

“Waarom leren Nederlands is niet gemakkelijk”

An Exploration of Some Word Order Issues in the
Acquisition of Dutch by Native English Speakers

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In my MA dissertation, *Waarom leren Nederlands is niet gemakkelijk: An Exploration of Some Word Order Issues in the Acquisition of Dutch by Native Speakers of English*, I set out to explore some of the syntactic difficulties native English speakers face when they acquire Dutch as a second language. As the title itself suggests (a Dutch sentence showing influence from English word order), one of the focuses of this paper is on native language interference in the acquisition of Dutch as a second language.

I gained an interest in second language acquisition (SLA) when I was teaching as an “Erasmus assistant” at the Dutch department of Trinity College, Dublin. When teaching language acquisition classes or conversing with students, I was struck by some of their recurring mistakes. More specifically, with regard to word order, constructing subordinate clauses and sentences containing inversion proved problematic for them. This observation forms the basis of this paper, in which I assess which factors influence the acquisition of Dutch word order by native speakers of English.

To provide an answer to this question, we start off by sketching a theoretical framework. In this framework, an overview is given of some of the influential paradigms in SLA research. In the first part, Chapter 2: Explanatory Models for SLA, we address the behaviourist approach to SLA, the approach equating SLA with first language acquisition and the canonical word order strategy. Behaviourism, originally a psychological current, was implemented in linguistics principally by Skinner (1957). Skinner saw language acquisition as a process of habit formation, a conviction that would greatly influence the research of that time. Within the field of SLA, the behaviourist approach gave rise to a tradition of research in which transfer occupied a central position. The notion of transfer

is rooted in the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, which states that difficulty in language learning arises when elements from the learner's native language differ from those in the language he/she is acquiring. In such cases, learners are said to be likely to transfer elements from their L1 into their L2. To add an extra dimension to our research, we introduce the concept of "markedness" in the subsequent section. Language transfer could not sufficiently account for the complexity of the second language acquisition process, and this is where the notion of markedness generates valuable new insights. We will look at how Eckman's Markedness Differential Hypothesis (1977) provides interesting insights into SLA and how Kellerman (1987) expands on this.

After the discussion of behaviourist oriented transfer and markedness, we move on to another line of thinking, viz. SLA paralleling L1 acquisition. This paradigm, introduced by Dulay and Burt (1974), will be evaluated with the aid of a study by Neeleman and Veerman (1997). This study investigates the extent to which the acquisition of the mother tongue parallels the acquisition of a second language with regard to word order phenomena in English and Dutch. In a final part of this overview, we will assess the validity of another explanatory model for the acquisition of L2 word order, viz. the canonical word order strategy.

The second part of the theoretical framework, Chapter 3: Chomsky's Universal Grammar and its Importance for SLA, features a discussion of one of the most pervasive paradigms within applied linguistics in general and SLA in particular, i.e. Universal Grammar (Chomsky 1957). We commence this discussion with an introduction to Chomsky's ideas of Universal Grammar, Generative Grammar and the Principles and Parameters theory. Following this, we outline three major stances on the role of Universal Grammar in SLA. We first consider two opposing views: one claiming UG is as active in SLA as it was in the acquisition of the L1, another one stating that UG no longer contributes to the SLA process. This outline is concluded with the discussion of an intermediate position, incorporating some of the valuable elements from the two previous paradigms.

Throughout this theoretical framework it will become clear that, with regard to our particular approach to the field of SLA, there is a clear gap. Studies on language acquisition offer plausible theories regarding what factors are at play in SLA, but word order phenomena still seem to be somewhat in the dark. On the one hand, some of the explanatory models have been discarded (Neeleman and Weerman 1997, Clahsen and Muysken 1986, 1989, White 1989). On the other hand, research that has given rise to interesting and well received explanations, has not yet focused on word order (e.g. Eckman 1977, Kellerman 1987).

In Chapter four we will provide a contrastive overview of inversion and subordinate clauses in English and Dutch. An introductory section will cover the basic word order and canonical word order in English and Dutch, after which an outline is given of the construction and occurrence of subordinate clauses and sentences containing inversion in English and Dutch. The aim of this overview is not to provide an exhaustive description of these syntactic phenomena, but rather to sketch a broad picture. This suffices for our purposes, as we will be focussing on the language acquisition processes behind the production of these structures rather than on the actual structures themselves.

Chapter five, Data Analysis, provides an analysis of corpus based research. Based on the theoretical framework, more precise hypotheses will be formulated within our general question of what factors influence the acquisition of Dutch word order by native English speakers. Combining some of the ideas on transfer with theories on markedness, we will eventually approach the data with the assumption that Dutch word order poses more difficulties for learners with a background of English as L1 than vice versa. The second part of the theoretical framework, in which the different functions of UG in SLA were addressed, will also be put to the test with the aid of the analysis of the corpora. The two corpora we compiled for this consist of texts of learner Dutch and learner English. These texts were obtained from official tests taken by learners of Dutch and English. By parsing these texts, we created a database of subordinate clauses and sentences with inversion. After an analysis of these data, a conclusion completes this dissertation.

CHAPTER II

EXPLANATORY MODELS IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we discuss some explanatory models in SLA, with emphasis on language transfer. We are starting off our overview in the 1950s, which marked the beginning of a very fruitful era with regard to L1 and especially L2 research. Before that, SLA research was scarce and usually not part of a greater framework, theory or movement. Firstly, we are going to enter into a discussion of the behaviourist oriented research of the time, bringing us such notions as transfer and the Contrastive Analysis Approach. Secondly, we will consider two other paradigms, viz. the one equating L2 with L1 acquisition and the canonical word order strategy.

2.2 THE BEHAVIOURIST APPROACH

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Behaviourism was one of the most influential currents in psychology at the end of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. For a succinct discussion of this current in general, I will draw on Poirier 2006. In behaviourism, behaviour is considered more important than mind or cognitive processing, and is regarded as the true subject matter, or the ultimate evidential basis of psychology. It was particularly the new approach, advocated by B.F. Skinner (1957), that was important for the field of applied

linguistics. This new approach – the Experimental Analysis of Behaviour – and the philosophy he used to support it, Radical Behaviourism, divided every kind of behaviour into three parts: a discriminative stimulus (the kind of circumstances the (human) being is in), an operant response (a response that can be modified by its consequences, i.e. increase or decrease) and another stimulus (which punishes or reinforces the operant response, hereby increasing or decreasing the chances that the (human) being will produce the operant response in the future when faced with the discriminative stimulus). In his 1957 work, *Verbal Behavior*, Skinner applied the concepts he had outlined as part of his Experimental Analysis of Behaviour to language. By doing this, he wanted to prove that he could account for both the “productivity and pragmatic appropriateness of language.” (Poirier 2006: 716). In his behaviourist view on language, he considered language acquisition to be an interaction of stimuli. He claimed that children would adjust their language according to the stimuli they received from their surroundings, hereby finally attaining a state of full native proficiency.

Skinner’s theory suffered severe criticism, most notably from Noam Chomsky. Chomsky considered, in a preface he would later write to his famous “A Review of B. F. Skinner’s *Verbal Behavior*”, Skinner’s theories to be “a *reductio ad absurdum* of behaviorist assumptions” (Chomsky 1967: 142, his italics). His main argument was that Skinner did not give an insight into the productivity of language: Skinner’s view on the acquisition of language was deficient, because he could not account for what Chomsky called ‘the logical problem’. By this is meant how children acquire language in an environment that is lacking stimuli. Chomsky stated that the stimulus (viz. the linguistic environment) provided the children with input that on the one hand lacked negative evidence (i.e. evidence which indicates ungrammaticality/incorrectness of an utterance) and on the other hand supplied poor positive evidence (i.e. evidence which proves the grammaticality/correctness of an utterance). Hence, they would never be able to acquire native competence in language, which all, or most, of language users obviously do. Chomsky’s critique on Skinner was one of the turning points for the birth of cognitive science and is at the basis of the second part of the theoretical overview (Chapter 3).

Before we pursue this further, we are going to consider how Skinner's ideas were implemented in the study of SLA.

2.2.2 APPLYING BEHAVIOURISM TO SLA: THE NOTION OF LANGUAGE TRANSFER

Skinner's views knew great success in the study of SLA. Following Skinner, researchers considered language acquisition to be a matter of habit formation. Great value was attached to the importance of the mother tongue, which was regarded as a habit that the individual had already formed. This "habit" (i.e. the L1) was believed to have an influence on any other habits or stimuli the individual would then face, i.e. any L2 he would try to acquire.

Language transfer was believed by many linguists at that time to be the most important element (Odlin 1989) that played a role in second language acquisition. In its crudest form, the general belief of that time equated L2 errors with L1 interference.

When we look at different opinions on language transfer throughout the years, it becomes clear that that which we call language transfer would not mean the same by any other name. We therefore start off by giving a suitable definition for language transfer. Odlin (1989: 27) provides us with a broad definition:

Transfer is the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired.

