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The Syntax-Pragmatics Interface: Intransitivity and Word Order in L3 Spanish

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Abstract

Until fairly recently, most researchers assumed that the acquisition of a second language (L2) and of a third (or subsequent) (L3/Ln) language were indistinguishable. This is not the case, as knowledge of two or more previous languages adds complexity to non-native acquisition. This study addresses the issue of crosslinguistic influence between three languages in view of two theories: (a) the L2 will always be the cause of crosslinguistic influence in an L3 (Bardel & Falk, 2012); (b) the determining factor for transfer is typological similarity between the languages in question (Rothman, 2010).

This study focuses on the L3 acquisition of Spanish by speakers whose L1 is Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and L2 is English. A comparison group consisted of learners of L2 Spanish whose L1 is BP. In particular, I examined the acquisition of the choice of word order in Spanish, subject-verb or verb-subject, which depends on two factors: the type of verb (morphosyntax), and the information structure of the sentence (pragmatics), whether focused or unfocused. The problem for learners consists of processing the interface of two linguistic modules: morphosyntax and pragmatics. Interfaces have been found to be difficult in acquisition (Sorace, 2011), adding an additional wrinkle to the problem faced by learners.

The three languages chosen differ in relation to word order: Portuguese distinguishes between verb types, but pragmatics is not a factor; English exhibits fixed subject-verb order; and Spanish takes both verb class and pragmatics into consideration. Because of this, we are able to distinguish between possible influence from English, which predicts rejection of verb-subject order in all circumstances, and typology, which predicts learners using verb class to distinguish word order but not pragmatics.

Participants completed a preference task (Lozano, 2006), a production task, a vocabulary quiz, and a linguistic profile questionnaire. Findings support the hypothesis that typology plays a role in L3 transfer, as learners are able to adjust their interlanguage to accept the inverted order in instances where the L2 is inflexible. However, both L2 and L3 learners also seem to integrate pragmatic constraints in their interlanguage showing that they are on their way to acquiring a Spanish native-like grammar.

Keywords

L3 acquisition, word order, subject-verb alternation, crosslinguistic influence, transfer, syntax-pragmatics interface, Typological Primacy Model, L2 status factor.

Summary for Lay Audience

This study examines the acquisition of Spanish as a third language and whether the second language of a speaker is the main source of influence when learning a third, or whether crosslinguistic influence comes from the language that is typologically similar to the language being acquired. The main participants were native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) who had learned English as a second language and were learning Spanish as a third. A comparison group consisted of speakers of BP who were learning Spanish as a second language.

The objective was to analyze how learners deal with word order alternations in Spanish. While English is a strictly subject-verb word order language, Spanish and BP allow subject-verb inversion. In BP, the factor that determines word order is the type of verb used, while in Spanish both the type of verb and the focus (pragmatics) of the sentence are important. Therefore, if the source of influence in Spanish is BP, the typologically similar language, we expect learners to accept verb-subject order relying mainly on verb class. However, if it is English, we predict that L3 learners will only accept English word order.

Structures in which learners have to process two complex elements, verb class and pragmatics, are particularly difficult because, even though syntactic constraints (verb class) seem to be in place since early stages of the learning process, pragmatics (focus) seems to cause difficulties even at advanced levels.

Participants completed a written task, a production task, a vocabulary quiz, and a linguistic profile questionnaire. Few instances of outright rejection of the verb-subject order were found, which lends support to the prediction that the source of transfer is the typologically similar language, and not necessarily the second or more recently acquired one. However, learners were also able to acquire pragmatic constraints in L3 Spanish, which shows the importance of input. The level of proficiency also seems to play an important role in the way learners accept and produce sentences with inverted order. This study therefore contributes to the issues related to L3 acquisition and also to our understanding of the acquisition of complex interface phenomena.

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Chapter 1

1 Introduction

Speaking a non-native language is one of the most fascinating, valuable, and useful skills anyone can possess. Learning it, however, is not always a straightforward task. Knowing a second language implies the ability to process different language areas or modules such as syntax, morphology, semantics, or pragmatics (Slabakova & Garcia Mayo, 2013, 2015; White, 2011). When two of these linguistic modules interface, as they often do, the acquisition of the structures located at this overlap is anticipated to be difficult. This is the idea proposed by the Interface Hypothesis (Sorace, 2011), which predicts that language structures that involve an interface between two modules will probably not be acquired completely. This is based on the numerous accounts of adult learners who fail to reach native-like competence in a second language, even at very advanced levels of proficiency. Empirical evidence shows that the acquisitional pattern followed by L2 learners seems to find common ground in the fact that they display divergence from target language norms as well as optionality in their linguistic choices regarding the knowledge of properties that overlap between two modules; that is, properties at an interface.

The interface that concerns us in this dissertation is the one between morphosyntax and pragmatics. That is, the interface that deals with syntactic phenomena that are dependent on pragmatic factors. These factors can be numerous, as pragmatics is a term frequently used in many different ways in the literature. In a broad sense, pragmatics includes any

impact that the context has on what is conveyed in speaking. In a more restricted sense, it includes only the impact of narrow context. By considering this, this dissertation will forgo the use of the broader sense of the term to adopt, instead, a more restricted one. Pragmatics, then, will be used here to refer to information structure, which pertains to the way in which information is organized, or packaged, in discourse in different languages. In other words, information structure refers to the manner in which the informational content of a proposition is presented, and it is inherently pragmatic, as said order depends on prior linguistic context in discourse (Ward et al., 2017). In Spanish, new information tends to appear after old information thus creating different word orders depending on focus. In English, new information tends to rely less on word order and more on phonological patterns such as stress and intonation. That being said, the general tendency to place new information after old information may not depend solely on prior linguistic or syntactic material, but also on something worldly like speakers' prior beliefs or expectations about the usual state of affairs. We are, however, particularly interested in how previous linguistic context affects word order. That is, how pragmatic constraints that pertain to focus marking influence the structure of a sentence. Therefore, for all intents and purposes in this dissertation, the term pragmatics should be understood as referring specifically to focus constraints which impact information structure.

The syntax-pragmatics interface is problematic for learners because, in the course of language learning, pragmatic constraints take longer to be in place than syntactic ones (Lozano, 2006), and this results in learners displaying optionality, even at advanced levels. Structures located at the interface between syntax and pragmatics include, among other linguistic phenomena, the placement of the subject after the verb in languages like

Spanish or Portuguese. With this in mind, this dissertation examines word order alternations, namely, post-verbal subjects in Spanish as a third language. In light of what has been said here about interfaces, it is essential to emphasize that word order is not only constrained by morphosyntactic properties but also by pragmatic ones. This characteristic predicts that it will be difficult to master, and it also makes this linguistic phenomenon a productive one to be studied within the field of third language acquisition (TLA).

As this is a dissertation about third language acquisition, it is important to highlight that I adhere to the idea that TLA is an independent field of study with specific predictions for language learning. The process of learning a third language should be regarded as different, in some ways, from the process of learning a second language, as L3 learners start their journey with not only one but two linguistic systems in place. Moreover, because multilingual speakers possess more than two distinct languages in their repertoire, they have access to a vast array of linguistic resources to be used during online communication. Researchers agree that three or more different languages interacting in the mind of the speaker is a process that exhibits intricate factors and yields complex effects that are not observable in the acquisition of just two languages. Therefore, most research in the field of TLA has aimed at examining these factors and effects as instantiated in the interplay among the first language (L1), the second language (L2), and the third language (L3), as well as at identifying the key determinant of the source of transfer (Bardel & Falk, 2007, 2012; Berkes & Flynn, 2012; Falk & Bardel, 2010; Rothman, 2010b; Slabakova, 2017; Westergaard et al., 2017; Williams & Hammarberg, 1998; among others).

This transfer, commonly referred to as crosslinguistic influence[1], is the term used in language acquisition theory to refer to the notion of "the learner borrowing elements from a source language to construct the target grammar" (Flynn & Berkes, 2017, p. 36). Transfer is addressed by different studies whose goal is to determine, in a principled way, which of the previously learned languages, the L1, the L2, or even both, is the primary source of transfer to L3.

Several models have been proposed for the field of TLA in recent years. These models have informed researchers and scholars and have had their predictions put to the test through varied experimental studies. For the present study, two of these models will be considered: The Typological Primacy Model (TPM) proposed by Rothman (2010, 2015) and the L2 status factor proposed by Bardel and Falk (2007, 2012). Broadly speaking, the former maintains that linguistic typology is the main factor motivating L3 transfer, and the latter insists that the second language will always be predominant. Although they both claim that one or the other has precedence in the case of direct competition, they also entertain the possibility that neither typological distance nor the L2 are the sole explanation for transfer at the initial state. Additionally, they both acknowledge the possibility of non-facilitative transfer taking place in the early stages of L3 acquisition, which is a perspective that is shared by other more recent models such as the Linguistic

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[1] Transfer and crosslinguistic influence both refer to previously acquired languages affecting third language acquisition. Although this is the broad sense that I choose to adopt here, I would nevertheless like to mention the distinction between transfer and crosslinguistic influence proposed by Rothman et al. (2019, as cited in Westergaard, 2019). In this distinction, transfer refers to the copying of grammatical representations, and crosslinguistic influence refers to temporary processing effects. For the purpose of this dissertation, and because it is not my goal to deepen into this distinction, both terms will be used interchangeably from now on.

Proximity Model (Westergaard et al., 2017), and the Scalpel Model (Slabakova, 2017), but a different perspective from that embraced by the Cumulative Enhancement Model (Flynn et al., 2004), which claims that, essentially, transfer has to be facilitative or else it will not occur.

As explained before, the interface hypothesis was developed to account for linguistic phenomena in second languages, and although difficulties caused by interfaces have been widely documented in L2 acquisition, more research about the role of interfaces in L3 acquisition is needed. In order to contribute to this, this study proposes to examine the syntax-pragmatics interface in L3 Spanish learners with a typologically similar L1 (Portuguese) and a distant L2 (English) by analyzing word order alternations in declarative sentences. As will be explained later, word order, more specifically subject-verb alternation, is a linguistic property which is syntactically represented and pragmatically motivated in L3 Spanish.

With reference to this phenomenon, the three languages included in this dissertation share similarities and differences. Portuguese, for instance, is known to allow declarative sentences with verb-subject (VS) order motivated by verb class, although the subject-verb (SV) order is usually preferred. Verb class is determined by morphological, syntactic, and semantic factors, such as the argument structure of the verb. This has specific effects for intransitive verbs, namely unergative verbs, that take an agent subject, and unaccusative verbs, which subcategorize for a theme, as well as for word order in declarative sentences. In Spanish, verb class distinctions affect word order, but they are not the only conditioning factor. Focus theory dictates that new, or focused, information is placed in sentence-final position and focused subjects are placed after the verb therefore allowing

VS constructions. In English, as previously mentioned, information structure relies more on phonological patterns, and the preferred order is usually SV, due to the relative inflexibility of the English language with respect to word order. It should be noted that there are contexts in English where the order VS is possible: bare predicate-nominal structures ('Sure dances well, your husband'), locative inversions ('On the bench were two girls'), or written speech reports ('Tom lives here, said the driver'), for instance. These potential exceptions, however, are not confounding factors in the present study, as they are found mostly in written or literary speech reports and not in every day English and, therefore, are usually outside of learners' awareness. This being the case, referring to English as a strict SVO language in this thesis means that this applies to our specific situation; that of the everyday English that learners are usually exposed to and not to these uncommonly found exceptions.

Considering the three languages involved here, the two models taken as theoretical basis in this study provide two specific predictions for transfer in L3 Spanish: On the one hand, crosslinguistic influence should come from the second language (Bardel & Falk, 2007, 2012), that is from L2 English and, on the other, it is expected to come from the previously learned language that is typologically similar to the target language (Rothman, 2010b, 2015), that is, L1 Portuguese. On that account, we propose to investigate the role of transfer in L3 Spanish in order to determine whether transfer comes from the typologically similar language, in this case Portuguese, or if, on the contrary, it comes from the second language that was learned, namely, English.

As the three languages involved in this study –Portuguese, English, and Spanish– are spoken in many different countries around the world and expressed in many different

ways, caution must be taken as to what specific variety of each language we refer to when we mention it. Peninsular varieties of Spanish and Portuguese differ considerably from those spoken in the Americas in several linguistic aspects. Besides the evident phonological variation instantiated in European varieties when compared to American ones, morphosyntactic and lexical variation can also be attested across the board. This study was conducted with native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese (BP), native speakers of non-Peninsular varieties of Spanish, and participants who learned Spanish as their L2 or L3 in the Americas. Accordingly, every mention of the Portuguese language henceforth in this dissertation will refer to Brazilian Portuguese, and every mention to the Spanish language will refer to Latin American Spanish.

Having introduced all the theoretical and linguistic elements that are involved in this dissertation, we now turn to the motivation behind this study.

1.1 Rationale

This study is important because the syntax-pragmatics interface provides a crucial basis to examine how learners' choices are constrained by morphosyntactic elements and motivated by pragmatic factors. It is also relevant for L3 acquisition because it focuses on the role of crosslinguistic influence, which has been acknowledged as a phenomenon of bilingualism (Bardel & Falk, 2012; Rothman, 2010b; Flynn et al., 2004), and can now be extended to multilingualism. In the context of our specific situation, L1 Portuguese speakers rejecting VS constructions in L3 Spanish would mean that L2 English is the source of crosslinguistic influence; however, accepting VS constructions would mean that the L2 is not impacting linguistic behavior. The novelty of this study lies in

interpreting these results on the basis of the order of acquisition of these two languages, which will shed light on the role of interfaces in third language acquisition.

This study compares the L2 and L3 acquisition of the same language, namely Spanish, while maintaining the L1, Portuguese, constant. This is an effective alternative to using mirror-image approaches when the goal is to determine if the order of acquisition is, in fact, the determining factor for transfer and, in this way, provide evidence against the possibility of other variables potentially affecting the process (see Puig-Mayenco et al., 2020).

To my knowledge, no studies to this date had been conducted with the specific characteristics proposed here; therefore, this study fills an important knowledge gap in the field of L3 acquisition. Findings are discussed in light of the Interface Hypothesis, with reference to the TPM and the L2 status factor models. The results obtained serve to clarify some of the different variables that are at play in the development of pragmatic knowledge and how it interfaces with syntactic knowledge in the interpretation and production of L3 Spanish. On that basis, this study contributes to further our understanding of language phenomena, with the goal of promoting the betterment of our teaching practices and our field in general.

1.2 Research Questions

Having briefly described the phenomena at hand, three research questions have been established for the present study.

(1) Given that information structure, or pragmatics, does not, for the most part, have an effect on word order in languages like Portuguese or English, what role does it have in L3 speakers' acceptance of VS word orders with focused subjects and unergative verbs?

(2) Are L3 Spanish learners able to recognize the effect of verb type on word order in accepting and producing VS orders with unaccusative verbs?

(3) What is the role of proficiency in the acceptance and production of both syntactic and pragmatic word order effects in L3 and L2 Spanish?

Specific hypotheses for these research questions will be presented in section 2.6, after the review of the literature.

1.3 Organization of this Dissertation

This dissertation is organized by chapters, as follows:

Chapter 2 presents a comprehensive review of the literature, starting with what is known with regard to the field of second language acquisition and the different theories and accounts that have been proposed to examine the linguistic phenomena under this domain. Then, the chapter focuses on the field of most interest for the present study, namely, the field of third language acquisition. The most influential models and research studies are presented. Regarding the property under investigation, the chapter explains the syntactic background of subject-verb movement and the theories that explain intransitivity in Spanish. It provides a characterization of both unergative and unaccusative verbs and a presentation of information structure theory based on the notion

of focus. Finally, it reviews the research questions proposed for the dissertation and offers several hypotheses.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of the methodology used in the study, as well as information about the participants, the data collection instruments used, and the data analysis process.

Chapter 4 presents the results obtained from six specific groups of participants, that is, the monolingual speakers of Portuguese, the native Spanish controls, the L2 intermediate, the L2 advanced, the L3 intermediate, and the L3 advanced groups. Results are presented for both a preference task and a production task.

Chapter 5 focuses on the discussion of the results according to the research questions and the hypotheses proposed. Findings of the study are analyzed in light of two models: The Typological Primacy Model and the L2 status factor, taking into account their specific predictions for L3 transfer.

Chapter 6 is the final chapter of the dissertation and the one that serves as a bridge between theoretical linguistic research and the language teaching world. It presents pedagogical implications and applications for the classroom and proposes ideas regarding the way in which we approach linguistic properties which are subject to the syntax-pragmatics interface in classes and textbooks. More specifically, ideas on the role of input, and the way in which learners process it and teachers deliver it, are addressed. The chapter concludes by acknowledging the limitations of the study and offering suggestions for future research, as well as providing some final remarks.

Chapter 2

2 Theoretical Approaches to Non-Primary Language Acquisition

Since its modern beginnings, the field of second language acquisition grouped together the acquisition of second, third, and subsequent languages. More recently, extensive research conducted from different perspectives has led researchers to conclude that there are crucial differences between second (L2) and third (L3) language acquisition, and that the knowledge of a previous non-native language presents an added variable that can significantly affect the acquisition of a third language (Jaensch, 2013). Third language acquisition may involve processes which are very similar to those involved in second language acquisition (SLA), but it has been shown that additional languages create complex relationships that may alter said processes (Cenoz, 2001). Hence, in order to be able to fully understand the human capacity for language, it is necessary to go beyond the comparison of L1 and L2 acquisition and to investigate the role of first and second languages in successive language learning. By doing so, we can determine whether the L1 alone can influence the learning of a second or third language or if, on the contrary, it is a cumulative process where properties of all previously learned languages have the potential to determine ensuing patterns (Flynn, 2009, p. 71).

Inasmuch as third language theories are inevitably based on second language acquisition principles, it is necessary to start by reviewing some of the theories that have informed

the field of second language acquisition before moving on to the field of third language acquisition

2.1 The Role of UG in SLA

Not all linguists and researchers agree with the idea that Universal Grammar is available during the acquisition of a second language (see Chomsky, 1965, 1981 for a comprehensive review of UG). There are different perspectives on this topic that range from defending the notion that UG is fully accessible in SLA to arguing that it does not play a role at all.

Ellis (2003) and Paradis (1994, 2004, 2009), for instance, share the view that UG, if it is defined as a set of innate universal principles, is irrelevant to L2 acquisition. However, they also both defend the position that L1 and L2 acquisition differ in essential ways. Paradis distinguishes between declarative and procedural memory and states that procedural memory is almost never accessible in SLA. Based on the idea that native and non-native languages are cognitively different, Paradis argues for a neurolinguistic approach according to which implicit and explicit memory rely on different cerebral systems, namely, the declarative and the procedural. Paradis emphasizes that these two systems are independent from each other, and that they do not interact. This theory, which came to be known as the D/P model (see Ullman, 2001), has served as the basis for at least one of the theories of third language acquisition that will be reviewed in this dissertation, namely, the L2 status factor (see section 2.3.2).

From a generativist perspective, that is, the theory according to which UG plays a significant role in first language acquisition, three positions have emerged regarding its

role in second language acquisition: deficit accounts, partial deficit accounts, and no-deficit accounts. A brief description of each is presented here.

2.1.1 Deficit Accounts

Supporting deficit accounts, some scholars argue that access to UG disappears after a certain age or after the primary language is in place and, therefore, adult L2 learners must rely on a very different developmental process from that of their L1 (Bley-Vroman, 1989, 2009; Meisel, 1997, 2011). Bley-Vroman proposed the Fundamental Difference Hypothesis, which states that the process involved in the acquisition of a second language is radically different from the process involved in the acquisition of a first language. This being the case, learners will have to resort to general problem-solving skills to learn a second language, and they will never acquire the mental grammar of a native speaker. This is also the position taken by Meisel who argues that "the underlying knowledge in L1 and L2 acquisition is substantially different in nature" (1997, p. 257), as evidenced not only by the variability that L2 learning exhibits when compared to L1 development, which can be seen in almost all L2 learners and languages, but also by the types of errors that learners make.

2.1.2 Partial Deficit Accounts

Regarding partial deficit accounts, scholars who support this approach do not assume that L1 and L2 acquisition processes are completely different (Hawkins, 2009; Hawkins & Chan, 1997; Hawkins & Franceschina, 2004; Liceras et al., 2000; Tsimpli, 2014; Tsimpli & Dimitrakopoulou, 2007). For these researchers, UG may be available, but only through the L1. As a consequence, in the process of acquiring a second language, learners are

always constrained by their first language(s). This means that those features in the L2 that are substantially different from those instantiated in the L1 cannot be changed. Similarly, features in the L2 which are not present in the L1 cannot be acquired in SLA. For example, Hawkins and Franceschina (2004) argue that, given that English does not include the feature gender, English learners of L2 French or Spanish cannot acquire it. Their L2 grammar of French will be a UG constrained grammar, but it will not include gender and therefore gender has to be learned, probably piece by piece.

2.1.3 No-Deficit Accounts

In contrast to the above positions, some scholars (Belikova & White, 2009; Bruhn de Garavito, 2017; Hopp, 2010, 2013; White, 2007; among others) argue that L2 grammars are not fundamentally different from L1 grammars, and that it is possible to acquire a second language that is native-like. In particular, the Full Transfer/Full Access hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1994, 1996; Schwartz & Eubank, 1996) states that the initial state (a fundamental concept in both L2 and L3 acquisition) of the L2 is the linguistic structure of the L1; that is, full transfer is the norm. However, access to UG allows learners to restructure this transferred initial grammar in response to the input, thus approximating the L2 grammar. It is possible that the properties of the input received may lead to misanalysis, but in principle, there is no reason why an L2 grammar should not be indistinguishable from an L1 grammar.

In the 80s and 90s, L2 researchers pursued the idea that acquisition consisted of the resetting of overarching parameters. However, the minimalist program (Chomsky, 1995) introduced in the late nineties led to a reconsideration of these parameters, given that it

was hypothesized that differences between languages resided in the lexicon, which includes not only the words of the language but also functional categories and features such as tense, aspect, gender, etc. Lardiere (2009) discusses the role of formal features in SLA and the way in which L2 learners need to determine how to assemble and reassemble these features from their L1 into their L2 given the fact that this configuration will differ in both languages. Lardiere argues that L2 learners are required to "reconfigure or remap features from the way these are represented in the L1 into new formal configurations on possibly quite different types of lexical items in the L2" (2009, p. 175). For example, although both English and Spanish include definite articles, both languages differ in that Spanish articles do not include a feature for specificity, allowing them to appear in determiner phrases in which the interpretation is generic. In English, however, definite articles are not usually employed when the reference is generic. As a consequence, although at first sight the English phrase 'the tigers' and the Spanish one *'los tigres'* appear almost identical, the Spanish phrase may refer to a specific group of tigers or to tigers in general, unlike the English phrase (Cuza et al., 2014; Ionin et al., 2013), which more readily refers to a specific group of tigers.

As we have seen, the perspectives and positions presented above have shaped the field of second language acquisition, as several theories, accounts, and hypotheses have been proposed to explain most linguistic phenomena related to SLA. We will now turn to the Interface Hypothesis (Sorace, 2011), which contributes to the theoretical approach taken in this thesis, as will be explained below.

2.2 Interfaces and Second Language Acquisition

Interfaces are, by definition, "spaces where mapping occurs between the various components of grammar or between grammar and other cognitive domains" (Slabakova & García Mayo, 2015, p. 201), and are an area of particular vulnerability in different types of acquisition. The interface hypothesis (IH), developed for L2 acquisition and proposed by Sorace (2011), among others, is one of several attempts to explain why even advanced learners of a language fail to reach native-like performance. It states that whenever there is a language structure that involves an interface between an internal module, such as syntax, and an external one, such as pragmatics, there is a processing load that triggers optionality in the production of these structures. Furthermore, L2 pragmatic constraints seem to take longer to be in place than syntactic ones, which makes structures in that interface less likely to be acquired completely.

Originally, the interface hypothesis was proposed for three bilingual domains: bilingual L1 acquisition (Hulk & Müller, 2000), L2 acquisition, and L1 attrition (Sorace, 2011). Although it has proved fruitful in several areas, it has been criticized for being too broad and vague because of two main aspects: on the one hand, it does not specify which structures do not require interfaces, and this is problematic because "all structures interface with something" (Sorace, 2011, p. 25); on the other hand, it fails to recognize the developmental differences that exist between interfaces and the fact that they are not all problematic in the same way. Furthermore, the Interface Hypothesis, as proposed by Sorace and colleagues, applies to bilingual speakers and L2 speakers who are almost native-like but seems to exclude L2 learners in the developmental stage (White, 2011). Sorace argues that the IH "is not about intermediate stages of L2 development" (Sorace,

2011, p. 26); however, in opposition to this point of view, White (2011), Lardiere (2011), and Slabakova and García Mayo (2015) claim that L2 learners who are in initial or intermediate stages of development may also encounter difficulties with interfaces.

Difficulties such as optionality in the grammar arise, for instance, when speakers are faced with the task of integrating and coordinating syntactic and contextual information during online communication. Contextual information is accounted for by pragmatics, which is concerned with the relationship between the meaning of oral and written discourse and the context in which said discourse occurs. Pragmatics, in itself, is not challenging for language learners; however, it is the incorporation of contextual information into syntactic knowledge which has been shown to be problematic for non-native speakers. Constructions that are constrained by both syntactic properties and properties that pertain to pragmatics are said to take longer to be learned. Examples of these constructions at the syntax-pragmatics interface are: the use of overt and null subject pronouns and the placement of the subject after the verb in languages like Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian, as will be discussed now.

2.2.1 Overt and Null Subject Pronouns

As is well known, and simplifying somewhat, (see Camacho, 2018) the Null-Subject Parameter (NSP) (Chomsky, 1981) divides languages into those that allow a subject pronoun to go unpronounced (e.g., Spanish, Italian, Arabic, Japanese) and languages in which subject pronouns must be explicitly produced (e.g., English, German). In languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, or Japanese having a null subject is possible since interpretable features are encoded in verbal morphology. That is to say, the

inflection of the verb contains all the information that language users need in order to make sense of notions such as person, number, or tense. Take the Spanish utterance *'comemos'*, for instance. Not only does it include information about the action (e.g., *comer* 'to eat'), it also includes information about the person (e.g., *nosotros* 'we'), and about the tense (e.g., *presente* 'present'). This is possible due to the rich morphological inflection of the verb that tells speakers that the suffix *–emos*, for verbs whose infinitive form ends in *–er*, refers to the first-person plural in the simple present tense. Consequently, placing an explicit subject before the verb is not necessary for the utterance to be understood by speakers, and therefore, the pronoun is usually dropped.

The general agreement among scholars is that learners come to know that some languages license null subjects, and that they acquire the syntax component of the pro-drop parameter easily and early on in the process. Nevertheless, it is also argued that the pragmatic constraints of null subjects take much longer to be acquired (Sorace & Filiaci, 2006), and this is evidenced in the way learners use an overt subject in situations where a null subject would be pragmatically expected.

Studies about the use of overt and null subject pronouns have involved different languages and language combinations such as Italian (Belletti et al., 2007; Sorace & Filiaci, 2006), Italian and English (Tsimpli et al., 2004), Italian, English, and Spanish (Sorace et al., 2009), Spanish and Greek (Margaza & Bel, 2006), and Greek and Russian (Tsimpli & Sorace, 2006), among others. In general, these studies have shown divergent results among groups of native speakers and L2 learners thus confirming the complexity of the null-subject parameter.

The complexity of the null-subject parameter has also been evidenced by Sorace (2011) who has conducted most of her research with pro-drop languages and argues that the pragmatic interpretation of null subjects can be impaired even when learners have acquired the syntactic constraints of the pro-drop parameter. That is to say, the syntactic component of the interface phenomenon, which is learning that subjects can be omitted in a language, is developed much before the pragmatics component, which is grasping the idea of when those subjects can, in fact, be omitted. As a case in point, in her study about the use of pronominal subjects in English, Spanish, and Italian (Sorace et al., 2009), two groups of bilingual children who spoke either English and Italian or Spanish and Italian were compared. For these combinations of languages, both Italian and Spanish traditionally accept null subjects, but English does not[2]. By conducting elicited acceptability judgment experiments, the researchers investigated the children's intuitions in the acceptance of pronominal subject forms in a specific discourse-pragmatics condition (topic shift). Findings show that participants only chose or accepted sentences with an overt subject pronoun in English and rejected all declarative sentences without a subject. Additionally, they also accepted pragmatically inappropriate overt subject pronouns in Italian.

Thus, in general terms, when it comes to interfaces, especially the syntax-pragmatics interface and pro-drop languages, learners often find themselves arbitrarily omitting subjects that should be overtly expressed or accepting subjects that should be omitted, and this, undoubtedly, results in their learning being hampered.

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[2] Nevertheless, consider imperatives like 'Buy some milk' or sub-sentential speech like 'Smells delicious!', which both lack pronounced subjects.

2.2.2 Post-verbal Subjects

The second construction that is subject to the syntax-pragmatics interface is post-verbal subjects. Spanish syntax allows for subjects to be placed after verbs thus creating verb-subject (VS) constructions, as in examples (1) and (2).

(1) *murió el actor* (VS)
died the actor
'the actor died'

(2) *llamaron mis primos* (VS)
called my cousins
'my cousins called'

This post-verbal sentence order, which contrasts with the much stricter SV order of the English language, is in part licensed in Spanish by information structure, which dictates the status of new and old information within a sentence and incorporates the idea of focus. Focus in Spanish, and how it determines sentence structure, is the basis of this dissertation and will be addressed in section 2.5. For now, it suffices to mention that according to presentational focus[3], the constituent yielding new information in the sentence should be given main notoriety. On that premise, as noted earlier, focus in Spanish is conventionally expressed by placing new information in sentence-final position. As a result, a focused constituent such as the subject of a declarative sentence can appear after the verb, especially if said verb is intransitive. Postposing a subject in a declarative sentence is a linguistic phenomenon that is constrained by syntax as well as

[3] Presentational focus, as opposed to contrastive focus, is the one of particular interest in this dissertation. Consequently, any mention of focus from now on in this paper will refer specifically to presentational focus.

pragmatics. This being so, this phenomenon is a clear example of interfaces and, as such, it is usually problematic for second language learners (Domínguez & Arche, 2014; Hertel, 2003; Lozano, 2006; Sorace & Shomura, 2001).

The fact that some linguistic phenomena are problematic for learners, and that interfaces impact the acquisition of a second language, is unquestionable. By considering language learning as a whole, it is reasonable to suppose that, besides second language acquisition, interfaces inevitably affect third language acquisition as well. This premise will be discussed in detail below.

2.3 Third Language Acquisition

In recent years, the discipline of L3 acquisition has become an independent field of study with specific predictions for the acquisition process. Even though "the linguistic study of L3/Ln acquisition is still in its infancy" (Cabrelli Amaro et al., 2012, p. 1), L3 research has not only shown that there are differences between L2 and L3 acquisition (Bono, 2011; Cenoz, 2001; Sánchez, 2015), but also that the knowledge of first and second languages has an effect on TLA (Bardel & Falk, 2007; Bruhn de Garavito & Perpiñán, 2014; Falk & Bardel, 2010; Flynn et al., 2004; Rothman, 2010a, 2010b; Rothman & Cabrelli Amaro, 2010).

There are different possibilities when it comes to analyzing the interplay between two previously acquired linguistic systems and their effect on a subsequent language. On the one hand, the only or main possibility for transfer in L3 could be the L1 (Hermas, 2014; Na Ranong & Leung, 2009); on the other hand, transfer could be chronologically determined and come solely from the last learned language, that is, the L2 (Bardel &

Falk, 2007, 2012; Falk & Bardel, 2010); or it could also be that transfer comes from either language, given certain conditions (Flynn et al., 2004; Rothman, 2010b; Slabakova, 2017, Westergaard, 2017). Against this background, it becomes necessary to determine which factors condition the selection of one language over the other should both be considered to be equally available in the acquisition process. In recent years, different linguistic models have been suggested to make specific predictions about crosslinguistic influence in the learning of a third language. The main models are presented in the sections that follow.

