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SV to VS: the acquisition of Spanish pragmatic word order by native speakers of English

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SV to VS: The acquisition of Spanish pragmatic word order

by native speakers of English

by

Jene Hughes

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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This is to certify that the master's thesis of

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has met the thesis requirements of Iowa State University

Signatures have been redacted for privacy
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ABSTRACT

This study examines English speakers learning Spanish as a second language and compares their acquisition of a pragmatic competency—non-canonic word order—with their acquisition of a grammatical competency—the correct use of past tense verbs. Although both Spanish and English share the subject-verb-object arrangement of constituents as canonic word order, Spanish speakers frequently use other arrangements, often beginning sentences with verbs. It is hypothesized that English speakers, as a result of transferring the rigidity of English word order, acquire the non-canonic form comparatively late and in relation to their exposure to native Spanish, while they tend to acquire grammatical skills earlier and show progressive improvement from level to level.

The subjects—64 in all—comprised native Spanish speakers, advanced bilinguals who had learned Spanish as adults, and university students enrolled in Spanish classes of different levels. Some of the student subjects had studied Spanish abroad, but others had not.

The results confirm that pragmatic competency in using non-canonic word order is generally acquired later and in relation to exposure to Spanish in a natural setting, while grammatical competency is acquired regularly through progressive stages. The results pose interesting questions and suggest further research in second language acquisition, Spanish linguistics, and Spanish pedagogy.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the process of acquiring a second language, all learners face the tasks of building an adequate vocabulary, learning a new grammar, and developing pronunciation skills adequate for making themselves understood. Learners must also contend with a number of forces, both internal and external, that affect their ultimate success. Among these forces are the amount of formal training they receive, their exposure to the target language in various settings, and the influence that previously learned languages—especially a learner’s mother tongue—exerts on the learning process.

Another factor that influences second language (L2) learning is the degree of mastery to which various learners aspire. A business traveler may only want to learn “survival-level” skills for ordering meals and asking directions to the bathrooms. An immigrant who lives happily in a neighborhood where his or her language is routinely spoken may need second language skills only for “special purposes” encountered at work. Still other L2 learners aspire to the ambitious goal of acquiring native-like proficiency. It is this last group that is the focus of this study. The bothersome fact is that advanced learners, in spite of having acquired large vocabularies and having reached high levels of proficiency in grammar and pronunciation, often persist in “sounding foreign.”

This study will look at one of the linguistic elements that frequently marks advanced L2 learners as non-native speakers—the word order they use in constructing sentences. Although word order is frequently prescribed by the grammar of a language, in
many languages it can be dictated by context or situation. In such instances, several possible arrangements of sentence constituents can be equally correct grammatically, and the word order is said to be based on pragmatic considerations. It is when confronted with more than one grammatically correct option for arranging the constituents of a sentence that many L2 speakers fall short of their goal of native-like ability. In spite of having acquired grammatical competency, they find themselves limited by a lack of pragmatic competency.

**Word order and language transfer**

Language transfer—especially the influence of the mother tongue on the acquisition of a second language—has been an important channel for second language acquisition (SLA) research since SLA emerged as a distinct branch of linguistic investigation in the second half of the twentieth century. In language transfer studies and other SLA research, as is true in linguistic investigation in general, word order has quite naturally been the focal point of abundant attention. As William Rutherford pointed out in a 1989 article, "Word order constitutes one area of language organization in which a number of separate spheres of linguistic inquiry quite naturally converge" (p. 163). Indeed, word order is such a prominent feature of languages that the arrangement of the constituents subject (S), verb (V) and object (O) is one of the primary methods of classifying languages. The typical arrangement of the subject, verb, and object is considered to be a language’s canonic word order (CWO). Typologically, English, along with the romance languages, is categorized as an SVO language. Chapter 2 will explore
literature concerning research relevant to word order and the effects of language transfer and canonic word order on second language acquisition.

**Word order and pragmatics**

Even in languages like English, in which CWO has a strong influence on the syntax, there are situations in which CWO is abandoned. In English those instances of "violating" CWO are frequently dramatic or poetic in nature, for example

*Before us rose the mountains, majestic in their splendor.*

In Spanish, which shares with English the canonic arrangement SVO, the ordering of constituents is much more flexible, and non-SVO (i.e., non-canonic) arrangements are frequent. For example, a common non-canonic Spanish arrangement of constituents can be seen in

*Empezó la resistencia*

_Began the resistance_

where the verb precedes the subject, thereby emphasizing the context, in this case indicating the beginning of a state or an activity (see discussion in Chapter 2).

The choice of word order in such situations is considered to be pragmatic, meaning that the choice is not based on grammatical conventions linked to the CWO, but instead
results from the context. Thompson (1978) expressed these departures from CWO as "pragmatic word order." Although that terminology has largely been abandoned (W. Rutherford, personal communication, December 8, 1999), pragmatic word order (PWO) remains a fact, and Thompson's original terminology will be particularly useful in this study. The working definition of pragmatics used in this paper will be the one provided by Richards, Platt, and Platt in the Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (1992):

...the use of language in communication, particularly the relationships between sentences and the contexts and situations in which they are used (p. 284).

At this point it should be noted that CWO is derived from declarative sentences. To form questions, English appears to be unusual in employing an auxiliary verb (do) to form yes-no questions. Many SVO languages simply reverse the canonic positions of the subject and the verb: ¿Habla usted español? or Parlez-vous français? (Speak you Spanish/French? = Do you speak Spanish/French?). This grammatical rearranging of constituents generally poses no problems for English speakers.

Another common grammatically prescribed word order difference found in many SVO languages is the placement of direct and indirect object pronouns in front of verbs, as can be seen in the Spanish example below. Also note that overt expression of the subject is optional since person and tense are carried in the morphology of the verbs:
Lo hablo mal = It (I) speak poorly.

Se lo dije = (To) him/her it (I) told.

The placement of object pronouns is a rule-governed grammatical feature of Spanish found in all textbooks. In contrast, the phenomenon under investigation here is the choice between two grammatically correct possibilities:

Se lo dijo Juan = (To) him it told John
Juan se lo dijo = John (to) him it told

It is sentences like the ones above that have fostered the common concept that the word order of Spanish (and many other languages) is “flexible,” which, when compared with English, it is. As will be seen in this study, however, “more flexible” simply means that the syntax is not governed by CWO and rules of grammar to the same degree as in English. In the examples above, pragmatic considerations influence the ultimate choice between the two grammatically correct options. In some contexts, native Spanish speakers favor the verb-subject (VS) arrangement, yet the pragmatic forces behind such decisions are seldom discussed in the classroom or found in grammars.
Research question

Because a tremendous body of research has been created around the study of English as a Second Language, and because every language challenges learners with unique conventions, many researchers are now turning their efforts toward examining the acquisition of languages other than English (Montrul & Bruhn, 1999). In keeping with that trend, and because of the intrinsic value of understanding more fully the acquisition of Spanish, this study examines the L2 acquisition of Spanish by native speakers of American English. Van der Vlugt (1992) reports data from two corpora indicating that Spanish speakers use non-canonic word order between 22% and 25% of the time. The general purpose of this research is to find out at what point in their study, and under what conditions, second language learners begin to acquire the pragmatic word order exhibited by native Spanish speakers. To provide a point of reference for its acquisition, the appearance of PWO in the interlanguages (ILs) of learners will be compared with the acquisition of grammatical correctness, which in a traditional classroom setting is learned progressively through several defined levels. The specific research question is this:

In Spanish as a second language, how does the acquisition of a pragmatic feature, word order, compare to the acquisition of a grammatical feature, the use of past tense verbs?
The correct use of past tense verbs was chosen as the benchmark for demonstrating the acquisition of grammatical competency because the Spanish past tense is quite difficult for students to acquire and is accorded considerable class time and textbook space. The specific problem that English speakers have with the Spanish past tense is that it, unlike English, is composed of two aspects—the perfect (preterit) and the imperfect. In general, the imperfect aspect indicates continuation or habitual repetition in the past, while the perfect aspect indicates completion or a definite point in the past. Although there are situations in which the choice of aspect reflects the speaker’s attitude toward the topic (and is thus pragmatic), the correct choice between the two aspects is frequently a grammatical choice, and, unlike pragmatic variations in word order, the two aspects are the focus of intense formal training.

Because Spanish and English share SVO canonic word order, and because that CWO dominates English grammar, it was hypothesized that, when learning Spanish, native speakers of English would transfer the rigidity of English CWO, thus acquiring the pragmatic verb-subject arrangement of constituents during the later stages of acquisition and in relation to their exposure to Spanish in a natural setting. It was further hypothesized that, in spite of the difficulties inherent in mastering the Spanish past tense, learners at different levels would show systematic progress in acquiring grammatical competence in using the imperfect and preterit aspects of the Spanish past tense.

The following chapter will discuss theories and studies relevant to Spanish word order, the role of transfer in interlanguage word order, and the role of target-language input in acquiring L2 syntax.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

To establish the theoretical foundation for examining the transfer effects of L1 CWO on the acquisition of L2 pragmatic word order, this chapter will first examine those aspects of Spanish linguistics that relate to the "flexible" nature of Spanish pragmatic word order. Following that is discussion of earlier studies that, like this one, have investigated cross-linguistic influences on interlanguage syntax. Finally, there is discussion of the role of input in SLA and of a study that examined cross-linguistic influences in the speech of two children, one bilingual (Spanish/English) and the other monolingual (Spanish).

Spanish pragmatic word order

Although much of the recent SLA research deals with issues of syntax, most investigators disregard context in favor of employing the analytical techniques of transformational grammar to trace the movement of constituents from deep structure to surface structure. Such efforts are often directed more toward supporting or refuting hypothesized links between SLA and the Universal Grammar (UG) theory of principles and parameters than they are toward explaining why language users make the choices they make. There is typically little or no effort to explain when or why the non-canonic forms are used, even when such forms are considered unmarked. Transformational grammar analysis can demonstrate the grammatical basis of the non-CWO arrangements of
constituents, but to explain their uses, linguists rely on analyzing the information structure of the language data.

Analysis from the viewpoint of information structure, a term sometimes considered synonymous with pragmatics (Finegan, 1994), looks beyond the grammatical role of sentence constituents to study how the information in a sentence is organized into a *topic* followed by a *comment* about that topic. The two Spanish linguists consulted for this study, Contreras (1976) and Whitney (1986), use the terms *topic* and *comment* interchangeably with the terms *theme* and *rheme*.

Discussions of information structure in sentences generally consider a broader context than is present in a single sentence, and analysis, in general, examines how old (or “given”) information is assigned to the theme, while new information is assigned to the stronger position of the rheme. Writers following Chomsky’s model use the term *focus* to indicate new information. Information structure is especially important in understanding the construction of sentences having both a subject and a direct object (i.e., two noun phrases). A basic example can be found in exercises provided by Finegan (1994, p. 221), where he calls for analysis on the following Spanish sentences:

Q: ¿Quién comió mi bocadillo?

Who ate my sandwich?

“Who ate my sandwich?”
A: Tu bocadillo lo comió Consuelo.

You’re sandwich it ate Consuelo.

“Consuelo ate your sandwich.”

In the answer above, it is easily seen that “your sandwich,” the direct object, was moved to the beginning “theme position,” and a clitic pronoun (lo/“the”) was left in its place. This is called left dislocation and produces an unmarked structure in which the theme carries the old information (“your sandwich”) and the rheme carries the new information (“Consuelo”). The resulting pragmatic word order is OVS.

This example illustrates why the Spanish arrangement of constituents can be more flexible than that of English. English grammar disallows this type of left dislocation because it lacks the equivalent use of the clitic pronoun (lo/“it”) to mark the initial noun phrase (“your sandwich”) as the direct object. In English, such a rearrangement of constituents would, of course, result in

* Your sandwich ate Consuelo.

It should be noted that, as Odlin (1989) put it, “Far from being ‘free’ or random, word order in flexible languages seems to reflect constraints imposed by the discourse needs of speakers and listeners” (p. 88).

Because this present study focuses solely on the arrangement containing a verb phrase followed by a noun phrase, that is, verb-subject, the discussion here can bypass the
more complex forms involving direct and indirect objects. (For a detailed discussion of this subject, see the works cited in this chapter and also Zubizarreta, 1998.)

The VS arrangement is commonplace, simple, and thus, one might think, likely to be acquired easily by L2 learners. Contreras (1976), however, studied the VS construction in detail and found that, in spite of its apparent simplicity, the VS arrangement posed a key problem in her attempt to develop a “rheme selection hierarchy” that would explain speakers’ practices in assigning material to the roles of theme and rheme. The form, as we will see later, appears to be easier to acquire than it was for Contreras to explain. For her example she used the sentence

*Empezó la resistencia*

- Began the resistance.