This is a useful definition, as it does not restrict language transfer to L1 influence but extends to all previously acquired languages, and makes a distinction between influence resulting from similarities and differences. The terms generally associated with these two types of influences, 'positive' and 'negative' transfer, are of great importance within this area of research.

Before we go into a further historical sketch, I will briefly elaborate on them. Positive and negative transfer are now commonly known as facilitation and error respectively

(Ellis 1994: 302). Facilitation is the process of ‘positive’ linguistic influence from a certain aspect from the L1 (or another L2) on the L2 that is being acquired. One can think of the lexical similarities between French and English, which has a great number of French or Latinate loan words. A native English speaker will hence find no difficulties when transferring certain words like *fiancé*. Native English speakers might on the other hand be found producing errors when acquiring the French verbal system, hereby ‘negatively’ transferring elements from the L1 into the L2 and producing errors. The – virtual- absence of a subjunctive mood in contemporary English *might* cause a learner to produce the following¹:

*Il faut que tu *être* sage. < You have to *be* good.
Instead of: Il faut que tu *sois* sage.

The extent to which behaviourism, through the notion of language transfer, influenced the methodology of SLA research is reflected in the then very popular Contrastive Analysis Approach. This approach was formulated by Lado (1958) in his seminal book *Linguistics across Cultures*; the basic underlying assumption being the following:

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

Lado (1958: 2)

In the wake of these ideas, the 1960s saw a large amount of contrastive analytical research, aimed at predicting errors. This research was meant to be used by developers of language learning materials, who could use the insights into which areas would provide problems for the creation of their text books. Surface ‘structuralist’ descriptions of the two languages concerned formed the basis of these analyses. Ellis (1994) distinguishes the following phases in the procedure involved in the analyses:

¹ These examples are hypothetical and are purposely “constructed” to illustrate the nature of these two types of transfer.

- description: a formal description of the two languages
- selection: certain areas or items of the two languages are chosen for detailed comparison
- comparison: areas of difference and similarity are identified
- prediction: determining which areas are likely to cause errors

The Contrastive Analysis Approach could nevertheless not keep the promises it had made. Already by the end of the 1960s it turned out that the predictions that were made through contrastive studies would very often not hold true. In an assessment of the value of contrastive analyses for SLA, Kellerman (1984: 99) points out the major flaws of this approach:

... the specific cornerstones on which Lado's hypothesis rested did not work well enough – a description of the differences and similarities between L1 and L2 in tandem with a behaviouristic theory of transfer has been shown countless times to be an inadequate predictor of learner difficulty, as symbolized by L1-like error. Contrastive analyses made predictions that they couldn't keep; some expected difficulties didn't turn up, and some did that weren't expected at all – gatecrashers on a theory, you might say.

Apart from this empirical deficiency, i.e. the theory of Contrastive Analysis not being in accordance with the data, some other problems with this approach were put forward by Zobl (1984) in the same volume on Interlanguage. The first deficiency Zobl distinguishes, is the lack of an acquisition theory within the Contrastive Analysis Approach. He argued that the learning theory behind the approach, transfer, could not account for the typical nature of language acquisition. In other words, transfer was to be seen as a general learning mechanism, which could not sufficiently explain the specificity of language acquisition. Zobl then goes on to list some more points of criticism, the most important of which being the need for a theory of competence and performance. This echoes the rise of generative transformational grammar, which Zobl acknowledges as an element that can play a part in a theory of competence and performance. As will be discussed further, generative transformational grammar (in its

many different guises) would indeed focus on this, albeit much more on the former than on the latter.

In spite of the criticism it received, language transfer does offer an interesting approach to SLA theory. In this dissertation, we will investigate how we can use it in combination with other theories to overcome its shortcomings and provide an insight into our subject matter, i.e. word order issues in L2 Dutch. The introduction of “markedness” offers a very fruitful approach to the concept of language transfer. In the following paragraphs we give a general introduction and discuss how it can be implemented in a theory of transfer.

2.2.3 MARKEDNESS

2.2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Generally speaking, markedness refers to a degree of conspicuity. Elements in language (in lexis, semantics, grammar and phonology), can be described as being marked or unmarked, depending on whether they deviate from what is considered as being “normal”. In spite of its importance, it has never been a clearly delineated concept, with different scholars employing the term to denote different things. We will introduce two of the most seminal uses of the term (drawing on Ellis 1994), which will prove their value with regard to the research central to this paper, the acquisition of word order in L2 Dutch.

One definition considers markedness to be the extent to which constructions in language are consistent within the language system. With regard to word order, English can be considered to be unmarked, as it is rigidly SVO, with very few exceptions. Dutch, on the other hand, is marked, as it does not show the same consistency English does. Dutch is

SVO in main clauses, SOV in subordinate clauses and shows instances of VSO when a sentence is introduced by (typically) an adverbial (see also Chapter 4: A Contrastive Overview of Inversion and Subordinate Clauses in English and Dutch).

Another sense of the term markedness can be found in language typology. When a certain language is typologically marked, it means it stands out compared to other languages. Generally speaking, features that are universal or present in most languages are regarded as unmarked, whereas features which are either typical of a certain language or only occur in a limited set of languages, are considered to be marked. Again with regard to English and Dutch word order, the same dichotomy holds true (Newmeyer 2004): English is typologically unmarked, whereas Dutch is marked. English, being an SVO language, accordingly uses prepositions rather than postpositions, which makes it unmarked. The combination of these features is very common from the point of view of the languages of the world as a whole. Dutch, however, is SOV at its base (for a justification of this see Chapter 4: Basic Word Order and Canonical Word Order in English and Dutch) and also makes use of prepositions. This is typologically marked, as SOV languages are typically postpositional.

In the previous paragraphs we have identified word order in Dutch as typologically marked. The continuation of this section on markedness² sets out to explore how the distinction marked/unmarked can affect the acquisition of linguistic features.

2.2.3.2 ECKMAN'S MARKEDNESS DIFFERENTIAL HYPOTHESIS

In Section 2.3.2: Applying Behaviourism to SLA: The Notion of Language Transfer, the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis has been characterised as of a certain value to SLA, but not entirely satisfactory. One of the problems with it lies in its failure to determine in which cases the differences a contrastive analysis identifies will lead to transfer. This is

² This overview was inspired partly by Ellis 2004.

where Eckman (1977) made an invaluable contribution by positing his Markedness Differential Hypothesis. The basis of his hypothesis is the connection between the degree of difficulty of a certain feature and its typological markedness. Eckman outlines the Markedness Differential Hypothesis as follows (Eckman 1977: 321):

Those areas of difficulty that a second language learner will have can be predicted on the basis of a comparison of the native language (NL) and the target language (TL) such that:

- (a) those areas of the TL that are different from the NL and are relatively more marked than in the NL will be difficult;
- (b) the degree of difficulty associated with those aspects of the TL that are different and more marked than in the NL corresponds to the relative degree of markedness associated with those aspects;
- (c) those areas of the TL that are different from the NL but are not relatively more marked than the NL will not be difficult.

Basically, Eckman states that the more marked a construction is, the more difficult it will be to acquire, a difficulty which will manifest itself in the transfer of elements from the L1. This transfer is addressed in Eckman's research supporting the Markedness Differential Hypothesis (in the same paper, i.e. Eckman 1977). In this research, Eckman focuses on the voicing of word final consonants in English and German. The phonology of these languages differs with regard to this phonetic particularity. In English, consonants remain voiced, whether they are used word initially, word medially or word finally. In German, as in Dutch, however, some consonants at the end of a word are pronounced differently from those in the beginning or in the middle. A phenomenon called *final devoicing* is responsible for this, causing a consonant at the end of a word to lose its voice. Hence, the English word *bed* is pronounced /bed/, whereas the Dutch word *bed* is pronounced /bet/ (given the focus of this paper, we have opted to use a Dutch example, as final devoicing is as much part of the phonology of Dutch as it is of German). Even though this phonological feature (voicing and devoicing final consonants respectively) was new to both native German speakers and native English speakers, Eckman found that it did not pose as much difficulty to acquire for the English speakers as it did for the German speakers. He relates this to the degree of markedness, as he

considers the word final voiced/voiceless contrast in English to be typologically marked. In a subsequent study, Eckman (1981) expands on this hypothesis. In this research, he claims that the devoicing of final stops is a “natural phenomenon”. He illustrates this by referring to learners of English with a mother tongue which also has voiced consonants at the end of a word, like Cantonese. These learners also show instances of final devoicing, leading Eckman to conclude that this is a universal tendency.

Summarising, Eckman provides an interesting theory, offering a valuable contribution to the the concept of language transfer. Even though Eckman’s hypothesis shed interesting light on this research area, some elements have not yet been sufficiently clarified by his theory. More specifically, the notion of markedness is still rather vague, and there is no clear account of how markedness relates to the learner himself. This is where the research of Kellerman offers interesting insights; it will be closely examined in the next section.

