tirando objetos de sus ventanas. Un hombre caminando vio un bebé en el suelo. Buscó a los padres pero no vio a nadie. Le dio el bebé a una mujer. La mujer no quería al niño. El hombre dio al bebé a otra persona, pero el hombre devolvió al niño a la mujer. Al final tomó al bebé.</p> <p>La gente estaba tirando objetos de sus ventanas. Un hombre caminando vio un bebé en el suelo. Buscó a los padres pero no vio a nadie. Le dio el bebé a una mujer. La mujer no quería al niño. El hombre dio al bebé a otra persona, pero el hombre devolvió al niño a la mujer. Al final tomó al bebé.</p>
EN_WR_19_1_9_4_5_14_SV	44.2	Female	19	15	4.5		<p>Charlie chaplin está caminando por la calle fumando un cigarro. Él tiene un bastón. Parte del edificio cae sobre él y enciende un cigarro nuevo. Entonces él encuentra un bebé. Él trata de regalarle el bebé a una mujer que no lo quiere. Le devuelve al bebé de nuevo, pero termina en la carriola y la mujer golpea a Charlie. Charlie se aleja y el oficial de policía todavía lo está mirando. Charlie termina quedándose con el bebé.</p>
EN_WR_17_2_0_2_5_14_EO	39.5	Female	20	15	2.5		<p>El hombre está caminando alrededor de la ciudad. El hombre encuentra un bebe. El hombre trata encontrar la madre. El poné bebe en la madre en el carro. La madre no esta contenta, es no su bebe. El hombre poniendo bebe en el suelo. La policía be que sigue poniendo bebe en el suelo. La policía mira enojado. El hombre levanta un bebe. El hombre ve una nota para amar un bebe. El hombre ama una bebe. El hombre es muy contento.</p>
EN_WR_13_2_1_10_14_AP	30.2	Female	21	12	10		<p>Habia un caballero que encontró a un bebé y n hizo saber que hacer con el bebe. lo aplazo donde lo encontró pero el policía le vio.Puso al bebe un carro de mujer su otro hijo. el engañar a un hombre para llevar al bebe y el hombre puso al bebe en el carro con niño. La mujer estaba enojada con vencer al hombre. Al final el bebe estuvo de vuelta en manos de hombre y encontró una nota. la nota decia que amar a este bebe. El hombre se llevo el el bebe a casa con el.</p>
EN_WR_17_2_2_1_14_KP	39.5	Female	22	1	1		<p>Charles Chaplin estaba ocupado fumando cuando vio a un bebé tendido en el suelo. Él decidió recoger al bebé. Trató de regalarle el bebé a una mujer que ya tenía otro bebé y luego a un anciano que fue a darle el bebé a la misma mujer que Charles trató de dar , pero el terminó en sus brazos y encontró una nota en la ropa del bebé diciendo "por favor ama y cuida a este niño Huérfano" y decidió quedar con el bebé.</p>
EN_WR_20_2_1_4_14_PKO	46.5	Female	21	13	4		<p>El video era sobre los viejos tiempos. El hombre bien vestido encontro un bebe junto a la basura. El selecto arriba el bebe y probado a encontrar un seguro el lugar a dejarlo. Despues de que el encontro una carta que la madre se fue porque ella ya no puede cuidar del bebe. El hombre decidio quedarse con el bebe y cuidar de lo. i do not know what else to write. i already did my best with the previous sentences i wrote.</p>

EN_WR_16_2 4_3_14_SM	37.2	Male	24	18	3	Hay un hombre que encuentra un bebé. El hombre busca el dueño y trata de pasarselo a una mujer. La mujer niega al bebé. El hombre pone al bebé en el suelo, pero una policía mira. Luego el hombre lo encuentra otro hombre y pase el bebé a él. Ese hombre tompoco no quiere el bebé, encuentra otra persona a darselo. El bebé termina en las manos del hombre otra vez, y ve que el bebé tenía una nota. Al final el hombre decide mantener el bebé.
EN_WR_20_1 8_2_14_SA	46.5	Female	18	8	2	Charles encontró a un bebé llorando en el piso. Estaba tratando de averiguar de dónde venía. Encontró a una señora con un cochecito de bebé, pero el bebé no pertenecía a ella. Charles puso al bebé de vuelta donde lo encontró. Alguien lo vio poniendo al bebé de nuevo en el suelo. Le dio el bebé a un anciano y huyó. Ese tipo dejó al bebé junto con otro bebé en un carriaje que quedó desatendido. La señora regresó y vio a otro bebé.
EN_WR_18_2 3_1_14_AAG	41.9	Male	23	22	1	Señor Chaplin es caminando y fumando. La gente tira basura a él desde las ventanas él encuentra un bebé durante su caminar. El trata de darle el bebé a otras personas. Una madre no quiere el bebé, el bebé es no ella. El regresa el bebé a la calle pero la policía lo ve. El da el bebé a un hombre. El hombre da el bebé a la madre. La madre golpea a Charlie con un paraguas. Al final Charlie se sienta y lee la carta del bebé. El toma al bebé.
EN_WR_15_1 9_1_14_YD	34.9	Female	19	18	1	El hombre le gustan fumar. El es tonto. El hombre vea un bebé y tomas el bebé a la mujer. Pero el bebé fue no ella. El hombre toma el bebé y vea una nota que el hombre toma. El hombre no fuma cuando el tiene el bebé porque es malo. El bebé quiere tranquilidad y comida. El bebé quiere leche y nueva vestida. Cuando el hombre vea la policía el corre porque el no quiere problema con ustedes. Cuando el vea la mujer el quiere ella tomar le bebé.
EN_WR_18_2 0_1_14_A M	41.9	Female	20	16	1.5	Uno hombre camino. Él necesita un luz. Él veía un bebé con no padres. Él no quiere la bebé. La policía dije él no lleva el bebé aquí y él lleva con el bebé. Él puede el niño en una la carro de una mujer. Ella no quiere el bebé porque ella tiene un otra bebé. La mujer usa un sombrilla a el hombre. Pero en el fin él tiene la bebé porque el bebé tiene no padres. Él este una padre ahora.
EN_WR_19_22_4_14_EJ	44.2	Female	22	13	4	Hay un hombre y ha fumada. Este hombre es caminando y después ayuda un niño. Hay una policía, y una mujer, y un extraño hombre. En el primero, Charlie no quiere el niño. Después, Charlie recibe una escrita y el niño es ahora en el familia. Hay un hombre y ha fumada. Este hombre es caminando y después ayuda un niño. Hay una policía, y una mujer, y un extraño hombre. En el primero, Charlie no quiere el niño. Después, Charlie recibe una escrita y el niño es ahora en el familia. El musicista es Bueno. No es nadia comida en este película, y no es una perros.
EN_WR_21_2 1_4_14_AS	48.8	Male	21	17	4	El video está en negro y blanco. El video está más viejo. El tiene una gorra. El fume un cigarette. El mira un bebé. El no se donde está el madre o el padre. El regresa el bebé a una señora. La señora tiene un bebé. El regresa el bebé al basura y una policía no le gustan él. El zapato necesito nuevo y el corre rápido. El policía no está intelectual. Por fin, él le gustan el bebé y quiere el corazón.
EN_WR_23_1 9_1_14_STS	53.5	Female	19	13	1	En la película con Charlie Chaplin, él encontró un bebé que no tiene casa o padres. Charlie no sabe qué hace. El le dar el bebé a una mujer que tiene un bebé. Pero ella no quiere el bebé. La mujer pegar Charlie con una sombrilla. Todo día el policía veo a Charlie. Entonces, Charlie dar bebé para un hombre viejo. Pero el hombre dar el bebé a la mujer también. Finalmente, Charlie tome el bebé un vez mas y amor el bebé.
EN_WR_23_2 1_4_14_JRD	53.5	Female	21	15	4	Chaplin encuentra un bebé. Ve a una mujer caminando con un cochecito, así que le da el bebé. No es su bebé. Él vuelve a poner al bebé de lo encontró, pero el oficial de policía pasa, así que recoge al bebé de nuevo. Ve a un hombre caminando y le da el bebé. El hombre da el bebé a la mujer con el cochecito. La mujer le devuelve el bebé a Chaplin. Chaplin encuentra una nota que dice: "Por favor, el amor y el cuidado de este niño. " Él decide mantener al bebé.
EN_WR_23_14_NWH	53.5	Female	21	18	3	El hombre camina en la calle. Entonces, fuma. Ve un niño en el piso de calle. Entonces, da el niño a la mujer cuando ella es en la tienda. Pero, ella no quería un niño. Él pone el niño en el piso de calle, pero la policía lo ve. Porque la policía lo ve, el hombre recibe el niño y camina. Durante, el hombre camina en la calle con el niño, ve otra el hombre. Él da el niño a otra el hombre entonces corre. Otra el hombre da el niño a mismo la mujer. Él hombre (el protagonista) corre hasta la policía otra vez. Cuando corre huye de la policía, corre hasta la mujer. Da el niño a el hombre otra vez. Con un niño, sentarse. Ve una nota que dice, "perdón, amor y cuidado está el niño". Feliz, camina con el niño.
EN_WR_23_22_4_14_DW	53.5	Female	22	13	4	se trataba de un hombre que encontró un bebé abandonado e intentó deshacerse del bebé. Trató de dárselo a una mujer que pensó que era la madre al poner al bebé en su carrito que ya tenía un bebé. La mujer le dijo que sacara al bebé de la carriola y se fue. Luego trató de darle el bebé a un anciano. El hombre trató de deshacerse del bebé colocando al bebé en una carriola aleatoria, que resultó ser la columpio de la señora en la que el primer hombre intentó meter al bebé. Finalmente decidió cuidar al bebé cuando desglosó al bebé de su manta, notó una nota atada.

EN_WR_23_2 7_4_14_GACJ	53.5	Male	27	15	4	en la pelicula, señor chaplin encienda un cigarette. despues, el quita su guantes y sacar en la basura. se encuentra un bebe y intenta se dar a un madre. ella devolva y el debe toma porque esta un policia. señor chaplin da a un hombrer y el hombre da a la madre misma. la madre ve a señor chaplin y se molesta. sentarle con el bebe y no sabe que hacer. antes de fin, señor chaplin comprende deber guardarle.
EN_WR_24_18 5_14_ML	55.8	Male	18	12	5	Charlie Chaplin camina en el calle y tiene cosas caídas sobre el. El esta fumar mientras de esta caminado. El ve un un bebe en el calle sin padres. el levanto el bebe y camina y lo pone en el cochecito para mujeres pero ella dice que no es suyo. Entonces lo vuelve a poner pero hay un policia allí así que tiene que llevarlo de vuelta. se lo da a la persona al azar y luego hueye y oculta. el chico lo pone de vuelta en el cochecito de la otra mujer. la mujer y la policia hacen que Charlie se lleve al bebe. hay una nota que dice amar y cuidar al niño así que decide quedarse con el.
EN_WR_25_20 1_14_SM	58.1	Female	20	14	1	Al principio, hay un hombre quién estaba fumando y encontró un bebe. Una mujer caminó al lado del hombre con un bebe también. El hombre puso el bebe en un coche de bebe, entonces la mujer encontró él y tomó el bebe afuera. Habrá ido a poner el bebe en el suelo pero la policía lo vio. Luego, el hombre dio el bebe a una persona y corrió. Esa persona puso el bebe en el coche de la mujer otra vez y estaba enfadada con el hombre cuando su caminó al lado de ella. Aunque lo tomó. Al final, el hombre leyó una carta y lo quiso guardar el bebe. Lo cuidó.
EN_WR_26_2 1_10_14_CH	60.5	Female	21	11	10	Hay una persona en el edificio que es poniendo cosas entre la ventana. El hombre es pasando en el calle y es fumando. El hombre esconde un bebe y no sabe de donde. Una mujer camina cerca del hombre y el hombre da el bebe a ella pero el bebe no es a ella. La mujer es enojada a el. El hombre da el bebe a un otro hombre y el otro hombre da el bebe a la mujer. La mujer es enojada y la policía viene. Hay una nota con el bebe y el bebe es una orfana y tiene no familia. EL hombre original saca el bebe.
EN_WR_27_20_6_5_1 4_HM	62.8	Female	20	13	6.5	Charlie Chaplin caminaba en la calle y encontro un bebe. Chaplin atempto dar el bebe a una mujer con su bebe. La mujer no queria el bebe y Chaplin tuvo que ayudar el bebe. Cuando atempto salir el bebe en la calle, un hombre de la policía dejo la accion. Con el bebe, Chaplin caminaba y dio el bebe a un hombre viejo para cogio sus zapatos. Chaplin entonces corrio sin el bebe. El hombre caminaba con el bebe y atempto lo mismo accion de Chaplin; salio el bebe con la mujer. La mujer describio el bebe, y unfortunandamente, Chaplin estaba cera. La mujer el golpeo y el hombre de la policía dejo la lucha. Chaplin tenia el bebe otra vez y sento en la calle. Entonces, descubrio un piece de papele que decia estaba solo. Chaplin salio con el bebe y estaba alegría.
EN_WR_27_20_8_14_RP	62.8	Female	20	12	8	Cuando el hombre está caminando por la calle encontrar un bebe sin sus padres. Después de buscando el bebe, el hombre mira por las calles para los padres. él da el bebe a una mujer, pero en realidad no es su bebe. Porque él no sabia que hacer con este bebe da a un hombre en el calle después de diciendo que el necesita a fijar los zapatos. Ahora el bebe está con un hombre diferente y este hombre da el bebe a la misma mujer en la calle y ella está muy enojado con este situación. El primero hombre camina cerca la mujer y ella da el bebe a él otra vez. En el fin de este escena, el hombre encontró una nota que dice el bebe es un orfano, y necesita alguien a cuidarte.
EN_WR_28_20_9_14_KD	65.1	Female	20	11	9	En el video, la protagonist (Charles Chaplin) ha encontrado un bebe en el calle. Despues, el fue tratando a traer el bebe al un sitio para que nadie pueda encontrarle. La policia ha visto Charles con el bebe y fue corriendo a el, pero no pudiera tenerle. Luego, el he pensado el mismo dia que puede poner el bebe bajo del calle para que nadie puede encontrarle. Un momento despues, el ha encontrado una carta encima de la manta del bebe y dice "Por favor ama y cuida para este bebe" porque no tiene padres. Y al final, el he decidido que va a cuidar para este nino.
EN_WR_28_2 5_1_14_HM	65.1	Male	25	15	1	el tiera se fue en su gorro. Dispues el se fue a fuma. Busco un bebe en la basura. Y la dio a una mujer. Pero no era de ella. Lo regreso a la basura pero una person lo vio. Lo dio a un Viejo y dispues si corrio. Y scundio dispues el Viejo lo dio a otra persona. La seniora le vio el senior y lo manda a coje el bebe. Dispues el senior lo va a cuida el bebe porque no tiene a nadien a cuida el bebe en su vida.
EN_WR_22_19_3_5_1 4_SC	51.2	Female	19	15	3.5	Un hombre, un poco raro, esta caminando y fumando en la calle. Ladrillos cae de un edificio cerca la calle. Los ladrillos choca el hombre. El hombre encuentra un bebé en la calle. Él trata encontrar la madre de bebe. Por error, él pone el bebé con una madre incorrecto. La mujer vuelve el bebé a él. Él trata salir el bebe en la calle pero la policía ve esto. Así que él no puede salir el bebé. Entonces él da el bebé a un otro hombre, pero el otro hombre da el bebé a la misma mujer. La mujer piensa que el primero hombre da el bebé otra vez. La mujer golpea el primero hombre. También la policía vuelve a la situación. Él hombre tiene el bebé otra vez. Él se sienta en la calle con el bebé y encuentra una carta de la madre del bebé.
EN_WR_28_19_8_14_HD	65.1	Female	19	12	8	Él hombre es caminando cuando una cosa sube del cielo. Después, busqué por sus objetos en la caja metálica. Él hombre pone sus guantes en la basura y camine por el bebe. Él esta confundido pero grabé el bebe y caminé por la mujer. La mujer no ha gustado el bebe, y él hombre regresa a la basura. La policía intimidé él hombre. Él hombre pasea el bebe a un otro hombre y corre, pero el otro hombre pon el bebe con el otro bebe con la mujer. La mujer es furiosa y dé el bebe a él una vez más. Cuando él sentía en el calle con el bebe, lee la nota. En el fin, el hombre amé y dé cuidado al bebe huérfano.

