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**SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION OF  
UNACCUSATIVE SYNTAX:  
MACEDONIAN AND SPANISH LEARNERS  
OF L2 ENGLISH**

**Departamento de Filologías Inglesa y Alemana**

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## OVERVIEW

The Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978, Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 1995) is a proposed linguistic principle that divides intransitive verbs into two types: unergatives, whose only argument (subject) typically denotes activities controlled by an agent, and unaccusatives whose argument is generated postverbally in object position and is a theme. One of the surface syntactic manifestations of UH is that, while Subject-Verb order is allowed with both verb types, Verb-Subject order is allowed under certain conditions: (i) the verb is unaccusative; (ii) the subject introduces new information (focus); and (iii) the subject is long (heavy).

Previous research has shown that L2 learners are sensitive to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH), irrespective of instruction, input and their L1. One of the aims of this study is to support previous findings claiming that different L1 background learners of L2 English are sensitive to the syntactic constraints of the UH by investigating the acceptance of postverbal subjects by Spanish and Macedonian learners of L2 English. In particular, the study focuses on the acquisition of postverbal subject structures of the type (XP)-V-S (1-4), where a preverbal element is realized either as an ungrammatical overt expletive “*it*”, an ungrammatical null element ( $\emptyset$ ), a grammatical “*there*” expletive (existential inversion) and a grammatical *PP* (locative inversion). These structures have been widely reported in the L2 literature to be produced by learners of English with different L1 backgrounds (Spanish, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic) with unaccusative verbs, but never with unergatives.

- (1) \**it*-V-S
- a) \*...*it* happened a tragic event.... (L1 Italian)
  - b) \*...*it* arrived the day of his departure. (L1 Spanish)
  - c) \*...*it* will happen something exciting. (L1 Spanish)

(2) *there-V-S*

a) ...*there* often arise the problem of political indifference.(L1 Japanese)

b) ...*there* exist two kind of jobs... (L1 Italian)

c) ...there exist many kind of prejudice. (L1 Korean)

(3) \* $\emptyset$ -V-S

...it is difficult that [exist volunteers with such a feeling against it]...  
(L1 Spanish)

...like a mirage [appeared the large expanse of the sea]... (L1 Italian)

(4) *PP-V-S*

...in the town lived a small Indian. (L1 Spanish)

...on this particular place happened a story which now appears on all  
Mexican history books. (L1 Spanish)

... on her face appeared those two red cheeks and above them beautiful  
deep eyes. (L1 Arabic)

This study differs from previous studies in several respects: (i) the participants are native Macedonian learners of L2 English (who will be compared against L1 Spanish – L2 English learners); (ii) the study is developmental, measuring the development of XP-V-S through all proficiency levels (from A1 to C2), which will then be compared against the English native speakers' norm; and (iii) the nature of the preverbal element (XP) in XP-V-S structures will be analyzed in detail.

Data were collected online via a contextualized acceptability judgment test. 91 Macedonian and 91 Spanish learners of L2 English classified in groups of six proficiency levels (A1-C2) and 24 native English participants took part in this study. The overall results indicate that Macedonian and Spanish learners of L2 English are sensitive to the universal constraints of the UH by allowing the occurrence of postverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs more than with unergative verbs. In accordance with the theory of Universal Grammar (UG) it has also been noticed that L1 Macedonian and



L1 Spanish learners follow similar developmental stages in the L2 acquisition of postverbal subjects which converge with the grammars of the control English native group, suggesting that the acceptance of the structures cannot be accounted for solely by L1 transfer. Finally, this study will discuss the nature of the preverbal phrase (XP) in learners' grammars, i.e., structural cases like *\*it-V-S* (e.g...*it* happened a tragic event..) and *\*∅-V-S* (e.g. ...*like a mirage [appeared the large expanse of the sea]*... ) will be discussed, as they will shed some light on, learners' processing difficulties and/or crosslinguistic influence, which will also be discussed in detail.

This study concludes with some pedagogical recommendations for the teaching of postverbal subjects in L2 English and some suggestions for future research on the nature of unaccusativity in L2 acquisition.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The main focus of this study supports the claims that second language (L2) learners are sensitive to the properties of the Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH) as a proposed invariant principle of Universal Grammar (UG). The intuition of language learners to the UH confirms the claims that language acquisition cannot be accounted for only L1 transfer but it is rather a complex process developing through predetermined stages. We are interested in exploring the L2 acquisition of postverbal subject structures in L2 English which is a widely attested phenomenon. Our study analyzes the acquisition of postverbal subject structures of the type *XP-V-S* by L1 Macedonian – L2 English learners compared to L1 Spanish – L2 English learners.

Before we start explaining the phenomenon under investigation we will briefly describe the organization of this dissertation.

The introductory part of the paper (Section 1) discusses the linguistic phenomenon of interest and presents an outline of second language acquisition (SLA) theories and some of the key factors involved in the L2 acquisition process. The following part (Section 2) discusses the influence of UH on the word order of the three languages under investigation (English, Spanish, Macedonian). Then there follows (Section 3) the part explaining the L2 acquisition of unaccusative structures, with particular reference to postverbal subjects. The following parts (Sections 4, 5 and 6) elaborate the hypothesis, the method and the results of the study which are later discussed (Section 7). Conclusions are presented at the end of the dissertation (Section 8).

## 1.1 THE PHENOMENON UNDER INVESTIGATION

In order to describe the phenomenon under investigation we will present examples of *XP-V-S* structures (5-9) produced by different L1 learners of L2 English taken from several empirical studies (Zobl 1989; Rutherford 1989; Oshita 2000; Oshita 2004; Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2008, 2010) analyzing the acquisition of postverbal subjects in English. For notation purposes, the preverbal element (XP) is presented in *italics*, the verb is underlined and the postverbal subject is marked in **bold**. All examples provide information about the L1 of the learner who produced it and the study this structure was obtained from. Some of the structures are grammatically (i.e., structurally) possible in native English (*PPloc-V-S* and *there-V-S*) and some ungrammatical (*\*it-V-S*; *\*∅-V-S*; *\*PPtemp-V-S*)<sup>1</sup>.

### (5) *PP (locative) - V - S*

- a) ... *on her face* appeared **those two red cheeks** ...

(L1 Arabic; Rutherford, 1989, p. 179).

- b) ... because *in our century* have appeared **the car and the plane**.

(L1 Spanish; Oshita, 2004, p. 120).

- c) ...*on the earth* lived **people which were born criminal**.

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2008, p. 106).

- d) *In some places* still exist **popularly supported death penalty**.

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 486).

### (6) *there-insertion - V - S*

- a) .... *there* often arise **the problem of political indifference** ...

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<sup>1</sup> “Ungrammatical” structures are marked by an asterisk (\*). The term “ungrammatical” means that a particular sentence is not possible in native English. “Ungrammaticality” here does not refer to SV agreement or wrong tense use. For example, the sentence *In some places still exist popularly supported death penalty (5d)* may be considered ungrammatical because there is a subject–verb agreement mismatch but it is considered grammatical because *PP (locative)-V-S* is possible in native English.

(L1 Japanese; Oshita, 2000, p. 315).

- b) ... *there* exist **two kinds of jobs.**

(L1 Italian; Oshita, 2000, p. 315).

- c) ... *there* exist **many kinds of prejudice.**

(L1 Korean; Oshita, 2000, p. 315).

- d) ... *there* still remains **a predominance of men over women.**

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2008, p. 106).

(7) *\*it-insertion - V - S*

- a) \*... *it* happened **a tragic event ...**

(L1 Italian; Oshita, 2004, p. 119).

- b) \*... *it* existed **a lot of restrictions.**

(L1 Italian; Oshita, 2000, p. 315).

- c) \*... *it* will not exist **a machine or something able to imitate the human imagination.**

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2008, p. 106).

- d) \*In the name of religion *it* had occurred **many important events...**

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 486).

(8) *\* $\emptyset$ -insertion - V - S<sup>2</sup>*

- a) \*... like a mirage [ appeared **the large expanse of the sea** ]...

(L1 Italian; Oshita, 2004, p. 120).

- b) \*There is no doubt that [ does exist **a big difference between...**

(L1 Italian; Oshita, 2000, p. 316).

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<sup>2</sup> The existence of null expletives in  $\emptyset$ -insertion - V - S structures is argued by Oshita (2004) who claims that null expletives are psychologically real to speakers of pro-drop languages and they occupy the sentence subject position.

c) \*...because [ exist **science technology and the industrialization.** ]

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 487).

d) \*It is difficult that [ exist **volunteers with such a feeling against it.** ]

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 487).

(9) \**PP (temporal) - V - S*<sup>3</sup>

a) \* *after a few minutes* arrive **the girlfriend with his family too.**

(L1 Spanish; Rutherford, 1989, p. 178).

b) \**One day* happened **a revolution.**

(L1 Italian; Oshita, 2004, p. 120).

c) \**In 1760* occurs **the restoration of Charles II in England.**

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 486).

The interesting fact is that learners of L2 English with typologically different L1s produce the same type of errors, which is a phenomenon that needs to be accounted for. This study examines the acceptance of all *XP-V-S* structures listed in (5-8). *PPtemp-V-S* (9), which has been widely reported in the literature, will be further referred to in order to support the Unaccusative Hypothesis but will not be examined in this empirical study, as we will use *PPloc* (i.e., locative inversion) instead, in the experimental section.

## 1.2 AN OVERVIEW OF L2 ACQUISITION

In this section we will present a brief overview of some of the main linguistic theories that aim to account for second language acquisition (SLA), as well as the main individual factors involved in SLA. The purpose here is not to show an exhaustive description of the different theories and constructs of SLA, which would be out of the

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<sup>3</sup> As shown by the examples *PP locative* produced by learners is typically structurally possible in English as will be discussed further on this dissertation, while *PP temporal* is not. Learners however consider \**PPtemp-V-S* structures to be grammatical probably due to the grammaticality of *PPloc-V-S* hence it can be said that they use a loco/temporal *PP* preverbal element as a general device.

scope of this study, but rather a preliminary background that will help contextualize this dissertation.

Mitchell and Myles (2004) define **second language acquisition (SLA)** as the learning of another language (other than the mother tongue) spoken in the community or the learning of any foreign language. There is not yet a general overarching theory that can fully account for all aspects of SLA, though different approaches and theories try to explain how the L2 learner acquires linguistic knowledge, each approach showing a different focus.

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### 1.2.1 LINGUISTIC THEORIES OF SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

An early theory trying to account for SLA was **Contrastive Analysis (CA)**. It was a very influential SLA theory in the 60s which studied the interference of L1 on L2, known as **transfer** or **cross-linguistic influence**. It was proposed by Lado (1957) who claimed the following:

the student who comes into contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult.  
(Lado, 1957:2)

This theory contrasted different linguistic levels of L1 and L2 (morphology, phonology, syntax, semantics) in order to determine the differences and similarities between two languages and to predict the possible problematic areas for the L2 learner. If a certain structure is different in L1 from L2, CA predicted that an error or **negative transfer** will occur.

#### (10) Syntactic structure

- a) English      Adj-N (*white house*).
- b) Spanish      N-Adj (*casa blanca*) transfer \* *house white*
- c) Macedonian   Adj-N (*Bela kukja*)  
*White house*

‘*A white house*’

Noun phrases with adjectives in Spanish have the N-Adj order (*casa blanca*) while in English the order is Adj-N (10a) (*white house*). CA would predict that Spanish learners of L2 English will produce the ungrammatical *\*house white* (10b) due to negative transfer. Macedonian learners of L2 English will not produce *\*house white* as Macedonian has the same Adj-N order as English. They will produce the correct *white house* (10c), example of **positive transfer** which does not cause errors and occurs when a certain structure is similar in L1 and L2.

The CA is based on the psychological theory of *behaviourism*, which considers SLA to be a habit formation process during which learners repeat and imitate the stimuli from the input they are exposed to. Correct imitation should be encouraged and incorrect imitation should be immediately corrected.

Even though this theory was widely accepted by linguists in the 60s, it started losing support when it could not answer why learners did not make L1 transfer when it was expected. An example is the order of object pronouns. In English the object pronoun occurs postverbally as shown in (11a). In Spanish the object pronoun is placed preverbally between the subject and the verb, as in (11b). It would be expected for L1 Spanish L2 English learners to make negative transfer (11c) but they produce the correct ‘*I see them*’ (Hawkins 2001).

(11)

- a) I see *them*
- b) Yo *los* veo
- c) I *them* see [not produced by L1 Spa-L2 Eng]

English learners of L2 Spanish, on the other hand, produce the incorrect “\*Yo veo *los*” or even “\*Yo veo *ellos*”, which may be considered to be negative transfer from their L1 English. Nevertheless, as we will see in this dissertation, what may seem as clear cases of transfer, on closer inspection (if we use a fine-grained linguistic analysis) prove to be cases due to universal developmental patterns, which are well attested in SLA. For example, adult beginners use simple sentences in the SLA the same as children do when they learn their mother tongue as shown in (12). These structures are produced by learners of various L1 backgrounds where they are (morpho) syntactically different from each other. This clearly indicates that not all L2 errors are due to transfer.

## (12) No understand

Yesterday I meet my teacher

(Lightbown and Spada 2001, p. 36)

In short, these basic examples indicate that L1 is not the only source of errors in the SLA process.

The failure of CA to predict all errors produced by L2 learners brought the study of the origin of errors called **Error Analysis (EA)** which supports Chomsky's (1965) claim that humans have innate language learning abilities. EA proposes that errors are not bad habits, as was proposed by the CA. They may occur due to L1 transfer, but they may also be a product of the innate or cognitive capacities of the learner. Corder (1967) defined the difference between **error** and **mistake**, the former being systematic referring to learners' current knowledge of the language and the latter being unsystematic errors of performance occurring due to tiredness, anxiety or other external factors. Even though this theory, which was widely accepted, meant an important leap forward in our understanding of SLA, it has certain limitations:

- i. The origin of errors may be difficult to classify. The *no+verb* constructions (*I no have a bike*) might be considered a transfer error for Spanish L2 learners of English, but the same error is produced by other L1 learners of L2 English whose negative structure is not *no+V* and, additionally, has also been noticed in L1 English acquisition. It may be the case that 'no+verb constructions reflect transfer and developmental processes working in conjunction (Ellis 2008:311), or perhaps simply a universal developmental process.
- ii. Since EA focuses on the origin of errors, it may not be able to indicate what exactly has been acquired by the learner.
- iii. Learners may avoid L2 structures which do not exist in their L1, which may lead to lack of data necessary to provide insights about the acquisition of a particular structure. Schachter (1974) discovered that Chinese and Japanese L2 learners of English make fewer errors in using relative clauses than Arabic or Persian learners because these structures are absent in their L1s.

EA stated that learners base their linguistic knowledge on different sources and make errors which are not always caused by L1 transfer. They may be part of the



developmental stages of learners' interim grammar defined as **Interlanguage** by Selinker (1972). **The theory of Interlanguage**, which has had a tremendous impact on our understanding of SLA, studies the development of learner's mental grammar, which is constantly changing as the learner advances towards native-like competence. The development of the interlanguage is influenced by L1, input and cognitive mechanisms. All Interlanguage grammars have the following properties:

- i. Systematic: Governed by abstract rules at any stage of L2 development.
- ii. Transitional: It changes frequently and the progression may be discontinuous (U shaped learning). At initial stage learners use the correct grammatical form of an L2 structure (*came, ate, went*) but they do not understand the rules of the structure. They only learn the form. At the next stage the learner starts understanding the rules of the structure and it seems that instead of advancing their knowledge they go backwards by overgeneralizing and using an incorrect form of the structure (*comed, eated, goed*). The last stage shows that learners have acquired the rules of the structure and use the correct irregular (*came, ate, went*) and regular forms of the structure (*stayed, played*).
- iii. Learning strategies: These cognitive mechanisms are used by learners when building their interlanguage grammar e.g. overregularization (*Tanya comed yesterday*).
- iv. Fossilization: Interlanguage often fossilizes at a certain stage (according to Selinker 95% of L2 learners) and does not advance even though learners are exposed to sufficient input.
- v. Variability: Even though it is systematic, the interlanguage grammar shows variability. The examples in (13) are taken from L1 Spanish – L2 English learners. This is in fact the type of structures we will analyze in this study.

(13)

- a) Optional production of passive and active sentences due to the type of intransitive verb:

*Last year my mother died/Last year my mother was died.*

- b) Production of preverbal/postverbal subjects due to the type of verb (unaccusative) and the type of subject (light/heavy and topic/focus).

*It exist many problems in Spain*

*Many problems exist in Spain*  
*There exist many problems in Spain*

The theory of Interlanguage has been largely influential in SLA research in the 70s. The studies based on the Theory of Interlanguage claim that SLA is governed by a computational model or innate language acquisition device (LAD), later known as Universal Grammar (see discussion below).

**The morpheme order studies** in the 70's focused on the acquisition of morphology in L1 and L2 acquisition and investigated the developmental stages of learners' interlanguage. Brown (1973) conducted a longitudinal study on the acquisition of 14 grammatical morphemes in the L1 English of three children. The major finding showed that all three children followed the same order of acquisition of the morphemes, which is shown in Table 1 (illustrating the first ten morphemes). Brown's study found that the frequency of input is not crucial for the order of acquisition of morphemes. The definite article *the* or 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular - *s* are widely present in the input but they are acquired quite late. Similar orders to Brown's have been confirmed by later research studies examining L2 acquisition of morphemes by children (Dulay and Burt 1974a).

**Table 1: Development of morphology in L1 English (Brown 1973)**

	AGE	MORPHEME	EXAMPLE
1	2	present progressive - <i>ing</i>	Mommy <i>running</i> .
2		prepositions ( <i>in, on</i> )	<i>in</i> the box
3		plural - <i>s</i>	two books
4	2,6	irregular past	baby <i>went</i>
5		possessive - <i>s</i>	daddy's hat.
6		uncontractible copula - <i>be</i>	Annie <i>is</i> a nice girl.
7	3	article - <i>a, an, the</i>	<i>a</i> cat, <i>the</i> cats
8	3,6	regular past - <i>ed</i>	She walked
9		3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular - <i>s</i>	He lives in the USA.
10		irregular 3 <sup>rd</sup> person - <i>s</i>	She <i>has</i> a dog.

Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974) studied the order of acquisition of morphemes of L2 English by 33 adults with various L1s. They discovered that adults, irrespective of

their L1, follow similar pattern as children acquiring their L1 morphology and they named it ‘the natural order’ of acquisition of morphemes shown in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: Development of morphology in L2 English (Bailey, Madden and Krashen 1974)**

	L <sub>2</sub> MORPHEME ORDER
1	present progressive <i>-ing</i>
2	contracted copula
3	plural <i>-s</i>
4	article - <i>a, an, the</i>
5	irregular past
6	possessive <i>-‘s</i>
7	contracted auxiliary
8	3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular <i>-s</i>

If we compare Table 1 and Table 2, it can be seen that the acquisition order of L1 and L2 morphology is similar, indicating that L1 influence in the SLA process for morphology is not as large as originally proposed by the CA proponents. Other studies have been conducted and have confirmed the natural order for the acquisition of syntax, e.g., negation, questions (Bloom and Lahey 1978, *inter alia*).

The idea proposed by the Morpheme Order Studies states that interlanguage grammar develops systematically and independently of the influence of the input or L1, in contrast to the previous proposals of the CA.

The **Monitor Model** was developed by Stephen Krashen (1982), who was one of the researchers conducting the Morpheme Order Studies in the 70s. This model, consisting of five hypotheses, became very influential in SLA research and pedagogy in the 80s.

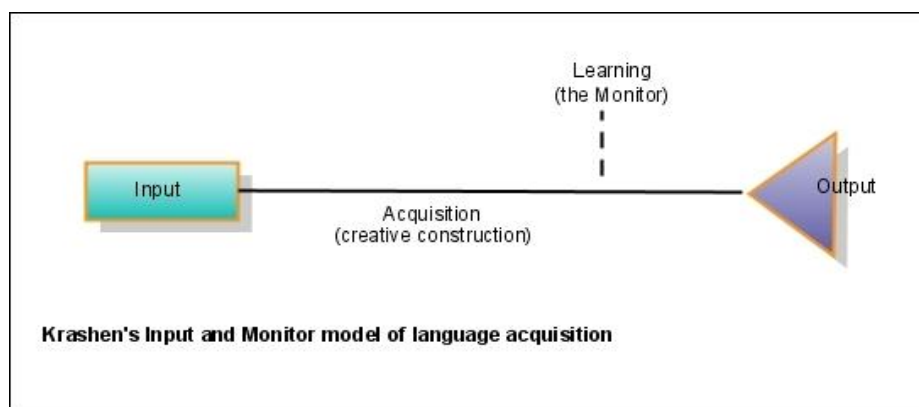
- i. **The Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis** states that there are two independent systems for developing second language ability. ACQUISITION is the unconscious learning process (similar to what occurs with children acquiring their mother tongue) and LEARNING employs the conscious language learning process, i.e., explicit knowledge about the language. Some of the features of both systems are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Features of Acquisition and Learning Systems according to Krashen's Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis.



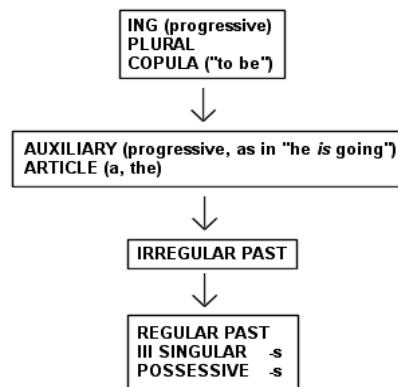
- ii. **The Monitor Hypothesis** explains how the separate systems of ACQUISITION and LEARNING are used in second language performance. Acquisition "initiates" L2 utterances and provides the fluency of communication. Learning functions as a MONITOR of the produced utterances and is responsible for their editing or changing (self-correction) after they have been produced by the acquisition. This is possible when certain necessary but insufficient conditions are met (sufficient time to think, knowledge of the rules and focus on form). This process is shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Krashen's Monitor Model of Language Acquisition



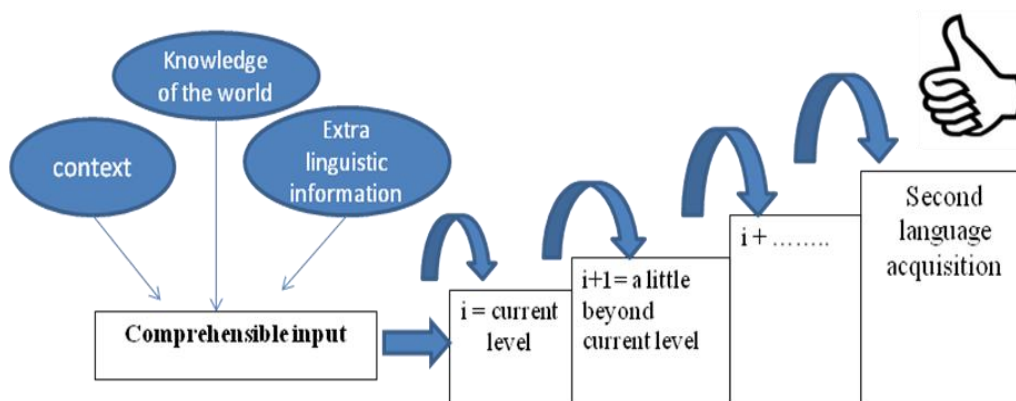
- iii. **The Natural Order Hypothesis** is based on the morpheme order studies claiming that there is a natural order for the L2 acquisition of English morphology, which is similar to the order followed by children acquiring their L1 English. Krashen made a summary of the morpheme order obtained by several studies, as shown in Figure 3. Morphemes are acquired according to a predictable natural order which is independent of what is taught in class.

Figure 3: "Average" order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes for English as a second language (children and adults), Krashen (1982).



- iv. **The Input Hypothesis** claims that learners acquire a second language when they are exposed to comprehensible input, which contains information ‘a little beyond’ the learner’s current knowledge of interlanguage development. Krashen named the current level as “i” and the **comprehensible input** as “i+1”, which is possible to be understood with the help of the context, knowledge of the world or extra linguistic information as shown in Figure 4. When the “i+1” level is achieved, more comprehensible input is needed for learner’s progression towards the next level until native like competence is achieved.

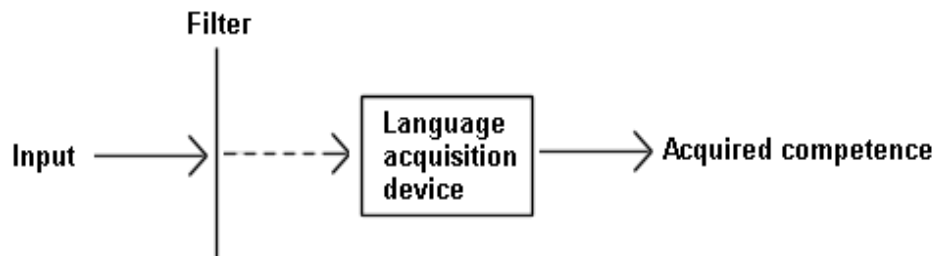
Figure 4: Presentation of Krashen’s input hypothesis



- v. The **Affective Filter Hypothesis** has also been very influential for the SLA research and pedagogy. It explains how affective variables such as motivation, self-confidence, anxiety etc. are related to SLA success. If the affective filter (Figure 5) is high, i.e., if the learner is stressed, anxious, tired, etc., it functions as a barrier to the input, which will not be properly processed and will not reach the LAD, hence language acquisition will not occur. The affective filter

hypothesis explains that when L2 learners fossilize at a certain developmental stage in spite of the abundant comprehensible input, it is probably due to the affective filter.

Figure 5: Presentation of Krashen's Affective Filter Hypothesis



Krashen's monitor model has been very influential in the 80s and the 90s for the SLA acquisition theory, even though it has been criticized for being descriptive without explaining in detail how the L2 input is converted into L2 knowledge. It also neglects the role of L1, even though it mentions that L1 does not have a great influence over the natural order of acquisition.

The **Theory of the Universal Grammar (UG)** claims that human beings have an innate capacity to acquire their native language (L1). It states that acquisition of L1 occurs through the inborn language learning mechanism which allows the acquisition of any language in a native-like form. The presence of the UG in the L1 acquisition process is evident in the following occurrences (Lightbown and Spada 2001; White 2003; Mitchell and Myles 2004; Hawkins 2001):

- i. **Lack of negative evidence:** It is a known fact that parents do not correct their children every time they make mistakes when they learn their mother tongue. Even when they do provide correction, children do not seem to benefit from it and continue using the form they have acquired up until that moment. They start using the correct form when they become 'ready' to use the structure, independently of whether a correction has been provided or not. Such example is shown in (14)

(14) Child: I **putted** the plates on the table

Mother: You mean, I **put** the plates on the table

Child: No, I **putted** them on all by myself.

(Lightbown and Spada 2001 p.16).

- ii. **Poverty of stimulus:** This is also known as ‘the logical problem of L1 acquisition’. It states that UG is responsible for the acquisition of L1 because children acquire complex and abstract L1 structures which are underdetermined in the input. White (2003:5) gives an example of abstract knowledge which is successfully acquired by children. She explains the complexity of the distribution of overt or null subject pronouns in embedded sentences in non-pro drop and pro-drop languages, regarding the type of antecedent in the main clause they refer to. Namely, in non-pro drop languages like English the embedded overt pronoun can have a referential (15a), a quantified (15b) and a discourse antecedent (15c).

(15)

- |    |                               |   |
|----|-------------------------------|---|
| a) | <i>referential antecedent</i> | [Mary <sub>i</sub> thinks [(that) she <sub>i</sub> will win]]     |
| b) | <i>quantified antecedent</i>  | [Everyone <sub>i</sub> thinks [(that) she <sub>i</sub> will win]] |
| c) | <i>discourse antecedent</i>   | [Who <sub>i</sub> thinks [(that) she <sub>i</sub> will win?]]     |

White argues that quantified antecedents allow the pronoun to be ambiguous, as shown in (15b), and explains the ambiguity as follows: if one imagines a room full of women and everybody thinks of herself as a possible winner or everybody thinks that one specific woman is a winner.

In pro-drop languages like Spanish and Macedonian, the null subject will take either a referential or quantified expression in the main clause (see example from Spanish in (16a,b) and Macedonian (16 c,d)) although it is not ungrammatical if the overt pronoun is used with the referential antecedent (yet it is pragmatically redundant). The use of an overt pronoun with a quantified antecedent is ungrammatical.

(16)

- |    |                               |   |
|----|-------------------------------|---|
| a) | <i>referential antecedent</i> | [Juan <sub>i</sub> cree [que <i>pro</i> <sub>i</sub> es inteligente]] |
|----|-------------------------------|---|

John<sub>i</sub> believes that (he<sub>i</sub>) is intelligent

[Juan<sub>i</sub> cree [que él<sub>i</sub> es inteligente]]

John<sub>i</sub> believes that he<sub>i</sub> is intelligent

b) *quantified antecedent* [Nadie<sub>i</sub> cree [que pro<sub>i</sub> es inteligente]]

Nobody<sub>i</sub> believes that (he<sub>i</sub>) is intelligent

\*Nadie<sub>i</sub> cree [que el<sub>i</sub> es inteligente]]

Nobody<sub>i</sub> believes that (he<sub>i</sub>) is intelligent

c) *referential antecedent* [Juan<sub>i</sub> veruva [deka pro<sub>i</sub> e inteligente]]

John<sub>i</sub> believes that (he<sub>i</sub>) is intelligent

[Juan<sub>i</sub> veruva [deka toj<sub>i</sub> e inteligente]]

John<sub>i</sub> believes that he<sub>i</sub> is intelligent

d) *quantified antecedent* [Nikoj<sub>i</sub> ne veruva [deka pro<sub>i</sub> e inteligente]]

Nobody<sub>i</sub> believes that (he<sub>i</sub>) is intelligent

\*Nikoj<sub>i</sub> ne veruva [deka tojl<sub>i</sub> e inteligente]]

Nobody<sub>i</sub> believes that (he<sub>i</sub>) is intelligent

White (2003) presented an abstract and complex rule which is not possible to be learnt or acquired from mere exposure to the input. It has to be inferred somehow from the innate faculty which provides the possibilities for the formation of mental language representations.

Our study also deals with a poverty of stimulus structure governed by complex rules which is underdetermined in the input, namely, the unaccusative/unergative distinction.



- iii. **Rapid development:** Children acquire most of the grammatical structures until the third year. By the fifth year, children are able to produce abstract and complex grammar which could not be happening due to their ability to analyze complex structures because they are very young. This phenomenon is possible if the innate mental language capacity (UG) is at work. Note that learning such subtle rules takes learners many years and, in most cases, they never achieve native-like competence.
- iv. **Uniformity:** All children learn their mother tongue following the same route in a uniform manner. Note, by contrast, that L2 learners show variability in success, which is a trademark of SLA.
- v. **Grammatical success:** All normally developed children achieve native knowledge of their mother tongue grammar irrespective of their intelligence, culture, race etc. contrary to L2 learners, which rarely attain native-like L2 competence.
- vi. **No effort:** Children acquire their mother tongue<sup>4</sup> without employing any conscious effort, contrary to L2 acquisition, which is achieved consciously and with effort (as was previously discussed for the Krashen's Monitor Model).

Universal Grammar consists of **Principles and Parameters** (Chomsky, 1981) which form the design of natural languages. The principles are equal for all languages hence they are universal and they consist of parameters which cause variation between languages, i.e., certain parameters are 'on' for some languages and 'off' for other languages. A single parameter setting possesses a cluster of syntactic properties, although in current version of the models parametric variation is located in the abstract linguistic features of functional categories. All natural language grammars may be explained with this syntactic model, which has given opportunities to language researchers to provide a viable account for the acquisition of L1 and L2 in terms of the

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<sup>4</sup> The acquisition of L1 is argued to have a **critical period** (CP) beyond which it will be impossible to develop native like language features (the cases of Victor and Genie described in Singleton and Ryan, 2004).

learners' interlanguage **linguistic competence** only (since the model is silent about other learner-related characteristics such as motivation, aptitude, etc).

Hawkins (2001) explains the **null subject parameter**. The universal principle i.e. Extended Projection Principle (EPP) (Chomsky, 1981) says that all languages have a grammatical subject, while the parameter provides the possibility for the subject to be overt (phonetically represented) or null (phonetically empty). In English there are expletive and referential subjects which are phonetically represented in subject position, while in Spanish and Macedonian subject position may be occupied by the empty (null) subject, as shown in (17).

(17)

English	It rains	I believe	that she speaks	English.
Spanish	Ø Llueve	Ø creo	que Ø habla	Ingles
Macedonian	Ø Vrne	Ø veruvam	deka Ø zboruva	angliski

Hence, according to the **Principles and Parameters** model, the input provides the design of the mother tongue for the child. The child acquires a certain form of a proposed parameter (overt or null subjects) with the help of the innate capacity which allows natural language acquisition.

Therefore, UG provides a “template” of options for the child (e.g., overt/null) and then the child will set the parameter to its correct value according to the input he/she hears.

The various language acquisition theories we have mentioned so far attempt to formulate understandable explanations on how *language* is learnt. It is obvious that these theories offer acceptable clarifications of the language acquisition process, although none of them can account for every aspect of language development or even for other learner-related characteristics not having to do with language itself. The impossibility for the theories to arrive at a universal acceptance by linguists leads to the fact that there are other factors affecting second language learning, such as individual differences.

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### 1.2.2 INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

UG mentions the creative ability of the learner to use inner mental mechanisms and arrive to conclusions. Researchers have agreed that every learner has unique

characteristics (Krashen 1995; Lightbown and Spada 2001; Mitchell and Myles 2004) which influence the outcome of the SLA, in spite of the fact that it is difficult to measure or directly observe these qualities. **Cognitive factors** (intelligence, language aptitude, language learning strategies), **affective factors** (language attitude, motivation, language anxiety) and **age** are the unique features of every individual learner influencing the SLA success. These factors are claimed to be responsible for the wide variability in L2 attainment, i.e., the fact that, unlike L1 acquisition, some L2 learners achieve relatively high levels of native-like competence, while most fall short of it to varying degrees, as discussed above.

The group of cognitive factors consists of (i) **intelligence**, which has been claimed to lead to better language learning results (at least in formal settings); (ii) **aptitude**, which stands for the special ‘feeling’ for languages possessed by some learners and which appears to help some learners acquire language more easily and rapidly; (iii) the use of **language learning strategies** (LLS) as “behaviors and thought processes that learners use in the process of learning.” (Rubin 1987:19), which is considered to be very helpful in SLA, as proven by the great number of studies dedicated to LLS.

The affective factors encompass: (i) **anxiety**, which is inhibitory for language learning success; (ii) **attitude** of the learner towards the second language and the culture of its native speakers, which influences SLA success; (iii) **motivation**, which governs the pushing force for undertaking language learning activities.

The **age factor**, which most researchers consider a biological factor, has caused many controversies among researchers who have argued the possibility for the existence of a critical period (CP) for language learning, as proposed by **Lenneberg (1967)**. Beyond this critical period (supposedly the age around 12), the learner will not be able to achieve native like competence of the second language. Some researchers support the existence of a critical period in the SLA process (Singleton 1995; Singleton and Ryan 2004; Scovel 2000) and others have attempted to prove the opposite, that native like competence can be achieved at an older age as well (Ioup 1995; Bialystok 2001).

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### 1.2.3 SOURCES OF INTERLANGUAGE (IL) KNOWLEDGE

As was previously underlined, interlanguage (IL) stands for the variable and dynamic learner language system which follows developmental stages over the course of

language learning. The variability of the IL performance leads to the question of the sources influencing the development of the learners' interlanguage grammar.

Ritchie and Bhatia (2009) present the '**sequence of interlanguage systems**' as follows: ILS<sub>1</sub>, ILS<sub>2</sub> .... ILS<sub>i</sub>, ILS<sub>i+1</sub>.... ILS<sub>u</sub>' (p.26), out of which the final one presents the last stage of a particular case of SLA. The middle stages of the interlanguage do not coincide with the grammar of L1 or L2, but they refer to a proper and systematic grammar internalized by the learner and which is developing under the influence of various sources.

There are many cases when learner's grammar differs systematically from the grammar of the native speaker, as indicated in (18) (Reynolds 1995), coming from a study conducted with native Japanese, Chinese, Korean and Indonesian and showing the difference in the distribution of expletive pronominal subjects which are semantically empty. This example may be an indication that L1 transfer influences learner's grammar.

- (18) I prefer the weekend because is my free time ... I don't have to think what hour is necessary to wake up ... I consider is necessary to have weekend because in this case people always will be more relaxed and will work in the rest of the days better.

The influence of **L1 transfer** on learner's grammar has been proved by other studies as well. Fathman (1975) studied Korean and Spanish children learning English and showed that Korean children acquired articles later than Spanish children, which was accounted for by the absence of this structure in their L1 Korean. Hakuta (1976) conducted a longitudinal study examining the acquisition of morphemes of a child Japanese learner of English and noted that structures such as plurals or articles, which are absent in Japanese, were acquired quite late. Therefore, he claims that innateness cannot account for all aspects of language development. But recall from our discussion about Contrastive Analysis earlier that L1 transfer is not the only source of learners' errors.

**Input** alone is necessary but not sufficient for SLA (White 2003). It was previously mentioned that various linguistic theories gave input different significance for the SLA process. Brown (1973) and Krashen (1982) were among the first researchers to confirm

that learners do not necessarily acquire first what is taught first or what is frequently present in the input, e.g. the definite article *the* is acquired quite late both by children acquiring their L1 and adult learners of L2 English. Hawkins (2001) explains that even though input may be different in naturalistic and classroom environments, learner development is similar in the two settings, which suggests that input has a minor influence on the course of learner development.

White (1991) studied the role of input in the classroom studying the acquisition of the position of adverbs by L1 French L2 English learners. She was interested whether learners would benefit more if the **instruction** was based on the form, i.e., teaching explicitly the grammatical structure or if learners were exposed to input flooding, i.e., input which contains frequent use of adverbs. In English, adverbs of frequency occur preverbally (*Mary often plays the piano – SAVO*) while in French they occur postverbally (*\*Mary plays often the piano – SVAO*). White concluded that formal instruction influences the acquired knowledge on a short term basis, but it does not have a significant long-term influence. Hence it could be assumed that formal instruction does not necessarily mean that learners will acquire a certain structure.

On the other hand Long (1983) reviewed 11 studies which examined classroom, naturalistic and mixed exposure to L2 and concluded that formal instruction helps in the achievement of a rapid and better language acquisition without influencing the course of development, i.e., teaching may change the *rate* (speed) of acquisition, but not the *route* (course) of acquisition). Hence input and instruction play an important role in achieving better or rapid SLA results but they do not change the course of acquisition of linguistic structures.

There are cases when learners acquire structures which are not frequent in the input, even though they are not taught how to construct them. Learners demonstrate unconscious knowledge of complex structures which are unlikely to be derived from L2 input or instruction.

Learners somehow acquire certain structural grammatical rules, e.g., the production of postverbal subjects in English with a subtype of intransitive verbs called unaccusatives (*come, appear, exist, happen*) as indicated in (19a), and which are the focus of this dissertation. Sometimes they introduce some elements which may be an indication of transfer from their L1 (if they are natives of a pro-drop language such as Spanish) as shown in (19b), which is an ungrammatical structure with a null expletive in English. In

other cases, learners produce structures as a result of their grammatical development, including an overt subject “it”, which is ungrammatical, as shown in (19c), but indicates that learners have started understanding the function of the structure i.e. they are following certain developmental stages to acquire the structure.

- (19) a. There existed social ills as serious as the ones that exist today.  
b. It is difficult that exist volunteers with such a feeling against it.  
c. In the name of religion it had occurred many important events.

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 486-487).

These examples show that interlanguage knowledge is influenced by various sources: L1 transfer, innateness, developmental mechanisms, input etc.

As we will see in the following sections, the acquisition of an abstract syntactic structure, namely, postverbal subjects in L2 English, as in (19), will be discussed. It will be shown that learners’ knowledge of postverbal subjects is too subtle to be accounted for only by L1 transfer or by input alone.