2.3.1 The Typological Primacy Model (TPM)

Rothman (2010b) proposes the concept of typological similarities between the languages to explain that transfer at the initial state depends on the comparative perceived typology of the two previously acquired languages. Rothman's TPM argues that the initial state hypotheses in L3 are determined by the syntactic properties of the closest (psycho)typological language, whether or not it is the most economical option (p. 112). He explains psychotypology in the sense of Kellerman's (1983) idea of a speaker's perception of typological proximity and states that it is essentially the linguistic parser which subconsciously assesses said grammatical similarity, based on a continuum of linguistic cues, and determines transfer selection. This selection does not depend on surface level similarity or on intuitive notions on the part of the speaker, but rather on linguistic theory internal notions that have little to do with the conscious psychological assessments of learners (Rothman, 2015). This hierarchical continuum includes four factors which are dependent on each other and which have been placed in order of relative impact:

lexicon→ phonological/phonotactic cues→ functional morphology→ syntactic structure

Based on these factors, the parser determines which previously acquired language is the best option for transfer, and even though its job depends on the underlying linguistic proximity of the languages in question and not on conscious perception, it should be noted that the two can potentially coincide.

In order to establish the variables that condition syntactic transfer in L3 acquisition and whether linguistic typology does, in fact, determine said transfer, Rothman (2010a) conducted a research study on word order restrictions and relative clause attachment. Participants were native speakers of English with L2 Spanish and native speakers of Spanish with L2 English both learning L3 Brazilian Portuguese with advanced proficiency in the L2. Syntactic knowledge of word order constraints in both declarative and interrogative sentences was tested by means of a grammaticality judgment task with correction, where participants were required to mark a sentence as either grammatical or ungrammatical and correct all ungrammatical sentences. Attachment preference, on the other hand, was tested by means of a choice matching task, which consisted of relative clauses of two types with an attachment that was either ambiguous or not ambiguous. Results show that L3 Portuguese speakers use the syntax of Spanish, which is the typologically similar language, to deal with word order in BP regardless of whether Spanish is their L1 or their L2. Similarly, both L3 groups are shown to prefer high attachment when dealing with ambiguous relative clauses, which is expected in a language that has a liberal word order, such as Spanish. Taken together, these results led the researcher to conclude that the language activated for transfer was Spanish, for

reasons that respond to typological similarity, and that the order of acquisition was irrelevant.

2.3.1.1 Previous Research on Typological Proximity

Taking the TPM as a starting point, several studies with different languages and different linguistic structures have been conducted to examine the influence of typological similarity on the process of developing a third language. Some of the most relevant studies are reviewed here.

Montrul et al. (2010) investigated clitics and object expression in the oral production of native English speakers with L2 Spanish and native Spanish speakers with L2 English learning Brazilian Portuguese as a third language. Their use of clitics and their knowledge of clitic placement was tested through an oral production task and an acceptability judgment task in written form. Even though Spanish and BP are Romance languages which have clitic pronouns, there are microparametric differences between the two. Brazilian Portuguese, for instance, does not use clitics as frequently as Spanish. English, on the other hand, does not have object clitics. Taking into account register and its role in clitic placement and object expression in BP, the researchers tested participants orally and in writing and found transfer effects from Spanish in the acquisition of object expression in spoken BP irrespective of whether Spanish was the L1 or the L2. This transfer was evidenced also in errors, with participants marking objects with a preposition (as is done in Spanish), using the Spanish form of a clitic, or using pronominal clitics with verbs for which a clitic is not required in BP. Results also show that L3 speakers of BP are aware of the syntactic distribution of clitics in the language, and that they transfer

the position of clitics from Spanish. This led the researchers to conclude that structural similarity between languages plays an important role in L3 acquisition.

Foote (2009) investigated crosslinguistic influences in temporality between L1 English and either L2 Spanish, L2 French, or L2 Italian when learning a Romance language as L3. A morphology test and a sentence conjunction judgement task were used to determine whether transfer of meaning in the L3 could be attributed to typological similarity in terms of shared features and feature values. Foote found that, irrespective of order of acquisition, all learners transferred their knowledge of aspectual contrasts from the previously acquired Romance language, which corroborates the role of typological similarity as a predictor of transfer.

Also working with Romance languages, and in order to investigate crosslinguistic influence in the comprehension of L3 French past tense, Cai and Cai (2015) used an introspective think-aloud protocol and retrospective interviews with L1 Chinese speakers who had English as their L2. After measuring the effect of an L2 that is typologically close to the L3 and an L1 that is not, they found that understanding the tense system of the English language helped learners associate it to that of the French language. They argued that contrastive knowledge should be provided to students through instruction, as applying linguistic resources previously acquired helps in L3 comprehension.

Similarly, Cenoz (2001) reports on a study conducted with elementary and secondary school students in a Basque school in order to determine the influence of Spanish and Basque on L3 English regarding the lexicon. The data collection instruments used were a wordless picture story and a background questionnaire. Findings support the notion of

linguistic distance playing a significant role in crosslinguistic transfer and show a stronger influence from Spanish, the typologically similar language, rather than from Basque, which is a language that exhibits a radically different grammar.

Finally, Rothman and Cabrelli Amaro (2010) conducted a study which examined the acquisition of the null-subject parameter in English speakers who spoke L2 Spanish and were at the initial stage of learning L3 French and L3 Italian. They were compared to groups of English speakers who were learners of L2 French and L2 Italian, also at the initial state. The goal was to identify whether the source of L3 transfer would be the L1, the L2, or both. Results provided no evidence for a privileged role of the L1, but rather, it was found that the data supported a role of the L2 in the acquisition of the L3 (see below for a description of the L2 status factor regarding the second language and how it may influence L3 acquisition). The researchers claim that, besides being consistent with the L2 status factor, their results can also be explained by the idea of typological similarity between the languages. By considering the idea that both previously acquired languages are available for transfer on the basis of typological similarity (whether actual or perceived), they proposed a modified version of the Cumulative Enhancement Model (see section 2.3.3 for a detailed description). This modified version is known as the Typological Primacy Model, as previously discussed.

All in all, it seems that there is a noteworthy advantage to knowing a typologically similar language when learning another, and that said advantage is not dependent on the chronological order in which this language is learned. This idea, however, contrasts with other perspectives which have argued that language typology cannot be the sole predictor of crosslinguistic influence and which have considered other factors, such as the order of

acquisition of the languages, to play a role in the process of acquiring an L3. One of those perspectives is the L2 status factor hypothesis, which argues that it is almost exclusively the L2 which plays a part in the initial state of acquiring the L3.

2.3.2 The L2 Status Factor

The L2 status factor, originally proposed by Williams and Hammarberg (1998) and developed in subsequent work by Bardel and Falk (2007, 2012, also Falk & Bardel, 2010), claims that the L2 is not only privileged but also a stronger predictor of transfer source than the L1. This is due, on the one hand, to the cognitive similarities that formally learned languages share and, on the other, to elements that are neurologically different in the acquisition of these languages compared to the acquisition of an L1. They base this idea, that native and non-native languages are cognitively different, on the model of declarative and procedural memory, known as the D/P model, proposed by Paradis (1994, 2004).

As previously mentioned, this neurolinguistic theory states that implicit and explicit memory rely on different cerebral systems – the procedural and declarative memory systems. Declarative memory is of two types: encyclopedic memory, which includes knowledge about the world, and episodic memory, which consists of knowledge of our individual past experiences. Examples of these two types can be seen in (3) and (4).

(3) Encyclopedic memory: *I am aware that I know that Madrid is the capital of Spain*.

(4) Episodic memory: *I am aware that I visited Madrid last year*.

Declarative memory is accessible to consciousness. Procedural memory, on the other hand, functions only with very specific tasks (Paradis, 1994) and is not available to the conscious mind (see also Ullman, 2001). Phonology, morphology, syntax, at least some aspects of semantics, and the morphosyntactic properties of the lexicon are all part of procedural memory. In other words, what we refer to as competence or knowledge of the grammar of a language is availed by procedural memory.

Clinical and neuropsychological evidence shows that the neurofunctional mechanisms which subserve implicit linguistic competence are separate from those mechanisms which subserve metalinguistic knowledge. For instance, the area of the brain that is responsible for language is known as the Perisylvian area, and it includes Broca's and Wernicke's areas. Lesions to this area cause aphasia in patients, which results in damaged implicit memory for language but not in damaged declarative memory. On the other hand, lesions in the hippocampal system cause amnesia, which results in damaged declarative memory but spared procedural memory and linguistic competence (Paradis, 2004, p. 12). Put differently, implicit linguistic structures are sustained by procedural memory and acquired implicitly in L1, while vocabulary items, or words as form-meaning pairs, are sustained by declarative memory and acquired explicitly.

Critical to the L2 status factor is the idea that L2 grammar is based on explicit knowledge and sustained by declarative memory. This being the case, phonology, morphology, syntax and the morphosyntactic properties of the lexicon are acquired implicitly in L1 but learned explicitly in L2 (Ln). This allows for L2 morphosyntax, for instance, to be more easily transferred to the L3, because it is based on the same type of memory and brain structures, and this is unlike the L1, which is a totally different mechanism.

Along these lines, Ullman (2001) argues for a similar model to the one proposed by Paradis, although in his approach, declarative memory subserves declarative knowledge which, in contrast to Paradis' model, includes not only explicit but also implicit knowledge. According to Ullman, both systems interact, compete, and collaborate with one another. Syntax, morphology, and skill learning are sustained by the procedural system, and the lexicon is supported by the declarative system, again, including implicit and explicit knowledge. One important difference offered by Ullman's proposal is the notion that L2 learning can potentially become L1-like; that is, sufficient practice could potentially automatize L2 processing and cause it to be permanently stored in the procedural memory system. In other words, mechanisms underlying the acquisition of grammatical competence are not only available to be influenced by declarative knowledge, but also there is no reason why native-like competence should not be attained. This idea is similar in certain aspects to the Full Transfer/Full Access hypothesis already mentioned; however, proponents of the L2 status factor adopt Paradis' approach rather than Ullman's as an explanation for why only the L2 can affect L3 or subsequent languages. Recall that, in traditional terminology, both L2 and L3 are learned, only L1 is acquired.

2.3.2.1 Previous Research on the Role of the Second Language

With regard to research, several studies have provided evidence for the role of second languages in the acquisition of L3. Some of the most relevant are discussed here.

Falk and Bardel (2010) conducted a study with L1 French–L2 English and L1 English–L2 French speakers who were learners of L3 German at the intermediate level and who

completed a grammaticality judgment/correction task on object pronoun placement. Object placement is post-verbal in English for all kinds of object pronouns, but in French, the clitic object pronoun is placed pre-verbally. This alternates in German according to the object's position in either the main clause or the subordinate clause. The researchers found that, in general, learners were more successful at judging grammatical sentences than ungrammatical ones, and that their judgements were directly related to their L2. Specifically, both the L2 English and the L2 French groups acquired the grammatical subordinate clause in L3 German, whereas the English L2 group was the only one that acquired the grammatical main clause. Both groups judged the ungrammatical sentences "in a manner that can be traced back to their L2s" (p. 76), although this transfer from L2 to L3 was found to be either positive or negative depending on the similarities between the two languages. It was concluded that learners whose level in the L2 is sufficiently high will transfer structures to their L3 even if these structures are not correct. This shows that the L2 is a strong predictor of transfer even at the intermediate level.

Falk (2017) also found support for the L2 status factor in the results of her study about the null-subject parameter. Two L1 speakers of Swedish who had English, French, Spanish, and Italian as their L2s and who were learning German as L3 were tested during one semester in various oral tasks and activities. Following the predictions made by the TPM, crosslinguistic influence was expected from Swedish, or even English, to German, but this was not found to be the case. Results show that the NSP was transferred from a non-typologically close L2, namely, Spanish and/or Italian, thus validating the predictions proposed by the L2 status factor.

Other studies pointing to the specific role of the L2 are those of Sánchez (2015) and Sánchez and Bardel (2017). The former is a longitudinal study that analyzes crosslinguistic influence in the written production of Spanish/Catalan speakers learning English as their L3 and having German as their L2. The latter takes into account the level of L2 German proficiency and its impact on the learning of a third language, namely English, in Spanish/Catalan bilinguals. Results for both studies show that the L2, but not the L1, is activated in parallel with the L3, especially at the early stage, therefore showing not only that interlingual connections are strong at that stage, but also that learners rely on them.

2.3.2.2 The L2 Status Factor Revisited

As all of these studies argue for the privileged role of the second language in the process of learning a third one, it is also important to mention that most recently, Bardel and Sánchez (2017) revisited the L2 status factor hypothesis to take into account the contribution of other factors, such as metalinguistic knowledge, working memory, attention and noticing, to the learning process. They argue that transfer should be accounted for by taking these into consideration, as individual differences in the working memory capacity of the learners or in the degree of explicit metalinguistic knowledge that they bring to the equation may affect the process. The authors emphasize that these are essential factors dominating crosslinguistic influence in third language acquisition, and this is important because, although the L2 status factor usually argues that transfer comes exclusively from the L2, it also acknowledges that, in special cases, crosslinguistic influence can come from the L1, provided that there is a high level of L1 metalinguistic

knowledge on the part of the learner, which gives the L1 “a status that resembles a formally learnt L2” (Falk, 2017, p. 129).

2.3.3 The Cumulative Enhancement Model (CEM)

The Cumulative Enhancement Model (CEM) was proposed by Flynn et al. (2004). The CEM, like the TPM, anticipates that either the L1 or the L2 can be sources of transfer in L3 acquisition; however, only the TPM anticipates the possibility of non-facilitative transfer taking place. The CEM, in contrast to the L2 status factor, does not give special attention to the order of acquisition but argues for a scaffolding effect in the sense that transfer from the L1, the L2, or even both, is possible. On this basis, any prior language can either boost subsequent language acquisition or not obtain, that is, remain neutral; thus, according to this proposal, negative transfer is definitely not a possibility. In other words, if a property is not shared between the L3 and either of the languages that were learned or acquired before, said property will never be transferred. Acquisition according to this model is, therefore, cumulative and non-redundant, and every new language learned has the ability to facilitate subsequent language learning.

The authors proposed that all languages known can play a role in subsequent language acquisition after conducting different research studies with Kazakh speakers who spoke L2 Russian and were learning L3 English. Their goal was to determine whether the L1 alone impacts the learning of a third language or if, on the contrary, each language learned is available in the process. Regarding the languages in question, Kazakh, English, and Russian exhibit some differences among them. Kazakh is different from English in

that it is a language with a head-final structure and left-branching relative clauses, as can been seen in example (5).

(5) [Sut- isken] kyz bolmege kirdi

milk-ACC drink-PART girl-NOM room-dat enter-past

‘(A=the) girl who drank (the) milk entered (a=the) room’.

(Flynn et al., 2004, p. 10)

Russian, in contrast, matches English by being an SVO, head-initial, right-branching language, as shown in example (6).

(6) Professor, [kotory priglasil lektora], predstavil vracha

professor-NOM who invite-PAST-M speaker-ACC introduce-PA doctor-ACC

‘The professor who invited the speaker introduced the doctor’.

(Adapted from Flynn et al., 2004, p. 10)

Both adults and children in this study were tested by means of an elicited imitation task, and results were compared to previous studies conducted with Japanese and Spanish speakers learning L2 English. Findings show that the group of L1 Kazakh–L2 Russian speakers learning L3 English behaved similarly to the group of L1 Spanish speakers learning L2 English and differed from the group of L1 Japanese speakers learning L2 English. This, as argued by the researchers, was due to the fact that Russian and Spanish are head-initial languages and having those as L2 and L1, respectively, facilitated the acquisition of another head-initial language such as English. As speakers had the head-initial parameter in their linguistic inventory, this created an advantage over Japanese

speakers whose repertoire did not include it. The authors concluded, then, that any previously learned language can either enhance acquisition or be neutral because, as the CEM proposes, the developmental patterns in language learning are not redundant, and language learning is a cumulative process.

2.3.4 The Linguistic Proximity Model (LPM)

Another model which argues for language acquisition being cumulative and incremental is the LPM proposed by Westergaard et al. (2017). The LPM argues that L3 learning takes place incrementally and property by property and, contrary to the L2 status factor, rules out the order of acquisition as an element playing a role in L3 transfer. Despite finding common ground with typology-based models, the LPM maintains that the decisive factor generating crosslinguistic influence in third language acquisition is the similarity of abstract structural properties between the languages, as opposed to just typological proximity. It also considers non-facilitative transfer to be possible and defends the notion that all previously acquired languages are available throughout the learning process.

This model was tested in a study that looked at knowledge of the effects of verb movement among bilingual speakers of Norwegian and Russian learning English as a third language. Being Germanic languages, Norwegian and English are close in lexicon and structure. Russian, on the other hand, is a Slavic language and is, therefore, lexically and structurally distant from English. The property under investigation was verb second (V2) word order in Norwegian, which “is the result of finite verb movement to the second position of the clause, most often assumed to be the C(omplementizer) position or some

other head in the left periphery" (Westergaard et al., 2017, p.671). In declarative sentences, English displays an adverb-verb word order, which is similar to Russian, whereas Norwegian allows for the verb to move across the adverb thus exhibiting a verb-adverb word order, as shown in example (7).

(7) ENG = RUS ≠ NOR

Emma	often	eats	sweets. ENG
Emma	často	jest	konfety. RUS
Emma spiser	ofte		konfekt. NOR

(Westergaard et al., 2017, p.671)

In information questions, however, English and Norwegian are structurally similar, as they both exhibit subject-verb inversion, which is different from Russian, as shown in example (8).

(8) ENG = NOR ≠ RUS

What	will	the little girl		read? ENG
Hva	vil	den lille jenta		lese? NOR
Čto		eta malen'kaja devočka	budet	čitat'? RUS

(Westergaard et al., 2017, p.671)

The methodology of the study consisted of a grammaticality judgment task in English which included declarative sentences with adverbs and questions with auxiliaries. Findings show crosslinguistic influence from both Norwegian and Russian, as well as facilitating and non-facilitating influence from both previously learned languages. The researchers found facilitative transfer from Russian to English in the adverb-verb word order, which overrides any typological proximity between Norwegian and English in this

respect. They also found some non-facilitative transfer from Norwegian in participants' judgement of grammatical sentences, which corroborated their argument that any previously learned language can be the source of crosslinguistic transfer in L3 learning, and that both facilitative and non-facilitative effects are possible. Moreover, the researchers acknowledge the role of proficiency in language acquisition and express the need for sufficient input and exposure to the L3 in order for speakers to move towards a more abstract level of structural proximity analysis. They explain that crosslinguistic influence is not necessarily given by overall linguistic proximity but by proximity at the level of abstract structural similarities. As this can only be possible with increased proficiency and exposure to the target language, later stages of development should be considered.

This idea of increased proficiency and of moving beyond the initial state when formulating theories for third language acquisition has also been defended by other authors such as Slabakova (2017) who advocates for the formulation of predictions for later stages of the acquisition process and incorporates this idea to her scalpel model, as will be discussed in section 2.3.5.

2.3.5 The Scalpel Model

Slabakova's Scalpel Model (2017) is in line with some elements of the CEM, the LPM and the TPM while, at the same time, rejecting other elements of these models. On the one hand, the model agrees with the CEM and LPM's view that learning is property by property, but rejects the CEM's idea that transfer can only be facilitative or it will remain neutral. It also discards the TPM's claim of wholesale transfer occurring at the initial

stage and suggests, in turn, that L3 transfer is extremely precise in selecting from the L1 and the L2 only the relevant options for the specific task that is being performed. In other words, transfer "is selective and works property by property" (Slabakova, 2017, p. 653); therefore, while accepting typological similarity as a source of transfer, the scalpel model argues that said transfer does not necessarily include the whole repertoire, as the scalpel is very precise at identifying and setting apart features and properties that are uniquely relevant for the acquisition process.

An example of this is the morphosyntactic study conducted by Bruhn de Garavito and Perpiñán (2014) on the acquisition of Spanish subject pronouns with French native speakers who are fluent in L2 English and in the process of learning L3 Spanish. By means of an acceptability judgement task and a production task, the researchers tested participants on clefts, adverb placement, clitics, focus constructions, object clitics, and co-ordination of subject pronouns. Their goal was to identify the source of transfer to L3 Spanish taking into account that French differs considerably from Spanish in the properties of subject pronouns, and that English behaves more similarly to Spanish in this domain. This source of transfer could come from the L1, the L2, or a combination of both. It was shown that speakers would rely on their French grammar in some situations and on their English grammar in others. This competition between the two previously learned grammars led the researchers to conclude that both systems are available to speakers during processing and, therefore, no one single system can be assumed to be the initial state of L3 acquisition. These findings provide evidence against wholesale transfer at initial stages of morphosyntax acquisition, and echo the property-by-property acquisition idea proposed by the scalpel model.

Besides defending the notion that transfer can come from the L1 or the L2, or even both, and stating that transfer can be either facilitative or non-facilitative, the scalpel model maintains that there are additional factors which can generate crosslinguistic influence. To exemplify, factors such as misleading input, structural linguistic complexity, lack of clear feedback, and construction frequency have a direct impact on the learning of particular properties, making L3 acquisition a complex phenomenon that cannot be reduced to one or another explanation.

Having presented the models that have been developed for the field of third language acquisition after several years and their predictions for crosslinguistic influence, let us now turn to the specific phenomenon under investigation in this dissertation, namely, word order alternations. As previously mentioned, the choice of word order in Spanish depends on two factors: morphosyntactic factors (the type of verb) and pragmatic factors (the type of focus). Section 2.4 refers to the former, while section 2.5 will present the latter.

2.4 Morphosyntax and Word Order: Unergative and Unaccusative Verbs

Before analyzing the way in which verb class determines word order alternations in Spanish, it is useful to go over some elements of syntactic theory that pertain to movement.

2.4.1 Syntactic Background

In the following analysis, I will be assuming a minimalist framework, including the following relevant features:

- The two main mechanisms for building sentences are Merge and Move. Merge is the process of combining two elements to form a third. For example, a determiner merges with a Noun Phrase (NP) to form a determiner phrase. Move consists of the displacement of an element to another position. We distinguish between the movement of a head, such as verb movement in Romance languages, and the movement of a phrase, such as the movement of the subject. Movement must be justified.

- Movement leaves behind a copy of the moved element which is generally not pronounced. In other words, we do not assign it a phonetic realization, but it still exhibits syntactic properties. We represent the fact that the moved element remains covert by crossing it out.

- The sentence is the projection of Tense (T). The verb phrase is the complement of T. In English, the subject must move to the specifier of T for agreement to take place. In Spanish and Portuguese, the subject may remain in situ.

- Following Larson (1988), we assume a double VP structure that in current analysis consists of a vP, in which agentive subjects are generated, and a VP, in which the verb and its complements are generated (Chomsky, 1998; Radford, 2004).

- Agents are typically generated in the specifier of vP. In English, they must move to the specifier of T for feature checking, as mentioned before.

In many languages, word order alternations are possible by reason of syntactic movement; that is to say, word order may be associated with both the head-directionality and the verb-movement parameters. Regarding the head-directionality parameter, languages such as Portuguese, English, and Spanish are head-initial, which means that heads are followed by complements. Regarding verb movement, English and Spanish differ in that Spanish exhibits a positive value of the verb-movement parameter in which the finite verb obligatorily moves to T (Camacho, 2018; Guijarro-Fuentes, 2007). One consequence of this is the possibility of having both SV and VS constructions in specific contexts. English, on the contrary, demonstrates a negative value of this parameter and, consequently, declarative sentences almost always follow the subject-verb order.

2.4.2 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs are traditionally verbs that have only one argument. However, not all mono-argumental verbs behave in the same way, as the Unaccusative Hypothesis explains.

2.4.2.1 The Unaccusative Hypothesis

The Unaccusative Hypothesis, originally defined by Perlmutter (1978) and subsequently expanded by Burzio (1986), proposes two subclasses of intransitive verbs –unaccusative and unergative–, and states that the difference between them is based, in part, on the theta role of the subject. For unaccusative verbs, the theta role is that of theme, while for unergative verbs, it is that of agent. Each type or subclass is therefore associated with a particular underlying syntactic structure (or D-structure in Perlmutter's framework) and exhibits different syntactic behaviors (Perlmutter, 1978; Burzio, 1986). Unergative verbs

assign an external argument and their subject is an agent, and unaccusative verbs assign an internal argument with the theta role of patient or theme. These case-assigning properties of the verbs determine their syntactic structure.

Following the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis –UTAH– (Baker, 1988), it is assumed that the theme is projected in the position of direct object or complement of the verb, and that the agent is projected in the specifier of vP in minimalist terms (Chomsky, 1998; Radford, 2004). This being the case, the internal argument of unaccusative verbs is "the complement to the lexical verb V" (Baker, 2019, p. 558), and the external argument of unergative verbs is generated in the specifier position of vP. This is true in all languages, albeit morphologically expressed in different ways.

2.4.2.2 Unergative Verbs

Unergative verbs are verbs that have an external argument to which they assign a theta role: that of agent. The agent is the initiator of the event and has some control over the action. Unergative verbs describe mainly volitional acts, and they are not telic, that is, they do not imply an end point. Some examples of unergative verbs in Spanish and Portuguese can be seen in (9).

(9)	Spanish:	*llorar*	*bailar*	*gritar*	*dormir*	*nadar*	*correr*
	Portuguese:	*chorar*	*dançar*	*gritar*	*dormir*	*nadar*	*correr*
	English:	to cry	to dance	to scream	to sleep	to swim	to run

With unergative verbs, the subject generates in [Spec, vP] and, in English, it then raises to [Spec, TP], as can be seen in the tree diagram in Figure 2.1.

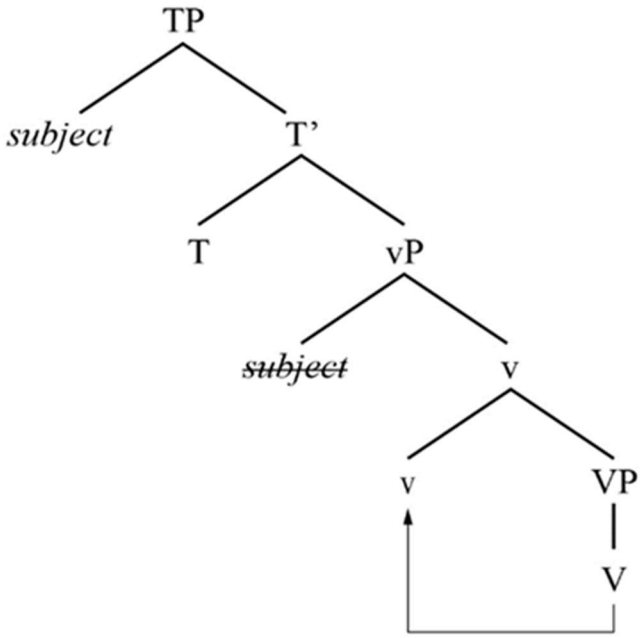

Figure 2.1. *Simplified Syntactic Representation of Unergative Verbs in English*

In Spanish and Portuguese, on the other side, the subject may remain in post-verbal position. The verb-subject word order is accounted for in Spanish and Portuguese because in these languages the verb raises to T where it will precede the subject, which may remain in vP, as shown in Figure 2.2 below. When the subject raises overtly, or when the higher copy of the agent DP is pronounced, the word order is subject-verb; on the contrary, when the lower copy is pronounced, the word order is verb-subject.

Below, I will discuss some of the conditions that determine whether the subject tends to raise or remain in situ.

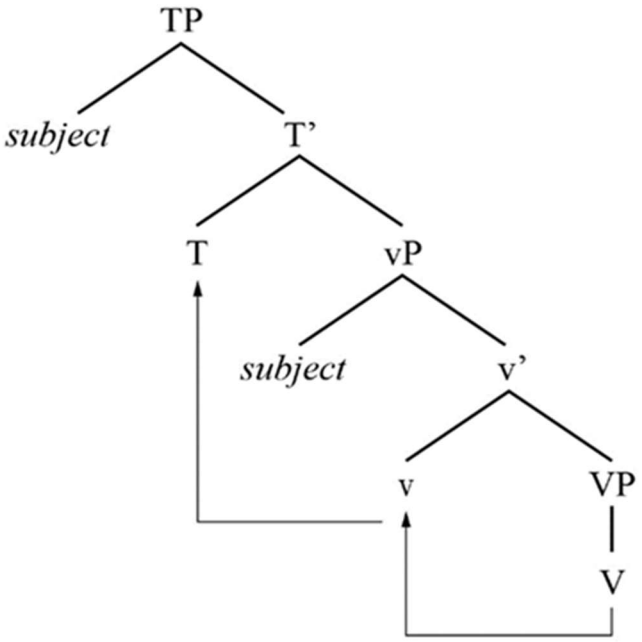

Figure 2.2. *Simplified Syntactic Representation of Unergative Verbs in Spanish and Portuguese*

As represented in Figures 2.1 and 2.2, in English the finite verb remains within the vP. In Spanish and Portuguese, the subject of unergative verbs may be realized in any of the two positions indicated in Figure 2.2 with the copy remaining unpronounced. As we will see below, the most common reason for the subject to remain in the vP is focus; that is to say, information structure has an effect on word order (Dominguez & Arche, 2008; Hertel, 2003; Leal et al., 2019; Lozano, 2006). I will, however, show that due to a linguistic change that started over a century ago and continues in the present, the role of focus may be disappearing in Portuguese, and therefore the tendency is to prefer the English option with unergative verbs.

2.4.2.3 Unaccusative Verbs

Unaccusative verbs are intransitive verbs because they take only one argument. In contrast to unergative verbs, however, they do not assign an external –agent– theta role, but rather the internal –theme– role. As expected, the theme is syntactically generated as the complement of the verb. It is traditionally assumed that verbs cannot assign nominative case in that position and, in the case of unaccusatives, they can't assign accusative case either; therefore, the theme must move to a subject position. In other words, given that unaccusative verbs do not assign an external theta role, they must move out of the VP internal position to check case.

Regarding intransitivity, the subject moves to the specifier position of TP with both unergative and unaccusative verbs. In English, the subject moves overtly to the preverbal position in the specifier of T, as illustrated in Figure 2.3 below. According to Baker (1993), unaccusative verbs do not project a double VP shell precisely because they do not assign an agent theta role. That raises certain questions regarding post-verbal subjects in Spanish, but we will leave this issue aside for future research.

Some examples of unaccusative verbs in Spanish and Portuguese can be seen in (10).

(10)

Spanish:	*llegar*	*venir*	*entrar*	*salir*	*volver*	*morir*	*escapar*
Portuguese:	*chegar*	*vir*	*entrar*	*sair*	*voltar*	*morrer*	*escapar*
English:	to arrive	to come	to enter	to exit	to return	to die	to escape

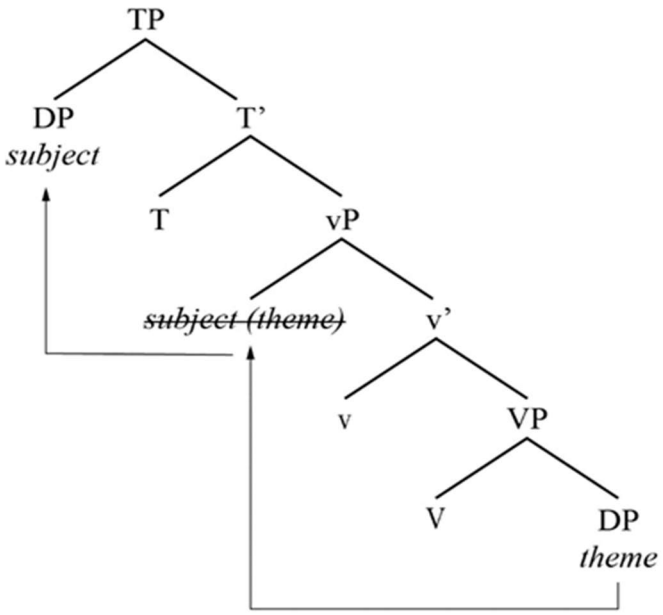

Figure 2.3. *Simplified Syntactic Representation of Unaccusative Verbs in English*

As mentioned above, in English, the subject moves overtly to the preverbal position in the specifier of T, thus creating SV constructions. This movement, however, does not apply to *there*-sentences. Even though the inverted VS order is not frequent in English (some exceptions aside, as explained in the introduction section), some word order effects can also be seen in *there*-insertion constructions. An example of this is the sentence 'there arrived three men', which is possible in English, although not very common. It is one of those exceptional cases where English allows the inverted word order, and it is only possible with unaccusative verbs and not with unergatives. The reason for this is that, with unaccusatives, the object stays in the object position, whereas with unergatives, the external theta role does not originate in object position, and therefore, it is not allowed to appear there. The insertion of an expletive '*there*' is required due to the fact that English satisfies the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), which mandates that the

position of the subject in the tense phrase (TP) cannot be empty. As an expletive element, '*there*' has no meaning and does not locate in space. Its job is to fill the subject position due to structural requirements (see Baker, 2019 and Levin & Rappaport-Hovav, 1995 for complete evidence of unaccusativity in English).