In terms of information structure, such a sentence should be considered marked because the definite article (*la* "the") indicates that *resistencia* "resistance" is given information, yet the noun phrase appears in the rheme position, where new information typically falls. In her attempt to develop a rheme selection hierarchy, Contreras was unable to account for the sentence-initial predicate in her example without calling on the earlier work of Hatcher (1956), who had identified eight categories of verbs that typically move into theme position. The categories include verbs that denote existence, absence, beginning, continuing-remaining, production, occurrence, appearing, and coming.
As will be seen, these categories account for the VS arrangements of constituents that were elicited from the subjects in this study. By coincidence, Contreras used as an example the sentence

\[ \text{Salido el sol} \]

which, as will be seen, the subjects in this study produced consistently.

**Studies of SLA and word order transfer**

The account of word order transfer that provided the impetus for this present work was reported by William Rutherford in the 1989 volume *Linguistic Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition*. In his chapter entitled “Interlanguage and pragmatic word order,” Rutherford, citing Li and Thompson (1976) and Thompson (1978), states that

...investigation into the less and less obvious instances of LI transfer have led to the formulation of a claim about L1 transferability that derives from the considerations of three language typological parameters—canonical word order (CWO) arrangements, ...topic- and subject-prominence...and grammatical word order versus pragmatic word order.... Of these three parameters, it has been claimed that only those two—namely topic- and subject-prominence and GWO/PWO—that are definable in discoursal and not strictly syntactic terms will exert a measurable influence on IL. In other words, L1 (syntactic) CWO does not undergo transfer in the adult L2 learning experience” (p. 166).
It should be noted that the study generally refers to pragmatic word order as GWO/PWO (with GWO indicating grammatical word order). This convention was initiated by Thompson (1976) to show that the two arrangements of constituents form, as she describes it, “…a continuum along which languages position themselves” (p. 20). In other words, various languages demonstrate a balance between the use of PWO and GWO in determining linear word order. Since this study deals only with PWO as it manifests itself in Spanish, the distinction is not necessary except for the fact, already noted, that on the continuum, English is strongly GWO and Spanish is located toward the PWO end. It should also be noted that when referring to syntax, Rutherford, a researcher in Universal Grammar, probably had something more complex in mind than the word order of the surface structure of a sentence.

In his 1989 study, Rutherford hypothesized that the “tendency for canonical word order permutation in written ILs will correlate directly with the propensity of the learner’s native language to permute its own canonical constituents” (p. 166). More specifically, he hypothesized that although Spanish and Arabic are both SVO languages like English, the native speakers of those languages would make word order errors in English because their languages treat word order much more flexibly than is permitted by English grammar. At the same time, he predicted that because Japanese grammar demands sentence-final placement of verbs, speakers of Japanese would adhere to English CWO with equal rigidity and never produce sentence-final verbs in English. Rutherford maintained, as he had in an earlier study (Rutherford, 1983), that the absence of sentence-final verbs in the
ILs of Japanese learners of English would indicate that CWO was not a transferable element of language.

To test his hypothesis, Rutherford examined compositions written as part of a series of tests administered to international students at the University of Southern California. His data included 59 compositions in Spanish, 149 in Saudi Arabic, and 21 in Japanese. As he had predicted, none of the Japanese students transferred the Japanese verb-final CWO to English, while both the Spanish and Arabic speakers did violate English CWO, again as he had predicted. In the published account, Rutherford concludes his discussion with a theoretical treatment of pragmatic word order from a UG viewpoint and again asserts his belief that CWO is non-transferable.

Although he made no attempt to quantify his data beyond noting that word order transfer seemed to appear in some sentences and not in others, Rutherford included in an appendix the Spanish and Arabic sentences that he interpreted as containing transfer effects. An example from his Spanish group is “In the lake of Maracaibo was discovered the oil” (p. 178). An examination of all 18 Spanish sentences shows that every incorrect English sentences contains a VS arrangement of constituents, and that the verbs in those sentences fit logically into the categories of verbs discussed above (Contreras, 1976). In the sentence just cited, for example, “was discovered” depicts an occurrence.

Another phenomenon that Rutherford noted in his data was that none of the errors resulted from subjects’ producing a form where the use of VS included an object, for example, VSO or OVS. Instead, the English errors in Rutherford’s data conformed, without exception, to the pattern XVS, “when X is exclusively an adverbial element (single
adverb or prepositional phrase), V is intransitive or a passivized transitive (more specifically, unaccusative), and S is the sole argument” (p. 174). The XVS arrangement—the result of L1 transfer—conforms to what has already been shown about non-canonic Spanish word order, and it also bears directly on this study.

Before his 1989 study, Rutherford (1983) had already made a similar claim about the non-transferability of CWO. In the 1983 study, he also predicted that the Japanese speakers would never transfer Japanese CWO by positioning the verb sentence final. Rutherford’s claim drew unequivocal criticism from Odlin (1989, 1990). In both works, Odlin criticizes the breadth of Rutherford’s claim, pointing out in 1990 that

...there is an obvious pitfall in predicting when transfer will never occur. A putatively universal constraint on some kind of transfer cannot be universal if a single clear-cut case of such transfer exists (p. 95).

Odlin proceeds to enumerate several examples of L1 CWO transfer from several languages, which, interestingly, are pidgins or L2s spoken in geographic areas where the native language and the target language are both in common use and language-contact situations are routine. The point upon which Odlin and Rutherford do agree is the transferability of the comparative rigidity or flexibility of L1 CWO.

Rutherford’s views about the impossibility of CWO transfer also run contrary to what is hypothesized in this study—namely that transfer effects from the strongly canonic English L1 will lead to overproduction of the Spanish CWO; that is, transfer effects will cause a disproportionate number of SV arrangements in L2 Spanish, thus impeding a learner’s acquisition of Spanish pragmatic word order. Because the subject-verb clauses
are grammatically correct, learners may fail to realize that, in certain linguistic environments (contexts), a canonic SV clause can be strongly marked and sound “unnatural” to native speakers.

In spite of his making what may have been an overly broad and bold pronouncement about the non-transferability of CWO, Rutherford contributed data—such as the XVS configuration of constituents and the prenominal use of certain verbs—that cast informative light on the discussion of Spanish word order.

The role of input in transfer

One of the examples of CWO transfer cited by Odlin (1990) was found in the Spanish spoken in Peru and Ecuador by native speakers of Quechua, the language of the indigenous Andean people. In a recent study of this interlanguage Spanish, Camacho (1999) introduces an element of transfer yet to be discussed here: the fact that the presence or absence of “evidence” in the target language influences which L1 features may or may not be transferred.

Although Camacho’s purpose was quite different from the purpose of this research, his hypothesis and findings provide insight that is relevant. Working, like Rutherford, within the framework of UG, Camacho posed his research questions in terms of whether two specific parameters controlling word order in L1 (head-final) Quechua would be reset to agree with those of the target language, head-initial Spanish. The hypothesis, which was confirmed, was that one parameter (controlling the placement of focus) would indeed be reset (i.e., L1 transfer would not occur) because Spanish topic and focus are handled
completely differently, thus providing the L2 speakers with "contradictory" evidence (i.e.,
the L2 speakers could clearly see that transfer of their L1 system of assigning focus would
not work in Spanish).

The second parameter that Camacho investigated was the use of null object
pronouns, which, because they are possible in certain contexts in Spanish, were incorrectly
transferred to the Spanish IL. That is, the parameter was not reset "since target evidence
was consistent with the L1 setting" (p. 115).

The role of input has, of course, been one of the more studied aspects of second
language acquisition. A broad overview of important work on the subject can be found in
Gass and Madden (Eds., 1985), which includes a chapter by Liceras in which she discusses
problems that arise when input (Camacho's "evidence") in the target language appears
contradictory to learners. In her examples, Liceras discusses several grammatical uses of
the Spanish word *que* ("that"). The various uses, although grammatically quite different,
appear so similar on the surface that learners generally are unable to recognize the
differences and acquire the various forms successfully. Liceras proposes that, because of
the confusing input, Spanish seems to have formed "a conspiracy to prevent the existence
of [certain features] in the interlanguage grammar" (p. 249). The same could be said of
PWO; evidence of PWO can be difficult for learners, especially at the lower levels, to
detect because they expect CWO and also because VSO is the unmarked form in
interrogative sentences. In other words, beginning students, expecting the canonic SVO,
may try to interpret pragmatically governed statements (e. i., VSO) as questions.
Implications for this study

Although it was Rutherford’s 1989 study that spawned the idea for this undertaking, there is another study that is much more closely related in method and purpose. Working with two children, a girl considered monolingual in Spanish and a boy considered bilingual in Spanish and English, Van der Vlugt (1992) analyzed spoken data elicited through interviews. One part of her hypothesis predicted that the bilingual subject would, because of cross-linguistic effects from English, express more overt subjects in Spanish. (Typically, because person and number are carried in the verb morphology, subjects are expressed overtly only to avoid ambiguity or to signal emphasis or contrast.)

The second part of Van der Vlugt’s hypothesis is strikingly similar to what is hypothesized here: The bilingual boy’s Spanish would contain, as the result of transfer effects, more SVO sentences than his monolingual counterpart’s. In the final analysis, the monolingual subject produced SVO sentences 74.5% of the time, whereas the bilingual subject produced SVO sentences 88% of the time.

Based on the research question and hypotheses presented in Chapter 1, and on the related linguistic phenomena that have been discussed in this chapter, this study proposes to answer these specific questions:

1. Given appropriate stimuli, to what degree will native speakers of Spanish produce the non-canonic VS arrangements described by Contreras (1976) and found in Rutherford’s 1989 English IL data?
2. Will the pragmatic VS form manifest itself in the ILs of L2 Spanish speakers of different levels? If so, at what levels and to what degrees?

3. Will learners in fact exhibit an orderly development of grammatical abilities through ascending levels, and how will the acquisition of Spanish PWO compare with such development?

4. What, if any, correlation will be seen between the acquisition of PWO and exposure to native Spanish input?
CHAPTER 3

METHODS

To amass data that would test English speakers' acquisition of Spanish pragmatic word order, subjects were selected to create cross sections of learners ranging from basic beginners to advanced bilinguals. After completing a questionnaire eliciting their language background information, the subjects were asked to relate the contents of a picture story that had been developed specifically to elicit narratives containing VS (verb-subject) clauses. The resulting data (i.e., the narratives), tape recorded and transcribed, were first analyzed to establish how native Spanish speakers used pragmatic word order. Next, the learners' samples were analyzed to compare their use of pragmatic word order with that of native speakers. Finally, the narratives were again analyzed to evaluate the participants' grammatical abilities and determine what relationship, if any, existed between the subjects' grammatical abilities and their acquisition of pragmatic word order.

The subjects

The subjects, 64 in all, included 14 native speakers of Spanish, four groups of university Spanish students of different levels (10 subjects per group), and 10 advanced bilinguals whose first language is English.

The native speakers represented a wide variety of backgrounds ranging from university professors to recently immigrated laborers who were attending classes in English as a Second Language. Their countries of origin represented virtually all parts of
the Spanish-speaking world: Spain, Puerto Rico, Mexico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, and Bolivia. The advanced bilinguals were adults who had learned Spanish as adults and had lived or worked in Spanish-speaking countries (e.g., Peace Corps veterans, missionaries, and business professionals). Both the native speakers and advanced bilingual participants lived in the Ames and Des Moines, Iowa, areas.

With the exception of one graduate student, the student subjects were undergraduates at Iowa State University, and their participation was strictly voluntary (as required, the project was approved by the Human Subjects Review Committee). The student subjects were categorized into groups that could be generally defined in terms of the amounts of formal instruction they had received and the amounts of exposure to Spanish in a natural setting they had experienced:

- students completing first-year college Spanish (i.e., Spanish 102)
- students completing second-year college Spanish (i.e., Spanish 202)
- students taking third-year (300 level) or higher Spanish courses, but who had not studied abroad
- students taking third-year or higher Spanish courses who had studied abroad

**Subject questionnaires**

To verify that the groups were homogenous and representative of L2 speakers at various levels, all subjects, immediately before performing the story activity, completed questionnaires that provided detailed information regarding the subjects' language
backgrounds. The questionnaires—one for native speakers, another for advanced bilinguals, and a third for student subjects—provided data relevant to each group. For the student group, for example, the questionnaire asked the amounts of classroom instruction the participants had received, how much grammar and literature they had studied, the extent of their exposures to native Spanish on a daily basis, and the amounts of time they had spent in Spanish-speaking countries. Any additional information the subjects volunteered during their sessions was noted on the questionnaires as well. The questionnaires can be seen in Appendix A.