## 2 LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND: UNACCUSATIVITY AND POSTVERBAL SUBJECTS

In this section we will briefly discuss the preliminary theoretical foundations relevant for our study. We will also introduce the unaccusative syntax and how it is represented in the languages under consideration with the focus on word order.

### 2.1 PRELIMINARY THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In the following subsections, brief introduction to the role of Universal Grammar (UG) in SLA will be presented. We will then move on to the pro-drop parameter, which is central for our discussion, since both Macedonian and Spanish are pro-drop languages. In particular, we will focus on the second property of the pro-drop parameter, namely, subject-verb inversion (i.e. postverbal subjects). Finally, we will present a brief overview of the architecture of the language faculty, which is essential to understand some of the later findings in the empirical section.

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#### 2.1.1 L2 ACQUISITION AND UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR

As discussed in the preceding chapter, UG is a system of principles and parameters which constrains L1 grammars. L2 learners have the similar task as L1 learners i.e. to arrive at a native-like knowledge of the linguistic system in order to acquire a certain language. If, according to UG, languages are acquired through the operations of the inborn language acquisition device (LAD), which is active for L1, it could presumably be active for L2 acquisition. Then it is understandable that similar language learning processes will be followed, i.e., the setting of language parameters in L2 has to take place, though this has been a very controversial issue over the past three decades (see Hawkins 2001 and White 2003 for overviews).

The role of UG is obvious in cases where *poverty of stimulus* occurs. These are cases when L2 learners cannot infer some abstract grammatical knowledge from the input, formal instruction or transfer due to rare usage of the structure, yet they manage to acquire it (Hertel 2003; Lozano 2006a, 2006b; Lozano 2008; Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2008, 2010, Oshita 2000, 2001, Zobl 1989; see also the earlier discussion in the

preceding chapter). The explanation for these phenomena is typically attributed to the fact that learners know more than what is present in the input due to the presence of the inborn language learning ability.

**White (2003)** discusses whether UG is accessible in SLA. There are several options:

- i. **No access** is the first hypothesis, claiming that UG is accessible only for L1 acquisition and not for L2 acquisition.
- ii. **Full Access** is the second hypothesis, according to which second languages are constrained by UG. Mitchell and Myles (2004) further elaborate that this access has three positions:
  - a. *Full access/no transfer*: UG is completely accessible in L2 acquisition, the same as in L1 acquisition
  - b. *Full access/full transfer*: UG is completely accessible in L2 acquisition, but learners transfer the parameters of their first language in initial stages, which are then reset in further stages when L2 ceases to conform to the first language parameters
  - c. *Full access/early impaired representations*: UG is partially accessible in a way that L2 parameters can be reset, but initially they lack functional categories.
- iii. **Indirect Access**: proposes that learners have access to UG, but only through their L1 grammar. L1 developed parameters form the basis for second language development.

Zobl (1983) discusses the default stages of parameters and supports the idea that the initial state of the learner is his/her L1 setting, which may have marked and unmarked structures. If the L1 has an unmarked form of a certain structure and the second language uses a marked form of the same structure, the parameters for this structure have to be reset, meaning that the learner has to be exposed to more input to acquire this particular structure. This may be an indicator that a particular parameter is marked. If the second language also uses the unmarked form of the structure, then the parameters will not be reset and the structure will be acquired more easily compared to a marked one. This point of view may explain the possible developmental L2 acquisition stages.



An example of a marked /unmarked setting is presented by Hawkins (2001). Namely, English learners of L2 French find it more difficult to acquire the preverbal pronominal object described in (20a) and they often produce the ungrammatical (20b), which is the same as English (20c). Therefore, we might assume that they are making transfer from L1. French learners of English, on the other hand, do not have any issues acquiring the final position of object pronouns in English (20c) and never produce (20d), which is unattested, as marked by the symbol “@”.

(20)

- a. Le chien *les* a mange
- b. \*Le chien a mange *les*.
- c. The dog has eaten them.
- d. @The dog them has eaten

This might be an implication that the unmarked setting for the pronominal direct object places it in postverbal position, which in French undergoes movement of the NP to preverbal position whenever a pronominal subject is used.

White (2003) explains that the main idea of the Principles and Parameters theory is that one parameter setting encompasses a whole cluster of related syntactic properties. The learner only needs to discover one feature of a single parameter and the whole cluster of syntactic properties will be automatically elicited. This can be indicated by the elaboration of the settings of the pro-drop parameter which is relevant for our study. Current generative L2 theory however, does not focus on the assumption whether parameters encompass a cluster of properties. The trend nowadays is to explore whether learners can acquire features and, in particular, whether learners show deficits at the interfaces (which is one of the topics we will mention later).

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### 2.1.2 THE PRO-DROP PARAMETER

Cook (1983) refers to the Extended Principle Parameter (EPP) (Chomsky, 1981), and states that every sentence has a subject, exemplifying that some languages like English require subjects to appear in their surface structure (21a) and languages like Spanish (21b), Macedonian (21c) or Italian, (21d) may omit the subject in the sentence:

(21)

- |              |            |
|--------------|------------|
| a) He speaks | English    |
| b) Habla     | Spanish    |
| c) Zboruva   | Macedonian |
| d) Parla     | Italian    |

The pro-drop parameter encompasses a cluster of properties which characterize all pro-drop languages (Spanish, Macedonian, Italian, Greek, Arabic etc.), as discussed by numerous researchers (e.g., Haegeman and Gueron 1999; Hawkins 2001; Phinney 1987; Cook 1993, Lozano 2002, 2008):

- i. **Null subject (pro):** regarding the pro-drop parameter, two groups of languages can be distinguished. The ones that allow the null or *pro* subject (Spanish, Macedonian, Italian, etc.) called pro-drop or null subject languages and the ones that require overt subjects (English, German, French etc.) called non pro-drop or non null subject languages (22a). It is considered that even though the subject may not appear overtly in the surface structure in pro-drop languages like Spanish, Macedonian and Italian, it exists in sentence initial position (as it is understood semantically) in the form of a phonetically empty null subject or *pro* (22 b,c,d).

(22)

- |                       |            |
|-----------------------|------------|
| a) He speaks          | English    |
| b) <i>pro</i> habla   | Spanish    |
| c) <i>pro</i> zboruva | Macedonian |
| d) <i>pro</i> parla   | Italian    |

ii. **Free<sup>5</sup> subject–verb inversion (postverbal subjects)**

Tres chicas llegaron. SV (Spanish)

Three girls came

*pro* llegaron tres chicas VS

*pro* came three girls

‘Three girls came’.

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 477).

Tri devojki dojdoa SV (Macedonian)

Three girls came

*pro* dojdoa tri devojki VS

*pro* came three girls

‘Three girls came’.

- iii. **‘That’-trace effects;** Pro-drop languages (Spanish, Macedonian) allow ‘that trace’ which means that the complementiser “que” (Spanish), “deka” (Macedonian), ‘remains in trace position after Wh-movement from subject position’ (Cook 1993:161). Non pro-drop languages like English have a trace *t* in the surface structure. The overt use of the complementiser ‘that’ is ungrammatical in English.

**Spanish** - ¿Quién dijiste **que** vino? (Who did you say that came?)

**Macedonian** - Koj rece **deka** dojde ? (Who did you say that came?)

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<sup>5</sup> At this stage we are just using a traditional approach to the pro-drop parameter and simply state that Subject-Verb inversion is ‘free’. However, as we will see later, such apparently free inversion is constrained by several interfaces: lexicon-syntax interface (Unaccusative Hypothesis), syntax-discourse interface (End-Focus Principle) and syntax-phonology interface (End-Weight Principle).

**English** - Who did you say *t* came? vs. \*Who did you say that came?

(Cook, 1993, p. 162).

- iv. **Expletives *it* and *there*:** The expletives serve as empty (dummy) subjects for the requirements of non pro-drop English to have its subject position filled and case features checked in non pro-drop languages which require an overt subject. They are usually used in some ‘existential’ sentences such as:

*There*<sup>6</sup> are good teachers and bad teachers.

*There* is plenty of ice cream.

(Ward, G., Birner, B. J., & Huddleston, R, 2002, p.1393)

or “weather” sentences such as.

*It*'s raining.

*It*'s snowing.

Expletive ‘it’ is the most unmarked personal pronoun used as empty expletive in expressions referring also to time and distance: e.g. *It's long way from here to Cairo* (Quirk 1985:349).

Pro – drop languages do not require overt expletives due to the fact that they allow their subject position to be occupied by the null *pro*<sub>expl</sub> subject which can also check case features. The null *pro*<sub>expl</sub> is the silent counterpart of the dummy *it* and *there*. They have the same syntactic function with the difference that *pro*<sub>expl</sub> is not phonetically represented. The structures containing the empty *pro*<sub>expl</sub> subject are presented as follows

*pro*<sub>expl</sub> hay muchos estudiantes en la clase (Spanish)

is a lot of students in the classroom

‘There are a lot of students in the classroom’

(Lozano 2002, p.73)

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<sup>6</sup> Expletive there will be explained in detail in 2.2.3.1.1.



## (23) English

1sg	I	spea <b>k</b>	1pl	We	spea <b>k</b>
2sg	You	spea <b>k</b>	2pl	You	spea <b>k</b>
3sg	She	spea <b>k-s</b>	3pl	They	spea <b>k</b>

(Haegman and Gueron, 1999, p.398)

As Haegman and Gueron (1999) state English has only one verbal inflection (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular – *s*). Subjects are obligatory to be used overtly in order to provide the necessary information about the utterance. We cannot retrieve any information from the verbal morphology about the subject. In other words, subjects cannot be identified by the poor verbal morphology.

The example with the Spanish verb *hablar* (to speak) illustrates the rich agreement via the six different agreement inflections for person (first, second and third) and number (singular and plural) of the same verb. Hawkins (2001) explains that the inflections define the person and number of the subject which does not need to be overt, but remains empty in the form of the null *pro*.

## (24) Spanish

1sg	habl- <b>o</b>	(I speak)	1pl	habl- <b>amos</b>	(We speak)
2sg	habl- <b>as</b>	(You speak)	2pl	habl- <b>ais</b>	(You speak)
3sg	habl- <b>a</b>	(She speaks)	3pl	habl- <b>an</b>	(They speak)

(Hawkins, 2001, p.198)

The same situation accounts for Macedonian which is another pro-drop language.

## (25) Macedonian

1sg	zboruva- <b>m</b>	(I speak)	1pl	zboruva- <b>me</b>	(We speak)
2sg	zboruva- <b>sh</b>	(You speak)	2pl	zboruva- <b>te</b>	(You speak)
3sg	zboruva- <b>∅</b>	(She speaks)	3pl	zboruva- <b>at</b>	(They speak)

(See details for the morphological inflections in Macedonian in Friedman (1993, p.274))

As elaborated by Friedman (1993) and Minova-Gjurkova (2000) subject–verb agreement in Macedonian expresses person (first, second and third) and number (singular and plural). The infinitive verb forms can be predicted from the third person singular in present tense which occurs without any inflections. Due to the fact that we can elicit information about the subject from the rich morphology of the verb, in Macedonian the verb may occur without the overt subject, similarly to what occurs in Spanish.

Our study involves two pro-drop languages, Spanish and Macedonian compared to English, a non pro-drop language. It focuses on subject-verb inversion i.e. postverbal subjects as the 2<sup>nd</sup> property of the pro-drop parameter.

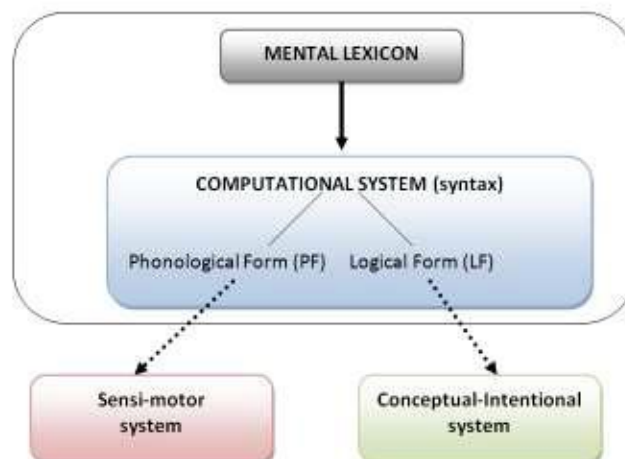
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### 2.1.3 THE ARCHITECTURE OF LANGUAGE AND THE INTERFACES

SLA research has been dealing with problematic areas even when UG access is obvious. These areas are called interfaces, referring to ‘how different modules of the interlanguage grammar relate to each other’ as defined by White (2009). There has been a shift of emphasis in SLA. Namely in the 80s and 90s there was a debate about access to UG, but now the issue is related to the role of the interfaces in SLA. It has been investigated whether failure to achieve native like competence in L2 acquisition can be accounted for problems at the interfaces as an area where cross-linguistic influence possibly occurs.

The Minimalist program of Chomsky (1995) explains that grammar consists of modules such as syntax, semantics, morphology and phonology, mapping between each other at different levels of representation (Figure 6). These interactions are called grammar **internal interfaces**. The internal interface relevant for our study is the one between the **lexicon**, containing the lexical items (and their corresponding linguistic features) to be processed, and the **syntax**, functioning as a computational system or a processor generating utterances made of the elements of the lexicon. These utterances are produced by the grammar interfacing with external systems including the articulatory perceptual (sensory motor (S-M)) at phonetic form (PF) and conceptual-intentional (C-I) at logical form (LF). The PF deals with sounds while the LF deals with meanings of linguistic elements.

Figure 6: The architecture of language



Sorace and Filiaci (2006) proposed the **Interface Hypothesis** stating that external interfaces are more difficult to be acquired than internal interfaces. Figure 6 shows the interaction between syntax and the knowledge of the external systems in L2 grammar. The Conceptual-Intentional system encompasses discourse, pragmatics and information structure which strongly influence language use even though they are external to the computational system. Casielles-Suarez (2009) states that discourse determines new information to be placed towards the end of the sentence. This is known as the **End-Focus Principle**. The relation between focus and sentence-final position is evident for pro-drop or null subject languages which allow subject pronouns to be null or overt. As explained by White (2009), this choice is not optional i.e., it is discourse constrained: null subjects are used in topic context while overt pronouns are required when focus information is introduced. Additionally, any focused element, even the subject, may be placed at sentence final position. English is a non pro-drop language using overt pronouns to refer to old and new information which may not affect the syntax, even though in certain occasions the topic-focus structure is followed. The acceptance of postverbal subjects (VS) where the subject is focus is the target of this study which is related to the 2<sup>nd</sup> property of the null-subject parameter, something that will be explained in the methodology section.

Wasow and Arnold (2003) indicate the possible reason for placing old information before new information. Old information is more feasible to be produced early in structures because it is more accessible than new information. It links the structure to



previous sentences and introduces the context for the new information which facilitates comprehension and production.

Articulatory-Perceptual (or sensory motor (S-M)) system is another external interface considered to be problematic for L2 learners. According to Wasow (1997), many languages place light constituents at the beginning and heavy elements at the end of the sentence, which is known as the **End-Weight Principle**. Due to the fact that language use is a communicative activity, we have to analyze it from the point of view of the involved participants. From the speakers' perspective, this may be due to facilitation of planning and production of utterances. From the listeners' perspective, if complex elements are placed at the end of the sentence, it will be more comprehensible. Lozano and Mendikoetxea (2010) emphasize that 'processing constraints in the performance systems like the End-Weight Principle, influence syntax, leading to non-canonical word order structures' (pp.480). This is, once again, related to the target of this study which analyzes postverbal subject structures where the subject is focus and heavy.

White (2011) suggests that problems at the interfaces may not occur due to representational differences between L2 and native speaker grammars. They may reflect the processing problems of L2 learners who are not always able to use their underlying knowledge to access the needed linguistic representation. She also adds that if L2 learners produce certain utterances in a different way than native speakers, it may suggest that learners face not only production but comprehension problems, referring as well to the possibility for interfaces to have several sources of difficulty. We will return to these issues in the final discussion of this dissertation.

## **2.2 THE PHENOMENON UNDER INVESTIGATION: SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION (SV/VS ORDERS)**

This section shows examples of preverbal and postverbal subjects in the three languages of interest for our study: English, Spanish and Macedonian, in order to present the possibilities for the occurrence of subject-verb inversion (i.e., the second property of the pro-drop parameter) and to emphasize the structures of interest for our study.

English language has a canonical SVO word order (Biber et. al. (1999); Ward, Birner & Huddleston, (2002)) which regulates the principal elements in the sentence to have a strictly determined position in the clause. The sentences in (26) show the fixed word

order of the English language, which places the subject (**in bold**) in sentence initial position followed by the verb (underlined) and other sentence elements.

(26) SV

a) **Kim** wrote the letter.

(Ward, G., Birner, B. J., & Huddleston, R., 2002, p.1365).

b) **Sharon** plays bingo on Sunday night.

(Biber et al., 1999, p. 957).

c) **Prime Minister John Major** was opposite him on one of the three tables set out for the lavish dinner.

d) **A row of Van Goghs** hung on one long wall.

e) **A silver urn bursting with branches of red berries** stood next to it.

f) **A bear** is sitting in the corner.

g) **Three girls** arrived.

The unmarked canonical word order in English may be changed in order to meet certain conditions of information flow (End-Focus Principle) or weight distribution (End-Weight Principle) and to achieve emphasis, cohesion or stylistic effect.

As explained by Biber et al. (1999), besides fronting of postverbal elements, **subject verb inversion** is one of the marked choices of English word order. There are two types of inversion allowing variation of the position of the sentence elements: **subject-operator inversion** (partial inversion) as in (27), which will not be of further interest for our study, and **subject-verb (full inversion)**, which is the focus of our study.

Subject-verb inversion is possible to occur in native English if (i) the clause-initial position is occupied by an opening adverbial element (PPlocative, PPtemporal etc) (*in italics*), (ii) the verb is intransitive or copula *be* denoting existence or appearance (underlined) and (iii) the subject occurring at clause-final position is heavy and introduces new information (**in bold**) as shown in (28).

(27) **subject-operator inversion**

*At no time did he indicate he couldn't cope.*

(Biber et al., 1999, p., 916).

(28) **subject-verb inversion (PP-be-S) / (PP-V-S)**

- a) *Opposite him on one of the three tables set out for the lavish dinner was **Prime Minister John Major.***
- b) *On one long wall hung **a row of Van Goghs.***
- c) *Next to it stood **a silver urn bursting with branches of red berries.***

(Biber et al., 1999, p., 916).

The sentences shown in (28) are the inverted sentences (26c,d,e). They open with a locative adverbial, the verb is intransitive of existence and appearance or copula *be* and the subject is new information (focus) and long (heavy). Sentences (26a,b,) do not contain intransitive verbs of existence and appearance or copula *be* and do not have a focus or heavy subject, hence they do not allow inversion as shown in (29).

## (29)

- a) *\*The letter wrote **Kim.***
- b) *\*On Sunday night plays **Sharon** bingo.*

**Existential *there*** construction is another structure licensing postverbal subjects with intransitives of existence and appearance and *be* (Biber et.al 1999; Ward, G., Birner, B. J., & Huddleston, R., 2002). Sentences (26f,g) also contain intransitive verb of existence and appearance or copula *be* and allow postverbal subjects in existential constructions, as shown in (30).

(30) **Existential *there* constructions (There-be-S) / (There-V-S)**

- a) *There is **a bear** sitting in the corner.*

(Biber et al., 1999, p. 912).

- b) *There arrived three girls.*

(Biber et al., 1999, p. 912).

As we are able to see from the examples in (28) and (30), inversion (VS) constructions in English are mostly possible with intransitive verbs of existence and appearance and the copula *be*.

**It extraposition** is another structure licencing postverbal subjects. Several examples of this structure are shown in (31).

(31) ***It* extraposition - V - S**

- a) *It is unclear **why she told him.***  
 b) *It worries me **that he hasn't phoned.***  
 c) *It would be pointless **to resist.***  
 d) *It is a miracle **that he did it at all.***

(Ward, G., Birner, B. J., & Huddleston, R., 2002, p.1403)

*It* extraposition is a different phenomenon i.e. its postverbal subject is a subordinate clause which is why it is not going to be dealt with further on in this study. We are interested in postverbal subject structures where the postverbal subject is a noun phrase.

**Spanish** is the second language of interest for our study. Due to the fact that Spanish is a pro-drop language, there is an apparently “free” word order with all verb classes, as explained by Lozano (2006a,b); (2008). The input available to learners of L2 Spanish implies that canonical word order (SV) and inversion (VS) are optional alternations, as indicated in (32) and (33).

(32)

- a) **Una mujer** gritó. (SV)

**A woman** shouted

‘A woman shouted’

b) Gritó **una mujer**. (VS)

Shouted a woman

‘A woman shouted’

c) **Un vecino** vino. (SV)

**A neighbour** arrived

‘A neighbor arrived’

d) Vino **un vecino**. (VS)

Arrived a neighbor

‘A neighbor arrived’.

(Lozano, 2008, p. 137).

(33)

a) Maria ha comprado un libro (SVO)

Maria has bought a book

‘Maria has bought a book’.

b) Ha comprado un libro Maria (VOS)

has bought a book Maria

‘Maria has bought a book’

(Lozano and Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 476).

c) Un libro ha comprado Maria (OVS)

a book has bought Maria

‘Maria has bought a book’

d) Ha comprado Maria un libro (VSO)

has bought Maria a book

‘Maria has bought a book’

Macedonian is a Slavic language which belongs to the group of pro-drop languages, sharing similarities with Romance languages such as Spanish. Being a pro-drop language, Macedonian allows various free inversion structures of the sentence elements, as indicated in (34) and (35), even though SV word order is considered to be the unmarked order (Friedman 1993; Venovska-Antevska 1995).

(34)

a) Poshtar dojde (SV)

Postman came

‘A postman came’

b) Dojde poshtar (VS)

Came a postman

‘A postman came’

(Topolinska, 1995, p. 51)

c) Edna devojka vlezje (SV)

A girl entered

‘A girl entered’

d) Vlezje edna devojka (VS)

Entered a girl

‘A girl entered’

(Minova-Gjurkova, 2000, p. 226)

(35)

a. Jana saka sladoled. (SVO)

Jana likes ice-cream

‘Jana likes ice-cream.’

b) Saka Jana sladoled. (VSO)

likes Jana ice-cream  
‘Jana likes ice-cream.’

c) Sladoled saka Jana. (OVS)

ice-cream likes Jana  
‘Jana likes ice-cream.’

d) Saka sladoled Jana., etc. (VOS)

likes ice-cream Jana  
Jana likes ice-cream.’

(Lazarova-Nikovska, 2003, p. 130).

As the data above show, SV/VS alternations are apparently free in Spanish and Macedonian. Word order alternations are highly constrained in English. Let us explore these facts below.

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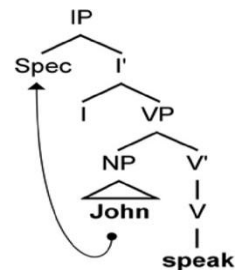
### 2.2.1 THE UNACCUSATIVE HYPOTHESIS (UH)

In relation to the number of arguments required by the verb, two types of verbs are distinguished: transitive and intransitive. Transitive verbs require at least two arguments while intransitive verbs occur only with one argument in the structure. Perlmutter (1978) noted that the surface subject of one group of intransitive verbs is generated in object position, i.e., postverbally. Burzio (1986) supported this view and proposed the **Unaccusative Hypothesis** (UH), which claims that there are two classes of intransitive verbs which differ in the position occupied by their only argument in the deep structure (D-structure): **unergatives**, generating their argument in the external subject position of the VP (36a) and **unaccusatives** (also known as ergatives), which generate their only argument in the internal object position of the VP, as shown in (36b). The label *unaccusatives* derives from the fact that, even though these verbs generate their subjects in object position, they do not assign accusative case.

(36)

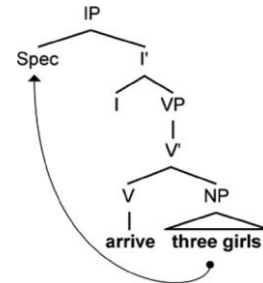
a. unergative

“John spoke”



b. unaccusative

“Three girls arrived”



(Lozano &amp; Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 486)

The argument of unergatives (e.g., *speak*, *cry*, *shout*, *sing*) is associated with the volition of the agent and takes only a subject, while the argument of unaccusatives (e.g., *arrive*, *come*, *exist*, *happen*) is related to the theme and takes an object position even though it is a subject.

Baker (1988) proposed the **Uniformity of Theta Assigned Hypothesis** (UTAH) underlying that syntactic positions in the D-structure are assigned a particular thematic role before spell-out. It means that agents are assigned to a subject position and themes take object position before spell-out. As is also indicated in (36), the surface position of English sentences requires either the external or the internal argument of the VP to move to the surface subject position in the sentence, i.e., to Spec IP, in order to check its nominative case features. Although generated in object position, the argument of unaccusative verbs moves from its base position to surface subject position in order to acquire nominative case, because the verb lacks an external subject and does not assign accusative case to its object element. Hence the canonical word order in English for both verb types, unergatives (36a) and unaccusatives (36b), is SV.

White (2003) explains the distinction between unaccusatives and unergatives to be related to universal mapping principles by which the argument structure of the two different classes of intransitives is built in a different way in the mental representation of the interlanguage grammar. If these two classes of intransitives are compared to transitive causative verbs, it will become clear that the sole argument of unaccusatives



performs the role of the object of transitive causatives and the argument of unergatives behaves like the transitive causative subject.

(37)

- a) Causative argument structure: ( x <y>)
- b) Unaccusative argument structure: ( $\emptyset$  <y>)
- c) Unergative argument: ( x < $\emptyset$ >)

In (37), (x) represents the external and <y> the internal argument of transitives corresponding to the initial syntactic subject and object respectively. Both arguments (external x and internal <y>) occur in identical syntactic environments with preverbal subjects when they move to surface subject (Spec IP), which is why the distinction between unergatives and unaccusatives is not immediately obvious in English (38).

(38)

- a) Unaccusative: The guest arrived
- b) Unergative: The boy jumped

In (38a) the surface subject *guest* which can be represented by <y> has moved from its D structure object position to surface subject position, while in (38b) the subject *boy* (x) has remained in its base subject position. These different behaviours are shown in (39a) and (39b):

(39)

- a) Unaccusative: the guest<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> arrived t<sub>i</sub>]
- b) Unergative: the boy [<sub>VP</sub> jumped]

(Oshita, 2001, p. 280-281)

Additionally, there are some alternating unaccusatives (*break, melt, increase*) (40) which can have both transitive (37a) and intransitive (37b) argument structure which opposes the monadic unaccusatives which do not behave like causative verbs.

(40)

The sun melted the ice (transitive)

The ice melted (intransitive)

Crucially, the internal argument of unaccusatives in English may remain postverbally in its base generated position (*in situ*) in *there* (existential) constructions, as shown in (30b), here repeated as (41a), in which the expletive *there* occupies the subject position according to the requirements of English to have an overt element in the Spec IP position for case checking purposes (EPP).

(41)

- a) There arrived **three girls**.
- b) On one long wall hung **a row of Van Goghs**.
- c) *Next to it* stood **a silver urn bursting with branches of red berries**.

(Biber et al., 1999, p. 912).

Importantly, this construction is not possible with all unaccusative verbs. **Levin & Rappaport-Hovav** (1995) proposed an approach stating that unaccusativity is semantically determined and syntactically represented. They distinguish three different classes of unaccusative verbs: (i) externally caused or verbs of **change of state** (e.g., *open, break*); (ii) **inherently directed motion** unaccusatives (e.g., *arrive, come, fall*) and (iii) unaccusatives of **appearance or existence** (e.g., *exist, appear, remain*). Only the second and the third group of unaccusative verbs allow postverbal subjects with *there* constructions (41a) and (42b). The same classes of verbs allow PP-V-S constructions or subject-verb inversion in English as shown in (28b,c), here repeated as (41b,c) above.

Levin (1993) and Levin & Rappaport-Hovav (1995) created an inventory of intransitives, including the semantic classes and subclasses of both unaccusatives and unergatives. This inventory is presented in Table 3 below which is relevant for our empirical study.

Table 3: Inventory of unaccusatives and unergatives (based on Levin 1993; Levin &amp; Rappaport-Hovav 1995)

Unaccusatives: Semantic class	Unergatives: Semantic class and subclass
EXISTENCE exist, flow, grow, hide, live, remain, rise, settle, spread, survive	EMISSION <i>Light emission</i> : beam, burn, flame, flash
APPEARANCE appear, arise, awake, begin, develop, emerge, flow <sup>***</sup> , follow, happen, occur, rise <sup>**</sup>	<i>Sound emission</i> : bang, beat, blast, boom, clash, crack, crash, cry, known, ring, roll, sing
DISAPPEARANCE die, disappear	<i>Smell emission</i> : smell
INHERENTLY DIRECTED MOTION arrive, come, drop, enter, escape, fall, go, leave, pass, rise <sup>***</sup> , return	<i>Substance emission</i> : pour, sweat
	COMMUNICATION <i>Manner of speaking</i> : cry <sup>*</sup> , shout, sing <sup>*</sup>
	<i>Talk verbs</i> : speak, talk
	BODILY PROCESSES <i>Breathe verbs</i> : breath, cough, cry <sup>*</sup> , sweat <sup>**</sup>
	<i>Nonverbal expressions</i> : laugh, sigh, smile
	MANNER OF MOTION <i>Run verbs</i> : fly, jump, run, swim, walk, ride, travel, slide
	PERFORMANCE <i>Monadic agentives</i> : dance, phone, play, sing, work
	<i>Snooze</i> : sleep
Total unaccusatives: 31 types	Total unergatives: 41 types

\*see also sound emission \*\*see also substance emission \*\*\*see also existence

## 2.2.2 CROSS-LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE FOR THE UH

Different languages employ different mechanisms to mark unaccusativity: syntax, morphology, auxiliary selection etc. There are several syntactic diagnostics showing the difference between unaccusatives and unergatives shown by various languages. One of them is **subject-verb inversion** (SV and VS orders). As was shown in 2.2.1, some subclasses of unaccusative verbs (of existence and appearance and inherently directed motion) allow their sole argument to remain *in situ* if surface subject position (Spec IP) is occupied by the semantically empty expletive *there*, licensing the occurrence of a postverbal subject (42). If *there* does not occupy the subject position, the argument moves from its base object position in the D-structure to surface subject position (43). As opposed to unaccusatives, unergative verbs cannot appear in *there* existential constructions (44).

(42)

- a) There arrived [three girls]

- b) There appeared [a grotesque figure]
- c) There stands [a man] by the bus stop

(Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 478)

(Lozano, 2008, p.150)

(43)

- a) [Three girls]<sub>i</sub> arrived  $t_i$
- b) [A grotesque figure]<sub>i</sub> appeared  $t_i$
- c) [A man]<sub>i</sub> stands  $t_i$  by the bus stop

(44)

- a) \*There opened the door.
- b) \*There broke the window.
- c) \*There melted the butter.

(Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 478)

The same subclasses of unaccusative verbs allow inversion of the type PP-V-S (45). In English it is possible for some unergatives to license locative inversion, which will be explained in detail in 2.2.3.1.2.

(45)

- a) *Next to it* stood **a silver urn bursting with branches of red berries.**

(Biber et al., 1999, p. 912).

UH determines word order in pro-drop languages which have an apparently free word order alternation. In Spanish, SV word order sounds more natural with unergatives (46 a) and VS with unaccusatives (46b) (Hertel 2003; Lozano 2006a,b; 2008, Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2008). It is important to note that this happens at the lexicon-syntax interface, i.e., when the verb determines the syntax, in contexts where the whole sentence is focus (neutral context answering questions like *What happened?*).

(46)

- |                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| a) <i>Juan</i> ha hablado   | *Ha hablado <i>Juan</i> |
| <i>Juan</i> has spoken      | has spoken <i>Juan</i>  |
| b) * <i>Juan</i> ha llegado | Ha llegado <i>Juan</i>  |
| <i>Juan</i> has arrived     | has arrived <i>Juan</i> |

(Lozano &amp; Mendikoetxea 2008, p. 92)

Italian is another pro-drop language which prefers VS order with unaccusatives, as indicated by Sorace (1993) shown in (47).

(47)

Subject-verb inversion (base-generated)

Sono arivati tre studenti.

Are arrived three students.

'Three students have arrived'.

(Sorace 1993, p. 26)

**Auxiliary selection** is another syntactic marking regulated by the UH. Languages which alternate auxiliaries (Italian, French) select *have* with unergatives and *be* with unaccusatives in perfective tenses. In Italian unergatives select *avere* and unaccusatives (change of state, inherently directed motion and existence and appearance) select *essere*, also explained by Sorace (1993) shown in (48a). Also, modal verbs in Italian usually take *avere* but they can co-occur with *essere* when they take unaccusative verbs as complements (48b). Such constructions allow **clitic climbing** (48c), i.e., raising of unstressed preverbal object pronoun. When the clitic (-ci) raises, it is the auxiliary *essere* that occurs obligatorily with the modal *dovere* (have to) (48d).

(48)

- a) Mario è/\*ha andato a casa.  
Mario is/has gone home.

‘Mario went home’.

b) Mario ha/è dovuto andare a casa.

Mario has had to-go home

c) (A casa) Mario ha/è dovuto andar-ci.

(Home), Mario there has had to go.

d) (A casa) Mario ci è/\*ha dovuto andaré.

(Home), Mario there has had to-go.

(Sorace 1993, pp. 25, 26, 27)

Sorace also explains that in French *être* (be) occurs only with unaccusatives which denotes change of location (49), while the other two subtypes take *avoir* (have).

(49)

a) Jim est/a\* arrive

Jim arrived

Japanese also recognizes unaccusativity. Hirakawa (1999) elaborates the different **semantic interpretation** of Japanese sentences with unaccusatives and unergatives, as shown in (50). He gives an example with the adverb *takusan* (*a lot*) which may modify both the subject S and the object O of the verb. Japanese has SOV word order and, whenever the subject and the object are topic, they may be omitted. In such case, it would be difficult to ascertain whether the subject or the object is quantified by the adverb *takusan* (*a lot*). Native Japanese would know that *takusan* (*a lot*) can only modify the object i.e. *the internal argument*, but not the subject.

(50)

a) Takusan kaita.

A lot write-PAST

‘Somebody wrote a lot.’

b) Takusan oti-masi-ta.

a lot            fall-POL-PAST

‘A lot (of things) fell.

c) Takusan    hashitta.

a lot            run-PAST

‘Somebody ran a lot.

(Hirakawa, 1999, p. 91)

In (50a), the verb is transitive and the subject and the object are omitted. The meaning of the sentence cannot be confused: *some person wrote a lot of things*. When *takusan* is used with unaccusatives it can modify its subject which is actually the underlying object. Therefore, in (50b) *takusan* refers to the underlying object (*things*) of the unaccusative *fell* and the sentence has the meaning ‘*A lot of things fell*’. In (50c) *takusan* cannot modify the subject of the unergative verb because this is the underlying subject and it cannot mean “*A lot of people ran*” but the meaning is “*Somebody ran a lot*”. This indicates that the adverb *takusan* modifies the constituent generated in postverbal position, i.e., the object of a transitive verb and also the subject of an unaccusative verb, but never the subject of an unergative verb.

Unaccusativity is also evident in Chinese, which is an SVO language, such as English. As explained by Yuan (1999), the internal argument of Chinese unaccusative verbs may occur preverbally, as in English, as shown in (51a), or it may display surface unaccusativity by occurring postverbally, as shown in (51b). The internal argument appears postverbally only if it is an indefinite noun phrase. If the argument is a definite NP, its postverbal position is ungrammatical, as indicated in (51c). The argument of unergative verbs in Chinese may only appear in preverbal subject position, similar to English and Japanese. Hence the so called “definiteness effect” is observed in Chinese. It means that the postverbal subject of unaccusatives has to be an indefinite NP. If it occurs in preverbal position it is a definite NP. This is similar to English where postverbal subjects are usually indefinite NPs (focus) even though the rule is not as strict as in Chinese.

(51)

- a) shang ge yue, san sou chuan zai zhe ge hai yu chen le.  
 last CL month three CL ship in this CL sea area sink PFV  
 ‘Last month, three ships sank in this sea area.’
- b) shang ge yue, zai zhe ge hai yu chen le san sou chuan.  
 last CL month in this CL sea area sink PFV three CL ship  
 ‘Last month, three ships sank in this sea area.’
- c) \*shang ge yue, zai zhe ge hai yu chen le na sou chuan.  
 last CL month in this CL sea area sink PFV that CL ship  
 ‘Last month, that ship sank in this sea area.’

(Yuan, 1999, p. 279)

### 2.2.3 UNACCUSATIVITY IN THE LANGUAGES UNDER CONSIDERATION

In the following sections we will focus on the syntactic representation of unaccusativity in the languages under consideration: English, Spanish and Macedonian. Some of these syntactic details were shortly explained for English and Spanish in section 2.2.2.

#### 2.2.3.1 Unaccusativity and word order in native English

As explained in 2.2., English is a canonical word order language (SVO) always requiring its subject position to be occupied by an overt element for feature checking purposes (EPP). As already explained, the subject of unergatives base generates in subject position of the VP but the subject of unaccusatives generates in object position of the VP. It moves to Spec IP to check its nominative case features. The canonical word order in English is SV, both with unergatives (52) and unaccusatives (53), where the preceding question (*What happened...?*) requires an all-focus answer where all constituents are new information (focus). These contexts are labeled *all focus contexts*, as will be explained below.

(52) What happened last night in the street?

- a) [A woman shouted]<sub>Foc</sub> SV
- b) \*[Shouted a woman]<sub>Foc</sub> VS



(Lozano, 2008, p.144)

(53) What happened last night at the party?

a) [The police arrived] <sub>Foc</sub> SV

b) \*[Arrived the police] <sub>Foc</sub> VS

(Lozano, 2008, p.145)

Here we can discuss the influence of discourse on word order, which is relevant for our study. As was mentioned in 2.1.3. (Casielles-Suarez (2009)), discourse may go beyond syntax and influence the order of sentence elements. For our purposes it is necessary to distinguish two contexts: (i) **Neutral focus context** is produced as a reply to an all-focus question like ‘*What happened?*’. In neutral context we let the lexicon determine the syntax, i.e., we are dealing with the lexicon-syntax interface. In English the word order in neutral context is SV, both with unergatives and unaccusatives, indicating that verb type (unaccusative or unergative) does not seem to play a role in the word order. Non-canonical word order is ungrammatical (52b) and (53b).

(ii) **Presentational focus context** requires a focused subject as an answer to a question like ‘*Who shouted?*.’ Examples (54) and (55) show the word order in English in presentational context which is determined by the discourse.

(54) Who shouted last night in the street?

[A WOMAN] <sub>Foc</sub> shouted SV

\*Shouted [A WOMAN] <sub>Foc</sub> VS

(Lozano, 2008, p.161)

(55) Who arrived last night at the party?

[THE POLICE] <sub>Foc</sub> arrived SV

\*Arrived [THE POLICE] <sub>Foc</sub> VS

(Lozano, 2008, p.161)

The presentationally focused subject of unergative verbs raises from its base position Spec VP to Spec IP for case and focus checking purposes and the word order is SV. The subject of unaccusatives moved from the VP object position to the surface subject

position Spec IP to acquire nominative case, as English language requires the subject position to be occupied by an overt element, as mentioned several times in this dissertation. Hence it can be concluded that English word order is SV for both neutral and presentational contexts with unergative and unaccusative verbs. Additionally, in presentationally focused contexts, the subject occurs postverbally with unaccusatives when it is heavy and focus (Biber et.al (1999)) (as they are in our empirical study). This fact will be elaborated and explained in detail in the following sections.

#### 2.2.3.1.1 EXISTENTIAL INVERSION

Existential *there* is defined by Biber et al., (1999) as a:

‘formal device used together with an intransitive verb to predicate the existence or occurrence of something (including the non-existence or non-occurrence of something) ‘ (p.943).