As illustrated in Figure 2.4, in Spanish and Portuguese, the theme may move to the subject position, that is, the specifier of T, to check nominative case. In other words, the subject in the specifier of T is pronounced, while the copy in the specifier of v is devoid of phonological content. Postverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs are common and grammatical in both languages. We assume the theme DP moves first to the specifier of v where it either receives nominative case from the copy in TP or receives it under government from the verb in T.

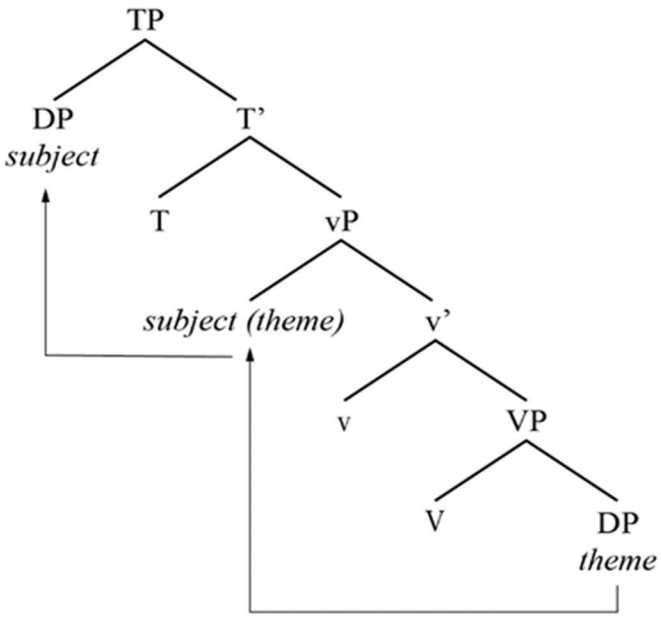

Figure 2.4. *Simplified Syntactic Representation of Unaccusative Verbs in Spanish and Portuguese*

As Figures 2.3 and 2.4 show, the main difference between English, on the one hand, and Spanish and Portuguese, on the other, is that the subject (theme) may be overtly expressed in either the spec of T or the spec of v.

We have already mentioned that verb class is one of the conditioning aspects of word order alternations in languages like Spanish and Portuguese, and that it is universal; that is, it is instantiated in different languages, albeit expressed in different ways. In the next sections, I will examine the expression of Spanish and Portuguese intransitive verbs in more detail and introduce the concept of information structure.

2.4.3 Word Order Alternations in Portuguese

Chomsky (1981) states that pro-drop languages share a series of characteristics among which subject-verb alternation can be found. In essence, any language that is marked positively for the pro-drop parameter is known to license certain structures such as having a null subject or allowing subject-verb alternation. Current approaches do not make the close link between pro-drop and word order because this vision of parameters as overarching choices that determine a great variety of properties has not held up to empirical studies. Rather, differences between languages are now found to lie mainly in the lexicon, which includes functional categories and morphosyntactic features. Nevertheless, it is still the case that most Romance languages have the property of placing subjects in a post-verbal position. Portuguese, being a Romance language, is expected to behave very similarly to Spanish in terms of intransitivity, although this may not always be the case. Let us review first the basic characteristics shared by both languages to then move on to discussing their structural differences.

Just as in Spanish, the inverted VS order exists in Portuguese. It is usually facilitated by intransitive verbs, and it is used to introduce new information. Pilati (2016) asserts that, regarding Brazilian Portuguese, the VS order is less frequent than the SV order, and that the VS order occurs mainly with unaccusative verbs, although it can be licensed with unergative and transitive verbs in specific contexts with low occurrence (p. 188). Similarly, Ferreira (2011) explains that the inversion of the subject in BP is more productive with unaccusative than with unergative verbs, and that unaccusativity is directly related to syntactic constructions where a DP subject takes place to the right of the verb.

The subject-verb alternation feature of BP has been discussed from a generativist perspective as well as a variationist one and has also been studied both diachronically and synchronically (Pilati, 2016). A general characterization of the phenomenon has been provided by different authors (Chierici, 2008; Coelho & Martins, 2012; Ferreira, 2011; Nascimento, 2014; Silva, 1999) whose works describe the differences between unaccusative and unergative verbs as well as the conditions that license the inverted VS word order in BP. It has been established that declarative sentences in BP that present the VS order are less restricted with unaccusative verbs than with unergative verbs (Pilati, 2006, p. 25), and that they are also more frequent. This is in part due to a gradual syntactic change in the pro-drop nature of the language, a conclusion that has been mentioned by different authors, and empirically tested in recent years, although not extensively. It used to be the case that, just as it is in Spanish nowadays, focused contexts with unaccusative and unergative verbs required a postponed subject in Portuguese, as shown in examples (11) and (12). However, and unlike European Portuguese, BP seems

to be exhibiting a different situation at present due to the fact that it is gradually becoming a non-pro-drop language with a more fixed SVO word order (but see my observation above that subject-verb word order availability is not necessarily associated with pro-drop).

(11) Unaccusative verb:

¿Quem	*chegou*	*ao*	*hospital?*		*Chegou*	*o*	*doutor*
who	arrive-PST	at the	hospital		arrive-PST	the	doctor
'Who arrived at the hospital?'					'The doctor arrived'		

(12) Unergative verb:

¿Quantas	*pessoas*	*chororam?*			*Chororam*	*tres*	*pessoas*
how many	person-PL	cry-PST			cry-PST	three	person-PL
'How many people cried?'					'Three people cried'		

With respect to this change, Coelho and Martins (2012) analyzed inversion patterns used in five different theater plays written by Brazilian screenwriters in the 19th century. They argue that Brazilian Portuguese has undergone a syntactic change in the word order of the subject in what they call non-unaccusative constructions, meaning constructions with unergative verbs. They claim that the variable word order from past centuries shifted towards a more rigid SVO order throughout the 19th century (p. 11). Also arguing for the idea of BP becoming a non-pro-drop language is Duarte (1993, 1995, as cited in Pacheco & Flynn, 2006) who states that BP is uniquely losing the use of null referential subjects, and that this decline is occurring in spite of the fact that it is a Romance language, and therefore, expected to be pro-drop, as most Romance languages are.

Other scholars say that BP is a partial null-subject language that allows for mandatory subjects in some contexts and for optional subjects in others (Buthers & Duarte, 2012), that the only type of verb which is still productive in VS constructions in BP is the unaccusative (Kato, 2000, p. 97), and that the only word order allowed in BP for constructions with unergative verbs is that of SV (Rothman, 2010a). This being the case, if BP is closer to English in terms of being a relatively rigid SVO language, it is safe to say that there is a significant structural difference between BP and Spanish regarding inversion with unergative verbs. The VS word order with unergative verbs is licensed in Spanish under specific conditions of focus, that is, with a focused question presented in previous linguistic discourse; in Portuguese, however, it is not. It is important to mention that there is a dearth of empirical evidence for these arguments, a problem we will try to remedy.

2.4.4 Word Order Alternations in Spanish

Scholars have argued that in some Romance languages one of the properties of unaccusative verbs is that the subject tends to appear after the verb. In other words, the tendency is for unaccusative verbs to precede the subject and for unergative verbs to follow it. According to Camacho (2018), some linguists maintain that the differences between unaccusative and unergative verbs are semantic and not structural, or that they depend on the thematic role that is assigned to each verb class, and that, in some languages, the syntactic distributions of unaccusative verbs depend, ultimately, on aspectual properties (p. 208). With reference to verb class and word order, he argues that unaccusative verbs in Spanish are frequent with either SV or VS constructions, whereas

unergatives are much more frequent with the SV order. This is something that has been said of BP as well.

Nevertheless, regarding word order and intransitivity in Spanish, the question is quite complex due to the fact that it is not only the type of verb which will dictate the order of the elements of the sentence but also information structure principles and the type of focus (see below for a complete explanation of focus theory). In other words, besides verb class, word order in Spanish also depends on information structure; that is, on the interplay between old and new information in discourse (Halliday & Hasan, 1997, as cited in Sánchez Alvarado, 2018). This being the case, new information is conventionally placed at the end of the sentence, which usually allows for constructions such as those in examples (13) and (14) to be equally possible.

(13) SV: *Lola llegó*
'Lola arrived'

(14) VS: *Llegó Lola*
'Arrived Lola'

In sentence (13), the subject, *'Lola'*, precedes the unaccusative verb, *'llegó'*. This SV order would be the norm in a usually rigid SVO language such as English, but it is actually the dispreferred order in Spanish with this verb. Sentence (14) presents a different word order in which the verb precedes the subject. This post-verbal subject is ungrammatical in English, but it is licensed in Spanish, as explained before. In fact, although there is nothing ungrammatical about the SV construction *'Lola llegó'*, it is the VS construction *'Llegó Lola'* that conveys the preferred word order in Spanish for

reasons that will be explained further below. The same is true for other intransitive verbs, such as the unergatives, as shown in examples (15) and (16). With the unergative verb *'gritar'*, both word orders are possible in Spanish, but only one will be pragmatically felicitous depending on focus.

(15) SV: *Lola gritó*
'Lola screamed'

(16) VS: *Gritó Lola*
'Screamed Lola'

In this sense, a felicitous communicative situation would entail a combination of a discourse situation and a syntactic structure. Put differently, it would depend on the successful pairing of the propositional content with the way in which said content is presented in discourse. Note, however, that the term felicitous refers to the pragmatically expected word order, and that providing the unexpected alternative does not entail ungrammaticality.

So far, it has been established that word order alternations in Spanish are possible, and that they are contingent on two factors: verb class and focus context. This means that word order is constrained by both a formal syntactic property, namely, the Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH) and a discursive constraint, such as the notion of presentational focus (Lozano, 2006, p.146). This explains why word order constitutes a phenomenon that is subject to the syntax-pragmatics interface. Having presented the morphosyntactic implications of verb class in the previous section, let us now discuss how focus influences word order alternations in Spanish.

2.5 Information Structure and Word Order: Focused and Unfocused Contexts

Focus is, by definition, the informative part of the sentence or that which speakers do not presuppose. Natural languages identify focus in different ways, such as "prosody, morphology, or a syntactically specified position" (Zubizarreta, 1998, p. 37). In Spanish, focus theory dictates that any focused element, including a subject, tends to be placed in sentence-final position. Hence, determining the possibility of producing SV or VS constructions depends, not only on the type of verb used but also on what part of the sentence is the focus of the utterance.

2.5.1 Unfocused Questions

An unfocused question is a question where the whole answer constitutes new information and, therefore, no particular constituent is focused. An example of an unfocused question is *¿Qué pasó?* ('What happened?'), where no part of the answer is presupposed by the interlocutors. In contrast, a focused question is that which presents a focused element, that is, information that the speakers do not previously assume. For instance, *¿Quién llegó?* ('Who arrived?'), where the focused constituent would be the person who arrived, in this case, the subject.

With unergative verbs, an unfocused question is usually answered with a declarative sentence with the subject-verb word order, as can be seen in example (17). However, with unaccusative verbs, an unfocused question is usually answered with a declarative sentence with a VS order, as shown in example (18). This is because the tendency with unaccusatives is to place the subject after the verb.

(17) Unfocused question with unergative verb (SV):

¿Qué pasó? *Mi padre gritó*
'What happened?' 'My father screamed'

(18) Unfocused question with unaccusative verb (VS):

¿Qué pasó? *Vino el doctor*
'What happened?' 'Came the doctor'

In view of this, even though the SV order in declarative sentences with unaccusative verbs is not ungrammatical, it would be pragmatically odd in this case, as previously mentioned.

2.5.2 Subject-Focused Questions

Unlike unfocused questions, for which two different word orders are expected depending on verb class (SV order with unergative verbs and VS order with unaccusative verbs), subject-focused questions usually generate only one type of word order regardless of verb class, and this is because of the tendency in Spanish to place new information to the right. Accordingly, the expected word order with subject-focused contexts in Spanish for both unergative and unaccusative verbs is VS, as illustrated in examples (19) and (20).

(19) Focused question with unergative verb (VS):

¿Quién gritó? *Gritó mi padre*
'Who screamed?' 'Screamed my father'

(20) Focused question with unaccusative verb (VS):

¿Quién vino? *Vino el doctor*
'Who came?' 'Came the doctor'

To put it concisely, unfocused questions with unergative verbs usually motivate the SV order, and the VS order is expected with unfocused questions with unaccusative verbs and focused questions with both unergative and unaccusative verbs. The distribution of these different syntactic orders in Spanish is summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. *Syntactic Word Orders in Spanish*

Type of Verb	**Unfocused Context**	**Focused Context**
Unergative	SV	VS
Unaccusative	VS	VS

Note. SV = subject-verb word order / VS = verb-subject word order

2.5.3 Previous Research on Intransitivity and Word Order

With reference, specifically, to the topic of intransitivity and word order, several studies have been conducted with native speakers of English learning L2 Spanish. Lozano (2006) had native English and Greek speakers who were advanced learners of Spanish complete a contextualized acceptability judgment task which included paired sentences given in context. Each situation or context presented the participant with two target sentences, which were grammatical, with different word orders, SV and VS, and different types of focus, narrow and broad (referred to as focused and unfocused contexts in this paper). By means of a five-point Likert scale, participants recorded their opinion about both target sentences in each situation. It was found that learners correctly distinguished between pre-verbal and post-verbal word orders in broad focus contexts, and that speakers' behavior was native-like in this respect; something that Lozano interprets as learners having acquired the syntactic features that govern the null-subject parameter. In narrow

focus conditions, however, there was optionality in the acceptance of SV and VS orders with participants equally accepting both, instead of preferring the expected VS word order for this type of context. Lozano argues that this optional knowledge evidences a deficit at the syntax-discourse interface which prevents learners from completely acquiring discursive properties of the language even at advanced stages of the learning process. He concludes that "properties at the syntax-discourse interface are persistently more problematic than purely formal/grammatical properties" (p. 179).

Other studies involving Spanish as a second language and offering somewhat conflicting results are those of Hertel (2003), Domínguez and Arche (2014), Houppert (2015), and Sánchez Alvarado (2018), among others. Hertel (2003) tested speakers at four different proficiency levels by means of a written task and found that the advanced group was the only one to show subject inversion according to verb class, as they produced sentences with VS word order with unaccusative verbs in focused conditions. Additionally, they produced post-verbal subjects with unergative verbs in unfocused contexts much more frequently than native speakers, which shows an overgeneralization of the inversion phenomenon.

Similarly, Dominguez and Arche (2014) used an acceptability judgment task at three levels of proficiency and found a strong preference for the SV order even in focused contexts and irrespective of verb class. This tendency was found to decrease with proficiency, as advanced learners showed more gradual acceptance of the VS order. The authors pointed at conflicting input to be the cause of this. They argue that their native data shows that learners are exposed to input from native speakers which is not

systematic enough and which makes the acquisition of pre-verbal and post-verbal word orders constantly difficult.

Besides L2 Spanish, word order has also been studied with monolingual and bilingual native Spanish (Leal et al., 2018), with Spanish as a heritage language (Hoot, 2017), and even with other languages like Basque (Slabakova & García Mayo, 2015), Japanese (Sorace & Shomura, 2001), or Portuguese (Ferreira, 2011). Results are varied, and more research is needed, but in general, studies on properties at the syntax-pragmatics interface show that, regarding the acquisition of word order, morphosyntactic properties pertaining to verb class seem to be acquired earlier than properties pertaining to the type of focus of the sentence, therefore causing pragmatics to be the source of difficulty for language learners.

Studies about non-native Spanish and different combinations of languages and linguistic phenomena are numerous. However, before the present study, no studies had been developed about word order alternations, a property at the syntax-pragmatics interface, taking into account the possibility of crosslinguistic influence from either L1 Portuguese or L2 English (or both) in Spanish as a third language as compared to the acquisition of Spanish as a second language, including both unergative and unaccusative verbs and both a preference and a production task. The goal of this study is, therefore, to contribute not only to the field of L3 acquisition but also to our understanding of the acquisition of intricate interface phenomena.

The research questions that guided the present study along with proposed hypotheses are presented in section 2.6.

2.6 Research Questions and Hypotheses

So far, we have seen that some Romance languages such as Spanish and Portuguese allow post-verbal subjects in declarative sentences, and that this is not the case in English. Needless to say, this constitutes an important aspect of linguistic inquiry to be investigated in L3 acquisition. To our knowledge, no studies to date include the specific combination of variables that this thesis addresses. This is a study of how previously acquired linguistic systems act as the source of crosslinguistic influence when producing word order alternations in L3 Spanish with Portuguese as L1 and English as L2. It will also compare these results of L3 Spanish with L1 Portuguese and L2 Spanish to better tease apart the possible effects of English.

The general question that this study proposes to answer is which of the two models, the TPM or the L2 status factor, can better explain crosslinguistic influence in Spanish as a third language. Given the combination of languages used in this experiment, it is not possible to reject the CEM in any meaningful way due to the fact that the CEM predicts crosslinguistic influence from either language, the L1 or the L2, but only if the transfer is positive. English cannot provide any positive transfer for verb-subject word order; therefore, positive transfer can only come from Portuguese, which is also the prediction of the TPM. If the predictions argued for by the TPM are corroborated, learners are expected to accept VS word order due to the typological similarity shared by Spanish and Portuguese. If, on the contrary, it is the L2 status factor which determines the main source of crosslinguistic influence, learners will always fail to accept this inverted VS word order as they will transfer their pragmatic knowledge from a relatively strict SVO language such as English.

As straightforward as it sounds, the picture proves to be more complicated as there are two factors that influence word order in Spanish –the type of intransitive verb and the type of focus–, and also because the effects of information structure are particularly visible with unergative verbs, and Spanish and Portuguese behave differently regarding these. Considering this syntactic difference in the treatment of unergative verbs in the two languages but also the similarity they both share in the treatment of unaccusative verbs, it is important to analyze the factors at play in the minds of language learners when dealing with word order alternations and to see how they compare to those of native speakers. This is especially relevant given the overall typological similarity between Portuguese and Spanish as a whole and the fact that there is a typologically different language, such as English, in the mix. Therefore, the intention of the present study is to analyze this combination of factors and linguistic characteristics in order to shed light on how crosslinguistic influence operates in the minds of bilingual and multilingual speakers.

The specific research questions and hypotheses that guide this dissertation are as follows:

- Research Question 1:

Given that information structure, or pragmatics, does not, for the most part, have an effect on word order in languages like Portuguese or English, what role does it have in L3 speakers' acceptance of VS word orders with focused subjects and unergative verbs?

As information structure affects the word order of declarative sentences with unergative verbs in L3 Spanish, the L2 status factor predicts that learners will fail to accept inverted VS constructions due to transfer from L2 English. In a similar fashion, the TPM predicts

that they will reject the effect of pragmatics on word order, as is the case in Portuguese. In other words, in this area the two models are indistinguishable.

- Research Question 2:

Are L3 Spanish learners able to recognize the effect of verb type on word order in accepting and producing VS orders with unaccusative verbs?

(a) If the L2 status factor is primary, L3 Spanish speakers will reject the VS order due to transfer from English.

(b) Moreover, the acceptance and production rates of the L2 and the L3 Spanish groups will differ because the L2 speakers will transfer their word order from BP, which does accept VS order with unaccusative verbs, while the L3 speakers will be constrained by English and, therefore, reject it.

(c) If L2 and L3 speakers do not differ, this will be taken as evidence in favor of the TPM.

- Research Question 3:

What is the role of proficiency in the acceptance and production of both syntactic and pragmatic word order effects in L3 and L2 Spanish?

According to Lozano (2006), syntactic constraints will be in place before pragmatic ones. Therefore, as learners gain proficiency, their acceptance and production of word order alternations motivated by pragmatic constraints (focus) will increase making both L2 and L3 learners' acceptance and production rates higher in the advanced levels.

Chapter 3

3 Methodology

The three languages involved in this study –Portuguese, English, and Spanish– have different dialectal varieties that are spread across the globe. As previously stated, this study was conducted with native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese, native speakers of non-Peninsular varieties of Spanish, and participants who learned Spanish as their L2 or L3 in the Americas, and consequently, recall that every mention of the Portuguese language refers to Brazilian Portuguese, and every mention to the Spanish language refers to Latin American Spanish.

3.1 Participants

This study reports data from 61 participants divided into four groups: (1) one experimental group of L2 speakers of Spanish, (2) one experimental group of L3 speakers of Spanish, (3) one control group of native speakers of Spanish (NSS), and (4) one group of monolingual speakers of Brazilian Portuguese (BPS). Participants in the BPS group serve to substantiate some of the properties of the Portuguese language described in the literature (see Table 3.1 for information of participants).

The proficiency level of participants in the experimental groups was determined by using two cloze tests, one in English and one in Spanish, that were created for this purpose. The reason a more standardized test was not used was to make sure that the results were equivalent for each group. The NSS's responses to the Spanish cloze test served as a baseline for L2 and L3 Spanish; the equivalent English cloze test was administered only

to the L3 group. A complete description of the test is found below in the instruments and design section (section 3.2).

Participants in the first experimental group, henceforth the L2 group, are 16 native speakers of Portuguese whose ages range between 21 and 51 years and who have Spanish as their second language. At the time of data collection, 14 of them were university students in São Carlos, Brazil, one was a university student in São Paulo, and the other one was a working professional, in São Paulo as well. Three of these 16 participants started learning Spanish between the ages of 10 and 12 years and learned it formally at language institutes or at school. The remaining 13 participants started learning it in their late teens or early twenties when they enrolled in the undergraduate Spanish program at São Carlos Federal University. According to the results on the cloze test, nine participants, a figure that accounts for more than 50% of the total L2 group, were placed at the advanced level. The remaining seven participants in the L2 group were placed at the intermediate level.

Participants in the second experimental group, henceforth the L3 group, are 20 native speakers of Portuguese whose ages range between 21 and 47 years and who speak English as their second language and Spanish as their third. They were all carefully selected to make sure that they had learned the three languages in that specific order, L1Portuguese – L2English – L3Spanish. As anticipated, they all reported becoming proficient in English before learning Spanish, with an onset age of English learning of 12.9 years on average and an onset age of Spanish learning of 21.6 years on average (see Table 3.2 for a summary). At the time of data collection, seven of these 20 Brazilians where living in Canada, and 13 were students at São Carlos Federal University in Brazil

enrolled in the undergraduate English or Spanish academic programs. To the question of where they learned English, six of the Brazilians living in Canada reported learning it at school, and one reported learning it in naturalistic settings. This tendency to study English formally was reversed for Spanish. Six participants of the ones living in Canada reported learning Spanish naturally by interacting with friends and family, and only one reported learning it at school. The situation was somewhat different for the 13 Brazilian participants living in Brazil. Twelve of them studied Spanish formally at school, and one learned it naturally. As for English, the situation was reversed. One of the 13 participants in Brazil learned English in natural settings, and 12 learned it formally at school. With regard to the Spanish and English proficiency levels of the L3 group, the results in the placement test placed eight participants at the intermediate Spanish level of proficiency and 12 at the advanced Spanish level. Two of these 12 advanced participants in Spanish were advanced in English too. As for English, results placed 18 participants at the intermediate level and two at the advanced level (see Table 3.2 for a description of proficiency levels of the experimental groups).

Participants in the third group, which is the Spanish control group for this study, are 15 native speakers of Spanish who learned the language at home and whose parents speak Spanish as their first language. They were from different Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America, such as Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Argentina. At the time of data collection, 13 of them were university students living in Canada and completing graduate programs at a Canadian university, and the other two were university students living in Argentina.

With respect to the fourth group, the monolingual Portuguese speakers, they are 10 Brazilians who were living in Brazil and studying at São Carlos Federal University at the time of data collection. They all reported acquiring Portuguese as their native language and not speaking a second language, and they also reported both their parents as being monolingual native speakers of Portuguese.

The distribution of the groups is shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.1. *Information of Participants*

Group	Number of Participants	Native Language	L2	L3	Nationality
L2	16	Portuguese	Spanish	None	Brazil
L3	20	Portuguese	English	Spanish	Brazil
NSS	15	Spanish	N/A	N/A	Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, Argentina
BPS	10	Portuguese	None	None	Brazil

Note. N/A = Not applicable

Table 3.2. *Age and Levels of Proficiency*

Group	Number of Participants	Age Range	Age Mean	English Level	Spanish Level	Onset in English (age mean)	Onset in Spanish (age mean)
L2	16	21 - 51	27.6	N/A	7 Int. 9 Adv.	N/A	19.5
L3	20	21 - 47	32.6	18 Int. 2 Adv.	8 Int. 12 Adv.	12.9	21.6

Note. N/A = Not applicable

3.2 Instruments and Design

The study was designed so that participants could answer all their questionnaires on paper over one individual session with the researcher. Every participant arranged a time and a place that was comfortable, such as an office or classroom, to meet with the researcher in person. Twenty of these sessions took place in Canada, and 41 took place in Brazil. Each individual session lasted for approximately one hour; the native controls, however, took less time. Participants were given instructions as to how to complete each task and were presented with one questionnaire at a time. For the L2 group, all the tasks were done in Spanish. For the L3 group, all the tasks were also done in Spanish except for the English placement test that participants in this group had to complete as an additional component to their participation in the study. Participants in the BPS group completed only the preference task and the production task, and they did so in Portuguese.

3.2.1 Placement Test

Since this is a study about L3 Spanish that involves analyzing how speakers communicate in three different languages, it was essential to test the proficiency level of Spanish and English in participants of the experimental groups. In order to do this, placement tests were designed in the form of cloze tests. Two cloze tests were created (see Appendix F), one in Spanish, and one in English[4]. A pilot test where five native speakers in each language completed the cloze test was conducted to help verify that the

[4] An equivalent cloze test in Portuguese was developed, but it was not used in the present experiment.

two tests worked without problems and were equivalent in both English and Spanish. The texts which were used to create the cloze exercises were all authentic texts, taken from newspapers in the two languages. The text in Spanish was taken from *El País* from Mexico, and the text in English was taken from *The Independent* from the United Kingdom. They were both news articles, of similar length, reporting on the Day of the Dead celebration in Mexico, and they were very similar texts although not an exact translation. After minor adaptations, every sixth word was removed and replaced by a blank that participants had to fill with just one word. Options for each blank were not provided, therefore participants were free to choose any word that they thought fit the context for each blank. There were 35 blanks in total in each of the two tests. The tests were marked according to the original texts, and only exact matches were accepted for each blank as the correct answer.

The native speakers of Spanish in the control group completed the placement test in Spanish, and their responses provided the baseline against which to measure participants' results in the experimental groups. The placement test in Spanish was completed by all participants in the L2 and L3 groups, whereas the placement test in English was completed only by the L3 group, that is, the group with the participants who speak both English and Spanish. For this placement test in English, the baseline was provided by the five native speakers of English who completed the pilot test. Having a placement test that was equivalent and similar in Spanish and English afforded the certainty of measuring comparable results across both languages and the assurance of placing participants in levels of proficiency that were equivalent.

As explained above, the score of the native speakers of Spanish provided the baseline to measure the scores of the participants in the two experimental groups. Native Spanish speakers' scores in the placement test ranged from 19 to 28 correct answers out of a total of 35, which is equivalent to an accuracy range of 54% – 80%. This means that participants in the two experimental groups whose scores fall within that range are considered to be at the advanced level of proficiency in Spanish. For the L2 group, this would be the case for nine participants, which amounts to more than 50% of the L2 group; and for the L3 group, it would be the case for 12 participants, which again, amounts to more than 50% of the L3 group. The rest of the participants –seven in the L2 group and eight in the L3 group– had scores that placed them at the intermediate level of proficiency in Spanish, as shown in Figure 3.1.

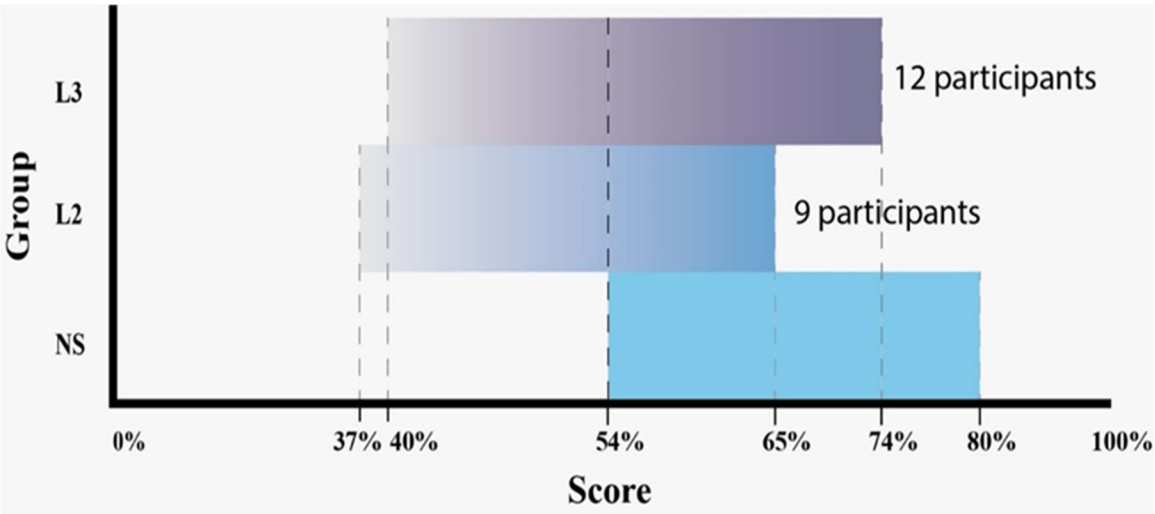

Figure 3.1. *Spanish Language Proficiency Baseline Provided by Native Spanish Speakers*

The lower bar indicates the baseline provided by NSS (54%–80%). Nine participants in the L2 group and 12 participants in the L3 group had scores within that range and are

considered advanced speakers of Spanish. On the other hand, participants whose scores fall within the 37%–54% range are considered intermediate.

Regarding the English baseline, English native speakers' scores in the placement test ranged from 24 to 27 correct answers out of a total of 35, which is equivalent to a range of 68%–77% of accuracy. This means that participants in the L3 experimental group whose scores fall within that range are considered to be at the advanced level of proficiency in English, which is the case for two participants, leaving the remaining 18 at the intermediate level.

3.2.2 Language Profile Questionnaire

Besides the placement test, participants were asked to complete a language profile questionnaire and to perform three tasks. The language profile questionnaire was aimed at collecting information that would allow for a categorization of participants according to the languages that they spoke. It requested personal information such as the age and place of birth of participants, linguistic information about the first, second and/or third language that they spoke, the age at which they started learning said language, and the place or setting where they learned it (e.g., school, institute, university, naturalistic setting, etc.). The questionnaire also asked for participants' self-reported linguistic ability in the different languages in question, where they had to place themselves at the beginner, intermediate, advanced, or native/near-native levels of proficiency. For the most part, this self-assessment correlated to participants' results in the placement test. These data, however, were not considered for the present study as the intention was to place

participants at the different proficiency levels according to their results in the placement tests that were designed for this purpose.