To encourage the participation of students, all of whom were enrolled in at least one Spanish class, anonymity was absolute. The students were not asked to give their names or to sign a form, but instead were advised that the act of completing the questionnaire constituted agreement to participate. The questionnaires were linked to the tape recordings by way of letters and numbers that identify the subjects within their assigned groups. For example, the subjects at the lowest level, those taking Spanish 102, were identified as Beginners, and the first subject from that group was BGNR-1. The most advanced group of subjects, referred to as Advanced Bilinguals or ADV/BI, included Spanish speakers who had learned the language through various means that, in addition to university study, included the Peace Corps immersion program and varying amounts of study and residence in Spanish-speaking countries. The designations assigned to the groups are as follows:

1. BGNR = Beginners – students in Spanish 102
2. INT = Intermediate – students in Spanish 202
3. ADV/NSA = Advanced – students at 300 level or higher; no study abroad
4. ADV/SA = Advanced – students at 300 level or higher; after study abroad
The picture story

To elicit narratives that would generate plentiful verbs in both aspects of the past tense, while at the same time encouraging use of the pragmatic VS word order, a picture story was devised that showed acts in progress combined with other acts that occurred suddenly (Figure 3.1). The activity was modeled loosely after the picture stories used in Educational Testing Services’ SPEAK® test.

Figure 3.1: Picture story 1
The dialogue in the last two frames translates: "Hello....Great, Paul! Let's go now!" and "Hello. It's I, Paul."

This first version of the picture story was piloted on four native speakers, who produced fewer examples of verb-subject than expected. Although the subjects were unable to explain why they had responded as they had, their comments suggested a revision of the story in which the clock was somewhat more prominent and in which there was only one picture of the man reading when the phone rang. A reproduction of the revised drawing appears in Figure 3.2.

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Figure 3.2: Revised picture story
This revised drawing (Figure 3.2) was tested on a new subject—NS-5—who produced three VS sentences exactly as expected:

Salió el sol ("Came out the sun") for Frame 1

Sonó el teléfono ("Rang the phone") for Frame 2

Sonó el timbre ("Rang the doorbell") for Frame 4

No further changes were made to the drawing, and that speaker became the first in the group of 10 native speakers whose data were analyzed.

**Procedures**

To ensure consistency in introducing the activity, participants were shown a sheet containing instructions printed in both languages (see Appendix B). In essence, the instructions asked the participants to briefly describe what they saw in the drawings and what they thought happened in the story. The instructions asked them to speak in the past tense and include a few details pertaining to the time and the weather. Participants were also asked to begin with the phrase "Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo..." ("Yesterday afternoon it was raining..."). Narratives were elicited first from the 10 participants in the
Native Speaker group, and those narratives made it possible to prepare a vocabulary list (Appendix C) that was shown to the remaining participants.

The “interviews” of the student subjects were conducted at a table set up in the corridor leading to the rooms where Spanish classes are held. Thus, all student subjects participated just before or just after a Spanish class. The table was the type used in language labs, i.e., the tabletop was enclosed by sides and a back to provide soundproofing and a sense of privacy. Non-student participants were interviewed at the most convenient places, including their homes, their offices, a public library, and booths in restaurants.

Subjects were first shown the instruction sheet and then given the vocabulary list and shown the picture story on a large page. It was pointed out to them that Frame 4 showed a doorbell (not a radio, as a couple of native speakers had thought), and the verbs salir and sonar on the vocabulary list were pointed out as having been used by nearly all native speakers. If student subjects seemed nervous or expressed concerns about being “right” or “wrong,” they were told that there was no “right or wrong” and that the primary language phenomenon under investigation was unrelated to correctness.

When they were ready to begin, subjects were reminded to use the past tense and begin with the words “Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo...” (“Yesterday afternoon it was raining...”). At that point they were given enlargements of the individual frames of the story arranged in order in a stack, thus compelling them to respond to each frame before continuing to the next. Subjects proceeded at their own pace. There were no time constraints, and with the exception of some lower level students who made long, frequent pauses, the speaking activity generally took about two or three minutes.
Analysis

To find evidence of the acquisition of Spanish pragmatic word order and compare it to the acquisition of grammatical forms, the data were analyzed twice—once to determine the comparative frequency with which subjects used the VS arrangement of constituents, and again to quantify their grammatical competency in using past tense verbs. In both instances it was necessary to first analyze the native speaker data in order to establish a valid basis for quantifying the learners’ data.

Quantifying pragmatic word order

Counting the occurrences of verb-subject clauses was a simple, straightforward procedure once the native-speaker data had shown what to expect. In narrating the events in Frames 1, 2, and 4, native speakers used the verbs salir ("come out") and sonar ("ring") 84% of the time, and with only one exception, when the native speakers used salir and sonar, they used them arranged as VS (i.e., in the same way as subject NS–5 described earlier). This showed that the picture story offered three obvious opportunities for producing VS sentences, or a total of 30 possibilities for each group.

When subjects chose verbs that provided no opportunity for VS, those utterances were simply not counted. In the Native Speaker group, this happened most often when speakers made “rain” (rather than “the sun”) the focus of Frame 1, saying, for example, “dejó de llover” (“quit raining”) or “paró de llover” (“stopped raining”). In the non-native groups, especially among the lower level students, the verb salir (for the sun’s
“coming out” in Picture 2) was frequently replaced with hacer (“to make”), which in Spanish is commonly used as a stative verb that describes weather in general (e.g., Hace sol/Makes sun = “It’s sunny”). Because Spanish prohibits the clitic “it” (*Lo hace sol), such sentences can be neither VS nor SV and were excluded from the totals. In other words, when verbs were chosen that could not be used prenominally, they were disregarded.

Verbs other than salir—such as aparecer (“to appear”) and empezar (“to begin”)—correctly precede their subjects (Contreras, 1976) and were included accordingly. Although there were actually additional opportunities for VS sentences, none was used by native speakers. A few in the Advanced Bilingual group interpreted Frames 4 and 5 as showing Pablo’s arrival, thus saying “llegó Pablo” (“arrived Paul”), which is syntactically correct but fell outside the clearly established opportunities for VS demonstrated by the native speakers, none of whom interpreted the voice as equating to Paul’s arrival.

Quantifying grammatical correctness

To derive a numeric measure of the subjects’ grammatical abilities, data from the non-native speakers were analyzed in much the same way as the word order data just discussed, only this time by counting individual uses of verbs as the basis for calculating correctness. However, unlike the comparatively limited opportunities for producing VS word order, the subjects had virtually limitless opportunities to produce verbs, so
quantifying correctness objectively required establishing criteria. The following paragraphs explain the procedures, or "rules," used to determine correctness and decide which verbs were included and which were excluded from the totals.

Use of past tense and present tense

Unlike their counterparts in the Advanced Bilingual group, who frequently corrected themselves upon remembering that they were supposed to be speaking in the past tense, native speakers, with only one exception, related the story by adhering strictly and effortlessly to past tense forms of the verbs. Given this, and given the fact that the instructions called for speaking in the past tense—plus the fact that all participants began their narratives with "Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo"/"Yesterday afternoon it was raining"—only past tense verbs were counted as correct. There were, of course, correct uses of the present tense that had to be excluded because they were neither wrong nor right. For example, verbs in the present tense that appeared within direct or indirect quotations were disregarded.

Personal interjections

One specific use of present tense verbs proved to be particularly troublesome, especially among the more capable speakers. Personal interjections, primarily conjecture as the subjects thought out loud, were fairly common, as typified by ADV/BI-7:

Parece que le invitó a hacer algo.
(It) seems that (to) him (he) invited to do something.

“It seems that he invited him to do something.”

The verb parece (“appears” or “seems”) was excluded from the totals, which were compiled strictly to measure the percentage of verbs used correctly in the past tense while telling the story. In the example above, the subject returned immediately to past tense narrative. Other interjections, however, tended to cause a shift from narrating the story to describing the pictures (e.g., “It seems the men are going to play golf”). In each situation, the data resulting from interjections were excluded until such point as the subject had clearly resumed his or her attempt to tell the story in the past tense as originally instructed.

Again, correctness was based strictly on the ability to use verbs correctly in the appropriate aspect of the past tense. Thus it was possible to count the total number of correct and incorrect past tense verb occurrences and calculate the percentage of the time that different groups correctly produced grammatically correct past tense verbs.

To count as “correct,” each verb had to be used in the past tense, be conjugated correctly, and be used in the appropriate aspect (preterit or imperfect). As noted, verbs in the present tense that were used in direct and indirect quotations, plus those resulting from personal interjections by the subjects, were excluded from the totals.

*Unconjugated verbs*

Verbs in their base form, in Spanish the infinitive, were excluded because they are not conjugated. For example, in iban a jugar al golf (“they were going to play golf”),
iban, the imperfect past of ir ("to go"), counted as one correct verb occurrence, while jugar (the unconjugated verb "to play") was not counted. On the other hand, it was clearly an error when speakers could not conjugate a verb and substituted the infinitive.

**Lexical confusion and other uncounted mistakes**

Lexical mistakes were overlooked in the interest of focusing on grammatical correctness. The most common lexical error, found even among the advanced bilinguals, was that of confusing sonar ("to ring") and soñar ("to dream"). Not only are these verbs identical except for the tilde over the ñ, but both change their stems from o to ue when conjugated in the present tense (suena/sueña). Even after the verb sonar was pointed out on the vocabulary list as being used by all native speakers, there were 17 subjects who used the incorrect soñar, including three advanced bilinguals who approached native-like proficiency in almost all other areas.

In a few instances, student subjects who struggled and asked for help were told the correct form of the verb, but that and any subsequent uses of the same verb were excluded from the totals. Many student subjects, especially at the lower levels, "talked out" the verbs conjugations, as can be seen in subjects INT-2 and ADV/NSA-2:

**INT-2:** ...el teléfono estuvieron...son-, soñar...soñando

**ADV/NSA-2:** El teléfono son-, soñó, sueño?
In the first example, the student did not produce one correct past tense verb, and the entire utterance was counted as one verb, incorrectly used. In the second example, the student, although she confused *sonar* and *soñar* and ended her guessing with an incorrect present tense verb, did in fact produce a correct preterit form, so the attempt was counted as one verb used correctly (*soñó*), even though lexically it was incorrect. All such cases were treated similarly.

Many subjects made the error of omitting the preposition *a*, which is more accurately described as a particle and is required following several verbs that were used frequently during the narrations, such as *invitar* (correctly expressed as *invitar a* "to invite to") and *jugar* (correctly expressed as *jugar al golf* "to play at the golf"). The omission of such particles was not counted as an error.

Also overlooked was the error of incorrectly placing the subject between the components of compound verbs. For example, in the construction *estaba leyendo* ("was reading"), it is incorrect to insert the subject (e.g., "the man") after the auxiliary verb:

*Estaba el hombre leyendo.*

Because the correct aspect and conjugation of the verb were used, thus showing progress toward acquiring the past tense forms under investigation, this was counted as one verb used correctly (although on a quiz it would certainly be marked wrong). In the final analysis, there were comparatively few instances of this error.
Summary of rules

A summary of the rules for quantifying grammatical correctness appears in Figure 3.3.

Verbs included in overall count of verbs:
- All conjugated verbs except those noted below.
- Infinitives (the unconjugated base form of Spanish verbs) when used in place of a conjugated form of a verb.

Verbs excluded from overall count of verbs:
- Present tense verbs used when the subject interjected a personal observation (e.g., Me parece que "It seems to me that").
- Present tense verbs used in direct or indirect quotations.

Errors overlooked:
- Lexical mistakes, such as confusing sonar and soñar.
- Incorrect verbs found in a string of guesses, provided the subject produced the correct form somewhere in the string.
- Incorrect placement of the subject or a pronoun between parts of a compound verb.
- The omission of the "a" following verbs that require it (e.g. invitar a "to invite to").

Verb errors counted:
- Present tense verbs (except those in personal interjections or quotations).
- Incorrect conjugations.
- Incorrect choice between imperfect and preterit. For example, describing the man reading by saying, **"El hombre estuvo leyendo." "The man was (preterit) reading."**
- Incorrect choice between forms of ser and estar (the two verbs meaning "to be").

Figure 3.3: Rules for grammatical correctness of verbs
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The preceding chapter describes the methods used for tabulating the occurrences of pragmatic word order and calculating grammatical correctness in using past tense verbs. From these tabulations and calculations it is possible, using simple percentages, to construct a useful view of the relationship between pragmatic and grammatical competence in the interlanguages of L2 speakers at different stages of acquisition. This chapter first examines the data gathered on the questionnaires and then presents the results of the subjects' performances in the two target areas. Following that is a discussion of how the acquisition of the two competencies compares. The final section of this chapter contains a general discussion of trends in the data as a whole and of the performance of selected individuals whose responses provide insight that helps interpret the results.