	EN_WR_29_7_14_CC	67.4	Female	29	15	7	En este video, un hombre anda por la calle, fumando. Algunas cosas le golpea en la cabeza, tal vez de una ventana arriba en la calle. El busca un cigarrillo nuevo en una caja pequeña en su chaqueta. El hombre pon sus (gloves) en la basura, continua fumando, y en un momento, ve un bebe cerca de la basura en la calle. El parece de preguntar "de donde ere este bebe?" El trata de poner el bebe en la (carriage) de un mujer que también anda por la calle, pero ella dice "no, no es mi bebe". El hombre pon el bebe una vez mas en la calle cerca de la basura, pero la policia le preventa de salir sin el bebe en sus brazos. El da el bebe a otro hombre quien también pon el bebe en la (carriage) de la mujer. La mujer esta muy enojada y le golpea el primer hombre con la paragua. Eventualmente, el hombre y el bebe sienta en la calle, y el lee una nota que dice "por favor, ama este niño". Los dos salen juntos.
	EN_WR_29_2_0_7_14_MC	67.4	Female	20	13	7	En este video, Charlie Chaplin caminó en una calle entre muchas casas. Cuando él estaba caminando, la gente eliminó su basura fuera de las ventanas. Charlie encontró un bebé en la calle, y lo dio a una otra mamá con su bebé. Ella no lo quería, por eso, él lo dio a un otro hombre. El regresó el bebé a la mama también. La mama dice a la policía, y el hombre de policía da el bebé a Charlie otra vez, pero el bebé no es el hijo de él.
	EN_WR_30_21_3_5_14_MK	69.8	Male	21	14	3.5	En el video, hay una persona muy extraña. Este hombre empieza a firmar y ve una bebé en la calle. El hombre mira a los padres del bebé y no puede encontrarlos. El hombre cuida que el bebé no esté en la calle, pero el hombre no quiere cuidar del bebé sobre un parente. Luego de este momento, el hombre recoge un bebé y encuentra una mujer con un bebé separado. El hombre pone el bebé en un cochecito del otro bebé. La mujer está muy enojada porque el niño nuevo no es suyo. Ella hace que el hombre recoge el bebé alguna vez. Confundido, el hombre comienza a volver al bebé en la calle, pero la policía ve esta acción. El hombre recoge el bebé alguna vez. Despues de este momento, el hombre prueba a poner el bebé con un hombre viejo y una misma mujer. Cuando los tratos no son exitosos, el hombre considera saliendo el bebé debajo de la calle. Ahora, el hombre encuentra una nota con el bebé. Una nota dice que el bebé es un huérfano y necesita amor. Despues de leer esta nota, el hombre decide cuidar del bebé. No estoy seguro que pase después de este momento, pero yo pienso que el hombre se vuelve el padre nuevo del bebé.
	EN_WR_31_21_6_14_PM	72.1	Male	21	15	6	Charlie Chaplin estaba caminando por la calle y fumando su puro cuando de repente, encontró un bebé en la esquina. Él no tenía ninguna idea que debía hacer en este momento y trató de dar el bebé a una mamá. Pero ella no quería el bebé tampoco. Todavía con el niño, Chaplin vio a un hombre en la calle luego y le dio el bebé mientras no estaba prestando atención y Charlie huyó. El hombre con quien tiene el bebé, pasó el bebé con el de la misma madre de la que Chaplin había tratado de dar el bebé con antes. Chaplin tuvo mala suerte cuando el pasó por la madre y ella gritó a Charlie y finalmente, dio el bebé a Charlie otra vez. Luego, Charlie encontró una nota que decía "Por favor, ama este bebé" y al fin parece que Charlie quedó con el bebé.
	EN_WR_31_20_7_5_14_NK	72.1	Female	20	13	7.5	En esta película corta, Chaplin busca un bebé en las calles. El bebé no tiene nadie y Chaplin le da a una mujer con un otro bebé. Ella empieza a gritar a Chaplin y forcea a Chaplin a tomar el bebé. Chaplin no quiere este bebé y como se pone el bebé en la calle una vez más, un policía aparece. Él tiene a la mujer y Chaplin toma el bebé y corre. Le busca a otro hombre y dice que necesita ajustar su zapato. Aunque, cuando el hombre toma el bebé, Chaplin sale muy rápido. Entonces, el hombre necesita a perder este bebé también. El busca a la misma mujer que Chaplin ha buscado y se pone el bebé en el asiento con el otro bebé. Era un problema porque Chaplin ve la misma policía que había visto antes. Debido a la ausencia, corre de la policía y llega a la mujer que tiene los bebés y empieza a golpear a Chaplin. Entonces, Chaplin debe tomar el bebé una vez más y descubrir un correo que dice que el bebé necesita una casa y amor. Chaplin tiene triste para este bebé y decide a tomar cariño para él.
	EN_WR_31_2_1_7_14_AS	72.1	Female	21	14	7	El hombre encontró un bebé cuando él estaba fumando. Él pensó que el bebé fue de la mujer en la calle pero lo no fue. Él probó darle el bebé a un hombre pero él no se apetece. El hombre encontró un papel con un mensaje sobre el bebé. El mensaje en el papel dijo que el bebé no tiene un hogar y necesita una familia. La persona que escribió el mensaje quiere que el hombre tenga el bebé. En el final, el hombre decidió que él pudo cuidar al niño.
	EN_WR_31_2_1_6_14_EG	72.1	Female	21	15	6	El personaje principal (Charlie Chaplin) encuentra un bebé en el primer escena de la película. Él está confundido y no sabe qué hacer con el bebé. Entonces, Charlie ve a una mujer con un bebé de su propio y cree que el bebé es de la mujer. Charlie trata de dar el bebé a la mujer pero ella no quiere y se enoja. Despues, Charlie está tratando de dar el bebé a todos. Hay policía además que le preventa de a Charlie abandonar el bebé. El final de la película, nos vemos que el bebé es un orfano.
	EN_WR_31_21_6_14_LM	72.1	Female	21	15	6	Charlie encontró un bebé en la calle. Él no supo qué hacer. Entonces, trajo el bebé y trató de salir el bebé con una mujer cuando ella no vió. Pero la mujer se puso enojada y le dio el bebé. Luego él lo salió con un hombre y corrió afuera rápidamente. El hombre encontró a la misma mujer de antes y lo salió en su coche mientras ella estaba dentro de la tienda. Cuando ella vino afuera, se puso enojada otra vez y lo dio a Charlie cuando le vio en la calle. Charlie se sentó con el bebé y buscó una carta en su tela y lo dijo que muestra amor a el bebé porque lo era un huérfano. Despues de él leer la carta, se puso contento y le amó al bebé.

EN_WR_32_20_13_1 4_GG	74.4	Male	20	7	13	En el video Chaplin estaba caminando y fumando mientras otras personas ponen cosas afuera de las ventanas. Las cosas golpeo a Chaplin entonces el nececito un otro cigarillo. despues de un cigarillo mirro un bebe en el calle. Primera Chaplin penso que el bebe fue de una mujer cerca de el. No fue el bebe de ella. Segundo Chaplin ha probado salir sin el bebe pero la policia estaba mirando a Chaplin. El tiempo tercer Chaplin probado salir el bebe con un otro hombre. Proximo el otro hombre pienso que el bebe venio de la mujer cerca de Chaplin y tambien Chaplin fue en un situacion malo con la policia y una mujer. En el fin Chaplin encontro una nota y realizo que el bebe nececito ir a un casa de hijos que no tienen padres.
EN_WR_33_21_6_14 -JM	76.7	Female	21	15	6	Al primer, un hombre está caminando por la calle mientras piedra se está cayendo de un edificio. Continúa a caminar y fumar. Un gran parte de un edificio se golpe el hombre. Lluego, él busca en una caja en su chaqueta con cigarrillos. Continúa a fumar y de repente ve un bebe en la calle. Lo coge y trata de darlo a una mujer. Ella no lo quiere y grita. Lluego, trata de dejar en la calle otra vez pero un policía se ve. Trata de darlo a otro hombre y hui. Trata de dejarlo con la mujer otra vez pero ella se golpe muchas veces y el policía viene. El hombre coge el bebé. Se siente en la calle con el bebé y piensa. Encuentre una nota que le dice "cariña para el bebé." Finalmente, él camina lejos con el bebé que ahora es suyo.
EN_WR_33_19_3_14_NP	76.7	Male	19	15	3	Chaplin estaba fumando cuando cosas se cayeron por las ventanas. Luego, él vio un bebe en el calle. Chaplin probó darlo a una mujer, pero la mujer no quería el bebe. Luego Chaplin pusó el bebe en el calls, pero una policía vio el bebe, y Chaplin tuvo que llevar el bebe. Por eso, Chaplin dio el bebe a un hombre y Chaplin corrió porque él no lo quería. Luego, el hombre buscaba a Chaplin, pero no pudo encontró a él. Por eso el hombre pusó el bebe en el cochechito de la mujer. La muger era enojada porque no quería el bebe y cuando ella vio Chaplin, Ella peleó a él.
EN_WR_34_19_7_14_CM	79.1	Male	19	12	7	Un hombre caminaba por la calle, fumando un cigar. El encuentra un bebe en la calle, solo. El no sabe de donde vino el bebe y empieza buscar a alguien para ayudarle. Ve a una mujer con su propio bebe y llega el bebe a ella. El quiere darle el bebe pero ella no lo quiere. Entonces, el trata a poner el bebe donde lo encontre, pero el ve a la policía y corre con el bebe. Luego, el hombre da el bebe a otro hombre, quien lo pone con la mujer del pasado, quien lo da al primero hombre. El no sabe que hacer, así que el se siente en la calle. El encuentra un cartera con el bebe y lee. Despues, decide que el va a quedar con el bebe. El fin.
EN_WR_34_2_1_8_14_SM	79.1	Female	21	13	8	En el video, Charlie Chaplin encuentra un bebe en la calle. Trata salir el bebe pero un oficial de la policía se para. Charlie trata dar el bebe a una mujer pero sin suerte. Luego, da el bebe a un hombre. El hombre se pone el bebe en el coche de la mujer. Charlie camina por la mujer y la mujer se da el bebe. Finalmente, Charlie encuentra un papel con el bebe diciendo que él es un orfano. En el fin, Charlie decide cuidar para el bebe.
EN_WR_34_21_6_14_CO	79.1	Male	21	15	6	Charlie encontró un bebe por la calle. No hay nadie cerca de él a quien podría ser el padre del bebe. Charlie intentaba dejar el bebe donde lo había encontrado pero una policía llegó y vio lo que estaba pasando. Charlie tomó el bebe y eventualmente encontró un carro de un mujer con otro bebe, y intentó ponerlo en el carro. La mujer vino y vio lo que Charlie estaba haciendo y le golpeó. Al fin, Charlie estaba sentado en la calle, y vio una carta en el bebe que pedía la persona que estaba leyéndola cuidar por el bebe.
EN_WR_38_20_15_1 4_EES	88.4	Female	20	6	15	Un hombre (Chaplin) se encuentra un bebe por la calle y quiere encontrar la madre. Primero, él le da el bebe a un mujer con un cochechito, pero ella se enoja y le dice que no es su bebe y ya tiene un otro bebe en el cochechito. Después él le da el bebe a un hombre (otro) quien está caminando por la calle y corre para dejar el bebe con él. Como el bebe no es suyo, se encuentra el mismo cochechito, ve que la mujer no esta allí porque ella está en una zapateria, y le deja el bebe. Cuando la mujer sale la tienda, ella se enoja otra vez y encuentra el primero hombre (Chaplin) y le dice que se lleve al bebe. Encuentra una nota en las mantas del bebe que dice, "Por favor, ama y cuida a este huérfano," y sale con el bebe.
EN_WR_38_20_7_14_TV	88.4	Female	20	7	7	En el video hay un hombre raro quien está por la calle andando cuando de repente encuentra un bebe abandonado. Ha recogido el bebe cuando ve una mujer con otro niño pequeño. Pesar que el bebe es suya, dice a la mujer que ha perdido algo por la calle y pone el bebe abandonado con el otro. La mujer se enfada mucho y grita que no es suya y el hombre raro sale de prisa. Entonces, el hombre raro divide dejar el bebe a donde lo encontró. Sin embargo, cuando lo hace, no se da cuenta que hay una policía detrás de él y cambie de opinión y recoge el bebe otra vez. Siguiente eso, él encuentra un hombre andando y le pregunta coger el bebe mientras que arregla su zapato. De repente el hombre raro hueye, dejar el bebe abandonado con el hombre desconocido. Este hombre, con el bebe en sus brazos ve la mujer de antes y comete lo mismo error que el hombre raro y deja el bebe con el otro. Pesar en que ha escapado el problema del bebe, el hombre raro está regresando a casa cuando la mujer, ahora con dos bebes, le ve y dale el bebe otra vez con la ayuda de la policía. El hombre raro no sabe que hacer y piensa en abandonar el bebe otra vez cuando encuentra una nota dentro de la ropa del bebe. La nota suplica el lector amar y cuidar del bebe. Por fin, el hombre raro sale con el bebe, ha tomado la decisión cuidar del infante.

EN_WR_38_21_5_14_HF	88.4	Female	21	15	5	Un hombre esta caminando por la calle. Muchas personas en sus apartamentos estan arrojando cosas a través sus ventanas. Algunas cosas casi golpear al hombre. Él continua caminando y fumando hace algunas cosas actualmente golpe a él. Él necesita un nueva cigarrillo. Él quita sus guantes y encende un cigarrillo nuevo. Econtre un bebé en el piso sin padres. Ve una mujer con otro niño y el hombre trata de dar el bebé a la mujer. La mujer no esta contenta y ella le grita. Así que el hombre corre con el bebé en sus brazos. El hombre trata de poner al bebe en el piso donde lo encontró pero un policia lo ve. El hombre camina lejo del policia y da el bebé a un hombre viejo. El hombre corre y se esconde mientras el viejo da el bebé a la mujer enojada. Ella persigue al hombre y lo golpe con su paraguas. La policía rompe la pelea y el hombre se lleva al bebé. Él se sienta en la calle y encuentra una nota con el bebé. La nota dice "Por favor, ama y cuida a este niño." El hombre tiene una sonrisa y habla al bebé con amor.
EN_WR_38_21_9_14_E	88.4	Male	21	12	9	El protagonista está caminando por un callejón cuando alguien tira una cantidad de basura por su ventana y la cae en el hombre. El hombre pausa por un rato para encender un cigarrillo, cuando él ve un bebé huérfano al lado de la basura. Creyendo que el bebé pertenece a una madre cerca de él, el protagonista intenta regresa el bebé a esta mujer. En realidad, el bebé pertenece a nadie y la mujer es muy molestado cuando el protagonista intenta poner el bebé en su cochecito. No mucho despues, una policia entra el callejón y el protagonista tiene que dejar esta locación. En el calle, el protagonista ve un anciano y intenta dar el bebé al este extraño. Este plan falla muy pronto, y de repente, el protagonista tiene que hacer algo con el bebé. Mientras está mirando el bebé, el protagonista encuentra una nota en la ropa del niño diciendo que el bebé es un huérfano y alguien le debe cuidar con amor y cariño.
EN_WR_40_21_8_14_AF	93.0	Female	21	13	8	Charlie Chaplin estaba caminando y fumando cuando le encontró a un bebé. El vio a una mujer con otro bebé y puso el bebé en su cochecito, pero ella dijo que este bebé no era suyo. Entonces Charlie trató poner el bebé donde lo encontró en el suelo, pero un policia lo vio y no lo permitió. Despues Charlie preguntó a un hombre viejo coger el bebé por un momento, pero lo da al viejo y corrió. El viejo lo puso el bebé en el mismo cochecito pero la mujer pensó que era Charlie que lo puso allí y entonces pegó a Charlie con su paragua hasta que el recogió el bebé otra vez. Charlie estaba pensando en tirar el bebé debajo del calle, pero encontró una papel dentro de las mantas de bebé que dijo "por favor quiere y cuida por esta huérfano," y Charlie decidió cuidar por el bebé.
EN_WR_38_21_6.5_14_GLN	88.4	Female	21	15	6.5	Charlie Chaplin, el personaje del video esta andando por la calle cuando algo se cae del cielo. Cuando mira al suelo ve un bebe abandonado. Toma el bebe en sus brazos para ponerlo en la canasta de otro bebe. La madre del otro bebe ve el nuevo bebe, esta enfadada y toma el nuevo bebe para darle al Chaplin. Con el bebe otra vez, Chaplin empieza a andar por el calle y va a poner el bebe en el suelo otra vez pero ve un policia. A causa de eso, Chaplin toma el bebe, esta andando por el calle y da el bebe a un hombre viejo. Este hombre ve la canasta de la misma mujer que antes y pone el bebe en la canasta. Cuando Chaplin esta andando, la mujer o madre ve Chaplin y da el bebe al Chaplin porque piensa que fue el quien puso el bebe en su canasta con su bebe. Chaplin va a sentarse en el suelo y esta pensando en poner el bebe en el suelo, pero ve una carta en la ropa del bebe que dice "por favor, cuidate por este pobre huérfano". Con esta carta, Chaplin decide a cuidar por el bebe.
EN_WR_39_21_7_14_AL	90.7	Female	21	15	7	Primer, se puede ver Chaplin caminando por la calle y hay algunas cosas como la ropa que se están cayendo del edificio. Despues, Chaplin encuentra un bebé al lado de la basura. Chaplin lo coge, y despues trata de volver el bebe a la basura otra vez. Sin embargo, un policia lo ve, y le dice tomar el bebe. Entonces, Chaplin camina con el bebe un poco mas y trata de deshacerse el bebe otra vez. Lo pone en un carrera de un madre con otro bebe, y le dice que ella había dejado caer algo. Obviamente, el madre no lo cree y le dice tomar el bebe. Despues, Chaplin trata de deshacerse del bebe algunas mas veces pero no tiene éxito. Eventualmente, Chaplin esta sentado con el bebe y encuentra una nota que dice que el bebe no tiene padres y necesita que alguien le cuide. El actitud de Chaplin cambia, y el video termina con Chaplin sonriendo y disfrutándose con el bebe.
EN_WR_38_21_7_14_KH	88.4	Female	21	14	7	El clip empezó con el protagonista, Charlie Chaplin andando por un calle en la ciudad. No se dio cuenta que había cayendo piezas del edificio cerca de que. estaba andando. Parecía que había sido construcción en el área. De repente, parte del debris se cayo en su cabeza! Cuando acabó de dar cuenta a su ambiente y el peligro del construcción vio un bebé cubierto en sábanas en el suelo del calle. Chaplin decidió a quitarlo del área para ponerlo en manos seguros. Momentos después una mujer cruzó la calle con su bebé. Chaplin decidió a poner el bebé que acabó a encontrar en la silla móvil y desmarcase del área pero la mujer lo vio y se rechazó. Durante los minutos siguiente, Chaplin intentaba a encontrar un lugar seguro para el bebé. Trató a darle a un hombre desconocido y aún reponerse en el lugar donde lo encontró pero fue parada por una policia. Al final del clip, Chaplin encuentra una carta con una nota que dijo "Por favor, ama, y cuida de este niño (adaptado no sé como decir "orphan"). En ese momento, Charlie Chaplin se enamoró con el niño y pareció que decidió a cuidarlo con todo su corazón...