With regard to the three experimental tasks, participants completed a written preference task, an oral production task with images, and a vocabulary quiz, always administered in this order. Detailed descriptions of the tasks follow in the next sections.

3.2.3 Preference Task

The first task was taken from Lozano (2006) and minimally adapted to conform to the use of non-peninsular Spanish. Since all the native Spanish speakers of the study were from the Americas, all the *vosotros* pronouns (plural 'you' used in Peninsular Spanish) were changed to *ustedes* (plural 'you' used in non-Peninsular varieties) in the questionnaire. In addition, the verb conjugations that accompany *vosotros* were changed to those of *ustedes*. A Portuguese version of the task was used to collect data from the monolingual BP speakers. It was translated from Spanish to Portuguese by the researcher, who speaks both languages.

Lozano's (2006) task is a contextualized acceptability judgment test which contains 28 sentences, all in Spanish, that aim at finding how certain responses sound to speakers of Spanish either as a native language or as an L2 or L3. In this task, participants are provided with a written situation or context, which is followed by two very similar sentences (a) and (b), each corresponding to a different word order, namely, SV and VS, as shown in example (1).

(1) *Ayer, mientras estabas en el banco, un ladrón entró a robar. Hoy, tu amigo José te llama por teléfono porque escuchó una noticia sobre el banco. José te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó en el banco? Tú respondes:*

(a) *Un ladrón entró.* –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) *Entró un ladrón.* –2 –1 0 +1 +2

Yesterday, while you were in the bank, a thief came in. Today, your friend José phones you because he's heard something about the bank. José asks you: ¿What happened at the bank? You answer:

(a) A thief entered. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Entered a thief. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

Both sentences provided for each situation are grammatically correct, but given the context that is presented, some sentences may sound pragmatically odd. Each sentence is followed by a five-point scale, [–2 –1 0 +1 +2], that is used by participants to express their opinion. They are informed that marking the +2 value means that the sentence is completely acceptable in the context given, marking the –2 value means that it is completely unacceptable, and any value in between means that the sentence is more or less acceptable.

Before they begin the task, participants are told that any number combination is possible for each of the two sentences, that is, both could be, for example, completely acceptable or unacceptable, or one could be much more acceptable than the other, or both could be unacceptable. Participants are also asked to make their decisions as fast as possible, as it is their first intuition that matters. This may prevent them from lingering for too long on a specific sentence and overthinking their answer.

The test contains three training stimuli, four distracters, and 24 target stimuli. The target stimuli include both focused and unfocused contexts. As explained in section 2.5, a focused context question is the one which focuses on a particular constituent. For instance, in the question *¿Quién llegó/lloró, etc.?* ('Who arrived/cried, etc.?') the answer is not focused on the action, which is assumed to be known information shared by both speaker and listener, but on the agent performing the action. An unfocused context question, on the other hand, is one for which the whole answer is new information such as in *¿Qué pasó?* ('What happened?') where there is no pre-existing knowledge between speaker and listener. For this specific task, there were six unergative verbs and six unaccusative verbs presented with focused context situations and six unergative verbs and six unaccusative verbs presented with unfocused context situations.

The six unergative verbs were: *estornudar* (to sneeze), *bailar* (to dance), *gritar* (to shout), *dormir* (to sleep), *reír* (to laugh), and *llorar* (to cry).

The six unaccusative verbs were: *llegar* (to arrive), *entrar* (to enter/come in), *venir* (to come), *volver* (to come back/return), *escapar* (to escape), and *salir* (to leave).

3.2.4 Production Task

The second task to be completed by participants was the production task, which was done orally and audio recorded in order to be transcribed later. For this task, a total of 19 images were created, in color, showing different agents performing different actions. An example of one of the items with the unaccusative verb *escapar* is shown in Figure 3.2 below (refer to Appendix D for the complete set of images).

Each image represented a verb from those used by Lozano (2006) and showed the verb in written form in Spanish above the image. Six unaccusative verbs and six unergative verbs were included in the set as well as three transitive verbs as distracters and four verbs as practice (two transitive and two intransitive). Unaccusative verbs included *llegar, venir, entrar, salir, volver,* and *escapar* (all previously translated above). Unergative verbs included *reír, estornudar, llorar, bailar, gritar,* and *dormir*. The distracters were *comprar* (to buy), *escribir* (to write), and *preparar* (to prepare). The practice verbs were *soplar* (to blow), *ganar*, (to win), *nadar* (to swim), and *correr* (to run).

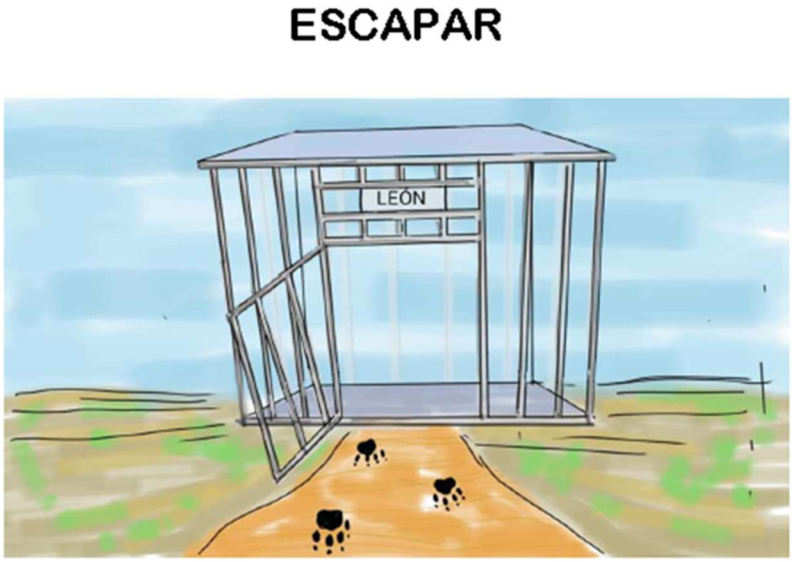

Figure 3.2. *Sample Item for Production Task*

At the moment of data collection, participants were shown one image at a time followed by a question, and they were instructed to provide short answers, always using the verb that was asked for. The images were presented in random order alternating between unergative and unaccusative verbs with focused questions, unergative and unaccusative verbs with unfocused questions, and distracters. Every unaccusative and unergative verb

appeared twice throughout the set, in random order, one time followed by a focused question and the other followed by an unfocused question. The image that prompted the verb *escapar*, for instance, appeared once followed by the question *¿Quién escapó?* and once more followed by the question *¿Qué pasó?*. Because *escapar* is an unaccusative verb, the expected response in both cases was *'escapó el león'*, 'escaped the lion'. The whole task took about five minutes to be completed, and the audio recordings were later used to code participants' answers as either SV or VS depending on the word order used by them when answering the questions.

3.2.5 Vocabulary Quiz

The third task was a vocabulary quiz which was completed by the experimental groups. The objective was to confirm that participants in the L2 and L3 groups knew the meaning of the Spanish verbs used in both the written test and the oral test. This vocabulary quiz had a multiple-choice format and contained a list of 12 verbs in Spanish with three options in Portuguese for each verb, as shown in example (2) with translation to English (see Appendix E for the complete instrument).

(2)

llegar →	*chorar*	*chegar*	*chamar*
'to arrive'→	'to cry'	'to arrive'	'to call'

Participants were asked to circle the correct translation for each verb on the list. There were no distracters in the quiz as this task was planned to be completed at the end of the session when the other two questionnaires had been answered. This was done in order to avoid the risk of informing participants beforehand of any lexical items present in the study that may have altered their performance.

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Before conducting the study and complying with current policy, a study application was submitted to the Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB). After receiving NMREB approval for this study by The Office of Human Research Ethics at The University of Western Ontario (see Appendix A), the data collection process began. All data were collected in Brazil and in Canada[5]. Participants sat for approximately one hour to complete the questionnaires, and all the questionnaires were answered on paper except for the production task which was completed orally. Participants' responses were coded later on by the researcher. All responses were converted to numerical values and entered in an excel sheet categorized in groups of participants, languages that they spoke, and any other information that was relevant to the study. The preference task was divided in categories according to the sentence type, that is, according to the type of verb and the type of context used in every sentence. In this way, four different sentence type categories emerged, as seen in Table 3.3. Each one was headed by a verb –unergative or unaccusative– and a context –focused or unfocused–, and it also included the expected type of word order –SV or VS–.

For the preference task, participants were required to use a five-point scale to indicate their opinion. They were asked to give a number between –2 and +2 to each item depending on how each sentence sounded to them. Once all questionnaires were completed, each value was averaged for every participant in every sentence type, and the

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[5] I would like to acknowledge the support of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), grant # 435 2018 1135 conferred to Joyce Bruhn de Garavito for providing the funds for my trip to Brazil to collect data.

mean values for each sentence type were calculated. Answers that matched the expected word order according to the type of verb and the context presented in each item were categorized as expected answers rather than correct answers. Expected answers is how they will be referred to from now on.

Table 3.3. *Preference Task Sentence Types*

	Unerg Foc	**Unerg Unfoc**	**Unac Foc**	**Unac Unfoc**
Total items	12	12	12	12
Verb class	unergative	unergative	unaccusative	unaccusative
Focus type	focused	unfocused	focused	unfocused
Word order	6 SV / 6 VS	6 SV / 6 VS	6 SV / 6 VS	6 SV / 6 VS

Note. The number of total items per sentence type is 12, from which six correspond to subject-verb word order and six to verb-subject word order.

For the oral production task, each response was recorded and later coded as SV or VS depending on the word order that the participant used to answer the questions with the images. One point was given per expected answer, that is, for every time a participant provided the expected word order according to the sentence type in question. By adding the participant's points per expected answer in each sentence type, an average value emerged. Average values were then used to calculate the mean value of word order use per sentence type and to conduct statistical procedures. The results obtained, for this and all the other tasks, are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

4 Results

This chapter shows the results of the experiment that was carried out on the third language acquisition of Spanish, with Portuguese as L1 and English as L2. Results will be compared with L2 Spanish–L1 Portuguese. Recall that the aim of this study is to determine whether transfer in L3 Spanish primarily comes from the L2 English, as per the L2 status factor hypothesis, or from the L1 Portuguese, which is typologically closer to Spanish. However, before beginning on the L3 and L2 results, I would like to address the issue of word order in current Brazilian Portuguese.

As we saw in Chapter 2, it has been suggested by several scholars (Rothman, 2010a; Coelho & Martins, 2012; Buthers & Duarte, 2012; among others) that BP is a partial SV language. In other words, the availability of the inverted VS word order is much more restricted in BP than in other Romance languages, such as Spanish. This is the assumption under which researchers have been working for some years now, and it is based on theoretical analyses and intuitions being passed from study to study, without considerable amounts of experimental research to provide evidence for it. In order to determine once and for all if BP speakers do favor the SVO structure more than Spanish speakers do, it was essential to the purpose of this dissertation to test this assumption with empirical data. By including monolingual Portuguese speakers and collecting and analyzing the data that they provided, this study corroborated that, in fact, BP is somewhat unique in that its speakers tend to reject the VS word order, that is favored in

Spanish, when the reason for this order is motivated by focus. This, as can be expected, affects not only speakers' acceptance but also production of the inverted word order, as will be explained in section 4.1.

4.1 Monolingual Speakers of Portuguese

Table 4.1 shows the responses of the monolingual speakers of Portuguese to word order with unergative verbs in the preference task. As previously explained, unergative verbs are the ones where information structure influences sentential word order on the basis of whether the context is focused or unfocused.

Table 4.1. *BPS Acceptance Mean Values of SV and VS orders with Unergative Verbs*

	Unerg Foc SV	**Unerg Foc VS**	**Unerg Unfoc SV**	**Unerg Unfoc VS**
Mean Value (from –2 to +2)	1.798	–0.097	1.882	–1.33

Note. VS order is expected with focused contexts and SV order with unfocused contexts

As can be seen, monolingual speakers of BP show a high rate of acceptance of SV constructions with unergative verbs, whether the context is focused or unfocused. There is rejection of the VS word order in all cases. For BP speakers, the focus constraint that dictates the preference for the VS word order in focused contexts with unergative verbs does not seem to play a role.

In Table 4.2, we find the mean responses to word order variation with unaccusative verbs. Recall that in this instance the preferred order according to syntactic constraints of verb class is VS, no matter whether the context is focused or unfocused.

Table 4.2. *BPS Acceptance Mean Values of SV and VS orders with Unaccusative Verbs*

	Unac Foc SV	**Unac Foc VS**	**Unac Unfoc SV**	**Unac Unfoc VS**
Mean Value (from –2 to +2)	1.482	1.064	1.464	0.732

Note. Due to syntactic constraints of verb class, VS order is expected with unaccusative verbs in both focused and unfocused contexts.

As illustrated in Table 4.2, with unaccusative verbs, the order VS is accepted by these speakers, in contrast to their rejection of this order with unergative verbs. This is evidence that the distinction based on type of verb does apply in Portuguese. However, note that there is still a preference for the SV order, so it would not be inappropriate to think that the distinction may be eroding.

In Table 4.3, we turn to production. Different from the values in the preference task, which are presented in a scale from –2 to +2, these production values added up together equal 1.0, as they show that speakers either produced the expected order or they did not. That is to say that for this task, participants answering the question with the SV order means that they chose not to answer with the VS order, and therefore, both orders are mutually exclusive. Mean values are shown in percentages.

Table 4.3. *BPS Production of Expected Orders with Unergative and Unaccusative Verbs*

	Unerg Foc VS	**Unerg Unfoc SV**	**Unac Foc VS**	**Unac Unfoc VS**
Mean Value	0%	100%	1.6%	8.2%

Note. SV or VS is the expected order per sentence type

Results show that production of sentences with the inverted word order is almost nonexistent in Brazilian Portuguese. Out of 24 target questions with different combinations of verb class and focus types, Portuguese speakers produced the SV order one hundred percent of the time with unergative verbs in unfocused questions, which was the expected trend. However, they also produced the SV order one hundred percent of the time with unergative verbs in focused questions (as indicated by the 0% production of the VS order) when, in contrast, the VS order would be pragmatically felicitous and expected in a language like Spanish. The fact that they did not produce a single declarative sentence with the VS word order for the unergative verb class as a whole indicates that BP does not establish a relationship between word order and focus.

As for unaccusative verbs, production rates for both focused and unfocused contexts were extremely low, and even lower than the rates for the preference task. This means that even though BP speakers accept sentences with VS order with unaccusatives when presented to them in written form, they are not as ready to produce sentences with the same order when answering questions orally.

As a general trend, it can be observed that, regardless of verb class, SV is always the preferred choice for these speakers, although the VS word order seems to still be optionally available with unaccusatives in Portuguese. This confirms the idea that BP has less required movement than Spanish, and that the VS order in BP is never mandatory or default as it is in Spanish (Rothman, 2010a).

This relationship between word order and type of verb was expected from Portuguese speakers, as the distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs is universal, and word order marks an underlying structural differentiation. That is, verb class constitutes a structural difference that has been found in many different languages around the world, and this difference affects sentential word order in languages like Spanish and Portuguese.

Regarding unergative verbs, the results presented here provide empirical evidence for the claim that, with this verb type, monolingual BP speakers reject the VS word order regardless of information structure or focus, while they prefer the SV order. This view was generally grounded in theoretical approaches including analyses of the morphosyntactic distinction of unergative and unaccusative verbs (Chierici, 2008), the analysis of subject inversion patterns (Coelho & Martins, 2012), the comparison between unergative and unaccusative verbs (Ferreira, 2011), the characterization of the word order inversion phenomenon in BP (Kato, 2000), the description of unaccusative verbs (Nascimento, 2014), or theoretical proposals of semantic and syntactic properties of verb-subject sentences (Pilati, 2006), and, in our view, needed to be corroborated by empirical data that show whether these tenets hold true for native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese. Thus, this study went a step towards establishing the appropriateness of these claims with

data that support them, and although 10 participants is a small sample to provide data, it is up to future studies working with larger groups to confirm whether the tendencies observed here are consistent enough to allow these results to be generalized to larger populations.

4.2 Word Order Alternation in Preference Task: Results

Recall that this study uses two experimental groups, one with L2 Spanish and the other with L3 Spanish. The L2 group consists of native speakers of Portuguese who learned Spanish as their L2, and the L3 group consists of native speakers of Portuguese who learned English as their L2 and Spanish as their L3. Results in the Spanish placement test yielded two proficiency levels among participants –advanced and intermediate– in each group. All groups performed a preference task, which measured participants' acceptance of SV and VS word orders under different conditions of verb class and focus type, and they also completed an oral production task with images. The results of the preference task will be presented here, followed by section 4.3, which will present the results in production.

As previously mentioned, mean values per participant and grand means for each sentence type were calculated. This provided a general visualization of linguistic tendencies within the two experimental groups –L2 and L3– at each of the two levels –advanced and intermediate–. A repeated measures ANOVA was performed in order to look for differences between the five groups (the native Spanish speakers, the intermediate and advanced L2 learners of Spanish, and the intermediate and advanced L3 learners of Spanish), as well as for differences between the responses to the different sentence types

(unergative focused, unergative unfocused, unaccusative focused, and unaccusative unfocused), and a possible interaction between the groups and the types. Results show a significant difference between the groups ($F(4, 46) = 6.896$, $p = 0.0002$), as well as a significant difference between the sentence types ($F(7, 322) = 18.218$, $p = 0.0001$), and also an interaction between the groups and the sentence types ($F(28, 322) = 2.576$, $p = 0.0001$).

In order to determine whether participants appropriately made the distinctions between the two types of focus and the two verb classes, a one-factor ANOVA repeated measures was conducted for each individual group. This was also done with the aim of addressing two specific points included in the research questions proposed by this dissertation, namely, the role of pragmatics (focus) and the role of verb class in word order alternations in Spanish. Only the VS order is used for these planned comparisons, as the objective here is to ascertain whether the groups use this order obeying syntactic constraints imposed by verb class and pragmatic constraints dictated by focus theory with both unergative and unaccusative verbs. The SV order is somewhat irrelevant, as it is the most common order in English and the preferred order in Portuguese, and therefore, does not provide substantial information to our specific purposes.

The results of these planned comparisons per individual group will be addressed first, beginning with the control group of native Spanish speakers. The results on differences between groups and sentence types will be discussed in section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Comparisons per Group

In what follows, the comparisons per individual group will be presented, starting with the native Spanish controls and followed by the two proficiency groups, namely, advanced and intermediate.

4.2.1.1 Native Speakers

Figure 4.1 shows the responses of the NSS group to the different sentence types with the inverted VS word order. Recall that each condition includes a combination of type of verb (unergative/unaccusative) and type of context (focused/unfocused).

Results of the factorial ANOVA show a significant difference in speakers' responses to sentence types ($F(3, 42) = 38.389$, $p = 0.0001$), and a post hoc Scheffe F-test confirms a significant difference between the unergative focused/unergative unfocused sentence types and between the unergative unfocused/unaccusative unfocused sentence types.

As can be seen, native Spanish speakers show very low acceptance of the VS order with unergative verbs in unfocused contexts, as is expected with this sentence type, and accept the expected VS order in unergative focused contexts to a certain degree. This shows that they clearly distinguish between focused and unfocused contexts with this verb class, and that they do take into account pragmatics when dealing with intransitivity in declarative sentences.

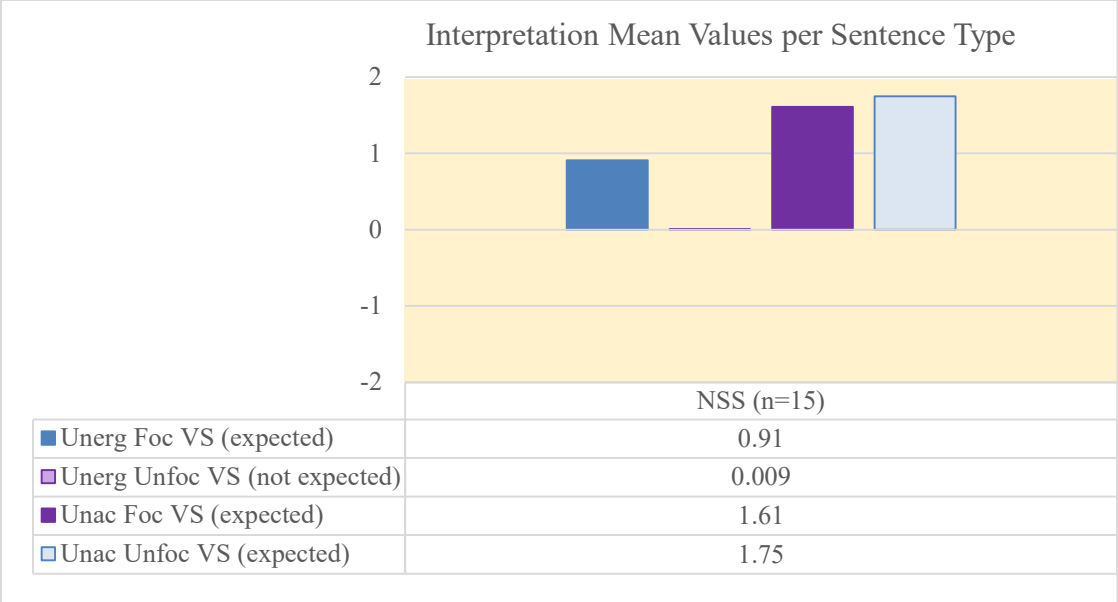


Figure 4.1. *Mean Values per Group and Sentence Type (Native Speakers)*

These empirical data provided by the NSS group showing that pragmatics plays a role in their acceptance of different word orders is important because it indicates that native speakers behave as would be predicted by preferring the felicitous VS order in focused contexts to the same word order with unfocused contexts. Hence, when it comes to unergative verbs, accepting the expected word order and rejecting the unexpected one implies an important effect of pragmatics on word order alternations for these native Spanish speakers.

On the other hand, the significant difference found in the sentence types corresponding to unergative unfocused/unaccusative unfocused is an indication that speakers are aware of syntactic constraints imposed by verb class and use them when judging sentences with inverted order. Taken together, these results show that, besides type of focus as a relevant factor, the type of verb is also important when dealing with word order alternations in native Spanish.

Regarding unaccusative verbs, recall that the inverted order is expected for both the focused and the unfocused sentence types. As illustrated in Figure 4.1 above, native speakers find the VS order felicitous. Unlike the situation with unergative verbs, we must keep in mind that the focus distinction with unaccusative verbs is null in Spanish, as the order will always be VS. As expected, no significant difference was found between the two focus types with unaccusative verbs in this group. This means that native speakers of Spanish are aware of the morphosyntactic word order tendencies that accompany verb class and judge sentences with unaccusative verbs as would be expected according to syntactic theory.

This being said, it is also valuable for the purpose of this study to look at speakers' acceptance of unexpected word orders and see how they compare to the expected trends. By looking at the mean rates of expected and unexpected answers with unergative verbs, shown in Table 4.4, it is clear that native speakers accept the SV order in focused contexts with unergative verbs to a certain extent. Moreover, their acceptance of this order is somewhat higher than their acceptance of the felicitous VS order for this sentence type.

Table 4.4. *NSS Acceptance Rate of SV and VS with Unergative Verbs*

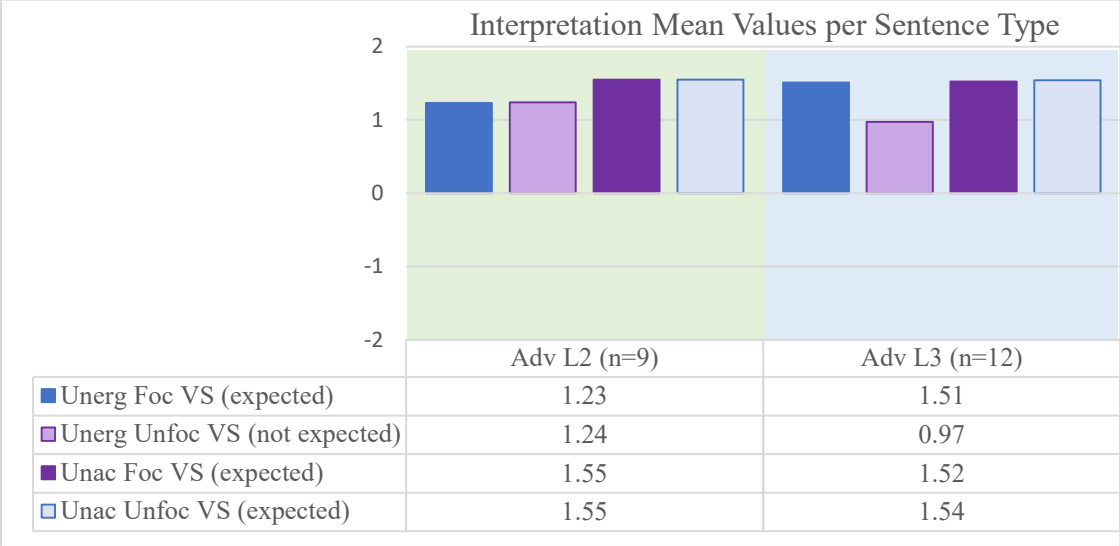
	Unerg Foc SV	**Unerg Foc VS**	**Unerg Unfoc SV**	**Unerg Unfoc VS**
NSS	1.09	0.91	1.66	0.009

Note. VS order is expected with focused contexts and SV order with unfocused contexts. [Mean value from –2 to +2]

The fact that native speakers show some acceptance of the pragmatically odd SV word order in focused contexts with unergative verbs echoes what has been reported by several authors (Lozano, 2006; Hertel, 2003; Dominguez & Arche, 2008, Prévost, 2011) with reference to focus and pragmatics. It is understood that the decision of alternating or inverting the word order in Spanish declarative sentences is not clear-cut. In other words, pragmatics is not written in stone, and the fact that pragmatically odd sentences do not lead to ungrammaticality makes this phenomenon subject to variation, even among native speakers (refer to the Discussion chapter for a detailed argument on native speaker performance).

4.2.1.2 Advanced Speakers

With regard to the advanced speakers in the experimental groups, significant differences were found for the L2 advanced group ($F(3, 24) = 4.153$, $p= 0.0167$) and for the L3 advanced group ($F(3, 33) = 3.185$, $p= 0.0365$). As illustrated in Figure 4.2, advanced speakers felicitously accept the VS word order in sentences with both focused and unfocused contexts. A post hoc Scheffe F-test shows no significant difference between the unergative focused and the unergative unfocused contexts in the advanced L2 and L3 groups for the VS word order, which means that speakers in these groups treat sentences with unergative verbs equally, evidence that pragmatics does not lead to differences in acceptance rates. A significant difference was found in the advanced L2 group between the unergative unfocused and the unaccusative unfocused types. This indicates that this group distinguishes between both verb types when interpreting sentences with subject-verb alternation.



	Adv L2 (n=9)	Adv L3 (n=12)
Unerg Foc VS (expected)	1.23	1.51
Unerg Unfoc VS (not expected)	1.24	0.97
Unac Foc VS (expected)	1.55	1.52
Unac Unfoc VS (expected)	1.55	1.54

Figure 4.2. *Mean Values per Group and Sentence Type (Advanced Speakers)*

The only sentence type with unergative verbs where the expected order is not VS but SV is the unergative unfocused. The unexpected VS order with unfocused unergatives, which is considered to be pragmatically odd for this type, is not completely rejected by advanced speakers. This is somewhat surprising because this inverted VS order is not the one that is preferred by BP speakers in their L1 with unergative verbs, and it is not a possibility in English either. The fact that learners accept it, even when it is not appropriate, means that they are aware that Spanish allows for subject-verb alternation, but they are not exactly sure of when the verb and the subject can be inverted correctly. Put differently, syntactic constraints seem to be in place in the minds of advanced L2 and L3 speakers, but pragmatic constraints of focus are taking longer to be developed. This is an idea defended by Lozano (2006) and a clear example of the difficulties that learners encounter at the syntax-pragmatics interface.

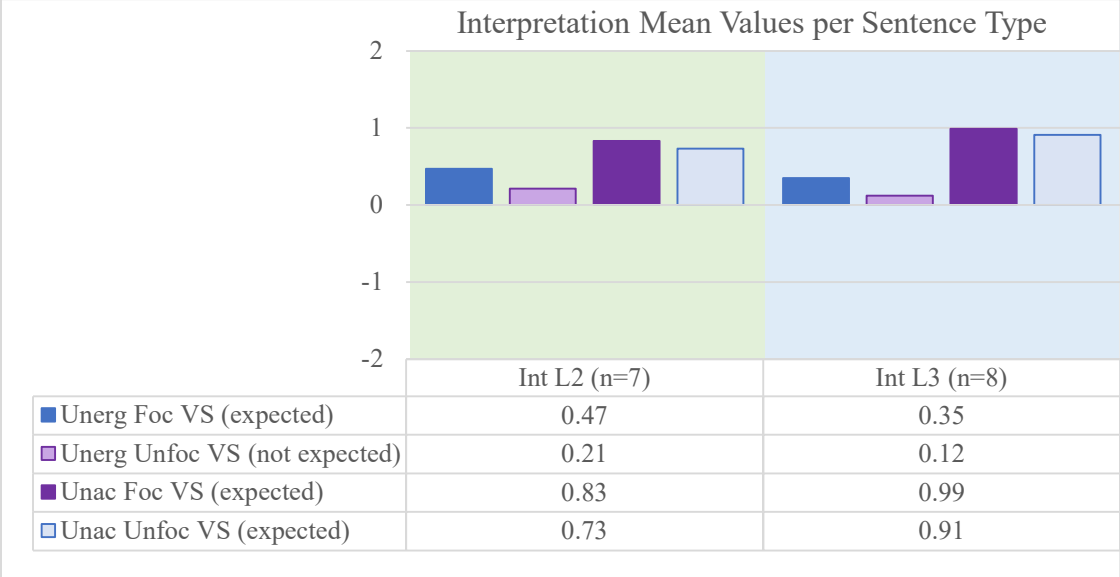
With regard to unaccusative verbs, advanced speakers' acceptance of the expected VS order is almost parallel with that of the native speakers, and this is true for both the L2 and the L3 groups. Similar to the NSS group, no significant difference was found between the focused and unfocused contexts with unaccusative verbs, which corroborates the fact that pragmatics does not play a role with this verb type. Recall that verb class is a determinant factor for subject-verb alternation in Portuguese and, therefore, the VS order is expected with unaccusative verbs. L2 learners, then, seem to be aware that the structural effects of verb class that operate in their L1 Portuguese operate in their L2 Spanish as well. With respect to the advanced L3 speakers, their acceptance rates also show a preference for the VS order with unaccusative verbs, as expected.

4.2.1.3 Intermediate Speakers

For the groups of intermediate speakers, significant differences were found for the L2 group ($F(3, 18) = 3.626$, $p= 0.0331$) and for the L3 group ($F(3, 21) = 6.326$, $p= 0.0032$). Figure 4.3 shows that intermediate L2 and L3 speakers' acceptance of the expected VS order with unergative verbs in focused contexts is minimal. A post hoc Scheffe F-test finds no significant difference in any of the sentence types for the intermediate L2 group. A significant difference was found in the intermediate L3 group between the unergative unfocused and the unaccusative unfocused sentence types, which reveals that these speakers take into account verb class when interpreting word order alternations in L3 Spanish.

With respect to unaccusative verbs, Figure 4.3 shows that intermediate speakers in both the L2 and the L3 groups felicitously accept the expected VS order in focused and

unfocused contexts equally. In other words, no significant difference was found between focused and unfocused contexts with unaccusative verbs in these groups of intermediate learners.