Questionnaire data

With very few exceptions, the information gathered on the questionnaires confirmed that the defined groups accurately represent learners with similar language backgrounds and amounts of exposure to Spanish, both in and out of the classroom. The various groups' performances, as will be seen, confirm that the groups represent various stages of acquisition, which in the case of the student subjects tended to conform to
different levels of course work. Only in the two most advanced groups—the advanced students who had studied abroad and the advanced bilinguals—was there a significant incidence of frequent or daily exposure to native Spanish through conversation with native speakers or through television, pleasure reading, or music with Spanish lyrics. Two respondents singled out music when they indicated “occasional” extracurricular exposure to Spanish. It is likely that popular music accounts for a good deal of the reported “occasional” exposure. The following paragraphs summarize the language background data for each group.

The Beginner group (BGN) comprised students of all undergraduate levels (freshman, etc.) and included one graduate student. All were enrolled in Spanish 102. Only half of these subjects had studied Spanish in high school, and the most that any student reported was two and one-half years of high school Spanish. That student had studied briefly abroad. None had received any exposure to Spanish in elementary or junior high. Most of the students were completing their second semester of college Spanish.

The Intermediate group (INT), whose members were taking Spanish 202, consisted primarily of freshmen (seven) and sophomores (two), plus one senior. The freshmen and one sophomore had gained placement at this level by virtue of having completed four years
of high school Spanish. Three had been introduced to Spanish in the lower grades. None had studied abroad, but one had lived in Mexico with her mother for an unspecified time.

Advanced students, i.e., those in 300-level classes or higher but without a semester abroad (ADV/NSA), included undergraduates of all levels, including two freshmen. One had five years of high school instruction, seven had four years, one had three years and one had only two years. Five in this group had received presecondary exposure to Spanish. None had studied abroad, but two reported brief (a week and a month respectively) trips to Costa Rica. In general, they can be distinguished from the two lower groups by having accumulated slightly more credit hours in grammar and linguistics and, in several instances, by having begun their study of literature.

Advanced students who had studied abroad (ADV/SA) consisted of nine seniors and one junior. One of them had five years of secondary Spanish, five had four years, another had three years, and two had only a single year. Half of them had studied elementary or junior high Spanish. Partly as a result of their semesters abroad, these subjects had accumulated significant credit hours in Spanish, ranging from 20 hours to more than 40 hours. Only two were enrolled in a single Spanish class, and the rest were enrolled in two or more. They reported that while abroad, three of them spoke Spanish
“most of the time,” four spoke Spanish “more than half the time,” and only two used Spanish “less than half the time.”

The Advanced Bilingual group (ADV/BI) was made up of fluent speakers including professors with doctorates in Spanish, a young missionary with only two years of high school instruction, two Peace Corps veterans who were trained in that organization’s school, and others, all with rich and varied combinations of formal training and native exposure. Many of them use Spanish on a daily basis, and all but two reported frequent contact with native speakers.

**Pragmatic word order results**

Tabulations of the instances of Verb-Subject word order, when divided by the opportunities for using the VS arrangement of constituents, show the percentages of the time that, when appropriate, the various groups preferred PWO over CWO. Table 4.1 shows the numbers of opportunities that subjects in the various groups created for using non-canonic word order, and the numbers and percentages of non-canonic arrangements those opportunities actually produced. Figure 4.1 shows the percentage data in graph form. It can readily be seen that there is a marked jump in the use of non-canonic word order among the advanced bilinguals and the advanced students who had studied abroad.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Opportunities for Verb-Subject</th>
<th>Production of Verb-Subject</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BGNR (10)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT (10)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV/NSA (10)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV/SA (10)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV/BI (10)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS (10)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1: Percentage of VS by group
**Past tense verb performance**

The guidelines for rating the use of past tense verbs (Chapter 3) were devised to produce a representative view of an L2 learner's interlanguage grammar through several developmental stages. That is, the viewpoint is generally optimistic, looking not for errors per se, but for evidence of acquisition. Although in transcription form many of the narratives appear hopelessly riddled with errors, it must be remembered that the actual product was spoken language produced in a situation that required communicative competence. As a result, learners at the lower levels naturally called upon communicative strategies such as shifting to the present tense or substituting infinitives for conjugated verb forms. Table 4.2 shows the number of verbs produced by each group and the percentage of those verbs that was "correct" as defined by the established criteria. Figure 4.2 shows the resulting grammatical correctness expressed in terms of the percentage of verbs used correctly.

**Comparison of word order and verb correctness**

Combining the pragmatic word order and grammatical correctness data from Figures 4.1 and 4.2 into a single chart shows graphically the degree to which learners at various levels have acquired these competencies (Figure 4.3).
### Table 4.2: Grammatical correctness results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total Verbs Produced</th>
<th>Correct Past Tense Verbs</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BGNR (10)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT (10)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV/NSA (10)</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV/SA (10)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV/BI (10)</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS (10)</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Figure 4.2: Percentage of correct past tense verbs](chart.png)
As hypothesized, the acquisition of grammatical ability by these groups of subjects at similar levels generally began in the lower level groups and progressed regularly, whereas pragmatic word order generally seemed to lie dormant until acquired rather suddenly, in this case by the group that had increased exposure to native Spanish, much of which occurred in natural settings.

Especially noteworthy is the convergence of the two competencies at the advanced level, after study abroad (ADV/SA). After their study abroad, advanced students recorded nearly identical scores in the two areas (64% in grammar and 67% in pragmatic word order).
Discussion of the results

Another way of looking at the data is on a subject-by-subject basis, which shows that acquisition of pragmatic word order took shape in a remarkably strong pattern: With 93% consistency, subjects who had acquired the pragmatic VS arrangement of constituents used that arrangement exclusively; those who preserved the canonic SV arrangement used that arrangement exclusively. Of the 60 subjects, only four produced both SV and VS in their narrations of the sun’s coming out and the phone’s and doorbell’s ringing. It is significant too that none of those four was in the ADV/SA group. In that group, which as a whole seemed to demonstrate the actual point of acquisition, not one of the subjects mixed the two arrangements—six used the pragmatic VS exclusively, three used the canonic SV exclusively, and one subject managed to avoid the decision by completing the activity using only existential verbs (“there was a call,” etc.).

Although the data are generally convincing, there is one obvious point at which performance deviated from what was expected—the BGNR group, which produced high PWO scores and somewhat low grammar scores. While the low grammar can be attributed to the group as a whole, the comparatively high VS word order scores can be attributed to the performances of two individuals.

The low grammar scores for the beginners result, as would be expected, from the fact that they had only recently begun studying the past tense. Correctness in conjugating the past tense verbs, however, was only partly responsible for the low grammar scores. In their efforts to communicate in Spanish, this group in particular resorted frequently to using the present tense. For example, after using only one verb in the past, subject BGNR-
1 finished her narration completely in the present tense, thus scoring one correct out of the nine verbs she used. Had she been rated on her ability to use the present tense, her score would have been better than 50%.

Even more noticeable than their low grammar scores was the BGNRs' comparatively high use of pragmatic word order. The unexpectedly high score of 16% PWO resulted from four VS arrangements produced equally by two subjects. BGNR-1 created two possibilities for VS and in both instances produced the non-canonic form with little hesitation. Her questionnaire indicated no contact with native speakers and no Spanish study before college.

BGNR-6 used VS twice out of three opportunities. Interestingly, the first time that the subject had the opportunity for VS she corrected herself as though making an error:

\[\text{En cinco minutos, um, el sol, er, sale el sol.}\]

"In five minutes, um, the sun, er, comes out the sun."

At the next opportunity, she hesitated at the point where she had to utter either the verb or the subject:

\[\text{En las tres en la tarde... sone... el teléfono.}\]

"In three in the afternoon... sounds... the telephone."

When she got to the picture of the doorbell ringing, however, she produced SV canonic word order with little hesitation. A possible interpretation of this subject’s responses could be that she was at the exact point of acquiring the pragmatic form, at first producing it in what appears to be a cognitive manner—with corrections and hesitations—but then reverting to the canonic form when speaking freely and without hesitation. Although her questionnaire indicated that she “almost never” spoke with native speakers, when asked about her positioning of the verb before the noun, she replied that she had heard a Spanish-speaking friend “say it that way.”

There were no unexpected results in the intermediate group, but in two of the higher level groups there were scores that again were somewhat distorted by individual performances that deviated noticeably from the other scores in the group. One of the ADV/SA students scored zero correct of the 16 verbs used. The errors were, again, not actual errors, but a shift to the present tense. Had this participant recorded scores in the same range as the others, the grammar rating for the group would have been a few points higher than the PWO rating instead of a few points lower.

A similar but less pronounced distortion of the grammatical scores can be seen in the performance of the Advanced Bilingual group. Overall, this group performed more like native speakers than like students, but occasional lapses into present tense by several subjects, plus a grammatical score of 15% correct by one subject, yielded a final score somewhat lower than one would expect. The reason their grammar scores fall along the same developmental plane established by the student subjects is primarily that they interspersed present tense verbs, which as already noted, native speakers did not.
It should also be noted that the Native Speaker group fell short of 100% in using the VS arrangement of constituents, while the Advanced Bilinguals did score 100%. This is probably not a result of overproduction on the part of advanced bilinguals, but rather a variation on the part of one native speaker. NS-8 was a very recent immigrant who left his beginning level ESL class to participate in this study and, understandably, was generally puzzled by the activity. His utterance was:

_A las tres el teléfono suena cuando está leyendo el periódico._

“At three the telephone rings when (he) is reading the newspaper.”

This utterance also is the sole incidence of a native speaker’s shifting to the present tense, which could quite possibly indicate a shift from narrating the story to describing the individual picture.

**Summary**

In terms of the questions posed at the end of Chapter 2, it can be said that

1. The NS group, once the picture had been revised, consistently produced VS clauses that were consistent with both Contreras’s (1976) explanations and the English IL word order errors found in Rutherford’s (1989) data.

2. The pragmatic VS arrangement can appear at any level but was only produced in significant numbers by speakers at the two highest levels, i.e., the advanced students after study abroad and the advanced bilinguals.
3. Grammatical abilities, as tested here, progressed in a strongly regular pattern, but a similar developmental pattern was not seen in the acquisition of Pwo. There appeared to be no relationship between the two.

4. The acquisition of the pragmatic form related strongly to exposure to Spanish spoken by native speakers.

As just stated, exposure to the language in a natural setting marked a turning point in the acquisition of the non-canonic, native-like arrangement of the VS constituents. In general, the acquisition of this particular form of Pwo seems not to develop through time, but rather seems to occur suddenly in individuals and endure persistently thereafter. There appeared to be no loss of the form by subjects who had been away from native culture for significant lengths of time.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Though the results of this study support the commonly accepted tenant that learners benefit significantly from exposure to their L2s in natural settings, the core purpose here is to examine the acquisition of a pragmatic competency in relation to a grammatical competency. As hypothesized, Spanish PWO was generally acquired in the more advanced stages of development, while grammatical skill developed progressively and in a pattern that correlated strongly to the subjects' levels of classroom study.

Although the student subjects' semesters abroad probably did provide the input that triggered their acquisition of VS pragmatic word order—and quite probably other pragmatic abilities as well—there has been no attempt here to establish causality. In fact, the students in the "lower" groups who had successfully acquired the non-canonic form demonstrate that simple VS clauses can be acquired at virtually any level. This study, for the most part, failed to identify the sources of input that led to PWO acquisition in the BGNR and ADV/NSA groups, but it is clear that such acquisition did not necessarily entail extended travel abroad.

The remainder of this chapter will discuss possible implications that this study may have for further investigation in the areas of SLA, Spanish linguistics, and Spanish pedagogy.
SLA considerations

The results that have been noted and discussed in this study of L2 Spanish word order acquisition suggest issues much broader than the mere acquisition of a simple three-word sentence that happens to use non-canonic word order. In light of what has been shown above, it would be hard to deny that L1 CWO has the ability to exert a profound effect on L2 syntax. In this case, it was the transfer effect of L1 CWO that influenced L2 acquisition. In contrast, Van der Vlugt’s (1992) research indicates the possibility that as L2 proficiency in English increases in L1 Spanish bilinguals, L2 to L1 transfer may occur. In other words, as the powerful English CWO system is internalized, there can be a corresponding partial loss of PWO in native speakers of Spanish.

Another SLA consideration worth noting is that the current trend in SLA research has adopted a different view of pragmatics than the view taken here. In much of the recent research, the designation "pragmatics" is used to describe research that has the primary goal of studying speech acts (requests, denials, etc.) and other aspects of communicative competence. For a discussion of this recent work and an annotated bibliography, see Kasper and Rose (1999). Although such studies are certainly related to this one in that they focus on contextual obstacles that learners face in trying to attain native-like ability, by focusing primarily on social or situational contexts they have steered the course of pragmatics away from information structure and discoursal considerations. It is unlikely that much of the current research would have noticed, as did Contreras (1976), the classes of verbs that are used prenominally. It is even less likely that current research in
pragmatics would have noticed the XSV form that Rutherford found and noted in his 1989 study.

All in all, it seems that little has been done recently that involves pragmatics in the way it has been considered here—that is, in making sentence-level decisions based on the language context that surrounds sentence production and influences syntax.