2.2.3.3 KELLERMAN'S *BREKEN* STUDY

In Kellerman 1987 (a revision of Kellerman 1978 and 1982), Kellerman replaces the term markedness with prototypicality, a term which, he claims, “seems free from the snags inherent in the use of the other two terms”³(Kellerman 1987: 17). He uses the notion of prototypicality to investigate learner intuitions on the transferability of certain lexical/semantic items. This study came to be known as the *breken* study, and was first published under the title ‘Giving learners a break; native language intuitions as a source of predictions about transferability’ (Kellerman 1978). In this research, Kellerman investigates the intuitions of native Dutch speakers with regard to the literal translatability (i.e. transferability) of sentences containing a form of the Dutch verb *breken*.

³ The second of the “two terms” Kellerman is referring to, next to markedness, is coreness. This term has also been used to refer to more or less the same as markedness, but is confusing because of its usage in theoretical linguistics (‘core’ versus ‘periphery’) (Kellerman 1987).

In this seminal study, Kellerman applies some of his earlier findings to the field of lexico-semantic research. To be more precise, the theory he is assuming can be described as follows (Kellerman 1987: 125):

[...] [I]t was pointed out that if the learner did not believe that a particular NL form or feature could have a parallel existence in the TL, he would not, in the normal run of things, transfer. Thus for a given learner with a given TL, it would be theoretically possible at a given moment to list those items in his NL that he considered *language-specific* and thus not transferable to the given TL, and those he considered *language-neutral*, i.e. transferable to the given TL. The TL itself is important here, since NL items should not necessarily be seen as *inherently* either transferable or non-transferable. A NL item *i*, for instance, may be labelled *specific* in terms of TL_a, but *neutral* towards TL_b. (Kellerman's italics)

With this theory, Kellerman addresses the intuitions speakers have about their L1 and, as a next step, its relationship with the L2 in question. This connection between the L1 and the L2, or the perceived language distance, is something that will recur when we will be analysing our data (Chapter 5). First we are going to focus on how learners assess the transferability of certain items from their L1 into an L2.

To investigate the relationship between markedness and transfer, Kellerman opted for the word *breken*. This word has got its “natural” counterpart in the word *break*, and subsumes different meanings in different senses, both metaphorical and literal with an array of subtle nuances between them. Kellerman considers its basic, “unmarked” meaning to be “of a solid: [cause to] separate into two or more parts as a result of e.g. a blow” (Kellerman 1987: 128) because of its high frequency, syntactic flexibility, literalness and “concreteness”. The research consisted of two parts, one examining the transferability of the word *breken* with different meanings, the second one classifying these different *brekens* according to their markedness.

In the first part of the research, Kellerman presented students and schoolchildren (all native speakers of Dutch) with nine different sentences containing the word *breken*, e.g.

De golven braken op de rotsen. / Zij brak zijn hart. / Het kopje brak.

The schoolchildren ranged from pupils in their second year to pupils in their sixth year at secondary school, all studying English as part of their secondary education; the university students were all in their first or second year of studying English full time at university. The subjects had to assess the translatability of the different sentences by putting a cross next to those they felt could be translated by the English equivalent *breken*. In a second phase of this first part, Kellerman would expand the number of sentences from nine to seventeen, maintaining the rest of the test procedure. By doing this, he wanted to test further the validity of his hypothesis. Indeed, both studies yielded more or less the same results. A list was drawn up of the different *brekens*, ordered according to their degree of translatability: the *breken* most learners considered to be translatable was put at the top, the *breken* which the fewest learners felt to be translatable at the bottom and the other instances were classified accordingly. Adding up all the results from the different groups, Kellerman arrived at the following overall rank order for the transferability:

leg – heart – cup – man – word – record – waves – fall – voice

The second part of the research was aimed at grouping the different uses of the word *breken* together according to their meaning. A group of 50 test subjects had to group cards with a sentence containing the word *breken* according to their intrinsic similarity. They could form as few or as many piles of cards as they wanted. Based on this experiment, Kellerman drew up a list of the different *brekens*, ordered according to their markedness. The rank order this generated was the following:

leg – cup – man – heart – waves – word – record – fall – voice

From this Kellerman deduced a strong correlation between how marked learners perceive the meaning of a word to be and the extent of its transferability, proving the hypothesis he had put forward.

In a final part of this research, a similar transferability test was carried out with L2 learners of German. Again, the subjects were native Dutch speaking full time university students of (in this case) German. This part of Kellerman's research illustrated the role of the (perceived) language distance between the target language and the native language. The research showed that the relation between the TL and the NL did not influence the order in which the different uses of *breken* were placed, as this is "a direct reflection of the "markedness" of a NL item (Kellerman 1987: 145). The switch to German as a TL did, however, influence "the cut-off point in a transferability scale below which transfer will tend not to occur" (Kellerman 1987: ibidem). This proves the importance of how closely related learners perceive languages to be. The study shows that Dutch speaking learners perceive German to be closer to their L1 than English, and transfer elements from their L1 into the L2 accordingly.

The merits of Kellerman's research are multifarious. Firstly, Kellerman incorporates previous research, notably Eckman's Markedness Differential Hypothesis, of which he uses the most fruitful ideas and in which he tries to bridge the gaps. A second merit of his study is the establishment of a connection between learner intuitions of markedness and transferability, a hiatus which was poignantly present in Eckman's theory. Kellerman provided persuasive evidence of how learners have certain intuitions on the degree of markedness of the meaning of words and how this relates to their transferability. This put the learner in an active position in the language acquisition process, rather than putting the emphasis on the language itself. A third achievement of Kellerman's is how his research established a relationship between the perceived language distance between TL and the NL within the framework of transfer/markedness.

Kellerman's ideas will be applied to our specific field of research in Chapter 5: Data Analysis. Before we go onto the next chapter, Chomsky's Universal Grammar and its Importance for SLA, we will consider two other explanatory models for L2 acquisition.

2.4 SLA PARALLELING L1 ACQUISITION

The behaviourist approach to SLA, centred around language transfer, received criticism from Dulay and Burt (1974). They were responsible for some of the most significant counterclaims to contrastive analysis of the time. Dulay and Burt took quite an extreme viewpoint, and held a position that was radically different from the one put forward by Lado. They maintained the importance of the L1, but did no longer view it as a source of interference which influenced the acquisition of the L2. Rather than doing this, they put forward L1 acquisition as a model for L2 acquisition. They believed that L2 acquisition mirrored L1 acquisition, and that L2 learners went through the same stages children go through when acquiring their mother tongue. Even though some of their analyses were not convincing because of a lack of evidence (see Kellerman 1984 for a discussion), Dulay and Burt did initiate a stream of research exploring the parallels between L1 and L2 acquisition. Especially so called “morpheme studies” were popular in this research, which sought to provide proof for universal orders of acquisition in elements of morphology. This type of research did indeed yield results indicating that learners of an L2 went through the same stages of acquisition of morphological patterns as L1 learners. The research of that time was so much influenced by the paradigm of L2 acquisition as a mirroring of L1 acquisition, however, that it virtually refused to acknowledge L1 influence when it did occur. Kellerman (1984) cites instances of research in which L1 influence was downplayed, accepting not even obvious L1-like errors as proof for L1 influence.

Dulay and Burt were not the only ones who argued in favour of the similarity of L1 and L2 acquisition, however. Bialystok (1984: 47) subscribes to this view, offering the following explanation for the similarity of L1 and L2 acquisition:

The argument has been that the basis of strategies for L2 learning and production are rooted in the same cognitive mechanisms as are strategies in other domains, in particular, L1 acquisition. The developmental component of strategy use involves both the acquisition of cognitive skills to use these strategies where consciousness,

problematicity, and intentionality are required and to learn the elementary operations that comprise the strategies. Both aspects of development were traced to the knowledge and control of systems that govern cognition.

Bialystok does distinguish between L1 and L2 acquisition, however. She points to the maturity of adults as a factor which differentiates L2 acquisition from L1 acquisition. In the former, adults can use metacognitive, mental mechanisms as strategies in language learning because of the cognitive maturational process they have already undergone.

To investigate the usefulness of this explanatory model with regard to word order issues, we examine a study by Neeleman and Weerman. In this 1997 study on L1 and L2 word order acquisition, Neeleman and Weerman investigated the role of UG in the acquisition of word order in L1 and L2. Their aim was threefold: in a first part of their study, they widened the scope of the VO/OV parameter; secondly, they examined the acquisition of this “expanded” parameter by children acquiring Dutch or English as their mother tongue; and in a third and final part of their research looked at how the same parameter was acquired by L2 learners of Dutch or English.