	Int L2 (n=7)	Int L3 (n=8)
Unerg Foc VS (expected)	0.47	0.35
Unerg Unfoc VS (not expected)	0.21	0.12
Unac Foc VS (expected)	0.83	0.99
Unac Unfoc VS (expected)	0.73	0.91

Figure 4.3. *Mean Values per Group and Sentence Type (Intermediate Speakers)*

As mentioned before, it is valuable to pay close attention to the mean rates of expected and unexpected answers in order to determine tendencies within groups. When comparing the values of the intermediate speakers for both the expected and unexpected answers with unergative verbs, it is evident that L3ers are more comfortable than L2ers accepting the SV word order, whether this is the felicitous choice or not. This is shown in Table 4.5 below.

Recall that L3 speakers have two distinct linguistic systems to choose from when processing sentences in a third language. These two previously acquired systems, namely L1 Portuguese and L2 English, behave similarly regarding word order, which is usually fixed in English due to the nature of the language, and which is also more productive in

Portuguese due to the fact that focus marking does not play a substantial role in word order in BP. This being the case, crosslinguistic influence in L3 Spanish can be seen in this preference for SV constructions.

Table 4.5. *Intermediate Speakers' Acceptance of SV and VS with Unergative Verbs*

	Unerg Foc SV	**Unerg Foc VS**	**Unerg Unfoc SV**	**Unerg Unfoc VS**
L2	0.59	0.47	0.66	0.21
L3	**1.74**	0.35	**1.72**	0.12

Note. VS order is expected with focused contexts and SV order with unfocused contexts [Mean value from –2 to +2]

Some acceptance of the non-felicitous SV order can also be attested in both the focused and the unfocused contexts with unaccusative verbs in the intermediate L3 group, as seen in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. *Intermediate Speakers' Acceptance of SV and VS with Unaccusative Verbs*

	Unac Foc SV	**Unac Foc VS**	**Unac Unfoc SV**	**Unac Unfoc VS**
L2	0.38	0.83	0.26	0.73
L3	**1.51**	0.99	**1.41**	0.91

Note. VS order is expected with both focused and unfocused contexts. [Mean value from –2 to +2]

Intermediate L3 learners accept the dispreferred SV order with unaccusative verbs more than they accept the expected VS order. This tendency to prefer the non-inverted order may be explained by the fact that this is the preferred order in their L1 Portuguese and in their L2 English. It would not be possible at this point, though, to determine whether they

are transferring linguistic knowledge from their L1, where a lack of preference for the inverted order is instantiated, from the L2, which is, for the most part, a strict SV language, or even from both the L1 and the L2. This inclination for the SV order, it should be noted, is a temporary transfer effect that learners will overcome as they move along the developmental path and get closer to being native-like, as evidenced in the preference that L3 learners have for the felicitous VS order at the advanced level (see Figure 4.2 in the previous section).

As can be established by comparing the information presented in the figures above, there are general differences in the way in which speakers accept declarative sentences with inverted word order within each group. Doing comparisons per group allowed us to see whether or not speakers in said group are able to distinguish between focus types and verb types, and this, as mentioned earlier, is relevant for answering two of the three research questions proposed in this dissertation that contrast pragmatic and morphosyntactic constraints, namely, the role of pragmatics in focused contexts with unergative verbs and the effect of verb class in word order with unaccusative verbs. The third research question is related to proficiency.

ANOVAs were conducted in order to compare the four proficiency groups –L2 Int, L2 Adv, L3 Int, L3 Adv– on the different sentence types. As shown at the beginning of section 4.2, significant differences between the groups and the types of sentences were statistically corroborated, and a post hoc Scheffe F-test was conducted in order to confirm where the differences occurred between groups. These findings will be addressed in section 4.2.2.

4.2.2 Comparisons Between Groups

Having reviewed the results for the different sentence types in each separate group, let us now review the results for comparisons made between the groups for the different sentence types. These findings are presented here, separated per sentence type or condition.

4.2.2.1 Unergative Focused Sentence Type

A factorial ANOVA finds a significant difference between the groups in the unergative focused sentence type condition ($F(4, 46) = 5.277$, $p= 0.0014$), and the post hoc Scheffe F-test reveals a significant difference between the advanced L3 group and the intermediate L3 group. Recall that the unergative focused sentence type is one of the most relevant conditions for our purposes, as it is here where focus theory dictates what the word order should be according to the context of the sentence. As previously stated, in BP, and unlike Spanish, sentences with unergative verbs in focused contexts follow the SV order, regardless of focus. In Spanish, however, producing the SV word order would be pragmatically odd, and therefore, the expected order is generally VS. This being the case, a declarative sentence with the combination of an unergative verb and a focused context is expected to have a different word order depending on the language in question.

The fact that Portuguese speakers accept the VS order in Spanish when it is not instantiated in their native language for this particular sentence type means that learners are approximating the target language (TL) and adjusting their interlanguage to the expected word order of Spanish. As illustrated in Table 4.7, advanced participants' acceptance of the VS order is higher than that of speakers at the intermediate level, which

shows that they have become aware of pragmatic constraints in Spanish. What is interesting is the fact that they are able to overcome the tendency dictated by their L1 Portuguese and their L2 English of predominantly accepting the SV word order and are also able to move towards accepting an inverted VS order as their proficiency increases in the L3. This shows that proficiency plays a role in the learning process, and that gradually receiving more input in the target language makes learners progressively get closer to native-like behavior. Additionally, the fact that the VS acceptance mean value for the L3 advanced group is more than four times as high as that of the intermediate group shows that L3 speakers are able to approximate the target language and acquire and understand the importance of pragmatics in Spanish as they become more exposed to it and gain proficiency in it. These learners seem to be getting closer to Spanish with no radical influence from Portuguese or English. Moreover, their acceptance rates are significantly higher than those of the native speakers, which is an idea that will be examined in the discussion section.

Table 4.7. *Advanced and Intermediate L3 Spanish Speakers' Acceptance of SV and VS Word Orders in the Unergative Focused Sentence Type*

Proficiency Level	SV	VS
Intermediate L2	0.59	0.47
Advanced L2	1.47	1.23
Intermediate L3	1.74	0.35*
Advanced L3	1.12	1.51*

Note. [Mean value from –2 to +2] [*refers to statistical significance of $p < 0.01$]

As explained before, the unergative focused sentence type is the most relevant for the present study due to the fact that the VS–SV distinction with unergative verbs is the only

one that tells us something about the role of pragmatics in L3 Spanish when compared to L1 Portuguese. This is because verb class is universal, albeit expressed differently in different languages, and therefore, it affects word order in Spanish and Portuguese in similar ways.

Having compared two proficiency levels within one group, namely, the L3 group, it is now valuable to analyze the same proficiency level in both the L2 and L3 groups. Figure 4.4 summarizes the acceptance tendencies of advanced L2 and advanced L3 speakers. The figure shows the overall mean values of acceptance of declarative sentences with the expected word order for this sentence type (VS) and also the acceptance of the same sentences with the unexpected word order, that is, the pragmatically odd word order (SV).

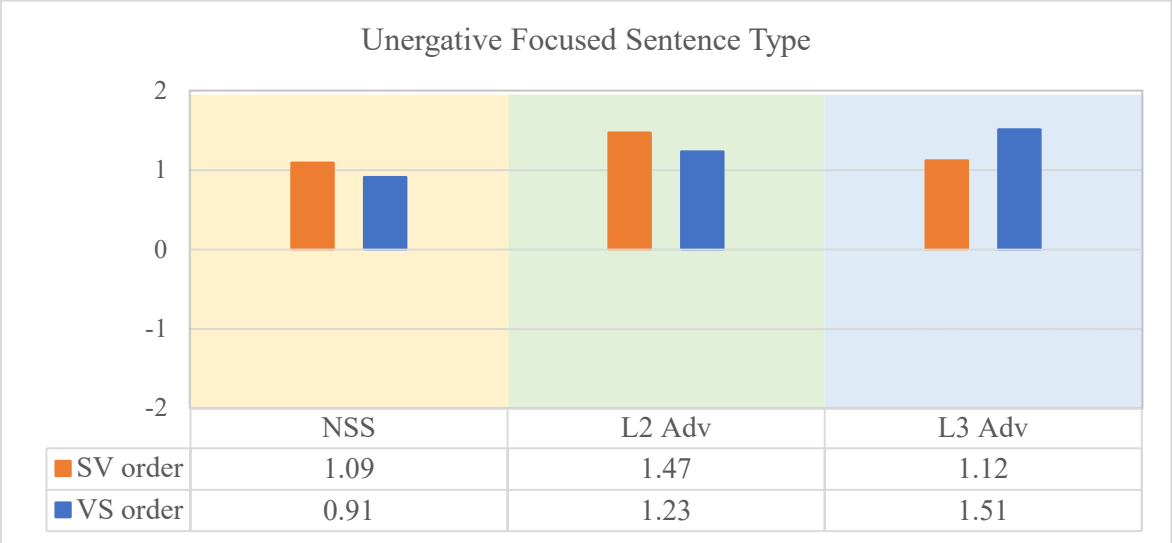


Figure 4.4. *Advanced Speakers' Mean Values of Acceptance of Two Word Orders*

The comparison above shows that, overall, advanced L2 and L3 Spanish learners accept to a certain extent declarative sentences with an inverted VS order, which is the one expected in Spanish for this type of sentence that combines an unergative verb and a focused context. Their acceptance is even higher than that of the native Spanish speakers. As a general tendency, accepting this order means that learners are able to acquire pragmatic constraints that pertain to information structure and focus theory in a different language even though said constraints are not instantiated in their previously acquired/learned languages.

4.2.2.2 Unergative Unfocused Sentence Type

The factorial ANOVA shows a significant difference between the groups for this sentence type ($F(4, 46) = 6.266$, $p = 0.0004$), and the post hoc Scheffe F-test reveals a significant difference between the intermediate L2 and the advanced L2 groups for the unergative unfocused sentence type.

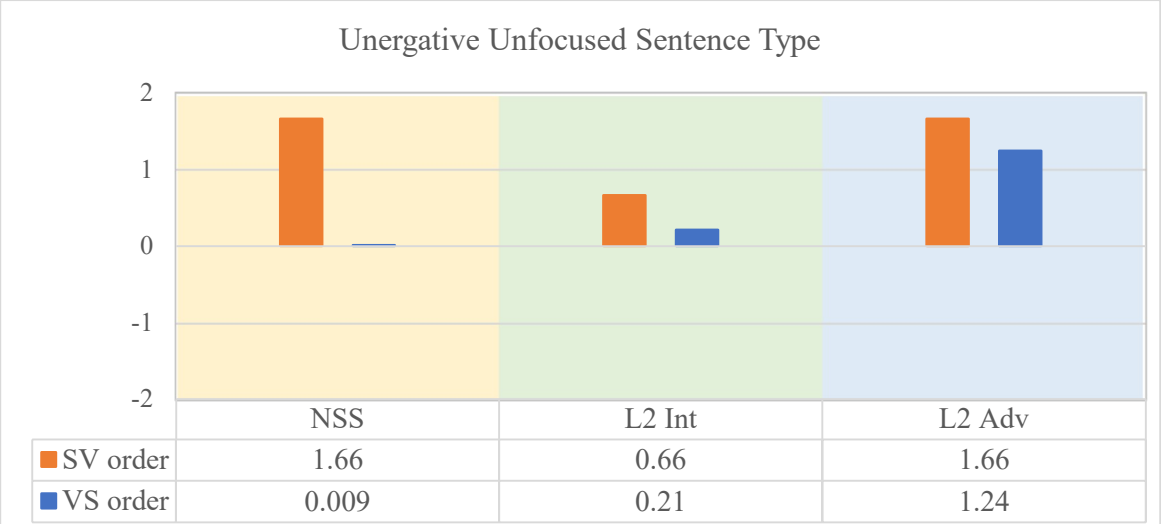


Figure 4.5. *Intermediate and Advanced L2 Speakers' Mean Values of Acceptance of Two Word Orders*

Results presented in Figure 4.5 show that L2 learners' acceptance of the expected SV order for this sentence type is higher than their acceptance of the pragmatically odd VS order. That being said, advanced learners accept the dispreferred inverted order much more often than their intermediate counterparts.

The unergative unfocused sentence type is the only one for which both Spanish and Portuguese coincide in assuming the SV word order. Acceptance of the inverted VS order for this sentence type was not expected, but it was, nonetheless, found. This is probably due to learners navigating the challenges of restructuring their interlanguage and formulating linguistic hypotheses as to which elements can and cannot be transferred from their L1. This is where interfaces pose difficulties to language learners when dealing with morphosyntactic structures that depend on pragmatic knowledge in order to be accurately processed and produced. In other words, learners seem to know that the inverted word order is possible in Spanish, but they fail to identify when this inversion can take place. For these L2 Spanish learners, the only possibility of crosslinguistic influence comes from their L1 Portuguese which, in this specific case, maintains the traditional SV order. Learners at the intermediate level are then faced with the task of identifying whether Spanish favors or disfavors this word order, and some non-facilitative transfer may occur in the process. In this case, whatever learners know about pragmatics and focus from other sentence types is transferred and overgeneralized to this specific one, therefore, preventing them from accepting the SV order as much as they should.

4.2.2.3 Unaccusative Focused Sentence Type

The factorial ANOVA reveals a significant difference between groups in the unaccusative focused sentence type ($F(4, 46) = 3.569$, $p = 0.0129$) for which the expected word order is VS. The post hoc Scheffe F-test does not find a significant difference between any of the groups for this sentence type.

It is safe to say that a significant ANOVA with non-significant multiple pairwise comparisons is not at all uncommon, and post-hoc tests may appear non-significant while the global effect is so. The Scheffe F-test used here is a conservative multiple comparisons test which has stringent demands that sometimes cannot be met with smaller samples such as the ones in this study. That being said, I believe that it is worth evaluating this sentence type as a whole in order to identify tendencies in the L2 and L3 groups by comparing the values in each.

The first tendency worth analyzing corresponds to the intermediate and the advanced L2 groups, and the second one corresponds to the intermediate and the advanced L3 groups. Results for the groups and proficiency levels are summarized in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8. *Advanced and Intermediate L2 and L3 Spanish Speakers' Acceptance of SV and VS Word Orders in the Unaccusative Focused Sentence Type*

Proficiency Level	**SV**	**VS**
Intermediate L2	0.38	0.83
Advanced L2	0.73	1.55
Intermediate L3	1.51	0.99
Advanced L3	1.05	1.52

Note. [Mean value from –2 to +2]

As Portuguese speakers do not usually take pragmatic constraints of focus into account, they will always expect the non-inverted SV order in sentences with both focused and unfocused contexts. They do, however, differentiate verb class, which results in the inverted VS order in declarative sentences with unaccusative verbs. This is the reason why one would expect there not to be any difference between groups. What the data show is that even though speakers at both levels in both groups fail to completely accept the expected VS word order, the mean values of acceptance increase as proficiency increases. The advanced speakers in both the L2 and L3 groups accept the VS order in a higher proportion than their counterparts at the intermediate level. This has implications not only for the role of proficiency but also for the role of typology when considering crosslinguistic transfer. To exemplify, when comparing the mean values of the L2 and the L3 speakers presented in Table 4.8 above, it is evident that L2 speakers, who only have their Portuguese L1 to transfer from, accept the non-felicitous SV word order to a lower degree than the L3 speakers. Given that L3 speakers have English as their second language, they seem to go through a period where they accept the SV order to a higher degree due, perhaps, to cross linguistic influence from their L2, which is an SVO language. This effect does not seem to be permanent, though, as speakers at the advanced level demonstrate higher acceptance rates for the expected VS order. This implies that even though there is transfer from their L2 that could potentially delay the process, it is overridden by the effect of typological similarity between the L1 and the L3 and, ultimately, with the help of proficiency.

4.2.2.4 Unaccusative Unfocused Sentence Type

There was a significant difference ($F(4, 46) = 6.78$, $p = 0.0002$) between the L2 intermediate and the L2 advanced groups in the unaccusative unfocused sentence type as corroborated by the post hoc Scheffe F-test. Table 4.9 shows that the acceptance rates for the expected VS order are higher than those for the non-felicitous SV word order. Both groups clearly prefer the expected VS order with this sentence type although in different proportions, as advanced L2ers show twice as much acceptance of this order as intermediate L2ers do.

Table 4.9. *Advanced and Intermediate L2 Spanish Speakers' Acceptance of SV and VS Word Orders in the Unaccusative Unfocused Sentence Type*

Proficiency Level	**SV**	**VS**
Intermediate L2	0.26	0.73*
Advanced L2	0.86	1.55*
Intermediate L3	1.41	0.91
Advanced L3	1.1	1.54

Note. [Mean value from –2 to +2] [*refers to statistical significance of $p < 0.001$]

For native speakers of a language such as BP, which does not take into account pragmatic constraints of focus in word order alternations, the type of verb seems to be a strong predictor of said alternations. Some acceptance of the non-felicitous SV order can be seen for this sentence type, but just as it was the case with the unaccusative verbs in focused contexts, learners seem to overcome these difficulties and increase their acceptance of the expected word order with an increase in proficiency. Moreover, if this initial transfer is, at some point, believed to come from L1 Portuguese in the case of the L2 Spanish group,

or even from L2 English in the case of the L3 Spanish group, it is clear by the results presented here that both groups are able to incorporate pragmatic behavior to their learning of Spanish and demonstrate said behavior, at least when they are asked to judge written language.

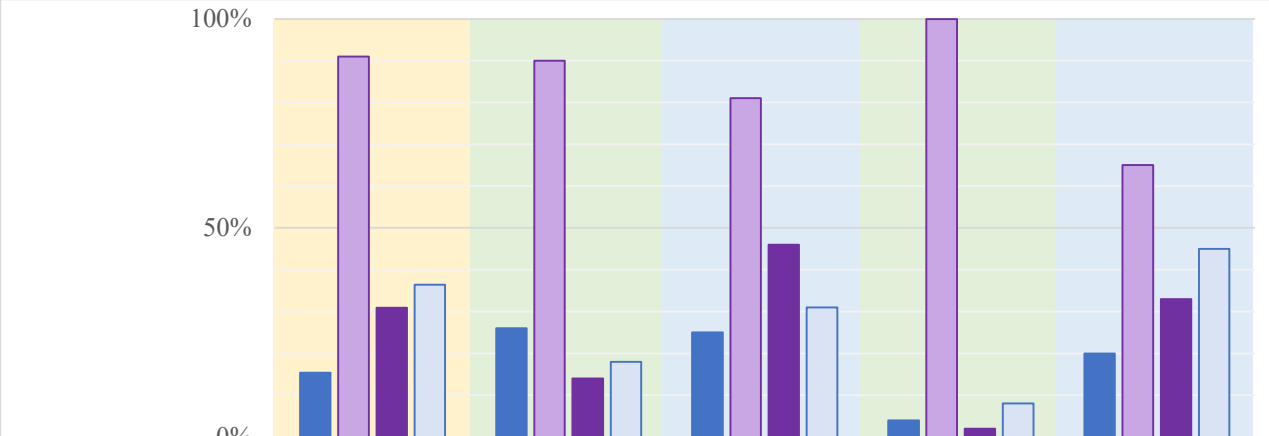
As previously mentioned, judging the felicitousness of written language or language that has been produced by others is fundamental to understanding what comes into play in the mind of language learners. However, inasmuch as it is essential, the language that learners produce should also be taken into account. With this in mind, this study included a combination of tasks that served in the collection of data that were not only of a preference nature, but that also looked into output produced by participants. Section 4.3 presents the results regarding production.

4.3 Word Order Alternation in Production Task: Results

All participants in this study were tested for production by means of an oral task, which involved the use of images and verbal questions that prompted answers in the form of declarative sentences. The production of these sentences was expected to have either SV or VS word order depending on the focus type and the verb class included in the question. That is to say, questions included a subject that was either focused or unfocused and a verb that was either unergative or unaccusative (see Chapter 3 on methodology, section 3.2.4).

Overall, for the native speakers of Spanish and the L2 and L3 Spanish learners, production rates of the VS order are considerably lower than those provided in the preference task. A repeated measures ANOVA shows no significant difference between

groups in production ($F(4, 46) = 1.252$, $p = 0.3026$), but shows a difference between types of sentences ($F(3, 138) = 58.643$, $p = 0.0001$) and an interaction between the two ($F(12,138) = 2.335$, $p = 0.0094$). The differences in sentence types can be seen in Figure 4.6, which illustrates L2 and L3 production results in the intermediate and advanced levels. For the unergative focused, the unaccusative focused, and the unaccusative unfocused conditions, the VS order is expected. For the unergative unfocused condition, it is SV.



	NSS (n=15)	Int L2 (n=7)	Adv L2 (n=9)	Int L3 (n=8)	Adv L3 (n=12)
Unerg Foc (VS)	15.4%	26%	25%	4%	20%
Unerg Unfo (SV)	91%	90%	81%	100%	65%
Unac Foc (VS)	30.9%	14%	46%	2%	33%
Unac Unfo (VS)	36.4%	18%	31%	8%	45%

Figure 4.6. *Expected Answers per Sentence Type – Production*

Note that all the groups agree on the order SV for sentences with unergative verbs in focused contexts, as predicted by focus theory, and that the production of the order VS in the contexts where it is expected is somewhat low. The mean values for production are presented here as percentages, and not as a scale between –2 and +2 as was the case with the preference task, because participants' answers to the questions in the production task

were formulated with either the SV or the VS order, therefore, one order excludes the other. Accordingly, given that the bars in Figure 4.6 show the percentage of production of the expected word order out of one hundred, it is understood that the remaining value, that is, the value needed to reach 100%, indicates the production of the non-expected order. To exemplify, NSS produced the expected SV order 91% of the time with focused unergatives, which means that they produced the unexpected VS order the remaining 9% of the time.

In order to compare rates of production in the four proficiency groups –L2 Int, L2 Adv, L3 Int, L3 Adv– in the different sentence types, a one-factor ANOVA was performed. Results show a significant difference between the groups in the unergative unfocused sentence type ($F(4, 46) = 3.269$, $p = 0.0193$), and a post hoc Scheffe F-test reveals a significant difference between the intermediate and advanced levels of the L3 group. A significant difference in the unergative unfocused type is surprising given the fact that the expected order for this type in both Spanish and Portuguese is the subject-verb order and, therefore, learners should treat it equally.

Table 4.10. *Advanced and Intermediate L2 / L3 Production Mean Values of SV and VS in the Unergative Unfocused Sentence Type*

Proficiency Level	**SV**	**VS**
Intermediate L2	90%	10%
Advanced L2	81%	19%
Intermediate L3	100%	**0%***
Advanced L3	65%	**35%***
NSS	91%	9%

Note. [*refers to statistical significance of $p < 0.05$]

Table 4.10 summarizes the mean values of the four experimental groups and the control group for the production of the inverted VS order in a sentence type that does not require it. Mean values for the production of the expected, and pragmatically accepted, SV order are also shown. As can be seen, participants at the L3 intermediate level produce the expected SV word order one hundred percent of the time; however, this amount is reduced in the advanced group where the production of the non-expected VS order increases.

Learners producing sentences with the inverted word order when it is not expected is a phenomenon that deserves some attention and some discussion based on the results for this sentence type. As the unergative unfocused sentence type is the only one where Portuguese and Spanish coincide in information structure with the expected order being SV, the fact that L3 speakers deviate from the expected behaviour as they gain proficiency shows an effect of overgeneralization. That is, the more L3 speakers learn about pragmatic constraints in Spanish, and the more they restructure their interlanguage, the more chances there are for them to overgeneralize word order alternations to all sentence types. In BP, the type of focus does not play a role in word order, and therefore, when it comes to unergative verbs, speakers favor the SV order with any type of focus, that is, the VS order is not productive in this case. However, as they start to comprehend how pragmatics functions in Spanish, and how it actually affects the way in which the elements of a declarative sentence are organized, they go through a phase where they believe that placing the subject after the verb is a requirement of sentences with every single type of focus, and this causes them to produce the unexpected order in contexts where it is not necessary. This relates to the difficulties that are generated at the syntax-

pragmatics interface, as learners can early on in the process understand that subjects and verbs can be inverted in Spanish but usually take long to know exactly when this inversion can be done. Moreover, with abstract properties such as this one, this will be a recurring issue even at advanced levels.

With regard to proficiency levels, some tendencies are observable in L2 and L3 learners' production of the inverted order at the intermediate and advanced levels. Figure 4.7 illustrates the differences in the production of sentences with VS order in the contexts where said order is expected, namely, the unergative focused, the unaccusative focused, and the unaccusative unfocused sentence types.

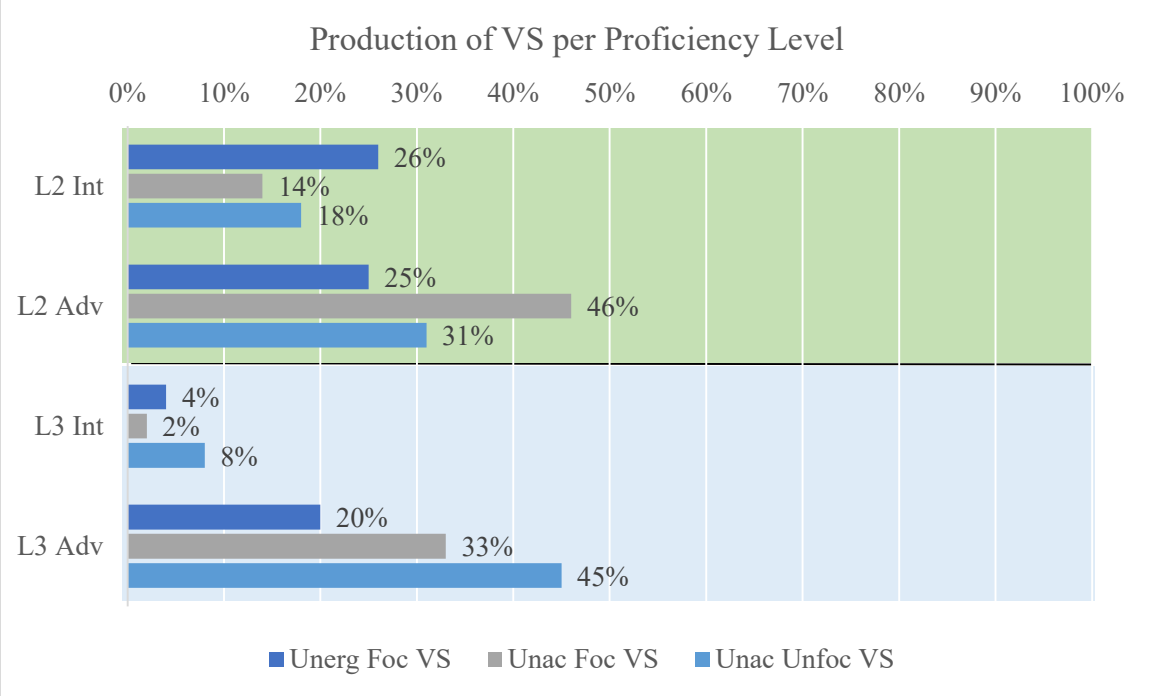


Figure 4.7. *Proficiency Effects in the Production of VS order*

As can be seen, production of the inverted order at the intermediate level is lower than that at the advanced level for both groups except for the unergative focused sentence type

in the L2 group, which remains almost the same. For the L2 group, the production of the inverted order with unergative verbs in focused contexts does not seem to be affected by proficiency. This may be due to transfer effects from their L1, as the only productive word order with unergative verbs in Portuguese is the SV order. However, with unaccusative verbs in both focused and unfocused contexts, L2ers' production of sentences with the VS order increases as they become more proficient in the language. The production rate triples in the unaccusative focused sentence type and almost doubles in the unaccusative unfocused sentence type. We said before that BP speakers take into account verb class when dealing with word order alternations in their language, and this is evidenced in L3 Spanish as well.

For the L3 group, the situation is somewhat different. For one, the three sentence types, including the unergative focused type, see an increase in production of the inverted word order with an increase in proficiency. Additionally, L3ers at the intermediate level barely produce the felicitous VS order, even though it is instantiated in their L1 Portuguese for unaccusative verbs, and therefore, higher production rates would be expected with this verb class. This preference for the SV order may be a consequence, perhaps, of transfer from their L2 English, which usually only accepts a SVO word order. If that is the case, it is evident in the numbers presented here that L3 learners are able to overcome this temporary crosslinguistic effect and incorporate VS into their linguistic repertoires as their exposure to the language increases.

Having provided a detailed account of the results, and before moving on to the discussion, it may be useful to analyze, in a general way, the findings presented here in order to address the tendencies that are broadly visible by looking at the figures and

tables that were shown in previous sections. Section 4.4 provides a bird's-eye view of the results.

4.4 Analysis of Results

By observing the results altogether, the first and most noticeable trend that can be perceived concerns not the acceptance but the production of the inverted VS order. In general, the rates of production were minimal across the board when compared to the acceptance rates. In the oral task with images, participants in all the groups, that is, the BP monolinguals, the Spanish controls, and the L2 and L3 Spanish learners produced sentences with subject-verb alternation less than 50% of the time preferring, instead, the SV order regardless of the sentence type. For sentences with unergative verbs, the BP monolinguals did not produce a single instance of VS order in the focused context, opting, instead, for producing SV one hundred percent of the time. This reinforces the hypothesis that BP speakers completely reject subject-verb alternation with unergative verbs. As for native Spanish speakers, they too fail to produce the felicitous VS order with unergative verbs in focused contexts as much as expected, with production accounting to only 15%. If we compare the two sets of native data, namely, the BP speakers and the NSS, we see that native speakers in both languages produce more inversion with unaccusatives than with unergatives and, in any case, said production is still low. This is in contrast to acceptance rates, at least for the Spanish speakers.

By comparing the two experimental groups, it is evident that the linguistic factors that come into play when learning non-native Spanish yield some slight differences. It appears that having two previously acquired languages, in the case of the L3 learners,

instead of having just a native language to rely on, as is the case of the L2 learners, generates divergence in the developmental path that each group follows. In the first place, L2 learners seem to be more stable in their numbers as they go from the intermediate to the advanced level with production rates of inverted order that start below 30% and gradually increase as proficiency increases. L3 learners, however, show a more dramatic effect with a very sharp increase in their numbers, which are minimal at the intermediate level and then go up to at least five times as much at the advanced level. In any case, production of the inverted order in the expected contexts increases with proficiency in both groups.

Something else of interest that can be noticed in production is the behavior in the SV order with unergative verbs in unfocused contexts. The SV order is the expected one for this sentence type in both BP and Spanish and, therefore, speakers should prefer it and produce it one hundred percent of the time. Findings show that this is true for two groups only: the monolingual speakers of Portuguese and the L3 Intermediate learners. For the L2 speakers, production of SV at the intermediate level is 90%, decreasing to 81% at the advanced level. Put differently, production decreases with proficiency to give way to the production of the dispreferred inverted order. This, as mentioned earlier, could be a sign of overgeneralization of the subject-verb alternation rule to contexts where it is not required. As for the L3 speakers, we said that at the intermediate level, production of the felicitous SV order equals one hundred percent, as expected, but there is also a decrease in production as proficiency increases. Contrary to the L2 group, however, this decrease is substantial as they go from 100% at the intermediate level to producing only 65% at the advanced level. Given that this L3 group has two previously acquired linguistic

systems to choose from, English which is usually an inflexible SV language and Portuguese which expects the SV order with this sentence type, they start strong at the intermediate level by transferring the familiar SV order. As they become more proficient, though, and aware of the fact that pragmatics constrains word order alternations in Spanish, they seem to recede while they work on restructuring their interlanguage.

In terms of the native Spanish controls, their SV production is 91% which, for the most part, follows the expected trend, but which also shows that there is a fraction of the time (9%) where pragmatics does not operate as expected for these native speakers.