EN_WR_38_22_17_14_JT	88.4	Female	22	5	17	Un hombre está caminando en la calle y nota mucho ruido que viene de arriba, y luego nota los escombros que caen de un edificio de arriba. Continúa caminando hacia la esquina de la calle y enciende su cigarrillo, y cuando está a punto de seguir caminando, se da cuenta de que hay un bebé acostado en la calle. Levanta al bebé y trata de descubrir qué hacer con él, y luego se da cuenta de que una mujer pasa con un cochecito y otro bebé. Coloca al bebé en la carriola y le dice a la señora que debe haber dejado caer al bebé. La mujer dice que no y comienza a sacudir la cabeza y trata desesperadamente de alejarse del hombre. Luego, el hombre va a dejar al bebé donde lo encontró en la calle, pero un policía lo sigue. El hombre trata de darle el bebé a otro hombre en la calle, pero también persigue frenéticamente al hombre. Sin embargo, el hombre logró escapar, por lo que otro hombre encontró el cochecito de la señora con otro bebé y volvió a colocarlo en la carriola. La señora luego persigue al hombre de nuevo, lo golpea y lo hace volver a llevar al bebé, con la ayuda del oficial de policía. El hombre se sienta en la acera y contempla dónde colocar al bebé. Pero luego encuentra una nota dentro de la manta del bebé que dice "por favor ama y cuida a este niño huérfano." Él decide tomar al niño y continúa caminando con el bebé en sus brazos.
EN_WR_39_24_1.5_14_JM	90.7	Female	24	23	1.5	Charlie Chaplin tuvo un día muy extraño. Caminaba por la calle, cuando de repente, encontró un bebé. El bebé era muy joven y llevaba mantas. A Charlie no le gustaban los bebés, pero no quería dejarlo allí. Por suerte, vio a una mujer que tenía un bebé también. Charlie corrió a ella y puso al bebé en su cochecito. Ella no estuvo feliz. Charlie regresó a donde el encontró al bebé y lo puso en el suelo. Desafortunadamente, un policía estuvo mirando. Charlie siguió intentando, pero no pudo dejar al bebé. En el final, encontró una nota con el bebé con las palabras "Por favor, ame y cuide de este niño huérfano". Charlie miró al bebé y sonrió. Vivieron una vida feliz juntos.
EN_WR_41_21_9_14_EM	95.3	Female	21	12	9	Este video muestra a un hombre (Charles Chaplin). Él está caminando por una calle pequeña y sucia, y cuando deja por un minuto para fumar, encuentra a un bebé que parece estar sin adulto. Chaplin está confundido y busca un padre en el área. Después de un poco, él ve a una mujer que tiene otro niño. Chaplin concluye que el bebé es suyo y trata de devolverlo a ella. Pero la mujer se enfada y le dice a Chaplin que no es su bebé. En este momento, Chaplin trata de abandonar el bebé donde él lo encontró, pero un policía viene y Chaplin necesita traer el bebé con él. Luego, Chaplin trata de dar el bebé a un hombre que encuentra en la calle, pero este hombre lo pone en la silla de bebé de la mujer original del video. Casi inmediatamente después de que ella descubre el bebé, ve a Chaplin caminando, y lo da al bebé a él otra vez. Chaplin toma el bebé y finalmente ve un papel que dice que es un huérfano. Al final del video, parece que Chaplin está contento con cuidar del bebé.
EN_WR_42_19_6_14_CS	97.7	Male	19	13	6	Un hombre que está caminando por la calle descubre a un bebé abandonado al lado de aquel camino. Pensando en devolverlo a su madre, él ve a una mujer empujando a su propio bebé y él cree que ella es la madre. Por eso él mete el bebé con el otro, y al regresar la mujer, ellos discuten y él aprende que ella no es la madre real. A continuar, él piensa también en abandonar el bebé donde lo encontró originalmente, pero un policía aparece y el hombre tiene que llevarlo de nuevo y buscar una solución mejor. Él le hace un truco a otro hombre, dándoselo a él, y trata de escapar, pero el segundo hombre abandona el bebé con la mujer de antes, y ella le da al primer hombre el bebé a la vista del policía. Por fin, el hombre piensa en abandonar el bebé, pero de verdad no quiere. De repente él se fija en una nota dejada con el bebé que dice cuide a este huérfano, y decide salir juntos con el bebé a lo cual él va a cuidar según la nota.
EN_WR_42_4_9_10_14_FM	97.7	Female	49	20	10	En la película Chaplin está caminando por la calle cuando de repente se encuentra a un bebé entre los botes de basura. Inicialmente no quiere quedarse con él y trata de encontrar la forma de desacercarse del bebé. En múltiples ocasiones intenta dejar al niño con otras personas: una mujer con otro bebé o con un vagabundo de la calle, pero falla hasta cuando encuentra una nota pidiendo que cuiden y amen a ese niño, entonces él decide quedarse con él.

EN_WR_43_24_6_14_JJA	100.0	Male	24	12	6	<p>En el empiezo del video, Chaplin está andando por una calle fumando un cigarrillo. Hay gente en los pisos más altos de los edificios que rodean la calle que están tirando basura por sus ventanas a la calle. Dos veces esta basura pega a Chaplin. Después de esto, Chaplin quita sus guantes y los tira en la basura. Después, descubre a un bebé que está yaciendo solo en la tierra. Piensa que alguien dejó al bebé accidentalmente. Inmediatamente después, ve a una mujer saliendo del lugar en que está el bebé con un carro pequeño en que está otro bebé. Por eso, decide a revolver el bebé a la mujer. Viene a ella y pone el bebé en el carro pequeño que trae la mujer. La mujer hace obvio que el bebé no es suyo. Después de esto, Chaplin decide a revolver el bebé al lugar en que lo encontró. Desafortunadamente, un policía lo ve y piensa que está tratando de abandonar el bebé. Chaplin tiene miedo del policía y toma el bebé de nuevo. En este punto, Chaplin decide que necesita dejar el bebé en algún lugar por cualquier método que sea posible. Encuentra a un anciano andando en una calle cercana. Pregunta al anciano si es posible que tome el bebé por un momento mientras Chaplin arregle sus zapatos. El anciano dice que sí, Chaplin arregla sus zapatos, y de inmediato corre del hombre. Chaplin se oculta y el anciano trata de encontrar a un lugar para el bebé. Encuentra a la mujer del principio del video y pone el bebé en su carrito. Chaplin sale del lugar en que se ocultó y anda frente a la mujer. Ella piensa que él ha puesto el bebé en su carrito otra vez y le pega con su paraguas y lo trae a su carrito, insistiendo que el bebé no es de ella y que él necesita tomarlo. El policía investiga lo que está pasando y Chaplin, con su gran miedo de él, toma el bebé y corre. Cuando Chaplin alcanza otro lugar, considera dejar caer al bebé en el espacio que está debajo de la calle que se puede acceder por una tapa pequeña, pero decide no hacer esto. Después, toca al bebé y descubre que en la ropa del bebé hay un papel con algo escrito en él. El mensaje dice &lt;&gt;Por favor, ame y cuide este niño huérfano.&gt;&gt; Después de esto, Chaplin decide cuidar al bebé. Lo mira por primera vez con cariño y sale de la escena con el bebé.</p>
EN_WR_43_22_8_14_C_B	100.0	Male	22	14	8	<p>Mientras está dando una caminata por su ciudad, el personaje principal del cortometraje encuentra a un bebé abandonado. Al acercarse al niño se da cuenta de que su familia lo ha dejado en la calle sólo sin ninguna protección. Preocupado por el bienestar del bebé el protagonista intenta buscar a su familia y devolverle su hijo perdido. Cuando pasa una señora de edad con un bebé parecido al que se dejó, el protagonista intenta entregarlo a la señora pero es rechazado. La señora parece insistir que el niño no es suyo. Continuando su búsqueda, el señor sigue buscando a la familia y se encuentra con un policía que lo ve muy sospechosamente. Después de varios encuentros cómicos con personajes secundarios, el protagonista se siente cerca de la calle con el bebé, así termina el video.</p>
EN_WR_43_32_8_14_RAS	100.0	Male	32	11	8	<p>Chaplin aparece en la plantilla y va caminando hacia la cámara. Mientras camina, objetos se caen desde las ventanas arriba pero por lo visto Chaplin no se preocupa mucho por ellos. El sigue andando, fumando porros. Ahora se para y abre un cajón en el que se guardan unos porros más. Chaplin lleva un bastón sobre el brazo. Se detiene aquí unos momentos y se desarropa de los guantes de cuero y los tira. Pues, él mira abajo y ve a un bébe abandonado que está tumulado en el rincón, cubierto de sábanas. Chaplin se agacha y coge al bébe en los brazos. Ahora ve a una madre que anda empujando una cARRILLA. Chaplin supone qye ella es la madre del bébe que el está llevando. Así que la persigue mientras lleva al bébe con dulzura. Chaplin se acerca al cARRILLA del madre y pone en él, el bébe que tuvo en las manos. Al mismo dice a la mujer, educadamente "perdóname, se le cayó algo usted!". Pero repentinamente, ella se enfada con Chaplin. Parece que ella ya tiene un niño el la cARRILLA y está diciendo que ese bébe no es suyo. Como resultado, Chaplin pide perdón, coge el bébe y huye. Chaplin vuelve al sitio donde lo encontró y lo devuelve al suelo. Pero ahora Chaplin se gira y se choca con un policía que mira hacia sospechosamente. Pues, Chaplin vuelve a coger al bébe y lo lleva andando por la calle. Ahora se percata un hombre mayor con una barba larga. A ese hombre, Chaplin le da al bébe antes de el hombre se dé cuenta. En un instante, Chaplin se fuga, corriendo por un callejón y escondiéndose. Ahora el hombre tiene al bébe. De pronto pasa la cARRILLA que la madre ha dejado fuera de una tienda. El hombre deja al bébe allí y se larga. Ahora Chaplin sale de su esconde pero otra vez se topa con el policía. Así que Chaplin se gira repentinamente y camina por el sentido contrario. Ahora Chaplin pasa la cARRILLA de a madre en la que había depositado el hombre el bébe. La madre se da cuenta de que tiene el bébe en la cARRILLA y cuando ve a Chaplin se imagina que es Chaplin que lo puso allí. Pues, ella se pone negra y persigue a Chaplin mientras él se larga. Le coge le da un bofetón con el paraguas hasta que Chaplin se cae. Ya tiene a Chaplin agarrado y le sigue pegando mientras lo lleva a la cARRILLA. Ahora aparece otra vez el policía y la madre le explica lo que ha pasado. Sin que el policía le diga nada, Chaplin, vencido, coge otra vez al bébe. Chaplin se sienta en la calle, desesperado y se contempla qué hacer.</p> <p>Mira abajo al desagüe y piensa en tirarle al bébe dentro pero se cambia de actitud. Ahora ve una carta el las sábanas del bébe y lo lee. Está escrito: "Por favor, ame y se cuide por este niño huérfano". Pues, como el acto final de la historia, Chaplin mira a los ojos del bébe con cariño.</p>

EN_WR_43_17_5.5_14_NI	100.0	Female	17	12	5.5	Un caballero está caminando por la calle y encuentra un bebé en el suelo. Ve a una mujer y cree que ésta es la madre del niño. Ella no es la madre, entonces, vuelve a poner al bebé en el suelo, pero un policía lo ve. Le da a otro hombre el bebé, y el otro hombre pone el bebé en la cuna de la mujer que vimos antes. Ella piensa que el caballero lo ha puesto allí y le pega. Ella le dice esto al policía, y el caballero vuelve a llevar al niño. Al final, encuentra una nota que dice que es un niño huérfano, y él decide quedarse con el bebé.
EN_WR_43_20_15_14_MD	100.0	Male	20	6	15	Este video se trata de un bebé a quien encuentra Charlie Chaplin al lado de la calle. Inicialmente, Chaplin va por la calle intentando evitar la basura que se cae de las ventanas de los edificios. Se para y busca un cigarro para fumar. Inmediatamente después, le oye al bebé llorando. Por consiguiente, lo recoge. Se pregunta de quién puede ser. Al ver a una mujer con un carrito, supone que el bebé es suyo. Aun así, al dárselo la mujer se enfada y insiste en que esto no es el caso. Por tanto, Chaplin recoge al bebé de nuevo y lo devuelve al sitio original. No obstante, aparece un policía y por eso, Chaplin recoge al niño. Se encuentra con un hombre mayor que tiene un bastón. Chaplin le da el bebé y simula atar su zapato. Se va y se esconde. El anciano se pone muy confundido y, al encontrar el mismo carrito en el cual Chaplin había puesto el bebé antes, hace lo mismo. Al salir de la tienda y ver al bebé en su carrito otra vez, la mujer se enoja. Chaplin pasa por el mismo lugar y ella lo golpea con su paraguas. Exige que Chaplin tome el bebé cuando aparece el policía de nuevo. Así que Chaplin lo recoge y se siente con él. Ve la rejilla de la alcantarilla y piensa en depositar el bebé adentro pero no lo hace. Encuentra una hoja en los pliegues de la manta del bebé. La hoja dice que este bebé es un huérfano. El autor de este mensaje quiere que el lector cuide del niño. Al leer esto, Chaplin le mira al bebé con los nuevos ojos y sonríe. Sale con el bebé y es evidente que lo va a guardar y hacer exactamente lo que ha pedido el autor del mensaje.