In the first part of Neeleman and Weerman’s paper, the concept of parameters (introduced by Chomsky 1993, for more detail see Chapter 3: Universal Grammar and Principles and Parameters) is addressed. In Principles and Parameter theory, grammar is seen as a set of parameters (e.g. word order), which, during the language acquisition process, are switched to a certain position (e.g. SVO) through the triggering of linguistic input. They argue that, in order for parameter theory to be productive, parameters should not be too construction-specific. If they *are* construction-specific, their use is not much different from that of the rule-based system they were meant to replace. The ideal they envisage is one where a number of different constructions are tied to one single parameter. To do this, they enlarge the empirical scope of the OV/VO parameter. Thus, if a certain parameter encompasses different constructions, a developmental cluster is to be expected only if parameters are accessible. In other words, by enlarging the empirical

scope of the OV/VO parameter, they can see whether the acquisition of a certain construction coincides with the acquisition of other constructions governed by the same parameter. This would prove that the language acquisition process is indeed governed by such parameters. Neeleman and Weerman investigate how object verb position can be linked to other aspects of syntax. They conclude that the position of the verb with regard to the object can be related to scrambling, the distribution of particles, extraction from objects of complex predicates and exceptional case marking.

Secondly, Neeleman and Weerman look into how children acquire these different elements, and whether a facilitating effect of UG can be ascertained. That is, whether these elements will emerge together, hereby proving the existence of parameters in L1 acquisition. Neeleman and Weerman followed the development of several children as reported in different corpora. They start off with the observation that, as soon as any word order can be observed, children acquiring Dutch, with hardly any exceptions, all produce utterances showing the basic word order of Dutch, OV. Conversely, children acquiring English almost only use VO as soon as they have reached the two word stage. They predict that, once this parameter is set, children will also have acquired the other phenomena connected to this parameter listed above. Of course, in order to show evidence of a certain construction, the children have to have reached a certain maturational stage in the language acquisition process. It is self evident that children can only produce sentences which show instances of scrambling when they are capable of producing utterances containing at least an object, verb and adverbial. Neeleman and Weerman's predictions proved to be correct: the acquisition of the OV/VO parameter did indeed correlate with a mastery of the language specific uses of scrambling, the distribution of particles, extraction and exceptional case marking.

After proving the active role of UG -in the guise of the word order parameter- in first language acquisition, Neeleman and Weerman explored its function in the acquisition of Dutch or English as a second language. In order to do this, they tested four groups of speakers: English speaking learners of Dutch, Dutch speaking learners of English and two control groups of native speakers of English and Dutch respectively. The test they

administered was a written judgment test, containing sentences representative of each of the five constructions related to the parameter. The subjects were asked to correct the ungrammatical sentences, to make sure the sentence was rejected on relevant grounds. The results that were gathered from these tests proved the hypothesis that sparked the research in the first place. Both the English learners of Dutch and the Dutch learners of English showed a dissociation of mastery of OV/VO order and the related constructions. Ultimately, this part of the research illustrated that parameters, once set, cannot be reset. The claim that L2 acquisition mirrors L1 acquisition does hence not offer a productive theory with regard to research on word order acquisition.

2.5 CANONICAL WORD ORDER STRATEGY

As a final explanatory model for L2 acquisition we will consider the canonical word order strategy (Clahsen and Muysken 1986, 1989). This strategy is based on the assumption that there is no universal mental process which guides the acquisition of a language (this will be elaborated on in Chapter 3: Applying Universal Grammar to SLA). Rather, they consider the correct construction of non L1-like structures as the application of construction specific rules. Before learners actually have the level of proficiency to construct correct sentences like this, they will make mistakes. To account for these mistakes, Clahsen and Muysken do not resort to a theory of transfer, but assume a canonical word order strategy. This strategy implies that learners work out the canonical word order of a language on the basis of positive evidence. From the language input they are faced with, a certain pattern will emerge, and the canonical word order strategy should hence be seen as a processing strategy.

The hypothesis Clahsen and Muysken posited focussed on the acquisition of German word order by speakers of Romance languages. They hypothesised that learners would be able to deduce the canonical word order of German, being SVO (for a discussion of this see Chapter 4: Basic Word Order and Canonical Word Order in English and Dutch), based solely on the input they get. In the beginning of the language acquisition process,

learners would employ the canonical word order in all sentence types. The preliminary word order they attribute to a certain language will in certain cases be too wide. This is the case with German, where not all sentences have SVO word order. To accommodate to this, Clahsen and Muysken introduce “construction specific rules”. This form of declarative knowledge is used by learners to construct sentences which interfere with their L1 intuitions. Combining these two elements (a canonical word order strategy with construction specific rules), Clahsen and Muysken’s theory accounted for why learners adopt an SVO order and only gradually shift to the correct word order which is required in other settings.

Their theory was contested by White (1989a and 1989b). White acknowledged the tendency to adopt SVO word order in all sentence types, regardless of what word order they actually required. She did not, however, agree with the explanation Clahsen and Muysken had put forward. White’s criticism was based on the many surface word orders German has. She argued that, with such a great number of surface word orders, learners could not possibly make out the canonical word order based on positive evidence (White 1989a: 64)

German is a particularly problematic case, allowing a number of surface word orders in declaratives, including: SVO, SV^{+FO-F} , AVSO, and $AV+FSOV^{-F}$, in main clauses, and SOV and SOV^{-FV+F} in subordinate clauses. It is simply begging the question to claim that SVO is the canonical order for German and that there is a processing principle which detects it.

Whether SVO should indeed be considered to be the canonical word order of German is something which will be discussed in more detail later (Chapter 4: *ibidem*), but White certainly makes a very valid claim pointing out this incongruity. Furthermore, the canonical word order does not account for the majority of utterances in a language (Newmeyer 2004), so Clahsen and Muysken cannot resort to a quantitative predominance of the canonical order in their defence.

We will come back to Clahsen and Muysken’s theory in Chapter 3. Even though we have indicated some of the flaws in their theory, their notion of “construction specific rules”

will turn out to be valuable in the attribution of a role to Universal Grammar in second language acquisition.

CHAPTER III

CHOMSKY'S UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR SLA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Noam Chomsky was mentioned in the previous chapter on behaviourism as crucial in the switch from a mainly behaviourist oriented to a mentalist view on SLA. The introduction of Chomsky's notions of generative linguistics, Universal Grammar and the ensuing theory of Principles and Parameters provided fertile soil for SLA-research. Chomsky's mentalist stance on language acquisition has been much debated, but his ideas have severely influenced the field of SLA research. Generative grammar has been labeled the "most influential research program in linguistics and related fields in the second half of the twentieth century." (Bierwisch 2001: 6061). We are going to expand on this theory, and on the related notion of Universal Grammar. In the research paradigm of Universal Grammar, all languages are seen as sharing a certain set of features. These features are present in all languages, but can be "used" in different ways. The child acquiring language has a propensity for this, and with the help of an innate language acquisition device, it acquires the correct way of using different features. Before we go into a further discussion of this, we are first turning to one of the most famous linguists in popular history, Steven Pinker, who backs up Chomsky's ideas.

Pinker is, together with Chomsky, probably one of the very few linguists who is somewhat known to the general public; and, like Chomsky, adheres very much to the idea of an innate language faculty which sets human apart from animals. We are going to take Pinker's accessible defence of Chomsky's claims on language (from *The Language Instinct* (1995)) as an introduction for a further exploration of Chomsky's ideas.

3.2 PINKER AND UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR

In *The Language Instinct*, Pinker (1995) quotes Chomsky's statement that, from the point of view of a Martian, all inhabitants of the earth share the same language, but speak a mutually incomprehensible dialect of it. This is Chomsky's metaphor to illustrate how all languages share the same features, but all have different ways of "organising" them. Pinker compares it to an archetypical blueprint that can be found with a large number of animals: amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals all share distinct features, like a segmented spine, four jointed limbs, a tail, a skull, etc. He then goes on by listing some different possibilities for how these features can be used, like the front limbs of a whale that are used as fins or the wing of a bat for a hand. This can also be observed with languages: there seems to be a communal base pattern of syntactic, morphological and phonological rules and principles, with a small collection of variable parameters, which he calls a "check list" of alternatives. Fixing a parameter can have huge consequences for the "exterior" of a language.

Pinker links this remarkable similarity in languages to a language acquisition device that is shared by all humans, and that is programmed to function a certain way, causing all languages to share a certain similarity. He supports his claim by providing counterarguments against two objections against this view:

On the one hand, one could argue that language was only created once and that all existing languages are descendants of that protolanguage and retained some of its features, and that this is why languages share certain similarities. Pinker discards this idea by referring to the lack of coherence between history and typology: if language universals were things that are passed on from one generation to the next, one would expect there to be a connection between the most important differences of certain languages and the branches of the language family tree, just like the difference between cultures generally coincides with the period they started to grow apart.