The strongest implications of this study, however, align more closely with Spanish linguistics and Spanish pedagogy than with SLA. Before moving on, though, it should be noted that potentially informative analysis remains to be done using the present data. For example, it might prove valuable to look at the number, length, and location of pauses to see what patterns might underlie the performances of the subjects who, for example, quickly uttered a grammatical subject as theme and then paused, seemingly to compose the rheme in their minds.

**Spanish linguistics considerations**

Despite what appear to be valid findings concerning learners who are aspiring to native-like second language ability in Spanish, this study also touches upon phenomena that warrant additional investigation if the so-called “comparative flexibility” of Spanish word order is to be more fully understood and applied to SLA. The two most obvious instances of unexplained phenomena are the failure of the first picture story to elicit VS clauses and the apparent trend toward overproduction of VS in the Advanced Bilingual group.
In the process of developing the picture story, nothing discovered or discussed here explains definitively the fact that seemingly minor changes to the first picture story drastically changed the native Spanish speakers' perceptions and responses. As mentioned earlier, the first four test subjects made only the vaguest recommendations, such as showing the clock more prominently in the drawings. When viewed in terms of Rutherford’s (1989) XVS form, which was present in every Spanish word order permutation of English IL syntax, it could be deduced that the test subjects were instinctively suggesting that a more prominent positioning of the clock would elicit time expressions, i.e., adverbial prepositional phrases, that would trigger the VS form.

Along similar lines lies the fact that some of the advanced bilingual subjects produced VS clauses when describing the final frame of the story. In that drawing, Paul’s voice comes through the closed door to announce his presence, and some of the advanced bilinguals related that as *Llegó Pablo*! “Arrived Paul.” None of the native Spanish speakers, however, made that interpretation. These results seem not to be the product of the L2 speakers’ overproducing the VS form, but rather indicative of a difference in perceptions. It would be interesting to see if a picture story showing Paul in an open doorway would elicit from native speakers an announcement of Paul’s arrival. In this case, with the door closed, they may have perceived Paul’s arrival as still pending. If indeed an “open-door” picture would induce native speakers to announce Paul’s arrival, that announcement would likely conform to the VS utterances of the advanced bilinguals. An interesting speculation is that the differences in perceptions between English and Spanish speakers could be related to the fact that Spanish has two ways of looking at the past, the
perfect aspect (completed acts) and the imperfect aspect (acts in progress). Although not expressly stated, the contrasting perceptions of whether Paul had arrived were suggested by one of the first four native speakers who piloted the first version of the picture story.

In the broadest interpretation of pragmatics, it would seem that certain events are perceived differently by Spanish and English speakers, and further research using picture stories or other stimuli could prove informative and possibly reveal important contrasts between Spanish and English.

Much of the English/Spanish contrastive literature that was reviewed for discussion in Chapter 2 was rejected because recent studies of word order in SLA have focused on certain areas and excluded others. The bulk of the literature pertaining to syntax is devoted to attempts at proving or disproving elements of Chomsky’s Universal Grammar, especially the theory of principles and parameters. The most recent major work on word order and the distribution of given and new information is an ambitious monograph by Zubizarreta (1998), who also presents her ideas in a UG framework, thus relegating the line of inquiry to a theoretical agenda that is arguably less accessible and less readily useful to second language teachers, foreign language teachers, and those who are charged with training these teachers. The results obtained in this present endeavor, however, indicate that there are clearly alternative opportunities that should be pursued in the study of word order as it exists in larger contexts.

The most obvious alternative is already underway. One of the studies already cited, Van der Vlught (1992), made use of corpus analysis, and in general such analyses could revisit, confirm, and augment the original work performed by Contreras in 1976 and Silva-
Corvalán in 1978. A corpus linguistics analysis of conversational Spanish would be useful and potentially informative in determining more specifically when and how native speakers employ non-canonic word order. While this present study focused on the acquisition of a very common, specific deviation from canonic word order, the study of other word order variations, such as those appearing in relative clauses, would be greatly facilitated by corpus analysis.

From a second, quite different viewpoint, additional research and analysis applying the systemic-functional grammar theory of M. A. K. Halliday could provide a much richer interpretation of text than does the comparatively simple analysis of theme and rheme discussed earlier.

While both of these approaches would provide fresh insight into Spanish word order, yet another approach could be developed by adding a qualitative component to a replication of this study. Subjects—especially native speakers and advanced bilinguals from both L1 groups—could narrate different versions of picture stories and then be interviewed in an attempt to reveal their awareness of word order and their ability to articulate the reasons why certain word order options were or were not chosen. This approach might yield valuable information about how L1 and L2 Spanish speakers perceive different situations and, as a result, arrange the constituents in their sentences.

While SLA issues and the potential for additional research in and understanding of Spanish linguistics are compelling, the most immediate implications of this study relate to Spanish pedagogy.
Implications for Spanish pedagogy

The VS word order convention that was investigated in this study is a relatively common feature of Spanish, and, as shown in this research, can be acquired in the early stages of development with only limited native-language exposure. According to Hill and Bradford (1991), “Early in their studies of Spanish, English-speakers should be made aware of the frequency of the V+S word order of Spanish and should understand that this word order, somewhat restricted in English, is very normal and of extremely high frequency in Spanish” (p. 5).

When compared with the complexity of the morphology needed to master Spanish verb conjugations, the VS arrangement is possibly one of the simplest features that characterizes the language. It would seem possible, then, that VS could be introduced in the classroom during the presentation of other, more explicitly instructed material. For example, non-canonic word order could easily be incorporated into simple examples used primarily to demonstrate combining the imperfect and preterit aspects in sentences such as

*Juan leía cuando sonó el teléfono*

“John was reading when rang the telephone”

or

*Yo tenía cinco años cuando empezó la guerra*

“I was five when began the war.”
The viability of this could be studied easily through research using a traditional syllabus in one section and a syllabus enhanced to include pragmatic word order in another section. It might well be found that many routine classroom practices could be modified to start students on the road to native-like word order long before they have the opportunity to study abroad.

Another pedagogical consideration that could be examined is the role of narrative in the classroom. Narrative, of course, was the device used for eliciting the VS form in this study, and additional linguistic analysis might show that narrative is in fact the common linguistic environment for PWO. For example, in answering a question about what happened at school today, a child might respond

\textit{Se enojó la profesora.}

\textit{Got angry the teacher.}

Even though narratives are a prominent function of language in use (i.e., a pragmatic element), research might show that they do not occupy a proportionately prominent role in classroom activities or in teaching materials. In selecting language data for analyzing Spanish word order, Silva-Corvalán (1978) deliberately chose language samples that included connected discourse, and, in most of the data, one or more narratives.

The consideration of narrative lends support to Krashen's (1995) advocacy of pleasure reading as an important source of exposure to language in a "natural setting." According to Krashen,
I do not mean reading and then answering questions for content, or reading as preparation for discussion or writing assignments. The sort of reading to be [considered] here is extensive, and concerns subject matter that the student would read in his first language for pleasure....

What is read depends on the student and what is available to him. For some people, it may be mystery novels, for others, science fiction, and for others, comic books... (p. 164).

The fact that the results of this study show no performance differences that correlate the acquisition of native-like word order to the amount of literature the subjects had studied tends to support Krashen’s claims. The traditional curriculum of “foreign language and literature” may tend to relegate the acquisition of communicative skills to grammar and conversation classes while applying a more interpretive emphasis to the literary and cultural branches of study. There is probably little reason, however, not to teach literature with an added focus on its communicative aspects, such as the structure of dialog and the linguistic features of narrative episodes. More to the point, however, is that the materials described by Krashen for pleasure reading are significantly different from those typically considered appropriate for study as literature. To increase exposure to “natural” language, designers of curricula could consider including more selections from the popular press in their programs.

Yet another possibility for future research should also be noted. Because foreign languages are typically taught in the target language, it might be prudent to analyze the classroom Spanish spoken by instructors. The possibility of PWO loss in bilinguals has already been noted, and the communicative demands placed on foreign language teachers
might eventually lead them to use an anglicized variety of Spanish that—for the sake of making themselves understood—manifests CWO to a greater degree than Spanish in a natural setting does.

As a final observation about this study, it should be noted that at the university level there could be considerable “secondhand” exposure to native Spanish. Because a significant number of Spanish majors at Iowa State University spend a semester abroad, it was impossible in this study to assemble a group that would have been particularly interesting to include—senior (400 level) Spanish students who had not studied abroad. These learners would match their globe-trotting classmates in accumulated credit hours in literature, grammar, conversation, and linguistics; it would have been useful to see if there were evidence showing that non-study abroad students could acquire PWO from classroom exposure to those who had studied abroad, i.e., the ADV/SA group.

Conclusion

When everything just discussed is considered en mass, several things seem to hold true. Most importantly, the road to native-like proficiency is broad and filled with obstacles, some of which are daunting in their complexity and some of which are deceptive in their simplicity. As proved by the advanced bilinguals who participated in this effort, flexibility in word order can certainly be mastered. And although several suggestions have been made for helping students make earlier progress toward natural word order, there is also little doubt that exposure to Spanish in a natural setting is, if not essential, at the least highly desirable. The true challenge that pervades this work is the nature of Spanish word
order itself. It is simultaneously the product of grammatical mandates, the speaker's efforts to organize information, and semantic and discourse conventions, some that have been studied and documented and others that wait to be discovered.
APPENDIX A: SUBJECT QUESTIONNAIRES

This appendix contains the questionnaires used to gather language background data from the participants. Facsimiles of the three questionnaires appear on the following pages.
Student subject questionnaire

Date__________  Participant #________

Thank you for agreeing to help

By completing this questionnaire you are agreeing to participate in a simple language activity and to provide information about your experiences in learning the Spanish language. After completing this form you will be asked to look at a picture story and tell me what you see in the drawings. Vocabulary clues are provided with the story. Your narration will be recorded for linguistic analysis as part of a study investigating the acquisition of Spanish as a second language. You will remain anonymous. The whole activity should only take about fifteen minutes, but you are free to stop at any time if you don't want to continue.

Student Questionnaire

1. Present level: Freshman    Sophomore    Junior    Senior    Recent grad

2. How much Spanish did you take in high school? ________________

3. Did you study any Spanish in grade school or junior high? Yes    No

   If yes, in what grade(s) and approximately how much? ________________

4. College credit hours completed in Spanish grammar or Spanish linguistics: ________________

5. College credit hours completed in Spanish literature: ________________

6. Are you currently taking a Spanish class or classes? Yes    No

   If “yes,” please list ________________

7. Have you participated in a study abroad program in a Spanish speaking country?    Yes    No

   (If “no,” skip to #8.)

   Dates of study abroad: ________________

   While abroad, how much did you speak Spanish? (circle an answer below)

   Most of the time    More than half the time    Less than half the time    Only when I had to

8. Other than study abroad, have you ever lived in a Spanish speaking country? Yes    No

   (If “no,” skip to #9)

   If “yes,” please list the countries, the approximate length of time you were there, and your age at the time (e.g. My family lived in Peru for a year when I was 8). Continue on the back of this page if needed.

________________________________________________________________________

9. Do you frequently speak Spanish with native speakers outside of school? (Circle one)

   Daily    Frequently    Occasionally    Almost never

10. Do you watch Spanish television? read in Spanish for fun? listen to music with Spanish lyrics?

    Daily    Frequently    Occasionally    Almost never
Native speaker questionnaire

Date__________________  Participant #_____

Thank you for agreeing to help

By completing this questionnaire you are agreeing to participate in a simple language activity that will help me investigate the way Spanish is learned by native speakers of English. After completing this form you will be asked to look at a picture story and tell me what you see in the drawings. Your narration will be recorded for linguistic analysis, but you personally will remain anonymous. The whole activity should only take about fifteen minutes, but you are free to stop at any time if you don't want to continue.

Questionnaire for LI Spanish Bilinguals

1. Where were you born and raised? (For example, "I was born in Puerto Rico, but we moved to Mexico when I was eight _____________________.

2. When did you move to the United States? ____________________ How old were you? ______

3. Do you speak Spanish at home? (Circle an answer below)

   Always  Most of the time  Half of the time  Occasionally  Rarely  Never

4. Do you need to speak Spanish regularly as part of your work?  Yes  No

6. Did you study Spanish in college?  Yes  No

7. Do you have a degree in Spanish or Spanish linguistics?  No  Yes: __________________

8. Do you regularly watch Spanish television? read in Spanish for enjoyment? listen to music with Spanish lyrics or watch Spanish movies?

   Daily  Frequently  Occasionally  Almost never
**Advanced bilingual questionnaire**

Date_________  Participant #_____

**Thank you for agreeing to help**

By completing this questionnaire you are agreeing to participate in a simple language activity and to provide information about your experiences in learning the Spanish language. After completing this form you will be asked to look at a picture story and tell me what you see in the drawings. Your narration will be recorded for linguistic analysis as part of a study investigating the acquisition of Spanish as a second language. You will remain anonymous. The whole activity should only take about fifteen minutes, but you are free to stop at any time if you don’t want to continue.