Besides production, the second important trend that is apparent when looking at the overall results is speakers' behavior in the acceptance of the VS order. Recall that all the numbers presented for the preference task have a range of –2 to +2. This means that participants could completely reject or completely accept the inverted order or provide a number in between. In the first place, the two sets of native data in the study differ in the unergative verb class in important ways. The monolingual BP speakers completely reject the inverted order with unergatives in focused contexts, accepting the SV order one hundred percent of the time, as expected, while native Spanish speakers show optionality and accept both orders almost equally (SV=1.09/2.0 and VS=0.91/2.0). This variability in native Spanish data will be addressed in the Discussion chapter. With respect to unfocused contexts and unergative verbs, both the monolingual BP speakers and the NSS accept to a high extent the felicitous SV order and reject the inverted VS order, as expected.

With unaccusative verbs, the BP speakers group prefers the non-felicitous SV order in both focused and unfocused contexts, although they do not completely reject the inverted order. Conversely, the NSS group prefers the inverted order, as expected, but does not completely reject the non-felicitous SV order.

Regarding the two experimental groups, results are somewhat similar for both L2 and L3. Acceptance rates for the felicitous inverted order for the unergative focused type start very low at intermediate levels (0.47/2.0 for L2 and 0.35/2.0 for L3) and considerably increase as proficiency increases (1.23/2.0 for L2 and 1.51/2.0 for L3). Once again, just as was the case with production, the L3 group is the one with the largest gap between the initial and final rates of acceptance. Regarding unaccusatives, acceptance at the intermediate level in both the L2 and L3 groups is higher than that for unergatives and increases to even higher rates as learners reach the advanced level. As for acceptance of the non-felicitous SV order with unergatives in focused contexts, recall that the preferred order in BP is SV, as these speakers do not take into account the type of focus when dealing with word order alternations, so any acceptance of this order in L2 or L3 Spanish can be seen as crosslinguistic influence from Portuguese or English. In general, acceptance rates are high for the L3 group at both proficiency levels (1.74/2.0 at the intermediate level and 1.12/2.0 at the advanced), but they decrease as learners become more proficient. The L2 group shows a different picture. Their acceptance of this order starts low at 0.59/2.0 as if they were already acquiring the subtlety of pragmatic constraints in Spanish at this level, but goes up to 1.47/2.0 at the advanced level. This may seem like they are reverting to native language behavior, but, as previously

mentioned, it could only mean that the restructuring process is not a stable process, especially when dealing with structures at the syntax-pragmatics interface.

Having reviewed general tendencies in the results for all the groups and for both the acceptance and production of the inverted VS order, let us now discuss how the findings in the data validate, or not, the hypotheses proposed for this dissertation, and how they support the linguistic theories which serve as the basis for this study, namely, the Typological Primacy Model and the L2 status factor.

It is important to clarify that any analysis provided here, should be regarded as tentative, as these theories were developed for initial stages, and the groups of speakers who participated in this study were at the intermediate and advanced levels. Nevertheless, the property in question, namely, word order alternations, is both syntactically and pragmatically determined, which makes it not only problematic but also subtle in Spanish. Because of this, it is not perceptible at the initial state and, therefore, one can only begin to study it at intermediate levels, at the very least. It can be said that even though speakers are at the intermediate level of proficiency, their knowledge of this linguistic phenomenon is still at the initial state, which justifies using these two models as the theoretical framework.

Chapter 5

5 Discussion

This study investigated word order alternations in L3 Spanish with the aim of identifying the source of possible transfer, from L1 Brazilian Portuguese or L2 English, in the postponing of the subject after the verb in declarative sentences with unergative and unaccusative verbs in focused and unfocused contexts. The three languages included here create an interesting scenario as they differ in intriguing ways with respect to word order alternations. The morphosyntactic constraints set by verb class and their effect on word order are shared by both Spanish and Portuguese. That is, both languages differentiate between unergative and unaccusative verbs, and this is a factor in determining word order in declarative sentences. Pragmatic constraints, however, constitute a fundamental difference between the two languages, as pragmatics does not usually motivate word order effects in Portuguese in the same way that it does in Spanish. In this respect, Portuguese does not license word order alternations based on focus type and maintains an SV word order in sentences with unergative verbs regardless of whether the context is focused or unfocused. In view of this, the general typological similarity that can be perceived between Spanish and Portuguese may not be of help for some of the linguistic properties in question here and, although transfer from Portuguese may be perceived as the most economical option, as explained by Rothman (2010b), it is not, in this case. Moreover, although Portuguese and English are perceived to be structurally distant at first glance, the truth is that Portuguese behaves similarly to English regarding word order. This shared similarity between Portuguese and English was not always the case, as

previously mentioned, but through natural linguistic evolution, BP shifted with regard to the null-subject parameter and started losing the properties associated with it (Barbosa et al., 2005). Consequently, Portuguese is now a more fixed SV language than it once was, which brings it closer to English in this respect.

Building upon the results presented in Chapter 4, this discussion chapter puts together the main findings and the proposed research questions in relation to the predictions that were made at the beginning of this paper. The two models that are examined here are the Typological Primacy Model (Rothman, 2010b, 2015) and the L2 status factor (Bardel & Falk, 2007, 2012). In broad terms, the former argues that structural similarity, that is, linguistic typology between the languages in question is the most important factor determining crosslinguistic influence in L3 learning, and the latter advocates for a strong role of the second language in crosslinguistic influence, as the L2 is argued to be cognitively more similar to the L3 than the L1. The predictions of these two models, in terms of morphosyntactic and pragmatic differences, for the languages studied here are addressed below. I will begin by discussing the findings of the Portuguese monolingual group to then address the hypotheses proposed for the experimental groups and subsequently review the performance of the native speakers of Spanish who served as controls for this study.

5.1 Brazilian Portuguese

As previously mentioned, Brazilian Portuguese behaves differently from other Romance languages which license null-subjects. We said that it has been partially losing the properties of the null-subject parameter due to a linguistic change that started in the 19th

century (Coelho & Martins, 2012), and that it is moving towards being a more restricted SVO word order language than it was in the past (Kato, 2000; Buthers & Duarte, 2012). This is relevant for the findings presented here because a great deal has been said in the linguistic literature about this phenomenon, yet not a substantial amount of empirical evidence has been provided. What has been written about word order in Portuguese is considerably less than what has been produced for other languages, and many of the studies reviewed for this dissertation concentrate, mainly, on providing a characterization of the differences between unergative and unaccusative verbs. Not many of them, however, deal with the two classes of verbs together to analyze syntactic and pragmatic effects on word order alternations in Portuguese. For this reason, one of the goals of this study was to examine native speakers of BP in order to clarify how Brazilians interpret, accept, and produce declarative sentences with these two kinds of verbs in focused and unfocused contexts.

Findings for this group of Portuguese monolinguals show that, in effect, BP is becoming a strict SVO language. It is not surprising that this linguistic change was corroborated empirically by the data collected in this study. It was, in fact, expected to be that way. As stated above, the availability of the VS word order is much more restricted in BP than in other Romance languages, except French, and this inverted order is productive only with unaccusative verbs and not with unergative verbs. We have seen that pragmatics does not have an effect on word order in Portuguese, and therefore any type of focus is treated equally. Morphosyntax, on the other hand, is expected to impact word order alternations in BP.

The results presented here show that, even though Portuguese speakers accept the VS order with unaccusative verbs in a written preference task (1.06/2.0), there is still a preference for the SV order (1.48/2.0). In the case of unergative verbs, the rejection is absolute (–0.097/2.0). In production, however, besides not producing a single instance of the VS order with unergative verbs, it seems that the inverted order is ceasing to be productive with unaccusative verbs as well, as speakers show that they strongly prefer to use SV (98.4%).

It is generally assumed that verb class is universal, yet Portuguese seems to be changing the way in which it expresses this distinction, as it does not seem to substantially motivate the placement of the subject after the verb with unaccusative verbs in production. In general terms, it can be determined, then, that post-verbal subjects in declarative sentences is not common, or preferred, by BP speakers, as they seem to always opt for the SV word order. Focus type distinctions do not have an effect on word order alternations in BP, and verb class distinctions seem to be moving in that direction as well. In any case, any instance of subject-verb alternation in declarative sentences will be syntactically, and not pragmatically, motivated.

5.2 Experimental Groups

With regard to the two experimental groups of L2 and L3 learners, and taking into account that the phenomenon under investigation is subject to the syntax-pragmatics interface, three research questions and hypotheses were proposed in this dissertation. The first research question was intended to identify the role of information structure (pragmatics) in the acceptance of VS word orders with unergative verbs and focused

subjects by L3 Spanish speakers. The second aimed at determining whether L3 Spanish learners are able to recognize the syntactic effect of verb type on word order in accepting and producing VS orders with unaccusative verbs. Lastly, the third research question was designed to explore the role of proficiency in the acceptance and production of both syntactic and pragmatic word order effects in L3 and L2 Spanish.

In light of this, the next sections will address the proposed hypotheses based on the findings provided by the four experimental groups –L2 intermediate, L2 advanced, L3 intermediate, and L3 advanced–.

5.2.1 The Effect of Pragmatics

The first research question aims at determining the role of pragmatics in accepting the inverted order with unergative verbs in focused contexts. Taking into account that focus marking does not have an effect on word order in languages like Portuguese (the L1 of the speakers) or English (the L2 of the L3 group), it was said that the two theoretical models which serve as the basis for this study, namely the TPM and the L2 status factor, cannot be distinguished when it comes to pragmatics and unergative verbs. It was predicted that due to the L2 status factor learners would fail to accept inverted VS constructions in L3 Spanish, as they would transfer from L2 English. It was also predicted that the typological similarity between Spanish and Portuguese would cause learners to reject the effect of pragmatics on word order in L3 Spanish, as proposed by the TPM.

The results presented here do not point to a significant difference in the unergative sentence types, focused and unfocused, for each individual group, which would indicate

that pragmatics has no effect on learners' choices regarding subject-verb alternation. This means that neither the L2 nor the L3 learners would have acquired the pragmatic knowledge that indicates that subjects can be presentationally marked with focus by being placed after the verb in declarative sentences. That being said, recall that our first hypothesis is about learners' acceptance, or lack thereof, of the inverted VS order in sentences with unergative verbs and focused contexts. By taking this into account, and looking at the acceptance rates in both experimental groups, the results presented here do not support our first hypothesis, as learners accept the inverted order. Based on acceptance, pragmatics seems to be operating for both L2 and L3 speakers in sentences with unergative verbs in focused contexts, and this is especially true for speakers at the advanced level of Spanish. In the case of the intermediate speakers, due to the fact that they are not beginners, a certain amount of restructuring based on the input is expected (Schwartz & Sprouce, 1996).

As we know, focus constraints affect the word order of declarative sentences with unergative verbs in Spanish but not in Portuguese. Advanced learners show high acceptance of the VS word order for this sentence type (L2 acceptance is 1.23/2.0, whereas L3 acceptance is 1.51/2.0), and this has implications for both advanced groups which will be addressed separately, as follows:

For L3 Spanish learners, transfer does not seem to be coming from L2 English although the L2 status factor model predicts that to be the case. This means that speakers should reject the inverted VS order across the board since English is, in most instances, a strict SVO language. This, however, is not the tendency presented here. Moreover, Portuguese parallels English behavior regarding pragmatic constraints with unergative verbs which,

for these L1 Portuguese–L2 English speakers, would be one more reason to reject said order. The actual situation is that L3 speakers are accepting the VS order in higher and higher proportions as proficiency increases (0.35/2.0 at the intermediate level compared to 1.51/2.0 at the advanced level) therefore suggesting that the L2 status factor is not operating in this case. In fact, it stands to reason that any acceptance of the inverted order by these speakers can be taken as evidence that the L2 status factor is not the source of crosslinguistic transfer to L3 Spanish.

While it is true that L3 speakers come to accept the inverted order even when it is not part of their linguistic background, results show that they also accept the SV order, which is not expected for this sentence type, namely unergative verbs in focused contexts (see Table 4.7 in the Results chapter). Speakers' acceptance of the dispreferred order amounts to 1.74 out of 2.0 at the intermediate level and decreases to 1.12 out of 2.0 at the advanced level. Accepting both the preferred and the dispreferred orders shows that learning a language is a gradual process and, as such, it implies not only the steady but also the slow development of linguistic structures. Related to this view, Herschensohn (2000) proposes a constructionist model that specifies three different stages for language acquisition: (1) at the initial stage of the learning process, there is transfer of L1 settings, as proposed by Schwartz and Sprouse (1996); (2) then, learners start restructuring their interlanguage to gradually incorporate constructions and increasingly set L2 parameters; (3) lastly, learners reach native-like behavior but may display variability in their performance due to an incomplete acquisition of subtle properties of lexical items (p. 279). In spite of the apparent optionality displayed by the L3 speakers of this study, acceptance rates of the non-expected SV word order reduce as their proficiency increases,

showing that these learners have acquired the pragmatic constraints of focus in the L3 to a high extent and are able to incorporate new pragmatic knowledge to their learning of L3 Spanish.

As for the L2 Spanish learners, they also accept the felicitous inverted word order, especially at the advanced level, showing that they are able to acquire pragmatic constraints of focus marking in a second language even if those are not instantiated in their L1. Not only do they accept the VS order, but their acceptance increases from the intermediate to the advanced level of proficiency. In some cases, nonetheless, acceptance of the non-expected SV word order can be attested, and this acceptance also increases with proficiency as learners go from intermediate to advanced levels. This optionality shows, on the one hand, that L2 learners are sensitive to pragmatic constraints, as they do not reject the felicitous inverted order, but on the other, that they do not seem to fully understand when this order is expected. While they may be aware that inversion is a possibility in Spanish with the unergative class, that is, while they may be sensitive to syntactic constraints, they still do not seem to understand the relationship between pragmatics and word order nor to comprehend the SV–VS distinction to a point where they can make stable decisions regarding word order alternations as motivated by the need to presentationally mark a subject as focused. Making stable decisions, it should be noted, is a skill that learners may not fully develop as predicted by the interface hypothesis for structures at an interface between two linguistic modules, such as this one.

To summarize, L2 and L3 learners' behavior regarding post-verbal subjects with unergative verbs in focused contexts shows two trends: Firstly, they do not reject them, as would be predicted by the L2 status factor and the TPM, therefore showing that

pragmatics plays a role in the acquisition process and that pragmatic constraints can be acquired in non-native Spanish even when they are not part of speakers' L1 or L2. Secondly, speakers seem to accept both the expected VS and the unexpected SV orders up to a point, and this optionality is directly related to their level of proficiency. L3 learners' acceptance of the expected VS order increases with proficiency at the same time that their acceptance of the non-expected SV order decreases. At the advanced level, these learners prefer the VS to the SV order in the expected situations, which means that they have acquired word order as motivated by information structure and focus types. The fact that they still accept the SV order at that level shows that pragmatic constraints take longer to be in place, as maintained by the interface hypothesis. The situation for L2 learners is different, as they still prefer the SV to the VS order even at advanced levels, which means that, even though they know that Spanish licenses postponed subjects and do not completely reject them, they have yet to acquire the principles that constrain subject-verb and verb-subject contrasts in Spanish.

The fact that focus marking seems to have little effect on L2 learners' choices of word order suggests a strong role of their L1 Portuguese which does not take information structure into account in these instances. The question that arises, then, is why do L3 learners seem to possess knowledge of these pragmatic constraints that license post-verbal subjects when they have the same L1 Portuguese as L2 learners and, additionally, have an L2 English which does not instantiate inversion either? What makes L3 learners different from L2 learners in this respect? It may be possible that being multilingual, as opposed to bilingual, creates an added advantage when it comes to the acquisition of

certain problematic structures such as those that are subject to the syntax-pragmatics interface.

The multilingual advantage has been evidenced in studies with working memory like that of Cockcroft et al. (2017), for instance, and defined as essential in a globalized world (Stein-Smith, 2017). It may be the case that, after having learned a second language, L3 learners develop certain abilities that may present added advantages in subsequent language learning. More languages mean larger repertoires and the easier learning of subsequent languages (Westergaard, 2019). Learners may become better at input processing or at pattern recognition; they may also become better at noticing features in the target language, or they may develop metalinguistic awareness that will prove to be useful when restructuring their interlanguage. Regarding our specific results, it does seem like having two linguistic systems in place when acquiring a third one creates an advantage with respect, at least, to subtle linguistic properties that combine structural and discursive elements and, therefore, are difficult to master in L3 Spanish.

5.2.2 The Effect of Verb Class

The second research question proposed for this dissertation aimed at determining whether L3 Spanish learners are able to recognize the morphosyntactic effects of verb class on word order in accepting and producing VS orders with unaccusative verbs. Three hypotheses were developed for this question: (a) If the L2 status factor is primary, L3 Spanish speakers will reject the VS order due to transfer from English. (b) The acceptance and production rates of the L2 and the L3 Spanish groups will differ because the L2 speakers will transfer their word order from BP, which does accept VS order with

unaccusative verbs, while the L3 speakers will be constrained by English and, therefore, reject it. (c) If L2 and L3 speakers do not differ, this will be taken as evidence in favor of the TPM. In what follows, these hypotheses are addressed.

(a) The fact that a difference was found between the unergative unfocused and the unaccusative unfocused sentence types in the L3 intermediate and in the L2 advanced groups shows that these learners treat unergative and unaccusative verbs differently in unfocused contexts, which indicates that they are sensitive to syntactic effects of verb class when dealing with word order alternations. Considering that the L2 status factor theory was proposed specially for early stages of development, the L3 intermediate learners are sure to give us linguists great insight into the acquisition of a subtle property such as subject-verb alternation. They are closer to being beginners than speakers at the advanced level and, therefore, can provide a better understanding of linguistic behavior regarding word order. Recall that the syntax-pragmatics interface is a troublesome concept in language learning, and that word order alternations are not only syntactically represented but also pragmatically motivated, which causes this phenomenon to be problematic and sophisticated, as well as subtle. As a consequence, it can only begin to be examined as learners reach the intermediate level of proficiency, as it is around that time that restructuring (Schwartz & Sprouce, 1996) of abstract properties starts taking place. In view of this, it is important to see whether the initial state hypotheses proposed by the L2 status factor hold true for more advanced levels. It does not seem to be the case for the phenomenon in question. Additionally, L3 learners at both the intermediate and advanced levels show high rates of acceptance of the VS order with unaccusative verbs. This would not be the case if the source of crosslinguistic influence were their L2

English, as this transfer would make them completely reject the inverted VS order. Regarding production of the inverted order with unaccusative verbs, it was shown to increase with proficiency, which again, would not be the case if English were the source of transfer. Considering all this, this study does not find support for the L2 status factor as the primary determinant for crosslinguistic influence in L3 Spanish.

(b) Regarding the acceptance and production rates of the L2 and the L3 Spanish groups and the prediction that they would differ, the findings from the experimental groups presented here suggest that there is no difference regarding the way in which L2 and L3 learners treat inversion with unaccusative verbs. What can be attested is very similar acceptance rates of the inverted order in both groups and similar production rates at the advanced level of both L2 and L3 speakers. This means that L2 learners transfer their syntactic knowledge from their L1 Portuguese, and that full transfer of English SV order is not the case for L3 learners.

(c) After proposing that no difference between the groups would be taken as evidence in favor of the Typological Primacy Model, we reiterate that the predictions of the L2 status factor are not confirmed in this study, and therefore, our findings support the tenets of the TPM. While we cannot rule out the possibility of restructuring based on the input, our results agree with the predictions proposed by the TPM for the manner in which both L2 and L3 learners seem to be transferring knowledge of syntactic constraints due to verb class from the typologically closer language, namely, their L1 Portuguese.

In a recent debate initiated by Westergaard (2019) in her article on the importance of property-by-property acquisition, the author claims that, after being refined in several

ways over the years, the TPM is not a model for L3 acquisition anymore, as its scope has been reduced to the initial stage and, therefore, it cannot offer predictions for later development (p. 15). Whether that claim is supported or not, it was always my view that the TPM is a model proposed for early stages, and I treated it as such from the beginning of this dissertation. Even though this study did not include learners at beginning levels of proficiency, I believe that the TPM can, and did, still provide useful predictions regarding these groups of learners and the elements that come into play when they use language. As explained before, the subtlety of the phenomenon under investigation, namely, word order alternations, a property subject to the syntax-pragmatics interface, cannot be studied at early stages. If one's intention is to adequately analyze how learners interpret and produce subject-verb alternation in Spanish, this can only be achieved at the intermediate level, when restructuring of this phenomenon starts manifesting. For intermediate learners, knowledge of word order alternations due to pragmatic and syntactic constraints can be taken to be still at the initial stage. This being the case, the present study supports the primary role of typology in L3 Spanish transfer as proposed by Rothman's (2010b) Typological Primacy Model.

5.2.3 The Role of Proficiency

Finally, the third research question aimed at establishing the role of proficiency in the acceptance and production of the inverted order as motivated by pragmatic constraints. Following Lozano (2006), who argues that syntactic constraints are in place before pragmatic ones, it was predicted that as learners gained proficiency, their acceptance of word order alternations motivated by information structure constraints (focus) would

increase, consequently making both L2 and L3 learners' acceptance and production rates higher in the advanced levels.

By looking at the rates for the inverted VS order in both the intermediate and advanced levels, it is clear that the acceptance of this order is directly proportional to the level of proficiency of the speakers. The idea that more exposure to the language, accompanied by an increase in proficiency, leads to more acceptance and production of the VS order where it is expected has been emphasized throughout this paper. For the unergative focused sentence type, for instance, where the preferred order is VS, acceptance rates of L2 and L3 learners at the advanced level are twice as high as those at the intermediate level, suggesting that learners are able to restructure their interlanguage to accommodate newly acquired knowledge about pragmatic constraints of focus marking in L3 Spanish as they gain proficiency. At the intermediate level, L3 learners show optionality in their word order preference for sentences with unergative verbs in focused contexts, as they prefer the SV order in higher proportions to the expected VS. This behavior, however, is reversed at the advanced level, where the preference for the VS order is increased, and the acceptance of SV order is decreased. This shows that learners are able to overcome the tendency of only accepting the SV word order and are also able to move towards accepting the preferred VS order as their proficiency increases. This, again, reveals that proficiency plays a role in the process of learners who are, little by little, getting closer to native-like behavior.

Regarding L2 learners, they double their acceptance of the VS order at advanced levels as well. The fact that the acceptance mean value for the L2 advanced group is almost three times as high as that of the intermediate group shows that L2 speakers are able to

approximate the target language as they gain proficiency in it and understand the relevance of pragmatics in Spanish, at least with respect to information structure and focus.

Besides preference and acceptance, there is a similar tendency in production. Production rates show that, in general, learners are more comfortable postponing the subject at higher levels, thus validating the role of proficiency in the treatment of word order alternations as constrained by pragmatics. Pragmatics is but one side of the equation regarding properties at the syntax-pragmatics interface, and it has been said that syntactic constraints are in place long before pragmatic ones. In the discussion above we have established that learners need to move along the developmental path, as they continue to be exposed to the target language and gain proficiency, before pragmatics starts serving its purpose of constraining word order alternations in L3 Spanish.

With regard to production, our hypothesis is validated only for the L3 group but not for the L2 group. As evidenced in the production rates presented in the Results chapter, and in contrast to their behavior in acceptance, L2 learners did not increase their production of VS structures with unergative verbs in focused contexts with an increase in proficiency. In fact, production remained the same across both levels suggesting that L2 learners are aware of focus constraints, as some inversion takes place, but do not sufficiently restructure their interlanguage to cause an increase in production. For L3 learners, however, an increase in production was, in fact, found. At the intermediate level, and probably due to transfer from L2 English or L1 Portuguese, L3ers' production of sentences with the inverted order was minimal. This tendency drastically changed at the advanced level where learners are shown to produce four times more VS

constructions, thus validating the hypothesis that exposure to the target language and an increase in proficiency are essential for learners to acquire pragmatic knowledge that will allow them to use certain structures when expected.

With unaccusative verbs, production also increased with proficiency. Verb class is a determinant factor for subject-verb alternation due to syntactic reasons, and it is, in fact, where Portuguese and Spanish coincide, as they both prefer the inverted order with this type of verb (although Portuguese may be changing this preference). Inversion instances here are, therefore, important factors to be analyzed, as they show whether learners are becoming able to approximate native-like behavior.

All experimental groups increased the production of sentences with the VS order as their proficiency increased. It is true that production should have been stable across proficiency levels considering that learners' L1 Portuguese treats unaccusative verbs the same way that Spanish does, but the fact of the matter is that learners at the intermediate level did not produce as many sentences with the inverted order as expected. Their production, however, increased at the advanced levels. This suggests that, whatever reason learners had for preferring the SV order at intermediate stages (L1 Portuguese gradually becoming a stricter SVO language and triggering transfer from this new order to L2 Spanish, transfer from L2 English to L3 Spanish, etc.) was overridden by proficiency, as evidenced in the higher production rates that the advanced levels presented.

5.2.4 A Note on Production

This study used a written preference task in which participants were presented with a situation followed by two possible sentences which they had to judge in terms of appropriateness (Lozano, 2006). It also used an oral production task in which participants were presented with an image and had to answer a question orally. The idea of using an oral task responded to the goal of testing learners' production with the aim of obtaining more comprehensive results about the linguistic phenomenon in question. In general terms, production of the inverted VS order was expected to yield underwhelming results due to two main reasons: the first being the nature of data collection tasks, such as the one used here, which tend to put speakers in situations that are somewhat artificial and may seem to lack an authentic communication goal; and the second being the fact that the input containing word order alternations provided to Spanish learners is incredibly low in textbooks and language classes. Bruhn de Garavito (personal communication, March 12, 2020) exhaustively reviewed a considerable number of Spanish textbooks and found no evidence of declarative sentences with the VS word order in any of them.

The fact that not a single instantiation of this phenomenon was found in the material that we use when we teach our Spanish classes not only demonstrates that learners are exposed to very impoverished input regarding word order alternations in Spanish, but also shows the need for authentic communication in the classroom. Impoverished input of certain structures, especially of those which are subject to the syntax-pragmatics interface and therefore essentially problematic, puts learners at a disadvantage. This, ultimately, results in the very low production of sentences with the inverted word order, as the numbers in this study show.

Speaking to the specific results of the production task used here, it is evident that all the groups, including the native controls, produced the inverted VS order in the contexts where it was expected less than 50% of the time. The fact that native speakers of Spanish are not producing the inverted order as much as expected creates a question worth analyzing about the correlation between the pragmatically felicitous production of VS word order by native speakers, which constitutes a big part of the input to which learners are exposed, and the behavior of learners regarding the preference and acceptance of this inverted word order. The question of where L2 and L3 learners' behavior and their learning of word order alternations in Spanish comes from, given the fact that native speakers are not completely providing that necessary input, will be addressed in the next section.

5.3 Native Spanish Speakers

In terms of the data provided by the native speakers of Spanish, I would be remiss if I did not address their performance in this study and acknowledge that the results for the native Spanish speakers show a linguistic behavior that does not completely correspond to theoretical expectations. Recall that, according to presentational focus theory, new information is expected to be placed in sentence-final position. This is a discourse constraint that affects the focused constituent in a way that allows for inverted subject-verb word order to take place in Spanish. The alternation between VS and SV word orders is expected to be clear-cut and treated as such by native speakers. The results presented here show that, in a preference task where native speakers have to accept or reject sentences with different word orders depending on the situation, they significantly differentiate between focused and unfocused contexts with unergative verbs. This,

undoubtedly, acknowledges an effect of pragmatics for this verb class. However, in an oral test with images where they have to answer questions, their production of sentences with inverted order in focused contexts was somewhat lower than predicted by theoretical accounts (15.4%).

With reference to this unexpected behavior, other authors have found optionality among native speakers of Spanish serving as controls in their studies (Borgonovo et al., 2015; Domínguez & Arche, 2008; Hertel, 2003; Leal et al., 2019; Lozano, 2006). Borgonovo et al. (2015) not only found variability among the native Spanish speakers in their study on the acquisition of mood contrasts in Spanish relative clauses by native speakers of English, but also mention that other studies on interfaces have shown native speaker variability as well.

In line with the tendencies found in this study, Hertel (2003) ascertained that the native speakers in her study "produced considerably less inversion than predicted by syntactic literature" (p.297), and that, although they showed preference for the VS order in the predicted situations, their VS order production was relatively low. As a possible explanation for this, the author mentions that the native speakers in her study were living in the United States at the time of data collection and were fluent English speakers, which may have had an effect on their performance. This is a factor that could have affected the production of the native speakers in this study as well.

Lozano (2006) argues that the distinction between SV and VS is categorical and that the native speakers in his study treat it as such. He says that they categorically prefer SV to VS with unergatives in unfocused contexts, and VS to SV with unergatives and

unaccusatives in focused contexts. In other words, native speakers seem to be following the expected trends. However, saying that native speakers prefer the expected word order to the unexpected one is painting only half the picture. The truth of the matter is that, besides accepting the expected word order, native Spanish speakers in his study also accept the unexpected word order, although in slightly lower proportions. They accept the dispreferred VS order with unergatives in unfocused contexts 46.7% of the time, the dispreferred SV word order with unergatives in focused contexts 57.7% of the time, and the dispreferred SV word order with unaccusatives in focused and unfocused contexts 50% and 62.5% of the time, respectively (p.187). This means that native speakers in his study are also behaving in a way that is somewhat different from what is expected by looking at linguistic theory.

Domínguez and Arche (2008) acknowledge the unexpected acceptance of the SV order in unergative focused contexts by their native group. Unergative focused contexts usually motivate the VS order, yet half of the control group accept SV and the other half accept VS, therefore concluding that this variability corresponds to a division in the behavior of the group, meaning, it is not optional. Lastly, Leal et al. (2019) found that their native speakers failed to mark subject focus by placing the subject in sentence-final position preferring, instead, to realize it in-situ. The authors cautioned that this is problematic for theories that suggest rightmost realization. Their concern is an idea that I support.

Against this background, it is reasonable to consider the perspective of several scholars who challenge the prevailing view of focus marking in Spanish and to propose that this theory be revised to include other possibilities for the way in which native speakers actually produce language and for the implications that this has for native data when

compared to that of experimental groups. It is true that a certain variability can be expected from native speakers, especially with properties at the syntax-pragmatics interface, for which results are neither black nor white but rather in-between, but it is no less true that this native variability should be remarked on and taken into account when analyzing non-native performance.

That being said, besides accepting that native speakers do not always perform as expected, I believe that it is also important to provide possible explanations as to why this is the case in our specific situation. Native speakers' variability in this study could be explained by the type of construction under investigation, namely, word order. The fact of the matter is that word order is a tendency; that is, there is nothing ungrammatical in the sentences that speakers produce. Therefore, as pragmatically odd as it may be, native speakers deciding to use the unexpected word order in a certain context is certainly not ungrammatical, and this creates more linguistic freedom, as the possibility of being judged by other native speakers is reduced.

In the specific context of the present study, in harmony with Hertel (2003), another possible explanation is that the native Spanish speakers of this study are not monolingual; they all speak English, albeit at different levels, and have been living and studying in an English-speaking country for a long time. Thus, there is the possibility that some crosslinguistic transfer from English may occur. Similarly, it is also possible that the reason for native variability is the nature of the data collection tasks and the fact that they, somehow, create the need in participants to produce speech that conforms to a somewhat more formal register. By means of the Principle of Formality, Labov (1972) explains that "any systematic observation of a speaker defines a formal context in which

more than the minimum attention is paid to speech" (p. 113). Hence, when speakers are being interviewed in situations that are not authentic and that are far from what real communication resembles, they may think that they need to produce sentences with the SV order because this is the marked order in Spanish. In this case, VS inversion and focus theory constraints are overridden by speakers' conscious or unconscious intention of producing speech that is formal enough for the situation at hand. Additionally, this study used an acceptability judgment task which, according to some scholars, is a kind of task that poses limitations as it might reflect data that do not approximate what speakers do in every-day speech (Leal et al., 2019).