## J. Study 5: participants biodata

### Spanish natives

Spanish natives				
Subject nº	Date	Initials	Age	Gender
0	19/06/2020	CQCM	27	Female
1	19/06/2020	BAA	28	Female
2	19/06/2020	MLL	28	Female
3	19/06/2020	IVP	28	Female
4	19/06/2020	OV	28	Female
5	25/06/2020	PVP	31	Male
7	25/06/2020	CVP	18	Female
8	03/07/2020	AVA	25	Female
9	03/07/2020	MVA	23	Male
10	03/07/2020	EVA	24	Female
11	03/07/2020	JVA	24	Female
12	30/11/2020	PCC	22	NA
13	30/11/2020	LAA	19	Female
14	30/11/2020	MJGM	19	Female
15	01/12/2020	MPF	20	Female
16	01/12/2020	RRM	28	Female
17	01/12/2020	LBP	20	Female
18	01/12/2020	IMMP	27	Female
20	02/12/2020	PMJ	26	Male
21	02/12/2020	JJM	24	Female
22	02/12/2020	DRT	22	Male
23	02/12/2020	MPD	20	Female
24	02/12/2020	JSF	18	Male
25	03/12/2020	BCT	21	Female
26	03/12/2020	MSM	19	Female
27	03/12/2020	JAS	19	Male
28	03/12/2020	GMM	20	Male
29	03/12/2020	AFT	21	Male
30	03/12/2020	MBAP	19	Female
31	04/12/2020	SDH	19	Female
32	04/12/2020	MHP	23	Male
33	09/12/2020	JMRG	21	Male
34	09/12/2020	CA	18	Female
35	09/12/2020	RMS	23	Male
36	09/12/2020	APC	21	Male
37	09/12/2020	ER	19	Female
38	09/12/2020	VMM	18	Female
39	10/12/2020	AMU	19	Male
40	10/12/2020	FGC	21	Male
41	10/12/2020	MJGA	19	Female
42	10/12/2020	AMZ	25	Male
43	10/12/2020	EMM	26	Male
44	11/12/2020	BDG	23	Female
45	11/12/2020	MR	21	Female
46	11/12/2020	RSM	21	Female
47	14/12/2020	DOB	24	Male

48	14/12/2020	JRS	22	Male
49	14/12/2020	AMC	20	Female
50	14/12/2020	AAOG	25	Male
51	14/12/2020	LUR	18	Female
52	14/12/2020	RFC	22	Female
53	14/12/2020	AGD	23	Male
54	15/12/2020	AFD	25	Male
55	15/12/2020	AOL	22	Female
56	15/12/2020	LAD	20	Female
57	16/12/2020	MIM	20	Female
58	16/12/2020	LRP	24	Female
59	16/12/2020	AGTA	24	Female
60	17/12/2020	MCV	23	Female
61	17/12/2020	RVR	19	Female
62	17/12/2020	ATH	18	Female
63	17/12/2020	IPF	21	Female
64	17/12/2020	ML	27	Female
65	18/12/2020	EFA	20	Female
66	18/12/2020	BCU	21	Female
67	18/12/2020	RGL	19	Female
68	18/12/2020	MMGA	18	Female

### L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers

L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers				
Subject nº	Date	Initials	Age	Gender
0	20/01/2021	MO	27	Female
1	28/01/2021	CS	25	Female
2	01/02/2021	OJG	27	Female

### L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers

L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers				
Subject nº	Date	Initials	Age	Gender
0	14/10/2020	MEBQ	21	Female
1	15/10/2020	IHM	24	Male
2	15/10/2020	JMA	26	Male
3	16/10/2020	NBO	23	Female
4	01/12/2020	MOG	21	Female
5	03/12/2020	ACB	18	Female
6	04/12/2020	MEM	18	Female
7	04/12/2020	MLC	18	Female
8	11/12/2020	AGL	21	Female
9	14/12/2020	AVS	24	Female
10	29/01/2021	BCE	24	Female
11	02/03/2021	SHL	18	Female
12	02/03/2021	MAA	22	Male
13	03/03/2021	MVU	18	Female
14	03/03/2021	AJDC	20	Male
15	03/03/2021	EPG	18	Female

16	03/03/2021	RMJJ	26	Female
16	05/03/2021	ABR	18	Male
18	05/03/2021	AGL	18	Female

## K. Study 5: Call for participation (questionnaires and emails)

### LINKS TO THE GOOGLE FORMS

Generic Google Form for Spanish natives and L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers: <https://forms.gle/4ChsYKB8Tt8yXDYy8>

Specific Google Form for Spanish natives: <https://forms.gle/DZXf7cHg2TztsA37>

Specific Google Form for L1 Spanish – L2 English L2ers: <https://forms.gle/93ELmgZ2zKBLrnhy8>

Generic Google Form for English natives and L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers: <https://forms.gle/1ptEgBc7wvFH7iwY9>

Specific Google Form for English natives: <https://forms.gle/EqvwwSDdkhBpa6hXA>

Specific Google Form for L1 English – L2 Spanish L2ers: <https://forms.gle/PaakEYqd6PbDkSKr7>

### CALL FOR PARTICIPATION AT UGR

A toda la comunidad universitaria,

Desde el departamento de Filologías Inglesa y Alemana estamos realizando un estudio lingüístico como parte del proyecto ANACOR (investigador principal: prof. Cristóbal Lozano).

Buscamos hablantes nativos de español. Pincha en el siguiente enlace para más información: <https://forms.gle/edYVvPLw6quSnU5m8>

¡Recibirás 10 euros por tu participación!

Si tienes cualquier duda, por favor escribe al siguiente correo: teresaquesada@ugr.es

Muchísimas gracias, ¡tu participación es muy importante!

Teresa Quesada, doctoranda del departamento de Filologías Inglesa y Alemana, UGR.

### EMAIL TO MAKE AN APPOINTMENT

Estimado/a participante:

Nos ponemos en contacto contigo para concertar una cita para hacer el ESTUDIO, que durará unos 45 minutos aprox., tras los cuales recibirás 15€ por tu participación.

Para concertar la cita, por favor haz lo siguiente:

(1º) Pídenos cita para venir a hacer el experimento. Mira los huecos DISPONIBLES que hay en [este calendario](#).

(2º) Responde a este correo indicando la siguiente información:

- Tu nombre completo:

- Fecha elegida:

- Hora elegida:

El experimento tendrá lugar en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras UGR (se proporcionarán más detalles de la ubicación una vez nos indiques la fecha/hora elegida).

Muchas gracias.

Teresa Quesada, UGR

#### EMAIL TO CONFIRM APPOINTMENT

Estimado participante:

Este email es para confirmar que la sesión para el EXPERIMENTO será en la FECHA y HORA que nos indicaste en tu email anterior (por favor comprobarlo en [este calendario](#)). Te hemos reservado 45 minutos en total para que tengas tiempo de sobra de hacer el experimento.

LUGAR: Departamento de Filologías Inglesa y Alemana de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Campus de Cartuja, Universidad de Granada (en conserjería te pueden indicar dónde se ubica este departamento). Al entrar al departamento, la primera puerta a la izquierda es la secretaría. Continúa por ese pasillo hasta que llegues al despacho F8. En la puerta habrá un cartel que dice: EXPERIMENTO PSICOLINGÜÍSTICO AQUÍ.

IMPORTANTE: Por favor, debido a las medidas del COVID, es necesario que traigas tus propios auriculares pues serán necesarios para escuchar unas cosas durante el experimento.

Debido a la actual normativa en investigación, el pago se hará mediante transferencia bancaria a una cuenta española de la que seas titular. Por tanto, es IMPORTANTE que traigas al experimento la siguiente documentación para poder justificar la transferencia:

- Fotocopia de tu DNI.
- Tu nº de cuenta bancaria ESPAÑOLA (código IBAN).

Si eres EXTRANJERO y no tienes una cuenta bancaria española, entonces simplemente trae:

- Una fotocopia de tu pasaporte.

Por favor, anota la fecha y hora de tu cita en tu agenda para no faltar. Si ves que no vas a poder asistir, por favor responde a este correo ya que tenemos una lista de espera de participantes.

Muchas gracias,

Teresa

#### EMAIL TO REMAIND APPOINTMENT

Estimado participante:

Este email es simplemente para RECORDARTE que la sesión para el experimento será mañana. Puedes mirar tu cita en [este calendario](#). Si ves que no vas a poder asistir, por favor avísanos ya que tenemos una lista de espera de participantes.

Gracias,

Teresa

## L. Study 5: stimuli

### English: experimental stimuli

ITEM	CONDITION	NO_ANTE	ANAPHOR	CONTEXT	TARGET	COMP_Q	CORRECT_KEY	TRIAL_NO	LIST
1	A'	2	null	Jack took Chloe to the birthday party and...	...arrived on time.	Did Jack take someone to the birthday party?	f	1	1
1	B'	2	overt	Jack took Chloe to the birthday party and...	...he arrived on time.	Did Jack take someone to the birthday party?	f	2	2
1	C'	2	np	Jack took Chloe to the birthday party and...	...Jack arrived on time.	Did Jack take someone to the birthday party?	f	3	3
1	A	1	null	Jack took the cake to the birthday party and...	...arrived on time.	Did Jack take something to the birthday party?	f	4	4
1	B	1	overt	Jack took the cake to the birthday party and...	...he arrived on time.	Did Jack take something to the birthday party?	f	5	5
1	C	1	np	Jack took the cake to the birthday party and...	...Jack arrived on time.	Did Jack take something to the birthday party?	f	6	6
2	B'	2	overt	Emily met with Thomas in the office and...	...she smiled happily.	Did Emily smile happily?	f	8	1
2	C'	2	np	Emily met with Thomas in the office and...	...Emily smiled happily.	Did Emily smile happily?	f	9	2
2	A	1	null	Emily received flowers in the office and...	...smiled happily.	Did Emily smile happily?	f	10	3
2	B	1	overt	Emily received flowers in the office and...	...she smiled happily.	Did Emily smile happily?	f	11	4
2	C	1	np	Emily received flowers in the office and...	...Emily smiled happily.	Did Emily smile happily?	f	12	5
2	A'	2	null	Emily met with Thomas in the office and...	...smiled happily.	Did Emily smile happily?	f	7	6
3	C'	2	np	James presented Megan at the dinner and...	...James felt happy.	Did Megan present someone at the dinner?	j	15	1
3	A	1	null	James presented the product last week and...	...felt happy.	Did James present the essay last week?	j	16	2
3	B	1	overt	James presented the product last week and...	...he felt happy.	Did James present the essay last week?	j	17	3
3	C	1	np	James presented the product last week and...	...James felt happy.	Did James present the essay last week?	j	18	4
3	A'	2	null	James presented Megan at the dinner and...	...felt happy.	Did Megan present someone at the dinner?	j	13	5
3	B'	2	overt	James presented Megan at the dinner and...	...he felt happy.	Did Megan present someone at the dinner?	j	14	6
4	A	1	null	Charlotte saw a film the other day and...	...cried a lot.	Did Charlotte cry happily?	j	22	1
4	B	1	overt	Charlotte saw a film the other day and...	...she cried a lot.	Did Charlotte cry happily?	j	23	2
4	C	1	np	Charlotte saw a film the other day and...	...Charlotte cried a lot.	Did Charlotte cry happily?	j	24	3
4	A'	2	null	Charlotte saw Joshua the other day and...	...cried a lot.	Did Charlotte cry happily?	j	19	4
4	B'	2	overt	Charlotte saw Joshua the other day and...	...she cried a lot.	Did Charlotte cry happily?	j	20	5
4	C'	2	np	Charlotte saw Joshua the other day and...	...Charlotte cried a lot.	Did Charlotte cry happily?	j	21	6

5	B	1	overt	Daniel recognised the stolen bicycle in the street and...	...he stopped for a moment.	Did Daniel recognise the bicycle in the street?	f	29	1
5	C	1	np	Daniel recognised the stolen bicycle in the street and...	...Daniel stopped for a moment.	Did Daniel recognise the bicycle in the street?	f	30	2
5	A'	2	null	Daniel recognised Jessica in the street and...	...stopped for a moment.	Did Daniel recognise Jessica in the street?	f	25	3
5	B'	2	overt	Daniel recognised Jessica in the street and...	...he stopped for a moment.	Did Daniel recognise Jessica in the street?	f	26	4
5	C'	2	np	Daniel recognised Jessica in the street and...	...Daniel stopped for a moment.	Did Daniel recognise Jessica in the street?	f	27	5
5	A	1	null	Daniel recognised the stolen bicycle in the street and...	...stopped for a moment.	Did Daniel recognise the bicycle in the street?	f	28	6
6	C	1	np	Lucy interrupted the discussion during the meeting and...	...Lucy argued strongly.	Did Lucy argue strongly?	f	36	1
6	A'	2	null	Lucy interrupted Harry during the meeting and...	...argued strongly.	Did Lucy argue strongly?	f	31	2
6	B'	2	overt	Lucy interrupted Harry during the meeting and...	...she argued strongly.	Did Lucy argue strongly?	f	32	3
6	C'	2	np	Lucy interrupted Harry during the meeting and...	...Lucy argued strongly.	Did Lucy argue strongly?	f	33	4
6	A	1	null	Lucy interrupted the discussion during the meeting and...	...argued strongly.	Did Lucy argue strongly?	f	34	5
6	B	1	overt	Lucy interrupted the discussion during the meeting and...	...she argued strongly.	Did Lucy argue strongly?	f	35	6
7	A'	2	null	Joseph saw Sophie in the park and...	...walked joyfully.	Did Joseph kiss Sophie?	j	37	1
7	B'	2	overt	Joseph saw Sophie in the park and...	...he walked joyfully.	Did Joseph kiss Sophie?	j	38	2
7	C'	2	np	Joseph saw Sophie in the park and...	...Joseph walked joyfully.	Did Joseph kiss Sophie?	j	39	3
7	A	1	null	Joseph saw a beautiful flower in the park and...	...walked joyfully.	Did Joseph photograph a beautiful flower?	j	40	4
7	B	1	overt	Joseph saw a beautiful flower in the park and...	...he walked joyfully.	Did Joseph photograph a beautiful flower?	j	41	5
7	C	1	np	Joseph saw a beautiful flower in the park and...	...Joseph walked joyfully.	Did Joseph photograph a beautiful flower?	j	42	6
8	B'	2	overt	Isabella dreamed about Samuel last night and...	...she sighed deeply.	Did Isabella laugh?	j	44	1
8	C'	2	np	Isabella dreamed about Samuel last night and...	...Isabella sighed deeply.	Did Isabella laugh?	j	45	2
8	A	1	null	Isabella dreamed about a Porsche last night and...	...sighed deeply.	Did Isabella laugh?	j	46	3
8	B	1	overt	Isabella dreamed about a Porsche last night and...	...she sighed deeply.	Did Isabella laugh?	j	47	4
8	C	1	np	Isabella dreamed about a Porsche last night and...	...Isabella sighed deeply.	Did Isabella laugh?	j	48	5
8	A'	2	null	Isabella dreamed about Samuel last night and...	...sighed deeply.	Did Isabella laugh?	j	43	6
9	C'	2	np	Mathew defended Hannah at the meeting and...	...Mathew was uplifted.	Was Hannah defended at the meeting?	f	51	1
9	A	1	null	Mathew defended the idea at the meeting and...	...was uplifted.	Was the idea defended at the meeting?	f	52	2
9	B	1	overt	Mathew defended the idea at the meeting and...	...he was uplifted.	Was the idea defended at the meeting?	f	53	3
9	C	1	np	Mathew defended the idea at the meeting and...	...Mathew was uplifted.	Was the idea defended at the meeting?	f	54	4
9	A'	2	null	Mathew defended Hannah at the meeting and...	...was uplifted.	Was Hannah defended at the meeting?	f	49	5
9	B'	2	overt	Mathew defended Hannah at the meeting and...	...he was uplifted.	Was Hannah defended at the meeting?	f	50	6
10	A	1	null	Olivia visited the cemetery after the COVID crisis and...	...reflected for a moment.	Did Olivia reflect for a moment?	f	58	1
10	B	1	overt	Olivia visited the cemetery after the COVID crisis and...	...she reflected for a moment.	Did Olivia reflect for a moment?	f	59	2
10	C	1	np	Olivia visited the cemetery after the COVID crisis and...	...Olivia reflected for a moment.	Did Olivia reflect for a moment?	f	60	3
10	A'	2	null	Olivia visited Luke after the coronavirus crisis and...	...reflected for a moment.	Did Olivia reflect for a moment?	f	55	4
10	B'	2	overt	Olivia visited Luke after the coronavirus crisis and...	...she reflected for a moment.	Did Olivia reflect for a moment?	f	56	5
10	C'	2	np	Olivia visited Luke after the coronavirus crisis and...	...Olivia reflected for a moment.	Did Olivia reflect for a moment?	f	57	6
11	B	1	overt	David searched for a present all over the shopping centre and...	...he left quite late.	Did David search in the pub?	j	65	1