On the other hand, Pinker refutes the claim that languages could be the consequence of universals of the mind or could reflect certain forms of information processing that are not directly related to language. He refers to research by –among others- Greenberg (1963) to illustrate the distinct nature of the language faculty. Greenberg showed that, in a language with both derivative suffixes and inflectional suffixes, the derivative suffixes will always be closer to the base of the word than the inflectional ones. Pinker builds on this idea by saying that there is no logical explanation why this should reflect a universal principle of thought or memory, as there is no reason why suffixes should behave this way.

Now that we have explored reasoning supporting Chomsky's mentalist stance, let us further investigate the terms and theory he has introduced.

3.3 GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

“No work has had a greater influence upon the development of current linguistic theory than Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures*, which appeared in 1957.” (Lyons 1966: 393). In his *Syntactic Structures*, Chomsky (1957) lays out the basis of Generative Grammar. The term is used to refer to an “explicit, formal characterization of the (largely implicit) knowledge determining the formal aspect of all kinds of language behavior.” (Bierwisch 2001: 6061).

Central to Chomsky's theory is the importance of idealisations. Chomsky does not study utterances as such; i.e. he is not so much concerned with the noise and pragmatic elements that can affect communication. He feels that “any serious approach to complex phenomena involves innumerable idealizations” (Chomsky 1993: 509), and it is this idealised version of language that provides the basis of his grammatical programme.

This “grammatical programme” can be summarised as follows (based on Chomsky 1957, 1993 and White 1989):

With generative grammar, Chomsky makes explicit some of the tacit knowledge a language user has of his own language. He does this by distinguishing between different levels that together make up grammar: D-structure, S-structure, phonetic form (PF) and logical form (LF). The following scheme (Chomsky 1993) is often used to illustrate this:

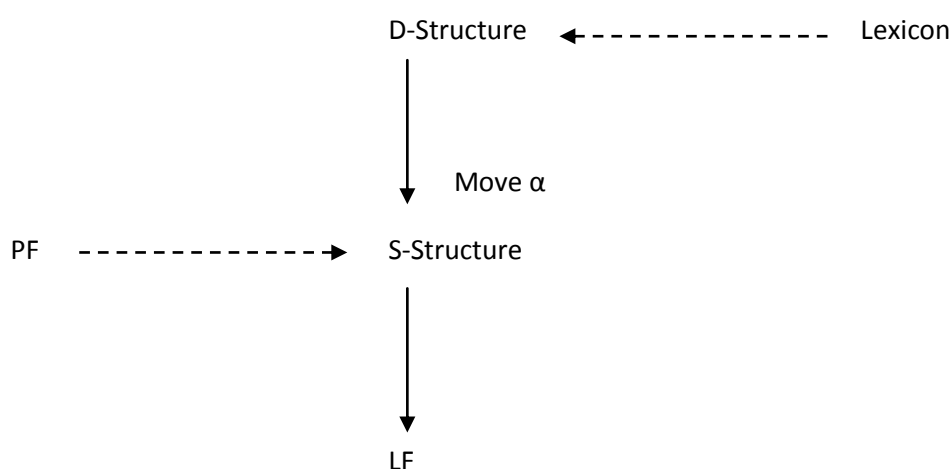
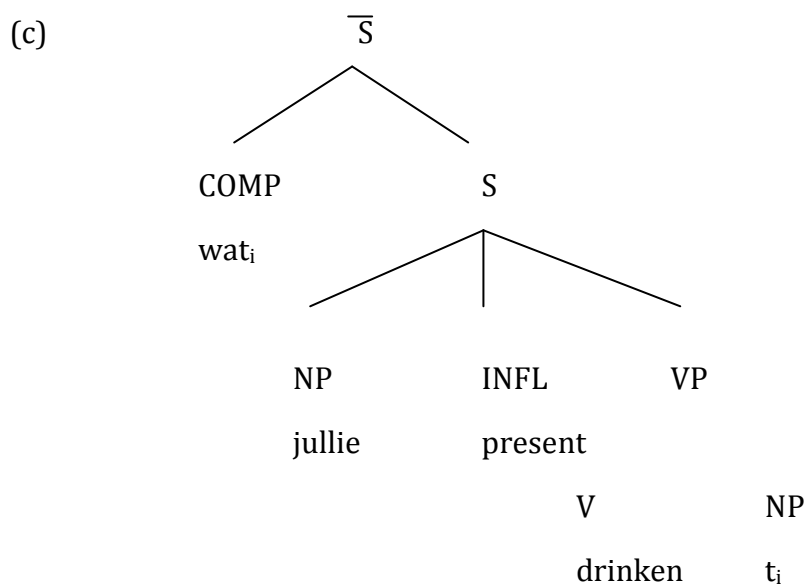
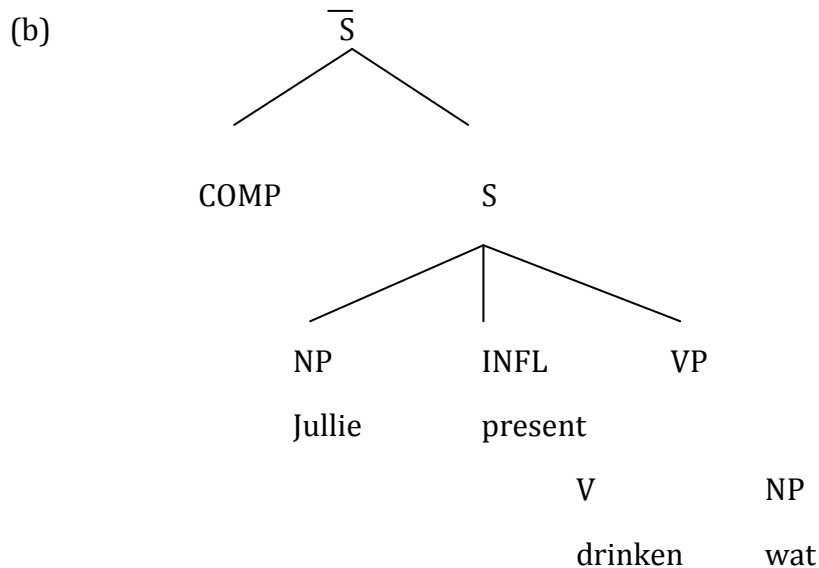


Illustration 1: Chomsky's Generative Grammar

At D-structure, the deeper level, certain relationships are presented, especially grammatical and thematic ones. The movement rule “Move α ” moves syntactic categories from the D-structure to the S-structure, the surface level. When this happens, a trace is left to mark the original position of the element that was moved. The LF that is mapped onto the S-structure, stands for all the meaning that is found in an expression, whereas the PF provides its pronunciation.

Let us exemplify this with the aid of a Dutch complex sentence:

(a) Ik vraag me af wat jullie drinken.



In the example⁴, *wat* is the object of the lower verb *drinken* and is thematically dependent on it, having the thematic role of theme. This is represented at D-structure by

⁴ This example was inspired by White 1989.

having *wat* as the NP constituent of the VP. At S-structure, *wat* has moved into COMP but the coindexed trace remains, indicating the position that it originally occupied.

This transformational aspect is the essence of Chomsky's generative "project". Many additions and alterations to this theory have been made through time, often finding their way to SLA research. Especially the notion of Principles and Parameters would prove its importance and will be further discussed. Other, more recent revisions of the generative grammatical theory, like the Minimalist Programme, have not found much response in the field of SLA yet. They will therefore not receive further attention, as this would not fit the scope of this overview.

With his generative "enterprise", Chomsky also drew attention to similarities across languages. A lot of generative grammars of different languages were published after the success of his *Syntactic Structures*, proving that certain features and mechanisms were universal across languages. In the next part, we are going to pursue this idea further and are going to look more closely at the theory of Universal Grammar.

3.4 UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR AND PRINCIPLES AND PARAMETERS

Universal Grammar is a set of principles that are thought to be shared by all languages, and are typical of language in general (Chomsky 1993, White 1989). Chomsky considers this set to be at the basis of language, and believes that human beings are equipped with a language faculty that is designed to accommodate to the features of the Universal Grammar. Hence, grammar is not something that has to be learnt, but is something that is present in the child already. The child possesses a Language Acquisition Device, which uses the input it gets from its environment to apply the correct settings. Consequently, language acquisition in Chomsky's theory is "no hit and miss" (Lakshmanan 1994: 4) but has often been described as "a process of triggering" (e.g. Van Hout 2003: 7), with cues,

surface forms of language, activating the deeper grammatical “insight” the child already has.

An argument that provides sustenance to this theory, is that of creolisation. Sybesma (2002) outlines this as follows: Where people who do not share the same language interact, pidgins of a very limited vocabulary and a minimal grammar are used to communicate. When children are born in a setting where a pidgin is spoken, the pidgin will provide the linguistic input to serve as an L1. Sybesma refers to Bickerton’s (1990) observation that children are naturally endowed with the ability to acquire and produce language, proving that children acquiring a pidgin as an L1 will expand on it, and will develop the grammar of it, so that it becomes a fully functional language.