According to Ward, Birner and Huddleston (2002), existential inversion may have the structure *there*+be+indefinite NP, known as **existential clauses**, as in (56), and also *there*+V(intransitive)+indefinite NP, known as **presentational clauses** or existential clauses with verbs other than *be*, as in (57).

(56) *There* are **around 6000 accidents** in the kitchen of Northern Ireland homes every year.

(Biber et al., 1999, p. 943).

(57) Somewhere deep inside *there* arose **a desperate hope that he would embrace her.**

(Biber et al., 1999, p. 943)

Before we continue describing the structure we will refer to the difference between **existential *there*** and **locative *there***.

Existential *there* is derived from the locative adverb *there* (*there<sub>loc</sub>*), but has lost its original locative meaning and functions as a semantically empty expletive (*there<sub>pro</sub>*). The difference between expletive *there* and locative *there* is shown in (58).

(58)

- a) *There<sub>pro</sub> is **nothing** there<sub>loc</sub>.*
- b) *What is there<sub>pro</sub> there<sub>loc</sub> ?*

(Ward, G., Birner, B. J., &amp; Huddleston, R, 2002, pp.1391)

Syntactically, existential *there* functions as an empty grammatical subject in existential and presentational constructions which satisfies the requirements of English language to have an overt element in surface subject position (according to the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) which was mentioned several times in this dissertation).

Biber et. al. (1999:945) explain that existential constructions with verbs other than *be* (presentational constructions) are rare and occupy only a small part of all existential clauses: in fiction and academic prose less than 5% and in news and conversation less than 1%. This is a very important factor for this study since we are investigating these sentences and it is unlikely that L2 learners picked up the structure from the input (due to its extremely low frequency in the input).

The focus of this study will be existential clauses with verbs other than *be* (presentational clauses), where the postverbal subject co-occurs with intransitive verbs (namely, a subset of unaccusative verbs, though in the descriptive literature (grammars by Biber et al. 1999, Huddleston & Pullum 2002, Quirk et al. 1985) there is no discussion about which type these intransitive verbs belong to, though in the generative literature they have been well studied and have been classified as a subset of unaccusatives, as we have explained earlier. We will therefore not discuss structures of the type *there-be-NP* any further.

Unaccusative verbs of existence and appearance and inherently directed motion (as explained in 2.2.1), are the intransitive verbs other than *be*, allowing *there* constructions, as shown in (59), where the preverbal element (expletive *there* in this case) is in italics, the unaccusative verb is underlined and the postverbal subject is in bold.

(59)

- a) *There came **a roar of pure delight** as it closed around him and carried him on.*

- b) There seems **no likelihood of a settlement.**
- c) In all such relations *there* exists a set of mutual obligations in the instrumental and economic fields.

(Biber et al., 1999, p. 943)

- d) *There* remain **only two further issues to discuss.**
- e) After they had travelled for many weeks, *there* came **the moonlit night** when the air was still and cold.

(Ward, G., Birner, B. J., & Huddleston, R., 2002, p.1402)

The subject remains in its base generated object position (*in situ*) and the surface subject position is occupied by the expletive *there*. Existential constructions are often used in conjunction with adverbials of time or place (59c,e), because things happen in the context of time and place. Biber et.al (1999) additionally explain that existential *there* presents new information into the discourse, because it typically occurs with an indefinite subject which carries focus (new) information. This fact is important for this study as it deals with postverbal subjects which are focus. Even though it does not occur often, presentational constructions allow postverbal subjects with definite noun phrases as shown in (59e) (see details in Biber et.al 1999, section 11.4.3.).

#### 2.2.3.1.2 LOCATIVE INVERSION

Sometimes, subject – verb inversion opens with place adverbials. This structure is often referred to as *locative inversion*. Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995) explain that locative inversion has a non-canonical word order ‘PP-V-S’ which is a result of the change of place between the subject (S) and the locative adverbial (PP). The verb in the locative inversion must be intransitive, considered to belong mostly to the subclass of unaccusative verbs of **appearance** (60a,b) and **existence** (60c). Sometimes unaccusatives of **inherently directed motion** appear in locative inversion constructions (60d). The preverbal element (now a PP) is shown in *italics*, the unaccusative verb is underlined and the postverbal subject is in **bold**.

(60)

- a) *Over her shoulder* appeared **the head of Jenny’s mother.**

- b) *From such optical tricks arise all the varieties of romantic hallucination...*
- c) *.. in the corners and the corridors and the bus debarkation point existed that stricken awareness..*
- d) *Here and there flourish groves of aged live oaks.*

(Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995, pp. 220-221)

Unaccusative verbs of change of state do not typically occur in locative inversion constructions as shown in (61a,b) or existential constructions (61c) due to the fact that they are usually alternating unaccusatives which alternate in transitivity.

(61)

- a) *\*On the top of the skyscraper broke many windows.*
- b) *\*On the streets of Chicago melted a lot of snow.*

(Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995, pp. 224)

- c) *\* There melted a lot of snow.*

As Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995) further explain, even though locative inversion is mostly related to unaccusative verbs of existence and appearance, there are several subclasses of unergative verbs which are found in this construction. The unergative verbs entering into this construction behave as unaccusatives by being used with directional adverbials (62a) or activity verbs with animate subjects (62b). Also, verbs of light emission (62c) and of body internal motion (62d) may appear in locative inversion constructions.

(62)

- a) *Inside swam fish from an iridescent spectrum of colours ...*
- b) *On the third floor worked two young women called Maryanne Thomson and Ava Brent.*
- c) *On one hand flashes a 14-carat round diamond...*
- d) *Black across the clouds flapped the cormorant.*

(Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995, pp. 224-225)

Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995) explain that the subject in these constructions has to be less familiar than the preverbal element (focus). This is also the reason why verbs which are informationally heavy (rush, walk) are not found in locative inversion with locative adverbials. It is possible for the heaviness of the verb to become lighter if directional adverbial is used instead. They also propose that this phenomenon can be taken into account from discourse considerations. Mendikoetxea (2006) elaborates that unergative verbs of manner of motion become unaccusatives if the construction opens with a directional PP.

(63)

a) *Down* the dusty Crisholm Trail into Abilene rode **taciturn Spit Weaver, his lean brown face an enigma...**

b) *Into this scene* walked **Corky's sister, Vera, eight years old...**

(Mendikoetxea 2006 p. 137 taken from Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995, p. 221)

The flexibility of locative inversion to accept different subclasses of verbs (unaccusatives and unergatives) may be related to the origin of Modern English i.e. the **verb second (V2)** structure of Old and Middle English. The verb second (V2) structure has been “lost” in present day English, throughout the Middle English period, although it has remained to persist as a feature of all other Germanic languages. Namely, this property places the finite verb in the second constituent position in the clause after the initial element, regardless of its clause function, usually a pronominal, negative and temporal or locative adverb (Burrow and Turville-Petre, 2001; Haeberli 2007; Heycock and Kroch 1993). More precisely, when the subject was long (which definitely means that it was new), it was postverbal, i.e., the V2 mechanism basically worked as presentational/locative inversion: the preverbal element is informationally light and typically relates the info to the preceding discourse, and then the postverbal subject is long and focus.

This is very similar to Modern English. Casiellez-Suarez (2009) explains that focus is the stressed and informative part of the utterance which tends to occur towards the end of the sentence (syntax-discourse interface). She claims that in English utterances follow the Topic-Focus structure and that there is a tendency for accented focus to be

placed towards the end of the sentence. Basically, it is a general psycholinguistic mechanism used to alleviate the speaker and listener's processing of the information. As mentioned in 2.1.3. Additionally, Wasow (1997) explains that many languages put light constituents at the beginning of the sentence and **heavy** elements towards the end of the sentence (syntax-phonology interface) in order to make the utterances more comprehensible for both the listener and the speaker involved in the communicative activity. In English, this phenomenon is shown most clearly in the **postverbal** elements (64).

(64)

a) *There's* **a sentence in the letter assuring to the extent legally possible confidentiality.**

(Wasow 1997, p. 87)

b) *With this competitiveness* comes **the desire to stand out from the crowd and be the best.**

c) *Thus* began **the campaign to educate to public on how one contracts aids.**

(Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2010 pp. 486,490)

In English SV is the word order used with all types of verbs (unergatives and unaccusatives) but if the subject is focus and heavy it tends to be placed postverbally with unaccusative verbs in XP-V-S constructions. Unergative verbs, as it was already mentioned, allow postverbal subjects in locative constructions only (PPloc-V-S). Hence it can be concluded that inversion in English is not constrained only at the lexicon-syntax interface but it is also constrained at the syntax-discourse (focus) and the syntax-phonology interface (heavy).

It has been proposed that the interfaces of syntax with other parts of grammar are more problematic to be acquired and they show L1 influence even though narrow syntax has been acquired. Rankin (2011) studied this issue with German and Dutch (V2 languages) learners of L2 English and focused on the transfer possibilities of V2 structure. The results confirmed the predictions that even though syntax was mastered, transfer happened at discourse syntax interface, where L1 preference of topicalization structures

continued to occur. Further on, Rankin proposed that ‘it is discourse-pragmatic patterns that transfer as opposed to syntactic interference’ p.16., i.e. that V2 transfer may be happening due to transfer of discourse-pragmatic patterns from the L1 rather than syntactic deficits. This is relevant for our study which will also discuss the possible transfer of PP-V-S from L1 Macedonian and Spanish which is in fact a V2 structure. (see sections 7.1.3.3. and 7.1.3.4.)

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### 2.2.3.2 Unaccusativity and word order in native Spanish

Recall from our previous discussion in 2.1.2 that the second property of the pro-drop parameter relates to the possibility of inverting the subject and the verb. But the apparently flexible word order in Spanish is actually constrained by syntactic rules stemming from the type of verb involved in the structure (**lexicon-syntax interface**), and discourse rules depending on the type of information encoded in the sentence (**syntax-discourse interface**) (Hertel 2003; Dominguez and Arche 2008; Lozano 2006a,b; Lozano 2008; Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2008, 2010). Spanish is a topic first focus last language, meaning that the focused element in a sentence is expected to appear in sentence-final position, even if the canonical word order is to be changed. Example (65a) shows the word order in neutral context, providing an all-focus reply to the question ‘*What happened*’ (*¿Que pasó?*) and (65b) shows the word order in a presentational context, where the subject has been focused and, therefore, needs to appear in sentence-final position.

(65)

a) *What happened?*

[Juan ha traído el perro]<sub>Foc</sub>                      SVO

Juan has-brought the dog

‘Juan has brought the dog’

b) *Who has brought the dog?*

Ha traído el perro [**Juan**]<sub>Foc</sub>                      VOS

has brought the dog Juan

‘Juan has brought the dog’



\*[Juan] ha traído el perro<sub>Foc</sub>                      \*SVO  
 Juan has-brought the dog  
 ‘Juan has brought the dog’

(Arche and Dominguez 2008, p. 2)

As has been shown earlier, the verb type also influences the word order in Spanish. Namely, the subject of unaccusatives always appears postverbally irrespective of the information status of the sentence (neutral or presentational focus), as explained by Hertel (2003), Lozano (2006a, 2006b) and Arche and Domiguez (2008). Examples (66) and (67) show the word order with unergatives and unaccusatives in neutral context and (68) and (69) show the word order in presentational context.

(66) neutral focus / unergatives

¿Qué pasó anoche en la calle?  
 What happened last night in the street?

[Una mujer grito] <sub>Foc</sub>                      SV

A woman shouted

‘A woman shouted’

\*[Grito una mujer] <sub>Foc</sub>                      VS

Shouted a woman

‘A woman shouted’

(Lozano, 2008, p.144)

(67) neutral focus / unaccusatives

¿Qué pasó anoche en la fiesta?  
 What happened last night at the party?

\*[La policia vino] <sub>Foc</sub>                      SV

The police arrived

‘The police arrived’

[Vino la policia] <sub>Foc</sub>                      VS

Arrived the police

‘The police arrived’

(Lozano, 2008, p.145)

Examples (66) and (67) show that the canonical word order is used in neutral context with unergatives, but VS is pragmatically more acceptable with unaccusatives. As explained by Lozano (2006a), Spanish marks the presentational focus syntactically by placing the subject in sentence final position.

(68) presentational focus / unergatives

Quien grito anoche en la calle?  
Who shouted last night in the street?

\*[UNA MUJER]<sub>Foc</sub> grito SV

A woman shouted

‘A woman shouted’

Grito [UNA MUJER]<sub>Foc</sub> VS

Shouted a woman

‘A woman shouted’

(69) presentational focus / unaccusatives

Quien vino anoche a la fiesta?  
Who came last night to the party?

\*[LA POLICIA]<sub>Foc</sub> vino SV

The police arrived

‘The pólíce arrived’

Vino [LA POLICIA]<sub>Foc</sub> VS

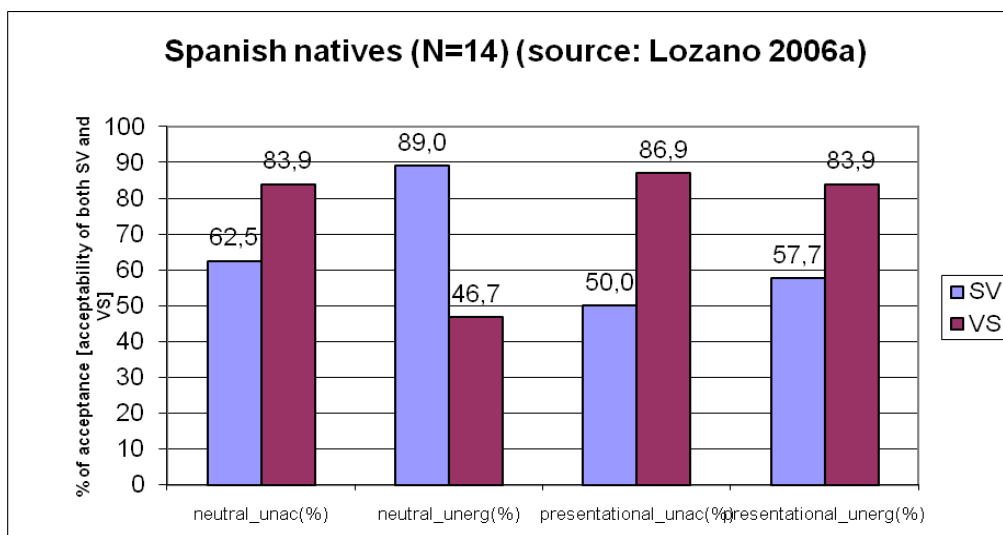
Arrived the police

‘The police arrived’

(Lozano, 2008, p.161)

Therefore, in presentational context VS is pragmatically more acceptable both with unergatives and unaccusatives, proving that word order in Spanish is also determined at syntax-discourse level. This is clearly shown in the bar chart below, Figure 7 (source: experimental data from Spanish native speakers reported by Lozano (2006a) and adapted here for expository purposes).

Figure 7: Word order in neutral and presentational contexts in Spanish



Therefore it can be summed up that in Spanish word order is constrained by the lexicon at the lexicon-syntax interface (all focus contexts) where unergatives require SV and unaccusatives VS. At the syntax-discourse interface word order is constrained by focus requiring VS both with unergatives and unaccusatives when the subject is new information.

### 2.2.3.3 Unaccusativity and word order in native Macedonian

The Macedonian language has not been largely studied from a generative point of view. We are not aware of any previous studies on unaccusativity in Macedonian. There are some theoretical studies about the word order in Macedonian, governed by discourse (topic and focus information), which we will refer to further on, but none of these studies elaborate in detail the focus of our interest or mention the unaccusative/unergative distinction.

Sussex and Cubberley (2006) studied in detail the Slavic languages and state that these languages (Macedonian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian etc.) place old or topic information at the beginning of the sentence and new information goes towards the end i.e., they are

topic first focus last (which, as we have seen in the preceding section, is what happens in native Spanish).

As mentioned in 2.2., the unmarked word order in Macedonian is SVO. Due to its pro-drop features, Macedonian shows word order flexibility, as in (34a,b) here repeated as (70).

(70)

a) Poshtar dojde (SV)

postman came

‘A postman came’

b) Dojde poshtar (VS)

Came a postman

‘A postman came’

(Topolinska, 1995, p. 51)

Topolinska (1995) describes that (70b) is unmarked by definiteness. The subject ‘poshtar-postman’ is an indefinite NP (focus) and is placed after the verb. The subject is placed before the verb when it is marked by definiteness (topic), such as in (71), thus it may be assumed that topic information is placed at the beginning of the sentence and focus usually after the verb.

(71) Poshtarot dojde (SV)

Postman-the came

‘The postman came’

In relation to the above, Minova-Gjurkova (2000) discusses word order in Macedonian from a functional point of view (discourse), elaborating that the natural order is to place the theme (topic) before the rheme (focus) information (34c) here repeated as (72a). This word order in Macedonian is called objective word order. The rheme (focus) can be placed at the beginning of the sentence if emotional emphasis is involved. The speaker starts with the most important element, even if it would be pragmatically more

logical to place it in sentence final position (34d) here repeated as (72b). This is the subjective word order. Both statements are acceptable and the information will be suitably transmitted.

(72)

a) Vleze edna devojka (VS)

Entered a girl

‘A girl entered’.

b) Edna devojka vleze (SV)

A girl entered

‘A girl entered’

(Minova-Gjurkova, 2000, p. 226)

The topic-focus word order with locative inversion is common in Macedonian. As explained by Milenkovska (2002a), when the locative or temporal adverbial refers to the previous context it is usually placed in sentence initial position and semantically motivates inversion, as in (73).

(73)

*Vo kukjata od samoto moste vleguva Rusanka.*

In house-the from itself-the bridge enters Rusanka.

‘In the house, from the bridge itself enters Rusanka’

(Milenkovska (2002), p.124)

Milenkovska (2002) also mentions that the subject NP occur postverbally (marked realization of the word order) when it carries new information (focus). She provides several examples taken from novels written by renowned Macedonian authors as in (74). Even though nothing was mentioned about the heaviness of the subject it is obvious from the below examples that, besides being focus, the subject is also heavy.

(74)

- a) *Od chistinata nagore se protegashе padina so sitni grmushki i so mnogu kamenja.*

from clearing-the above spreaded slope with small bushes  
and a lot of stones.

‘Above the clearing spreaded a slope with small bushes and a lot of stones.’

- b) *Se izvivaat goli vetrovi fateni vo mrezhata na ulicata.*

Blew sharp winds caught in the web of the street.

‘Sharp winds were blowing caught in the street web.’

- c) *No zad niv stoeja drugi vojnici, nahraneti i obleceni i so pushki ili stapovi vo racete.*

But behind them stood other soldiers, fed, and dressed up  
and with guns or sticks in arms-the.

‘But behind them stood other soldiers, fed and dressed up carrying  
guns or sticks in their arms’.

(Milenkovska 2002a,b, pp.126/127, 249)

As was previously mentioned, unaccusativity in Macedonian has not been studied. Word order is flexible but it is unclear whether it is governed by the lexicon-syntax interface due to the fact that SV/VS is allowed with all verb types (neutral context). As far as the presentational focus context is concerned, we could only refer to the above studies and examples, which suggest that focus and heavy subjects tend to occur postverbally in Macedonian. Hence we could assume that syntax-discourse and syntax-phonology interface influence word order in Macedonian by placing focus and heavy subjects towards the end of the sentence.

### 2.2.3.3.1 DESCRIPTION OF UNACCUSATIVITY

In the previous section, we were able to see the preference of SV / VS with unergatives and unaccusatives in neutral and presentational contexts by English and Spanish natives. Table 4 summarizes the word order for different contexts for English and Table 5 for Spanish. Given that there are no experimental studies on native Macedonian, we will discuss the SV/VS alternation in native Macedonian in the section below, where we report on a short experimental study testing Macedonian natives' preferences.

**Table 4: Word order in neutral and presentational contexts in English**

English	neutral context	unergatives		SV
		unaccusatives		SV
	presentational context	unergatives		SV
		unaccusatives		SV
	presentational context (if the subject is focus and heavy)	unergatives	existential constructions	SV
			locative inversion	VS
		unaccusatives	existential constructions	VS
			locative inversion	VS

It is obvious that unaccusativity is not represented at a surface level in neutral and presentational contexts in English due to the fixed word order and the requirements of English to have an overt subject in the sentence (EPP). If, however, the subject is focus (new information) AND heavy (long) postverbal subject constructions are allowed with unaccusative verbs in existential constructions and locative inversion constructions which are presentational context constructions. Postverbal subject constructions are possible with some subclasses of unergatives (see description in 2.2.3.1.2. above) with long and heavy subjects in locative inversion constructions only.

**Table 5: Word order in neutral and presentational contexts in Spanish**

Spanish	neutral context	unergatives	SV
		unaccusatives	VS
	presentational context	unergatives	VS
		unaccusatives	VS

Unaccusativity in Spanish is more obvious at surface level showing SV only with unergatives in neutral context. Unaccusatives in neutral context and both types of verbs in presentational context prefer VS.

As just mentioned, we did not come across any Macedonian studies or descriptive papers on unaccusativity and word order in different contexts. Due to the fact that these data are crucial for our study, investigating whether acquisition of postverbal subjects in L2 English is a result of transfer or rather a developmental issue, we conducted a pilot study to examine the intuitions on SV/VS with unergatives and unaccusatives in neutral and presentational context in Macedonian, which is described in the next section.

#### 2.2.3.3.2 PILOT STUDY: MACEDONIAN NATIVE SPEAKERS' INTUITIONS ON UNACCUSATIVITY

A contextualized grammaticality judgment test was developed (see appendix 11.3, p. 197). We used 4 unergatives (*work, play, speak, cry*) and 4 unaccusatives (*come, exist, begin, appear*) and developed 16 sentences with unergatives (8 neutral context and 8 presentational context) and 16 with unaccusatives (8 neutral context and 8 presentational context). The test consisted of 32 contextualized situations which ended with a question referring either to neutral context ‘*Shto se sluchi?*’ (What happened?) or presentational context “*Koj dojde/zboruvashе/raboteshe?*”(Who came/spoke/worked..?) The participants could accept either SV or VS orders for each contextualized question. In (75) we have shown one example of the pilot test showing the neutral context question (75a) with the unaccusative APPEAR and the presentational context question (75b) with the unaccusative COME, provided in Macedonian (Cyrillic alphabet) and followed by an English translation.

(75)

- a) Гледаш хорор филм со Весна и засвонува нејзиниот телефон. Таа излегува од собата и се враќа по завршувањето на разговорот. Во меѓувреме испушти еден дел од филмот и прашува: “Што се случи“? Ти одговараш:

1) се појави дух (VS)



2) дух се појави (SV)

You are watching a horror film with Vesna when her telephone starts ringing. She goes out of the room and comes back after she has finished the conversation. She missed one part of the film and asks: “What happened”? You answer:

1) appeared a ghost (VS)

2) a ghost appeared (SV)

b) Ти си на забава со твојата пријателка Тања. Таа оди да си земе пијалок а во меѓувреме на забавата доаѓа некој непознат човек. Тања се враќа, забележува дека некој дошол и прашува: “Кoj дојде”? Ти одговараш:

1) еден човек дојде (SV)

2) дојде еден човек (VS)

You are at a party with your friend Tanya. She goes to get a drink and in the meantime there comes an unknown man. Tanya returns, notices that someone has come and asks: “Who came”? You answer:

1) a man came (SV)

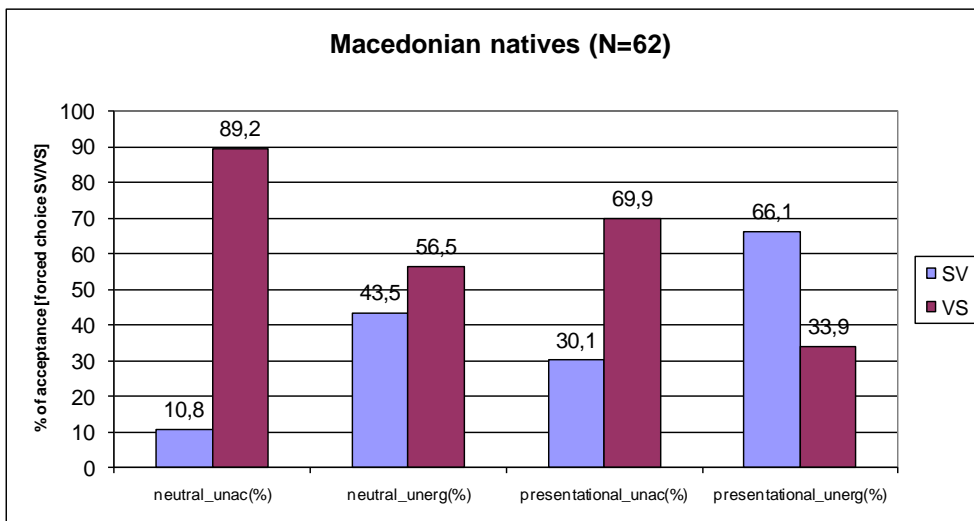
2) came a man (VS)

We randomized the order of the questions in terms of context and type of verb. Also, the order of SV/VS options was randomized for different sentences in order to avoid an order-of-presentation effect.

The test was developed in Google Docs, which is a data storage service which provides a possibility for its users to create and edit documents online which was convenient for our purpose. The test was distributed online to potential participants over the internet. The participants were explained that we needed their opinion on the acceptability of the sentence without explaining any linguistic details regarding the experimental aims, and that they had to choose one option only. 62 native speakers of Macedonian took part in the testing. After we received and analyzed the results we took out two verbs from the

Macedonian results (1 unergative-SPEAK and 1 unaccusative-APPEAR)<sup>7</sup> and we compared them with the overall Spanish results (Figure 8a and 8b respectively).

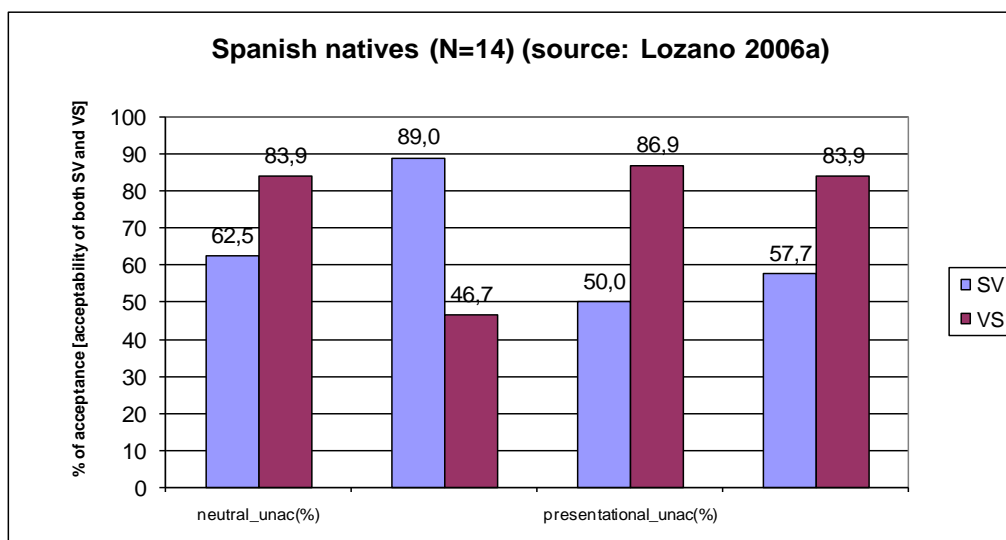
Figure 8a: Word order in neutral and presentational contexts in Macedonian



Macedonians prefer VS with unaccusatives, both in neutral and presentational context which is the same as in native Spanish. These results indicate that Macedonians are sensitive to the UH knowing that the internal argument of unaccusative verbs generates in its object position in the VP. Surprisingly enough, Macedonians prefer VS in neutral context with unergatives as well (even though the difference compared with unaccusatives is minor, i.e., we could be dealing here with a case of native optionality, since both SV and VS are preferred with unergatives in neutral contexts) but SV with unergatives in presentational context, which is completely opposite to the Spanish results.

<sup>7</sup> SPEAK (unergative) and APPEAR (unaccusative) were eliminated because they were the weakest candidates in their condition.

Figure 8b (repeat of Figure 7): Word order in neutral and presentational contexts in Spanish



The methodology we used might play a role in the results we obtained. Namely, the participants did not produce their own answers, but they were forced to choose two options: either SV or VS. VS with unergatives in neutral context was not expected, though the results point in the direction of optional SV/V S with unergatives in neutral contexts, as pointed out above. This may be due to the great flexibility of word order in Macedonian.

The SV order for unergatives in presentational context was also unexpected. It might be explained via the description of Minova-Gjurkova (2000) of the subjective word order in Macedonian. Learners may feel the possibility to be able to change the word order with unergatives when they emphasize the answer. Namely, the rheme (focus) can be placed at the beginning of the sentence if emotional emphasis is involved. The speaker starts with the most important element, even if it would be pragmatically more logical to place it at sentence final position<sup>8</sup>. This is more difficult to be done with the core unaccusatives because often they do not ‘sound well’ in SV order while it is more

<sup>8</sup> We managed to talk to some of the participants in the pilot study who told us their opinion about the sentences. Namely, they thought that different interpunction signs were supposed to be used at the end of the sentences because some of them seemed like exclamations, in relation to the context they were anchored to. Due to the absence of these signs they chose the answers based on their subjective opinion i.e. mostly chose the SV option emphasizing the **DOER** of the action as the question is **WHO** did something.

possible to be done with unergatives. The obtained word order in different contexts in Macedonian is shown in Table 6.

**Table 6: Word order in neutral and presentational contexts in Macedonian**

Macedonian	neutral context	unergatives	VS/(SV)
		unaccusatives	VS
	presentational context	unergatives	SV
		unaccusatives	VS

As we will see in the experimental section, the distribution of SV/VS with unaccusatives and unergatives that we have just reported for English, Spanish and Macedonian will be crucial to interpret the results of this dissertation.

### 3 THE L2 ACQUISITION OF UNACCUSATIVITY

The main outline of this chapter is to present unaccusativity in L2 acquisition by providing preliminary background on L2 acquisition and the interfaces and describing unaccusatives in L2 acquisition with reference to postverbal subjects supported by examples of learners' production on unaccusativity taken from various empirical studies.

#### 3.1 PRELIMINARY BACKGROUND: L2 ACQUISITION AND THE INTERFACES

In the 80s SLA research focused on the issue of access to UG and parameter resetting (Chomsky 1981). In the mid 90s research moved on from studying these rather global issues to the development of the Minimalist program (Chomsky 1995), which considers the human language ability to consist of a computational system (syntax) which is fed by the lexicon (features). Such system interacts with external interfaces (phonology and semantics, or, technically speaking, the sensi-motor system and the conceptual-intentional system). In particular, advances in linguistic theory have been interested in studying interface conditions, which has also been a topic of interest in recent SLA, which in the 2000s has focused on how the computational system interacts with the interfaces. Researchers examine whether failure to acquire fully native-like L2 competence occurs due to learners' inability to integrate material at the interfaces and whether interfaces encompass cross-linguistic influence. These issues are relevant for this empirical study.

Therefore SLA can be explored from three levels: (i) **lexicon-syntax** interface, referring to the lexicon-semantic features of the structures to be acquired and their interaction with the grammar, (ii) **syntax-discourse** interface, which refers to the interaction of the discourse with the syntactic properties of the structure and (iii) **syntax-phonology** interface dealing with the interaction of syntax and the phonological properties of the structure. The Unaccusative Hypothesis is instantiated at the lexicon-syntax level. But interface conditions are crucial for our study. It shows that unaccusativity (lexicon-syntax interface) is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the production of postverbal subjects (which are the focus of this study), because other interfaces are

involved in their production and acceptance: syntax-discourse (end-focus principle) and syntax-phonology (end-weight principle), as will be seen below.

### 3.2 UNACCUSATIVES IN L2 ACQUISITION

The theory of the Unaccusative Hypothesis (see chapter 2) has shown various diagnostics on unaccusativity (semantic, syntactic etc.) The sensitivity to the unaccusative hypothesis in SLA is observed in the behavior of various L1 learners producing ungrammatical and contextually inappropriate passive unaccusatives e.g., *An accident was happened* for “An accident happened” (Balcom, 1997; Hirakawa, 1999; Ju 2000; Oshita, 2000; Zobl, 1989). It was already mentioned in 2.2.2. that unaccusatives determine the selection of auxiliaries in languages choosing different auxiliaries in perfective tenses. Learner’s sensitivity to follow the native norm of auxiliary selection depending on the verb type is part of the phenomena described by Sorace (1993). One of the factors allowing postverbal subjects in L2 English is the UH which has been largely studied by several authors (Zobl 1989; Rutherford 1989; Yuan 1998; Oshita 2001, 2004; Lozano & Mendikoetxea 2008, 2010).

In the following subsections we will review studies on unaccusativity in L2 acquisition, which will serve as a background for the experimental study. The last subsection on unaccusative postverbal subjects in L2 acquisition, which is the focus of this study, is crucial to understand the experimental section and the results.

#### 3.2.1 INTRODUCTION: SOME EXAMPLES OF LEARNERS’ PRODUCTION ON UNACCUSATIVITY

This section provides examples produced by learners of L2 English of various L1 backgrounds to indicate the universal sensitivity to the UH. Learners produce similar structures (grammatical and ungrammatical) regardless of their L1, (76-78).

##### (76) PASSIVE UNACCUSATIVES

- a) \*Most of the people **are fallen** in love and marry with somebody.
- b) \*My mother **was died** when I was just a baby.

(Zobl 1989, p. 204).

## (77) AUXILIARY SELECTION

- a) \*Non **ha potuto venire**
- b) Non **e potuta venire**

(Sorace 1993, p. 41).

## (78) POSTVERBAL SUBJECTS

- a) *PP (locative)* - V (unaccusative) - S

... *on her face* appeared **those two red cheeks** ...

(L1 Arabic; Rutherford, 1989, p. 179).

- b) \**PP (temporal)* - V (unaccusative) - S

\**One day* happened **a revolution.**

(L1 Spanish; Oshita, 2004, p. 120).

- c) *there-insertion* - V (unaccusative) - S

... *there* often arise **the problem of political indifference** ...

(L1 Japanese; Oshita, 2000, p. 315).

- d) \**it-insertion* - V (unaccusative) - S

\*... *it* arrived **the day of his departure** ...

(L1 Japanese; Oshita, 2004, p. 119).

- e)  $\emptyset$ -*insertion* - V (unaccusative) - S

It is difficult that exist **volunteers with such a feeling against it.**

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, p. 487).

We will review the acquisition of these linguistic data (76-78) in the following subsections.

### 3.2.2 PASSIVIZED UNACCUSATIVES

Zobl (1989) was one of the first researchers showing that learners produce certain errors, as indicated in (76), here repeated as (79), due to unaccusativity.

(79)

- a) \*Most of the people **are fallen** in love and marry with somebody.

(L1 Japanese, Zobl 1989, p. 204).

- b) \*My mother **was died** when I was just a baby.

(L1 Thai, Zobl 1989, p. 204).

L2 learners of English with different L1 languages (*Thai, Arabic* – Zobl (1989); *Chinese*-Balcom (1997); *Korean*-Ju (2000), Oshita (2000,2004); *Italian, Spanish*-Oshita (2000, 2004); *Japanese*-Oshita (2004), Zobl (1989)) passivize intransitive unaccusative verbs (*are fallen in love, was died*), even though native English speakers passivize only transitive verbs. This behavior may indicate that learners are somehow able to notice the parallel between the passivized errors they produce and the real transitive passives. In English passives, the theme argument NP moves from object (80a) to subject (80b) position for case checking purposes, which is realised by passive morphology (80c).

(80)

- a) [*pro<sub>expl</sub>* INFL [<sub>vp</sub> V NP]]

- b) [NP<sub>i</sub> INFL [<sub>vp</sub> V *t*<sub>i</sub>]]

(Zobl 1989, p. 207).

- c) The candies<sub>i</sub> were bought *t*<sub>i</sub> by the children.

The argument structure of unaccusatives has its theme argument in base object position, which in English has to be moved in the surface subject position due to case checking purposes, as was explained in 2.2.1. Even though this movement is not marked in English, learners passivize only unaccusatives which indicates that they are somehow sensitive to their underlying argument structure which undergoes similar movement to



that of transitive passives. The result is the erroneous use of passive morphology with unaccusatives, even though passivization has not occurred. By using passive morphology with unaccusatives, they discard the doer of the action, i.e., the agent, which does not exist with unaccusatives, hence the ungrammaticality of the structure.

Oshita (2000) studied written production of passivization errors. A total of 941 tokens were produced with unaccusatives, out of which 38 were passivization errors (81). Also, 640 tokens involved unergative verbs, but learners produced only one passivization error (82), which indicates that unergatives are not passivized. This is another proof that learners are sensitive to the fact that the argument of unaccusatives is VP internal/theme.

(81)

- a) \*They **were happened** a few days ago.

(L1 Italian; Oshita 2000, p. 314).

- b) \*..suddenly pale face **was appeared** out of the window.

(L1 Korean; Oshita 2000, p. 312).

- c) \*After that we **were arrived** at the station.

(L1 Japanese; Oshita 2000, p. 314).

(82)

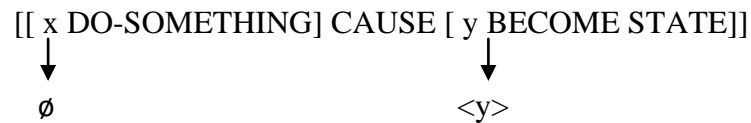
- \*He **has been walked** since last month.

(L1 Spanish; Oshita 2000, p. 310).

Balcom (1997) explains the passivization process with different types of unaccusatives. She distinguishes two types of unaccusatives in the formation of passive morphology. The first one are the unaccusatives with a transitive counterpart (e.g. *break, open*) which have an external and internal argument (Agent and Theme) and which allow transitive / unaccusative alternation. They are ‘derived from causatives by binding the external argument in the lexical semantic representation so the agent is not projected to the argument structure’ (p.7), the pattern being shown in (83).

(83)

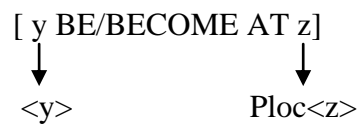
## Unaccusative with Transitive Counterpart



The other subtype are the unaccusatives without a transitive counterpart (e.g. *happen*, *fall*) which may have two internal arguments (Theme and Location), out of which the latter is possible to be implicit, and no external argument. They follow the pattern in (84).

(84)

## Unaccusative without transitive counterparts



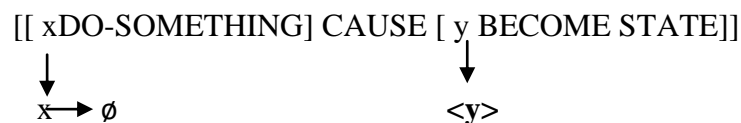
In order to be passivized, unaccusatives without a transitive counterpart have to add an external argument via causativization before passivization occurs. Both subtypes of unaccusatives with 'be'+en are derived by passivization, which occurs when the external argument is bound at argument structure. In such cases, learners would produce incorrect structures with unaccusatives without a transitive counterpart, as presented in (85), thus following the passivization pattern (86).

(85)

- a) \*Jane **was fallen** down by Mary.
- b) \*The accident **was happened** to collect the insurance.

These examples are obtained by Hirakawa (1994) and were presented in Balcom (1997, p.8).

(86)



**Oshita (2000)** analyzed Balcom's claim that causativization is one of the reasons for the occurrence of passive unaccusatives. His study provided only one example (87) of possible causativization of the verb before having been passivized.

(87)

\* It [i.e., a wall] **was failed** down in order to get a bigger green house.

(L1Spanish; Oshita 2000, p. 313).

According to Oshita, causativization is unlikely to happen in situations which denote events beyond the control of a volitional subject (88a) or when the doer of the action is the subject NP (88b), which does not require causativization and then passivization of the verb.