11	C	1	np	David searched for a present all over the shopping centre and...	...David left quite late.	Did David search in the pub?	j	66	2
11	A'	2	null	David searched for Bethany all over the shopping centre and...	...left quite late.	Did David search in the pub?	j	61	3
11	B'	2	overt	David searched for Bethany all over the shopping centre and...	...he left quite late.	Did David search in the pub?	j	62	4
11	C'	2	np	David searched for Bethany all over the shopping centre and...	...David left quite late.	Did David search in the pub?	j	63	5
11	A	1	null	David searched for a present all over the shopping centre and...	...left quite late.	Did David search in the pub?	j	64	6
12	C	1	np	Rebecca detected a threat amongst the crowd and...	...Rebecca moved decisively.	Did Rebecca move slowly?	j	72	1
12	A'	2	null	Rebecca spotted Aaron amongst the crowd and...	...moved decisively.	Did Rebecca move slowly?	j	67	2
12	B'	2	overt	Rebecca spotted Aaron amongst the crowd and...	...she moved decisively.	Did Rebecca move slowly?	j	68	3
12	C'	2	np	Rebecca spotted Aaron amongst the crowd and...	...Rebecca moved decisively.	Did Rebecca move slowly?	j	69	4
12	A	1	null	Rebecca detected a threat amongst the crowd and...	...moved decisively.	Did Rebecca move slowly?	j	70	5
12	B	1	overt	Rebecca detected a threat amongst the crowd and...	...she moved decisively.	Did Rebecca move slowly?	j	71	6
13	A'	2	null	Oliver denounced Giorga at work and...	...ended up with problems.	Did Oliver denounce someone?	f	73	1
13	B'	2	overt	Oliver denounced Giorga at work and...	...he ended up with problems.	Did Oliver denounce someone?	f	74	2
13	C'	2	np	Oliver denounced Giorga at work and...	...Oliver ended up with problems.	Did Oliver denounce someone?	f	75	3
13	A	1	null	Oliver denounced the situation at work and...	...ended up with problems.	Did Oliver denounce something?	f	76	4
13	B	1	overt	Oliver denounced the situation at work and...	...he ended up with problems.	Did Oliver denounce something?	f	77	5
13	C	1	np	Oliver denounced the situation at work and...	...Oliver ended up with problems.	Did Oliver denounce something?	f	78	6
14	B'	2	overt	Amy overtook Benjamin in the marathon and...	...she ran even faster.	Did Amy run faster?	f	80	1
14	C'	2	np	Amy overtook Benjamin in the marathon and...	...Amy ran even faster.	Did Amy run faster?	f	81	2
14	A	1	null	Amy reached top speed in the marathon and...	...ran even faster.	Did Amy run faster?	f	82	3
14	B	1	overt	Amy reached top speed in the marathon and...	...she ran even faster.	Did Amy run faster?	f	83	4
14	C	1	np	Amy reached top speed in the marathon and...	...Amy ran even faster.	Did Amy run faster?	f	84	5
14	A'	2	null	Amy overtook Benjamin in the marathon and...	...ran even faster.	Did Amy run faster?	f	79	6
15	C'	2	np	George met Helen at the disco last night and...	...George danced all night long.	Did Helen meet a famous singer?	j	87	1
15	A	1	null	George discovered a new disco last night and...	...danced all night long.	Did George discover a new restaurant?	j	88	2
15	B	1	overt	George discovered a new disco last night and...	...he danced all night long.	Did George discover a new restaurant?	j	89	3
15	C	1	np	George discovered a new disco last night and...	...George danced all night long.	Did George discover a new restaurant?	j	90	4
15	A'	2	null	George met Helen at the disco last night and...	...danced all night long.	Did Helen meet a famous singer?	j	85	5
15	B'	2	overt	George met Helen at the disco last night and...	...he danced all night long.	Did Helen meet a famous singer?	j	86	6
16	A	1	null	Katie overcame fear in the performance and...	...slept badly.	Did Katie sleep very well?	j	94	1
16	B	1	overt	Katie overcame fear in the performance and...	...she slept badly.	Did Katie sleep very well?	j	95	2
16	C	1	np	Katie overcame fear in the performance and...	...Katie slept badly.	Did Katie sleep very well?	j	96	3
16	A'	2	null	Katie defeated Adam in the game and...	...slept badly.	Did Katie sleep very well?	j	91	4
16	B'	2	overt	Katie defeated Adam in the game and...	...she slept badly.	Did Katie sleep very well?	j	92	5
16	C'	2	np	Katie defeated Adam in the game and...	...Katie slept badly.	Did Katie sleep very well?	j	93	6
17	B	1	overt	Jordan managed the company for three years and...	...he was badly affected.	Did Jordan manage the company for three years?	f	101	1
17	C	1	np	Jordan managed the company for three years and...	...Jordan was badly affected.	Did Jordan manage the company for three years?	f	102	2

17	A'	2	null	Jordan managed Emma in the company and...	...was badly affected.	Did Jordan manage Emma in the company?	f	97	3
17	B'	2	overt	Jordan managed Emma in the company and...	...he was badly affected.	Did Jordan manage Emma in the company?	f	98	4
17	C'	2	np	Jordan managed Emma in the company and...	...Jordan was badly affected.	Did Jordan manage Emma in the company?	f	99	5
17	A	1	null	Jordan managed the company for three years and...	...was badly affected.	Did Jordan manage the company for three years?	f	100	6
18	C	1	np	Abigail called the lift at the last minute and...	...Abigail went up to the office.	Did Abigail go up to the office?	f	108	1
18	A'	2	null	Abigail called Andrew by the lift at the last minute and...	...went up to the office.	Did Abigail go up to the office?	f	103	2
18	B'	2	overt	Abigail called Andrew by the lift at the last minute and...	...she went up to the office.	Did Abigail go up to the office?	f	104	3
18	C'	2	np	Abigail called Andrew by the lift at the last minute and...	...Abigail went up to the office.	Did Abigail go up to the office?	f	105	4
18	A	1	null	Abigail called the lift at the last minute and...	...went up to the office.	Did Abigail go up to the office?	f	106	5
18	B	1	overt	Abigail called the lift at the last minute and...	...she went up to the office.	Did Abigail go up to the office?	f	107	6
19	A'	2	null	Jamie sent Grace away on holiday and...	...looked relieved.	Did Jamie make a phone call?	j	109	1
19	B'	2	overt	Jamie sent Grace away on holiday and...	...he looked relieved.	Did Jamie make a phone call?	j	110	2
19	C'	2	np	Jamie sent Grace away on holiday and...	...Jamie looked relieved.	Did Jamie make a phone call?	j	111	3
19	A	1	null	Jamie sent good news via WhatsApp and...	...looked relieved.	Did Jamie make a phone call?	j	112	4
19	B	1	overt	Jamie sent good news via WhatsApp and...	...he looked relieved.	Did Jamie make a phone call?	j	113	5
19	C	1	np	Jamie sent good news via WhatsApp and...	...Jamie looked relieved.	Did Jamie make a phone call?	j	114	6
20	B'	2	overt	Eleanor left Jacob some days ago and...	...she felt at peace.	Was Eleanor confused?	j	116	1
20	C'	2	np	Eleanor left Jacob some days ago and...	...Eleanor felt at peace.	Was Eleanor confused?	j	117	2
20	A	1	null	Eleanor left the army some days ago and...	...felt at peace.	Was Eleanor confused?	j	118	3
20	B	1	overt	Eleanor left the army some days ago and...	...she felt at peace.	Was Eleanor confused?	j	119	4
20	C	1	np	Eleanor left the army some days ago and...	...Eleanor felt at peace.	Was Eleanor confused?	j	120	5
20	A'	2	null	Eleanor left Jacob some days ago and...	...felt at peace.	Was Eleanor confused?	j	115	6
21	C'	2	np	Michael took Alice to the stage and...	...Michael acted incredibly.	Was Alice on the stage?	f	123	1
21	A	1	null	Michael took the microphone to the stage and...	...acted incredibly.	Was the microphone on the stage?	f	124	2
21	B	1	overt	Michael took the microphone to the stage and...	...he acted incredibly.	Was the microphone on the stage?	f	125	3
21	C	1	np	Michael took the microphone to the stage and...	...Michael acted incredibly.	Was the microphone on the stage?	f	126	4
21	A'	2	null	Michael took Alice to the stage and...	...acted incredibly.	Was Alice on the stage?	f	121	5
21	B'	2	overt	Michael took Alice to the stage and...	...he acted incredibly.	Was Alice on the stage?	f	122	6
22	A	1	null	Laura ignored the pain during the party and...	...danced passionately.	Did Laura dance passionately?	f	130	1
22	B	1	overt	Laura ignored the pain during the party and...	...she danced passionately.	Did Laura dance passionately?	f	131	2
22	C	1	np	Laura ignored the pain during the party and...	...Laura danced passionately.	Did Laura dance passionately?	f	132	3
22	A'	2	null	Laura ignored Charlie during the party and...	...danced passionately.	Did Laura dance passionately?	f	127	4
22	B'	2	overt	Laura ignored Charlie during the party and...	...she danced passionately.	Did Laura dance passionately?	f	128	5
22	C'	2	np	Laura ignored Charlie during the party and...	...Laura danced passionately.	Did Laura dance passionately?	f	129	6
23	B	1	overt	Brandon looked after the house at night and...	...he slept peacefully.	Did Brandon look after the house in the morning?	j	137	1
23	C	1	np	Brandon looked after the house at night and...	...Brandon slept peacefully.	Did Brandon look after the house in the morning?	j	138	2
23	A'	2	null	Brandon looked after Anna at night and...	...slept peacefully.	Did Brandon look after Anna in the morning?	j	133	3

23	B'	2	overt	Brandon looked after Anna at night and...	...he slept peacefully.	Did Brandon look after Anna in the morning?	j	134	4
23	C'	2	np	Brandon looked after Anna at night and...	...Brandon slept peacefully.	Did Brandon look after Anna in the morning?	j	135	5
23	A	1	null	Brandon looked after the house at night and...	...slept peacefully.	Did Brandon look after the house in the morning?	j	136	6
24	C	1	np	Jasmine listened to the comedy show enthusiastically and...	...Jasmine laughed so much.	Did Jasmine cry a lot?	j	144	1
24	A'	2	null	Jasmine listened to Edward enthusiastically and...	...laughed so much.	Did Jasmine cry a lot?	j	139	2
24	B'	2	overt	Jasmine listened to Edward enthusiastically and...	...she laughed so much.	Did Jasmine cry a lot?	j	140	3
24	C'	2	np	Jasmine listened to Edward enthusiastically and...	...Jasmine laughed so much.	Did Jasmine cry a lot?	j	141	4
24	A	1	null	Jasmine listened to the comedy show enthusiastically and...	...laughed so much.	Did Jasmine cry a lot?	j	142	5
24	B	1	overt	Jasmine listened to the comedy show enthusiastically and...	...she laughed so much.	Did Jasmine cry a lot?	j	143	6
25	A'	2	null	William examined Elizabeth closely and...	...left the room.	Did William examine someone?	f	145	1
25	B'	2	overt	William examined Elizabeth closely and...	...he left the room.	Did William examine someone?	f	146	2
25	C'	2	np	William examined Elizabeth closely and...	...William left the room.	Did William examine someone?	f	147	3
25	A	1	null	William examined the sculpture closely and...	...left the room.	Did William examine someone?	f	148	4
25	B	1	overt	William examined the sculpture closely and...	...he left the room.	Did William examine someone?	f	149	5
25	C	1	np	William examined the sculpture closely and...	...William left the room.	Did William examine someone?	f	150	6
26	B'	2	overt	Sarah hit Alex from behind and...	...she escaped straight away.	Did Sarah escape straight away?	f	152	1
26	C'	2	np	Sarah hit Alex from behind and...	...Sarah escaped straight away.	Did Sarah escape straight away?	f	153	2
26	A	1	null	Sarah hit the car from behind and...	...escaped straight away.	Did Sarah escape straight away?	f	154	3
26	B	1	overt	Sarah hit the car from behind and...	...she escaped straight away.	Did Sarah escape straight away?	f	155	4
26	C	1	np	Sarah hit the car from behind and...	...Sarah escaped straight away.	Did Sarah escape straight away?	f	156	5
26	A'	2	null	Sarah hit Alex from behind and...	...escaped straight away.	Did Sarah escape straight away?	f	151	6
27	C'	2	np	Henry saved Amelia from the danger and...	...Henry lived happily ever after.	Did Amelia save someone?	j	159	1
27	A	1	null	Henry saved the country from the danger and...	...lived happily ever after.	Did Henry save the whole country?	j	160	2
27	B	1	overt	Henry saved the country from the danger and...	...he lived happily ever after.	Did Henry save the whole country?	j	161	3
27	C	1	np	Henry saved the country from the danger and...	...Henry lived happily ever after.	Did Henry save the whole country?	j	162	4
27	A'	2	null	Henry saved Amelia from the danger and...	...lived happily ever after.	Did Amelia save someone?	j	157	5
27	B'	2	overt	Henry saved Amelia from the danger and...	...he lived happily ever after.	Did Amelia save someone?	j	158	6
28	A	1	null	Lydia supported the idea during the political campaign and...	...succeeded in the end.	Did Lydia fail?	j	166	1
28	B	1	overt	Lydia supported the idea during the political campaign and...	...she succeeded in the end.	Did Lydia fail?	j	167	2
28	C	1	np	Lydia supported the idea during the political campaign and...	...Lydia succeeded in the end.	Did Lydia fail?	j	168	3
28	A'	2	null	Lydia supported Jason during the political campaign and...	...succeeded in the end.	Did Lydia fail?	j	163	4
28	B'	2	overt	Lydia supported Jason during the political campaign and...	...she succeeded in the end.	Did Lydia fail?	j	164	5
28	C'	2	np	Lydia supported Jason during the political campaign and...	...Lydia succeeded in the end.	Did Lydia fail?	j	165	6
29	B	1	overt	Nicholas stopped the robbery immediately and...	...he reacted calmly.	Was the robbery stopped immediately?	f	173	1
29	C	1	np	Nicholas stopped the robbery immediately and...	...Nicholas reacted calmly.	Was the robbery stopped immediately?	f	174	2
29	A'	2	null	Nicholas stopped Natasha during the robbery and...	...reacted calmly.	Was there a robbery?	f	169	3
29	B'	2	overt	Nicholas stopped Natasha during the robbery and...	...he reacted calmly.	Was there a robbery?	f	170	4
29	C'	2	np	Nicholas stopped Natasha during the robbery and...	...Nicholas reacted calmly.	Was there a robbery?	f	171	5