The above example is an extreme illustration of how children overcome what has been termed “the logical problem”. By this is meant the problem of how children can acquire language based on degenerate and limited input. As the language acquisition process progresses, the child will be able to produce an infinite number of sentences. It has nevertheless only been presented with a limited number of utterances, which, because of the nature of spoken discourse, did not always display the characteristics expected of correct language. The logical problem is solved, however, if the child, following Chomsky’s theory, innately possesses the language features needed to produce correct language, and only needs language input to trigger this.

It is clear from the above that Chomsky’s point of view is highly theoretical and based on competence and idealised performance. With Universal Grammar he is concerned with correctly describing the initial state of the language faculty. He considers a Universal Grammar to be true if it does this correctly, and establishes the criterion of “explanatory adequacy” for it. This is in contrast with regular grammar, which is true if it meets the criterion of descriptive adequacy (Chomsky 1993: 508).

The notions of Universal Grammar were further expanded upon in the theory of Principles and Parameters. From the point of view of SLA, this was the most important paradigm to follow from the generative “programme”, with many scholars adopting it in their research. Chomsky himself defines it as follows (Chomsky 1993: 506):

Principles and Parameters theory is not a precisely articulated theoretical system, but rather a particular approach to classical problems of the study of language, guided by certain leading ideas that had been taking shape since the origins of modern generative grammar some 40 years ago.

The Principles and Parameters (P&P) theory distinguishes between principles that can be realised in a certain language, e.g. subadjacency, and parameters, i.e. the setting of a certain principle. For parameters to be set, language input is needed to trigger the correct setting. An example will be given at the end of this paragraph to clarify this. The theory of Principles and Parameters also connects different elements within the Universal Grammar, hereby constructing a certain pattern of related syntactic structures.

A typical example is that of the Head final or Head initial aspect of languages (White 1989). This refers to the fact that some languages consist of complement – head structures, while others have head – complement structures. In the case of the former, the parameter setting is switched to Head final, in the latter to Head initial. So far, we have illustrated how a certain principle (the position of the head) can involve the setting of a parameter to a certain position (i.e. Head final or Head initial). We will conclude this example by illustrating how P&P theory combines different grammatical features into a certain set that is governed by a given parameter: Once the correct parameter setting for head position has been activated, this will result in the correct setting of head position across different “elements” of the grammar: A child will put the complement of a verb after a verb, but also the complement of a noun after a noun, a complement of an adjective after an adjective, etc, once it has successfully acquired the head final setting of the parameter for a given language.

3.5 APPLYING UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR TO SLA: AN OVERVIEW OF THREE MAJOR STANCES

The ideas of Universal Grammar, as outlined above, have served their purpose in linguistic research on both first and second language acquisition. Their role has been much more controversial in the latter than in the former, however. The extent to which it is (still) at play in second language acquisition, has generated a lot of debate, with viewpoints ranging from a complete dismissal of UG in SLA to UG being as active in SLA as it was in the acquisition of the mother tongue, including a wide array of options within this spectrum.

In what follows, a sketch of the three major theories is given.

3.5.1 UG FUNCTIONS THE SAME WAY IN SLA AS IN FIRST LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Research that advocates the same role for UG in SLA as in the acquisition of the mother tongue (e.g. White (1989)) draws on certain parallels between the two. Essentially, the scheme White is defending can be visualised as follows (White 1989: 37):



Illustration 2: White's view on SLA

White (1989) lists three characteristics which are typical of child (first) language acquisition, which she assesses according to their presence in SLA. For the sake of her argument, she considers reasonably successful L2 acquirers who have learnt their L2 in a naturalistic setting, outside the classroom.

Firstly, she considers whether **underdetermination** can be found in the language input people acquiring a second language are confronted with. Underdetermination can be

defined as the absence of instruction on certain aspects of language. In White's view, just like children who are acquiring their L1, naturalistic L2 learners are deprived of metalinguistic information. The role of UG as a mental device which helps to turn the underdetermined input into competence of course presupposes that L2 learners do indeed acquire a grammatical system that is complex, and is as sophisticated as the internalised grammar that native speakers have. White does indeed believe there to be enough evidence for this. She claims that L2 grammars might not be equal to those of native speakers, and, indeed (near) native competence is rare in L2 grammars, but that they do share the same degree of intricacy.

White's argument lacks power, however, because of some flaws in her reasoning. The assumption that SLA lacks metalinguistic information in the same way as child language acquisition, should be dismissed because of some of the intrinsic features of SLA. The acquisition of a second language almost always takes place later in life than the acquisition of the first language. This has maturational implications (Lakshmanan 1994), viz. the development of the learner in terms of cognition and linguistic awareness. This awareness is also nourished by the knowledge of the L1. It is self evident that a language learner is more capable of reflecting on how language works when he has already acquired one (i.e. he is acquainted with a language system) and when he has the maturity to do so. This heightened state of linguistic awareness makes the learner of an L2 different from children who are acquiring language, because they have the ability to reflect on language with a better equipped framework, leading them to ask certain questions. The search for an answer to these questions runs counter to the underdetermination of the language input, as L2 learners will often try to find out how certain constructions in language work. We can think of the Dutch learner of English asking when he should add *-ly* to an adjective, or the English speaking learner of Dutch asking his teacher when he should use *hebben* or *zijn* as an auxiliary to form the present perfect.

This example brings us to the next element that contradicts White's claim: contrary to White's premise, SLA does not generally take place naturalistically. It is common sense

that, when considering different kinds of settings of SLA, be they naturalistic or instructed, some kind of formal instruction will often have taken place. Not only does the acquisition of a second language usually take place in schools or language courses, even in those cases where no formal instruction is present, learners will often resort to other resources to make up for this lacuna. Hence, they will be confronted with some sort of metalinguistic “guidelines” to help them in their language acquisition process.

Secondly, White assesses the extent to which the language input L2 learners get is characterised by **degeneracy**. The degenerate nature of language input to children acquiring their mother tongue is one of the arguments which pleads for UG. Universal Grammar acts as an intermediary between the language the child is confronted with and the linguistic ability he/she acquires as a result of it, “filtering out” anomalies. Reference is made to “foreigner talk” and “teacher talk” as examples of how learner directed speech is degenerate. The former shows instances of simplification, to the extent of being ungrammatical. This is a result of a native speaker wanting to level his language, so that it would match the proficiency of the learner he is addressing. This phenomenon is also known as scaffolding. To exemplify this, we can think of a native Dutch speaker who, confronted with an immigrant who does not speak Dutch very well, utters the following sentence (omitting a modal auxiliary and a definite article):

Jij morgen naar gemeentehuis gaan.

Teacher talk, on the other hand, is also typified by simplification, but stays within the boundaries of what is grammatically acceptable. It generally avoids advanced constructions (such as subordination or certain tenses of the verb) and makes use of a simplified vocabulary. An illustrative example would be the following:

Neem jullie boek en lees de opdracht. De opdracht staat op pagina 20. Jullie moeten het correcte woord kiezen.

White acknowledges that this input does not account for all or even the majority of language that L2 learners are faced with. She makes the valid claim that the language input is bound to be degenerate, given the nature of spoken discourse, and can never

account for the full competence of a learner. It is true that the input learners get is inevitably limited, whereas the output they will be able to produce is inevitably endless. This does indeed parallel the logical problem, which was identified as a major source of acknowledging the role of UG in first language acquisition.

As a third and final feature White considers the relative presence of **negative evidence**. Negative evidence, or the correction of mistakes learners make, has been proven to be relatively absent to children acquiring their mother tongue (White 1989). This is not the case, however, with learners acquiring a second language. White sees this, and accepts the presence of correction and formal grammar teaching. The latter also often features negative evidence, because the explanation of certain grammatical features will typically involve examples of sentences that are unacceptable, hereby foreseeing the correction of mistakes learners might make.

Even though she acknowledges the presence of negative evidence, White does not see this as an element which necessarily sets L2 acquisition apart from L1 acquisition. Her reasoning is the following (White 1989: 40-41):

“Once again, the availability of negative data does not allow the conclusion that innate constraints are not required. For negative evidence to be effective, it must be reliably available and it must be used. Not all L2 learners get negative evidence, and they cannot control when they get it. Those who get it do not necessarily take note of it. The fact that L1 and L2 acquisition differ with respect to the availability of this form does not mean that they necessarily differ with respect to internal mechanisms that govern language acquisition. [...] Although L2 learners make mistakes and are corrected in certain contexts, these mistakes do not appear to involve violations of principles of UG.”