**Questionnaire for L1 English Bilinguals**

1. On the back of this page, explain briefly when, where and how you learned to speak Spanish. Include things such as college study, study or travel abroad, work in a Spanish speaking country, Peace Corps or military immersion schools, self-study, etc. Focus on the things that you consider were most instrumental in helping you master the language.

2. How often do you currently speak Spanish with native speakers?

   - Daily
   - Frequently
   - Occasionally
   - Almost never

3. Do you watch Spanish television? read in Spanish for fun? listen to music with Spanish lyrics?

   - Daily
   - Frequently
   - Occasionally
   - Almost never

4. Do you need to speak Spanish regularly as part of your work? Yes No

5. When was the last time you visited a Spanish speaking country, even briefly?

6. Please indicate the amount of formal Spanish training you have had:

   - Total years of high school Spanish:  1 2 3 4
   - Semesters of college Spanish: _____________
   - Highest degree earned in Spanish (BA, MA, graduate minor, Ph.D., etc.,) _____________

8. Please indicate the various amounts of time (other than brief vacations) that you have spent in Spanish speaking countries. Indicate your reason for being there (work, study, extended travel, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>From date (month/year)</th>
<th>To date (month/year)</th>
<th>Reason</th>
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APPENDIX B: NARRATIVE INSTRUCTIONS

Instructions:

Look at the pictures carefully and tell me what you see and what you think happened. Your response should be brief, but you should include the obvious details, such as the time and the weather. Speak using the past tense forms. Begin with the words “Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo...”

Instrucciones

Mire bien los dibujos y dígame lo que ve y lo que piensa que ocurrió. Su respuesta debe ser breve, pero debe incluir los detalles obvios tal como el tiempo y la hora. Hable usando los tiempos del pasado.

Empiece con las palabras “Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo...”
## APPENDIX C: VOCABULARY LIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Useful Vocabulary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>contestar</strong></td>
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<td><strong>decir</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>el golf</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>el hombre</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>el periódico</strong></td>
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<td><strong>el sol</strong></td>
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<td><strong>el teléfono</strong></td>
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<td><strong>el timbre</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>invitar</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>jugar</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>la puerta</strong></td>
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<td><strong>leer</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>llover</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>salir</strong></td>
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<td><strong>sonar</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on transcriptions

To account for seemingly unnatural utterances produced by native speakers, it must be remembered that spoken language often appears imprecise when transcribe. Also, for some speakers the situation itself was unnatural. Conventions used in the following transcriptions are these: square brackets ([]) indicate brief utterences that were unintelligible on the recordings; short pauses are indicated by commas (,); longer pauses are indicated by ellipses (...); direct quotations from the pictures are set off by parentheses.

Native speakers (NS)

Note: Data from these first four subjects was used only to test and revise the picture story. The actual native-speaker data begins with NS-5.

NS-1: Ayer por la tarde el sujeto estaba leyendo el periódico cuando el teléfono sonó a las tres de la tarde. Era Pablo que invitó al sujeto a jugar...golf. Y Pablo llegó a las tres y diez de la tarde.

NS-2: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo ..eh ..estaba un señor leyendo el periódico. Iban a ser las tres de la tarde...y él estaba descansando. El día ayer por la tarde...después de que llovio, salió el sol... y [ ] lindo por la ventana. Ayer por la tarde, a las tres en punto, el teléfono sonó, y el señor dejó de leer el periódico. El señor contestó el teléfono y era su amigo Pablo...y él invitó a cen-- [ ] El señor dijo [ ] van a jugar al golf. Entonces a las tres y diez Pablo llegó y lo recogió para ir a jugar al golf.

NS-3: ...y un hombre leyendo El Diario en el primer dibujo. En el segundo veo solamente un teléfono con su ventana y un sol afuera. Tercero. Veo un hombre leyendo y veo ah un teléfono sonando. El cuarto un hombre contestando un teléfono. (“Diga”) contesta él. En el cinco veo una alarma y veo una puerta y alguien toca la puerta y dice (“Hola...”)

(Subject asked to repeat the activity, reminded of instructions, asked to make it “como una historia.”)

Ayer por la noche estaba leyendo El Diario... el segundo, estaba el sol saliendo. Tercero... estaba el teléfono sonando y yo seguía leyendo pero yo contesto el teléfono y era mi amigo Pablo que dice “Vamos ya.” Contesto la puerta, y era mi amigo que estaba en la puerta. Y yo pregunto “¿Quién es?” y él dice, “Hola...”
NS-4: Ayer por la tarde un señor estaba leyendo periódico su casa y empezó a llover muy fuerte. Luego de repente el sol salió... [Work with this subject was suspended because he had learned Spanish in Bolivia as a small child. He was born in Tiwan and his first language proved to be Mandarin.]

At this point the drawings were changed, mainly by rearranging them, to see if some seemingly minor changes would change the number of VS constructions, which they did dramatically.

NS-5: ...a las tres, actualmente diez minutos antes de las tres estaba lloviendo. [de cinco minutos exactamente antes de las tres, salió el sol. A las tres en punto sonó el teléfono mientras yo estaba leyendo el periódico. Contesté el teléfono y dije, “Diga,” Era Pablo. Mandaba [salir y le dije “Magnifico…” A las tres y diez de la tarde sonó el timbre y [preparado para ir a jugar al golf. Abrí la puerta y era Pablo “Soy yo…” Eran las tres...diez.

NS-6: Recorder malfunctioned, so data is not included in totals. The uses of the clauses under investigation, however, were noted and were identical to the previous subject’s. The subject used “sonó” and “salió” just as did subject NS-5.

NS-7: Ayer por la tarde, diez para las tres, estaba lloviendo. Cinco para las tres salió el sol. A las tres de la tarde sonó el teléfono...um...contesté el teléfono y era su amigo Pablo. A las tres y diez sonó el timbre de la puerta y [“Hola....”

NS-8: Ayer por la tarde. Luego...[Shown the instructions again, and begins again.] Ayer estaba lloviendo...como las tres de la tarde...dejó de llover. A las tres el teléfono suena cuando está leyendo el periódico. (“Diga”). ¿La última? [jugar golf...las tres diez. (“Hola....”). [Researcher points at Picture 5 and asks, “¿Qué pasa aquí?”] Estaba sonando la alarma...a las tres diez.

NS-9: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo...[...]salió el sol. Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo... [Subject prompted on Picture 2.] Sonó teléfono. Sonó el teléfono. Ayer por la tarde dije (“Magnifico…”) (Subject prompted again). Había música.... [Researcher points to the doorbell in Picture 5 and asks what it is.] Sonó la puerta? Y a las tres sonó la puerta. (“Hola…”). ¿Es todo?

NS-10: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo...la una. A las dos ayer, a las dos de la tarde... estaba saliendo el sol. Y a las tres...de la tarde... estaba leyendo el periódico y sonando el teléfono. Contestó el teléfono a las cuatro. (“Magnifico…”) Las tres diez estaba escuchando música...a ayer por la tarde. [Las tres diez estaba sonando el timbre de la puerta. Las tres diez ayer por la tarde toca en la puerta. Preguntó “¿Quién es?” [ (“Hola...”)}
NS-11: Ayer por la tarde a las tres menos diez estaba lloviendo. Cuando paró de llover... Recibi una llamada telefónica mientras que leyera el periódico... eh... era mi amigo Pablo que me invitó a salir... ah! me invitó a jugar al golf. Eh, mi amigo repasó a cogerme sobre las tres y diez. [Subject says in English that he “did something wrong” because he wanted to say something about the newspaper, so he repeats Picture 3, but he repeats his original utterance. ] The researcher points to the phone and asks: “¿Qué ocurrió aquí?” The subject responds: “Aquí? Mientras leyó el teléfono... [laughter]...mientras leía, mientras leyó periódicos sonó el teléfono.” [When asked similarly about Picture 2, the subject responds: “A las tres menos cinco escampó o paró de llover.” ]

NS-12: Ayer por la tarde... em... estaba lloviendo y se veía a través de la ventana. Llovía alrededor de las tres de la tarde. Alrededor de las tres de la tarde el sol estaba brillando se veía un día muy soleado ... y esto lo observaba a través de la ventana. Um, eran exactamente las tres de la tarde cuando uh... del mismo día... yo leía El Diario y de repente sonó el teléfono. El teléfono inmediatamente dije, eh “Diga” y era Pablo que llamaba entonces le dije (“Magnifico...”) Estamos tratando de organizar una cita [ ] a reunirnos y por esto razón me había llamado. A las tres y diez de la tarde o diez minutos después de las tres, eh, sonó el timbre, y ya estamos listos, eh ya estaba listo el equipo con equipo de golf... la... la bolsa con el, la bolsa con todos los, los palos de golf. Y de repente se escuchó una voz que era Pablo, y Pablo dijo (“Hola...”) y entonces tuvimos... .eh... el arreglo para salir a jugar golf.

NS-13: Ayer por las tarde estaba lloviendo. Eran las tres menos diez de la tarde. La habitación estaba en calma. No se veía, no se veía a nadie en la habitación solamente había una mesa y encima de la mesa el teléfono. A las tres menos cinco dejó de llover y empezó a salir el sol... empezó a salir el sol. La habitación seguía en calma. De repente a las tres de la tarde sonó el teléfono. Juan estaba leyendo el periódico mientras el teléfono sonaba. Juan a las tres dejó de leer el teléfono, eh, dejó de leer el periódico y contestó al teléfono. Él dijo, “Diga,” y continuó, (“Magnifico...”). Un amigo llamaba para quedarse. A las tres y diez... sonó el timbre. Alguien llamó al timbre de la casa. Los palos estaban junto a la puerta. La persona que llamaba era Pablo. La persona que llamaba era Pablo, la persona con la que Juan había quedado a las tres cuando habló por teléfono.

NS-14: Ayer por la tarde, casi a las tres de la tarde, estaba lloviendo. Ahm... casi a las... como unos cinco minutos más tarde dejó de llover y salió el sol. A las tres en punto yo estaba leyendo el periódico El Diario cuando sonó el teléfono. Contesté el teléfono y era mi amigo Pablo. “Diga,” contesté (Magnifico... ) Pablo me había... si que quería ir a jugar al golf. A las tres y diez de la tarde sonó la campana de la puerta y era mi amigo Pablo... y entonces nos fuimos como las diez, más de la, de las tres de la tarde fuimos a jugar al golf.
NS15: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. Después salió el sol. Mientras el señor leía el periódico... sonó el teléfono. Él levantó el teléfono y dijo “Diga” y estaba Pablo en otra línea. Mientras él hablaba, alguien vino en la puerta y tocó el timbre. Y la persona que estaba atrás de la puerta dijo (“Hola…”). [Prompted for Picture 5, but prompted in present tense: “Tell me what happens here”]. Suena el timbre.

Beginner (BGNR)

BGNR-1: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo... llove...llove... llove... A las tres menos cinco minutos... uh... estaba... habia el sol. A las tres de la tarde sueña el teléfono. El hombre lea un periódico... um... El hombre contesta el teléfono y hable con un amigo. El amigo se llama Pablo. A las tres A las tres y diez minutos sueña la, la puerta... oh, el timbre... sueña el timbre. Es Pablo y Pablo y... el hombre juegan golf... voy a jue... jugar golf.

BGNR-2: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo... um, a las tres. Ayer por la tarde estaba... vea el sol. Ayer por la tarde estaba ello no contesta el teléfono. Ayer por la tarde estaba ello hablando por la teléfono. [Researcher clarifies the instructions; activity begins again.] Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo... um... a las cinco minutos de tres... un... el sol shine, I don’t know. A las tres de la tarde ello no contesta el teléfono. Um... ello hablando por la teléfono con su amigo. Um... ah... Ayer el timbre... ayer el hombre visita el amigo... jugar... por jugar el golf. Pablo quiere jugar el golf.

BGNR-3: [Discarded because the subject’s native language was found to be Vietnamese.] Ayer por la tarde llevando. Ayer por la tarde el sol. Ayer por tarde leer periódico. Ayer por la tarde decir teléfono. Ayer por la tarde juega el golf. Ayer por la tarde...

BGNR-4: Ayer por la tarde estaba[llo-] llove... llove... por la tarde y después... el sol... salgo... después de cinco minutos. Está en... una... casa. Un hombre estaba leyendo el periódico cuando el teléfono... um... sona. El hombre contestó el teléfono. Estaba su amigo Pablo y... ah... diga que... que vayan... A las tres y diez el timbre sona. Estaba Pablo y dice que está a la puerta, la puerta.