29	A	1	null	Nicholas stopped the robbery immediately and...	...reacted calmly.	Was the robbery stopped immediately?	f	172	6
30	C	1	np	Nicole listened to the instructions in the factory and...	...Nicole continued happily.	Did Nicole continue happily?	f	180	1
30	A'	2	null	Nicole listened to Peter in the factory and...	...continued happily.	Did Nicole continue happily?	f	175	2
30	B'	2	overt	Nicole listened to Peter in the factory and...	...she continued happily.	Did Nicole continue happily?	f	176	3
30	C'	2	np	Nicole listened to Peter in the factory and...	...Nicole continued happily.	Did Nicole continue happily?	f	177	4
30	A	1	null	Nicole listened to the instructions in the factory and...	...continued happily.	Did Nicole continue happily?	f	178	5
30	B	1	overt	Nicole listened to the instructions in the factory and...	...she continued happily.	Did Nicole continue happily?	f	179	6
31	A'	2	null	Anthony understood Lily during the meeting and...	...showed interest.	Did Anthony ignore someone?	j	181	1
31	B'	2	overt	Anthony understood Lily during the meeting and...	...he showed interest.	Did Anthony ignore someone?	j	182	2
31	C'	2	np	Anthony understood Lily during the meeting and...	...Anthony showed interest.	Did Anthony ignore someone?	j	183	3
31	A	1	null	Anthony understood the problem during the meeting and...	...showed interest.	Did Anthony ignore the problem?	j	184	4
31	B	1	overt	Anthony understood the problem during the meeting and...	...he showed interest.	Did Anthony ignore the problem?	j	185	5
31	C	1	np	Anthony understood the problem during the meeting and...	...Anthony showed interest.	Did Anthony ignore the problem?	j	186	6
32	B'	2	overt	Alexandra collected John from the station and...	...she smoked along the way.	Did Alexandra eat along the way?	j	188	1
32	C'	2	np	Alexandra collected John from the station and...	...Alexandra smoked along the way.	Did Alexandra eat along the way?	j	189	2
32	A	1	null	Alexandra collected the food at the supermarket and...	...smoked along the way.	Did Alexandra eat along the way?	j	190	3
32	B	1	overt	Alexandra collected the food at the supermarket and...	...she smoked along the way.	Did Alexandra eat along the way?	j	191	4
32	C	1	np	Alexandra collected the food at the supermarket and...	...Alexandra smoked along the way.	Did Alexandra eat along the way?	j	192	5
32	A'	2	null	Alexandra collected John from the station and...	...smoked along the way.	Did Alexandra eat along the way?	j	187	6
33	C'	2	np	Marcus found Daisy after a long search and...	...Marcus reflected deeply.	Was Daisy found?	f	195	1
33	A	1	null	Marcus found a treasure on the beach and...	...reflected deeply.	Was the treasure found?	f	196	2
33	B	1	overt	Marcus found a treasure on the beach and...	...he reflected deeply.	Was the treasure found?	f	197	3
33	C	1	np	Marcus found a treasure on the beach and...	...Marcus reflected deeply.	Was the treasure found?	f	198	4
33	A'	2	null	Marcus found Daisy after a long search and...	...reflected deeply.	Was Daisy found?	f	193	5
33	B'	2	overt	Marcus found Daisy after a long search and...	...he reflected deeply.	Was Daisy found?	f	194	6
34	A	1	null	Victoria got over the anxiety after several months and...	...learnt a lot.	Did Victoria learn a lot?	f	202	1
34	B	1	overt	Victoria got over the anxiety after several months and...	...she learnt a lot.	Did Victoria learn a lot?	f	203	2
34	C	1	np	Victoria got over the anxiety after several months and...	...Victoria learnt a lot.	Did Victoria learn a lot?	f	204	3
34	A'	2	null	Victoria got over Stephen after a long relationship and...	...learnt a lot.	Did Victoria learn a lot?	f	199	4
34	B'	2	overt	Victoria got over Stephen after a long relationship and...	...she learnt a lot.	Did Victoria learn a lot?	f	200	5
34	C'	2	np	Victoria got over Stephen after a long relationship and...	...Victoria learnt a lot.	Did Victoria learn a lot?	f	201	6
35	B	1	overt	Jonathan held the suitcase at the traffic lights and...	...he waited patiently.	Did Jonathan wait at the shop?	j	209	1
35	C	1	np	Jonathan held the suitcase at the traffic lights and...	...Jonathan waited patiently.	Did Jonathan wait at the shop?	j	210	2
35	A'	2	null	Jonathan held Rachel at the traffic lights and...	...waited patiently.	Did Jonathan wait at the shop?	j	205	3
35	B'	2	overt	Jonathan held Rachel at the traffic lights and...	...he waited patiently.	Did Jonathan wait at the shop?	j	206	4
35	C'	2	np	Jonathan held Rachel at the traffic lights and...	...Jonathan waited patiently.	Did Jonathan wait at the shop?	j	207	5
35	A	1	null	Jonathan held the suitcase at the traffic lights and...	...waited patiently.	Did Jonathan wait at the shop?	j	208	6

36	C	1	np	Samantha read a book to sleep quietly and...	...Samantha gazed at the stars.	Did Samantha gaze at the sun?	j	216	1
36	A'	2	null	Samantha read Tony to sleep quietly and...	...gazed at the stars.	Did Samantha gaze at the sun?	j	211	2
36	B'	2	overt	Samantha read Tony to sleep quietly and...	...she gazed at the stars.	Did Samantha gaze at the sun?	j	212	3
36	C'	2	np	Samantha read Tony to sleep quietly and...	...Samantha gazed at the stars.	Did Samantha gaze at the sun?	j	213	4
36	A	1	null	Samantha read a book to sleep quietly and...	...gazed at the stars.	Did Samantha gaze at the sun?	j	214	5
36	B	1	overt	Samantha read a book to sleep quietly and...	...she gazed at the stars.	Did Samantha gaze at the sun?	j	215	6

## English: distractors

ITEM	CONDITION	NO_ANTE	ANAPHOR	CONTEXT	TARGET	COMP_Q	CORRECT_KEY	TRIAL_NO	LIST
9001	n/a	n/a	n/a	Roses bloom in May and...	...smell very well.	Do roses bloom in May?	f	9001	n/a
9002	n/a	n/a	n/a	Bears are peaceful and...	...eat a lot.	Do bears eat a lot?	f	9002	n/a
9003	n/a	n/a	n/a	Encyclopedias are heavy and...	...are obsolete.	Are encyclopedias light?	j	9003	n/a
9004	n/a	n/a	n/a	The plane is very fast and...	...highly polluting.	Is the plane environment-friendly?	j	9004	n/a
9005	n/a	n/a	n/a	Buses run very fast when...	...they are delayed.	Do buses run very fast?	f	9005	n/a
9006	n/a	n/a	n/a	The heating is on when...	...it is very cold.	Is the heating on when it is cold?	f	9006	n/a
9007	n/a	n/a	n/a	Parrots are quite funny when...	...they talk for hours.	Are parrots boring?	j	9007	n/a
9008	n/a	n/a	n/a	Oranges are not tasty when...	...they are savour	Are oranges distasteful when they are sweet?	j	9008	n/a
9009	n/a	n/a	n/a	The media reports about the news but...	...lies quite a lot.	Does the media report about the news?	f	9009	n/a
9010	n/a	n/a	n/a	The house is damaged but...	...is beautiful.	Is the house beautiful?	f	9010	n/a
9011	n/a	n/a	n/a	The bicycle is cleaner but...	...is much more tiring.	Does the bicycle pollute?	j	9011	n/a
9012	n/a	n/a	n/a	The coronavirus created fear across the world but...	...it is not that deadly.	Is the coronavirus deadly?	j	9012	n/a
9013	n/a	n/a	n/a	The tree will shade while...	...it continues growing.	Will the tree shade?	f	9013	n/a
9014	n/a	n/a	n/a	The summer will last while...	...it is hot.	Will the summer last while it is hot?	f	9014	n/a
9015	n/a	n/a	n/a	The weather will be cold while...	...it continues snowing heavily.	Will be the weather very hot?	j	9015	n/a
9016	n/a	n/a	n/a	Bookshops will exist while...	...they sell plenty of books.	Will bookshops exist if they don't sell books?	j	9016	n/a
9017	n/a	n/a	n/a	Spain was bombed and...	...it remained devastated.	Was Spain bombed?	f	9017	n/a
9018	n/a	n/a	n/a	Lentils are full of vitamins and...	...are very tasty.	Are lentils very tasty?	f	9018	n/a
9019	n/a	n/a	n/a	High buildings are less noisy and...	...have better views.	Are high buildings very noisy?	j	9019	n/a
9020	n/a	n/a	n/a	Yoga strengthens your muscles and...	...relaxes your mind.	Does yoga stresses your mind?	j	9020	n/a
9021	n/a	n/a	n/a	Schools are closed when...	...there are holidays.	Do schools close during holidays?	f	9021	n/a
9022	n/a	n/a	n/a	Dogs are scared when...	...they see the vet.	Are dogs afraid of the vet?	f	9022	n/a
9023	n/a	n/a	n/a	Pubs are full when...	...there is a football match.	Are pubs empty when there is a football match?	j	9023	n/a
9024	n/a	n/a	n/a	The sky is clear blue when...	...it is clean.	Is the sky clear blue when it is dirty?	j	9024	n/a
9025	n/a	n/a	n/a	Cotton clothing has a good quality but...	...is expensive.	Does cotton clothing have good quality?	f	9025	n/a
9026	n/a	n/a	n/a	Swimming is a complete sport but...	...requires a good technique.	Does swimming require a good technique?	f	9026	n/a
9027	n/a	n/a	n/a	Germany is an efficient country but...	...is also rigid.	Is Germany inefficient?	j	9027	n/a

9028	n/a	n/a	n/a	Lemons contain plenty of vitamins but...	...are bitter.	Are lemons sweet?	j	9028	n/a
9029	n/a	n/a	n/a	Plants will grow richly while...	...they receive water.	Will plants grow with water?	f	9029	n/a
9030	n/a	n/a	n/a	The museum will receive people while...	...it is amusing.	Will the museum receive people while it is amusing?	f	9030	n/a
9031	n/a	n/a	n/a	The sea will be mixed up while...	...the wind continues.	Will the sea be quiet with strong wind?	j	9031	n/a
9032	n/a	n/a	n/a	Chimpanzees dream while...	...they are sleeping	Do chimpanzees sing while they are sleeping?	j	9032	n/a
9033	n/a	n/a	n/a	Tea prevents from getting diseases and...	...tastes very well.	Does tea prevent from diseases?	f	9033	n/a
9034	n/a	n/a	n/a	Almond trees bloom when...	...the winter ends.	Do almond trees bloom when winter ends?	f	9034	n/a
9035	n/a	n/a	n/a	Black colour is smart but...	...transmits sadness.	Is the black colour bright?	j	9035	n/a
9036	n/a	n/a	n/a	The microwave makes noise while...	...it is on.	Is the microwave noisy when it is off?	j	9036	n/a

## Spanish: experimental stimuli

ITEM	CONDITION	NO_ANTE	ANAPHOR	CONTEXT	TARGET	COMP_Q	CORRECT_KE	TRIAL_NO	LIST
1	A	1	null	Antonio llevó una tarta al cumpleaños y...	...llegó a tiempo	¿Llevó Antonio algo al cumpleaños?	f	4	4
1	A'	2	null	Antonio llevó a María al cumpleaños y...	...llegó a tiempo	¿Llevó Antonio a alguien al cumpleaños?	f	1	1
1	B	1	overt	Antonio llevó una tarta al cumpleaños y...	...él llegó a tiempo	¿Llevó Antonio algo al cumpleaños?	f	5	5
1	B'	2	overt	Antonio llevó a María al cumpleaños y...	...él llegó a tiempo	¿Llevó Antonio a alguien al cumpleaños?	f	2	2
1	C	1	np	Antonio llevó una tarta al cumpleaños y...	...Antonio llegó a tiempo	¿Llevó Antonio algo al cumpleaños?	f	6	6
1	C'	2	np	Antonio llevó a María al cumpleaños y...	...Antonio llegó a tiempo	¿Llevó Antonio a alguien al cumpleaños?	f	3	3
2	A	1	null	Pilar recibió flores en la oficina y...	...sonrió alegremente.	¿Sonrió Pilar alegremente?	f	10	3
2	A'	2	null	Pilar recibió a Francisco en la oficina y...	...sonrió alegremente.	¿Sonrió Pilar alegremente?	f	7	6
2	B	1	overt	Pilar recibió flores en la oficina y...	...ella sonrió alegremente.	¿Sonrió Pilar alegremente?	f	11	4
2	B'	2	overt	Pilar recibió a Francisco en la oficina y...	...ella sonrió alegremente.	¿Sonró Pilar alegremente?	f	8	1
2	C	1	np	Pilar recibió flores en la oficina y...	...Pilar sonrió alegremente.	¿Sonró Pilar alegremente?	f	12	5
2	C'	2	np	Pilar recibió a Francisco en la oficina y...	...Pilar sonrió alegremente.	¿Sonró Pilar alegremente?	f	9	2
3	A	1	null	Carlos presentó el proyecto la semana pasada y...	...quedó feliz.	¿Fue presentado un nuevo modelo?	j	16	2
3	A'	2	null	Carlos presentó a Teresa durante la cena y...	...quedó feliz.	¿Presentó Teresa a alguien durante la cena?	j	13	5
3	B	1	overt	Carlos presentó el proyecto la semana pasada y...	...él quedó feliz.	¿Fue presentado un nuevo modelo?	j	17	3
3	B'	2	overt	Carlos presentó a Teresa durante la cena y...	...él quedó feliz.	¿Presentó Teresa a alguien durante la cena?	j	14	6
3	C	1	np	Carlos presentó el proyecto la semana pasada y...	...Carlos quedó feliz.	¿Fue presentado un nuevo modelo?	j	18	4
3	C'	2	np	Carlos presentó a Teresa durante la cena y...	...Carlos quedó feliz.	¿Presentó Teresa a alguien durante la cena?	j	15	1
4	A	1	null	Josefa vio una película el otro día y...	...lloró intensamente.	¿Lloró Josefa alegremente?	j	22	1
4	A'	2	null	Josefa vio a Pedro el otro día y...	...lloró intensamente.	¿Lloró Josefa alegremente?	j	19	4
4	B	1	overt	Josefa vio una película el otro día y...	...ella lloró intensamente.	¿Lloró Josefa alegremente?	j	23	2
4	B'	2	overt	Josefa vio a Pedro el otro día y...	...ella lloró intensamente.	¿Lloró Josefa alegremente?	j	20	5
4	C	1	np	Josefa vio una película el otro día y...	...Josefa lloró intensamente.	¿Lloró Josefa alegremente?	j	24	3

4	C'	2	np	Josefa vio a Pedro el otro día y...	...Josefa lloró intensamente.	¿Lloró Josefa alegremente?	j	21	6	
5	A	1	null	Alejandro reconoció la bicicleta robada en la calle y...	...paró un momento.	¿Reconoció Alejandro la bicicleta en la calle?	f	28	6	
5	A'	2	null	Alejandro reconoció a Rosa en la calle y...	...paró un momento.	¿Reconoció Alejandro a Rosa en la calle?	f	25	3	
5	B	1	overt	Alejandro reconoció la bicicleta robada en la calle y...	...él paró un momento.	¿Reconoció Alejandro la bicicleta en la calle?	f	29	1	
5	B'	2	overt	Alejandro reconoció a Rosa en la calle y...	...él paró un momento.	¿Reconoció Alejandro a Rosa en la calle?	f	26	4	
5	C	1	np	Alejandro reconoció la bicicleta robada en la calle y...	...Alejandro paró un momento.	¿Reconoció Alejandro la bicicleta en la calle?	f	30	2	
5	C'	2	np	Alejandro reconoció a Rosa en la calle y...	...Alejandro paró un momento.	¿Reconoció Alejandro a Rosa en la calle?	f	27	5	
6	A	1	null	Cristina interrumpió la pelea en la reunión y...	...reaccionó enérgicamente.	¿Reaccionó enérgicamente?	Cristina	f	34	5
6	A'	2	null	Cristina interrumpió a Alberto en la reunión y...	...reaccionó enérgicamente.	¿Reaccionó enérgicamente?	Cristina	f	31	2
6	B	1	overt	Cristina interrumpió la pelea en la reunión y...	...ella reaccionó enérgicamente.	¿Reaccionó enérgicamente?	Cristina	f	35	6
6	B'	2	overt	Cristina interrumpió a Alberto en la reunión y...	...ella reaccionó enérgicamente.	¿Reaccionó enérgicamente?	Cristina	f	32	3
6	C	1	np	Cristina interrumpió la pelea en la reunión y...	...Cristina reaccionó enérgicamente.	¿Reaccionó enérgicamente?	Cristina	f	36	1
6	C'	2	np	Cristina interrumpió a Alberto en la reunión y...	...Cristina reaccionó enérgicamente.	¿Reaccionó enérgicamente?	Cristina	f	33	4
7	A	1	null	Fernando vio una flor bonita por el parque y...	...continuó alegremente.	¿Fotografió Fernando algo?	j	40	4	
7	A'	2	null	Fernando vio a Antonia por el parque y...	...continuó alegremente.	¿Besó Fernando a alguien?	j	37	1	
7	B	1	overt	Fernando vio una flor bonita por el parque y...	...él continuó alegremente.	¿Fotografió Fernando algo?	j	41	5	
7	B'	2	overt	Fernando vio a Antonia por el parque y...	...él continuó alegremente.	¿Besó Fernando a alguien?	j	38	2	
7	C	1	np	Fernando vio una flor bonita por el parque y...	...Fernando continuó alegremente.	¿Fotografió Fernando algo?	j	42	6	
7	C'	2	np	Fernando vio a Antonia por el parque y...	...Fernando continuó alegremente.	¿Besó Fernando a alguien?	j	39	3	
8	A	1	null	Laura quería un Porsche con locura y...	...suspiró profundamente.	¿Río Laura?	j	46	3	
8	A'	2	null	Laura quería a Pablo con locura y...	...suspiró profundamente.	¿Río Laura?	j	43	6	
8	B	1	overt	Laura quería un Porsche con locura y...	...ella suspiró profundamente.	¿Río Laura?	j	47	4	
8	B'	2	overt	Laura quería a Pablo con locura y...	...ella suspiró profundamente.	¿Río Laura?	j	44	1	
8	C	1	np	Laura quería un Porsche con locura y...	...Laura suspiró profundamente.	¿Río Laura?	j	48	5	
8	C'	2	np	Laura quería a Pablo con locura y...	...Laura suspiró profundamente.	¿Río Laura?	j	45	2	
9	A	1	null	Ramón defendió la idea en la reunión y...	...terminó muy mal.	¿Fue la idea defendida en la reunión?	f	52	2	
9	A'	2	null	Ramón defendió a Elena en la reunión y...	...terminó muy mal.	¿Fue Elena defendida en la reunión?	f	49	5	
9	B	1	overt	Ramón defendió la idea en la reunión y...	...él terminó muy mal.	¿Fue la idea defendida en la reunión?	f	53	3	
9	B'	2	overt	Ramón defendió a Elena en la reunión y...	...él terminó muy mal.	¿Fue Elena defendida en la reunión?	f	50	6	
9	C	1	np	Ramón defendió la idea en la reunión y...	...Ramón terminó muy mal.	¿Fue la idea defendida en la reunión?	f	54	4	
9	C'	2	np	Ramón defendió a Elena en la reunión y...	...Ramón terminó muy mal.	¿Fue Elena defendida en la reunión?	f	51	1	
10	A	1	null	Marta visitó el cementerio esta mañana y...	...estaba triste.	¿Estaba Marta triste?	f	58	1	
10	A'	2	null	Marta visitó a Sergio esta mañana y...	...estaba triste.	¿Estaba Marta triste?	f	55	4	
10	B	1	overt	Marta visitó el cementerio esta mañana y...	...ella estaba triste.	¿Estaba Marta triste?	f	59	2	
10	B'	2	overt	Marta visitó a Sergio esta mañana y...	...ella estaba triste.	¿Estaba Marta triste?	f	56	5	
10	C	1	np	Marta visitó el cementerio esta mañana y...	...Marta estaba triste.	¿Estaba Marta triste?	f	60	3	
10	C'	2	np	Marta visitó a Sergio esta mañana y...	...Marta estaba triste.	¿Estaba Marta triste?	f	57	6	