It seems White cannot be swayed. When faced with the obvious presence of negative evidence, she resorts to downplaying its effects and its pervasiveness. This does not affect the root of the matter, however, viz. the fact that negative evidence *is* available to

most learners and should be acknowledged accordingly. Also, the fact that L2 mistakes do not involve violations of principles of UG does not prevent negative evidence from still being present and playing a particular role. White does not offer an option of what this role might be in her framework, however. Moreover, the statement she makes does not include any references to sources or research backing up her claims.

Summing up, we can say that, even though White rightfully establishes a certain parallel between L1 and L2 acquisition, her arguments fail to convince that the two processes are exactly alike.

3.5.2 THE “UG IS DEAD”-HYPOTHESIS

On the other side of the research on the role of UG in SLA we find the viewpoint that UG lead the acquisition process of the native language, but is no longer active in the acquisition of any second language, in other words: Universal Grammar is dead.

Schachter (1988, 1990) countered the claims made in favour of UG being active in SLA by identifying four factors that distinguish SLA from first language acquisition. With these four elements (completeness, equipotentiality, previous knowledge, and fossilisation) she demonstrates the absence of UG in, or at least its very modest contribution to, the acquisition of the L2.

A first element which distinguishes L2 learners from children acquiring their mother tongue, is the **completeness** of the language system they attain. As mentioned earlier, all children will, at the end of the language acquisition process, have acquired full native proficiency –provided they do not suffer from aphasia or other conditions which impair language acquisition. This is undeniably not the case with L2 learners, where the ultimate proficiency attained is “a state of incompleteness with regard to the grammar of the L2” (Schachter 1996: 160).

Schachter expanded on the notion of completeness with further research investigating the role of UG in SLA (Schachter 1990, 1996). The research focused on the presence or absence of a principle of UG, subadjacency, in the grammars of four groups of non-native speakers. Subadjacency “defines the restrictions that govern how far one phrase can be moved from ‘deep’ to ‘surface’ structure” (Ellis 1994: 430) (see Chapter 3: Generative Grammar). One group consisted of speakers of Korean, a language that does not show evidence of Subadjacency. Two other groups, a group of Chinese and a group of Indonesian speakers, have a mother tongue which shows partial evidence of it. The last group, native speakers of Dutch, share a mother tongue in which Subadjacency functions in the same way as in English. If UG were indeed active in the acquisition of English as an L2, all groups should show the same degree of proficiency. She tested proficient non-native students, who had to perform grammaticality judgements. It showed that all groups correctly judged grammatical sentences as being grammatical, but only the Dutch L1 group succeeded in accurately identifying ungrammatical sentences (i.e. sentences containing Subadjacency violations). After ruling out external variables such as age of first exposure to English and how long they had studied English or had lived in an English speaking environment, Schachter decided her research provided conclusive proof that completeness could not be found in L2 grammars, because of L2 learners’ lack of UG as a device to construct it.

A second feature Schachter addresses, is the lack of **equipotentiality**. This refers to the fact that children will find it equally easy to acquire Chinese as a mother tongue as English, Finnish or Inuit. This is no longer the case for adults acquiring a second language, as some languages will be easier to learn than others.

This brings us to Schachter’s third factor: the potential to acquire a certain language, and the relative ease or difficulty this will be done with, depends on the **previous knowledge** the learner brings to the language acquisition process. This knowledge should be understood as the L1, or any previously acquired language, for that matter, which influences the acquisition of a new language. This statement is of course a bone of contention of its own, and for a further discussion I refer to Chapter 2.

The fourth argument Schachter puts forward, is the occurrence of **fossilisation** in learner language. This term was introduced by Selinker (1972), who noticed that a vast majority of L2 learners never achieve native-like competence. He observed that L2 learners would persistently make the same mistakes. Their proficiency in certain areas would, in other words, at a certain moment in the acquisition process, stop to progress and “fossilise”.

This viewpoint, in which L2 learners have no access at all to UG, is also known as the Fundamental Difference Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1989). For this hypothesis, Bley-Vroman lists several differences between L1 and L2 acquisition, which serve as arguments against the presence of UG in SLA. His list includes nine characteristics:

- lack of success
- general failure
- variation in success, course and strategy
- variation in goals
- fossilisation
- indeterminate intuitions
- the importance of instruction
- the need for negative evidence
- the role of affective factors

The Fundamental Difference Hypothesis was well received by theorists. The earlier work of Clahsen and Muysken (1986) on German word order, Meisel’s study on bilingual first language acquisition (1994) and, more recently, a PhD dissertation by Stewart and Southern (2006) on parameter resetting in Swedish interlanguage all support Bley-Vroman’s hypothesis.

3.5.3 UG AND SLA: AN INTERMEDIATE POSITION

Both stances outlined above have their merits (although the merits of the former might be more modest than those of the latter), but neither theory can account for the full complexity of the acquisition of a second language.

It has been argued that White's theory of a fully active UG in SLA was deficient, because her claims regarding the lack of negative evidence and the underdetermination of the language input were not convincing. She did however, make a valid claim regarding the degenerate nature of the language input. This is something the "UG is dead" adherents cannot account for, as in their theory, a device guiding the language acquisition process is no longer available. In other words: all aspects of a second language have to be "learnt", a claim running counter to the observation that learners are fully capable of using language in new ways. One cannot deny, after all, that learners of a second language do not have to formally learn every utterance they produce. In addition to this, a theory in which UG has no role to play, ignores the absence of wild grammars in learner language. Wild grammars refer to grammatical constructions which defy the rules of Universal Grammar. Such constructions do not occur in learner language (White 1989, Ellis 1994, Van Hout 2003), proving that some kind of device is still active which guides the language acquisition process.

On the other hand, the "UG is dead"-theory rightfully pointed out characteristics which set SLA apart from first language acquisition, and provided ample proof for UG not functioning the same way in second as in first language acquisition. The two critical comments made previously (regarding the logical problem and the absence of wild grammars) should be regarded as expanding on this theory rather than trying to dismiss it. When trying to reconcile the "UG is fully active" with the "UG is dead", scholars have combined the strong points of both theories to compensate for their respective weaknesses.

In the later work of Clahsen and Muysken (1989) and in Neeleman and Weerman's research on L1 and L2 word order acquisition (1997), a combined approach is put forward, encompassing both a role for UG and a role for the L1.

They argue that, on the one hand, "whereas L1 acquisition is a process of parameter setting, L2 acquisition crucially involves the positing of construction-specific rules, guided by general learning strategies" (Neeleman and Weerman 1997: 125). These

construction-specific rules are to be regarded as declarative knowledge, rather than procedural knowledge (Van Hout 2003). Then again, they also acknowledge the role of UG. They perceive UG to be a constraint on the development of the L2 grammar, guiding it through principles which hold for all languages (Ellis 1994 offers structure dependency as an example). These principles, which are applicable to all languages and cause them to be organised in a certain way, are still available to the L2 learners. This is no longer the case for the parameters a language makes use of. This has been illustrated by the research of Neeleman and Weerman (1997) in Chapter 2: SLA Paralleling L1 Acquisition, which offered convincing evidence for this. The only parameters that are available to L2 learners are those that were activated by the L1 acquisition process. Rephrasing this, one could say that the L1 acts as a mediator between the L2 and UG, only providing access to those parameters present in the L1.

By pointing out the flaws of the other two stances on the function of UG in SLA, we have established the intermediate position as the most valuable. Hence, we will use it as a point of reference when analysing our data and formulating and examining our hypotheses. Before we do this, the next chapter, Chapter 4, offers a contrastive overview of subordinate clauses and inversion in English and Dutch.

CHAPTER IV

A CONTRASTIVE OVERVIEW OF INVERSION AND SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN ENGLISH AND DUTCH

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, English and Dutch word order will be compared and contrasted in main and subordinate clauses. More specifically, with regard to the former, our focus will be the use of subject/verb inversion.

I argue that inversion and word order in the subordinate clause share a distinct feature when it comes to Dutch word order phenomena and SLA. Both are “marked”, in that they both deviate from the canonical word order in the main clause, SVO. When we look at the examples⁵ below, we see that (2), (3) and (4) are all the result of a syntactic operation, where word order is typically either modified by fronting an adverbial (2) –in the case of inversion- or by embedding a clause into another clause (3) or phrase (4) -in the case of subordination-:

1. *Tessa // eet // pasta.*
S // V // O
2. *Om 12 uur // eet // Pieterjan // pasta.*
Adv. // V // S // O
3. *Ik // zeg // dat / Katrien / pasta / eet.*
S // V // O
Sub. Conj. / S / O / V

⁵ The layout of the examples is conceived as follows: the part of the sentence which is relevant with regard to the structure being discussed is italicised, sentences are subdivided into syntactic constituents with the aid of //, subordinate clauses are further divided with /, subdivisions at phrase level are indicated with -.