(88)

a) \*... the word, 'the role of women' **is appeared** just several years ago.

(L1Korean; Oshita 2000, p. 314).

b) \*I **was** nearly **arrived** to my office.

(L1Italian; Oshita 2000, p. 314).

Ju (2000) proposes that a cognitive factor influences the overpassivization phenomenon. Whenever there is a context which implies a possible external causer (89) of an event (available for a by phrase passive interpretation), learners perceive an agent and they tend to passivize the unaccusatives appearing in such contexts more than unaccusatives which do not. In this case, *the fan* is perceived as an external doer of the action motivating learners to produce the incorrect structure due to the non-agentive verb.

(89)

Tom switched on the fan.

\*Shortly after, the smoke in the room **was disappeared** by the fan.

(Ju 2000, p. 93).

The **conclusion** is that passivization of unaccusatives should be viewed as an overt marker of NP movement, more precisely, an overgeneralization of the passive morphosyntax of L2 English i.e., overpassivization.

### 3.2.3 UNACCUSATIVE AUXILIARY SELECTION

Recall that one of the diagnostics for the unaccusatives/unergative opposition is auxiliary selection (section 2.2.2). Sorace (1993) studied the sensitivity to the UH of English and French learners of L2 Italian. In Italian (as explained in 2.2.2), unaccusatives (i) occur with the auxiliary *essere* (be), (ii) optionally occur with *essere* (be) when taken as complements with modals and (iii) take *essere* as the co-occurring auxiliary with *dovere* when clitic climbing occurs, as presented in (48) above. The study involved native French speakers (French uses only unaccusatives of change of location with *être* (be) and other unaccusatives with *avoir* (have)) and English natives (which use only *have* in perfective constructions). Sorace conducted a grammaticality judgement test including various types of unaccusatives used with *essere* in the constructions mentioned above. *Avere* (have) was also used in the same constructions and participants had to select the correct auxiliary.

Table 7 Mean acceptability judgments on five categories of unaccusative verbs, *Essere* and *Avere* versions. (Sorace 1993)

		INS	FNNS	ENNS
Change of location	E	9.509	9.927	9.248
	A	1.653	1.875	2.224
Continuation of state	E	9.704	9.160	8.228
	A	2.665	3.417	3.214
Existence of state	E	9.203	8.930	8.088
	A	2.922	4.375	3.930
+Transitive alternant	E	9.340	9.825	9.170
	A	3.562	6.629	5.353
+Unergative alternant	E	9.686	9.874	8.367
	A	4.204	7.045	5.448

Notes: INS = Italian native speakers, FNNS = French near-native speakers, ENNS = English near-native speakers; E = *essere*, A = *avere*.

The results showed (Table 7) that both French and English speakers are sensitive to the fact that unaccusatives normally occur with *essere* in Italian. L1 showed to be influential for the auxiliary choice because French and English speakers accepted at a greater degree *avere* (have) with unaccusatives describing a state than native Italians.

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### 3.2.4 UNACCUSATIVE POSTVERBAL SUBJECTS

The study of Zobl (1989) mentioned in 3.2.2., also noticed that speakers from various L1 backgrounds produced ungrammatical VS orders mostly with unaccusative verbs (90)

(90)

- a) Sometimes comes a good regular wave.
- b) I was just patient until dried my clothes
- c) I think it continue of today condition forever.

(L1 Japanese; Zobl 1989, p. 204).

Learners seem to be sensitive to the fact that the internal argument of unaccusatives appears in object position (*in situ*) and they do not move it to surface subject position (Spec IP) to get nominative case. In these cases, learners either do not fulfill the surface subject position i.e., do not provide the necessary expletive *there* required in English as in (90a,b) or they provide the expletive ‘it’ (90c) and form ungrammatical structures (which, as we will see, are crucial to understand the experimental section in this dissertation). Zobl emphasizes that these structures are produced by intermediate, upper intermediate and advanced level students. Additionally he explains that it is unlikely that transfer occurs due to the fact that participants’ L1 is Japanese, which is a SOV language.

Postverbal subjects were also produced only with unaccusatives in the studies conducted by Oshita (2000; 2004). The structures *there-V-S* (91a), *\*it-V-S* (91b) and *\*∅ -V-S* (91c) were produced by Spanish, Italian, Korean and Japanese L1 speakers.

(91)

- a) ..*there exist many kind of prejudice.*

(L1 Korean; Oshita 2000, p. 316).

- b) ..\**it* arrived **the day of his departure**.

(L1 Spanish; Oshita, 2004, p. 119).

- c) ..\*like a mirage appeared **the large expanse of the sea**.

(L1 Italian; Oshita, 2004, p. 120)

***There-V-S*** was the rarest produced structure, even though it is grammatical. Spanish and Italian speakers produced more VS structures than Japanese and Korean who produced more passive unaccusatives. Oshita claims that null expletives are transferred from the L1 Spanish and Italian, hence the production of \* $\emptyset$ -**V-S** mostly among Italian and Spanish speakers (a fact that will be relevant for the experimental study in this dissertation). The production of \**it*-**V-S** is due to the fact learners prefer *it* in subject position instead of the grammatical *there* due to its nominal features. On the other hand, the low production of postverbal subjects among Japanese and Korean speakers indicates that null expletives do not exist in their native languages.

Yuan (1999) studied whether English learners of L2 Chinese will be sensitive to the unaccusative/unergative distinction in Chinese in the acquisition of VS structures. English and Chinese have different mapping of the semantics and the syntax as explained in 2.2.2. The internal argument of Chinese unaccusative verbs may occur preverbally, as in English, as shown in (51a), here repeated as (92a), or it may display surface unaccusativity by occurring postverbally as shown in (51b), here (92b). The internal argument in Chinese appears postverbally only if it is an indefinite noun phrase as in (92b). Definite noun phrase cannot occur postverbally as in (51c), here (92c).

(92)

- a) shang ge yue, san sou chuan zai zhe ge hai yu chen le.  
last CL month three CL ship in this CL sea area sink PFV  
'Last month, three ships sank in this sea area.'
- b) shang ge yue, zai zhe ge hai yu chen le san sou chuan.  
last CL month in this CL sea area sink PFV three CL ship  
'Last month, three ships sank in this sea area.'
- c) \*shang ge yue, zai zhe ge hai yu chen le na sou chuan.  
last CL month in this CL sea area sink PFV that CL ship

‘Last month, that ship sank in this sea area.’

(Yuan, 1999, pp. 279)

The subjects were 48 native English learners of L2 Chinese divided into 4 proficiency levels and a native Chinese control group. They described pictures which required the use of unaccusative verbs allowing both preverbal and postverbal occurrence of the subject, and unergative verbs which do not allow postverbal subjects. Additionally, they were tested by a grammaticality judgment test including the same type of sentences. The verbs used for the test, which allow VS with indefinite noun phrase, were (i) externally caused unaccusatives (ii) unaccusatives of directed motion (iii) unergatives which behave as unaccusatives when used with a directional phrase<sup>9</sup> (PP jump + direction +NP) as explained in 2.2.3.1.2. Unergative subjects do not appear in postverbal position. The results indicated that the unaccusative/unergative distinction is acquired very late or it is never acquired at a native-like competence by English learners of L2 Chinese and that the acquisition follows certain developmental stages which are not linear.

Oshita (2001) studied the results obtained by Yuan (1999) and proposed his Unaccusative Trap Hypothesis which explains the developmental stages of the acquisition of the unaccusative / unergative distinction. Figures 9, 10 and 11 show the results obtained by Yuan, represented in column charts by Oshita (pp. 296-297). Figure 9 shows the results of the picture descriptions requiring use of unaccusative verbs. Learners produced postverbal structures correctly with externally caused (*break*) and directed motion (*fall*) unaccusatives and incorrectly with some internally caused unergatives (*run*). The lowest proficiency level group hardly produced any VS structures. Groups 2 and 3 produced them with an increasing tendency, while the most proficient group tended to decrease the VS production. Natives produced VS with all the verbs allowing the VS occurrence. Simultaneously all learners preferred SV to VS order for all verbs.

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<sup>9</sup> For additional explanation see “Unergatives that ‘become’ unaccusatives in English locative inversion structures: A lexical syntactic approach” by Amaya Mendikoetxea (2006).

Figure 9. Percentage of V-NP production on the picture description task (based on Table 3 in Yuan, 1999, p. 285)

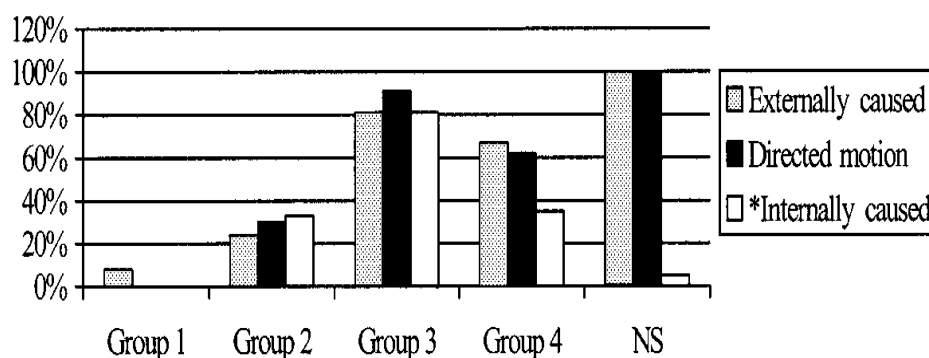
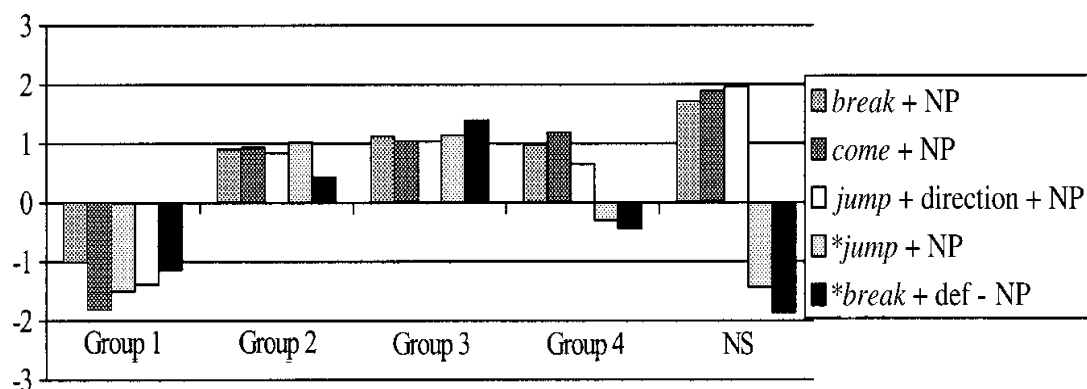


Figure 10 shows the acceptability of VS on a scale ranging from -2 (completely unacceptable) to 2 (completely acceptable) from the grammaticality judgment test. It is obvious that group 1 rejects VS completely. Groups 2 and 3 accept VS with all verbs. At intermediate stages learners seem to overextend the structure to all verb types. Group 4 distinguishes the verbs allowing VS from the ones that do not allow the structure, but not as sharply as the native speakers.

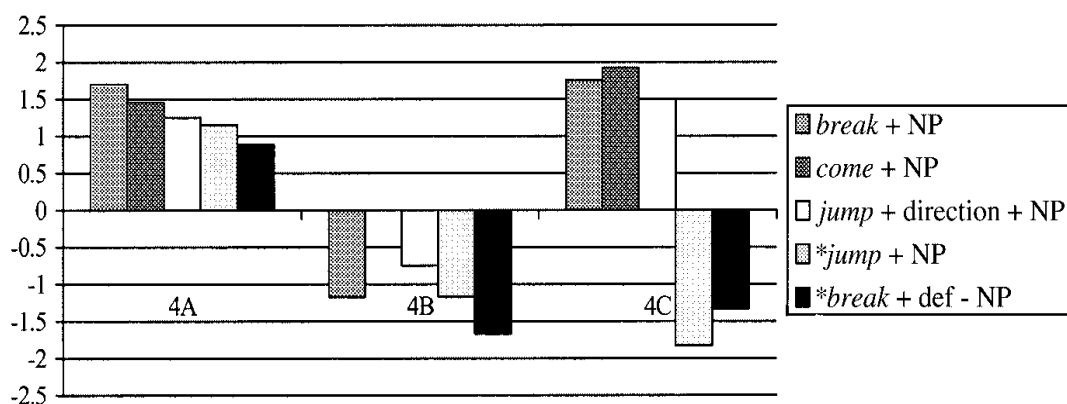
Figure 10: V-NP Acceptance on the grammaticality judgment task (based on Tables 4, 5, and 6 in Yuan, 1999, p. 286).



Yuan divided the fourth group into 3 subgroups (Figure 11), according to the results from the picture description data and the grammaticality judgment test. Namely, 4A accepted and 4B rejected all VS sentences. 4C distinguished correctly the grammatical and ungrammatical structures. It means that 4A behaves like groups 2 and 3 and 4B like group 1. Based on these results, Oshita proposes the three developmental stages for the acquisition of the unaccusative / unergative distinction named the Unaccusative Trap (UT), as shown below.



Figure 11. V-NP Acceptance on the grammaticality judgment task (based on Tables 4, 5, and 6 in Yuan, 1999, p. 286).



**The first stage (unergative stage):** The interlanguage grammar perceives both unaccusatives and unergatives as being unergatives and only SV is produced and accepted. Learners do not possess the knowledge of the underlying structure of both unergatives and unaccusatives at this level. They misanalyze unaccusatives as unergatives and do not ‘correctly’ use SV with all verb types.

**The second stage:** The second stage recognizes acceptance of VS structures irrespective of their ungrammaticality. The learner probably becomes aware of the syntactically relevant semantic features of unaccusative verbs, hence the use of passive unaccusatives, use of (*it*)-V-S structures and reluctance to use SV, indicating that learners have progressed to the second stage. Oshita explains that at this stage learners probably become aware of the mapping of the internal argument in object position but they are not clear about how to produce the structure without the required subject in English, hence the production of the ungrammatical structures (*\*it-V-S* and passive unaccusatives *My mother was died*). Even though SV is mostly used in the input, learners somehow become sensitive to the fact that the subject of unaccusatives is generated in object position.

In Yuan’s data, nothing suggests that groups 2 and 3 are sensitive to the unaccusative/unergative distinction but they somehow start accepting VS and overgeneralize it with all types of verbs. Oshita compares this measure to the locative construction in English, which allows unergatives in VS structures, as explained in 2.2.3.1.2.

**The third stage:** Learners achieve native-like competence when they start using the object to subject movement without producing ungrammatical structures (*\*it* insertion, passive unaccusatives). At this stage learners may start using grammatical *there* constructions. In Yuan's data, only the 4C group reached near-native competence while the 4A and 4B remained at the first and second developmental stage in spite of their high proficiency level.

It is clear from the previous studies that the production of VS structures is a result of unaccusativity (Unaccusative Hypothesis, UH). But unaccusativity is a necessary but insufficient condition for the occurrence of postverbal subjects in English (Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2008; 2010). Namely, L1 Spanish learners of L2 English produced postverbal subject constructions (both grammatical *PP-V-S* and *there-V-S* and ungrammatical *\*it-V-S* and *\*∅ -V-S*) only with unaccusatives which shows the constraints of the **lexicon-syntax** interface. Additionally, the subjects have to be focus i.e., introduce new information (End Focus Principle), and heavy or long (End Weight Principle), involving the influence of the **syntax-discourse** and **syntax-phonology** interfaces respectively in the production of VS as shown in (93).

(93)

a) *PP (locative) - V - S*

*In some places still exist **popularly supported death penalty.***

b) *there-insertion - V - S*

Furthermore *there* also exists **a wide variety of optional channels which have to be paid.**

c) *\*it-insertion - V - S*

*\*In the name of religion *it* had occurred **many important events***

d) *\*∅ -insertion - V - S*

*\*It is difficult that exist **volunteers with such a feeling against it.***

e) *\*PP (temporal) - V - S*

*\*In 1760 occurs the restoration of Charles II in England.*

(L1 Spanish; Lozano & Mendikoetxea, 2010, pp. 486,487).

In short, three interface constraints are needed for the production of postverbal subjects in L2 English. This is a crucial fact for the setting up of hypotheses and for the experimental design of the stimuli in the following chapters.

Examples taken from the Main Experimental Test for L1 Macedonian-L2 English (IUSAJ) (See Appendix 11.1.3) are shown in (94) in order to illustrate the design of the examples about to be studied in the experimental section. Importantly, the experimental sentences follow the structural pattern of the sentences in (93) from the corpus studies. The experimental constructions contain unaccusative and unergative verbs in order to test whether learners would accept the correct XP-V-S constructions with unaccusatives and unergatives.

(94)

a) *PP (locative) - V - S*

... *in my dictionary appears a very interesting definition for this word.* (UNACCUSATIVE)

... *but in room 4 spoke a very important doctor from Oxford University* (UNERGATIVE)

b) *there-insertion - V - S*

...*so there came a dramatic increase of 45% of unemployment* (UNACCUSATIVE)

\*...*so there talked the president of the United States*

(UNERGATIVE)

c) *\*it-insertion - V - S*

\*...*some politicians think that it began a new period in Spanish history.* (UNACCUSATIVE)

\*...I think that *it* played **only the children of the people who were rich** (UNERGATIVE)

d)  $\emptyset$  -*insertion* - V - S

\*...some experts say that exist **some students who support it.** (UNACCUSATIVE)

\*...that work **only the people who have stable job.** (UNERGATIVE)

In order to support the point that postverbal subjects are produced when the 3 interface conditions (unaccusativity, focus, and heaviness) are met and that otherwise the subject is produced in preverbal position, we show examples of preverbal subjects with unaccusatives which are light and topic (95).

(95)

- a) **The feminism** begun with the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution
- b) **These debates** began over two decades ago.
- c) **Hugo** came from a burgoisie background.

(Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2010, pp.489,490)

The difference between the production of postverbal subjects between L2 learners and English natives is not in the interface conditions that allow VS order (simply because learners obey the same interface constraints as native English speakers do), but rather lies in the grammaticality of the preverbal structures they produce. Learners produced mostly ungrammatical sentences with an ungrammatical *it* - insertion and grammatical locative, while natives produced grammatical *PP*-insertion and *there*-insertion. Namely, the ungrammatical postverbal subjects are not the source of grammatical deficits:

as learners have no difficulties in identifying topic/focus and heavy/light postverbal subjects, but rather they belong to the computational system and/or the failure to map this information into appropriate syntactic structures: learners cannot encode End-Weight and End-Focus Principles onto the correct

grammatical constructions and overuse the construction (*it*-insertion and  $\emptyset$ -insertion), possibly due to processing difficulties and crosslinguistic influence. (Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2010, p. 494).

### 3.3 CONCLUSION: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY OF UH

The studies mentioned in 3.2. state that L2 learners treat unaccusatives differently from unergatives from a (morpho)syntactic point of view. Oshita (2004) claims that the UH is psychologically real in L2 acquisition. This was shown in the studies explaining passivized unaccusatives (Zobl 1989, Balcom 1997, Oshita 2000, Ju 2000), auxiliary selection (Sorace 1993), and the production of postverbal subjects (Oshita 2000, Yuan 1999, Zobl 1989, Lozano and Mendikoetxea 2008; 2010). In English, unaccusatives are mostly produced in SV constructions, and such word order does not indicate the unaccusative/unergative distinction overtly. Inversion in native English is mostly possible with unaccusatives but the constructions are very rare, as indicated in 2.2.3.1.1. (See Biber et.al (1999, p. 945)), therefore, it is unlikely that learners acquire these structures as a result of positive evidence from the input. All the studies mentioned so far refer to the fact that learners are sensitive to the unaccusative/unergative distinction which is what our study will focus on.

## 4 HYPOTHESES

After having presented the theoretical background on unaccusativity (chapter 2) and reviewed the relevant studies on the L2 acquisition of unaccusative/unergative contrasts (chapter 3), we are now in a position to set up some hypotheses about the acquisition of unaccusatives vs unergatives in L1 Macedonian – L2 English and L1 Spanish – L2 English..

It is expected that Macedonian learners of L2 English will be sensitive to the constraints of the Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH) by allowing postverbal subjects with unaccusatives (more than with unergatives) in L2 English, as English natives do. Considering the fact that Macedonian data will be compared against Spanish data, it is also expected that both groups of learners will show similar behavior throughout different proficiency levels, approaching native-like competence as they approach the final developmental stage. In short, L2 learners obey the Unaccusativity Hypothesis at the lexicon-syntax interface. Recall from chapter 2 that all three languages in question (English, Macedonian and Spanish) treat postverbal subjects as new (focus) information, whereas preverbal subjects represent old (topic) information (End-Focus Principle). Additionally, postverbal subjects are usually considered to be heavier than preverbal subjects (End-Weight Principle). Hence it is expected that both groups (Macedonian and Spanish) will accept postverbal subjects in the same contexts in which they are allowed in native English. Therefore, based on numerous theoretical studies and previous empirical findings we formulate four hypotheses, which are presented here in a general format, though we will examine their different nuances as we present the data.

**H1: L2 knowledge of Unaccusativity at the lexicon-syntax interface:** As was stated in previous research, L2 English learners will obey the principles of the Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH) right from the early stages of acquisition and independently of their L1 (Macedonian/Spanish), thus accepting VS with unaccusatives more than with unergatives, as English natives do. L2 learners therefore obey the UH constraints at the lexicon-syntax interface.

- H2: L2 knowledge of the different preverbal structures:** Even though the UH is observed through all developmental stages, at initial levels all unaccusative structures will be treated as grammatical by both groups of learners, independently of their grammatical status in native English (*there/PP/\*Ø/\*it-V-S*). Ungrammatical unaccusative structures (*\*it-V-S*; *\*Ø-V-S*) will be rejected as proficiency increases, showing a clear developmental pattern. The overuse of ungrammatical expletive *\*it* and *\*Ø* will be accounted for in terms of (i) the universal EPP principle (chapter 2), (ii) the selection of a default expletive from the mental lexicon, and (iii) some possible L1 transfer effects.
- H3: No transfer hypothesis:** the observed behavior cannot be simply accounted for by L1 transfer alone<sup>10</sup>, since the observed developmental pattern is a general result of learners' sensitivity to UH.
- H4:** Learners will follow the **developmental stages** proposed by the Unaccusative Trap of Oshita (2001): (i) **The first stage (unergative stage):** learners perceive both unaccusatives and unergatives as being unergatives and only SV is produced and accepted (ii) **The second stage:** The second stage recognizes acceptance of VS structures irrespective of their ungrammaticality with all verb types (unaccusatives and unergatives). Learners start acquiring the rules of the structure hence the production of ungrammatical passive unaccusatives or *it-V-S* structures. (iii) **The third stage:** Learners achieve native-like competence when they start using the object to subject movement without producing ungrammatical structures (*\*it* insertion, passive unaccusatives).

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<sup>10</sup> Note that we are highlighting the fact that the results cannot be due to L1 transfer **only**, though some L1 influence/advantage on group of learners over the other (Macedonian vs Spanish) cannot be discarded, as will be discussed later.

## 5 METHOD

In this chapter we will describe the method used to conduct our empirical study by providing detailed information about the participants, the instrument used to collect data, the procedure followed to collect and analyze the data and the design of the study.

### 5.1 SUBJECTS

The subjects who participated in this empirical study can be divided into three groups.

**The first group** consisted of native Macedonian learners of L2 English. A larger group of participants belonged to a foreign language teaching school and two student service centres in Kavadarci and Skopje (Macedonia) and another small group of participants belonged to the postgraduate program at FON University in Skopje Macedonia. The rest of the subjects volunteered to participate after receiving an email containing the test (see appendix 11.6.3. for details). This study reached an overall number of 314 participants, out of which 215 completed the acceptability judgment test but only 95 completed both the acceptability judgment test and the proficiency placement test necessary for the data to be concluded. Four cases were removed from the final data due to invalid results, thus the final number was 91 (28-male and 63 female). The proficiency test divided the participants into six levels: A1-26; A2-14; B1-10; B2-15; C1-13; C2-13. The age of the participants ranged from 13 to 39. The L1 Macedonian-L2 English learners biodata can be seen in appendix 11.4.3. Table 8a<sup>11</sup> presents a brief summary of the main biodata characteristics (mean values presented) of the Macedonian group.

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<sup>11</sup> AGE and YEARS STUDYING ENGLISH for B1 level was calculated for 8 cases, 1 case did not provide info.



Table 8a: Brief summary of the main biodata characteristics of the Macedonian group (mean values presented)

	LEVEL	NO. OF CASES	GENDER (M-male; F-female)	AGE(mean)	YEARS STUDYING ENGLISH (mean)	OPT SCORE (mean)
	Macedonian	A1	26	8M/18F	26	7
A2		14	6M/8F	24	8	56
B1		10	3M/6F	23	8	63
B2		15	3M/12 F	25	10	70
C1		13	5M/8F	24	11	81
C2		13	3M/10F	26	11	89

**The second group** consisted of a set of Spanish learners of L2 English coming from a larger sample collected by a group of Spanish researchers (see Lozano & Mendikoetxea 2011). Since the Spanish subjects were matched against the Macedonian subjects in terms of age, sex and proficiency (see section 5.5 below), we selected 91 cases only (29 male and 62 female) from the Spanish native data (out of a total of 322). The age of the Spanish participants ranged from 15 to 46. The L1 Spanish-L2 English learners biodata can be seen in appendix 11.4.2. Table 8b presents a brief summary of the main biodata characteristics (mean values presented) of the Spanish group.

Table 8b: Brief summary of the main biodata characteristics of the Spanish group (mean values presented)

	LEVEL	NO. OF CASES	GENDER (M-male; F-female)	AGE(mean)	YEARS STUDYING ENGLISH (mean)	OPT SCORE (mean)
	Spanish	A1	26	8M/18F	24	8
A2		14	6M/8F	24	8	57
B1		10	3M/6F	23	12	63
B2		15	4M/11F	26	12	71
C1		13	5M/8F	24	14	81
C2		13	4M/9F	27	12	90

**The third group** of participants consisted of a control group of 24 English native speakers (12 male and 12 female) from England and the United States, aged 21 to 61. The English natives' biodata can be seen in appendix 11.4.1. Table 8c presents a brief summary of the main biodata characteristics (mean values presented) of the English group.

Table 8c: Brief summary of the main biodata characteristics of the English group (mean values presented)

NO. OF CASES	GENDER (M-male; F-female)	AGE(mean)
24	12M/12F	38

## 5.2 INSTRUMENTS

A set of two tests was used for the purpose of this study: (i) a contextualized acceptability judgment test (see appendix 11.1) to measure the phenomenon under investigation, which is the main experimental test of this dissertation, and (ii) a proficiency test (see appendix 11.2) in order to examine the variations in learners' behavior per proficiency level. The set of tests was created in a form of an online test via the LimeSurvey<sup>12</sup> platform for web based research.

### 5.2.1 MAIN EXPERIMENTAL TEST: THE ACCEPTABILITY JUDGEMENT TEST

We considered that an acceptability judgment test would be a suitable tool for measuring the phenomenon under investigation due to the fact that judgment tasks provide a means of establishing whether learners know that certain forms are impossible or ungrammatical in the L2. Thus, an acceptability judgment task can be used to find out whether sentences which are ruled out by principles of UG are also disallowed in the interlanguage grammar (White 2003:18).

The acceptability judgment test was developed by a group of researchers at the University of Granada and Universidad Autónoma de Madrid for the purpose of an ongoing study called EASI (*Estudio sobre Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés*) to measure native Spanish learners' sensitivity for the conditions allowing VS in English. Due to the fact that we are measuring the same phenomenon with native Macedonians, we decided that this test was the most suitable instrument for our study. In this way, by using the same instrument, comparisons between the Macedonian vs. Spanish learners of L2 English could be made and, therefore, issues such as L1 transfer and universal

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<sup>12</sup> The LimeSurvey web platform for distribution of online questionnaires has been hosted by CSIRC (Centro de Servicios de Informática y Redes de Comunicaciones – Centre for Information Services and Communication Networks) for the research needs of the University of Granada. LimeSurvey is an open-source software which is being developed world-wide by computer scientists. This platform provides online distribution of tests in a way that after completion results are automatically sent back to a designated email address. It also provides numerous data presentation options such as extrapolation of data in different formats (Excel, PDF, CSV) or programs (SPSS).

developmental patterns could be contrasted. The Macedonian version of the study received the name IUSAJ (*Istrazuvanje za Usvojivanje na Sintaksata na Makedonskiot Jazik*), translated in English as (*SAES*) *Study on the Acquisition of English Syntax*, which was the name used for the online test distributed in English to the English native control group.

The actual experimental design and variables of the main empirical test is described in the section below (section 5.3), though we will present here a description of the instrument. The opening part of the test (see appendix 11.1.3) contained instructions on how to do the test. Then there followed a background information section in which the subjects were supposed to provide information about their sex, mother tongue, mother tongue of their parents, spoken language at home, age, educational background, language learning background, stay abroad and self- proficiency rate (note that this *self*-proficiency rating is a subjective measure given by the learners, but we also used an objective placement test to determine learners' proficiency: The Oxford Placement Test, to be described below). The acceptability judgment test consists of 32 postverbal subjects stimuli which can be represented by the **XP-V-S** structure.

Four unaccusatives (exist/appear/begin/come) and four unergatives (talk/work/play/speak) were selected for the creation of the stimuli. The choice of these verbs was based on their most frequent occurrence in postverbal subject structures in the Spanish subcorpora of the *International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE)*, and (*WriCLE*) *Written Corpus of Learner English*, which consists of eleven subcorpora of academic essays written by lower advanced L2 English learners of eleven different L1s. These verbs are also part of Levin (1993) and Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995) inventory of unaccusative and unergative lemmas represented as core unaccusatives and unergatives (see discussion in section 2.2.1). Each verb appears in four different stimuli having one of the four XPs (ungrammatical *\*it* insertion and *\*∅* expletive and grammatical *there* insertion and *locative adverbial PP<sub>loc</sub>*) at clause-initial position as indicated in (96), an example with the unaccusative EXIST.

(96)

- a) *\*it* EXIST

Nowadays, if you work as a policeman in Spain, you can easily get into difficult situations. But...

...I think that *it* exist **many more risky and dangerous jobs.**

b) *there* EXIST

Even though we live in a democratic country with plenty of opportunities...

...I believe that *there* exist **unlucky people who are extremely poor.**

c)  $\emptyset$  EXIST

A lot of university students have recently complained about the 'Bologna process', but...

...some experts say that exist **some students who support it.**

d) *PPloc* EXIST

Nowadays, it is very dangerous to walk alone at night in a big city...

...because *in those cities* exist **many dangerous criminals who could kill you.**

The introductory sentence, which sets the scene and introduces a certain context, does not contain postverbal subjects. This preceding discourse was included due to the fact that (i) it sets the scene for the target sentence and is needed because we are dealing with discursive factors here and (ii) it biases for a postverbal focus and heavy subject in the target sentence. So, the preceding discourse in a way biases towards such type of postverbal subject.

The final position of the target sentence is occupied by a focus and heavy subject containing 6 to 8 words<sup>13</sup> hence these are presentational structures of the type discussed in section 2.2. The participants provided their opinion on whether the target sentence is grammatical or ungrammatical, on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (totally ungrammatical) to 5 (totally grammatical), as indicated in (97) (see appendix 11.3.1. for a full detail of the test). If participants consider a given structure to be completely

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<sup>13</sup> Previous studies (Lozano & Mendikoetxea 2008, 2010) have found in corpus data that 6 to 8 words make a long (heavy) subject. Lower than that, the subject was considered short (light).

ungrammatical they are expected to choose 1 and if the sentence is viewed to be completely grammatical, they are expected to choose 5. Intermediate values (2–4) are given if the participants consider the sentence structure to be partially acceptable.

(97)

The house was very dirty. All the windows were closed, the rooms were dark...  
... and from the kitchen came a horrible smell of burning oil .

	1	2	3	4	5
Odberete:	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The sentences were ordered in a scrambled randomized sequence in which the same XP (ungrammatical *\*it* insertion / *\*∅* insertion / grammatical *there* insertion / *locative adverbial PP<sub>loc</sub>*) or verb (unaccusative / unergative) does not appear in two consequent sentences (see section 11.1.4 on the procedure on how sentences were randomized). At the end, participants were given the option to provide their opinion about the test. The complete version of the test is attached under the Appendix number (11.1).

### 5.2.2 PROFICIENCY TEST: THE OXFORD PLACEMENT TEST

The second instrument used for the study was the online version of the **Oxford Placement Test** (see Appendix 11.2), which was the second part of the LimeSurvey set of two tests. The placement test appeared immediately after the first (acceptability judgement) test was completed.

After the learners completed the two tests, they received an email with their proficiency test results and a short description of the grammar parts which should be improved based on the test performance.

The **web-based type of research** proved to be feasible for our study. To support this claim some previous studies, examining some aspects related to the use of this type of research, will be mentioned. Wilson and Dewaele (2011) list the pros and cons of conducting web based research. They underlined five advantages and two disadvantages of conducting a study of this kind. Namely, they claim that conducting a web based

research is more economic than conducting a traditional research. Another advantage is that the administration of the test is faster and easily distributable which provides a large sample of participants. The collection of data is automatically imported into a spreadsheet software where it can be easily processed. It is also probable that the anonymity of the web research increases the level of honesty because the participants do not feel threatened when providing their answers. Web research is also convenient to access large and varied samples worldwide as well as small and specialized populations otherwise difficult to be reached. The disadvantages are related to the self-selection of participants and the increased heterogeneity in the sample.

The sample of our study is not entirely homogeneous. Even though all our subjects have learnt English and possess certain knowledge of the language, they have different background features. Our participants are ‘self-selected’ due to the fact that they have been contacted at random and invited to participate if they have any knowledge of English. They were also invited to further distribute the test. Considering the fact that we are examining a universal phenomenon, we assumed that similar background features of the subjects would not strongly influence the outcome of the results should they all have certain knowledge of English. In order to ensure more homogeneity in the sample and to conduct a more reliable study we did a matched-pair design of our study (see section 5.4. below).

The largest problem we faced with our web based research is related to the lack of possibilities to control the completion of the questionnaires due to the absence of the researcher (even though the absence of the researcher can have positive effects if participants feel anxious if they are observed when tested). Namely, participants were properly instructed to include the same email address twice, i.e., before doing both tests and that they had to complete both tests for their results to be valid and processed. We had many incomplete tests or completed ones without having the same email address for the second test, which made it impossible for these cases to be traced and used for the study. Despite this, the number of volunteers exceeded our expectations since a sizeable sample for each of the proficiency levels was obtained.

### 5.3 VARIABLES AND EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

In this section we will present in detail the scheme about the variables upon which the acceptability judgement test was developed in order to present a visual idea of the test for the readers.

Two independent variables were used in the test: the verb type (unergative/unaccusative) and the preverbal element XP (\*it / there /\* $\emptyset$  / PP<sub>loc</sub>). As was previously mentioned in 5.2.1., the verbs were taken from the Spanish corpora *International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE)* and (*WriCLE*) *Written Corpus of Learner English* based on their most frequent occurrence in postverbal structures (see percentage of concordances for each verb below). The most frequent unaccusatives used in XP-V-S constructions were EXIST, APPEAR, BEGIN and COME and the most inverted unergatives were TALK, WORK, PLAY and SPEAK. The four types of preverbal XP were also taken from the corpus data. For each verb there are 4 stimuli (one for each preverbal XP), as summarized below.

## **INDEPENDENT VARIABLES**

### **■Var1: Verb (unac / unerg)**

#### **■Unacc: n=4, high inversion (inv/totalinv in ICLE+WRICLE)**

Exist (41.4%)

Appear (24%)

Begin (8.6%)

Come (6.9%)

#### **■Unerg: n=4, most frequent (conc/totalconcs in ICLE+WRICLE)**

Talk (35.7%)

Work (30.2%)

Play (7.7%)

Speak (4.4%)

### **■Var2: pre-verbal XP**

■\*it (n=4)

■there (n=4)

■\* $\emptyset$  (n=4)

■PP<sub>loc</sub> (n=4)

Three constants were observed in the development of the test: (i) each stimuli contains postverbal subject which is focus, (ii) the postverbal subject of the stimuli is also heavy (containing 6 to 8 words), and (iii) the word order of all stimuli is VS.

## CONSTANTS

- C1: Info status (focus) of subject
- C2: Weight (heavy), between 6 words (median) and 8 words (mean)
- C3: Word order (VS)

SV orders were not included in this version of the test for the simple reason that, since participation is on a volunteer basis, a long test containing the same amount of SV as of VS sentences would mean that it would be too long and too tedious, hence the risk of not getting enough volunteers for this study.

The stimuli design of the acceptability judgement test is shown below. There are 32 VS stimuli, 16 unaccusatives and 16 unergatives. Each verb was used in four stimuli opening with a different preverbal element (\*it / there /\* $\emptyset$  / PP<sub>loc</sub>).

## STIMULI DESIGN

### ■32 stimuli (VS order):

► 4 XP (\*it / there / \* $\emptyset$  / PP<sub>loc</sub>) x 4 V<sub>unac</sub> (exist/appear/begin/come):

1. \*it EXIST
2. there EXIST
3. \* $\emptyset$  EXIST
4. PP<sub>loc</sub> EXIST
5. \*it APPEAR
6. there APPEAR
7. \* $\emptyset$  APPEAR
8. PP<sub>loc</sub> APPEAR
9. \*it BEGIN
10. there BEGIN
11. \* $\emptyset$  BEGIN
12. PP<sub>loc</sub> BEGIN
13. \*it COME
14. there COME
15. \* $\emptyset$  COME
16. PP<sub>loc</sub> COME

► 4 XP (\*it / \*there / \* $\emptyset$  / \*PP<sub>loc</sub>) x 4 V<sub>unerg</sub> (talk/work/play/speak):

17. \*it TALK
18. \*there TALK
19. \* $\emptyset$  TALK
20. PP<sub>loc</sub> TALK
21. \*it WORK
22. \*there WORK
23. \* $\emptyset$  WORK
24. \*PP<sub>loc</sub> WORK
25. \*it PLAY
26. \*there PLAY
27. \* $\emptyset$  PLAY
28. \*PP<sub>loc</sub> PLAY
29. \*it SPEAK
30. \*there SPEAK
31. \* $\emptyset$  SPEAK
32. \*PP<sub>loc</sub> SPEAK

## 5.4 PROCEDURE

As was already mentioned in 5.2., the online version of the acceptability judgement test and the OPT were already used for the purpose of EASI (Estudio sobre Adquisición de



la Sintaxis del Inglés), which examined the same phenomenon with native Spanish learners of L2 English. Due to the fact that the existing instructions were in Spanish, we had to activate another questionnaire in the LimeSurvey platform as another part of the same study under the name IUSAJ (Istrazuvanje za Usvojivanje na Sintaksata na Angliskiot Jazik) (see appendix in section 11.1.3). All the instructions were translated into Macedonian, but the content of the acceptability judgement test obviously remained intact (i.e., in English).

After the questionnaire was adapted to be used by native Macedonian learners of L2 English, we created an **invitation email** in Macedonian asking the potential participants to take part in this study. This message contained the following: brief information about the study; information how to participate indicating that only native Macedonians who have knowledge of English can take part; information that participants will learn about their proficiency level and which grammar aspects should be improved; note that they will be sent a thank you certificate after we receive their complete results. Next there followed the **link for participation** in the study. (see appendix in section 11.6.3).

Then we continued with the distribution of the test. The message was sent to a large number of foreign language schools in Macedonia, student service companies, public and private institutions and personal contacts. They were all kindly asked to further distribute the message. We also contacted several Macedonian Universities and invited them to participate in this study and include their students as well. We received many individual submissions of the test, but except for the two positive reactions mentioned in the acknowledgements we did not receive any interest for a group testing to be conducted in a certain educational institution. The final test results from the LimeSurvey platform showed the number of 314 tests out of which 95 were complete. Four participants of this 95 were eliminated due to invalid results thus the final number of useful participants was 91.