Yet one more possibility is that this variability in native speakers' word order preference is a sociolinguistic phenomenon directly connected to dialectal variation. It is known that not all the speakers of a dialect adopt linguistic innovations, and that differences in dialects result from those innovations that do not extend to the whole territory where said language is spoken (Hualde et al., 2010, p.324). The native speakers of this study come from different countries in Hispanic America, and they all speak their own Spanish variety, which may affect the way in which they deal with word order alternations. If that is the case, more research should be conducted with speakers from different regions in order to clarify their word order preferences, compare those to syntactic theory concepts, and detect native speakers' real sensitivity to verb class. This would also shed light on how speakers deal with information structure theory and whether or not the concept of focus is, after all, meaningful and acquirable by L2 and L3 learners in a language such as Spanish.

So far, it has been acknowledged that most native Spanish speakers in this study did not completely perform as expected regarding word order alternation with postponed subjects, and it has been suggested that we should start thinking about focus theory in a different way, at least in the case of Spanish. Although different explanations for this tendency have been offered along with ideas on what this means for the Spanish-speaking community in America, it is now imperative to talk about how this relates to the community of L2 and L3 Spanish learners and address where learners' behavior and their learning of word order alternations in Spanish comes from, given the fact that native speakers are not completely providing that necessary input. In other words, it is important to explain why learners accept this inverted order if they do not have frequent instantiations of it from the input to which they are exposed.

It could very well be that learners who study Spanish at college or university, like most of the L2 learners who participated in this study, and who are the main population in most linguistic studies in our field, do not necessarily learn it from native speakers but from professors who learned it as their L2 and now teach it to others. If that is the case, these professors probably studied the language formally and thoroughly, learned about different aspects of it, including discourse properties and focus, and developed metalinguistic knowledge that motivates them to deal with word order alternations according to theory. This is the input that they provide to their students, which works to those students' benefit. Put differently, the input that learners need in order to re-structure their knowledge of information structure in non-native Spanish could be coming from language instructors whose Spanish is not their L1 either but who have acquired great

metalinguistic knowledge about syntactic and pragmatic constraints of focus in L2 Spanish.

In any case, the quality of the input to which learners are exposed is fundamental in the learning process. Acknowledging that learners are being able to acquire, albeit up to a point, linguistic structures for which the linguistic evidence in the input is not as frequent as it should be needs to be regarded from both sides. It is a very positive thing that L2 and L3 learners are able to acquire subject-verb alternation despite native speakers not alternating word order completely as expected; but, on the other hand, it is true that this variable performance of native speakers may also be the cause of difficulties in learners' successful acquisition of SV–VS word order alternations in Spanish.

In conclusion, after discussing the specific linguistic behaviors offered by the groups of speakers presented here, some elements are worth emphasizing. For one, we said that monolingual speakers of Portuguese prefer the SV order with unaccusative verbs and completely reject the VS order with unergatives. They accept the inverted order in written form to a certain degree but do not use it in production. Secondly, both L2 and L3 learners show acceptance of the inverted order, which indicates that they are able to acquire focus constraints even if not instantiated in their L1 or L2. Their acceptance increases as they become more proficient in the language, which suggests an important role played by exposure to the target language and proficiency. Even though they also accept the non-felicitous SV order, this acceptance reduces with proficiency in the L3 group, as expected, while it increases for the L2ers, indicating a minimal role of pragmatics among these L2 learners. It is suggested, then, that L3 learners may have

some advantages over L2 learners, at least when it comes to subtle and difficult properties at the syntax-pragmatics interface.

Chapter 6

6 Pedagogical Implications and Applications

For years, scholars and teachers have defended the importance of input in the second language learning process. Krashen (1981) was the first to introduce the notion of comprehensible input as the necessary and sufficient condition for second language acquisition; Long (1985) pointed out that comprehensible input could only be possible through interaction, as it was the negotiation of meaning that took place in conversational exchanges which made said input comprehensible. According to him, this negotiation of meaning in the form of clarification requests, comprehension checks, and confirmation checks helps repair breakdowns in communication and brings input to a comprehensible level for the interlocutors.

While interaction is an essential component of SLA, and teachers are faced with the task of creating as many opportunities for interaction in the classroom as possible, the truth of the matter is that some linguistic features of the language are not specifically taught in language classes and, therefore, are not practiced by students in any way. Furthermore, the input to which learners are exposed in a regular lesson usually lacks authenticity and does not present learners with the evidence that they need in order to acquire certain structures that are not transparent or salient in the language. Consequently, learners are exposed to impoverished input regarding subtle aspects of the Spanish language such as word order alternations and the syntactic and pragmatic constraints that license them.

Hertel (2003) argues that classroom instruction is not sufficient for the acquisition of Spanish word order, as subject-verb inversion is not very frequently addressed or usually included in textbooks. Rarely do instructors discuss the effect of verb class or focus type on the inversion of declarative sentences in Spanish. This, argues the author, is due to the fact that most of these teachers are not aware of this distinction. In addition to this, there is the issue of impoverished feedback: producing a declarative sentence with the unexpected word order for a particular context does not make the sentence ungrammatical or even incomprehensible, just pragmatically odd. This makes it even more difficult for students to be exposed to negative evidence, or to even notice this dichotomy, and this is added to the fact that word order alternations are not sufficiently discussed in class and not easily acquired by learners. Textbooks sometimes go as far as to mention that Spanish word order is flexible, but do not offer any explanation as to why this is the case, and definitely do not mention its dependency on factors such as verb class or focus type. As they also fail to even include examples of constructions with inverted word orders, the task of acquiring linguistic knowledge of a structure that is subject to both syntactic and pragmatic constraints in Spanish proves to be almost unsurmountable. This serves to explain why properties at the syntax-pragmatics interface are problematic even at advanced levels, and why knowledge of pragmatics is acquired late (Lozano, 2006).

6.1 The Role of Input

The role of input in language acquisition studies within generative linguistics has been recently emphasized by different authors (Hertel, 2003; Lozano, 2006; Domínguez & Arche, 2008; Slabakova, 2017; Slabakova & García-Mayo, 2015) who have explained

how its insufficiency can negatively affect the acquisition of certain structures of a language, especially those that require the mapping of syntactic representations onto external modules. Mayoral Hernández (2008) used the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) to review the use of SV–VS alternations in native Spanish speakers. He found that NSS accept both the SV and the VS word orders with unaccusative verbs, which means that the assumed correlation between the inverted order and the unaccusative verb class was not confirmed. If native speakers are not behaving as expected regarding word order alternations, then the native input to which learners are exposed becomes a less than ideal example for language learners. This has two implications for the acquisition of subject-verb alternation in Spanish, equally important and fundamental: the first pertains to the expectation by linguists that learners should produce only the inverted order with unaccusative verbs when native speakers seem to treat the SV–VS distinction as optional; and the second pertains to the fact that native-speaker input provides evidence for similar frequency of use for both SV and VS structures.

As noted earlier in this dissertation, unaccusativity and its implications for word order as described in theoretical accounts should be revised, especially if the goal is to analyze language learners' acquisition of syntactic and pragmatic constraints and how their behavior compares to that of native speakers. Similarly, in terms of input, the finding that native speakers equally produce SV and VS constructions in contexts where, as stated in the literature, VS would be the only pragmatically felicitous option may be the reason why the acquisition of these forms is problematic for learners.

Domínguez and Arche (2008) argue that optionality at advanced non-native levels is not the result of difficulties with structures at the syntax-pragmatics interface, as Sorace (2011) puts it, but the result of L2 input that is "non-robust, parametrically ambiguous or simply not transparent or systematic enough" (p. 262). They add that the native input to which learners are exposed is not totally transparent. Similarly, Slabakova (2017) calls for negative evidence to be overtly provided to learners when their production of problematic structures is inaccurate. She claims that negative evidence is not readily provided or even equally provided to all learners, and this prevents some structures from being acquired and mastered. The problem, as previously mentioned, lies in the fact that word order is a tendency in speech, and speakers' preference for the SV or the VS order does not result in ungrammaticality. This fact essentially rules out opportunities of being exposed to negative evidence, as none will be provided since it is not assumed that an error has been made.

6.2 The Processing of Input

Having argued for the importance of input in the process of learning a second language and acknowledged that input in the classroom is less than ideal for some aspects of language, let us now examine how learners draw attention to and process the input that they receive. Van Patten (2015) looked at the internal psycholinguistic strategies that learners use to comprehend sentences and the possible effect that these strategies have on the acquisition process. Based on his theory of Input Processing (IP), he claims that acquisition cannot take place without comprehension, and that comprehension happens when learners make appropriate form-meaning connections to process language during

online communication. This task is initially lexical in nature, as learners always process content words first when looking for meaning.

The IP model is relevant for the topic of word order alternations because Spanish language learners, especially those whose L1 is a fairly strict SVO language, such as English, will initially process sentences in the subject-verb-object order and make incorrect from-meaning connections about other word orders that are possible in Spanish. This means that in a sentence like *llegó mi padre* ('my father arrived'), learners will initially interpret *mi padre* as the object of the sentence due to its position after the verb. Moreover, they will be confused as to why the subject position is empty, as they would expect to see an agent occupying that position based on what they know from their own L1 linguistic evidence. They may hypothesize that the subject has been dropped, as they may know it to be possible in Spanish by virtue of Spanish being a pro-drop language, but the nature of the intransitive verb will soon prove them wrong. Consequently, they will inevitably struggle during online processing, and this will put them at a disadvantage especially because, as VanPatten (2015) explains, input processing pertains only to the initial gathering of data; however, there are other processes involved in acquisition, as learners have to accommodate and incorporate data to their linguistic system, restructure said system based on the new data and UG, produce output, take advantage of interaction, and so on (p. 124).

6.3 The Delivering of Input

By taking into account the importance of input and how learners process it, it is pertinent to call for a different approach in the teaching of word order alternations in Spanish.

Slabakova and Garcia Mayo (2013) review the concept of practice and its importance in second language acquisition. By agreeing that comprehensible input is not sufficient for the acquisition of grammar, the authors revisit the focus-on-form approach (Lightbown & Spada, 1990; Long, 1991) as an approach that emphasizes the importance of including practice activities in the classroom. By focusing on form and exposing learners to formal aspects of the target language while promoting a communicative environment, the acquisition of said forms is made possible. With the proper instruction, difficult or ambiguous language structures become salient in the input, which causes learners to notice them. As we know by the noticing hypothesis, noticing is the way in which learners convert input to intake in language learning (Schmidt, 1990), which makes the focus-on-form approach a suitable tool for instructors.

In general, teachers should design tasks that take into account the individual differences of their students, as well as other factors such as the specific context or setting where instruction takes place. Additionally, and most importantly, tasks should be designed with a communicative goal in mind and also adhere to the idea that abstract features of the language that prevent learners from developing the right balance between fluency and accuracy should be explicitly taught and made available for sufficient practice.

Given the subtle nature of the word order alternations phenomenon and the difficulty that it carries by requiring both syntactic and pragmatic knowledge in order to be interpreted and produced correctly, Spanish language lessons, at least those at intermediate and advanced levels, should consider explicitly teaching SV–VS contrasts as triggered by verb class and focus type. Presenting metalinguistic information will help students develop declarative knowledge about the syntactic and pragmatic properties that license

subject-verb alternation in Spanish and reduce the burden of having to figure it out by themselves. By giving learners the declarative knowledge that they need at the right stage in the acquisition process, they will be able to notice patterns in the L3 that will aid them to restructure their interlanguage to incorporate new linguistic data. Then, with sufficient practice, and through the automatization of the computational processes that are activated in the processing of declarative knowledge, learners will be able to correctly interpret and produce sentences with the inverted word order in the required contexts. As findings in Lindseth's (2016) study about the effects of form-focused instruction on the acquisition of subject-verb inversion show, providing instructed focus-on-form of a specific structure during regular class sessions helps students increase their accuracy in the use of said structure in spontaneous speech. Lindseth's study was conducted with L1 English learners of L2 German, but it may be argued that the approach would be fruitful with other languages as well.

In short, word order alternations are such a subtle and non-salient phenomenon in L3 Spanish, that they prove to be difficult to acquire and use accurately, even at advanced levels. Native input may be, in part, responsible for that, and there is little one can do to change the way in which native speakers use their language. Classroom input is also insufficient, but this is something that can definitely be changed in order to make these opaque features more salient and facilitate their acquisition. Teaching activities should be planned by taking into account the provision of a balance between fluency and accuracy as well as the creation and development of form-meaning connections in students' interlanguage. Subject-verb alternation should definitely be taught above the intermediate level and explicitly introduced by means of material, written or visual, that presents

examples of the SV–VS contrast. Additionally, ample opportunities for practice need to be incorporated in the classroom as much as possible.

6.4 Other Agents Involved in Classroom Acquisition

I believe that the task of providing our students with the linguistic tools that they need in order to successfully speak a second or third language requires a coordinated effort. That is the reason why findings in research should be made available to publishing houses and to people in charge of designing and developing language textbooks. Commercial practices often neglect the importance of having academic support when producing teaching materials, and this results in having Spanish books that do not present content in a way that is beneficial for students according to the tenets of linguistic theories that have been tested empirically. Linguistic properties, such as word order alternations, which are dependent on subtle constraints and usually not transparent to the learner, are rarely included in these materials. My position, which has been shaped along the way of my many years as a language teacher, is that a collective effort needs to be made between researchers, teachers, and developers of language teaching materials to aim in the same direction. Findings produced by linguistic research on important theoretical questions seem to almost never find their way into classrooms and textbook-developing companies alike. This creates an enormous gap between the language to which learners need to be exposed and the actual input that they receive from textbooks and lessons.

On the whole, as language professionals, we need to intentionally present to students those properties of the target language that are not frequent in the input, that are ambiguous, structurally complex, or even so subtle that they go unnoticed. Said

properties need to be part of our textbooks and our classroom input at intermediate and advanced levels. They need to be accompanied by explicit explanations and metalanguage that promotes noticing and, ultimately, intake. Sufficient input and ample opportunities for interaction are needed. Those properties which are subject to the syntax-pragmatics interface need not be insurmountable; rather, a bigger and more consistent effort needs to be made if we want to help our students become proficient in the language they chose to learn.

6.5 Final Remarks

This dissertation, as is the case with most linguistic studies, was not exempt from challenges. For one, getting participants with the exact combination of languages required and with the exact chronological order of acquisition needed was not easy. I am sure that this study would have benefited enormously from having larger experimental groups, especially for statistical purposes, but several factors had to be considered and compromised on. Future studies similar to this one should definitely look at the possibility of having a research team and larger groups of participants. Not only that, but studies such as this one, which set out to determine the source of transfer in a third language by considering the order of acquisition, should be designed with a mirror-image approach in mind. A mirror-image approach includes two groups of participants who have the same L3 and for which the L1/L2 are also the same but used in reverse order. In the words of Puig-Mayenco et al. (2020), “the bi-directional mirror-image design is crucial to reveal the dynamic nature of multilingual transfer” (p. 50). So, even though practical reasons may deter researchers from pursuing this design, it can offer valuable

insights into the factors at play in multilingual use of language, and therefore, should be explored.

A second consideration worth mentioning is that of the native speaker data collected in this study. Even though native speakers treated word order alternations as expected, there was still some variability in their answers. As previously stated, the native speakers who participated in this study, as most native speakers who serve as controls for linguistic research, come from different countries in Hispanic America, and they all speak their own variety of the Spanish language. This may affect their treatment of the SV–VS distinction. Therefore, the idea of conducting extensive research with Spanish speakers from different regions in order to clarify their word order preferences is attractive and promising. Investigating how native Spanish speakers deal with information structure and focus marking would shed light on whether or not the concept of focus is, after all, systematic and therefore worth studying as a meaningful and acquirable property in L2 and L3 Spanish.

Lastly, this dissertation serves as an open invitation to conduct research with the three languages utilized here but with different order of acquisition. At one point at the beginning of this journey, my goal was to have an additional group of native speakers of English who were speakers of L2 Portuguese and L3 Spanish, but this intention had to be put on hold as something to be considered for future projects. Examining Portuguese as a third language (as opposed to a native language as was the case here) would also be interesting, especially if using Spanish as an L2. A study like this would shed light on the transfer that L2 Spanish can exert over L3 Portuguese and on the ways in which this relationship can affect its acquisition. Maimone (2017) conducted a study with speakers

of L1 English–L2 Spanish–L3 Portuguese with aims at comparing learners' intake of lexical items versus morphosyntactic ones in order to determine the effect of Spanish transfer. In the specific case of this study, namely word order alternations, analyzing this phenomenon in L3 Portuguese would prove to be very interesting as it would mean that Spanish pragmatic constraints of focus would have to be 'un-learned' in order to accommodate to the more rigid SV order of Portuguese. This would, undoubtedly, provide valuable insights into the mind of multilingual speakers.

On a final note, I would like to say that this was an exciting journey, for sure. A valuable possibility for learning about linguistics and for contributing, albeit in modest ways, to our field. The future is promising, and conducting more research to discover the fascinating ways in which speakers use language will always be the goal.

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Appendices

Appendix A: *Ethics Approval*

Western Research

Date: 10 June 2019

To: Prof. Joyce Bruhn de Garavito

Project ID: 113499

Study Title: The syntax-pragmatics interface: Intransitivity and word order in L3 Spanish

Short Title: The syntax-pragmatics interface: Intransitivity and word order in L3 Spanish

Application Type: NMREB Initial Application

Review Type: Delegated

Full Board Reporting Date: July 5 2019

Date Approval Issued: 10/Jun/2019

REB Approval Expiry Date: 10/Jun/2020

Dear Prof. Joyce Bruhn de Garavito

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the above mentioned study, as of the date noted above. NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the expiry date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

This research study is to be conducted by the investigator noted above. All other required institutional approvals must also be obtained prior to the conduct of the study.

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
Email Script	Recruitment Materials	03/Jun/2019	2
Interpretation Task Lozano(2006) Eng	Paper Survey	20/Feb/2019	1
Interpretation Task Lozano(2006) Spa	Paper Survey	20/Feb/2019	1
Language Profile Eng	Paper Survey	20/Feb/2019	1
Language Profile Spa	Paper Survey	20/Feb/2019	1
Letter of Information and Consent Eng	Written Consent/Assent	03/Jun/2019	2
Letter of Information and Consent Spa	Written Consent/Assent	03/Jun/2019	2
Placement Test Eng	Other Data Collection Instruments	20/Feb/2019	1
Placement Test Spa	Other Data Collection Instruments	20/Feb/2019	1
Production Task Images Eng	Other Data Collection Instruments	20/Feb/2019	1
Production Task Images Spa	Other Data Collection Instruments	20/Feb/2019	1
Production Task Questions Eng	Other Data Collection Instruments	20/Feb/2019	1
Production Task Questions Spa	Other Data Collection Instruments	20/Feb/2019	1
Translation Certificate Spa	Other Data Collection Instruments	03/Jun/2019	2
Verbal Recruitment Script	Oral Script	03/Jun/2019	2
Vocabulary Test Eng	Other Data Collection Instruments	20/Feb/2019	1
Vocabulary Test Spa	Other Data Collection Instruments	20/Feb/2019	1

No deviations from, or changes to the protocol should be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB, except when necessary to eliminate immediate

hazard(s) to study participants or when the change(s) involves only administrative or logistical aspects of the trial.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Kelly Patterson, Research Ethics Officer on behalf of Dr. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system that is compliant with all regulations).

Appendix B: *Preference Task Spanish*

INSTRUCCIONES:

El objetivo de estos tests es averiguar cómo te suenan ciertas oraciones en español. Es importante resaltar que solo nos interesa **tu opinión** sobre ellas, es decir, si te parecen más o menos aceptables. Los tests no serán corregidos, sino que su finalidad es averiguar si ciertas oraciones les suenan mejor o peor a los hablantes nativos de español. La información obtenida se usará en investigación lingüística solamente. Nadie (aparte del investigador) tendrá acceso a ella y tus datos permanecerán anónimos.

Primero, la oración precedida por una flechita como ésta: ⇒ , sirve para indicar el contexto. Luego le siguen dos oraciones muy parecidas: oración (a) y oración (b), cada una de ellas seguidas de la siguiente escala para puntuar cada oración: **–2 –1 0 +1 +2**.

Aquí te ponemos un ejemplo:

⇒ María siempre ha tenido miedo de los perros, por eso…
(a) ahora tienen un gato. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) ahora tiene un gato. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

Como puedes ver, tanto la oración (a) como la oración (b) son aceptables, aunque de acuerdo con el contexto (oración precedida por la flechita), la oración (a) no suena bien en este caso.

Por lo tanto, de acuerdo con el contexto:

- Haz un círculo en el número **–2** si crees que la oración te suena **rara**.
- Haz un círculo en el número **+2** si crees que la oración te suena **bien**.
- Haz un círculo en los **otros números** si la oración te suena **más o menos bien**.

Imaginemos que, por ejemplo, la oración (a) te puede sonar totalmente mal (por lo tanto, pones un círculo en el número –2), o puede ser que te suene bien (pones un +2), o puede ser que te suene un poco bien (número +1). Por otro lado, la oración (b) puede ser que también te suene muy bien (número +2) o puede ser que no te suene ni bien ni mal (número 0) o tal vez medio mal (número –1).
Es decir que **CUALQUIER COMBINACIÓN DE NÚMEROS ES POSIBLE** para cada una de las dos oraciones.

Por favor, haz el test **LO MÁS RÁPIDO POSIBLE**, pues tan sólo nos interesa **TU PRIMERA INTUICIÓN** (por lo tanto, no te preocupes demasiado por ciertas oraciones, decide lo que "primero te venga" a la cabeza).

ORACIONES DE PRÁCTICA:

Antes de empezar el test, nos gustaría que hicieras unas oraciones de práctica para ver si has entendido lo que hay que hacer. Estas son las oraciones:

⇒ Hoy es lunes y Alfredo ha hecho un examen para acceder a la universidad. Según parece …
(a) los resultados del examen salen el viernes. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) los resultados del examen salieron el viernes. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

⇒ Mi amigo Juan López es el director de Microsoft en España, por eso...
(a) trabajan mucho todos los días. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) trabaja mucho todos los días. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

⇒ María se ha comprado un coche nuevo y siempre lo está cuidando. Además…
(a) le lava todos los fines de semana. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) lo lava todos los fines de semana. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

AQUÍ EMPIEZA EL TEST:

1. ⇒ Tu amigo Pepe va a visitarte a tu casa. En realidad, Pepe está enamorado de tu hermana, así que te pregunta: ¿Dónde está tu hermana? Tú le respondes:
(a) Está con su novio nuevo. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Está con su nuevo novio. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

2. ⇒ Estás en el cine con tu amigo Pablo viendo una película romántica. Pablo te ve un poco aburrido y te pregunta: ¿Qué tipo de cine prefieres? Tú respondes:
(a) Prefiero cine de acción. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Prefiero el cine de acción. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D5 3. ⇒ Estás en una clase de física. Todo el mundo está callado mientras el profesor explica la lección, pero un chico ríe durante unos segundos. El profesor no ve quién ha reído, así que te pregunta: ¿Quién se rio? Tú respondes:
(a) Se rio un chico. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Un chico se rio. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A1 4. ⇒ Trabajas en una guardería y Pablito empieza a llorar mucho porque otro niño llegó a la guardería. Tu compañera de trabajo, María, no sabe por qué llora Pablito y te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó? Tú respondes:
(a) Otro niño llegó. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Llegó otro niño. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C1 5. ⇒ Estás en una fiesta con tu amiga María. Mientras María va al baño, un hombre al que no conoces llega a la fiesta. Al volver del baño, María quiere saber quién ha venido, así que te pregunta: ¿Quién vino? Tú respondes:
(a) Un hombre vino. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Vino un hombre. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B1 6. ⇒ Tu amiga Isabel y tú están en un restaurante. Isabel va al baño y, mientras tanto, el camarero estornuda accidentalmente sobre los platos. Cuando Isabel vuelve del baño, ve que tú estás muy enfadado. Ella te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó? Tú respondes:
(a) El camarero estornudó sobre los platos. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Estornudó el camarero sobre los platos. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A2 7. ⇒ Ayer, mientras estabas en el banco, un ladrón entró a robar. Hoy, tu amigo José te llama por teléfono porque escuchó una noticia sobre el banco. José te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó en el banco? Tú respondes:
(a) Un ladrón entró. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Entró un ladrón. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C3 8. ⇒ Tu compañero Antonio y tú están en una reunión en el colegio. Antonio sale de la habitación un momento y, al minuto, un hombre al que no conoces también sale de la habitación. Cuando Antonio vuelve, te pregunta: ¿Quién salió? Tú respondes:
(a) Salió un hombre. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Un hombre salió. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B2 9. ⇒ Anoche te despertaste porque un niño empezó a llorar en la calle. Después, no te pudiste dormir. A la mañana siguiente, tu madre te ve con mala cara por no haber dormido y te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó? Tu respondes:
(a) Lloró un niño en la calle. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Un niño lloró en la calle. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D6 10. ⇒ Vas al cine a ver una película romántica. Durante la película, una mujer que está a tu lado empieza a llorar. Al salir del cine, te encuentras con un amigo, Felipe. Felipe también oyó llorar a alguien en el cine pero no sabe quién. Felipe te pregunta: ¿Quién lloró? Tú respondes:
(a) Lloró una mujer. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Una mujer lloró. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D2 11. ⇒ Anoche estuviste en una discoteca con tus amigos. Fue muy aburrido porque tan solo bailó una chica. Hoy tu madre te llama por teléfono y te pregunta: ¿Quién bailó anoche? Tú respondes:
(a) Una chica bailó. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Bailó una chica. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A3 12. ⇒ Tu amigo Manuel y tú están en una fiesta en tu casa. Manuel va a la cocina a por una cerveza. En ese momento, un vecino viene a quejarse porque la música está muy alta. Cuando Manuel viene de la cocina, te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó? Tú respondes:
(a) Un vecino vino. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Vino un vecino. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C6 13. ⇒ Tú trabajas en una prisión. Últimamente, tu amigo Pedro ha escuchado en la radio que un prisionero intentó escapar, pero no sabe quién exactamente. Así que él te pregunta: ¿Quién escapó? Tú le respondes:
(a) Se escapó un criminal. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Un criminal se escapó. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B3 14. ⇒ Tu amiga Clara está en un restaurante contigo. Clara va al baño. Mientras tanto, tú miras por la ventana y ves a una mujer gritando en la calle. Al volver del baño, Clara te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó? Tú respondes:
(a) Gritó una mujer. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Una mujer gritó. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A4 15. ⇒ Tu compañero de apartamento, Pepe, está de vacaciones, así que has planeado celebrar una fiesta el domingo en tu apartamento, pero Pepe vuelve el sábado y no puedes celebrar la fiesta. Tu madre te llama por teléfono y te nota un poco enfadado, así que te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó? Tu respondes:
(a) Mi compañero volvió. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Volvió mi compañero. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C5 16. ⇒ Ayer estuviste haciendo un examen de literatura. Un chico salió de la clase porque no sabía las respuestas, pero cinco minutos más tarde se arrepintió y volvió a la clase. Al día siguiente, tu madre se enteró de que alguien había vuelto al examen y te preguntó: ¿Quién volvió? Tú respondes:
(a) Un chico volvió. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Volvió un chico. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B4 17. ⇒ Anoche tus compañeros de clase, tu profesor y tú estuvieron en una fiesta en el colegio. Todos se sorprendieron al ver al profesor bailando. Hoy, tu padre quiere saber cómo fue la fiesta, así que te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó? Tú respondes:
(a) El profesor bailó. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Bailó el profesor. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D3 18. ⇒ Tu amiga Aurora y tú están tomando un café en el comedor de tu casa. Tú vas a la cocina por más café y ves por la ventana que un niño está gritando en la calle. Cuando vuelves, Aurora te pregunta: ¿Quién gritó? Tú respondes:
(a) Gritó un niño. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Un niño gritó. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D1 19. ⇒ Tu amigo Roberto y tú están en una reunión de negocios muy seria y aburrida. Roberto empieza a dormirse un poco y en ese momento el jefe estornuda estrepitosamente. Roberto se despierta

desconcertado y te pregunta: ¿Quién estornudó? Tú respondes:
(a) El jefe estornudó. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Estornudó el jefe. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A5 20. ⇒ Trabajas en una prisión. Hoy, un prisionero peligroso ha escapado. Al volver a casa, tu hermano te ve preocupado, así que te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó? Tú respondes:
(a) Se escapó un prisionero. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Un prisionero se escapó. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C4 21. ⇒ Tú estás en el hospital y tu amiga Marta te está visitando. Marta va al baño durante unos minutos. Mientras tanto, un doctor entra rápidamente en la habitación para darte la medicina. Cuando Marta regresa, te pregunta: ¿Quién entró? Tú respondes:
(a) Entró un doctor. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Un doctor entró. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B5 22. ⇒ Ayer por la mañana tenías un examen muy importante, pero no pudiste hacerlo porque el examinador se durmió y no vino. Hoy tu madre te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó ayer? Tú respondes:
(a) El examinador se durmió. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Se durmió el examinador. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A6 23. ⇒ Tu amiga Carmen y tú están en una reunión de negocios. Mientras Carmen está hablando con el jefe, una secretaria sale de la habitación. Carmen no se ha dado cuenta de lo que ha pasado, así que te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó? Tú contestas:
(a) Salió una secretaria. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Una secretaria salió. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D4 24. ⇒ Eres un guía turístico y llevas a un grupo de turistas a Madrid. La primera noche, muchos turistas te dicen que no pudieron dormir porque había mucho ruido en el hotel por la noche. El jefe del hotel te pregunta por la mañana: ¿Quién durmió anoche? Tú respondes:
(a) Poca gente durmió. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Durmió poca gente. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B6 25. ⇒ Tu amiga Sonia y tú están en un restaurante. Sonia va al baño durante unos minutos. En esos instantes, un hombre empieza a reír a carcajadas en la calle. Sonia vuelve y te pregunta: ¿Qué pasó en la calle? Tú respondes:
(a) Rio un hombre. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Un hombre rio. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C2 26. ⇒ Tú estás en una fiesta con tu amiga Laura. Laura sale de la habitación y en ese momento llega la policía porque hay mucho ruido en la fiesta. Cuando Laura vuelve, te pregunta: ¿Quién llegó? Tú contestas:
(a) La policía llegó. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Llegó la policía. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

27. ⇒ Tu amigo Juan y tú están hablando sobre el trabajo. Tú le dices a Juan que tienes un nuevo trabajo en la universidad. Juan te pregunta: ¿Te gusta tu trabajo? Tú respondes:
(a) Sí, es un trabajo interesante. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Sí, es un interesante trabajo. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

28. ⇒ Tu amigo Alfonso y tú fueron de compras ayer. Hoy, tu madre quiere saber qué compró tu amigo y te pregunta: ¿Qué compró Alfonso? Tú respondes:
(a) Compró una bicicleta roja. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Compró una roja bicicleta. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

Appendix C: *Preference Task Portuguese*

INSTRUÇÕES:

O objetivo desses testes é descobrir como certas frases soam em espanhol. É importante observar que estamos interessados apenas na SUA opinião sobre elas, ou seja, se elas parecerem mais ou menos aceitáveis para você. Os testes não serão corrigidos, pois seu objetivo é descobrir se certas frases soam melhores ou piores para os falantes nativos de Português. As informações obtidas serão usadas apenas na pesquisa linguística, ninguém (além do pesquisador) terá acesso a elas e seus dados permanecerão anônimos.
Primeiro, a frase precedida por uma seta serve para indicar o contexto. Em seguida, seguem duas frases muito semelhantes: sentença (a) e sentença (b), cada uma seguida pela seguinte escala para pontuar cada sentença: –2 –1 0 +1 +2.

Aqui está um exemplo:

⇒ Maria sempre teve medo de cachorros, por isso...
(a) agora eles têm um gato. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) agora ela tem um gato. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

Como você pode ver, a sentença (a) e a sentença (b) são aceitáveis, embora, de acordo com o contexto (sentença precedida pela ponta da seta), a sentença (a) não soa muito bem nesse caso.
Portanto, de acordo com o contexto:

- Circule o número **–2** se você acha que a frase lhe soa **estranha**.
- Circule o número **+2** se você acha que a frase lhe soa **bem**.
- Circule os **outros números** se a frase parecer **mais ou menos boa** para você.