11	A	1	null	Diego buscó un regalo por todo el centro comercial y...	...salió muy tarde.	¿Buscó Diego por el bar?	j	64	6
11	A'	2	null	Diego buscó a Lucía por todo el centro comercial y...	...salió muy tarde.	¿Buscó Diego por el bar?	j	61	3
11	B	1	overt	Diego buscó un regalo por todo el centro comercial y...	...él salió muy tarde.	¿Buscó Diego por el bar?	j	65	1
11	B'	2	overt	Diego buscó a Lucía por todo el centro comercial y...	...él salió muy tarde.	¿Buscó Diego por el bar?	j	62	4
11	C	1	np	Diego buscó un regalo por todo el centro comercial y...	...Diego salió muy tarde.	¿Buscó Diego por el bar?	j	66	2
11	C'	2	np	Diego buscó a Lucía por todo el centro comercial y...	...Diego salió muy tarde.	¿Buscó Diego por el bar?	j	63	5
12	A	1	null	Luisa detectó una amenaza entre la multitud y...	...avanzó decididamente.	¿Avanzó Luisa muy despacio?	j	70	5
12	A'	2	null	Luisa distinguió a Ignacio entre la multitud y...	...avanzó decididamente.	¿Avanzó Luisa muy despacio?	j	67	2
12	B	1	overt	Luisa detectó una amenaza entre la multitud y...	...ella avanzó decididamente.	¿Avanzó Luisa muy despacio?	j	71	6
12	B'	2	overt	Luisa distinguió a Ignacio entre la multitud y...	...ella avanzó decididamente.	¿Avanzó Luisa muy despacio?	j	68	3
12	C	1	np	Luisa detectó una amenaza entre la multitud y...	...Luisa avanzó decididamente.	¿Avanzó Luisa muy despacio?	j	72	1
12	C'	2	np	Luisa distinguió a Ignacio entre la multitud y...	...Luisa avanzó decididamente.	¿Avanzó Luisa muy despacio?	j	69	4
13	A	1	null	Álvaro denunció la situación en el trabajo y...	...terminó con problemas.	¿Denunció Álvaro algo?	f	76	4
13	A'	2	null	Álvaro denunció a Paula en el trabajo y...	...terminó con problemas.	¿Denunció Álvaro a alguien?	f	73	1
13	B	1	overt	Álvaro denunció la situación en el trabajo y...	...él terminó con problemas.	¿Denunció Álvaro algo?	f	77	5
13	B'	2	overt	Álvaro denunció a Paula en el trabajo y...	...él terminó con problemas.	¿Denunció Álvaro a alguien?	f	74	2
13	C	1	np	Álvaro denunció la situación en el trabajo y...	...Álvaro terminó con problemas.	¿Denunció Álvaro algo?	f	78	6
13	C'	2	np	Álvaro denunció a Paula en el trabajo y...	...Álvaro terminó con problemas.	¿Denunció Álvaro a alguien?	f	75	3
14	A	1	null	Sara alcanzó la velocidad máxima en la maratón y...	...corrió aún más rápido.	¿Corrió Sara aún más rápido?	f	82	3
14	A'	2	null	Sara alcanzó a Eduardo en la maratón y...	...corrió aún más rápido.	¿Corrió Sara aún más rápido?	f	79	6
14	B	1	overt	Sara alcanzó la velocidad máxima en la maratón y...	...ella corrió aún más rápido.	¿Corrió Sara aún más rápido?	f	83	4
14	B'	2	overt	Sara alcanzó a Eduardo en la maratón y...	...ella corrió aún más rápido.	¿Corrió Sara aún más rápido?	f	80	1
14	C	1	np	Sara alcanzó la velocidad máxima en la maratón y...	...Sara corrió aún más rápido.	¿Corrió Sara aún más rápido?	f	84	5
14	C'	2	np	Sara alcanzó a Eduardo en la maratón y...	...Sara corrió aún más rápido.	¿Corrió Sara aún más rápido?	f	81	2
15	A	1	null	Santiago conoció una nueva discoteca la otra noche y...	...bailó intensamente.	¿Conoció Santiago un nuevo restaurante?	j	88	2
15	A'	2	null	Santiago conoció a Juana en la discoteca y...	...bailó intensamente.	¿Conoció Juana a un cantante famoso?	j	85	5
15	B	1	overt	Santiago conoció una nueva discoteca la otra noche y...	...él bailó intensamente.	¿Conoció Santiago un nuevo restaurante?	j	89	3
15	B'	2	overt	Santiago conoció a Juana en la discoteca y...	...él bailó intensamente.	¿Conoció Juana a un cantante famoso?	j	86	6
15	C	1	np	Santiago conoció una nueva discoteca la otra noche y...	...Santiago bailó intensamente.	¿Conoció Santiago un nuevo restaurante?	j	90	4
15	C'	2	np	Santiago conoció a Juana en la discoteca y...	...Santiago bailó intensamente.	¿Conoció Juana a un cantante famoso?	j	87	1
16	A	1	null	Patricia venció el miedo en el juego y...	...durmió muy mal.	¿Durmió Patricia plácidamente?	j	94	1
16	A'	2	null	Patricia venció a Alfonso en el juego y...	...durmió muy mal.	¿Durmió Patricia plácidamente?	j	91	4
16	B	1	overt	Patricia venció el miedo en el juego y...	...ella durmió muy mal.	¿Durmió Patricia plácidamente?	j	95	2
16	B'	2	overt	Patricia venció a Alfonso en el juego y...	...ella durmió muy mal.	¿Durmió Patricia plácidamente?	j	92	5
16	C	1	np	Patricia venció el miedo en el juego y...	...Patricia durmió muy mal.	¿Durmió Patricia plácidamente?	j	96	3
16	C'	2	np	Patricia venció a Alfonso en el juego y...	...Patricia durmió muy mal.	¿Durmió Patricia plácidamente?	j	93	6
17	A	1	null	Ricardo dirigió la empresa durante tres años y...	...acabó muy mal.	¿Dirigió Ricardo la empresa durante tres años?	f	100	6

17	A'	2	null	Ricardo dirigió a Victoria durante tres años y...	...acabó muy mal.	¿Dirigió Ricardo a Victoria durante tres años?	f	97	3	
17	B	1	overt	Ricardo dirigió la empresa durante tres años y...	...él acabó muy mal.	¿Dirigió Ricardo la empresa durante tres años?	f	101	1	
17	B'	2	overt	Ricardo dirigió a Victoria durante tres años y...	...él acabó muy mal.	¿Dirigió Ricardo a Victoria durante tres años?	f	98	4	
17	C	1	np	Ricardo dirigió la empresa durante tres años y...	...Ricardo acabó muy mal.	¿Dirigió Ricardo la empresa durante tres años?	f	102	2	
17	C'	2	np	Ricardo dirigió a Victoria durante tres años y...	...Ricardo acabó muy mal.	¿Dirigió Ricardo a Victoria durante tres años?	f	99	5	
18	A	1	null	Julia detuvo el ascensor en el último momento y...	...subió al despacho.	¿Subió Julia al despacho?	f	106	5	
18	A'	2	null	Julia detuvo a Emilio junto al ascensor y...	...subió al despacho.	¿Subió Julia al despacho?	f	103	2	
18	B	1	overt	Julia detuvo el ascensor en el último momento y...	...ella subió al despacho.	¿Subió Julia al despacho?	f	107	6	
18	B'	2	overt	Julia detuvo a Emilio junto al ascensor y...	...ella subió al despacho.	¿Subió Julia al despacho?	f	104	3	
18	C	1	np	Julia detuvo el ascensor en el último momento y...	...Julia subió al despacho.	¿Subió Julia al despacho?	f	108	1	
18	C'	2	np	Julia detuvo a Emilio junto al ascensor y...	...Julia subió al despacho.	¿Subió Julia al despacho?	f	105	4	
19	A	1	null	Julio mandó buenas noticias por WhatsApp y...	...sintió tranquilidad.	¿Llamó Julio por teléfono?	j	112	4	
19	A'	2	null	Julio mandó a Andrea de vacaciones y...	...sintió tranquilidad.	¿Llamó Julio por teléfono?	j	109	1	
19	B	1	overt	Julio mandó buenas noticias por WhatsApp y...	...él sintió tranquilidad.	¿Llamó Julio por teléfono?	j	113	5	
19	B'	2	overt	Julio mandó a Andrea de vacaciones y...	...él sintió tranquilidad.	¿Llamó Julio por teléfono?	j	110	2	
19	C	1	np	Julio mandó buenas noticias por WhatsApp y...	...Julio sintió tranquilidad.	¿Llamó Julio por teléfono?	j	114	6	
19	C'	2	np	Julio mandó a Andrea de vacaciones y...	...Julio sintió tranquilidad.	¿Llamó Julio por teléfono?	j	111	3	
20	A	1	null	Silvia abandonó el ejército hace unos días y...	...quedó en paz.	¿Quedó Silvia intranquila?	j	118	3	
20	A'	2	null	Silvia abandonó a Hugo hace unos días y...	...quedó en paz.	¿Quedó Silvia intranquila?	j	115	6	
20	B	1	overt	Silvia abandonó el ejército hace unos días y...	...ella quedó en paz.	¿Quedó Silvia intranquila?	j	119	4	
20	B'	2	overt	Silvia abandonó a Hugo hace unos días y...	...ella quedó en paz.	¿Quedó Silvia intranquila?	j	116	1	
20	C	1	np	Silvia abandonó el ejército hace unos días y...	...Silvia quedó en paz.	¿Quedó Silvia intranquila?	j	120	5	
20	C'	2	np	Silvia abandonó a Hugo hace unos días y...	...Silvia quedó en paz.	¿Quedó Silvia intranquila?	j	117	2	
21	A	1	null	Ernesto cogió el micrófono en el escenario y...	...actuó increíblemente.	¿Estaba el micrófono en el escenario?	f	124	2	
21	A'	2	null	Ernesto cogió a Soledad en el escenario y...	...actuó increíblemente.	¿Estaba Soledad en el escenario?	f	121	5	
21	B	1	overt	Ernesto cogió el micrófono en el escenario y...	...él actuó increíblemente.	¿Estaba el micrófono en el escenario?	f	125	3	
21	B'	2	overt	Ernesto cogió a Soledad en el escenario y...	...él actuó increíblemente.	¿Estaba Soledad en el escenario?	f	122	6	
21	C	1	np	Ernesto cogió el micrófono en el escenario y...	...Ernesto actuó increíblemente.	¿Estaba el micrófono en el escenario?	f	126	4	
21	C'	2	np	Ernesto cogió a Soledad en el escenario y...	...Ernesto actuó increíblemente.	¿Estaba Soledad en el escenario?	f	123	1	
22	A	1	null	Manuela ignoró el dolor durante la fiesta y...	...bailó apasionadamente.	¿Bailó Manuela apasionadamente?	f	130	1	
22	A'	2	null	Manuela ignoró a Roberto durante la fiesta y...	...bailó apasionadamente.	¿Bailó Manuela apasionadamente?	f	127	4	
22	B	1	overt	Manuela ignoró el dolor durante la fiesta y...	...ella apasionadamente.	bailó	¿Bailó Manuela apasionadamente?	f	131	2
22	B'	2	overt	Manuela ignoró a Roberto durante la fiesta y...	...ella apasionadamente.	bailó	¿Bailó Manuela apasionadamente?	f	128	5
22	C	1	np	Manuela ignoró el dolor durante la fiesta y...	...Manuela apasionadamente.	bailó	¿Bailó Manuela apasionadamente?	f	132	3
22	C'	2	np	Manuela ignoró a Roberto durante la fiesta y...	...Manuela apasionadamente.	bailó	¿Bailó Manuela apasionadamente?	f	129	6
23	A	1	null	Gonzalo cuidó los modales durante la reunión y...	...estuvo en calma.	¿Estaba Gonzalo en una celebración?	j	136	6	
23	A'	2	null	Gonzalo cuidó a Alba en el hospital y...	...estuvo en calma.	¿Cuidó Gonzalo a Alba en la casa?	j	133	3	