As was explained in 5.3., web based data collected from LimeSurvey are automatically imported into a spreadsheet software, where they can be easily processed. Whenever a participant completed the acceptability judgement test, we received an email at a previously designated email address. Raw data were coded into an **excel spreadsheet** containing four sheets (Appendix 11.4 shows the final version of the raw data). The first sheet contained the copied raw data and the OPT score and OPT level (A2-C2) for

every participant. The second sheet contained the completed results grouped per proficiency level and the values and sums of the unaccusative/unergative preference per level and per structure (ungrammatical *\*it* insertion and *\*∅* expletive / grammatical *there* insertion and locative *adverbial PP<sub>loc</sub>*). The third sheet contained the **bar charts and trend charts** showing the obtained results (see appendix 11.5). The fourth sheet contained the full OPT results. These results were accessible at the following web page <http://www.wagsoft.com/testResults-gr.txt> and provided the email addresses of the participants who properly completed the two tests. Due to the fact that we needed to track these participants separately in order to thank them for their participation and to ask them whether they would be interested in receiving a printed certificate of participation, we used the following link <http://www.wagsoft.com/cgi-bin/showDiagnostics-gr.cgi?> and added [+email%40domain.country] and obtained the individual results for each particular participant and the information explaining which grammar parts should be improved. This link contained an **electronically generated form with information about precise placement results**, which was suitably emailed to each participant separately in order for them to be able to refer to it and examine their results in detail (Appendix 11.7).

Throughout the data extraction procedure, we became aware that many tests could not be used as final data because they were either incomplete or the necessary email address was not included in the two tests. The number of incomplete tests was increasing and we decided to resend a **reminder email** to the participants to complete the unfinished parts (Appendix 11.8). The response to these emails was not very high. We consider that this is due to the length of the two tests together. Namely, one participant would need at least 30 minutes to complete the tests and we think they were unwilling to repeat the completion of the missing parts. The final number of valid cases was 91. All valid cases received a specially designed electronic **certificate of participation** in the IUSAJ study (Appendix 11.9).

After obtaining the Macedonian data, we made another version of the online questionnaire designed for the control English natives group. The introductory part was translated in English, some of the background questions (mother tongue of the parents; language instruction) were removed and we created another email message explaining that we needed a group of English natives to give us their opinion on whether a certain

structure seems grammatical or not (Appendix 11.1.1). Understandably, the OPT was not included for the English natives. After distributing the test we obtained 24 completed results. As we already had the Spanish data available, we started designing the comparison of collected data.

## 5.5 DESIGN

Due to the fact that we are examining a universal phenomenon, we decided to match the 91 Macedonian case with cases from the Spanish native data, collected under the same method, i.e., to conduct a matched-pair design of the study by comparing IUSAJ data and EASI data. The Spanish data were larger than the completed Macedonian data which provided the possibility for each Macedonian case to be paired with a very similar Spanish case. The cases were matched by **gender**, **age** and **proficiency** score (OPT). Each of the 91 Macedonian cases, 28 male and 63 female, was compared to the most similar Spanish case and we obtained 29 male and 62 female Spanish cases. The ID number of each Macedonian case was paired with the ID number of the most similar Spanish case.

In order to make it more convenient, we combined the two excel sheets containing the final Macedonian and Spanish data with the paired ID numbers into one document, containing only the paired cases, divided by proficiency and the bar and trend charts for Macedonian and Spanish data. At the end, we added the results of the 24 native English controls.

It was decided that the matched pair design of the study should be used in order to obtain a more homogeneous sample and to minimize the variability between the learners, hence to increase the reliability of the study.

## 5.6 DATA CODING AND DATA ANALYSIS

First the data coding process will be explained and at the end of the section we will explain the statistical data analysis.

As was mentioned in 5.2 in the Instruments section, the participants evaluated the grammaticality of each of the 32 postverbal subject structures on a Likert scale from 1 to 5. Data were collected online in the LimeSurvey platform, as explained earlier, which generated excel spreadsheets containing the raw data with the values selected by

each case for every sentence and the mean values for each case both for unaccusative and for unergative structures (see the raw data spreadsheet in appendix 11.4.)

The spreadsheet with the raw data was then manipulated in order to make sense of the raw data, since the output generated by LimeSurvey was randomized, as the sentences were in the experiment.

The spreadsheet also contains mean values for unaccusative and unergative structures per proficiency level and for the native English group as well. This representation of the data gives a clear indication for the learners' behavior regarding the unaccusative/unergative preference from initial stages. .

The spreadsheets also contain mean values per case and per level for every structure regarding the clause initial XP element (\*it-V-S/there-V-S/\* $\emptyset$ -V-S/PP-V-S) for both unaccusatives and for unergatives. It can also be observed whether, even if considered grammatical at initial stages, these structures are preferred more with unaccusatives than with unergatives. The stability or instability of the grammatical and ungrammatical structures will also become evident and possible developmental stages will be observed. The values will show whether Macedonian and Spanish learners behave in a similar way regarding the evaluation of the structures, even though the two languages differ in the presentationally focused context.

The best explanatory analysis of the data will be provided by the bar charts and trend charts visually showing the unaccusative vs. unergative distinction; the acceptance of the different initial XP per proficiency level; the acceptance of postverbal subjects examined separately for every unaccusative or unergative verb; the tendency to accept or reject certain structures with proficiency; the sensitivity to the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of structures per proficiency level and the comparison of learners' behavior with the behavior of the English native controls.

Data were analyzed quantitatively (mainly by looking at the means) since there are too many variables at stake, as shown earlier. We have not done any inferential statistics (t-tests) because there are too many variables (not only the linguistic ones: XP (\*it/\* $\emptyset$ /there/PP), verb type (unac/unerg), verb lexeme (work, play, exist...), but also the developmental ones: proficiency (A1-C2). Hence, it is impossible to perform an ANOVA, since there would be too many interactions between the variables to understand what they mean.

## 6 RESULTS

This chapter contains description of the results obtained in this empirical study. The results corresponding to each hypothesis will be presented with bar and trend charts and will be explained in detail. Additionally the qualitative comments of the participants will be included in order to obtain a clear idea whether learners were aware of the structures they were evaluating.

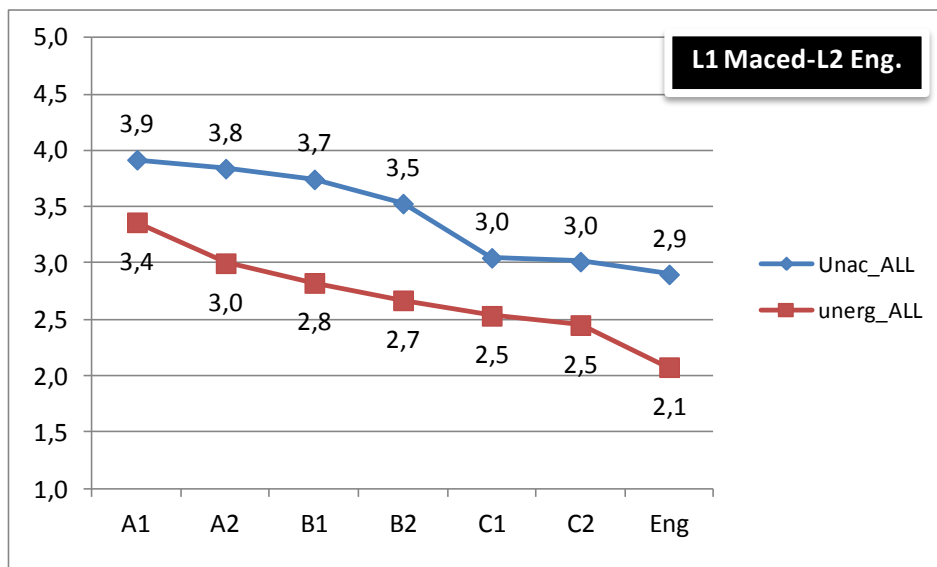
### 6.1 QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Data will first be analyzed quantitatively and then qualitatively. The quantitative analysis encompasses presentation of the mean values obtained for each XP-V-S structure and for each proficiency level for both groups (Spanish and Macedonian). The qualitative analysis encompasses the qualitative comments of the participants about the test and the structures they had to evaluate.

#### 6.1.1 RESULTS FOR H1: L2 KNOWLEDGE OF UNACCUSATIVITY (LEXICON-SYNTAX INTERFACE)

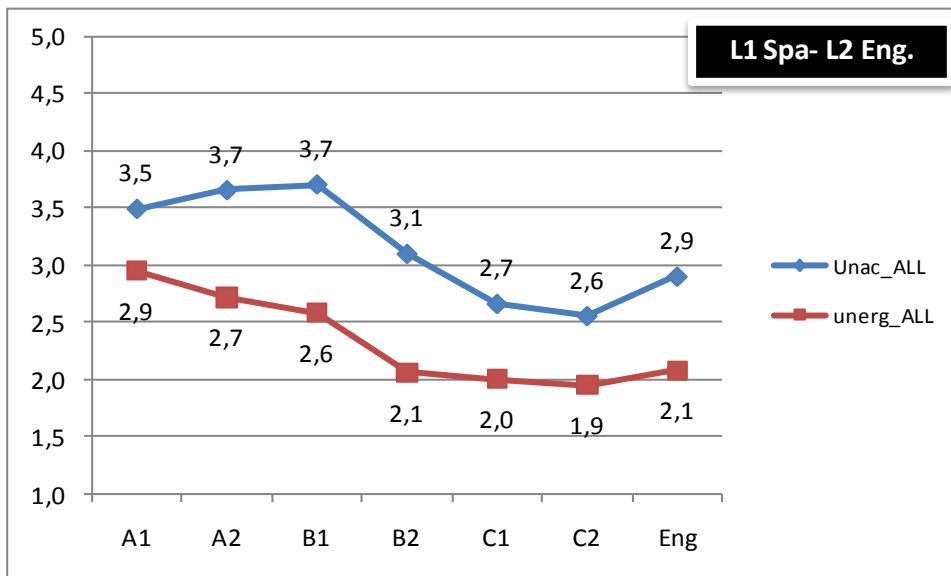
The Macedonian group of L2 English learners prefers postverbal subjects (VS) more with unaccusatives than with unergatives at all proficiency levels (**Figure 12**). Even though unaccusatives are accepted more than unergatives at all levels, the distinction between the two types of verbs is different per level. The acceptance of VS order decreases as proficiency increases. A1 level shows the highest VS preference with all unaccusatives (3,9), but also rates high VS with unergatives (3,4). A2 level shows larger difference between unaccusatives (3,8) and unergatives (3,0). B1 level is the best discriminator of the unaccusative (3,7) unergative (2,8) distinction. B2 level shows similar behavior to B1 slightly decreasing the difference between unaccusatives (3,5) and unergatives (2,7). C1 and C2 levels show decrease of the difference and the same values for unaccusatives (3,0) and unergatives (2,5). English natives show greater unaccusative (2,9) / unergative (2,1) distinction than A and C levels but similar to B levels.

Figure 12: Postverbal subjects (VS) with all unaccusatives and unergatives for L1 Macedonian – L2 English



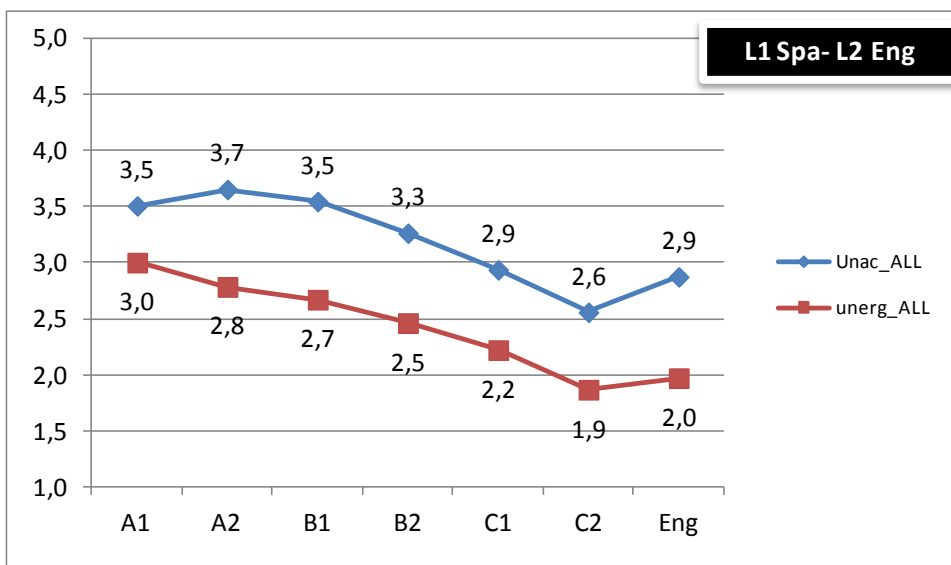
Spanish learners (**Figure 13**) show similar behavior to Macedonians regarding the acceptance of VS with unaccusatives more than with unergatives, for all proficiency levels. A1 level shows high preference of unaccusatives (3,5) and unergatives (2,9). A2 level increases the acceptance of VS with unaccusatives (3,7), which is opposite to Macedonians, but decreases VS possibilities with unergatives (2,7). B1 is the best discriminator of the unaccusative (3,7) / unergative (2,6) distinction. B2 level behaves similarly to B1 showing a great unaccusative (3,1) unergative (2,1) distinction, although the acceptance of VS order decreases. C1 shows smaller difference between unaccusatives (2,7) and unergatives (2,0), which is very similar to C2, which slightly decreases VS preference with unaccusatives (2,6) and unergatives (1,9). English natives are presented in Figure 13 with the same values for VS with unaccusatives (2,9) and unergatives (2,1) as in Figure 12 for the aim of comparison.

Figure 13: Postverbal subjects (VS) with all unaccusatives and unergatives for L1 Spanish – L2 English



Note that, though the developmental profile for the L1Spa-L2 Eng chart (Figure 13) may not look completely similar to the L1Mac-L2Eng profile (Figure 12), recall that Figure 13 is based on a small sample of the Spanish data. The overall Spanish data (N=322), shown in Figure 13b yield a more comparable profile to that of Figure 12.

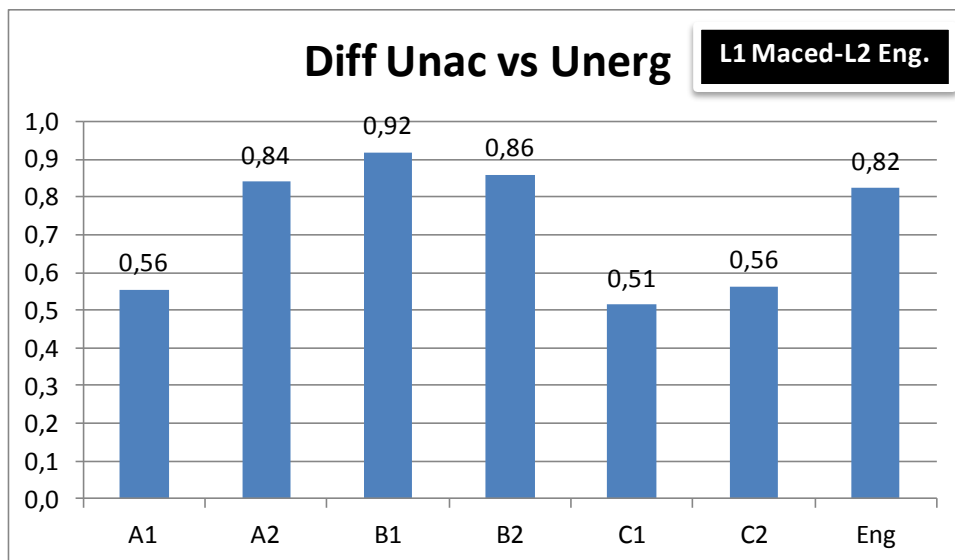
Figure 13bis: Postverbal subjects (VS) with all unaccusatives and unergatives for L1 Spanish – L2 English (N=322)



Next, we will present the difference between unaccusatives and unergatives per proficiency level for Macedonians and Spanish. **Figure 14** shows the difference for VS with unaccusatives and unergatives per proficiency level for Macedonians (i.e., the difference between unaccusative VS and unergative VS calculated from Figure 12).

Two decimal values show the unaccusative/unergative difference, which is the same for A1 and C2 levels (0,56). A2 level increases the difference (0,84), which reaches its maximum value at B1 level (0,92) and slightly decreases at B2 level (0,86). English natives show close values (0,82) to A2 and B levels.

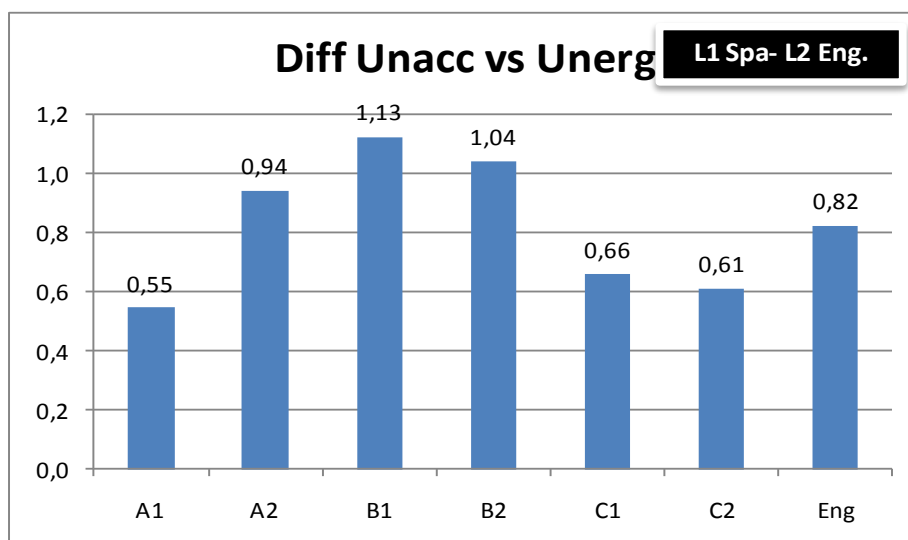
Figure 14: Difference between unaccusatives and unergatives for Macedonian learners



**Figure 15** shows the difference for VS with unaccusatives and unergatives per proficiency level for the Spanish participants, as was presented for the Macedonians (i.e., the difference between unaccusative VS and unergative VS calculated from Figure 13). A1 level shows the smallest difference between unaccusatives and unergatives (0,55) for the acceptance of VS word order. A2 level prefers VS with unaccusatives at a greater difference from unergatives (0,94). B1 shows the maximum difference (1,13), which slightly decreases at B2 (1,04). C1 level decreases the VS with unaccusative/unergative difference (0,66), which becomes even smaller at C2 (0,61). Once again the difference shown by English natives is included (0,82) for control purposes.



Figure 15: Difference between unaccusatives and unergatives for Spanish learners



### 6.1.2 RESULTS FOR H2: AT INITIAL STAGES ALL UNACCUSATIVE XP-V-S STRUCTURES WILL BE TREATED AS GRAMMATICAL.

In this section we will analyse the results of the preverbal constituent (XP) in postverbal-subject structures of the type XP-V-S with both unaccusative and unergative verbs. Due to space limitations and better visual presentation of the H2 results, the tables and the text will occupy the overall surface of the pages below. This is done so to ensure visual comparability across groups, across verbs and across proficiency levels for the structures under investigation.

■ **FIGURE 16:** The results summarized in Figure 16 (see pages below containing full-length bar charts) show how **Macedonian** group treats **unaccusatives** in the four examined preverbal structures (*there/PP/\* $\emptyset$  /\*it*) by presenting the obtained mean values for each proficiency level independently. A1 level tends to accept unaccusatives as grammatical in all four given structures *\*it-V-S* (3,7), *there-V-S* (4,0), *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* (4,0) and *PP-V-S* (4,1). A2 level shows a slight decrease for the ungrammatical *\*it-V-S* (3,8), and *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* while grammatical *there-V-S* and *PP-V-S* (4,1) remain to be highly accepted. Level B1 notices similar situation with a slight decrease in value for *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* (3,3) and *there-V-S* (4,1). Level B2 shows noticeable decrease for ungrammatical *\*it-V-S* (3,1) and *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* (2,9) while grammatical *there-V-S* (4,2) and *PP-V-S* (3,9) remain stable which indicates that learners discriminate grammatical from ungrammatical

structures. At C1 level there is a decrease in the acceptance of all VS structures. The lowest acceptance is obtained for *\*it-V-S* (2,5) and *\*∅-V-S* (2,6) while grammatical *there-V-S* (3,5) and *PP-V-S* (3,6) are accepted at a higher rate. At level C2 ungrammatical *\*it-V-S* (2,1) and *\*∅-V-S* (2,5) are even less accepted. *There-V-S* notices increase (3,8) while *PP-V-S* notices only a slight decrease (3,5). English natives also accept ungrammatical *\*it-V-S* (2,1) and *\*∅-V-S* (2,5) at a very low rate. These results imply that, at initial stages, Macedonians treat all unaccusatives rather equally, regardless of the (un)grammaticality of the structure they appear in (*there/PP* vs *\*∅/\*it*). As proficiency increases learners distinguish between the **grammatical** (*there/PP*: remain rather stable) vs. **ungrammatical** (*\*∅/\*it*: decrease constantly) structures. This will be discussed in detail in the Discussion section.

■ **FIGURE 17** (see pages below) shows the treatment of **Macedonians** of VS with **unergatives** in the same four preverbal structures. Compared to unaccusatives in Figure 16, unergatives are less accepted with all VS structures in accordance with the UH. They are not completely rejected due to the fact that in native English locative inversion with unergatives is possible (see discussion in section 2.2.3.1.2.) A1 level allows all structures out of which *PP-V-S* has the highest value (4,0), while *\*∅-V-S* and *\*there-V-S* shows the same value (3,3) and *\*it-V-S* is the least accepted (2,8). At level A2 only *\*there-V-S* (3,4) notices slightly increased value while the other three structures *PP-V-S* (3,5), *\*∅-V-S* (2,9) and *\*it-V-S* (2,2) notice decreased values. B1 notices decrease of VS with unergatives for all structures except for *PP-V-S* (3,6). *\*it-V-S* shows the lowest value (2,1). *\*∅-V-S* (2,6) is also less accepted than *\*there-V-S* (3,0). At B2 level only *PP-V-S* (3,8) shows slightly increased values while all other structures, *\*it-V-S* (1,8), *\*∅-V-S* (2,4) and *\*there-V-S* (2,7) decrease. C levels notice a decrease of VS with unergatives for all structures. At C1 *\*it-V-S* (1,9) slightly increases while *\*∅-V-S* (2,3), *\*there-V-S* (2,6) and *PP-V-S* (3,4) decrease. The VS decreasing tendency with ungrammatical structures *\*it-V-S* (1,7) and *\*∅-V-S* (2,0) continues at C2 level and *\*there-V-S* (2,7) and *PP-V-S* (3,5) slightly increase. English natives results show low rates of VS with unergatives for all structures. *PP-V-S* (3,1) is the most accepted, as expected (due to its grammaticality), while *\*it-V-S* (1,4), *\*∅-V-S* (1,8) *\*there-V-S* (2,0) show very low values.

The same as with unaccusatives, we can notice that learners initially discriminate between grammatical *PP-V-S* vs. the rest of ungrammatical unergatives (*\*there/\*it/\**

Ø), therefore they are aware that *there-V-S* is possible only with unaccusatives which is again in accordance with the UH. This will also be discussed in detail in the Discussion section.

■ **FIGURE 18** (see pages below): The acceptance of the **Spanish** group of VS with **unaccusatives** in all four structures is presented in Figure 18. At A1 level we can notice very similar values for all structures: *\*it-V-S* (3,4), *there-V-S* (3,5), *\*Ø-V-S* (3,3) and *PP-V-S* (3,8) which is an implication that the Spanish group treats all structures as grammatical at initial stages, similar to the Macedonians. At level A2 learners behave in a similar way as A1 showing the high mean values for all structures: *\*it-V-S* (3,4), *there-V-S* (3,5), *\*Ø-V-S* (3,6) and *PP-V-S* (4,1). Level B1 also notices acceptance of all structures as grammatical: *\*it-V-S* (3,7), *there-V-S* (3,8), *\*Ø-V-S* (3,6) and *PP-V-S* (3,8). B2 level shows large decrease in the acceptance of VS with unaccusatives for *\*it-V-S* (2,9), *there-V-S* (2,8), *\*Ø-V-S* (2,8) while *PP-V-S* (3,8) remains the same. At C1 there is a decrease of the VS acceptance for *\*it-V-S* (2,6), *\*Ø-V-S* (2,0) while *PP-V-S* (2,9) except for *there-V-S* (3,2) which notices a higher value. C2 level shows a further decrease of ungrammatical VS in *\*it-V-S* (2,0) and *\*Ø-V-S* (1,9) structures and acceptance of grammatical VS in *there-V-S* (3,4) and *PP-V-S* (2,9). English natives accept, at very low rates, ungrammatical VS structures *\*it-V-S* (2,1) and *\*Ø-V-S* (2,1) while grammatical structures notice a significantly higher acceptance: *there-V-S* (3,6) and *PP-V-S* (3,8). This behavior implies that, at higher stages, the Spanish group discriminates between grammatical and ungrammatical structures, which is different from the behavior of the Macedonians, who start distinguishing between them at lower stages. The tendency to accept grammatical structures and reject ungrammatical as proficiency level increases is the same among Macedonians and Spanish. The difference is that Macedonians are more sensitive at lower levels. We will discuss this in detail in the Discussion section.

■ **FIGURE 19** (see pages below): The acceptance of VS structures with **unergatives** by the **Spanish** group is presented in Figure 19. A1 level shows the highest acceptance for grammatical *PP-V-S* (3,5) and lower acceptance for the other ungrammatical structures *\*it-V-S* (2,7), *\*there-V-S* (2,8), *\*Ø-V-S* (2,9), which is an indication that learners discriminate between grammatical *PP-V-S* vs. the ungrammatical unergative

structures (\*there/\*it/\* $\emptyset$ ). At A2 level *PP-V-S* (3,4) remains rather stable, while *\*it-V-S* (2,2), *\*there-V-S* (2,4) and *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* (2,8) notice decreased values. Level B1 allows VS with unergatives with *PP-V-S* (3,1) at the highest rate. *\*It-V-S* (2,5) and *\*there-V-S* (2,4) behave similarly to A2 and *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* (2,3) is accepted at a lower rate. B2 level shows large decrease of the ungrammatical *\*it-V-S* (1,8), *\*there-V-S* (2,1) and *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* (1,6), while *PP-V-S* (2,8) remains as the most accepted VS structure with unergatives. At C1 there is a very similar situation having lower values for *\*it-V-S* (1,6), *\*there-V-S* (2,3), *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* (1,4) and a higher value for *PP-V-S* (2,7). Surprisingly enough, C2 notices the highest value for *\*there-V-S* (2,5), while *\*it-V-S* (1,6), *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* (1,7) and *PP-V-S* (2,0) show lower acceptance rates (though *PP-V-S* remains as the highest of ungrammatical *\*it* and *\* $\emptyset$* ). English natives also accept at very low rates ungrammatical structures *\*it-V-S* (1,4) *\*there-V-S* (2,0) and *\* $\emptyset$ -V-S* (1,8), while grammatical *PP-V-S* (3,8) is accepted at a higher rate. Therefore, the Spanish group also discriminates the grammatical *PP-V-S* vs the ungrammatical structures from the outset (a discrimination that increases as proficiency level increases), with the exception of C2 level which seem to overgeneralize *there-V-S* with unaccusatives and accept it as grammatical with unergatives. We will discuss in detail the implications of all these findings in the Discussion section.

Figure 16: Acceptance of grammatical vs. ungrammatical structures with unaccusatives per proficiency level by Macedonian learners

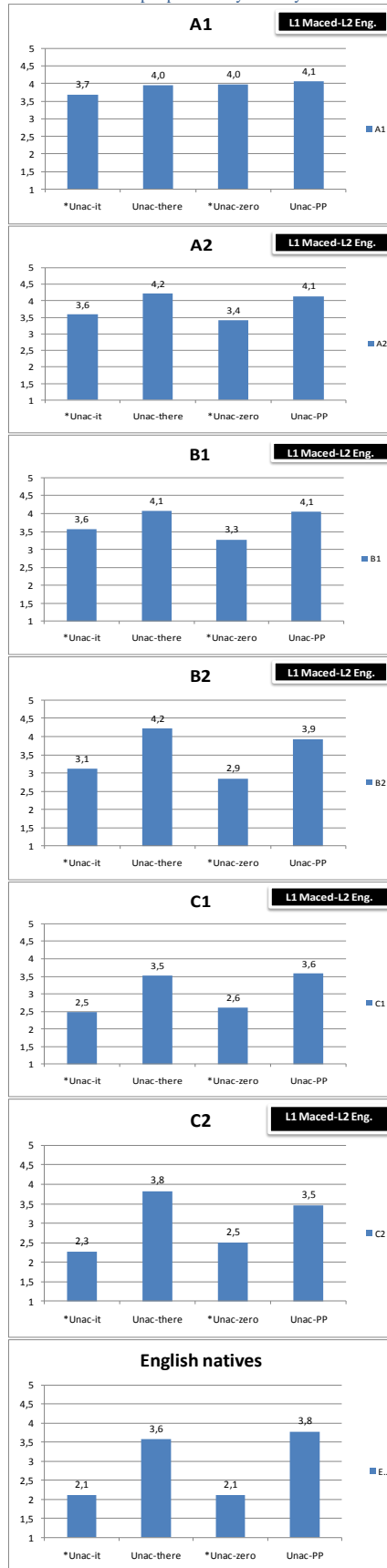


Figure 17: Acceptance of grammatical vs. ungrammatical structures with unergatives per proficiency level by Macedonian learners

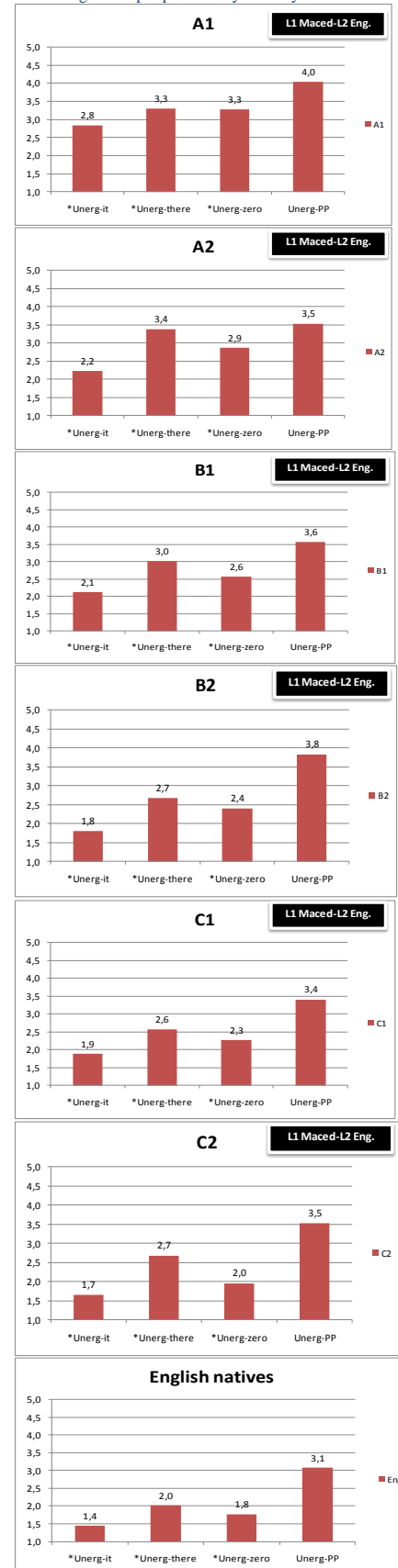


Figure 18: Acceptance of grammatical vs. ungrammatical structures with unergatives per proficiency level for Spanish learners

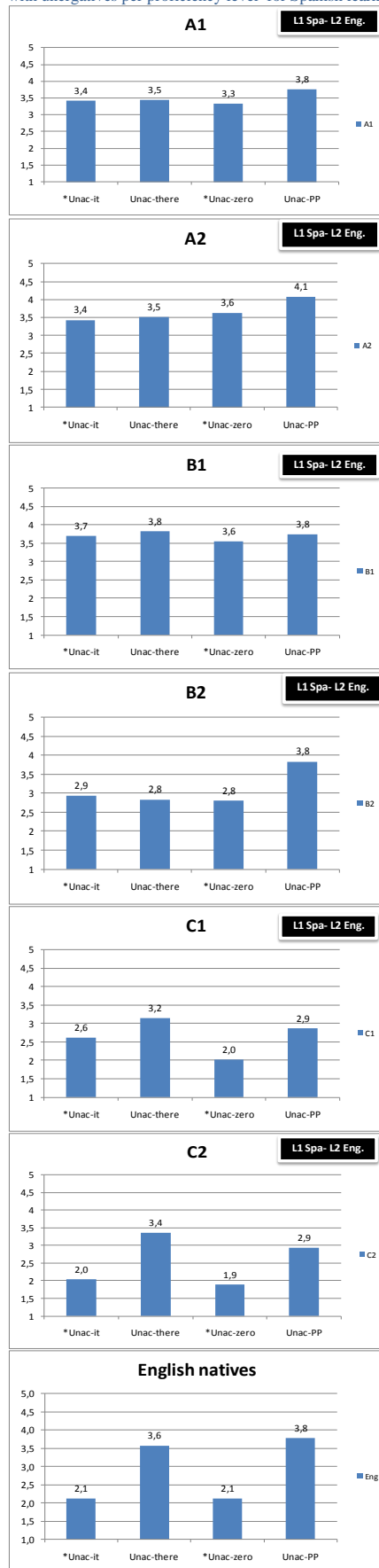
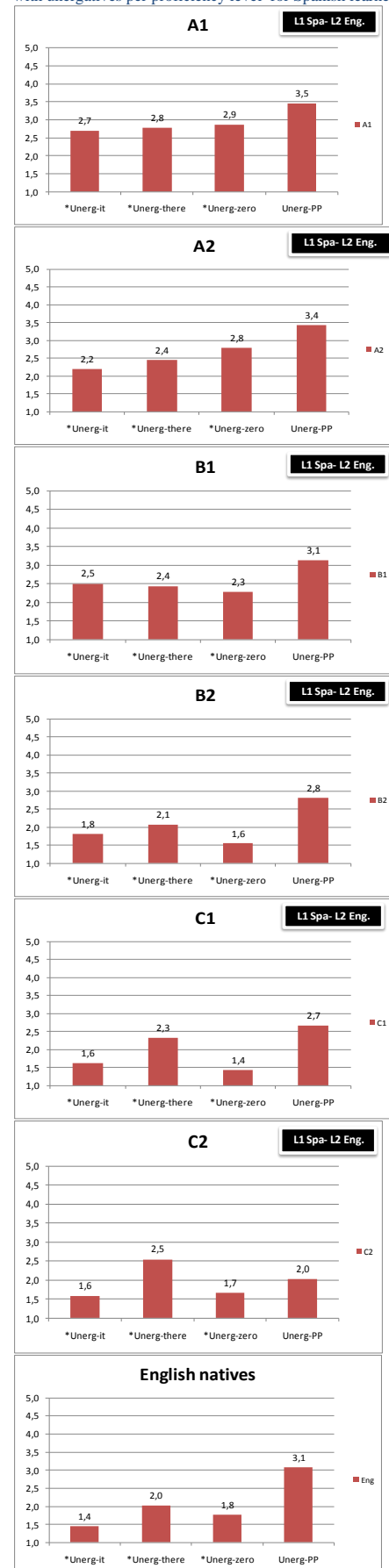


Figure 19: Acceptance of grammatical vs. ungrammatical structures with unergatives per proficiency level for Spanish learners



### 6.1.3 RESULTS FOR H3: NO TRANSFER HYPOTHESIS: LEARNERS' BEHAVIOUR CANNOT SIMPLY BE ACCOUNTED FOR BY L1 TRANSFER

The results presented for H2 are also relevant for H3. In this section we will present the same results as trend charts in order to provide a better developmental visual insight of the no-transfer account.

**Figure 20** shows the acceptance of unaccusative VS in all structures by the Macedonian group. Considering the fact that Macedonian and Spanish are pro-drop languages allowing null subjects,  $*\emptyset$ -V-S would be expected to be highly accepted if learners were making L1 transfer. At A1 level,  $*\emptyset$ -V-S (marked with the green line) is treated as grammatical and is accepted at high rates, together with the other structures (recall that this is in line with H2: at initial stages all preverbal structures are treated similarly, independently of their (un)grammaticality). At A2 level,  $*\emptyset$ -V-S becomes the least accepted, showing the early discrimination of  $*\emptyset$ -V-S as ungrammatical, which is unexpected if L1 transfer occurs. As proficiency increases, the acceptance of  $*\emptyset$ -V-S gradually decreases. The Spanish group behaves in a similar way, as shown in Figure 21. At initial stages they accept all structures as grammatical. The rate for  $*\emptyset$ -V-S becomes the lowest at B1 level, and narrowly decreases at B2 indicating that transfer cannot be the only source of learners' interlanguage knowledge. The rates continue to decrease at C levels. As can be seen from Figure 20 and Figure 21, both Macedonian and Spanish groups start distinguishing grammatical from ungrammatical structures from early stages. Macedonians become sensitive even at A2 level while Spanish distinguish at intermediate levels.

Figure 20: Acceptance of grammatical vs. ungrammatical structures with unaccusatives per proficiency level for Macedonian learners

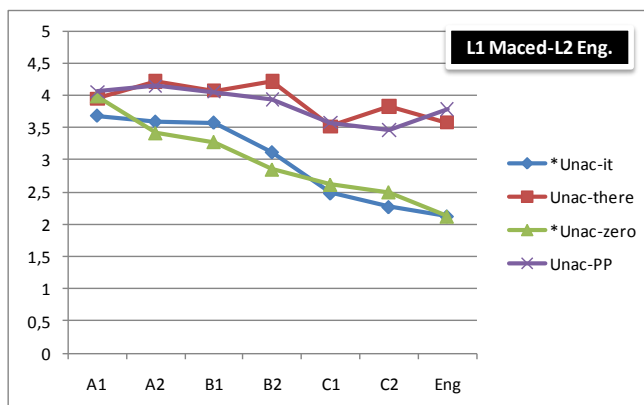
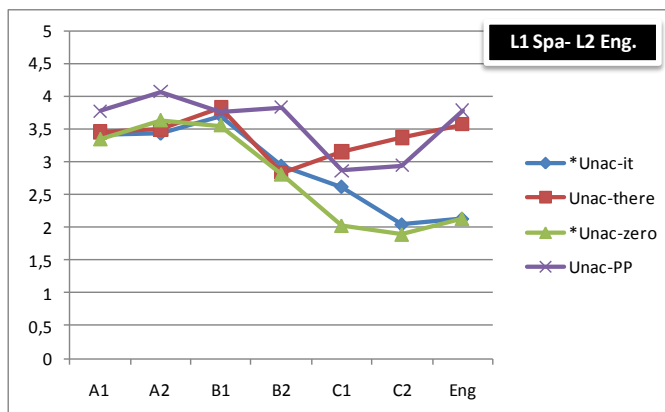


Figure 21: Acceptance of grammatical vs. ungrammatical structures with unaccusatives per proficiency level for Spanish learners



Similar behavior is shown for VS with unergatives by Macedonian and Spanish groups, as presented in Figure 22 and Figure 23 respectively. It can be seen that both groups discriminate  $*\emptyset$ -V-S from early stages, even though this structure is very common in their L1s with both types of intransitive verbs in the contexts under investigation in this experimental study: VS where the S is heavy and focus (unergative *Gritó una mujer que parecía estar loca/Vikna edna zhena koja izgledashe deka e luda*; unaccusative *Llegó una mujer que parecía estar loca/Dojde edna zhena koja izgledashe deka e luda*, as discussed in the theoretical chapter (sections 2.2.3.2 and 2.2.3.3). Additionally note that both groups accept ungrammatical *\*it*-V-S, which is clearly a structurally implausible construction in their L1s, hence L1 transfer cannot be the only source of knowledge. Further note that they also prefer *PP*-V-S as a grammatical structure from initial stages. Therefore it is obvious that Macedonian and Spanish groups behave in a similar way regarding the grammaticality of VS structures, regardless of their plausibility in the learners' L1. We will discuss these results in further detail in the Discussion section.