Imagine que, por exemplo, a frase (a) possa parecer totalmente ruim para você (portanto, você coloca um círculo no número –2), ou pode parecer boa para você (você coloca +2), ou pode ser que você acha que parece um pouco bom (número +1).
Por outro lado, a sentença (b) também pode parecer muito boa (número +2) ou pode parecer boa ou ruim (número 0) ou talvez meio ruim (número –1).
Ou seja, **QUALQUER COMBINAÇÃO DE NÚMEROS É POSSÍVEL** para cada uma das duas frases.

Por favor, faça o teste **o mais rápido possível**, porque estamos interessados apenas em **SUA PRIMEIRA INTUIÇÃO** (portanto, não se preocupe muito com certas frases, decida o que primeiro venha à sua cabeça).

ORAÇÕES DE PRÁTICA:

Antes de iniciar o teste, gostaríamos que você fizesse algumas frases práticas para ver se você entendeu o que precisa ser feito. Estas são as frases:

⇒ Hoje é segunda-feira e Alfredo fez um exame para entrar na universidade. Segundo parece …
(a) os resultados do exame saem na sexta-feira. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) os resultados do exame saíram na sexta-feira. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

⇒ Meu amigo Juan López é o diretor da Microsoft na Espanha, por isso...
(a) trabalham muito todos os dias. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) trabalha muito todos os dias. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

⇒ Maria comprou um carro novo e está sempre cuidando dele. Também …
(a) lava todo fim de semana. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) o lava todo fim de semana. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

AQUI COMEÇA O TESTE:

1. ⇒ Seu amigo Pepe vai visitá-lo em sua casa. Na verdade, Pepe está apaixonado por sua irmã, então ele pergunta: Onde está sua irmã? Você responde:
(a) Está com seu novo namorado. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Está com seu namorado novo. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

2. ⇒ Você está no cinema com seu amigo Pablo assistindo a um filme romântico. Pablo vê você um pouco entediado e pergunta: que tipo de cinema você prefere? Você responde:
(a) Prefiro cinema de ação. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Prefiro o cinema de ação. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D5 3. ⇒ Você está em uma aula de física. Todos ficam em silêncio enquanto o professor explica a lição, mas um garoto ri por alguns segundos. O professor não vê quem riu, então ele pergunta: Quem riu? Você responde:
(a) Um menino riu. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Riu um menino. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A1 4. ⇒ Você trabalha em um berçário e Pablito começa a chorar muito porque outra criança veio ao berçário. Sua colega de trabalho, Maria, não sabe por que Pablito chora e pergunta: O que aconteceu? Você responde:
(a) Outra criança chegou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Chegou outra criança. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C1 5. ⇒ Você está em uma festa com sua amiga Maria. Enquanto Maria vai ao banheiro, um homem que você não conhece vem à festa. Ao retornar do banheiro, Maria quer saber quem veio, então ela pergunta: Quem veio? Você responde:
(a) Um homem veio. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Veio um homem. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B1 6. ⇒ Sua amiga Isabel e você estão em um restaurante. Isabel vai ao banheiro e, enquanto isso, o garçom espirra acidentalmente em seus pratos. Quando Isabel volta, ela vê que você está com muita raiva. Ela pergunta: o que aconteceu? Você responde:
(a) O garçom espirrou nos pratos. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Espirrou o garçom nos pratos. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A2 7. ⇒ Ontem, enquanto você estava no banco, um ladrão veio roubar. Hoje, seu amigo José liga para você pelo telefone porque ouviu uma história sobre o banco. José pergunta: O que aconteceu no banco? Você responde:
(a) Um ladrão entrou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Entrou um ladrão. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C3 8. ⇒ Seu parceiro Antonio e você estão em uma reunião na escola. Antonio sai da sala por um momento e, um minuto depois, um homem que você não conhece também sai da sala. Quando Antonio volta, ele pergunta: Quem saiu? Você responde:
(a) Saiu um homem. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Um homem saiu. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B2 9. ⇒ Você acordou ontem à noite porque uma criança começou chorar na rua. Depois, você não conseguiu dormir. Na manhã seguinte, sua mãe o vê com cara feia por não ter dormido e pergunta: O que aconteceu? Você responde:
(a) Chorou um menino na rua. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Um menino chorou na rua. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D6 10. ⇒ Você vai ao cinema para assistir a um filme romântico. Durante o filme, uma mulher que está ao seu lado começa a chorar. Quando você sai do cinema, conhece um amigo, Felipe. Felipe também ouviu alguém chorar no cinema, mas ele não sabe quem. Felipe pergunta: Quem chorou? Você responde:
(a) Chorou uma mulher. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Uma mulher chorou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D2 11. ⇒ Você esteve em uma discoteca ontem à noite com seus amigos. Foi muito chato porque apenas uma garota dançou. Hoje, sua mãe liga para você e pergunta: Quem dançou ontem à noite? Você responde:
(a) Uma menina dançou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Dançou uma menina. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A3 12. ⇒ Seu amigo Manuel e você estão em uma festa em sua casa. Manuel vai à cozinha tomar uma cerveja. Nesse momento, um vizinho veio reclamar porque a música estava muito alta. Quando Manuel sai da cozinha, ele pergunta: O que aconteceu? Você responde:
(a) Um vizinho veio. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Veio um vizinho. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C6 13. ⇒ Você trabalha em uma prisão. Ultimamente, seu amigo Pedro ouviu no rádio que um prisioneiro tentou escapar, mas não sabe exatamente quem. Então ele pergunta: Quem escapou? Você responde:
(a) Escapou um criminoso. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Um criminoso escapou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B3 14. ⇒ Sua amiga Clara está em um restaurante com você. Clara vai ao banheiro. Enquanto isso, você olha pela janela e vê uma mulher gritando na rua. Ao retornar do banheiro, Clara pergunta: O que aconteceu? Você responde:
(a) Gritou uma mulher. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Uma mulher gritou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A4 15. ⇒ Seu companheiro de quarto, Pepe, está de férias, então você planejou fazer uma festa no domingo em seu apartamento. Mas Pepe retorna no sábado e você não pode comemorar a festa. Sua mãe liga para você e você se sente um pouco zangado, e ela pergunta: O que aconteceu?
Você responde:
(a) Meu parceiro voltou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Voltou meu parceiro. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C5 16. ⇒ Ontem você estava fazendo um teste de literatura. Um garoto saiu da aula porque não sabia as respostas, mas cinco minutos depois se arrependeu e voltou à aula. No dia seguinte, sua mãe soube que alguém havia retornado ao exame e perguntou: Quem voltou? Você responde:
(a) Um menino voltou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Voltou um menino. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B4 17. ⇒ Ontem à noite, seus colegas de classe, seu professor e você estavam em uma festa da escola. Todos ficaram surpresos ao ver o professor dançando. Hoje, seu pai quer saber como foi a festa, então ele pergunta: O que aconteceu? Você responde:
(a) O profesor dançou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Dançou o professor. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D3 18. ⇒ Sua amiga Aurora e você estão tomando café na sala de jantar da sua casa. Você vai à cozinha pegar mais café e vê pela janela que uma criança está gritando na rua. Quando você volta, Aurora pergunta: Quem gritou? Você responde:
(a) Gritou um menino. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Um menino gritou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D1 19. ⇒ Seu amigo Roberto e você estão em uma reunião de negócios muito séria e chata. Roberto começa a adormecer um pouco e naquele momento o chefe espirra alto. Roberto acorda perplexo e pergunta: Quem espirrou? Você responde:
(a) O chefe espirrou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Espirrou o chefe. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A5 20. ⇒ Você trabalha em uma prisão. Hoje, um prisioneiro perigoso escapou. Quando você volta para casa, seu irmão a vê preocupada e pergunta: O que aconteceu? Você responde:
(a) Escapou um criminoso. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Um criminoso escapou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C4 21. ⇒ Você está no hospital e sua amiga Marta está visitando você. Marta vai ao banheiro por alguns minutos. Enquanto isso, um médico entrou rapidamente na sala para lhe dar o remédio. Quando Marta volta, ela pergunta: Quem entrou? Você responde:
(a) Entrou um médico. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Um médico entrou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B5 22. ⇒ Ontem de manhã você fez um exame muito importante, mas não conseguiu porque o examinador dormiu e não veio. Hoje sua mãe lhe pergunta: O que aconteceu ontem?
Você responde:
(a) O examinador dormiu. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Dormiu o examinador. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

A6 23. ⇒ Sua amiga Carmen e você estão em uma reunião de negócios. Enquanto Carmen está conversando com o chefe, uma secretária sai da sala. Carmen não percebeu o que aconteceu, então ela pergunta: O que aconteceu? Você responde:
(a) Saiu uma secretária. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Uma secretária saiu. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

D4 24. ⇒ Você é um guia turístico e leva um grupo de turistas a Madri. Na primeira noite, muitos turistas dizem que não conseguiam dormir porque havia muito barulho no hotel à noite. O gerente do hotel pergunta pela manhã: Quem dormiu ontem à noite? Você responde:
(a) Poucas pessoas dormiram. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Dormiram poucas pessoas. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

B6 25. ⇒ Sua amiga Sonia e você estão em um restaurante. Sonia vai ao serviço por alguns minutos. Naqueles momentos, um homem começou rir alto na rua. Sonia volta e pergunta: O que aconteceu na rua? Você responde:
(a) Riu um homem. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Um homem riu. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

C2 26. ⇒ Você está em uma festa com sua amiga Laura. Laura sai da sala e, nesse momento, a polícia chega porque há muito barulho na festa. Quando Laura volta, ela pergunta: Quem chegou?
Você responde:
(a) A polícia chegou. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Chegou a polícia. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

27. ⇒ Seu amigo Juan e você estão falando sobre trabalho. Você diz a Juan que tem um novo emprego na universidade. Juan pergunta: Você gosta do seu trabalho?
Você responde:
(a) Sim, é um trabalho interessante. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Sim, é um interessante trabalho. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

28. ⇒ Seu amigo Alfonso e você foram às compras ontem. Hoje, sua mãe quer saber o que seu amigo comprou e pergunta: O que Alfonso comprou?
Você responde:
(a) Ele comprou uma bicicleta vermelha. –2 –1 0 +1 +2
(b) Ele comprou uma vermelha bicicleta. –2 –1 0 +1 +2

Appendix D: *Images for Production Task*

Sample Image[6]: *Escapar* (to escape)

Questions that accompany this image:

(1) *¿Quién escapó?* [unaccusative verb/focused context]

(2) *¿Qué pasó?* [unaccusative verb/unfocused context]

[6] I want to thank Antonio Darío Blanco Rodríguez for creating these amazing images specifically for this oral task. The colors and details in them made the data collection process a happier one, for sure.

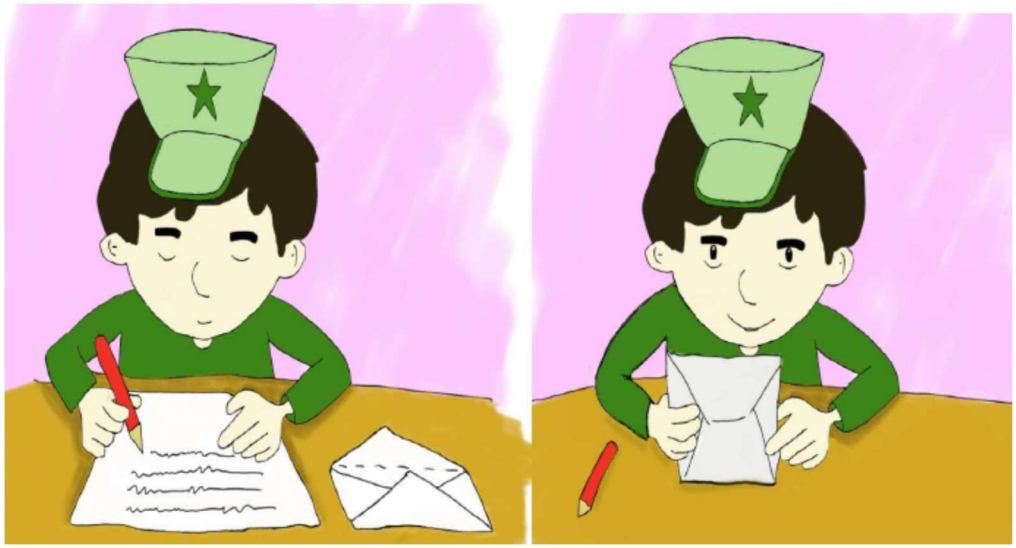
GRITAR

SALIR

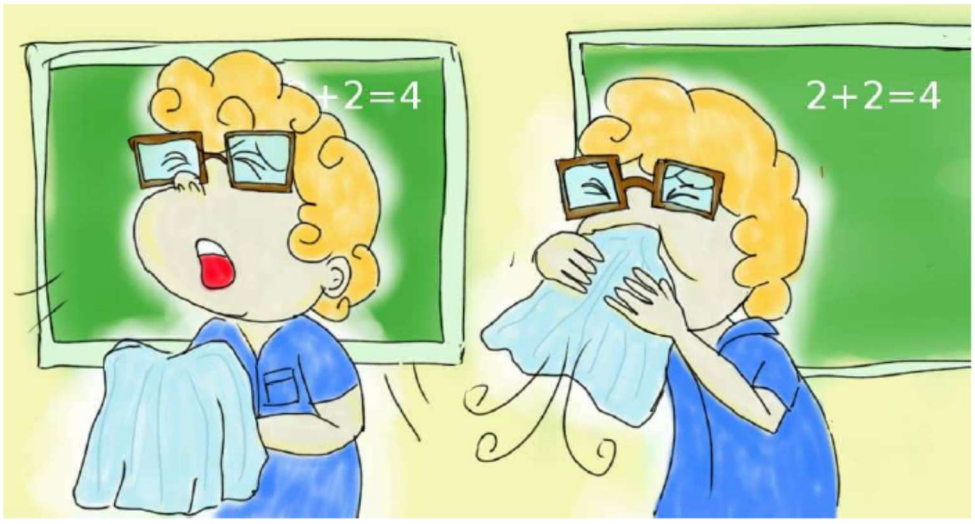
BAILAR

VOLVER

ESCRIBIR



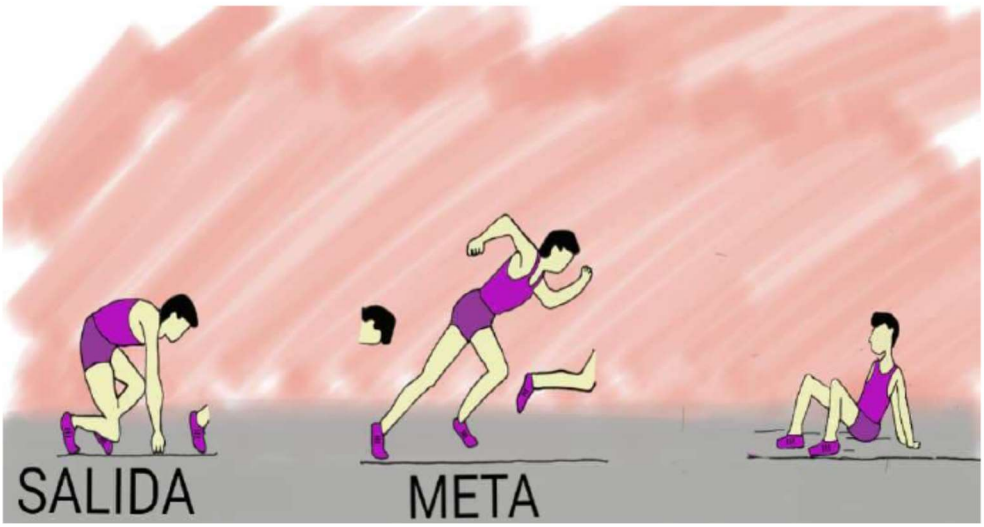
ESTORNUDAR



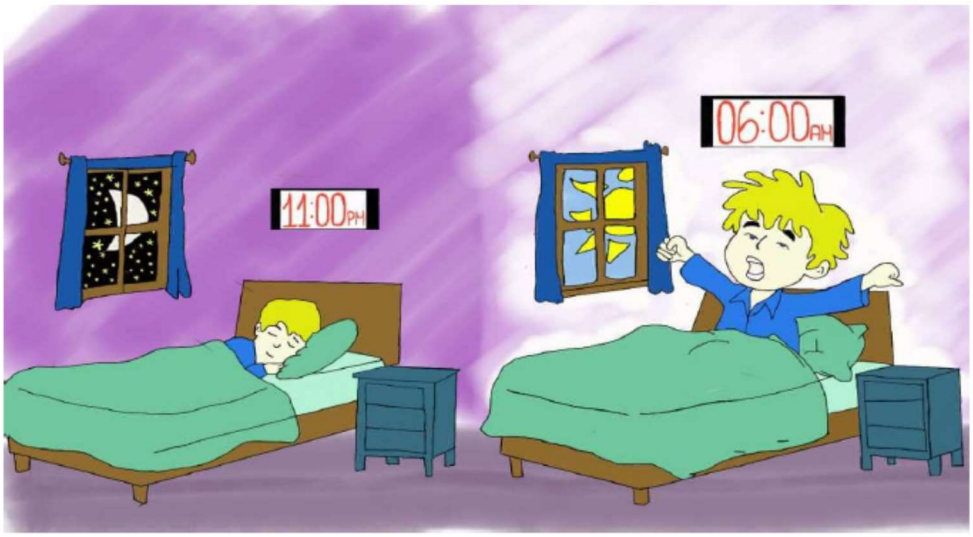
SOPLAR

COMPRAR

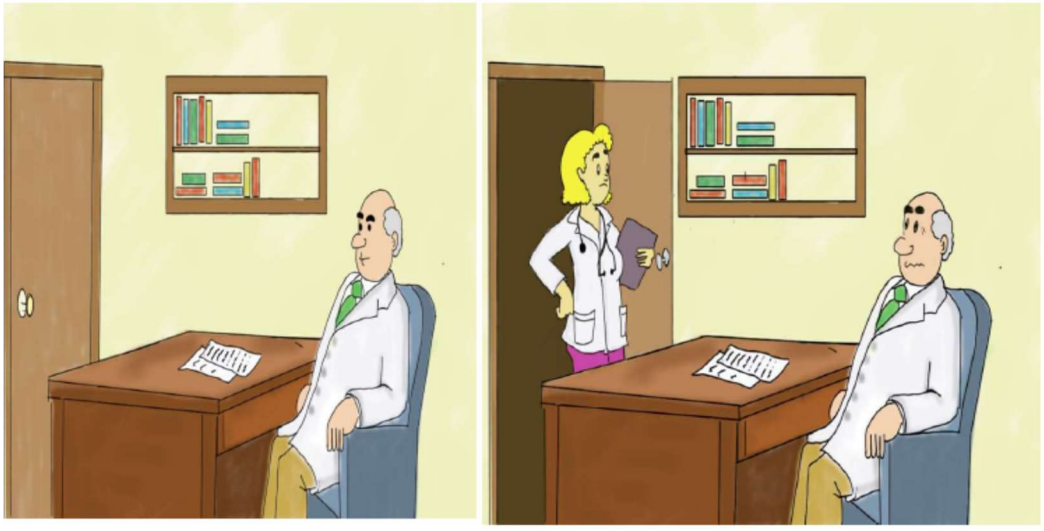
CORRER



DORMIR



ENTRAR

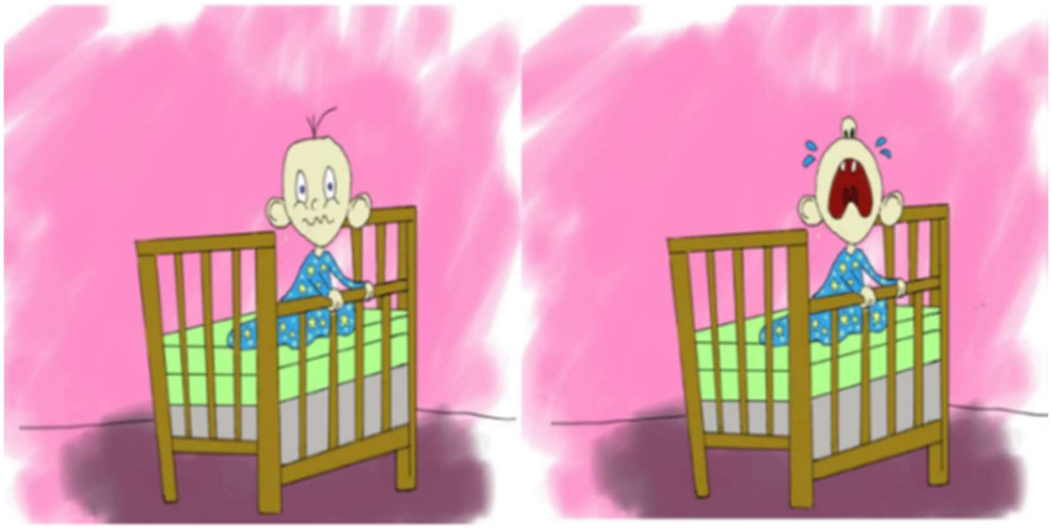


NADAR

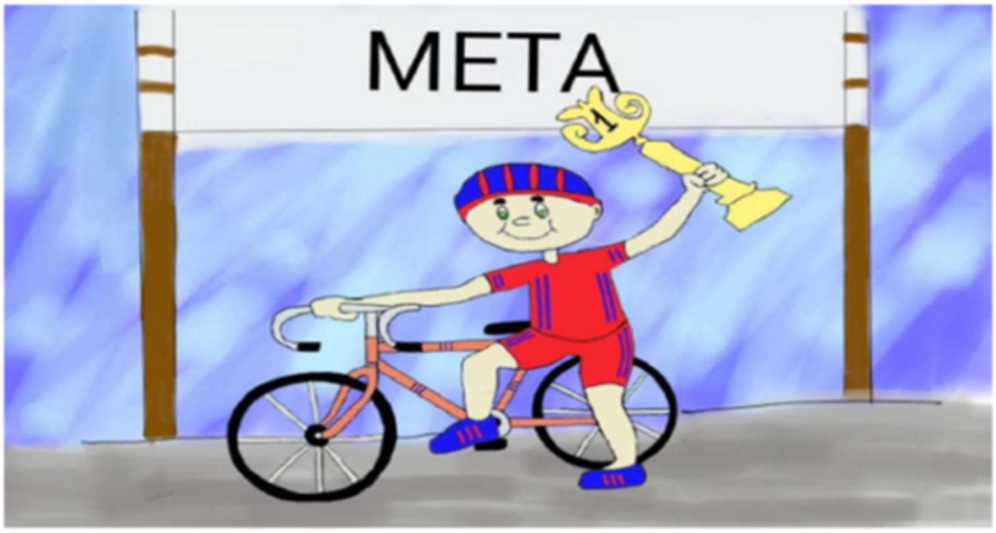
VENIR

PREPARAR

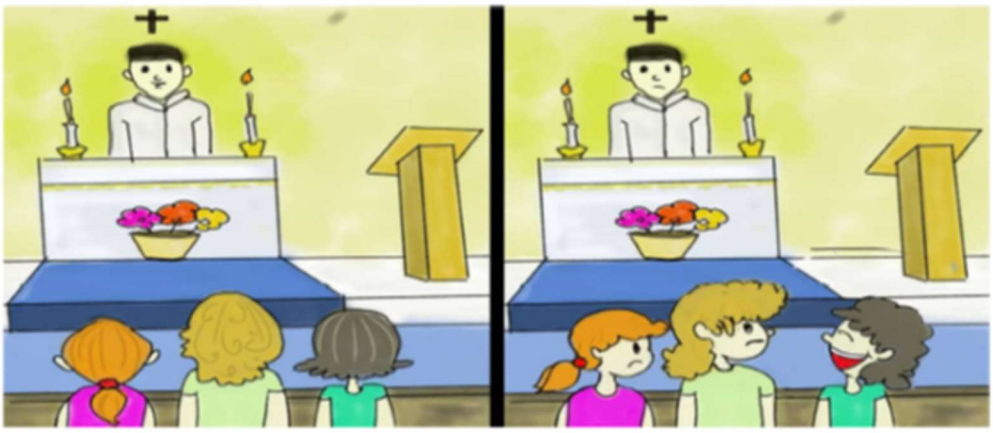
LLORAR



GANAR



REÍR



LLEGAR

Appendix E: *Vocabulary Quiz*

Test de Vocabulario			
Por favor encierre en un círculo la traducción correcta del verbo en español.			
1. llegar	chorar	chegar	chamar
2. reír	rir	sair	reunir
3. venir	viver	vir	vestir
4. ganar	ganhar	gastar	esperar
5. salir	sair	sentir	seguir
6. llorar	chegar	chorar	fechar
7. bailar	pagar	dançar	baixar
8. escapar	fugir	escoldar	passar
9. volver	revolver	voltar	voar
10. escribir	escrever	procurar	emagrecer
11. estornudar	estimar	atrapalhar	espirrar
12. soplar	suar	soar	soprar

Appendix F: *Cloze Test Spanish*

La muerte cobra vida en la Ciudad de México

Los muertos han tomado la _____ (1) de México. Calaveras gigantes han _____ (2) el corazón de la capital. _____ (3) ciudad es suya. Los muertos _____ (4) llegado desde el más allá _____ (5) las flores han cubierto de _____ (6) y colores el icónico Paseo _____ (7) la Reforma, donde miles de _____ (8) se han dado cita para _____ (9) este sábado del desfile de _____ (10) de Muertos.

"Hace un año _____ (11) esperábamos venir, teníamos ganas de _____ (12) esto", cuenta Fabio de Paula, _____ (13) turista brasileño que ya se _____ (14) sumergido en la experiencia con _____ (15) cara maquillada, disfrazado de catrín. _____ (16) muchos extranjeros, sí, pero hay _____ (17) familias que han aprovechado la _____ (18) para salir a la calle _____ (19) disfrutar del día.

El segundo _____ (20) del día de los muertos _____ (21) empezado en el monumento de _____ (22) Estela de Luz y concluido _____ (23) la plaza del Zócalo, en _____ (24) recorrido que abarcó siete kilómetros. _____ (25) tambores prehispánicos anticipan la llegada _____ (26) los danzantes con penachos llenos _____ (27) plumas y el copal impregna _____ (28) los rincones del icónico Paseo _____ (29) la Reforma.

"¡Viva México!", se _____ (30) detrás de las vallas. El _____ (31) se convierte en una celebración _____ (32) la vida, en la que _____ (33) catrina es la reina. No _____ (34) una fiesta cualquiera pues La _____ (35) cobra vida cada año en México.

(Adaptado de: https://elpais.com/internacional/2017/10/28/mexico/1509219593_611135.html)

Appendix G: *Cloze Test English*

Day of the Dead 2018

On Saturday 27 October, thousands _____ (1) people took part in the _____ (2) "Día de Muertos" parade in _____ (3) City in commemoration of loved _____ (4) who have passed away. However, _____ (5) annual celebration, also referred to _____ (6) the "Day of the Dead", _____ (7) a very jubilant occasion, full _____ (8) colour, skeletal iconography and _____ (9) Mexican dancing. Saturday's parade was _____ (10) third to take place in _____ (11) City, with a quarter of _____ (12) million people attending the first _____ (13), held two years ago.

While _____ (14) day has been observed in _____ (15) iterations for centuries, no parade _____ (16) place in the Mexican capital _____ (17) to 2016. Following the popularity _____ (18) the James Bond film *Spectre* _____ (19) 2015, which opens with a commotion _____ (20) a Day of the Dead _____ (21) in Mexico, the government decided _____ (22) officially introduce the parade the _____ (23) year.

Día de Muertos is _____ (24) annual holiday celebrated by communities _____ (25) Mexico and people throughout the _____ (26) who have Mexican heritage. During _____ (27) celebration, people pay homage to _____ (28) ones who have passed away. _____ (29) people honour their friends or _____ (30) by creating shrines in their _____ (31) in dedication to them, preparing _____ (32) favourite dishes, decorating their graves _____ (33) traditional flowers and skulls made _____ (34) candy or clay, and eating _____ (35) traditional *pan de muertos*.

(Adapted from: https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/day-of-the-dead-2018-mexico-city-dia-de-muertos-best-pictures-holiday-a8605526.html)

Appendix H: *Linguistic Profile Questionnaire*

Perfil Lingüístico

(Su información será confidencial. Por favor, no escriba su nombre)

A. Información Personal

- Edad: _____
- Lugar de nacimiento: _____
- Nivel más alto alcanzado: Secundario __ Técnico __ Universidad __ Maestría __ Doctorado __

B. Primera lengua

¿Cuál es su primera lengua? _____
¿Qué lengua aprendió después de la primera? _____
¿Qué lengua aprendió después de la segunda? _____
¿Cuál es (son) la(s) primera(s) lengua(s) de su madre?: _____
¿Cuál es (son) la(s) primera(s) lengua(s) de su padre?: _____
¿Qué lengua hablaba en su casa cuando era pequeño? _____

C. Educación y uso de la lengua

¿En qué lengua(s) fue formalmente educado? ¿Dónde? (i.e. país)
Escuela primaria/elemental: _____
Escuela secundaria: _____
Universidad: _____

D. Segunda y tercera lengua

	Segunda Lengua
¿A qué edad comenzó a aprender su segunda lengua?	
¿Dónde la aprendió?	
¿A qué edad la usó por primera vez para comunicarse?	
¿Aprendió esta lengua como una asignatura o fue esta lengua el principal medio de instrucción en otras asignaturas?	
	Tercera lengua (si aplica)
¿A qué edad comenzó a aprender su tercera lengua?	
¿Dónde la aprendió?	
¿A qué edad la usó por primera vez para comunicarse?	
¿Aprendió esta lengua como una asignatura o fue esta lengua el principal medio de instrucción en otras asignaturas?	

¿Está en este momento tomando un curso en su segunda lengua?	Sí	No
Si respondió sí, ¿dónde?		
Si respondió no, ¿cuándo y dónde fue la última vez que usted tomó un curso en esta lengua?		
¿Está en este momento tomando un curso en su tercera lengua?	Sí	No
Si respondió sí, ¿dónde?		
Si respondió no, ¿cuándo y dónde fue la última vez que usted tomó un curso en esta lengua?		

E. Por favor, indique su habilidad lingüística en cada una de las lenguas que habla.

	Principiante	Intermedio	Avanzado	Nativo o casi nativo
Portugués				
Inglés				
Español				

¡Gracias por su ayuda!

Curriculum Vitae

Name	Diana María Fernández Acosta
Post-secondary Education and Degrees	Universidad de Antioquia Medellín, Colombia 2011 B.Ed. Foreign Language Teaching West Virginia University Morgantown, WV, USA 2015 M.A. TESOL/Linguistics The University of Western Ontario London, Ontario, Canada 2020 Ph.D. Hispanic Linguistics
Honours and Awards	*Beca al mejor graduado* **[**Postgraduate Studies Scholarship] Universidad de Antioquia – 2011 Outstanding Graduate Teaching Assistant Award West Virginia University – 2015 Great Ideas for Teaching Award Centre for Teaching and Learning Western University – 2017 Excellence in Teaching Award Dep. of Languages & Cultures Western University – 2018 Award for Excellence in the Role of Graduate Teaching Assistant Community Engaged Learning Program Dep. of Languages & Cultures Western University – 2019
Related Work Experience	Instructor on Record / Teaching Assistant West Virginia University 2013-2015 Full Instructor / Teaching Assistant Western University 2016-2020
Publications	Fernandez Acosta, D. (2020). El voseo en Medellín, Colombia: Un rasgo dialectal distintivo de la identidad paisa. *Dialectologia, 24*, 91-109. https://doi.org/10.1344/Dialectologia2019.24.5