23	B	1	overt	Gonzalo cuidó los modales durante la reunión y...	...él estuvo en calma.	¿Estaba Gonzalo en una celebración?	Gonzalo en una j	137	1
23	B'	2	overt	Gonzalo cuidó a Alba en el hospital y...	...él estuvo en calma.	¿Cuidó Gonzalo a Alba en la casa?	j	134	4
23	C	1	np	Gonzalo cuidó los modales durante la reunión y...	...Gonzalo estuvo en calma.	¿Estaba Gonzalo en una celebración?	Gonzalo en una j	138	2
23	C'	2	np	Gonzalo cuidó a Alba en el hospital y...	...Gonzalo estuvo en calma.	¿Cuidó Gonzalo a Alba en la casa?	j	135	5
24	A	1	null	Nuria escuchó la comedia con entusiasmo y...	...rio mucho.	¿Lloró Nuria?	j	142	5
24	A'	2	null	Nuria escuchó a Alfredo con entusiasmo y...	...rio mucho.	¿Lloró Nuria?	j	139	2
24	B	1	overt	Nuria escuchó la comedia con entusiasmo y...	...ella rio mucho.	¿Lloró Nuria?	j	143	6
24	B'	2	overt	Nuria escuchó a Alfredo con entusiasmo y...	...ella rio mucho.	¿Lloró Nuria?	j	140	3
24	C	1	np	Nuria escuchó la comedia con entusiasmo y...	...Nuria rio mucho.	¿Lloró Nuria?	j	144	1
24	C'	2	np	Nuria escuchó a Alfredo con entusiasmo y...	...Nuria rio mucho.	¿Lloró Nuria?	j	141	4
25	A	1	null	Héctor examinó la escultura con detenimiento y...	...abandonó la habitación.	¿Examinó Héctor algo?	f	148	4
25	A'	2	null	Héctor examinó a Ángela con detenimiento y...	...abandonó la habitación.	¿Examinó Héctor a alguien?	f	145	1
25	B	1	overt	Héctor examinó la escultura con detenimiento y...	...él abandonó la habitación.	¿Examinó Héctor algo?	f	149	5
25	B'	2	overt	Héctor examinó a Ángela con detenimiento y...	...él abandonó la habitación.	¿Examinó Héctor a alguien?	f	146	2
25	C	1	np	Héctor examinó la escultura con detenimiento y...	...Héctor abandonó la habitación.	¿Examinó Héctor algo?	f	150	6
25	C'	2	np	Héctor examinó a Ángela con detenimiento y...	...Héctor abandonó la habitación.	¿Examinó Héctor a alguien?	f	147	3
26	A	1	null	Mónica golpeó el coche por detrás y...	...huyó inmediatamente.	¿Huyó Mónica inmediatamente?	f	154	3
26	A'	2	null	Mónica golpeó a Mariano por detrás y...	...huyó inmediatamente.	¿Huyó Mónica inmediatamente?	f	151	6
26	B	1	overt	Mónica golpeó el coche por detrás y...	...ella huyó inmediatamente.	¿Huyó Mónica inmediatamente?	f	155	4
26	B'	2	overt	Mónica golpeó a Mariano por detrás y...	...ella huyó inmediatamente.	¿Huyó Mónica inmediatamente?	f	152	1
26	C	1	np	Mónica golpeó el coche por detrás y...	...Mónica huyó inmediatamente.	¿Huyó Mónica inmediatamente?	f	156	5
26	C'	2	np	Mónica golpeó a Mariano por detrás y...	...Mónica huyó inmediatamente.	¿Huyó Mónica inmediatamente?	f	153	2
27	A	1	null	Aitor salvó el país de la situación y...	...vivió felizmente.	¿Salvó Aitor el continente entero?	j	160	2
27	A'	2	null	Aitor salvó a Sandra de la situación y...	...vivió felizmente.	¿Salvó Sandra a alguien?	j	157	5
27	B	1	overt	Aitor salvó el país de la situación y...	...él vivió felizmente.	¿Salvó Aitor el continente entero?	j	161	3
27	B'	2	overt	Aitor salvó a Sandra de la situación y...	...él vivió felizmente.	¿Salvó Sandra a alguien?	j	158	6
27	C	1	np	Aitor salvó el país de la situación y...	...Aitor vivió felizmente.	¿Salvó Aitor el continente entero?	j	162	4
27	C'	2	np	Aitor salvó a Sandra de la situación y...	...Aitor vivió felizmente.	¿Salvó Sandra a alguien?	j	159	1
28	A	1	null	Yolanda apoyó la estrategia en la campaña política y...	...salió triunfante.	¿Fracasó Yolanda?	j	166	1
28	A'	2	null	Yolanda apoyó a Lorenzo en la campaña política y...	...salió triunfante.	¿Fracasó Yolanda?	j	163	4
28	B	1	overt	Yolanda apoyó la estrategia en la campaña política y...	...ella salió triunfante.	¿Fracasó Yolanda?	j	167	2
28	B'	2	overt	Yolanda apoyó a Lorenzo en la campaña política y...	...ella salió triunfante.	¿Fracasó Yolanda?	j	164	5
28	C	1	np	Yolanda apoyó la estrategia en la campaña política y...	...Yolanda salió triunfante.	¿Fracasó Yolanda?	j	168	3
28	C'	2	np	Yolanda apoyó a Lorenzo en la campaña política y...	...Yolanda salió triunfante.	¿Fracasó Yolanda?	j	165	6
29	A	1	null	Rodrigo paró el atraco inmediatamente y...	...reaccionó con tranquilidad.	¿Fue el atraco parado inmediatamente?	f	172	6
29	A'	2	null	Rodrigo paró a Alicia durante el atraco y...	...reaccionó con tranquilidad.	¿Hubo un atraco?	f	169	3
29	B	1	overt	Rodrigo paró el atraco inmediatamente y...	...él reaccionó con tranquilidad.	¿Fue el atraco parado inmediatamente?	f	173	1

29	B'	2	overt	Rodrigo paró a Alicia durante el atraco y...	...él reaccionó con tranquilidad.	con	¿Hubo un atraco?	f	170	4
29	C	1	np	Rodrigo paró el atraco inmediatamente y...	...Rodrigo reaccionó con tranquilidad.	con	¿Fue el atraco parado inmediatamente?	f	174	2
29	C'	2	np	Rodrigo paró a Alicia durante el atraco y...	...Rodrigo reaccionó con tranquilidad.	con	¿Hubo un atraco?	f	171	5
30	A	1	null	Sonia escuchó las instrucciones en la fábrica y...	...continuó felizmente.		¿Continuó Sonia felizmente?	f	178	5
30	A'	2	null	Sonia escuchó a Arturo en la fábrica y...	...continuó felizmente.		¿Continuó Sonia felizmente?	f	175	2
30	B	1	overt	Sonia escuchó las instrucciones en la fábrica y...	...ella continuó felizmente.		¿Continuó Sonia felizmente?	f	179	6
30	B'	2	overt	Sonia escuchó a Arturo en la fábrica y...	...ella continuó felizmente.		¿Continuó Sonia felizmente?	f	176	3
30	C	1	np	Sonia escuchó las instrucciones en la fábrica y...	...Sonia continuó felizmente.		¿Continuó Sonia felizmente?	f	180	1
30	C'	2	np	Sonia escuchó a Arturo en la fábrica y...	...Sonia continuó felizmente.		¿Continuó Sonia felizmente?	f	177	4
31	A	1	null	Marco entendió el problema durante la reunión y...	...mostró interés.		¿Ignoró Marco el problema?	j	184	4
31	A'	2	null	Marco entendió a Marina durante la reunión y...	...mostró interés.		¿Ignoró Marco a alguien?	j	181	1
31	B	1	overt	Marco entendió el problema durante la reunión y...	...él mostró interés.		¿Ignoró Marco el problema?	j	185	5
31	B'	2	overt	Marco entendió a Marina durante la reunión y...	...él mostró interés.		¿Ignoró Marco a alguien?	j	182	2
31	C	1	np	Marco entendió el problema durante la reunión y...	...Marco mostró interés.		¿Ignoró Marco el problema?	j	186	6
31	C'	2	np	Marco entendió a Marina durante la reunión y...	...Marco mostró interés.		¿Ignoró Marco a alguien?	j	183	3
32	A	1	null	Susana recogió la comida en el centro comercial y...	...fumó en el trayecto.		¿Comió Susana en el trayecto?	j	190	3
32	A'	2	null	Susana recogió a Eugenio en el centro comercial y...	...fumó en el trayecto.		¿Comió Susana en el trayecto?	j	187	6
32	B	1	overt	Susana recogió la comida en el centro comercial y...	...ella fumó en el trayecto.		¿Comió Susana en el trayecto?	j	191	4
32	B'	2	overt	Susana recogió a Eugenio en el centro comercial y...	...ella fumó en el trayecto.		¿Comió Susana en el trayecto?	j	188	1
32	C	1	np	Susana recogió la comida en el centro comercial y...	...Susana fumó en el trayecto.		¿Comió Susana en el trayecto?	j	192	5
32	C'	2	np	Susana recogió a Eugenio en el centro comercial y...	...Susana fumó en el trayecto.		¿Comió Susana en el trayecto?	j	189	2
33	A	1	null	Mateo encontró un tesoro en la playa y...	...reflexionó preocupación.	con	¿Fue el tesoro encontrado?	f	196	2
33	A'	2	null	Mateo encontró a Natalia tras largo rato y...	...reflexionó preocupación.	con	¿Fue Natalia encontrada?	f	193	5
33	B	1	overt	Mateo encontró un tesoro en la playa y...	...él reflexionó preocupación.	con	¿Fue el tesoro encontrado?	f	197	3
33	B'	2	overt	Mateo encontró a Natalia tras largo rato y...	...él reflexionó preocupación.	con	¿Fue Natalia encontrada?	f	194	6
33	C	1	np	Mateo encontró un tesoro en la playa y...	...Mateo reflexionó preocupación.	con	¿Fue el tesoro encontrado?	f	198	4
33	C'	2	np	Mateo encontró a Natalia tras largo rato y...	...Mateo reflexionó preocupación.	con	¿Fue Natalia encontrada?	f	195	1
34	A	1	null	Claudia olvidó la ansiedad después de varios meses y...	...aprendió mucho.		¿Aprendió Claudia mucho?	f	202	1
34	A'	2	null	Claudia olvidó a Aaron después de varios meses y...	...aprendió mucho.		¿Aprendió Claudia mucho?	f	199	4
34	B	1	overt	Claudia olvidó la ansiedad después de varios meses y...	...ella aprendió mucho.		¿Aprendió Claudia mucho?	f	203	2
34	B'	2	overt	Claudia olvidó a Aaron después de varios meses y...	...ella aprendió mucho.		¿Aprendió Claudia mucho?	f	200	5
34	C	1	np	Claudia olvidó la ansiedad después de varios meses y...	...Claudia aprendió mucho.		¿Aprendió Claudia mucho?	f	204	3
34	C'	2	np	Claudia olvidó a Aaron después de varios meses y...	...Claudia aprendió mucho.		¿Aprendió Claudia mucho?	f	201	6
35	A	1	null	Adolfo sujetó las bolsas en el semáforo y...	...esperó pacientemente.		¿Esperó Adolfo en la tienda?	j	208	6
35	A'	2	null	Adolfo sujetó a Sofía en el semáforo y...	...esperó pacientemente.		¿Esperó Adolfo en la tienda?	j	205	3
35	B	1	overt	Adolfo sujetó las bolsas en el semáforo y...	...él esperó pacientemente.		¿Esperó Adolfo en la tienda?	j	209	1
35	B'	2	overt	Adolfo sujetó a Sofía en el semáforo y...	...él esperó pacientemente.		¿Esperó Adolfo en la tienda?	j	206	4

35	C	1	np	Adolfo sujetó las bolsas en el semáforo y...	...Adolfo pacientemente.	esperó	¿Esperó Adolfo en la tienda?	j	210	2
35	C'	2	np	Adolfo sujetó a Sofía en el semáforo y...	...Adolfo pacientemente.	esperó	¿Esperó Adolfo en la tienda?	j	207	5
36	A	1	null	Gloria leyó un libro tranquilamente y...	...contempló las estrellas.		¿Contempló Gloria el sol?	j	214	5
36	A'	2	null	Gloria leyó a Dario tranquilamente y...	...contempló las estrellas.		¿Contempló Gloria el sol?	j	211	2
36	B	1	overt	Gloria leyó un libro tranquilamente y...	...ella contempló las estrellas.		¿Contempló Gloria el sol?	j	215	6
36	B'	2	overt	Gloria leyó a Dario tranquilamente y...	...ella contempló las estrellas.		¿Contempló Gloria el sol?	j	212	3
36	C	1	np	Gloria leyó un libro tranquilamente y...	...Gloria contempló las estrellas.		¿Contempló Gloria el sol?	j	216	1
36	C'	2	np	Gloria leyó a Dario tranquila mente y...	...Gloria contempló las estrellas.		¿Contempló Gloria el sol?	j	213	4

## Spanish: distractors

ITEM	CONDITION	NO_ANTE	ANAPHOR	CONTEXT	TARGET	COMP_Q	CORRECT_KEY	TRIAL_NO	LIST
9001	n/a	n/a	n/a	Las margaritas salen en mayo y...	...huelen muy bien.	¿Salen las margaritas en mayo?	f	9001	n/a
9002	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los osos son tranquilos y...	...comen mucho.	¿Comen los osos mucho?	f	9002	n/a
9003	n/a	n/a	n/a	Las enciclopedias pesan mucho y...	...están anticuadas.	¿Son las enciclopedias ligeras?	j	9003	n/a
9004	n/a	n/a	n/a	El avión es muy rápido y...	...muy contaminante.	¿Es el avión poco contaminante?	j	9004	n/a
9005	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los autobuses corren mucho cuando...	...van con retraso.	¿Corren los autobuses mucho?	f	9005	n/a
9006	n/a	n/a	n/a	La calefacción está puesta cuando...	...hace frío.	¿Está la calefacción puesta cuando hace frío?	f	9006	n/a
9007	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los loros son muy graciosos cuando...	...hablan sin parar.	¿Son los loros antipáticos?	j	9007	n/a
9008	n/a	n/a	n/a	Las naranjas son muy desagradables cuando...	...están muy ácidas.	¿Son las naranjas desagradables cuando están dulces?	j	9008	n/a
9009	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los medios de comunicación informan de las noticias pero...	...mienten bastante.	¿Informan los medios de comunicación?	f	9009	n/a
9010	n/a	n/a	n/a	La casa está estropeada pero...	...es muy bonita.	¿Es la casa bonita?	f	9010	n/a
9011	n/a	n/a	n/a	La bicicleta es más ecológica pero...	...cansa mucho.	¿Contamina la bicicleta?	j	9011	n/a
9012	n/a	n/a	n/a	El coronavirus ha generado mucho miedo mundial pero...	...no es tan mortal.	¿Es muy mortal el coronavirus?	j	9012	n/a
9013	n/a	n/a	n/a	El árbol dará sombra mientras...	...siga creciendo.	¿Dará sombra el árbol?	f	9013	n/a
9014	n/a	n/a	n/a	El verano se alargará mientras...	...haga calor.	¿Se alargará el verano mientras haga calor?	f	9014	n/a
9015	n/a	n/a	n/a	El tiempo será muy frío mientras...	...siga nevando intensamente.	¿Será el tiempo muy caluroso?	j	9015	n/a
9016	n/a	n/a	n/a	Las librerías seguirán existiendo mientras...	...vendan muchos libros.	¿Existirán las librerías si venden pocos libros?	j	9016	n/a
9017	n/a	n/a	n/a	España fue bombardeada y...	...quedó destruida.	¿Fue España bombardeada?	f	9017	n/a
9018	n/a	n/a	n/a	Las lentejas son ricas en hierro y...	...están riquísimas.	¿Están las lentejas riquísimas?	f	9018	n/a
9019	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los edificios altos son poco ruidosos y...	...tienen mejores vistas.	¿Son los edificios altos muy ruidosos?	j	9019	n/a
9020	n/a	n/a	n/a	El yoga fortalece tu musculatura y...	...relaja tu mente.	¿El yoga estresa tu mente?	j	9020	n/a
9021	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los colegios cierran cuando...	...hay vacaciones.	¿Cierran los colegios en vacaciones?	f	9021	n/a
9022	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los perros se asustan cuando...	...ven al veterinario.	¿Se asustan los perros con el veterinario?	f	9022	n/a
9023	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los bares están llenos cuando...	...hay partido de fútbol.	¿Están los bares vacíos cuando hay partido?	j	9023	n/a
9024	n/a	n/a	n/a	El cielo es azul cuando...	...está limpio.	¿Es el cielo azul cuando está sucio?	j	9024	n/a
9025	n/a	n/a	n/a	La ropa de algodón es buena pero...	...es muy cara.	¿Es la ropa de algodón buena?	f	9025	n/a

9026	n/a	n/a	n/a	La natación es un deporte completo pero...	...requiere mucha técnica.	¿Requiere la natación técnica?	f	9026	n/a
9027	n/a	n/a	n/a	Alemania es un país eficaz pero...	...es también rígido.	¿Es Alemania ineficaz?	j	9027	n/a
9028	n/a	n/a	n/a	El limón tiene muchas vitaminas pero...	...está amargo.	¿Está dulce el limón?	j	9028	n/a
9029	n/a	n/a	n/a	Las plantas crecerán abundantemente mientras...	...reciban agua.	¿Crecerán las plantas con agua?	f	9029	n/a
9030	n/a	n/a	n/a	El museo recibirá gente mientras...	...sea entretenido.	¿Recibirá el museo gente mientras sea entretenido?	f	9030	n/a
9031	n/a	n/a	n/a	El mar estará enfurecido mientras...	...siga el fuerte viento.	¿Estará el mar tranquilo con fuerte viento?	j	9031	n/a
9032	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los chimpancés sueñan mientras...	...están durmiendo.	¿Cantan los chimpancés mientras duermen?	j	9032	n/a
9033	n/a	n/a	n/a	El té previene enfermedades y...	...sienta muy bien.	¿El té previene enfermedades?	f	9033	n/a
9034	n/a	n/a	n/a	Los almendros florecen cuando...	...termina el invierno.	¿Florecen los almendros cuando termina el invierno?	f	9034	n/a
9035	n/a	n/a	n/a	El color negro es elegante pero...	...transmite tristeza.	¿Es el color negro alegre?	j	9035	n/a
9036	n/a	n/a	n/a	El microondas hace mucho ruido mientras...	...está encendido.	¿Hace ruido el microondas mientras está apagado?	j	9036	n/a