Figure 22: Acceptance of grammatical vs. ungrammatical structures with unergatives per proficiency level for Macedonian learners

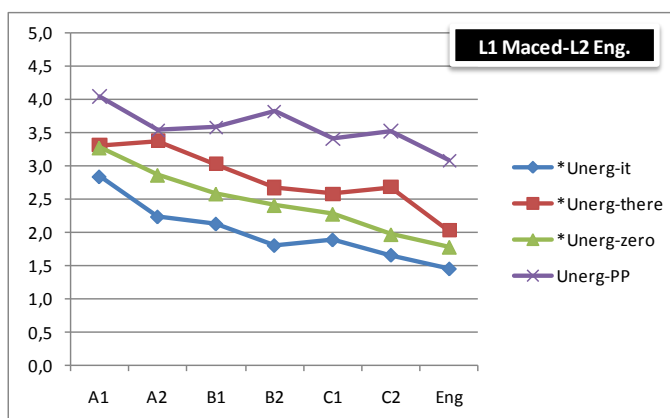
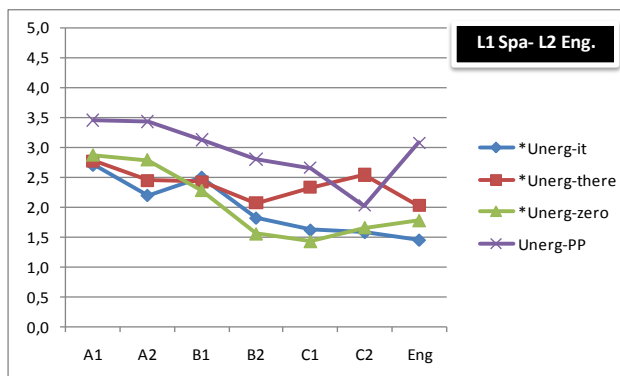




Figure 23: Acceptance of grammatical vs. ungrammatical structures with unergatives perproficiency level for Spanish learners



#### 6.1.4 RESULTS FOR H4: LEARNERS WILL FOLLOW THE DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES PROPOSED BY THE UNACCUSATIVE TRAP (OSHITA 2001).

Figure 24 and Figure 25 show that Macedonian and Spanish learners prefer VS with unaccusatives more than with unergatives at all levels (i.e., from A1 level to B2 level), which is in accordance with the behavior of the native English control group and contrary to Oshita's (2001) claim that learners treat unaccusatives as unergatives and do not allow VS at initial stages (see discussion in the L2 literature review chapter, section 3.2.4). Therefore, our fourth hypothesis (H4) is rejected.

Figure 24: Acceptance of VS with unaccusatives more than with unergatives by Macedonian learners

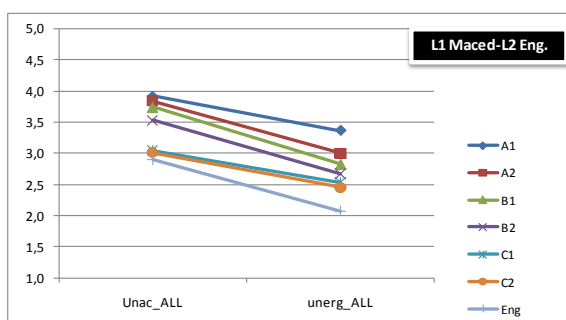
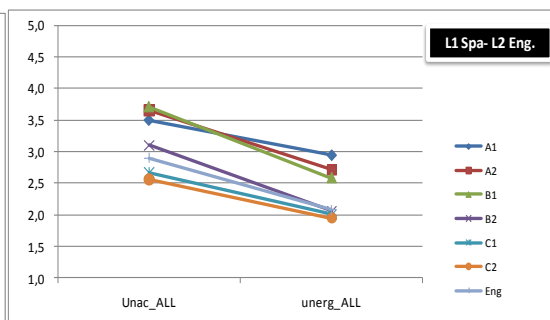


Figure 25: Acceptance of VS with unaccusatives more than with unergatives by Spanish learners



Despite the fact that our data seem to reject Oshita's proposal, it is worth remembering that learners do show their best discrimination between unaccusative VS and unergative VS at intermediate levels, which may be in accordance with Oshita's UT, according to which learners accept VS with all intransitive verbs (both unergatives and unaccusatives) at intermediate stages, indicating that they become sensitive to rules allowing the structure. The discrimination at intermediate levels was presented in Figure 14, here repeated as Figure 26 for the Macedonian group, and Figure 15, here repeated

as Figure 27 for the Spanish group. Even though VS is preferred with unaccusatives at all levels, it is also accepted with unergatives, especially at initial stages. Surprisingly enough, the English natives control group does not completely reject VS with unergatives in ungrammatical structures (*\*it-V-S*, *\*there-V-S* and *\*∅-V-S*), a fact that will be discussed later. To summarise, learners are apparently ‘better’ at intermediate stages simply because they are *unaccusativising* intransitive verbs, i.e., they treat as unaccusatives all intransitives (this will be discussed in detail in the Discussion section).

Figure 26: Difference between unaccusatives and unergatives for Macedonian learners

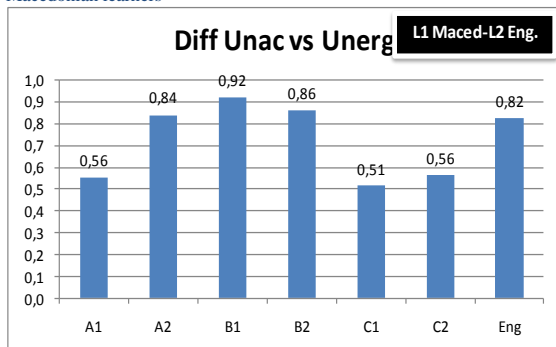
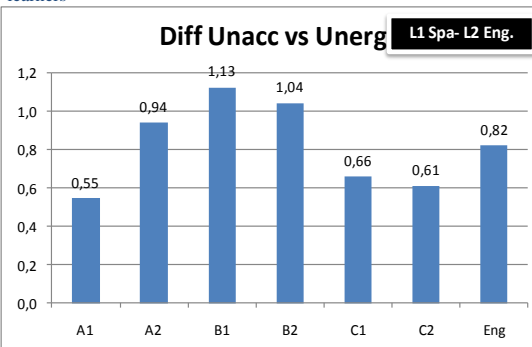


Figure 27: Difference between unaccusatives and unergatives for Spanish learners



## 6.2 QUALITATIVE COMMENTS MADE BY THE LEARNERS

Our subjects were given the option to type in their personal opinion about the sentences they were evaluating in the acceptability judgment test. We selected a couple of phrases provided by the Macedonian group, several from the Spanish group and a few from the English natives in order to present how they understood the structure they were evaluating. The sentences will be given in their original form followed by an English translation and information about the level of the learner.

### MACEDONIAN LEARNERS' QUALITATIVE COMMENTS

1. za neкои recenici neznaev dali da stavam nekoja sredna ocena iako mislam deka samo eden zbor ne bese tocen, drugoto bese vo red, no i pokraj toa staviv 1, dali e vo red? mislam deka bi mozelo samo da ima dali e točna ili ne, da ne postojat i srednite vrednosti

[Translation] *I was not sure whether I was supposed to mark a medium value even though I think that only one word was incorrect in spite of which I chose 1, is this ok? I think it would be sufficient to choose only correct or incorrect options without having to choose values in between. – level A1*

2. nejasnosti imav mnogu

[Translation] *I had many doubts - level A1*

3. Smetam deka trebase pod sekoe prasanje da dademe primer kako smetam deka treba da izgleda recenicata. Mi bese mnogu tesko da gi ocenam.

[Translation] *I think that we were supposed to be given the option to provide our version of each sentence. I found it very difficult to evaluate the sentences. – level B1*

4. 90% od recenicite dobija 2 bidejki bea gramaticki nelogicni.

[Translation] *90% of the sentences were evaluated with 2 because they were grammatically illogical. – level C1*

5. Dali navistina treba samo da se zema vo predvid redosledot na zborovite vo recenicata ili i pravilnata, odnosno nepravilnata upotreba na odredeni zborovi i upotreba na drugi zborovi namesto niv?

[Translation] *Do we really have to take into consideration only the word order or we should also pay attention to the correct or incorrect use of certain words and use other words instead? – level C2*

As we are able to see from the comments above, Macedonian learners of L2 English are not aware of the conditions allowing VS structures, thus it can be said that they behave according to their intuitions about the correctness of the sentences. They clearly indicate that they were not certain about the correctness of the structures which shows that they do not have the conscious knowledge about the conditions allowing VS structures. They do not indicate any knowledge about different types of intransitive verbs or different VS structures (*\*it-V-S*, *there-V-S* and *\*∅-V-S*, *PP-V-S*) due to the lack of formal instructions teaching the unique behavior of intransitive verbs or the specific structures allowing VS with certain types of verbs.

Similar comments were obtained by the Spanish participants in this study.

### SPANISH LEARNERS' QUALITATIVE COMMENTS

1. Hay algunas preguntas en las que dudo... sobre todo con las expresiones "there + verbo", pero porque creo que no lo he visto en mi vida.

[Translation] *There are some questions I doubt ... mostly the ones containing the expression "there + verb" because I have never seen this structure before. – level A1*

2. Un test largo, y muchas preguntas con errores del mismo tipo.

[Translation] *A very long test and a lot of questions containing the same type of errors- level B1*

3. El error que mas se repite creo que es el de estructura sintáctica, el orden en de las oraciones de indicativo en inglés deben tener la estructura SVO. Luego hay construcciones con "there" + un verbo que no es "to be", y creo que es incorrecto aunque no estoy seguro al 100%. Saludos.

[Translation] *I think that the most repeating error is related to the syntactic structure, the sentence order of the indicative in English should be SVO. Also, there are structures such as "there" + verb which is not "to be" and I think this is incorrect although I am not 100% sure. Regards. – level B2*

4. He empezado el test viendo que todas las oraciones estaban mal debido al sujeto, pero luego me ha parecido que algunas si que son gramaticalmente correctas, y me ha despertado dudas sobre este tipo de oraciones que ahora tengo que repasar porque no me acuerdo bien!!

[Translation] *I started doing the test and I realized that all sentences were wrong due to the subject, but later I realized that some sentences are grammatically correct and I started having doubts about this type of sentences which I have to revise because I do not remember them well!! – level C1*

5. Opino que se ha repetido excesivamente un mismo tipo de error. El test se alarga con preguntas que tienden a ser iguales las unas a las otras, y dudo que esto aporte nuevos datos.

[Translation] *I think that the same type of error was excessively repeating. The test is prolonged with questions which are similar to one another, and I doubt that it can bring new knowledge – level C2*

The A1 level student clearly indicates that he/she has never come across the *there+verb* expression, which indicates the rarity of the structure in the input. Even at higher levels (B2), *there+verb* is considered to be uncommon, supporting the fact that students are not instructed to learn this structure in class or do not find it often in the input. The C1 student states his/her instructed knowledge about the grammaticality of SVO word order, but is confused by his/her approval of the grammaticality of “some” VS structures showing the sensitivity for VS under certain conditions. This learner believes that these structures were learnt in class, even though this is probably not the case, which clearly indicates that knowledge of the Unaccusative Hypothesis is independent from instructed knowledge.

And these are some comments made by the English native speakers:

### ENGLISH NATIVES' QUALITATIVE COMMENTS

1. I think that most of the issues here were to do with tenses and phrasing. Some meaning was lost due to spelling error.

2. In the directions, it may be better to inform us that we are to judge the second half of the sentence or the last phrase or add space between the given and the judged sentence. Some of the sentences were hard to read anyway because the grammar was incorrect, which is the point of the

assignment, so by making the directions as clear and direct as possible is best. Thank you.

Even though English natives clearly distinguish grammatical from ungrammatical structures and make all the relevant contrasts that we have discussed throughout this dissertation, they do not show conscious awareness of the unaccusative/unergative distinction, but they rely on their native sensitivity for the correctness of the structures. In spite of the ungrammaticality of *\*it-V-S*, *\*there-V-S* and *\*∅-V-S* with unergatives, English natives do not fully reject these structures. We were advised by some of the English natives<sup>14</sup> that these structures are not completely rejected in everyday speech, where various structures become possible. In particular, informal talks with English natives revealed that the postverbal subject did not sound “that bad”, particularly in *\*it-V-S* structures (*it appeared a new social class called ‘the climbers’*), because English allows *superficially* similar constructions, namely, *it*-extraposition (*it appears that John is ill*). Obviously, inversion is not structurally identical to extraposition, since in the former the postverbal subject is an NP, while in the latter it is a full clause. This linguistically *naive* assumption that both structures are the same, might have led English natives not to reject drastically the ungrammatical constructions under investigation.

The crucial fact that can be drawn from the qualitative comments made by the participants is that, despite their beliefs and opinions, they all follow a clear developmental pattern and show clear contrasts between verbs (unaccusatives/unergatives) and between preverbal material (*\*it/\*∅/there/PP*), which indicates that the observed behavior is not random, but is rather constrained by the Unaccusative Hypothesis, as argued throughout this dissertation.

### 6.3 CONTRASTING RESULTS: BY OPT AND BY SELF-PROFICIENCY

This section is an aside on the quantitative data which was worth exploring briefly. As was explained in 5.3., after we collected the Macedonian data, we had many incomplete tests and we could not trace the proficiency level of more than 200 Macedonian cases. In order to obtain some idea about the acceptability judgment test results of the whole lot (complete and incomplete tests), we decided to divide the subjects in proficiency

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<sup>14</sup> A special gratitude to Prof. Cristobal Lozano for discussing the acceptance of ungrammatical VS, especially *\*it-V-S* structures with native English speakers.

levels according to the self-rated proficiency they provided in the background information section. These results are shown in Figure 28 and are compared with the completed Macedonian results divided by the objective Oxford Placement Test (OPT) in Figure 12 above, here repeated as Figure 29.

Figure 28: Acceptance of VS with unaccusatives more than with unergatives by Macedonian learners rated by self-proficiency

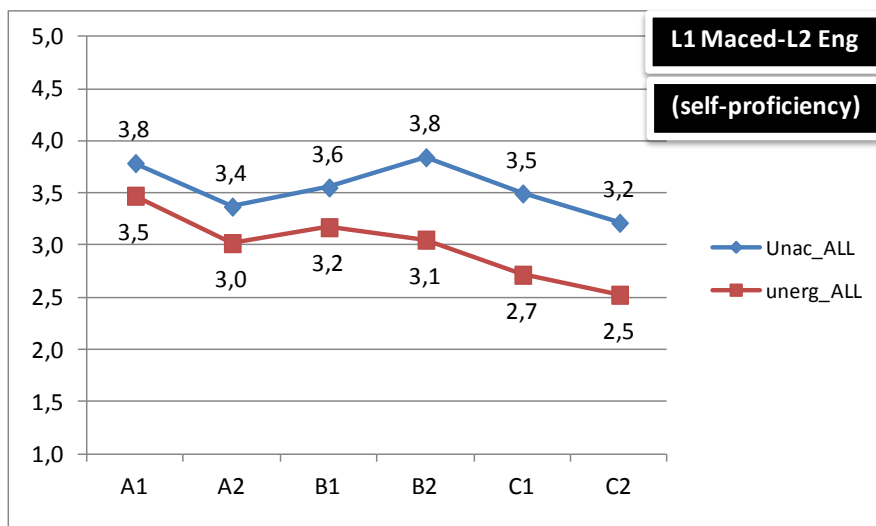
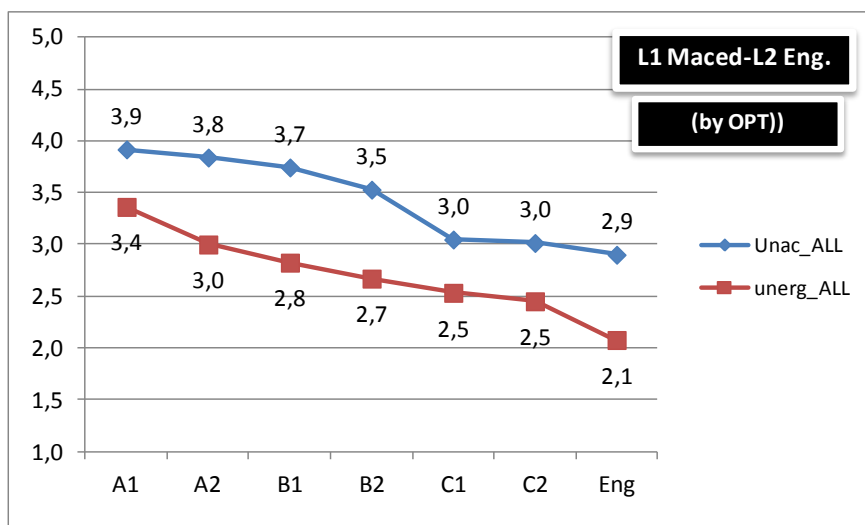


Figure 29: Subject-verb inversion (VS) with all unaccusatives and unergatives for Macedonian learners [Fig. 12 above]



As can be appreciated by contrasting both figures, even though the learners' self-proficiency classification cannot be taken for granted (since it represents the proficiency level they *believe* they are in [Figure 28], and not the actual one they are in [Figure 29]<sup>15</sup>), both charts are presented only for the purpose of general comparison and

<sup>15</sup> Figure 29 contains the English natives' results which denote that learners follow certain developmental stages in SLA acquisition of VS structures and approach the native-like norm

verification of learners' awareness of the possibilities allowing VS in English. All self-rated proficiency levels observe the UH and prefer VS more with unaccusatives than with unergatives. This is the expected behavior, which is in accordance with the valid Macedonian cases, as measured by the OPT. As can be seen in Figure 28 A1 level shows high acceptance of VS both with unaccusatives and unergatives. A2 level accepts VS less than B1 and B2, which is similar to the previous matched-pair results, showing that B levels are the best discriminators of the unaccusative / unergative difference. C1 and C2 levels of the self-proficiency results show decrease in the overall acceptance of VS word order which is the same as the results obtained by the OPT levels. The difference between unaccusatives and unergatives is observed at high rates among the self-proficiency results while OPT results indicate smaller unaccusative / unergative distinction. Even though these two figures show differences, it is obvious that all learners prefer VS more with unaccusatives than with unergatives, which, once again, indicates their sensitivity to the principles of the UH.

## 7 DISCUSSION

In this chapter we will discuss the results obtained in the study and we will attempt to explain the implications of the findings in relation to whether they support the proposed four hypotheses. We will include possible ideas for future research.

### 7.1 L2 LEARNERS' KNOWLEDGE OF UH

In this section we will discuss whether the results (chapter 6) confirm or reject the four proposed hypotheses (chapter 4).

#### 7.1.1 DISCUSSION OF H1: L2 KNOWLEDGE OF UNACCUSATIVITY (LEXICON-SYNTAX INTERFACE)

The main result of our study confirms previous research that L2 learners obey the principles of the Unaccusative Hypothesis. Both Macedonian and Spanish groups accept postverbal subjects as grammatical with unaccusatives more than with unergatives, as native speakers do, (Figures 12 and 13). VS is preferred more with unaccusatives for all XP-V-S structures, even at initial stages, showing that learners are sensitive to the UH from the very outset.

The early stages showed interesting results. Even though VS structures are accepted more with unaccusatives than with unergatives, there is a high acceptance rate for both types of verbs. It is possible that learners are either “experimenting/restructuring” or perhaps “L1 influence” is taking place (This will be discussed later on). At initial stages (A1, A2) there is a high acceptance of postverbal subjects (Macedonian and Spanish), both with unaccusatives and unergatives (although UH is obeyed) and learners initially treat all structures as grammatical. It may be considered that, learners start restructuring at initial levels hence the high acceptance for both unaccusative/unergative postverbal subjects. If this was not the case, learners would not have accepted VS (the non canonical word order of sentences), which is not present in the input they are exposed to.

Learners may be influenced by their first language word order flexibility, showing acceptance rates of postverbal subjects for both types of verbs (unaccusatives and unergatives), though we will discuss this issue later.



Intermediate levels are the best discriminators of the unaccusative/unergative distinction. It seems that learners overgeneralize the VS rule at intermediate levels, experiment with and overgeneralise the  $V_{\text{unac}}S$  structure, start understanding it and at C levels they go back to the canonical SV order, which is the most frequent in the input and it is the preferred word order of native English speakers as well.

At advanced levels learners become more severe with VS order and tend to reject it while accepting the canonical SV order in their ILG. They are not experimenting with the data, but have decided to accept the canonical word order which is present in the input.

To summarise, at the lexicon-syntax interface learners are sensitive to the Unaccusative Hypothesis in L2 English, as they prefer XP-V-S more with unaccusatives than with unergatives. This confirms the first hypothesis (H1).

#### 7.1.2 DISCUSSION OF H2: L2 KNOWLEDGE OF THE DIFFERENT PREVERBAL STRUCTURES:

As was shown by the results (Figures 20 and 21), at early stages all unaccusative structures (*there/PP*, vs *\*it/\*Ø*) are treated as identically grammatical, while ungrammatical ones are constantly rejected as proficiency increases, thus showing a clear developmental pattern, which confirms our H2. It is important to state that even though the ungrammaticality of the different preverbal structures is not distinguished from the outset, the UH is recognized at all levels.

Importantly, the grammaticality of structures is observed at initial stages for unergatives. PPloc-V-S is discriminated as grammatical vs. the rest of the ungrammatical structures (*\*there/\*it/\*Ø*) at the outset, both by Macedonian and Spanish learners (Figures 22 and 23).

The crucial finding for our study is the fact that, as proficiency increases, Macedonian and Spanish groups discriminate more between grammatical unaccusative *there/PP* vs. ungrammatical *\*it/\*Ø*. Figures 16 for Macedonians and 18 for Spanish show a clear developmental pattern in the acquisition of the grammaticality of this structure. The final **pattern** for the grammaticality of structures for **unaccusatives** is as follows: PPloc  $\geq$  There  $>$  *\*it*  $\geq$  *\*Ø* and for **unergatives** : PP loc  $\gg$  *\*There*  $>$  *\*Ø*  $\geq$  *\*it*, as shown below (where the wide gaps indicate a large difference ‘ $\gg$ ’ and a small gap a minimal difference ‘ $\geq$ ’), indicating that learners acquire the grammaticality of the structure by following certain linear developmental stages across proficiency levels.

**UNACCUSATIVE pattern of XP acceptance in XP-V-S structures:**



**UNERGATIVE pattern of XP acceptance in XP-V-S structures:**



Let us examine each of these preverbal XPs in detail:

■ *\*it-V-S* is high at initial and interim stages. This corresponds to the second and third stage of Oshita's UT claiming that learners become sensitive to the rules of the structure. They exploit the rules in the interim stage and acquire the correct structure in the final stage. While they are in the interim stage learners become aware of the postverbal position of the argument of unaccusatives by allowing the subject in postverbal position, but they are also aware that in English the subject position has to be occupied by an overt element by inserting expletive *it* in subject position. The ungrammatical *it\*-V-S* is one of the structures occurring as a possible solution of learners' search for an answer for this syntactic encoding problem. As proficiency increases, the ungrammatical *\*it-V-S* decreases for both unaccusatives and unergatives. Macedonians, however, are more sensitive to the ungrammaticality of *\*it-V-S* and they reject it at lower levels.

■ *there-V-S* remains stable with unaccusatives across proficiency for both groups (Figures 20 and 21), which is expected due to its grammaticality, but decreases with unergatives, showing that L2 learners of English are sensitive to the fact that *there-V-S* is possible only with unaccusatives.

This knowledge cannot be derived from instruction/teaching alone, since textbooks do not contain information specifying that *there-V-S* is allowed with a subset of unaccusatives and never with unergatives (and English teachers are not aware about the unaccusative hypothesis and its complex rules). A plausible explanation is that learners are sensitive to positive evidence from the input, but, as was argued in chapter 2,

English native corpus data illustrate that these structures show an extremely low frequency (2.2.3.1.1). A more likely explanation is that learners are sensitive to the UH. They do not get negative evidence that “*there-V<sub>unerg</sub>-S*” is ungrammatical, i.e., they are not overgeneralizing the *there-V-S* structure to unergatives, which also supports H1. According to Oshita (2001) *there-V-S* is acquired in the final stage, when learners acquire the correct pleonastic element (i.e., expletive) placed in the sentence subject position.

■ **PP-V-S** is the most preferred structure both with unaccusatives and unergatives, since locative inversion is possible in native English with both types of verbs (Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995); Biber et al. (1999); Mendikoetxea (2006); Oshita (2001); and see also the discussion in section 2.2.). This is also confirmed by the preference of PP-V-S among English natives in our results. Thus, it may be considered that learners are sensitive to the structure and behave as English natives do.

As for PP-V-S with unergatives (Figures 11 and 12), learners discriminate grammatical *PP* (locative inversion) from the beginning vs. the rest of the ungrammatical structures (*\*there*, *\*it* and *\*∅*). The structural configuration of PP-V-S is similar to the verb second (**V2**) structure (see discussion in section 2.2.3.1.2), which relates the opening element to the previous context. The use of PP-V-S both with unaccusatives and unergatives may indicate that syntax-discourse interface overrides lexicon-syntax interface. Namely, in V2 languages VS is possible with all verbs which is probably why, as a consequence of the historical features of English being a V2 language, unergatives are also allowed with PP in this structure, since the structure has historically served a discursive function, i.e., introducing onto the scene a new element (postverbal subject) by linking the sentence to the prior discourse with an opening element (preverbal PP).

■ **\*∅-V-S** shows low acceptance rates, which indicates that learners do not make transfer or, at least, that the structure is not the privileged target for transfer because, if transfer was taking place, then higher rates of *∅* would be expected in both groups, as their L1 is pro-drop and contains an identical structure. This matter merits further analysis, so it will be discussed in the following section.

### 7.1.3 DISCUSSION OF H3: THE NO-TRANSFER HYPOTHESIS AND OTHER POSSIBLE SOURCES OF L2 LEARNERS' KNOWLEDGE

In the preceding sections we have argued that learners' knowledge is constrained by a universal constraint at the lexicon-syntax interface, namely, the UH. In the next subsections we will explore the possibility of there being other sources or learners' knowledge of unaccusativity.

#### 7.1.3.1 Input

*There-V-S* remains rather stable for unaccusatives not only for both the Macedonian & Spanish matched groups, but also for the entire sample of the Spanish group for all proficiency levels, but decreases with unergatives, hence it may be assumed that learners are sensitive to the fact that *there-V-S* is possible only with unaccusative verbs (as a result of the UH) or they may have picked it up from the input.

In order to check previous claims about the rarity of this construction and to see whether learners can derive them from the input, we checked several popular L2 English **textbooks** (*LifeLines Pre-Intermediate*; *New English File-Intermediate*; *Upstream-Advanced* level) and tried to find XP-V-S instances. Throughout the three mentioned textbooks, we did not come across any examples of these constructions. They are not mentioned in the grammar syllabus and the texts included in the books do not contain such constructions.

The fact that this structure is not found in any textbooks and is not part of **classroom instruction** (since, typically, teachers do not know the subtleties of *there-V-S* being possible only with a subset of unaccusatives but never with unergatives), indicates that learners are sensitive to the UH. They do not get negative evidence (i.e., **correction**) that *there-V-S* is ungrammatical with unergatives, then their knowledge derives from the UH. Such knowledge cannot be accounted by overgeneralization because learners do not overgeneralize *there-V<sub>unacc</sub>-S* to *there-V<sub>unerg</sub>-S*. This lends support to H1. Another indication that input alone cannot account for the acquisition of this structure is the fact that it is rarely produced by natives and learners cannot encounter it often in the input. We are dealing with a poverty of stimulus construction which has been recorded to be 'rare and make up a very small proportion of all existential clauses: less than 5% in fiction and academic prose and less than 1% in news and conversation (Biber et.

al.1999:945) (already mentioned in section 2.2.3.1.1.). In accordance to this, results from empirical studies (Lozano & Mendikoetxea (2010)) have reported that native English produce less VS structures than learners of L2 English. These claims imply that it is unlikely that XP-V-S structures can be inferred from input.

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#### 7.1.3.2 Instruction

As was mentioned above (7.1.3.1) we checked several popular L2 English **textbooks** (*LifeLines Pre-Intermediate*; *New English File-Intermediate*; *Upstream-Advanced* level) and tried to find XP-V-S instances. These constructions were not included in any of these textbooks which means that XP-V-S structures are not part of the formal instruction of L2 English. Thus, it is unlikely that teachers are aware of the unaccusative/unergative distinction and the constraints allowing XP-V-S occurrence.

Additionally, the qualitative comments of the Macedonian and Spanish group (see section 6.2.) show that learners are not aware of the conditions allowing VS structures because they have probably not been instructed about the unique behavior of intransitive verbs or the specific structures allowing VS with certain types of verbs.

To sum up, learners cannot ‘learn’ XP-V-S constructions because they are not included in the formal instruction of L2 English.

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#### 7.1.3.3 L1 transfer

In the following paragraphs we will discuss the possibility that learners might be transferring the structures under investigation (XP-V-S) from their L1 Macedonian or L1 Spanish. While this seems a logical and obvious conclusion, we will see in the following subsection how such an assumption is simplistic, since not all the data can be accounted for by mere L1 transfer. A closer and fine-grained inspection of the results reveals that there are important universal and developmental constraints in the acquisition of the unaccusative/unergative syntactic structures in L2 English.

The **initial high acceptance of VS** both with unaccusatives and unergatives by Macedonian and Spanish learners (Figures 12 and 13) may be argued to be due to learners (according to the full/access full transfer account) being influenced by their first language word order flexibility, showing high acceptance rates of postverbal subjects for both types of verbs (unaccusatives and unergatives).

The **high acceptance of PP-V-S** from the initial stages with both types of verbs might also indicate that learners are transferring from their L1. Even though this structure is grammatical in English, it is also grammatical in the learners L1 (Macedonian and Spanish) with all verbs, which may trigger the overacceptance of the locative inversion structure in L2 English.

The data however show that both groups accept not only PP-V-S but also *there*-V-S as grammatical structures (*there*/PP-V-S) and reject ungrammatical structures (\* $\emptyset$ /\**it*-V-S) with unaccusatives from relatively early stages of acquisition which may not support the transfer account but shows that learners are sensitive to the grammaticality of the structures.

**High acceptance of \* $\emptyset$ -V-S** at initial levels may be considered again a result of L1 transfer, but the fact that all structures are treated similarly at the outset, does not provide a solid ground for the transfer account (see section 7.1.3.4 below).

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#### 7.1.3.4 Reasons for lack of L1 transfer

There is subtle evidence in the results which indicates that learners are not transferring wholesale from their L1. Such evidence, which is about to be discussed, supports H3. Let us examine several pieces of evidence.

**PIECE OF EVIDENCE #1.** Spanish and Macedonian are pro-drop languages having  $\emptyset$ -V-S as a very common structure, as discussed extensively in chapter 2. The fact that \* $\emptyset$ -V-S is accepted in L2 English (by native speakers of L1 Spanish and L1 Macedonian) at low rates is a possible indication that transfer is not taking place. If transfer occurred, higher acceptance of \* $\emptyset$ -V-S would have been expected for both groups of learners. According to the results (Figures 20-23) this structure is discriminated as ungrammatical (both with unaccusatives and unergatives) from relatively early stages of development, even though it is completely plausible in learners' L1s (Macedonian and Spanish). Additionally, if transfer occurred, \* $\emptyset$ -V-S would have been more accepted than \**it*-V-S, given the fact that \**it*-V-S is not a possible syntactic structure in either Spanish or Macedonian. The results show that this is not the case and that both structures decrease simultaneously as proficiency increases, hence the lack of L1 transfer effects, which supports H3.

**PIECE OF EVIDENCE #2.** Another indication against transfer is the fact that Spanish learners discriminate between **unaccusative VS order vs. unergative VS order**, even though this is unexpected, as heavy and focused subjects in native Spanish are sentence final (VS), independently of the verb type. Thus, the Unaccusative Hypothesis (lexicon-syntax interface) is overridden when discursive factors like focus and topic are involved (syntax-discourse interface). This finding goes against the transfer hypothesis, thus supporting H3.

**PIECE OF EVIDENCE #3.** Experimental data show that Macedonians, on the other hand, appear to prefer in their mother tongue VS with unaccusatives and SV (with unergatives) in presentational focused context (see 2.2.3.3.2.), while Spanish natives prefer VS both with unaccusatives and unergatives in such contexts, as stated in the preceding paragraph. If transfer occurred, we would expect (i) Macedonians to prefer VS with unaccusatives more than with unergatives but (ii) Spanish to treat them similarly. Contrary to this expectation, both groups of learners behave alike, thus confirming that this behavior cannot be accounted for L1 transfer alone, which supports H3.

**PIECE OF EVIDENCE #4.** An additional piece of evidence against the no-transfer position comes from the **different acceptance of the preverbal element**. Data show that both groups discriminate grammatical structures (*there*/PP-V-S) vs. ungrammatical structures (*\*∅/\*it*-V-S) with unaccusatives from relatively early stages of acquisition, but all these structures are possible in their L1s (Macedonian and Spanish). Hence, if transfer was taking place, we would expect learners not to show such an early sensitivity to the grammatical vs. ungrammatical constructions, which is contrary to fact. This supports the no-transfer account, thus supporting H3.

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#### 7.1.4 DISCUSSION OF H4: DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES AND OSHITA'S (2001) UNACCUSATIVE TRAP HYPOTHESIS

Our H4 is related to the developmental stages proposed by Oshita (2001) and his Unaccusative Trap. We predicted that our learners will follow the three stages of the UT (see section 3.2.4). The obtained results have shown features both rejecting and supporting these claims.

The behavior of our subjects at initial levels is not in accordance with the predictions of the UT. Oshita claimed that **in the first stage** all intransitive verbs (unaccusatives and unergatives) are perceived as unergatives and learners produce only SV, irrespective of the verb type. Our results show that learners (Macedonian and Spanish) discriminate VS from the very outset. They seem to be doing the opposite of the UT: VS is accepted highly with unergatives from initial stages, indicating that learners are somehow *unaccusativizing* unergatives, even though they correctly prefer  $V_{\text{unac}}S$  to  $V_{\text{unerg}}S$ . This behavior may be due to the nature of the **methodology** we used. It might have misled the participants to accept structures which they would not produce if they had to provide their own utterances. This idea is supported by corpus data which shows that learners invert only with unaccusatives, never with unergatives (Lozano & Mendikoetxea 2008, 2010, Zobl 1989, Oshita 2004). Another possible interpretation of this kind of behavior is related to **L1 transfer** effects. VS structures are very common both in Spanish and Macedonian and learners may transfer this L1 structure to their L2, accepting VS at the outset with all types of verbs and in all VS structures. But note that transfer has been discarded as the privileged source of knowledge in L2 (see preceding section).

The **second stage** of Oshita states that learners become aware of the syntactically relevant semantic features of unaccusative verbs, which is in accordance with our data. Our learners distinguish unaccusatives from unergatives, which is shown in the fact that learners start accepting grammatical structures (PP/*there*) and rejecting ungrammatical ones (*\*it/\*∅*). Both Macedonian and Spanish learners follow similar patterns. They show their highest sensitivity to UH in intermediate stages, showing the highest unaccusatives vs unergatives difference (even higher than natives'). This means that they have picked up the Unaccusativity rules and, therefore, they are overaccepting the rule. Later, in advanced stages, such a difference diminishes towards the native norm.

Oshita claims that at the second stage learners understand the internal lexico-syntactic structure of unaccusatives vs unergatives, hence the acceptance and production of ungrammatical unaccusative passives and/or *\*it-V-S*. They are trying to find solutions and to produce VS structures. This is in accordance with our data, which shows that learners exploit the structures and they start distinguishing the grammatical structures from the ungrammatical ones.



The **final stage** of Oshita states that unaccusative syntactic structures will be acquired when unaccusatives will be correctly differentiated from unergatives. Our data support these claims with the acceptance of the grammatical structures and the rejection of the ungrammatical ones at higher proficiency levels.

## 7.2 POSSIBLE PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS: TEACHING POSTVERBAL SUBJECTS IN L2 ENGLISH

Palacios-Martínez and Martínez-Insua (2006) studied native and learner use of existential *there-be-NP* of the type shown in (98)

(98)

- a) ..think that there are more disadvantages than there are advantages thus they are likely to reject..
- b) Throughout the first scenes, especially, there is a repetition of “rien” perhaps reflecting..

Its usage was studied among Spanish learners of English and a native group of English speakers and it was hypothesized that these two groups will differ in the frequency of use, complexity, polarity concord and pragmatic value. The results showed that Spanish learners use *there-be-NP* constructions more frequently than natives, which may be related to its early introduction in the language learning process and the ability of learners to memorize them as formulaic chunks. They recommended that pedagogical instruction about these constructions might help their proper acquisition. This is a study examining inversion with *be* and our empirical study studies inversion with unaccusatives.

Considering the fact that postverbal subject constructions of the type XP-V-S are not part of any L2 English course book, as we have shown in 7.1.3.2, it is understandable that learners are prone to producing *\*it/\*∅-V-S* ungrammatical structures (passive unaccusatives or ungrammatical postverbal structures), which are so common in learners' written and spoken production. Positive evidence (i.e., input) about different subtypes of intransitive verbs and the specific syntactic structures allowed by unaccusative verbs should be explained in formal instruction settings, that is, in the classroom. Teachers might introduce a group of presentational verbs apart from *be* and

explain their specific meaning. The pragmatic meaning of existential and presentational constructions should also be explained. Additionally, the most common mistakes produced in XP-V-S constructions should be described so that learners will be able to understand and properly acquire the structure. However, as was indicated throughout the dissertation there seems to be a developmental pattern. Therefore, it is unclear whether learners would acquire these structures if they were taught. According to the Teachability Hypothesis (Pienemann, 1988) learners should be taught grammatical structures they are ready to acquire. If the learner is at the second developmental stage of acquisition of a certain structure and the teacher teaches a structure corresponding to a fourth developmental stage the learner may go forward to the third stage but will not jump directly to the fourth stage. Therefore learners should be taught structures they are ready to acquire. Instruction cannot change the natural order of acquisition. It may change the speed of acquisition (to provoke faster acquisition of L2 structures) but not the course.

### 7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In the next subsections we will discuss some potential avenues of future research on the L2 acquisition of unaccusativity.

#### 7.3.1 POSTVERBAL SUBJECTS WITH 'BE' (EXPL + BE + NP-SUBJECT)

A research on the production of postverbal subjects with the verb *be* is one suggestion for future study. In native English *be* is a more common verb for the production of *there-V-S* and locative inversion constructions than the intransitive unaccusative verbs of existence and appearance, which have been the focus of this dissertation. As explained by Biber et. al. (1999), the verb *be* forms 95% of existential *there* constructions and half of the locative inversion constructions, while unaccusative verbs of existence and appearance represent only a small fraction of inverted structures. We suggest that the acquisition of expletive+be+NP-subject should be studied in order to observe the possible developmental stages for the acquisition of this structure and understand under which interface conditions (lexicon-syntax, syntax-discourse, syntax-phonology) they are produced and accepted in L2 English.

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### 7.3.2 THE EFFECTS OF WEIGHT AND FOCUS ON POSTVERBAL SUBJECTS

Another possible suggestion for future research would be to study the influence of weight and focus on the postverbal subject. Our study dealt with the lexicon-syntax interface and the UH, since weight and information status were controlled for in the experiment (i.e., the postverbal subject was always long and focus). Further on we could focus on the influence of the End Weight and End Focus principle on the acquisition of postverbal subjects by Macedonian L2 learners of English.