BGNR-5: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo... llove... A la trece, um, el sol salé y... estaba lei, lei [pronounced li-aye] el periódico cuando el teléfono soné... y... yo contesta, contesté el teléfono y hablé a la Pablo. A las diez, tres y diez el timbre soñé... y... yo con-, contesté el puerto para, para ir... el golf... jugué el golf.

BGNR-6: Ayer por la tarde estaba... um... llove... y... um... [ ]... después... um... el sol... saliendo [Subject asks for correct form of verb.]... salió. El teléfono... sonado? (Subject asks again.)... sonó. Um... [ ] mientras... um... leyó el periódico. Mmm... contestó el teléfono... um... [Asks for help again, but mispeaks, saying...] Ere con mi
amigo Pablo. Um... El timbre sonó... um... [long sigh]. A la puerta... mmm... ere mi amigo Pablo... um... ah... 

**BGNR-7:** Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo [translates into English] ... a las... diez... menos, er, a las tres menos diez en la tarde. En cinco minutos, um, el sol, er, sale el sol [translates into English]. A las tres en la tarde... sona... el teléfono. El hombre... el hombre... dice ("Magnífico..."). A las tres y diez el timbre sona en la casa... a las puerta el hombre dice ("Hola...").

**BGNR-8:** Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo... ah... a tres hora... menos cinco el sol... soyando... [sigh] ... el hombre leyó un el periódico. A tres hora... el teléfono sonando. El hombre... uh... contesté el teléfono. Está una amigo. A tres hora y diez um... el timbre... [Subject struggles; told to just use infinitive.] ... sonar... el timbre sonar. Un amigo... te amigo invitar, invite... lo invitó jugar el golf.

**BGNR-9:** Questionnaire numbered “9” taken but not returned.

**BGNR-10:** Ayer por la tarde estaba llovienda... um... La día... no llovia. El hombre... leer... el periódico... y el teléfono... um... sone. El hombre... contesté... el teléfono... y habl... hablé. Um... El timbre soné, el amigo [subject asks for vocabulary] ... el amigo llegado... a jugar golf.

**BGNR-11:** Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. Son las, fue las tres menos dice... y a las tres menos cinco... uh... la tiempo fue bueno. A las tres el teléfono sonó e el hombre fue, y el hombre liá el periódico. Y el hombre contesté el teléfono... diche ("Diga"). A las tres y diez el timbre soné... y el amigo diche ("Hola...").

**BGNR-12:** Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo a las dos y... [Subject prompted] tres menos cinco... [Subject prompted] tres menos cinco... [Subject prompted] tres menos cinco... El sol... salo. Ayer por la tarde estaba el señor leyendo el periódica a las tres... el teléfono soné. Ayer por la tarde estaba el señor contesté el teléfono... El señor habló con Pablo. Ayer por la tarde... estaba tres y diez... um... jugé el golf. Soné el timbre. Ayer por la tarde estaba... el hombre Pablo... soné el timbre.

**Intermediate (INT)**

**INT-1:** Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. El sol esto saliendo a las las tres. Um, el teléfono sonó. Paco leyó el periódica. Paco contestó el teléfono. Um, el amigo dijo "Vámonos ya." El timbre sonó. El amigo de Paco llego... golf.

**INT-2:** Ayer por la tarde... um, [ ] ... lloviendo. El día... [ ] ... um, no estaba jugar [ ] Mi amigo y yo... mi amigo y yo... um... invitaba... todos los días... um... estuvieron... llover... estuvieron... lloviendo... porque... [ ] ... el hombre... estuvieron... leyendo el
periódico... y el teléfono estuvieron sonando... y el teléfono estuvieron sonando. Ayer por la tarde el timbre estuvieron sonando? ¿No?

INT-3: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. Son las cinco menos tres... el teléfono estaba sonando. Son las tres el hombre lee el periódico y el teléfono estaba sonando. El hombre responde el teléfono “Diga.” El hombre preguntó (“Magnífico...”). Pablo preguntó a Juan... invita jugar, jugando el golf... a son las tres y diez minutos. El hombre oyó... sona a la puerta... [Prompted for Picture 5] El timbre estaba sonando.

INT-4: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo... diez minutos para tres... para las tres. Y después el próximo, el día próximo a las tres estaba bien la fuera, la fuera. El teléfono... um... sonó... sonó cuando el hombre estaba leyendo el periódico... a las tres de la tarde. [Pictures out of order; fixed.] Después el hombre llamó a Pablo para salir... el hombre fue casa de Pablo y... sonó, y sonó a Pablo.

INT-5: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y el hombre esta... y el teléfono no es... sonó,... y el sol es, está en el aire libre pero el teléfono no sonó y el hombre fue leyendo el periódico y es... uh... waiting for el teléfono... ah... sonando... y finalmente el teléfono sonó y el hombre contestó... contestó... y el dijo que “Diga” y entonces el dijo (“Magnífico...”). Y... uh... después de el hombre habló... habló en el teléfono, uh... el timbre sonó, [...] y yo pienso que el hombre fue a jugar golf... y en el aire libre, uh, el hombre dijo (“Hola...”)

INT-6: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo a las tres menos diez... um... pero cinco minutos tarde el sol salió... y, um, estaba muy bonita afuera. Um, el hombre que vive en el casa estaba, er, no tendrá nada hacer porque... um... lloviendo, pero a las tres el teléfono... sonó cuando el lee el periódico. Um, el hombre dice, “Diga” y estaba su amigo y quiere, el amigo quiere hacer algún con el hombre. A las tres y diez el timbre sonó y el hombre no estaba aquí. El persona que sonó el timbre dice “Hola”, y estaba Pablo.

INT-7: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo... y... un hora, des--... un momento... y... durante el día... el sol saliendo? Un hombre leyendo y el teléfono sonó... sonaron, soniendo. El contestó... contestó... el teléfono... y... el timbre sonando, sonó, soniendo... y el... y... [sigh]... y el jugado, jugo... el golf con otra persona.

INT-8: Acaba por la tarde estaba lloviendo. Es... son las tres menos diez de la tarde... um... el sol acaba... uh... or, um... el sol salió... saló, salga a las tres menos cinco de la tarde. A las tres de la tarde el teléfono estaba... um... sonó y el hombre estaba leyendo el periódico. El hombre contesta el teléfono y hablaba con un hombre, un chico se llama Chico y diga que “Vámonos.” A las tres y diez de la tarde... el timbre estaba... sonó. Y... a las tres y diez de la tarde Pablo llegaba a la casa.

INT-9: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y el teléfono sonó. El tiempo hace muy bien. Es, um, es... tres en la tarde. El hombre leyó el periódico... y el teléfono sonó. El hombre contestó el teléfono y un persona en el teléfono dice (“Magnífico...”) El timbre
soñó porque un persona está en otra lado. A persona dice ("Hola..."). “Quiero jugar golf.”

INT-10: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. Y fue tres de la tarde y luego el sol...el sol sali--, salir. El teléfono f-- fue [] un mujer. OK, um...un teléfono estaba sonando...A mujer estaba ley--, leyendo...um...el mujer contes--, contesta el teléfono y dice “Diga.” El timbre...el timbre son--., sonó...a las tres y diez. Un mujer estaba visitando, dice “Hola”.

Advanced students/No study abroad (ADV/NSA)

ADV/NSA-1: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y a las tres hace buen tiempo. I guess, hizo buen tiempo. Uh...había un hombre que leyó El Diario y el teléfono sonó. Y, ah, dice...[..] A las tres...él habló con Pablo...y...a las tres y diez él...el timbre sonó? y había [] palos del golf cerca de la puerta y Pablo es--, estuvo a la puerta.

ADV/NSA-2: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. [] Hoy...estaba caliente. Es--, estaba...oh, el teléfono...son--. [Subject asks for clarification.]...El sol, like, salió? de las nueve? En este foto el teléfono son--., sonó, sueno? [] El persona leo el periódico. Una persona contestó el teléfono...este foto...um...música? ...oh, el timbre soñó, sonó? [] soñó. Um...jugué música? y Pablo estaba aquí.

ADV/NSA-3: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y son las tres hace calor. El hombre está leyendo el periódico y el teléfono está sonando. El hombre contesta el teléfono y Pablo...y...mm...uh...entonces el timbre...soñó...um. Pablo y el hombre van a jugar al golf.

ADV/NSA-4: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. Ayer por la tarde estaba [] buen tiempo. A las tres el teléfono sonó y el timbre sonó a las tres. Es mi amiga, mi amigo Pablo y dije “¿Quiere jugar golf?”.

ADV/NSA-5: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. A las tres y...um, cinco minutos más...hacia buen tiempo. El hombre estable sentado cuando llamó el teléfono. El hombre, también el hombre estaba leyendo El Diario. El hombre contestó el teléfono y dijo (“Magnífico...”) y...[] Próximo...el, el timbre sonó...acerca de el timbre está...estaba clubs de golf []...una voz llamó...[+] un voz dijo (“Hola...”)...y sonó el timbre.

ADV/NSA-6: Ayer por la tarde a las dos, er tres menos diez es, esta, estaba lloviendo. A las tres menos cinco hace buen tiempo, er, hacia buen tiempo. Ayer por la tarde a las tres el teléfono sonó y el hombre estaba leer, er, le--, leyendo el periódico en su silla. Ayer por la tarde su amigo, uh, habló con su amigo por la teléfono. Su amigo se llamaba Pablo. A las...OK. Habló con Pablo a las tres de la tarde. A las tres y diez el timbre sonó y yo creo que Pablo y el hombre fue al curso de golf. Um...estaba su, um, ayer por la tarde Pablo llegó a las tres y diez...
ADV/NSA-7: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo... y después, um, hacía hace calor. Mm... a las tres cuando el hombre estaba leyendo el periódico el teléfono sonó... y está Pablo en el teléfono. No sé más... El timbre sonó... hace dos minutos... el golf? ¿Cómo se dice “clubs”? [...] palos estaba casi cerca de la puerta, y está Pablo en la puerta para jugar golf.

ADV/NSA-8: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo a las tres menos diez. Era tres menos cinco cuando hace sol afuera. Era las tres cuando el teléfono sonaba y el hombre fue leyendo la, el periódico. El hombre contestaba el teléfono y su amigo Pablo fue en el teléfono. Era las tres y diez sonaba el timbre. Pablo, Pablo fue a, a la puerta y él quería jugar golf con el hombre.

ADV/NSA-9: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y son las dos, o tres menos diez en la tarde y había un teléfono que estaba encima de una mesa... y cinco minutos después... no estaba lloviendo todavía y el sol estaba brillando por la ventana... a través de la ventana y, entonces un hombre vino y sentó en la silla y estaba leyendo un periódico, y [...] cinco minutos después y el teléfono... ¿Cómo se dice? ...soñó... y... el hombre llamo el teléfono y es, sospecho que es, es su amigo Pablo y él dijo a Pablo que... él deber a venir a la casa de este hombre, y diez minutos después, el timbre sonó y... hay... instrumentos de golf... que están al lado de la puerta y entonces el hombre dijo (“Hola...”) y es posible que Pablo y este hombre en la casa van a curso de golf para jugar.

ADV/NSA-10: Ayer por la tarde... um... había, er, estaba lloviendo y más tarde el sol salía. A las tres de la tarde... y a las tres el teléfono [...] sonaba cuando el hombre fue leyendo el periódico... y el hombre, um, contestaba el teléfono y diga (Magnífico...”)... Y... a las diez, a las cinco y diez, um, el timbre... sonaba... y... fue Pablo. Él dice (“Hola...”).

Advanced students/With study abroad (ADV/SA)

ADV/SA-1: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. Um... que más... pero entonces... hacía mucho calor... um... y el hombre estaba leyendo el periódico cuando sonó el teléfono. El hombre dijo “Hola” y fue su, su amigo Pablo para planear el día, er, hacer planes para el día, um, y finalmente... “he”... llegó... el, el hombre el amigo para jugar el golf.

ADV/SA-2: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y a las tres menos cinco... mmm... [ ]. Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y a las cuatro menos cinco el sol viene. A las tres el teléfono sonó y hombre estaba leyendo El Diario, el periódico. Él contestó, contestó el teléfono y estaba hablando con su amigo Pablo. Y a las tres y diez el timbre sonó y Pablo y el hombre van a jugar golf. Y Pablo estaba a la puerta.
ADV/SA-3: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y después salió el sol. Después de salir el sol sonó el teléfono. El hombre estaba leyendo el periódico a las tres de la tarde. Um...Bueno, dejó de leer el periódico y contestó el teléfono. Y le habló un amigo...y...después, me parece que fue, ah, o sonó el, la puerta, el timbre de la puerta y, um, decidió que iba a ir a jugar golf con un amigo, Pablo, y...um...y me parece que es todo.