## 8 CONCLUSION

Previous research has shown that learners are sensitive to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH) and produce postverbal subjects with a subtype of intransitive verbs, namely, unaccusative verbs of existence and appearance but not with another type of intransitives (unergatives). Unaccusativity (which is constrained at the lexicon-syntax interface) is one of the three conditions allowing the production of postverbal-subject constructions of the type XP-V-S in English (locative inversion like PP-V-S and existential *there* constructions like *there*-V-S), which are the focus of this empirical study. The other two conditions necessary for subject inversion in English require the subject to be new information (focus) (syntax-discourse interface) and long (heavy) (syntax-phonology interface).

Two groups of learners of L2 English (one with L1 Macedonian and the other with L1 Spanish) participated in a contextualized acceptability judgement test to measure their knowledge of postverbal-subject structures of the type XP-V-S. Results indicate that the Macedonian and Spanish participants in our study observed the conditions for the acceptance of postverbal subjects in English. Namely, they accepted VS with unaccusatives more than with unergatives when the subject is focus and heavy, thus observing the UH at the lexicon-syntax interface and the constraints at the other two interfaces (syntax-discourse and syntax-phonology).

These results imply that Macedonian and Spanish learners of L2 English accept VS under the same conditions as English natives do. But, in spite of this, learners produce (as attested in previous empirical studies) and accept (as reported in this study) structurally impossible VS constructions with a preverbal element of the type *\*it*-V-S and *\*∅*-V-S, which are a very common type of error found in L2 English. Hence, acceptance of both grammatical (PP-V-S / *there*-V-S) and ungrammatical structures (*\*it*-V-S / *\*∅*-V-S) were examined in this study in order to check the possibilities for L1 transfer or developmental factors in the course of acquisition of XP-V-S structure in L2 English. It was shown that learners reject the *\*∅*-V-S structure at initial levels, which implies that L1 transfer alone cannot account for the data because this structure is very common in L1 Macedonian and Spanish. Additionally, the L1 transfer

hypothesis was also rejected for PP-V-S (locative inversion), which is possible with both types of verbs (unaccusatives and unergatives) in English, the same as in L1 Macedonian and Spanish, due to the fact that learners distinguish grammatical PP-V-S and *there*-V-S from ungrammatical \**it*-V-S and \* $\emptyset$ -V-S from early stages. They also accept grammatical PP-V-S both with unaccusatives and unergatives, while *there*-V-S is accepted only with unaccusatives, which implies that learners are aware of the grammaticality of the structures in L2 English. The structure \**it*-V-S was rejected at higher levels, which indicates that learners follow certain developmental stages in the acquisition of VS order throughout which they become aware of the postverbal position of the subject of unaccusatives. Due to the fact that in English the subject position has to be occupied by an overt element learners insert expletive *it* in subject position. They produce the ungrammatical *it*\*-V-S as a possible solution for this syntactic encoding problem.

The rarity of the XP-V-S construction in native English implies that its knowledge in L2 English cannot be derived from the input alone. Additionally, this construction is not included in any formal instruction of L2 English, hence instruction cannot be accounted for its acquisition.

To sum up, it can be concluded that the syntactic knowledge of Macedonian and Spanish learners of L2 English for the production of XP-V-S structures is universally constrained at the three interfaces (i) the verb is unaccusative - UH (lexicon syntax interface); (ii) the subject is focus (syntax discourse interface) and, (iii) the subject is heavy (syntax phonology interface). The acceptance of ungrammatical structures (*it*-V-S and \* $\emptyset$ -V-S), which is developmentally temporary, may be due to failure to properly map the UH knowledge onto the suitable syntactic structure.

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## 11 APPENDICES

In the appendices we will present all the experimental material used in the data collection, as well as the statistical outputs and tables.

### 11.1 MAIN EXPERIMENTAL TEST: CONTEXTUALISED ACCEPTABILITY JUDGEMENT TEST (ONLINE VERSION)

In this section we present the experimental tests (online version) that we used to collect data online about the acceptability of VS with unaccusatives and unergatives. This is the key test of this dissertation and will be presented according to the L1 of the participants: English natives (*Study on the Acquisition of English Syntax - SAES*), L1 Spanish-L2 English learners (*Estudio sobre la Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés - EAST*) and L1 Macedonian –L2 English learners (*Istrazivanje za Usvojivanje na Sintaksata na Angliskiot Jazik - IUSAJ*).

The software used to administer the main experimental test was *LimeSurvey*, which is a computer application for the design of online questionnaires and experiments. This software is hosted in the servers at the Universidad de Granada and has been extensively used worldwide to collect data. See further details in footnote 12, page 96.

#### 11.1.1 MAIN EXPERIMENTAL TEST FOR ENGLISH NATIVES (SAES)

### Study on the Acquisition of English Syntax (SAES)

English version

**Welcome:**

We are investigating how Spanish speakers learn English grammar. For comparative



study is part of a larger research project on the acquisition of English grammar, conducted at the Universidad de Granada and the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (for more info click [here](#)).

Participating is very simple. All you need to do is to decide whether some English sentences seem grammatically acceptable to you.

Your data will be anonymous and will be treated confidentially.

*There are 37 questions in this survey.*

**A note on privacy**

This survey is anonymous.

The record kept of your survey responses does not contain any identifying information about you unless a specific question in the survey has asked for this. If you have responded to a survey that used an identifying token to allow you to access the survey, you can rest assured that the identifying token is not kept with your responses. It is managed in a separate database, and will only be updated to indicate that you have (or haven't) completed this survey. There is no way of matching identification tokens with survey responses in this survey.

## Study on the Acquisition of English Syntax (SAES)

English version

You have completed 0% of this survey

0%

100%

### PREGUNTAS INICIALES SOBRE EL APRENDIZAJE

Por favor, conteste a las siguientes preguntas sobre su historial de aprendizaje en inglés.

\*Please state your sex (male/female):

- Female
- Male



Please state your age (years):

Only numbers may be entered in this field



\*Please state your mother tongue:  
Choose one of the following answers

- English
- Another language



## Study on the Acquisition of English Syntax (SAES)

English version

You have completed 33% of this survey

0%

100%

### INSTRUCTIONS

On the next page you will see some English sentences.

The first part of the sentence provides a bit of a context. **The second sentence is the one you have to judge.**

Judging is very simple: **1** if you think that the sentence is totally ungrammatical and **5** if you think it is totally grammatical. You can choose intermediate values, depending on your judgement.

Remember: we are interested in your first reaction.

*\*For example: Consider the following sentence :*

Many students in Spain study only before the exam...  
**...because they like don't to study during the year.**

**1      2      3      4      5**

Choose:



HELP:

You have to judge the second sentence "*because they like don't to study during the year*" on the 1 to 5 scale.



### Study on the Acquisition of English Syntax (SAES)

English version

You have completed 66% of this survey

0%

100%

#### ENGLISH SENTENCES

This is the beginning of the test. Please rate the following sentences:

\*

Nowadays, if you work as a policeman in Spain, you can easily get into difficult situations, but...

**... I think that it exist many more risky and dangerous jobs.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:



\*

In a very important meeting about the world crisis, the world leaders were waiting for somebody to give a solution...

**...so there talked the president of the United States.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*

Winter finishes around February or March and then the spring begins because the birds start singing...

**...and appear the first flowers that grow in the gardens.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:            

□

\*

The new building has a shopping centre and some offices. You can find the shopping centre on the ground floor, ...

**... but on the top floor work the bosses of important companies like Microsoft.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:            

□

\*

In 2004 there were some terrible terrorist attacks in Madrid.

So, ...

**... some politicians think that it began a new period in Spanish history.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:            

□

\*

The manager of Real Madrid decided that the football match with Real Valladolid was not important...

**...so there played only those football players who were very young.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

□

\*

The Industrial Revolution was a period between the 18th and the 19th century. Almost every aspect of human life was influenced ...

**...and came many important changes in the life of people.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*

It was a very big conference about medicine. Most talks were in rooms 1, 2 and 3, ...

**... but in room 4 spoke a very important doctor from Oxford University.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*

Even though we live in a democratic country with plenty of opportunities,...

**... I believe that there exist unlucky people who are extremely poor.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*

The economic crisis is affecting everybody. A lot of workers are unemployed. The result is...

**... that work only the people who have a stable job.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*

In 1666 a small bakery burned in the centre of London by accident...  
**...and from this place began a great fire that destroyed the city.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*

Yesterday we were at school doing an exam. The teacher told us to be silent...  
**...but it talked a boy who complained about the exam questions.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*

For a while, it seemed that nobody in the meeting was going to say anything about the corruption in the British Government...  
**...However, there spoke a woman with a very strong Irish accent.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*

Dictionaries often give an unusual definition of some words.  
 For example, think about the word "cool".  
**... In my dictionary appears a very interesting definition for this word.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

□

\*  
 I was at a funeral yesterday. Everybody got very emotional ...  
**...because talked the wife of the man who had died.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

□

\*  
 The house was very dirty. All the windows were closed, the  
 rooms were dark....  
**...and from the kitchen came a horrible smell of burning oil.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

□

\*  
 There was a basketball competition at school, but John could  
 not participate...  
**...because played only the children who were 10 years old.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

□

\*  
 In 1789 France was a country with a lot of poor people who

were unhappy, ...  
**...so there began a new revolution called "The French Revolution".**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

▮

\*  
 My American friend, Paul, thinks that in Spain people are very  
 lazy and...  
**...that it work only the people who are very ambitious.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

▮

\*  
 Nowadays, it is very dangerous to walk alone at night in a big  
 city...  
**...because in those cities exist many dangerous criminals  
 who could kill you.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

▮

\*  
 Spain was not a democratic country for many years, but when  
 democracy arrived...  
**...there appeared a great variety of new social problems.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

▮

\*



After the Spanish civil war, the country was so poor that there were no toys for children, so...  
**...I think that it played only the children of people who were rich.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

□

\*  
In the conference several speakers talked about the economic crisis. They all met later for dinner ...  
**...and spoke the president of the Economic Society of America.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

□

\*  
Some historians believe that 1940 is a very important year ...  
**...because began a terrible war called the 'Second World War'.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

□

\*  
In the 1970's AIDS was an unknown illness. At the end of the 1980's it was better known...  
**...but it came discrimination against people infected by the illness.**

1      2      3      4      5

Choose:

□

\*A lot of university students have recently complained about the 'Bologna process', but...  
**...some experts say that exist some students who support it.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*  
When I was at school, there was a special playing area, ...  
**...but in this area played only the boys and girls who behaved well.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*  
After several hours of discussion about work conditions, everybody thought the meeting had finished...  
**...but it spoke a very angry man who started shouting.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*  
Nowadays, people think that teachers do not work too much, but the fact is that...  
**... there work only those teachers who are motivated.**

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

□

\*  
Tourists are always interested in visiting the Houses of

Parliament in London ...  
... because in that place talk the most important politicians  
of the United Kingdom.

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:



\*  
The economic crisis in the 1970's affected the financial  
markets first. Then it affected a lot of companies and  
business, ...  
... so there came a dramatic increase of 45% in  
unemployment.

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:



\*  
Malaria is one of the most common infectious diseases. In the  
1980s people were optimistic...  
...because it appeared a new medicine that was effective  
against malaria.

1 2 3 4 5

Choose:

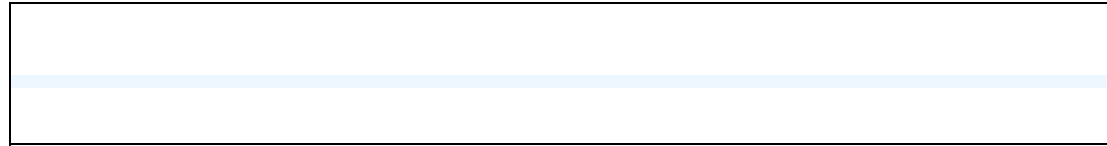


Please, if you wish, write any final comment or remark on the  
test (doubts, opinions, problematic areas, etc.)



(This is an optional question)





### 11.1.2 MAIN EXPERIMENTAL TEST FOR L1 SPA-L2 ENG LEARNERS (EASI)

#### EASI (Estudio sobre Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés)

Bienvenido/a.

Dentro del proyecto de investigación OPOGRAM (*Opcionalidad y Pseudo-Opcionalidad en Gramáticas nativas y no nativas*), financiado por el Ministerio de Innovación y Ciencia, estamos estudiando cómo aprenden inglés los hablantes nativos de español.

Participar en el estudio es muy sencillo. El estudio es anónimo, está disponible "online" y solo tienes que decidir si unas oraciones te suenan mejor que otras (unos 15 minutos aprox.). **Sólo pueden participar hablantes de español que sepan inglés** (cualquier nivel).

Al finalizar, recibirás un certificado de participación en el experimento. Posteriormente publicaremos los resultados globales del experimento en esta página web. Si quieres saber más sobre nosotros y nuestro trabajo de investigación, consulta la página web ([WOSLAC](#)).

En primer lugar, te haremos algunas preguntas sencillas sobre su historial de aprendizaje del inglés.

*Hay 45 preguntas en esta encuesta.*

#### **Nota sobre la privacidad**

Esta encuesta es anónima.

Los registros que contienen sus respuestas a la encuesta no contienen ninguna identificación suya a menos que una pregunta específicamente así lo haga. Si responde a esta encuesta utilizando una contraseña que le da acceso al cuestionario, puede estar seguro que la misma no se asocia a ninguna de sus respuestas. Ésto se administra en una tabla de datos separada, que sólo se actualiza para indicar que ha completado o no la encuesta, pero sin establecer vínculo alguno con la tabla donde se almacenan sus

respuestas, por lo que no hay manera de asociar una respuesta con la persona que la hizo.

## EASI (Estudio sobre Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés)

Usted ha completado 0% de esta encuesta

0%

100%

### PREGUNTAS INICIALES SOBRE EL APRENDIZAJE

Por favor, conteste a las siguientes preguntas sobre su historial de aprendizaje en inglés.

\*Por favor, escriba su DNI para verificar que usted ya ha hecho el Oxford Placement Test:



\*Indique su sexo:

- Femenino
- Masculino



Indique su edad (años):

Sólo se aceptan números en este campo



Indique el nombre de su universidad o colegio (si actualmente no está estudiando, ponga "ninguno").



¿Cuánto tiempo lleva aprendiendo inglés?  
(aproximadamente en años)

Sólo se aceptan números en este campo



Si usted ha estado alguna vez en un país de habla inglesa,  
indique los países y la duración de la estancia.  
(Si nunca lo ha estado, ignore esta pregunta)



\*Indique su lengua materna:

Seleccione una de las siguientes opciones

- Español
- Otra lengua



\*¿Cuál es la lengua materna de su padre?  
Seleccione una de las siguientes opciones

- Español
- Inglés
- Otra lengua



\*¿Cuál es la lengua materna de su madre?  
Seleccione una de las siguientes opciones

- Español
- Inglés
- Otra lengua



\*¿Qué idiomas habla usted en casa?  
 Seleccione una de las siguientes opciones

- Español
- Español y otra(s) lengua(s)



\*Indique cuál cree usted que es su dominio aproximado del inglés:  
 Seleccione una de las siguientes opciones

- Avanzado alto (C2)
- Avanzado bajo (C1)
- Intermedio alto (B2)
- Intermedio bajo (B1)
- Principiante alto (A2)
- Principiante bajo (A1)



### EASI (Estudio sobre Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés) UAM

Usted ha completado 33% de esta encuesta

0%

100%

#### INSTRUCCIONES

En la página siguiente, usted verá una serie de oraciones en inglés.

La primera parte de la oración proporciona algo de contexto. La segunda parte es la que **usted tiene que valorar**.

La valoración es muy sencilla: **1** si cree que la estructura de la oración no está bien, y **5** si cree que su estructura está bien. Usted puede elegir valores intermedios, dependiendo de lo que usted piense sobre su estructura. O sea, a mayor puntuación, mejor estructuralidad oracional, según su opinión.

**RECUERDE:** esto no es un examen. Nos interesan todas sus respuestas y también su primera reacción.

*\*Por ejemplo: Considere la siguiente oración a modo de prueba:*

Many students in Spain study only before the exam...  
**...because they like don't to study during the year.**

**1 2 3 4 5**

**Elija:**

**?** Ayuda: usted tiene que valorar la segunda oración "*because they like don't to study during the year*" en la escala del 1 al 5.



### EASI (Estudio sobre Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés)

Usted ha completado 66% de esta encuesta

0%

100%

#### ORACIONES EN INGLÉS

Aquí comienza el test. Por favor, juzgue las siguientes oraciones:

\*

Nowadays, if you work as a policeman in Spain, you can easily get into difficult situations, but...  
**... I think that it exist many more risky and dangerous jobs.**

**1 2 3 4 5**

**Elija:**





\*

In a very important meeting about the world crisis, the world leaders were waiting for somebody to give a solution...

**...so there talked the president of the United States.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

Winter finishes around February or March and then the spring begins because the birds start singing...

**...and appear the first flowers that grow in the gardens.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

The new building has a shopping centre and some offices. You can find the shopping centre on the ground floor, ...

**... but on the top floor work the bosses of important companies like Microsoft.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

In 2004 there were some terrible terrorist attacks in Madrid.

So, ...

**... some politicians think that it began a new period in Spanish history.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

The manager of Real Madrid decided that the football match with Real Valladolid was not important...  
**...so there played only those football players who were very young.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:     

□

\*

The Industrial Revolution was a period between the 18th and the 19th century. Almost every aspect of human life was influenced ...  
**...and came many important changes in the life of people.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:     

□

\*

It was a very big conference about medicine. Most talks were in rooms 1, 2 and 3, ...  
**... but in room 4 spoke a very important doctor from Oxford University.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:     

□

\*

Even though we live in a democratic country with plenty of opportunities,...  
**... I believe that there exist unlucky people who are extremely poor.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

The economic crisis is affecting everybody. A lot of workers are unemployed. The result is...  
**... that work only the people who have a stable job.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

In 1666 a small bakery burned in the centre of London by accident...  
**...and from this place began a great fire that destroyed the city.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

Yesterday we were at school doing an exam. The teacher told us to be silent...  
**...but it talked a boy who complained about the exam questions.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

For a while, it seemed that nobody in the meeting was going to say anything about the corruption in the British Government...  
**...However, there spoke a woman with a very strong Irish**

accent.

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

Dictionaries often give an unusual definition of some words.

For example, think about the word "cool".

... **In my dictionary appears a very interesting definition for this word.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

I was at a funeral yesterday. Everybody got very emotional

...

...**because talked the wife of the man who had died.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

The house was very dirty. All the windows were closed, the rooms were dark....

...**and from the kitchen came a horrible smell of burning oil.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

There was a basketball competition at school, but John

could not participate...  
**...because played only the children who were 10 years old.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*  
 In 1789 France was a country with a lot of poor people who  
 were unhappy, ...  
**...so there began a new revolution called "The French  
 Revolution".**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*  
 My American friend, Paul, thinks that in Spain people are  
 very lazy and...  
**...that it work only the people who are very ambitious.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*  
 Nowadays, it is very dangerous to walk alone at night in a  
 big city...  
**...because in those cities exist many dangerous criminals  
 who could kill you.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

Spain was not a democratic country for many years, but when democracy arrived...  
**...there appeared a great variety of new social problems.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

After the Spanish civil war, the country was so poor that there were no toys for children, so...  
**...I think that it played only the children of people who were rich.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

In the conference several speakers talked about the economic crisis. They all met later for dinner ...  
**...and spoke the president of the Economic Society of America.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

Some historians believe that 1940 is a very important year ...  
**...because began a terrible war called the 'Second World War'.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

In the 1970's AIDS was an unknown illness. At the end of the 1980's it was better known...  
**...but it came discrimination against people infected by the illness.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:     

□

\*A lot of university students have recently complained about the 'Bologna process', but...  
**...some experts say that exist some students who support it.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:     

□

\*

When I was at school, there was a special playing area, ...  
**...but in this area played only the boys and girls who behaved well.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:     

□

\*

After several hours of discussion about work conditions, everybody thought the meeting had finished...  
**...but it spoke a very angry man who started shouting.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:     

□

\*

Nowadays, people think that teachers do not work too much, but the fact is that...  
**... there work only those teachers who are motivated.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

Tourists are always interested in visiting the Houses of Parliament in London ...  
**... because in that place talk the most important politicians of the United Kingdom.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

The economic crisis in the 1970's affected the financial markets first. Then it affected a lot of companies and business, ...  
**... so there came a dramatic increase of 45% in unemployment.**

1 2 3 4 5

Elija:

□

\*

Malaria is one of the most common infectious diseases. In the 1980s people were optimistic...  
**...because it appeared a new medicine that was effective against malaria.**


1 2 3 4 5

Elija:



□

Por favor, si lo desea, escriba cualquier comentario u observación que desee hacer con respecto al cuestionario (dudas, opiniones, áreas problemáticas del cuestionario, etc.)



? Esta pregunta es opcional.

□

### 11.1.3 MAIN EXPERIMENTAL TESTS FOR L1 MACED-L2 ENG (IUSAJ)

**IUSAJ**

**Pocituvani,**

Ova istrazovanje nareceno “IUSAJ” (Istrazovanje za Usvojivanje na Sintaksata na Angliskiot Jazik) go proucuva nacinot na koj govoritelite na makedonski jazik kako majcin jazik go usvojuvaat angliskiot jazik. Ovaa studija e del od istrazuvackiot proekt OPOGRAM (*Opcionalnost I Psevdo-Opcionalnost vo Gramatikite na Majcin I Nemajcin Jazik*) na Avtonomniot Univerzitet vo Madrid i Univerzitetot vo Granada (poveke informacii za ovoj proekt mozete da najдете [ovde](#)).

Ucestvoto vo ova studija e mnogu ednostavno. Istrazuvanjeto e anonimno, dostapno e “online” i **moze da ucestvuvaat samo govoriteli na makedonski jazik kako majcin jazik, koi ucat ili imaat poznavanje od angliski jazik (koe bilo nivo).**

Ova testiranje se sastoi od dva dela:

1. PRASALNIK ZA USVOENO ZNAENJE. Prvot del e prasalnik koj se odnesuva na vaseto usvoeno znaenje od angliski jazik. Ednostavno, treba samo da odlucite koja recenica vi zvuci dobro a koja ne (ne obrnuvajte vnanie na zborovite vo recenicata tuku samo na strukturata). Nema točni ili netočni odgovori. Vazno e samo vaseto mislenje za strukturata na recenicite.

2. TEST ZA ODREDUVANJE NA GRAMATICKO NIVO. Vtoriot test go odreduva vaseto poznavanje na gramatika na angliski jazik. Rezultatite se doverlivi, ke vi bidat dostapni samo vas i ke gi dobiете vo sandaceto na vasata elektronska posta. Programata isto taka vi kazuva I koi delovi od angliskata gramatika mozete da gi pobobrite.

Vo prodolzenie sledi prasalnikot za usvoeno znaenje.

*There are 45 questions in this survey.*

**A Note On Privacy**

This survey is anonymous.

The record kept of your survey responses does not contain any identifying information about you unless a specific question in the survey has asked for this. If you have responded to a survey that used an identifying token to allow you to access the survey, you can rest assured that the identifying token is not kept with your responses. It is managed in a separate database, and will only be updated to indicate that you have (or haven't) completed this survey. There is no way of matching identification tokens with survey responses in this survey.

**IUSAJ UGR**

You have completed 0% of this survey

0%

100%

**PRASANJA ZA VASETO PRETHODNO IZUCUVANJE NA ANGLISKI JAZIK**

Ve molime odgovorete gi slednive prasanja povrzani so vaseto prethodno izucuvanje na angliski jazik.

\*Ve molime vnesete ja adresata na vasata elektronska posta na koja ke vi bidat ispratени rezultatite od testot:



\*Pol:

- Женски
- Машки

▮

Vozrast (godini):

Only numbers may be entered in this field



Vnesete broevi

▮

Navedete go imeto na vasiot univerzitet ili uciliste (dokolku vo momentot ne studirate navedete "ne studiram").

▮

¿Kолку vreme imate uceno angliski jazik? (prosecno vo godini)

Only numbers may be entered in this field



Vnesete broevi

▮

Dokolku imate prestopjuvano vo nekoja zemja od anglisko govorno podracje navedete kade i kolku vreme.

(Dokolku nikogas ne ste prestopjuvale, prodolzete na slednoto prasanje).

▮

\*Navedete go vasiot majcin jazik:

Choose one of the following answers

- Makedonski
- Drug jazik



Odberete edna od slednive opcii



\*¿Koj e majciniot jazik na vasiot tatko?  
Choose one of the following answers

- Makedonski
- Drug jazik



Odberete edna od slednive opcii



\*¿Koj e majciniot jazik na vasata majka?  
Choose one of the following answers

- Makedonski
- Drug jazik



Odberete edna od slednive opcii



\*¿Na koj jazik zboruvate doma?  
Choose one of the following answers

- Makedonski
- Drug jazik



Odberete edna od slednive opcii



\*

Navedete go vaseto mislenje za vaseto nivo na poznavanje na angliskiot jazik:

Choose one of the following answers

- Napredno visoko (C2)
- Napredno nisko (C1)

- Sredno visoko (B2)
- Sredno nisko (B1)
- Osnovno visoko (A2)
- Osnovno nisko (A1)



Odberete edna od slednive opcii



### IUSAJ UGR

You have completed 33% of this survey

0%

100%

### INSTRUKCII

Na slednata stranica ke vidite redosled od recenici na angliski jazik.

Prviot del od recenicata se odnesuva na kontekstot. **Vie treba da go ocenite vtoriot del.**

Ocenuvanjeto e mnogu ednostavno: odberete 1 dokolku mislite deka strukturata na recenicata ne e dobra i 5 dokolku mislite deka strukturata e dobra. Mozete da odberete i sredni vrednosti, vo zavisnot od vaseto misljenje za toa kolku dobro e sostavena recenicata (zaradi toa, ne obrnuvajte vnanie na zborovite tuku samo na strukturata).

**ZAPOMNETE:** ova ne e test. Ne interesiraat site vasi odgovori i vasata prvicna reakcija na recenicite.

\*

*\*Na primer: Slednata recenica vi pokazuje na koj nacin se ocenuvaat recenicite vo praslalnikot*

Many students in Spain study only before the exam...  
...because they like don't to study during the year.

1 2 3 4 5

Odberete:



Pomors: treba da ja ocenite slednava recenica "*because they like don't to study during the year*" na skala od 1 do 5.



### IUSAJ UGR

You have completed 66% of this survey

0%

100%

### RECENICI NA ANGLISKI

Ovde pocnuva testot. Ve molime ocenete gi slednive recenici:

\*

Nowadays, if you work as a policeman in Spain, you can easily  
get into difficult situations, but...

... I think that it exist many more risky and dangerous jobs.

1 2 3 4 5

Odberete:



\*

In a very important meeting about the world crisis, the world  
leaders were waiting for somebody to give a solution...

...so there talked the president of the United States.

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

Winter finishes around February or March and then the spring begins because the birds start singing...

**...and appear the first flowers that grow in the gardens.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

The new building has a shopping centre and some offices. You can find the shopping centre on the ground floor, ...

**... but on the top floor work the bosses of important companies like Microsoft.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

In 2004 there were some terrible terrorist attacks in Madrid.

So, ...

**... some politicians think that it began a new period in Spanish history.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

The manager of Real Madrid decided that the football match with Real Valladolid was not important...

...so there played only those football players who were very young.

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                                                

□

\*

The Industrial Revolution was a period between the 18th and the 19th century. Almost every aspect of human life was influenced ...

...and came many important changes in the life of people.

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                                                

□

\*

It was a very big conference about medicine. Most talks were in rooms 1, 2 and 3, ...

... but in room 4 spoke a very important doctor from Oxford University.

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                                                

□

\*

Even though we live in a democratic country with plenty of opportunities,...

... I believe that there exist unlucky people who are extremely poor.

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                                                

□



\*

The economic crisis is affecting everybody. A lot of workers are unemployed. The result is...

**... that work only the people who have a stable job.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

In 1666 a small bakery burned in the centre of London by accident...

**...and from this place began a great fire that destroyed the city.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

Yesterday we were at school doing an exam. The teacher told us to be silent...

**...but it talked a boy who complained about the exam questions.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

For a while, it seemed that nobody in the meeting was going to say anything about the corruption in the British Government...

**...However, there spoke a woman with a very strong Irish accent.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:

□

\*

Dictionaries often give an unusual definition of some words.  
 For example, think about the word "cool".  
**... In my dictionary appears a very interesting definition for  
 this word.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

I was at a funeral yesterday. Everybody got very emotional ...  
**...because talked the wife of the man who had died.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

The house was very dirty. All the windows were closed, the  
 rooms were dark....  
**...and from the kitchen came a horrible smell of burning oil.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

There was a basketball competition at school, but John could  
 not participate...  
**...because played only the children who were 10 years old.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

In 1789 France was a country with a lot of poor people who were unhappy, ...

**...so there began a new revolution called "The French Revolution".**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

My American friend, Paul, thinks that in Spain people are very lazy and...

**...that it work only the people who are very ambitious.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

Nowadays, it is very dangerous to walk alone at night in a big city...

**...because in those cities exist many dangerous criminals who could kill you.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

Spain was not a democratic country for many years, but when democracy arrived...

**...there appeared a great variety of new social problems.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

After the Spanish civil war, the country was so poor that there were no toys for children, so...

**...I think that it played only the children of people who were rich.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

In the conference several speakers talked about the economic crisis. They all met later for dinner ...

**...and spoke the president of the Economic Society of America.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

Some historians believe that 1940 is a very important year ...

**...because began a terrible war called the 'Second World War'.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

In the 1970's AIDS was an unknown illness. At the end of the 1980's it was better known...

**...but it came discrimination against people infected by the illness.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:

□

\*A lot of university students have recently complained about the 'Bologna process', but...  
**...some experts say that exist some students who support it.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*  
 When I was at school, there was a special playing area, ...  
**...but in this area played only the boys and girls who behaved well.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*  
 After several hours of discussion about work conditions, everybody thought the meeting had finished...  
**...but it spoke a very angry man who started shouting.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*  
 Nowadays, people think that teachers do not work too much, but the fact is that...  
**... there work only those teachers who are motivated.**

1            2            3            4            5

Odberete:                        

□

\*

Tourists are always interested in visiting the Houses of Parliament in London ...  
**... because in that place talk the most important politicians of the United Kingdom.**

1 2 3 4 5

Odberete:     

□

\*

The economic crisis in the 1970's affected the financial markets first. Then it affected a lot of companies and business, ...  
**... so there came a dramatic increase of 45% in unemployment.**

1 2 3 4 5

Odberete:     

□

\*

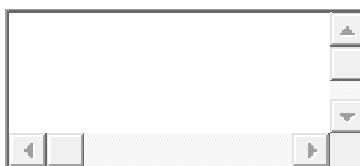
Malaria is one of the most common infectious diseases. In the 1980s people were optimistic...  
**...because it appeared a new medicine that was effective against malaria.**

1 2 3 4 5

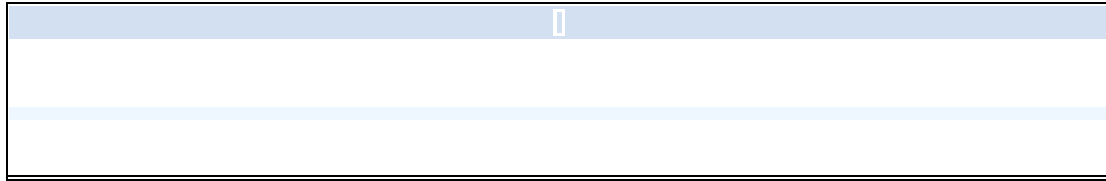
Odberete:     

□

Ve molime, dokolku sakate, napisete nekakov komentar za prasalnikot (nejasnosti, mislenje, problematicni delovi i slicno)



Ova prasanje e izborna



#### 11.1.4 RANDOMIZATION OF SENTENCES IN THE MAIN EXPERIMENTAL TEST

In order to avoid order-of-presentation effects, which are typical in experimental tests in psychology and language acquisition research, the stimuli (sentences) presented to participants in the main experimental test were randomized so as to minimize these effects. We also intended to randomize the order of presentation for *each* participant, but the software used (LimeSurvey) did not allow this.

ORDER OF DESIGN:	ORDER OF PRESENTATION:
1 unac-exist-it	1
2 unac-exist-there	18
3 unac-exist-zero	7
4 unac-exist-pp	24
5 unac-appear-it	9
6 unac-appear-there	26
7 unac-appear-zero	15
8 unac-appear-pp	32
9 unac-begin-it	2
10 unac-begin-there	23
11 unac-begin-zero	12
12 unac-begin-pp	17
13 unac-come-it	30
14 unac-come-there	8
15 unac-come-zero	19
16 unac-come-pp	16
17 unerg-talk-it	27
18 unerg-talk-there	10
19 unerg-talk-zero	21
20 unerg-talk-pp	4
21 unerg-work-it	6
22 unerg-work-there	25
23 unerg-work-zero	31
24 unerg-work-pp	11
25 unerg-play-it	13
26 unerg-play-there	3
27 unerg-play-zero	28
28 unerg-play-pp	29
29 unerg-speak-it	22

30 unerg-speak-there

20

31 unerg-speak-zero

74

32 unerg-speak-pp

5

## 11.2 OPT (OXFORD PLACEMENT TEST)

The Oxford Placement Test was administered to both L1 Spa-L2 Eng and L1 Maced-L2Eng learners in an online format.

# Oxford Placement Test 1

## Grammar Test PART 1

Look at these examples. The correct answer has been marked.

- i. In warm climates people \_\_\_\_\_ sitting outside in the sun. [INSERT SCAN OF ANSWER SHEET]
- a) like      b) likes      c) are liking
- ii. If it is very hot, they sit \_\_\_\_\_ the shade.
- a) at      b) in      c) under

Now the test will begin. Mark the correct answers on the answer sheet.

- Water \_\_\_\_\_ at a temperature of 100°C.  
a) is to boil      b) is boiling      c) boils
- In some countries \_\_\_\_\_ very hot all the time.  
a) there is      b) is      c) it is
- In cold countries people wear thick clothes \_\_\_\_\_ warm.  
a) for keeping      b) to keep      c) for to keep
- In England people are always talking about \_\_\_\_\_.  
a) a weather      b) the weather      c) weather
- In some places \_\_\_\_\_ almost every day.  
a) it rains      b) there rains      c) it raining
- In deserts there isn't \_\_\_\_\_ grass.  
a) the      b) some      c) any



7. Places near the Equator have \_\_\_\_\_ weather even in the cold season.  
a) a warm      b) the warm      c) warm
8. In England \_\_\_\_\_ time of year is usually from December to February.  
a) coldest      b) the coldest      c) colder
9. \_\_\_\_\_ people don't know what it's really like in other countries.  
a) The most      b) Most of      c) Most
10. Very \_\_\_\_\_ people can travel abroad.  
a) less      b) little      c) few
11. Mohammed Ali \_\_\_\_\_ his first world title fight in 1960.  
a) has won      b) won      c) is winning
12. After he \_\_\_\_\_ an Olympic gold medal he became a professional boxer.  
a) had won      b) have won      c) was winning
13. His religious beliefs \_\_\_\_\_ change his name when he became champion.  
a) have made him      b) made him to      c) made him
14. If he \_\_\_\_\_ lost his first fight with Sonny Liston, no one would have been surprised.  
a) has      b) would have      c) had
15. He has travelled a lot \_\_\_\_\_ as a boxer and as a world-famous personality.  
a) both      b) and      c) or
16. He is very well known \_\_\_\_\_ the world.  
a) all in      b) all over      c) in all
17. Many people \_\_\_\_\_ he was the greatest boxer of all time.  
a) is believing      b) are believing      c) believe
18. To be the best \_\_\_\_\_ the world is not easy.  
a) from      b) in      c) of
19. Like any top sportsman Ali \_\_\_\_\_ train very hard.  
a) had to      b) must      c) should
20. Such is his fame that people \_\_\_\_\_ always remember him as a champion.  
a) would      b) will      c) did
21. The history of \_\_\_\_\_ is  
a) aeroplane      b) the aeroplane      c) an aeroplane

22. \_\_\_\_\_ short one. For many centuries men a) quite a b) a quite c) quite
23. \_\_\_\_\_ to fly, but with a) are trying b) try c) had tried
24. \_\_\_\_\_ success. In the 19th century a few people a) little b) few c) a little
25. succeeded \_\_\_\_\_ in balloons. But it wasn't until a) to fly b) in flying c) into flying
26. the beginning of the \_\_\_\_\_ century that anybody a) this b) next c) last
27. \_\_\_\_\_ able to fly in a machine a) were b) is c) was
28. \_\_\_\_\_ was heavier than air, in other words, in a) who b) which c) what
29. \_\_\_\_\_ we now call a 'plane'. The first people to achieve a) who b) which c) what
30. 'powered flight' were the Wright brothers. \_\_\_\_\_ was a) His b) Their c) Theirs  
the machine which was the forerunner of the jumbo jets
31. that are \_\_\_\_\_ common sight today. a) such b) such a c) so
32. They \_\_\_\_\_ hardly have imagined that in 1969, a) could b) should c) couldn't
33. \_\_\_\_\_ more than half a century later, a) not much b) not many c) no much
34. a man \_\_\_\_\_ walking on the moon. a) will be b) had been c) would be
35. Already \_\_\_\_\_ is taking the first steps towards the stars. a) a man b) man c) the man
36. Space satellites have now existed \_\_\_\_\_ around a) since b) during c) for
37. half a century and we are dependent \_\_\_\_\_ them for all a) from b) of c) on
38. kinds of \_\_\_\_\_. Not only a) informations b) information c) an information
39. \_\_\_\_\_ being used for scientific research in a) are they b) they are c) there are
40. space, but also to see what kind of weather \_\_\_\_\_. a) is coming b) comes c) coming
41. By 2008 there \_\_\_\_\_ have been satellites in space for fifty a) would b) must c) will
42. years and the 'space superpowers' will be \_\_\_\_\_ massive a) having b) making c) letting
43. space stations built. When these \_\_\_\_\_ completed a) will be b) are c) will have been
44. it will be the first time \_\_\_\_\_ astronauts will be a) when b) where c) that
45. able to work in space in large numbers. \_\_\_\_\_ all that, a) Apart b) For c) Except
46. in many ways the most remarkable flight \_\_\_\_\_ all was a) of b) above c) at
47. \_\_\_\_\_ of the flying bicycle, which the world saw a) it b) that c) that one
48. on television, \_\_\_\_\_ across the Channel from England to a) flying b) to fly c) fly
49. France, with nothing \_\_\_\_\_ a man to power it. As the a) apart b) but c) than
50. bicycle-flyer said, 'It's the first time \_\_\_\_\_ what hard work a) I realize b) I've realized c) I am realizing  
it is to be a bird!'

## Grammar Test PART 2

51. Many teachers \_\_\_\_\_ their students should learn a foreign language.  
a) say to      b) say      c) tell
52. Learning a second language is not the same \_\_\_\_\_ learning a first language.  
a) as      b) like      c) than
53. It takes \_\_\_\_\_ to learn any language.  
a) long time      b) long      c) a long time
54. It is said that Chinese is perhaps the world's \_\_\_\_\_ language to master.  
a) harder      b) hardest      c) more hard
55. English is quite difficult because of all the exceptions \_\_\_\_\_ have to be learnt.  
a) who      b) which      c) what
56. You can learn the basic structures of a language quite quickly, but only if you \_\_\_\_\_ an effort.  
a) are wanting      b) will to      c) are willing to
57. A lot of people aren't used \_\_\_\_\_ grammar in their own language.  
a) to the study      b) to study      c) to studying
58. Many adult students of English wish they \_\_\_\_\_ their language studies earlier.  
a) would start      b) would have started      c) had started
59. In some countries students have to spend a lot of time working \_\_\_\_\_ their own.  
a) on      b) by      c) in
60. There aren't \_\_\_\_\_ easy ways of learning a foreign language in your own country.  
a) no      b) any      c) some
61. Some people try to improve their English by \_\_\_\_\_ the BBC World Service.  
a) hearing      b) listening      c) listening to
62. \_\_\_\_\_ with a foreign family can be a good way to learn a language.  
a) Live      b) Life      c) Living
63. It's no use \_\_\_\_\_ to learn a language just by studying a dictionary.  
a) to try      b) trying      c) in trying
64. Many students of English \_\_\_\_\_ take tests.  
a) would rather not      b) would rather prefer not      c) would rather not to
65. Some people think it's time we all \_\_\_\_\_ a single international language.  
a) learn      b) should learn      c) learnt

Charles Walker is a teacher at a comprehensive school in Norwich.