ADV/SA-4: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. A las tres menos diez. Luego a las tres menos cinco ponía el sol...y...ah...estaba...se ponía el sol. A las tres sonaba el teléfono cuando el hombre leía El Diario, el periódico El Diario. Hablaba un, una hora con un hombre se llama Pablo, hablaba hasta las cuatro...y parece que se van a ir a, a un lugar como dice “Vámonos ya.” A las cinco...alguien llamó a la puerta...y parece que se van al jugar...porque tiene una cosa de golf. A las cinco y diez viene Pablo y se van.

ADV/SA-5: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y de repente salió el sol. Um...el hombre estaba leyendo el periódico cuando sonó el teléfono. Um...un amigo le ha llamado para invitarle a jugar un...jugar golf. Pues un poco después de las tres sonó el timbre. Y un amigo en la puerta es Pablo.

ADV/SA-6: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y cinco minutos para las tres...había, er, hacía sol...estaba un teléfono...[...un teléfono encima una mesa. A las tres...ah, sonó el teléfono cuando un hombre estaba leyendo un periódico, El Diario. El hombre con-, contestó el teléfono y dijo (“Magnífico...”). Y pasó a las tres...y a las tres diez...sonó el...qué se dice...[...el timbre...había en la sala un bolso de golf...[...y en este momento, a las tres y diez, digo, dijo alguien (“Hola...”) y probablemente se fueron a jugar, a jugar golf.

ADV/SA-7: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. Como a las tres de la tarde yo fue a contestar el teléfono...a las tres estaba leyendo un periódico y después...estaba llamado por teléfono con un amigo Pablo. Probablemente los dos hombres van a tener...[...a las cinco llegó Pablo por mi casa y...el timbre estaba sonando. (“Hola...”). Me [...por favor. [Prompted for Picture 3.] Como a las tres en la tarde hay un hombre que estaba leyendo un periódico y en lo mismo tiempo el teléfono estaba sonando.

ADV/SA-8: Pues, se puede ver primero a las tres menos diez está lloviendo fuera y hay un teléfono en una mesa en la sala. Y pues a las tres menos cinco...um...se salió el sol y todavía no hay nadie salvo, er, sino hay un teléfono en el cuarto. Y a las tres un hombre entrado en la sala y está sentado...um...a lado del teléfono, y, el teléfono ha sonado, sonado y, uh, el hombre contesta al teléfono y dice (“Diga”) Y todavía son las tres, um, y a las tres y diez hay alguien a la puerta que ha tocado el timbre y el, el, hay unos palos de golf al lado de la puerta y no hay nadie en el cuarto y a las tres y diez todavía no se puede ver a nadie pero los palos de golf todavía están en la sala dice alguien (“Hola...”). [Prompted for Picture 5.] ...[...el timbre suena.
ADV/SA-9: Ayer estaba lloviendo a las tres menos diez...[ ] y a las tres menos cinco el sol empezó brillar. A las tres un hombre estaba sentado en una silla leyendo un periódico y el teléfono empezó sonar, sonar. El dijo “Diga” y habló a Pablo...y...el... y él...uh... él terminó la conversación...a las tres y diez... el, [how say, oh] el timbre soñó y imagino que él fui para jugar el golf...fue para jugar el golf...um...el timbre fue Pablo y...salieron.

ADV/SA-10: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo...mm...y...[ ] las tres en la tarde y um... después de una hora y hace mucho sol...um, en este cuarto un hombre está leyendo un periódico...y... hay un ruido por teléfono y él necesita llamar por teléfono...y cuando él contestó, contestó el teléfono él dijo (“Diga”) La persona dijo, le dijo por teléfono...y... más tarde...hay un timbre...y...um...tal vez es el amigo de, del hombre en el cuarto, su amigo que quería ir a, a golf. En el último fotografía es...estaba el amigo de, del hombre para a la...[Prompted for Picture 5.] Hay un timbre de la puerta...[ ]...no sé.

Advanced bilinguals (ADV/BI)

ADV/BI-1: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo y era un día muy tranquilo...eran la tres, las diez para las tres y todo estaba muy tranquilo en la casa...y de pronto salió el sol, más o menos cinco minutos más tarde, y todavía no había nada pasando en la casa. Pero tres, el señor que estaba leyendo el periódico...y descansando...oyó el sonido del teléfono...sonó y interrumpió [ ] lectoro del periódico. “Diga”, contestó. Y otro teléfono oyó (“Magnífico.”). O parece que tal vez fue él que lo dijo. Pero entonces parece que hicieron planes para hacer algo como hacía sol y ahora parece que iba hacer algo con su amigo Pablo. Entonces diez minutos sonó el timbre y [ ] preparado con sus clubes de golf...iban a salir. Y entonces dentro de [ ] minutos llegó a la, a la puerta el señor y habló con Pablo y entonces los dos pasaron el resto de la tarde [ ] el día jugando al golf.

ADV/BI-2: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo duro y...falta diez minutos para las tres. En la casa de Pablo había un teléfono...y cinco minutos después salió el sol...y... Después...a las tres...[ ]...soñó el teléfono...y todavía estaba haciendo sol afuera y el Pablo estaba sentado leyendo el periódico El Diario. Eh...Pablo oyó el teléfono y lo contestó. Dijo “Diga” y en el teléfono, por el teléfono, su amigo dijo (“Magnífico...”). Estaba invitando a Pablo a un lugar, pero todavía no sé donde...y después diez minutos más su amigo llegó a la casa de Pablo y...um...empujó el doorbell y el doorbell soñó y creo que ellos iban a jugar golf porque aquí está el juguete de golf...y atrás del puerto dijo su amigo, (“Hola...”)

ADV/BI-3: Ayer por la tarde, cerca de las tres, estaba lloviendo. Y se paró y salió el sol, me parece. Y soñó el teléfono. Hay un hombre-- hay un, había un hombre allí sentado leyendo periódico. Entonces soñó, sonó el teléfono. Él contestó el teléfono y dijo “Diga”
y parece que está hablando con...um...un conocido y dijo ("Magnífico..."). [...] parece que estaban a un lugar...citaron. Y, ah, pasaron, uh, había pasado las tres de la tarde y parece que sonó el timbre y estaba allí los clubes de golf allí de la puerta. Y...y...um, se podría oír el compañero Pablo diciendo ("Hola..."). [...] parece que estaban para salir, jugar golf.

ADV/BI-4: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo...era diez para las tres y cinco para las tres salió el sol. Entonces a las tres...sonó el teléfono y, ah, cuando estaba lloviendo, ah... perdona, estaba leyendo el periódico El Diario, y sonó el teléfono a las tres. Um...entonces ("Diga") Entonces a las tres Pablo llamó y... [...] entonces a las tres y diez sonó el timbre y...me parece que Pablo viene para jugar al golf, y ya ("Hola...") entonces, ya no sé que más, que Pablo viene para jugar al golf conmigo.

ADV/BI-5: Ayer por la tarde, eran casi las tres de la tarde, cuando estaba lloviendo. Unos cinco minutos más tarde apareció el sol...y estoy mirando por la ventana un teléfono. A las tres en punto mientras leo El Diario suena el teléfono, pero todavía hace sol. Contestó el teléfono por decir ("Diga," y es Pablo, ("Magnífico...") Es decir me ha pedido que salga con él para hacer algo, no sé que será. A las tres y diez suena la timbre de la puerta y el equipo de golf está cerca de la puerta, aunque yo no se jugar golf, es decir, yo soy novicio, es decir, es decir de verdad no soy buen jugador de golf. Y contesta Pablo en el microfón que es él quien llama la puerta.

ADV/BI-6: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo. Pero dentro de poco salió el sol brillante... como muchos días. Cuando salió el sol, alrededor de las tres por la tarde, yo estaba leyendo el periódico cuando de repente sonó el teléfono. Pues contestó yo el teléfono diciendo "Dígame." Um, fue mi amigo Pablo. Él me preguntó si quisiera ir a jugar al golf con él. Pues, él no tardar mucho a llegar a mi casa porque vivía muy cerca, así que fue alrededor de las tres, no, fue las tres y diez cuando sonó el timbre. Yo tenía todo mi equipo de golf ya preparado y cerca de la puerta... pues justamente fue lo que pensé era Pablo y yo contesté la puerta y me dijo él ("Hola...")

ADV/BI-7: Bueno, ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo, mmm, parece que llovió mucho, eran las tres menos tres. En el segundo dibujo, salió el sol y ya son, eh, eran porque estábamos hablando en el pasado, eran las tres menos cinco. Hay un enfoque en el teléfono parece que algo va a pasar con el teléfono, yo no sé que pero parece. Dibujó número tres, número tres, eran las tres y un hombre bastante grande estaba leyendo El Diario, creo que es un periódico de México, ¿no? [...] Y...¿Cómo se dice?...sonó el teléfono, puede ser un amigo que está llamando o, no se sabe también puede ser alguien vendiendo algo. En el dibujo cuatro, oh si, es un amigo...todavía...siempre me olvidó que estoy hablando en algo que pasó en el pasado. Eran las tres, respondió al teléfono el hombre del dibujo y estaba hablando con un amigo que se llamaba Pablo. Parece que le invitó a hacer algo. [...] Supongo que vamos a ver qué. El dibujo cinco, eran las tres y diez y allí son [...]...ah, palos de golf. Van a jugar al golf. Llegó Pablo, sí, el amigo se llama Pablo. Llegó Pablo y sonó
el timbre. [ ] Eran las tres y diez y Pablo está en la puerta gritando a...el otro, no sabemos cómo se llama aquel otro y parece bastante seguro que van a ir a jugar al golf.

ADV/BI–8: Ayer estaba lloviendo muy fuerte, pero de pronto se puso el sol, se salió el sol y, pues, allí estuvo el teléfono...en, en la mesa...entonces como las tres ya se salió el sol y el señor estaba mirando su, estaba leyendo su periódico cuando sonó el teléfono. Luego el señor recogió el teléfono y era su amigo Pablo y Pablo quiso salir...jugar se [ ] que van a salir a jugar el, el golf...un juego de golf. Entonces él dice que si está de acuerdo que quiere salir ahora con Pablo que venga en unos quince minutos. De pronto llega Pablo, toca el timbre, y allí listos sus...clubs, golf clubs, [ ] para salir a, a jugar el golf, el juego de golf. Entonces cuando sonó el timbre. Pablo anunció que ya había llegado, dice (“Hola...”) “Ábreme la puerta.”

ADV/BI–9: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo, eran las, eran las, las tres menos diez...un poco antes de las tres...ah...bueno, ah había sol, había sol. Ah...bueno, hay una mes--uh, una meseta y teléfono en la meseta...uh....no ese está pasando, ¿no? Este es el número tres, o uno, dos, OK. Ahm, OK, es así, así. Ah OK son, son dos, dos cuadros diferentes. OK...en el cuadro número uno pues esta, estaba lloviendo...uh...ayer por la tarde...en, en el cuadro dos salió el sol y...um...de repente [ ] salió el sol dentro de cinco minutos. Bueno OK, número tres. Ah, el hombre está leyendo el periódico El Diario...ah...bueno, al las tres de la tarde... todavía había sol y, bueno, sonó el timbre... um ...habíam las tres...ah el hombre contestó el teléfono...uh, y obviamente pues...uh...le llamó Pablo...y [ ] um, número cinco [ ] bueno, ya son las tres y diez, ya pasó diez minutos. Uh...sonó el timbre. Ah! [ ] uso la palabra “timbre” pero so--., sonó el teléfono aquí, aquí sonó el timbre y...nuestro señor ya teni-- ya tenía sus palos de golfo. Ah...y... ah! pues... um...llegó Pablo a la puerta y entonces [ ] que probablemente por la llamada de teléfono es Pablo, ah, Pablo [ ] invitó a acompañarte a jugar golf; jugar golfo. Así que llegó Pablo para...ah... pasó por él. [ ] Imagino que ya salieron para jugar al golfo.

ADV/BI–10: Ayer por la tarde estaba lloviendo, pero de muy pronto pasó el tormento de llueve. En diez minutos salió el sol. Y, sonó el timbre del teléfono y el hombre Pablo estaba leyendo su periódico. Estaba muy interesado en el periódico, cuando sonó el timbre, se alegró porque él tenía aspiración que puede ser su amigo porque antes él [ ] planes de ir a jugar al golf. Pero por el lluvia no se pudieron. Entonces [ ] salió el sol, sonó el teléfono. El hombre contestó y dijo “Digame...ah magnífico”. Era Pablo. “Vamos ya”, dijo el hombre. Estaba él muy emocionado porque él sabe que iba a salir a jugar golf, golf con su amigo. Pues, pasó diez minutos muy rápido y sonó el timbre de la puerta. Eso me parece muy raro que llegó su amigo tan, tan temprano, debe vivir muy cerca de su amigo, yo creo. Bueno, él dijo (“Hola...”) y ahí estaba listo todo para ir a salir de jugar golf. Imagino que los hombres se dis--., divirteron, se van a disfrutar mucho. ¡Ya!
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