66. He \_\_\_\_\_ the staff of the school in 1998 a) has joined b) joined c) joins
67. and \_\_\_\_\_ there ever since. a) has been working b) worked c) works
68. Before \_\_\_\_\_ to Norwich, he taught in Italy and in Wales, and a) move b) to move c) moving
69. before that he \_\_\_\_\_ a student at Cambridge University. So far a) has been b) was c) was being
70. he \_\_\_\_\_ in Norwich for as long as he was in Wales, but he likes a) isn't b) wasn't c) hasn't been
71. the city a lot and \_\_\_\_\_ like to stay there for at least another two a) should b) would c) could
72. years, or, \_\_\_\_\_ he puts it, until his two children a) how b) which c) as
73. \_\_\_\_\_ grown up a bit. He met his wife, Kate, in 1992 a) have b) will have c) will be
74. while he \_\_\_\_\_ abroad for a while, a) was to live b) was living c) had been living
- and they got married in 1996. Their two children, Mark
75. and Susan, \_\_\_\_\_ both born in Norwich. a) are b) were c) have been
76. The Walkers' boy, \_\_\_\_\_ is five, a) who b) which c) he
77. has just started at school, but \_\_\_\_\_ sister a) his b) their c) her
78. \_\_\_\_\_ at home for another couple of years, a) shall stay b) stays c) will be staying
79. because she is nearly two years \_\_\_\_\_ than him. a) younger b) more young c) the younger
80. Charles and Kate Walker \_\_\_\_\_ to live in the country, a) are used b) use c) used
81. but now that they have children, they \_\_\_\_\_ into the city. a) have moved b) move c) moved
82. Charles wanted a house \_\_\_\_\_ the a) next b) near c) close
83. school \_\_\_\_\_ get to work easily. a) in order b) for c) to
84. Unfortunately \_\_\_\_\_ one the two of them really wanted was a) the b) a c) that
85. too expensive, so they \_\_\_\_\_ buy one a bit further away. a) must b) should c) had to
86. By the time the children \_\_\_\_\_ to secondary school, a) go b) will go c) will have gone
87. \_\_\_\_\_ Charles and Kate hope will be in Norwich, a) that b) which c) what
88. the Walkers \_\_\_\_\_ living there for at least fifteen years. a) will have been b) have been c) will be
89. They can't be sure if they \_\_\_\_\_ , a) stay b) do stay c) will stay
90. but if they \_\_\_\_\_ , their friends won't be too surprised. a) don't b) didn't c) won't

**Look at the following examples of question tags in English. The correct form of the tag has been marked.**

- i. He's getting the 9.15 train, \_\_\_\_\_ ?  
a) isn't he b) hasn't he c) wasn't he
- ii. She works in a library, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) isn't she    b) doesn't she    c) doesn't he  
SHEET]

[INSERT SCAN OF ANSWER

iii. Tom didn't tell you, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) hasn't he    b) didn't he    c) did he

iv. Someone's forgotten to switch off the gas, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) didn't one    b) didn't they    c) haven't they

**Now, on the answer sheet, mark the correct question tag in the following 10 items:**

91. John's coming to see you, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) hasn't he    b) wasn't he    c) isn't he

92. It's been a long time since you've seen him, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) hasn't it    b) isn't it    c) haven't you

93. He's due to arrive tomorrow, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) won't he    b) isn't he    c) will he

94. He won't be getting in till about 10.30, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) isn't he    b) is he    c) will he

95. You met him while you were on holiday, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) didn't you    b) weren't you    c) haven't you

96. I think I'm expected to pick him up, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) aren't I    b) don't I    c) are you

97. No doubt you'd rather he stayed in England now, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) didn't you    b) wouldn't you    c) shouldn't you

98. Nobody else has been told he's coming, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) is he    b) has he    c) have they

99. We'd better not stay up too late tonight, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) didn't we    b) have we    c) had we

100. I suppose it's time we called it a day, \_\_\_\_\_ ?

a) didn't we    b) isn't it    c) don't

In the following sections we list the pilot study used to test Macedonian native speakers' sensitivity to SV/VS distribution with unaccusatives and unergatives, as described in section 2.2.3.3.2, page 72. This is followed by the raw data.

### 11.3.1 PILOT STUDY ON MACEDONIAN NATIVES: THE TEST

We will include the test instructions and stimuli followed by their English translation. Understandably, the online version of test contained only the Macedonian stimuli and can be accessed at the following link:

<https://spreadsheets.google.com/spreadsheet/gform?key=tiJgNC795kZwR8bjk5GieA#edit>

#### **Збороред во македонски реченици**

#### **Word order in Macedonian sentences**

ИНСТРУКЦИИ : Почитувани,

Ова е краток експеримент кој истражува кој збороред им звучи поприродно на говорителите на Македонски јазик како мајчин јазик. Подолу има 16 реченици за кои ни треба вашето мислење. Треба да ги прочитате речениците и да одберете еден од двата дадени одговори без да мислите кој одговор е точен. Двете опции се точни но нам ни треба вашето мислење кој одговор ви звучи ПОПРИРОДНО. Пред да започнете со прашалникот Ве молиме впишете ја Вашата емаил адреса и податоци за возраст. По завршувањето на тестот само кликнете на копчето SUBMIT и ние автоматски ќе ги добиеме вашите одговори.

Ви благодариме на времето одвоено за овој експеримент.

INSTRUCTIONS: Dear participants

This is a short experiment studying which word order sounds more natural to native speakers of Macedonian. We have listed 16 sentences below and we need your opinion about them. Please read the sentences and choose one of the two

given answers without thinking which one is correct. Both answers are correct but we need your opinion on which one of them sounds more NATURAL. Before you start doing the questionnaire please write your email address and age information in the designated space. After you finish the test click on the SUBMIT button and we will automatically receive your answers.

Thank you for your time.

### 1. neutral context - unaccusatives / COME

Вчера на факултетот имаше предавања по граматика. Ти присуствуваваше, но Ана неможеше да дојде. Таа ти се јави денес и те праша: "Што се случи вчера на предавањата?" Ти ќе одговориш:

- 1) Нов професор дојде (SV)
- 2) Дојде нов професор (VS)

Yesterday there were lectures on grammar at the faculty. You attended the lectures but Ana was not able to come. She called you today and asked: "What happened yesterday at the lectures"? You reply:

- 1) A new professor came (SV)
- 2) Came a new professor (VS)

### 2. presentational context - unaccusatives / EXIST

Гледаш документарец за некои натприродни суштества во Трансилванија. Доаѓа твојата сестра и прашува: "Постои ли нешто чудно во Трансилванија?" Ти одговараш:

1) вампири постојат (SV)

2) постојат вампири (VS)

You are watching a documentary about supernatural creatures in Transilvania. Your sister comes and asks: "Does anything weird exist in Transilvania?" You answer:

1) vampires exist (SV)

2) exist vampires (VS)

### 3. presentational context – unergatives / WORK

На гости доаѓа твојата пријателка Сања која забележува дека твојата градина е многу убаво средена и прашува: *Кој работеше во градинава?* Ти одговараш:

1) Една сосетка работеше (SV)

2) Работеше еден сосетка (VS)

Your friend Sanya comes to visit you and she makes a comment about your beautifully arranged garden by asking: Who worked in the garden? You answer:

1) A neighbor worked (SV)

2) Worked a neighbor (VS)

### 4. neutral context – unaccusatives / BEGIN

Гледаш вести со семејството и почнувате загрижено да разговарате за некоја вест која штотуку ја слушнавте. Доаѓа твојата мајка и прашува: *"Што се случи"*? Ти одговараш:

1) почна војна (VS)

2) војна почна (SV)



You are watching the news with your family and you start talking worriedly about some news you have just heard. Your mother enters and asks: "What happened?" You answer:

1) began a war (VS)

2) a war began (SV)

### **5. presentational context - unergatives / PLAY**

Твојата ќерка доаѓа дома од училиште и веднаш забележува дека некој си играл со нејзината омилена кукла додека таа не била дома. Веднаш прашува: "Кој си играше со куклата"? Ти одговараш:

1) едно девојче си играше (SV)

2) си играше едно девојче (VS)

Your daughter comes back from school and notices that someone has been playing with her favourite doll while she was not at home. She asks immediately: "Who played with the doll"? You answer:

1) a girl played (SV)

2) played a girl (VS)

### **6. neutral context - unaccusatives / APPEAR**

Гледаш хорор филм со Весна и засвонува нејзиниот телефон. Таа излегуваш од собата и се враќа по завршувањето на разговорот. Во меѓувреме испушти еден дел од филмот и прашува: "Што се случи"? Ти одговараш:

1) се појави дух (VS)

2) дух се појави (SV)

You are watching a horror film with Vesna when her telephone rings. She goes out of the room and she comes

back after she has finished the conversation. She missed one part of the film and asks: "What happened"? You answer:

1) appeared a ghost (VS)

2) a ghost appeared (SV)

### **7. neutral context- unergatives / SPEAK**

Вчера разговараше со твојата пријателка Марта и и кажа дека ќе одиш на некоја прес-конференција. Се видовте денес и таа те праша: "Што се случи вчера на прес-конференцијата?" Ти одговараш:

1) една поп-свезда зборуваше (SV)

2) зборуваше една поп-свезда (VS)

You talked to your friend Marta yesterday and you told her you were going to go at a press conference. Today you saw her and she asked: "What happened at the press conference?" You answer:

1) a pop-star spoke (SV)

2) spoke a pop-star (VS)

### **8. presentational context - unaccusatives / COME**

Ти си на забава со твојата пријателка Тања. Таа оди да си земе пијачка и во меѓувреме на забавата доаѓа некој непознат човек. Тања се враќа, забележува дека некој дошол и прашува: "Кој дојде"? Ти одговараш:

1) еден човек дојде (SV)

2) дојде еден човек (VS)

You are at a party with your friend Tanya. She goes to get a drink and in the meantime there comes an unknown man.

Tanya returns, notices that someone has come and asks: "Who came"? You answer:

1) a man came (SV)

2) came a man (VS)

### **9. neutral context - unaccusatives / EXIST**

Твојата пријателка сака да знае што е актуелно во политичката состојба во Македонија и те прашува: "Што се случува во политиката во Македонија?". Ти одговараш:

1) корупција постои (SV)

2) постои корупција (VS)

Your friend would like to know something more about the political situation in Macedonia and she asks: "What is happening in Macedonian politics?". You reply:

1) corruption exists (SV)

2) exists corruption (VS)

### **10. neutral context - unergatives / CRY**

Синоќа те разбуди едно дете кое почна да плаче на улицата и после тоа неможеше да заспиеш. Ова утро пријателката го забележува твоето ненаспано лице и прашува: "Што се случи"? Ти одговараш:

1) плачеше едно дете (SV)

2) едно дете плачеше (VS)

Last night you were awoken by a child who started crying in the street and you could sleep afterwards. This morning your friend notices your sleepy face and asks: "What happened"? You answer:

1) a child cried (SV)

2) cried a child (VS)

### **11. neutral context - unergatives / WORK**

Гледаш репортажа за тешкиот живот во Индија. Доаѓа твојата мајка и прашува: "Што се случува во фабриките во Индија?"

Ти одговараш:

1) деца работат (SV)

2) работат деца (VS)

You are watching a reportage about the difficult life conditions in India. Your mother comes and asks: "What is happening in the factories in India?" You answer:

1) children work (SV)

2) work children (VS)

### **12. presentational context - unaccusatives / APPEAR**

Додека разговарате со пријателката некој звони на вратата. Одиш да отвориш и се враќаш со изненаден израз на лицето. Пријателката прашува: Кој се појави на вратата? Ти одговараш:

1) еден просјак се појави (SV)

2) се појави еден просјак (VS)

While you are talking with your friend someone rings the bell. You go to open the door and you come back with a surprised look on your face. Your friend asks: "Who appeared at the door"? You answer:

1) a beggar appeared (SV)

2) appeared a beggar (VS)

### **13. neutral context - unergatives / PLAY**

Твојата мајка доаѓа дома без да знае дека претходно сте имале гости кои имаат мало дете. Гледа доста работи оставени на подот и прашува: "Што се случи"? Ти одговараш:

1) едно дете си играше (SV)

2) си играше едно дете (VS)

Your mother comes home without knowing that previously you had guests who have a small child. She sees a lot of things left on the floor and she asks : "What happened"? You answer:

1) A child played (SV)

2) played a child (VS)

### **14. presentational context - unergatives / SPEAK**

**Твојот колега Марко неможеше да присуствува на состанокот за финансиската состојба на фирмата и те прашува: "Кој зборуваше на состанокот?" Ти одговараш:**

1) еден економист зборуваше (SV)

2) зборуваше еден економист (VS)

Your colleague Marko was not able to attend the meeting about the financial situation of the company and he asks. "Who spoke at the meeting?" You answer:

1) an economist spoke (SV)

2) spoke an economist (VS)

### **15. presentational context - unaccusatives / BEGIN**

На една домашна забава забележуваш како повеќето од присутните момци седнуваат пред телевизорот. Ана го збаележува истото и те прашува: "Што мислиш дека почна на телевизија"? Ти одговараш:

1) натпревар почна (SV)

2) почна натпревар (VS)

At a home party you notice how most of the present men suddenly sit in front of the TV. Ana notices the same thing and asks you: "What do you think began on the TV"? You answer:

1) a match began (SV)

2) began a match (VS)

## 16. presentational context – unergatives / CRY

Одиш на кино да изгледаш некој филм. При крај на филмот една жена која седи близу до тебе почна да плаче. По завршувањето на филмот ја среќаваш Ана која исто така го гледала филмот и слушнала како некој плаче. Таа прашува: "Кој плачеше"? Ти одговараш:

1) плачеше една жена (VS)

2) една жена плачеше (SV)

You go to the cinema to watch a film. Towards the end of the film a woman who sits close to you starts to cry. After the end of the film you meet Ana who also watched the film and heard someone crying. She asks: "Who cried"? You answer:

1) cried a woman (VS)

2) a woman cried (SV)

ДОКОЛКУ ИМАТЕ НЕКОЈ КОМЕНТАР ЗА ТЕСТОТ ВЕ МОЛИМЕ ВПИШЕТЕ ГО  
ВО ПРАЗНИТЕ МЕСТА ПОДОЛУ.

ВИ БЛАГОДАРИМЕ ЗА УЧЕСТВОТО.

IF YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ABOUT THE TEST PLEASE WRITE IT IN  
THE EMPTY SPACE BELOW.

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING.

---

### 11.3.2 PILOT STUDY ON MACEDONIAN NATIVES: RAW DATA

This first chart (overleaf) shows the results for the analysis on four verbs per condition.

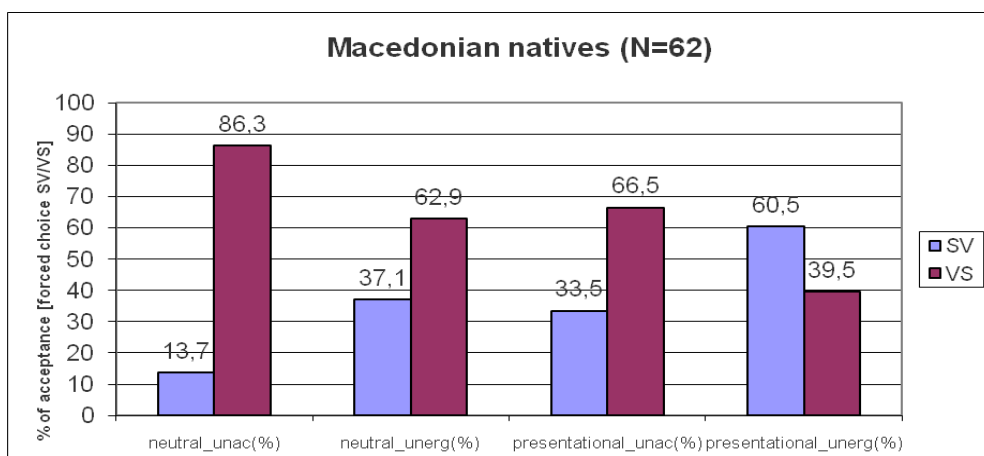




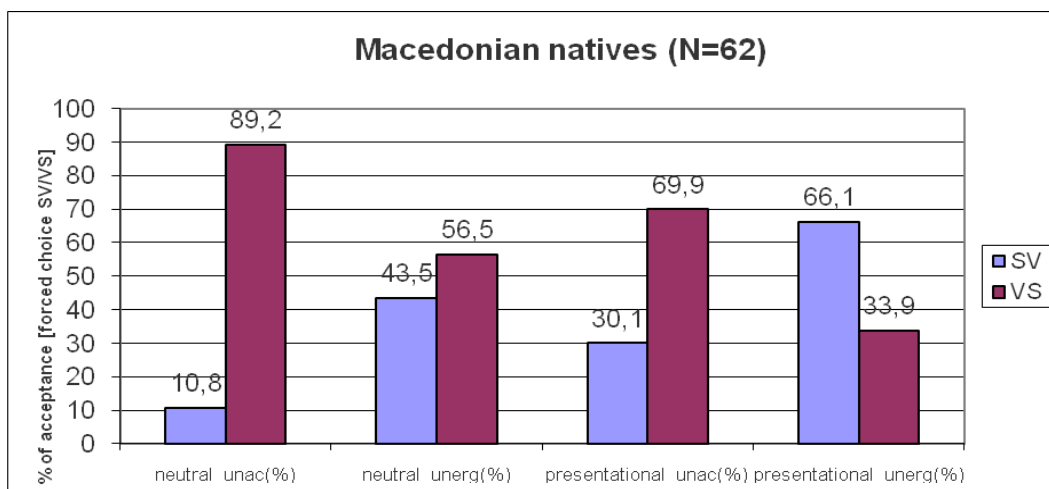


### 11.3.3 PILOT STUDY ON MACEDONIAN NATIVES: OUTPUTS (CHARTS)

The first chart shows the bar chart on the four-verbs-per-condition version.



The second charts shows the bar chart on the three-verbs-per-condition version. Recall that in this version, we analysed 3 verbs per condition: APPEAR (unac) and SPEAK (unerg) have been eliminated as they are the weakest candidates in their condition.



### 11.4 RAW DATA FOR THE MAIN EXPERIMENTAL TEST (FULL TABLES)

In the following subsections we will present the full tables containing all raw data details for each individual participant and for each stimulus. Note that the letter type is small so as to be able to fit each table on a page.



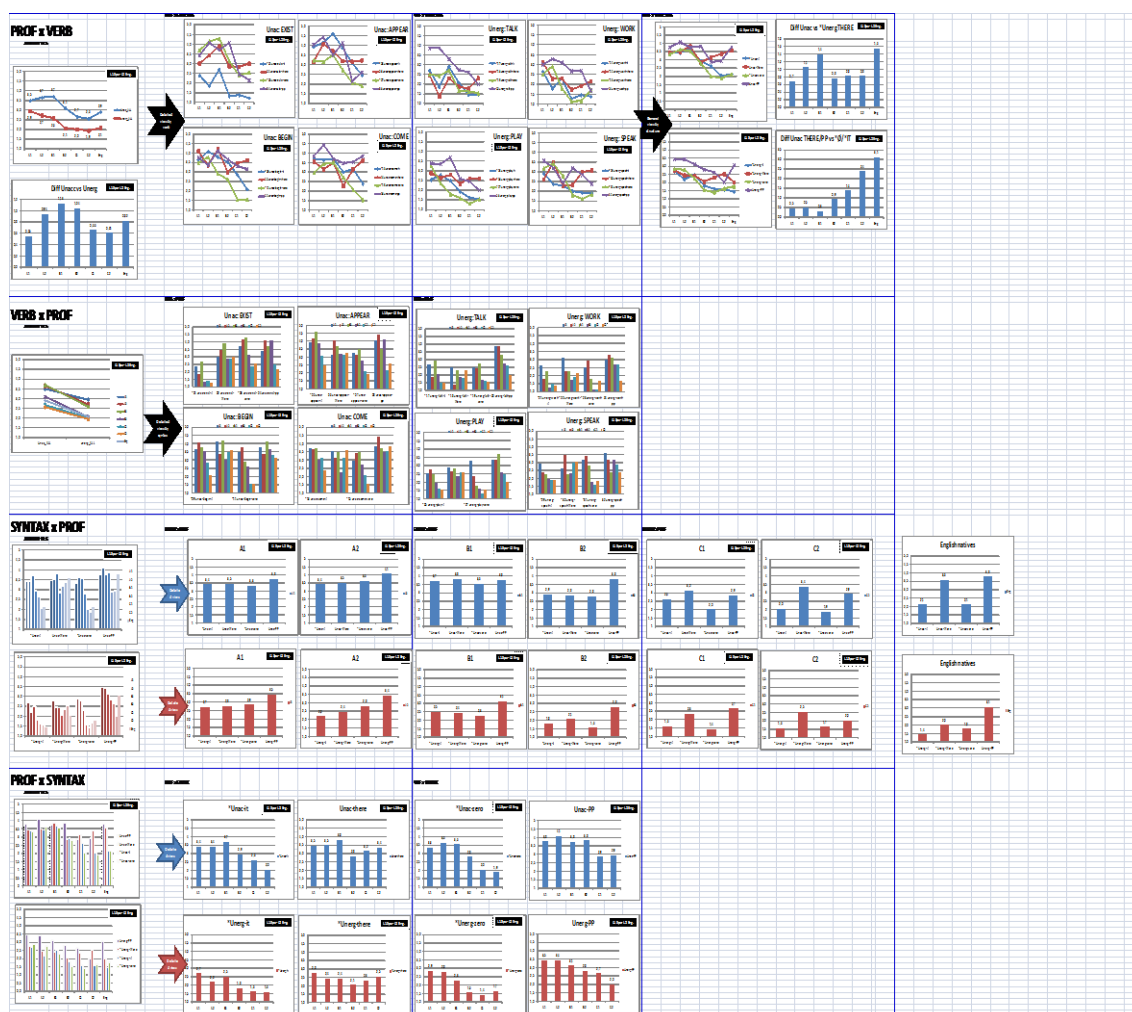




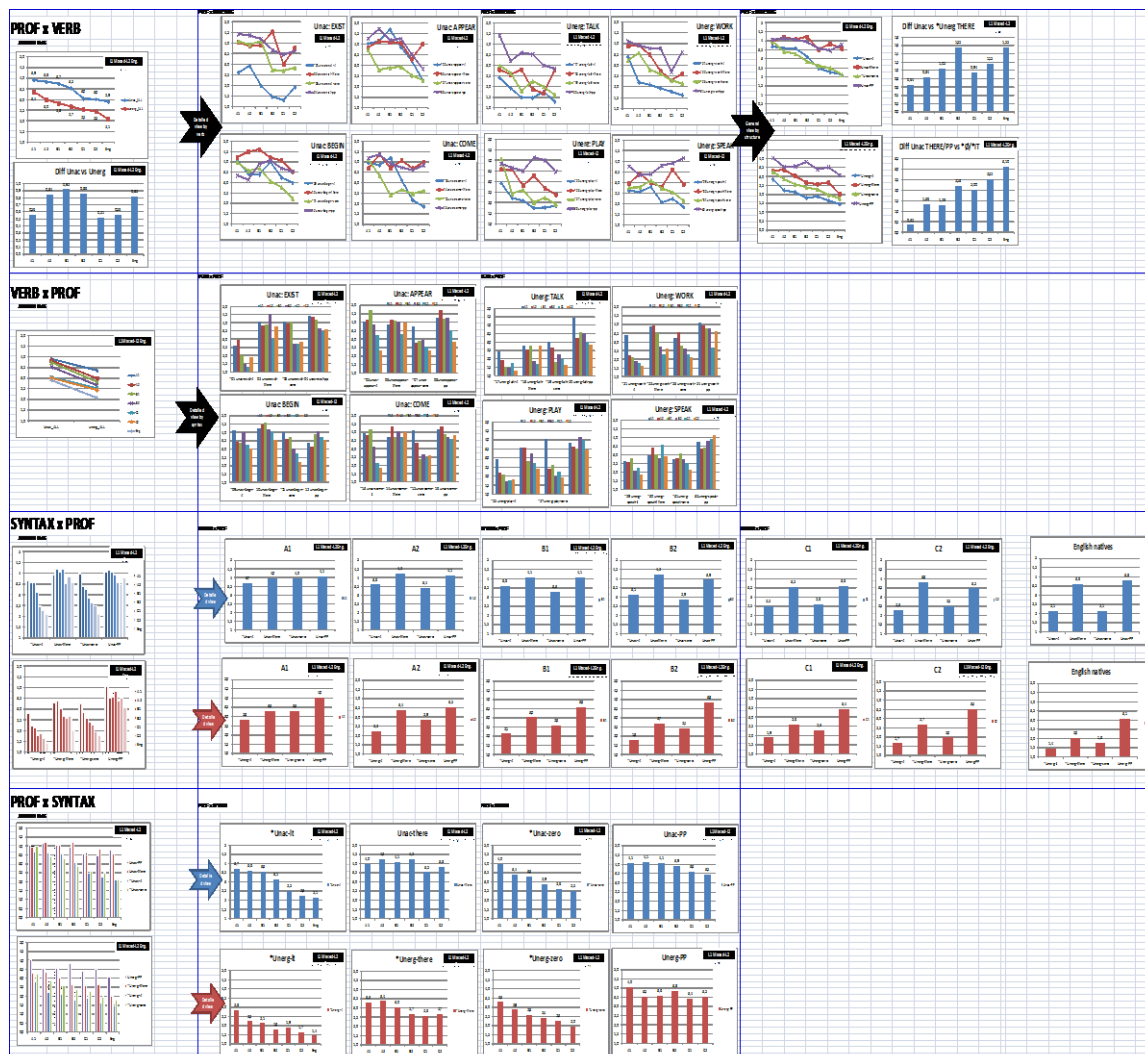
## 11.5 CHARTS FOR THE MAIN EXPERIMENT (CHART OUTPUTS)

In this section we will present all the bar charts and the trend charts from the raw results. A selection of these charts has been used in the Results chapter in this dissertation. Charts will be presented according to L1: L1 Spa-L2 Eng and L1 Maced-L2 Eng. The English natives are shown in each learner chart.

### 11.5.1 CHARTS FOR THE MAIN EXPERIMENT: L1 SPA – L2 ENG LEARNERS



## 11.5.2 CHARTS FOR THE MAIN EXPERIMENT: L1 MACED - L2 ENGLISH LEARNERS



## 11.6 EMAIL: INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

In this appendix we will list the emails that were sent to all speakers inviting them to participate in the main online experiment: SAES for the English natives, EASI for the Spanish natives and IUSAJ for the Macedonian natives.

---

**11.6.1 PARTICIPATE IN SAES (INVITATION FOR ENGLISH NATIVES)**

----- Original Message -----

Subject: Study on the Acquisition of English Syntax (SAES)  
-- online participation

Date: Wed, 20 Jul 2011 18:16:13 +0200

To: [deleted list of recipients]

Dear friends and colleagues:

I have a little favour to ask you. We're conducting a pilot study on how Spanish speakers learn English grammar. For technical reasons, we need a group of English native speakers to participate in the study.

If you are not a native speaker of English, please forward this email to natives who might be interested in participating.

If you are a native speaker of English I would be very grateful if you could spend a few minutes to complete the online questionnaire. It is very simple: you just have to judge whether you like some English sentences or not.

Please, forward this message to other English native speakers who could be interested. Thank you!

LINK:

<http://test.ugr.es/limesurvey/index.php?sid=83934&lang=en>



---

**11.6.2 PARTICIPATE IN EASI (INVITATION FOR L1 SPANISH-L2 ENGLISH LEARNERS)**

----- Original Message -----

Subject: PARTICIPE EN "EASI" (Estudio sobre la Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés)

Date: 12 Feb 14:45:41 +0100

**PARTICIPE EN "EASI" (Estudio sobre la Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés)**

**¿QUÉ ES "EASI"?** "Easi" un proyecto de investigación de la Universidad de Granada y la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid en el que estamos estudiando cómo los hablantes nativos de español aprenden inglés.

**¿CÓMO PARTICIPO?** Participar en el estudio es muy sencillo. El estudio está disponible "online" y usted simplemente tendrá que decidir si unas oraciones le suenan mejor que otras. Puede participar cualquier hablante de español que sepa (o esté aprendiendo) inglés, de cualquier nivel.

**¿QUÉ OBTENGO POR PARTICIPAR?** Una vez concluida la prueba de nivel, usted podrá conocer GRATUITAMENTE su nivel gramatical en inglés (A1, A2, B1, etc). Además, el programa le indicará específicamente qué aspectos gramaticales puede usted mejorar. Finalmente, le enviaremos un

certificado de participación sellado por la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

**PARA PARTICIPAR**, vaya al siguiente enlace:

<http://test.ugr.es/limesurvey/index.php?sid=68427&lang=es>

---

**11.6.3 PARTICIPATE IN IUSAJ (INVITATION FOR L1 MACEDONIAN-L2 ENGLISH LEANERS)**

----- Original Message -----

Asunto: Doznajte go vaseto nivo na angliski jazik i ucestvuvajte vo istrazuvanjeto IUSAJ  
 Desde: asimonovikj@ugr.es  
 Fecha: 2011.02.24 10:07 pm  
 A: eurolingua@eurolingua.com.mk  
 Prioridad: Normal

DALI SAKATE DA GO DOZNAETE VASETO NIVO NA POZNAVANJE NA GRAMATIKA NA ANGLISKIOT JAZIK

ZEMETE UCESTVO VO ISTRAZUVANJETO IUSAJ (Istrazuvanje za Usvojuvanje na Sintaksata na Angliskiot Jazik)

\*\* ¿"STO E IUSAJ"

IUSAJ (Istrazuvanje za Usvojuvanje na Sintaksata na Angliskiot Jazik) e istrazuvacki proekt na Univerzitetot vo Granada i Avtonomniot Univerzitet vo Madrid koj proucuva kako govoritelite na makedonski jazik go usvojuvaat angliskiot jazik.

\*\* ¿KAKO DA UCESTVUVAM?

Ucestvoto e mnogu ednostavno. Istrazuvanjeto e dostapno "onlajn" i vie samo treba da odlucite koja recenica vi zvuci dobro a koja ne. Moze da

ucestvuvaat samo govoritelji na makedonski jazik kako majcin jazik koi ucat ili imaat poznavanje od angliski jazik (bilo koe nivo).

ZABELESKA:ZA DA BIDAT VALIDNI VASITE REZULTATI TREBA DA GI RESITE DVATA  
TESTA I NA SEKOJ TEST DA JA VPISETE ISTATA EMAIL ADRESA.

\*\* ;STO DOBIVAM SO MOETO UCESTVO? Po završuvanje na testot za odreduvanje na nivo na angliskiot jazik ke dobiете informacija za vaseto nivo na angliski jazik (A1, A2, B1 itn.) Dopolnitelno, programata vi ukazuva koi gramaticki aspekti mozete da gi pobobrite. Otkoga ke gi dobiете vasite rezultati ke vi ispratime na email elektronski sertifikat za ucestvo.

\*\* ZA DA UCESTVUVATE prodolzete na sledniov link:

<http://test.ugr.es/limesurvey/index.php?sid=46846&lang=mk>

Dopolnitelno, dokolku mozete slobdno prepratete go ovoj email na vasi poznajnici koi smetate deka bi sakale da go doznaat nivnoto nivo na poznavanje na angliskiot jazik.

Vi blagodaram ucestvoto vo ova istrazuvanje koe e del od mojot magisterski trud

So pocit,

Aleksandra Simonovikj

## 11.7 EMAIL: SEE YOUR RESULTS

In this section we will present the email that was sent to learners stating how they could check their OPT results after participating in the online test. Obviously, there is no such email that was sent to English natives, since they did not participate in the placement test.

---

### 11.7.1 EMAIL SENT TO L1 SPA-L2 ENG LEARNERS: SEE YOUR RESULTS

This email was only sent to Macedonian group due to the fact that sometimes the system would not show the OPT results immediately after the test was completed. The system worked properly for the Spanish participants hence there was not need to send this email.

---

### 11.7.2 EMAIL SENT TO L1 MACED-L2 ENG LEARNERS: SEE YOUR RESULTS

Asunto: IUSAJ rezultati  
 Desde: asimonovikj@ugr.es  
 Fecha: 2011.03.02 3:01 pm  
 A: i.dalas@hotmail.com  
 Prioridad: Normal

Pocituvan,

Dokolku ne gi dobivte rezultatite od testiranje to za IUSAJ (Istrazuvanje za Usvojuvanje na Sintaksata na Angliski Jazik) vi go prakam linkot na koj ke mozete da gi vidite vasite rezultati od QPT (Quick Placement Test) za odreduvanje na nivo na gramatika na angliski jazik.

<http://www.wagsoft.com/cgi-bin/showDiagnostics-gr.cgi?i.dalas%40hotmail.com>

Vi blagodaram,  
 So pocit,

---

### 11.8 EMAIL: PLEASE COMPLETE THE OPT

In this section we will list the emails that were sent to participants who took the first part of the main test (SAES/EASI/IUSAJ) but did not participate in the second part (i.e., the Oxford Placement Test, OPT). This email was used to nudge them so that they did not forget to participate in the OPT.

**11.8.1 EMAIL SENT TO L1 SPA-L2 ENG LEARNERS: PLEASE COMPLETE THE OPT**

----- Original Message -----

Subject: Estudio "EASI" \*\*\*\* falta el Oxford Placement Test

Date: Mon, 29 Nov 2010 18:39:18 +0100

From: Cristóbal Lozano <clozan2@yahoo.com>

Estimado/a participante:

Hemos recibido tus datos del estudio "EASI" (Estudio sobre la Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés) y agradecemos enormemente tu participación.

Para que tus datos sean válidos, hemos de recibir el test de nivel (Oxford Placement Test). Al completar el test, el software te proporcionará tu nivel de inglés (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2). Además, también se te indicará los áreas gramaticales que has de mejorar. Finalmente, te enviaremos también un certificado de participación impreso, firmado y sellado por la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, para hacer constar que has participado en "EASI".

Para hacer el Oxford Placement Test:  
<http://www.wagsoft.com/OPT/OPT-gr.html>

Nota: es imprescindible que introduzcas el mismo email que introdujiste para EASI. Así, podremos enviarte los resultados.

### 11.8.2 EMAIL SENT TO L1 MACED-L2 ENG LEARNERS: PLEASE COMPLETE THE OPT

Asunto: Ve molime resete go testot za odreduvanje na nivo (OPT)  
 Desde: asimonovikj@ugr.es  
 Fecha: 2011.06.24 1:49 pm  
 A: jelenamamuzic@yahoo.com  
 Prioridad: Normal

Pocituvani,

Ve molime resete go testot za odreduvanje na nivo na angliskiot jazik za da go doznaete vasiot stepen na poznavanje na angliskiot jazik i za da mozeme da gi procesirame vasite rezultati za istrazuvanjeto "IUSAJ" (Istrazuvanje za Usvojuvanje na Sintaksata na Angliskiot Jazik)i da vi ispraime sertifikat za ucestvo.

ZABELESKA: neophodno e da ja navedete istata e-mail adresa koja veke ja napisavte vo vovedniot del na prasalnikot "IUSAJ" za da mozeme de gi odredime vasite rezultati.

Za da pocnete so resavanje na Oksford testot za odreduvanje na gramaticko nivo kliknete ovde:  
<http://www.wagsoft.com/OPT/OPT-gr.html>

Vi blagodarime

### 11.9 CERTIFICATE OF PARTICIPATION

In this appendix we will list the email that was sent to learners asking them whether they would like to receive a certificate of participation, plus the actual certificate of participation that was sent to all those speakers that successfully completed both the

online experiment on unaccusatives (SAES/EASI/IUSAJ) and the Oxford Placement Test.

---

**11.9.1 CERTIFICATE OF PARTICIPATION FOR L1 SPA-L2 ENG LEARNERS**

----- Original Message -----

Subject: Estudio "EASI" --- certificado de participación

Date: Mon, 15 Nov 2010 19:27:06 +0100

From: Cristóbal Lozano <clozan2@gmail.com>

Estimado/a participante:

Gracias por haber participado recientemente en el estudio "EASI" (Estudio sobre la Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés).

Si así lo deseas, podrás recibir un certificado de participación impreso y sellado por la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

Si estás interesado, responde a este email y envía los siguientes datos:

Email (el que proporcionaste al hacer el test)

Nombre y apellidos

Dirección postal a donde remitir el certificado impreso

Gracias.

Cristóbal Lozano (Universidad de Granada)

Si deseas conocer más sobre nuestros proyectos de investigación: <http://www.uam.es/woslac>

Amaya Mendikoetxea Pelayo,

## CERTIFICA

Que [NOMBRE Y APELLIDOS] ha participado el [FECHA] en el estudio online “EASI” (*Estudio sobre la Adquisición de la Sintaxis del Inglés*), que se enmarca dentro el proyecto de investigación OPOGRAM (*Opcionalidad y pseudo-opcionalidad en las gramáticas nativas y no nativas: FFI2008-01584/FILO*), dirigido desde la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid en el seno del grupo de investigación WOSLAC ([www.uam.es/woslac](http://www.uam.es/woslac)).

Para lo cual firmo este documento en Madrid a [FECHA].



Fdo: Dra. Amaya Mendikoetxea Pelayo

Departamento de Filología Inglesa (UAM)

Directora del proyecto de investigación

<http://www.uam.es/woslac>



**11.9.2 CERTIFICATE OF PARTICIPATION FOR L1 MACED-L2 ENG LEARNERS**

Asunto: Blagodarnica za ucestvo vo IUSAJ (Istrazuvanje  
za Usvojuvanje na Sintaksata na Angliskiot  
Jazik)  
Desde: asimonovikj@ugr.es  
Fecha: 2011.04.17 8:45 pm  
A: mladenovska1994@yahoo.com  
Prioridad: Normal

Pocituvana,

Vi ja prakam prikacena blagodarnicata za ucestvo vo IUSAJ  
(Istrazuvanje za  
Usvojuvanje na Sintaksata na Angliskiot Jazik).

So pocit,

Aleksandra Simonovikj

# БЛАГОДАРНИЦА ЗА УЧЕСТВО

ВО

## Истражувањето за Усвојување на Синтаксата на АНГЛИСКИОТ Јазик

Почитуван учеснику,

Ви благодариме за вашето учество и за времето кое го одвоивте за истражувањето ИУСАЈ (Истражување за Усвојување на Синтаксата на Англискиот Јазик). Вашите податоци, кои се дел од истражување за усвојување на втор јазик спроведено од Автономниот Универзитет во Мадрид и Универзитетот во Гранада, Шпанија, се чувани со доверливост и ќе бидат употребени за истражувачки цели.

Вашиот придонес кон овој проект е од огромно значење. Благодарение на доброволното учество на луѓе како вас, веќе го имаме првичниот број на податоци потребни за ова истражување.

Доколку сакате да дознаете повеќе информации за истражувачкиот проект посетете ја веб страницата <http://www.uam.es/woslac>.

Со почит,  
Александра Симоновиќ

Студент на постдипломски студии по применета лингвистика  
на Универзитетот во Гранада, Шпанија

под менторство на

Проф. Кристобал Лозано

Prof. Cristóbal Lozano



Предавач по применета лингвистика  
Оддел за англистика  
Универзитет во Гранада, Шпанија

Lecturer in applied linguistics  
Department of English Studies  
Universidad de Granada (Spain)