4. An // eet // pasta – *die / mijn vader / gemaakt heeft.*
 S // V // O
 Head - Postmodifier
 relative pronoun / S / (O) / V

Before entering the actual overview, we are first going to characterise English and Dutch in terms of their “canonical” and basic word order, to create a point of reference with which subordinate clause word order and subject/verb inversion can be contrasted.

4.2 BASIC WORD ORDER AND CANONICAL WORD ORDER IN ENGLISH AND DUTCH

In 1963, Greenberg introduced a now widespread classification of languages based on the position of subject, verb and object (Greenberg 1963). Combining these three constituents in every possible way, he came up with six potential word orders, viz. SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV and OVS. He classified German as an SVO language, categorising it according to its “canonical word order”, i.e. the word order of subject, verb and object in a “typical” main clause. Consequently, the same can be applied to Dutch, as the two languages are structured similarly with regard to word order (e.g. Koster 1974, Coopmans 1993, Newmeyer 2004).

In his 1963 paper, Greenberg correlated the observations he had made concerning word order with certain typological generalisations, the most important of which being the correlation between word order and adposition order. He showed that languages in which the object precedes the verb are more likely to use postpositions, whereas languages that have the object in front of the verb tend to use prepositions. The example below illustrates these typological idiosyncrasies, with Dutch, being SVO, making use of prepositions (1) and Turkish, an SOV language, employing postpositions (2).

1. *Ik // drink // melk // in – de - klas.*
 S // V // O // Adv.
 prep. - H
 det. - H

2. (Ben) // sınıf-ta// süt // içiyorum.

I class-in milk drink. → I drink milk in the classroom.

S // Adv. // O // V

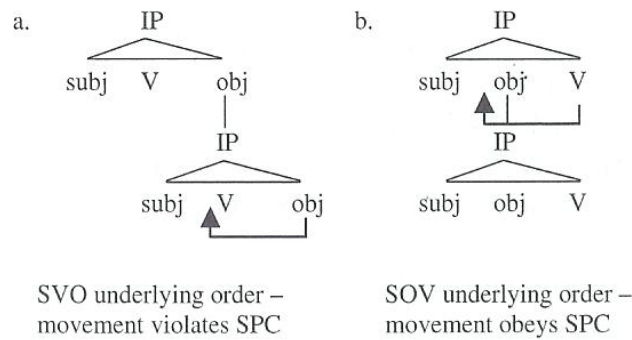
H - post.

This kind of Greenberg-like generalisations did not, for a long time, attract the attention of generative grammarians. This changed with the introduction of the Principles and Parameters Theory in the 1980s (cfr supra), as this “opened up the possibility of capturing typological differences by positing different parameter settings for different languages.” (Newmeyer 2004: 73). Greenberg’s view might have been inspiring for generative grammarians, they did not, however, accept his observations without question. In their view, basic word order was not to be equated with canonical word order, but to be deduced from the word order at deep structure level, generated by phrase structure rules (Coopmans 1984), or as Bach (1962: 264), an established generative grammarian, put it:

The problem, then, is to set up the grammatical rules in such a way that the restricted order of sentence elements results directly from the rules rather than through the sorting screen of an order chart.

In the wake of these ideas, Bierwisch (1963) wrote “the first extensive result of the transformational analysis of modern German” (Bach 1964: 605), soon to be followed by another generative account of German word order by Bach (1964). These studies got their Dutch counterpart with the publication of Koster’s *Dutch as an SOV language* (1974). In this paper, Koster sets out to explain why Dutch should be considered an SOV language too, and postulates a root transformation of Verb Placement which puts the (finite) verb in second position.

Newmeyer (2004) offers another motivation why German and Dutch are SOV languages, based on Emonds’ (1976) Structure Preserving Constraint. The Structure Preserving Constraint claims that rules distorting the configuration of phrase structure only apply to main clauses. Hence, if Emonds is right, Dutch and German have to be SOV. This is exemplified by the following illustration (Newmeyer 2004: 75):



This illustration shows that, if Dutch were SVO (cfr. a), a movement rule would apply to the subordinate clause, placing the verb behind the object. This is problematic, because of the Structure Preserving Constraint that rules out any movements which alter the phrase structure of the main clause. When Dutch is considered SOV (cfr. b), we are no longer faced with this problem. The main clause then requires moving the object behind the verb. This does not cause difficulties as movement rules can occur in main clauses. Dutch and German have been widely accepted as SOV languages now. This leaves us with a typological inconsistency. Dutch is typologically SVO, as it is prepositional, but its basic word order is SOV. We can therefore describe Dutch as typologically marked, because languages which combine SOV and prepositions are rare (Newmeyer 2004).

When it comes to the basic and canonical word order of English, however, there is no debate: “The basic verb position of English is SVO in almost everybody’s theory, both in surface structure and in more remote structures.” (Hawkins 1986: 131); the qualification of English as an SVO language is acknowledged by scholars past and present (Hawkins 1986, Newmeyer 2004).

4.3 WORD ORDER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The following comparison of Dutch subordinate clauses and their English counterparts is based on some of the standard references for Dutch and English grammar. For the

Dutch grammatical background, the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (Geerts and Haeseryn 1993) was consulted; for English the Huddleston and Pullum 2002 and Quirk et al 1997 were used. The outline and much of the information in this section was influenced greatly by the overview offered in *Nederlands Frans Engels in Contrast – De zin* (Devos, De Muynck and Martens 1992). This contrastive study exhaustively lists all uses of subordinate clauses in Dutch, and divides them on the basis of their syntactic function.

With this overview we aim to give a useful listing of the types of subordinate clauses that can be found in Dutch and how they are syntactically constructed. This will serve as a framework when we will analyse the data and check whether the mistakes found can be traced back to L1 influence. One can discern three main syntactic functional categories for the use of subordinate clauses: subordinate clauses with nominal value, with adverbial value and subordinate clauses functioning as postmodifiers in noun phrases. The following paragraphs offer a further classification.

4.3.2 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES WITH NOMINAL VALUE

This type of sentences serve a syntactic function which is inherently part of the valency of a certain verb, viz. they fulfil the function of subject, object or complement. Within this category, we distinguish three subcategories.

4.3.2.1 NOMINAL FINITE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY A CONJUNCTION

Different types of conjunctions can be used to tie a clause with nominal value to the main clause. These can be:

- **Subordinating conjunctions**, which establish a hierarchical relationship between sentences, linking two syntactically unequal clauses. Clauses of this type can

serve as subject, complement to the subject, direct object and prepositional object.

Klaar // betwijfelt // of // hij / die nieuwe theorieën / kent.

S // V // O

Sub. Conj. / S / O / V

John // questioned // whether / his wife / had committed / a felony.
S // V // O

Sub. Conj. / S / V / O

- **Relatives:** we generally find this kind of construction in postmodifiers in noun phrases, but they can also occur as a syntactic constituent of their own. The relative at the beginning of these clauses is a pronoun, a determiner or an adverbs. Often these relative pronouns have an included or implicit antecedent like *die, wie, wat* and *hetgeen* in Dutch or *who(ever), what(ever)* or *which(ever)* in English. The syntactic functions of this kind of construction include subject, complement to the subject, direct object, indirect object, prepositional object and complement to the object.

Wie / het beste van zichzelf / geeft, // krijgt // lekkers.

S // V // O

S / O / V

Whoever / did / that, // is // a complete fool.

S // V // Comp. S.

S / V / O

- **Question words:** these clauses share syntactic and semantic features with regular question word questions (e.g. *Wanneer ga je naar huis* (When are you going home?), viz. the question word is in front position and the meaning is the same as in an independent question word sentence). The most notable difference between the independent and the embedded question word sentence in Dutch, is of course the word order: SOV in the subordinate type, SVO in the main clause type. Subject, direct object, prepositional object and complement to the subject are all functions that can be fulfilled by these interrogative clauses.

De hamvraag // is // *hoe / de politie / de criminaliteit / moet bestrijden.*

S // V // Comp. S.

Adv. / S / O / V

The question // is // *why / he / was seducing / her.*

S // V // Comp. S.

Adv. / S / V / O

4.3.2.2 NOMINAL FINITE CLAUSES WITHOUT CONJUNCTION

Direct speech and pseudo-direct speech are the two cases in which we find subordinate clauses functioning as nominal finite clauses without conjunction. We list them here for the sake of being comprehensive, though they are of little importance with regard to word order issues in subordinate clauses. Even though they are hierarchically subordinate, direct and pseudo direct speech maintain main clause word order, in both English and Dutch. Forming these sentences can hence not pose any problems when it comes to the implementation of the correct word order. Inversion issues can occur however, and it should also be noted that this is one of the few contexts in which we find OSV in English, as a result of topicalising the hierarchically embedded clause.

The next examples illustrate how English and Dutch render direct (1 and 2) and pseudo direct speech (3 and 4) in the same way, with no subordinate word order peculiarities arising:

1. Lauwke //zei:// *"Ik / stuurde / 'n brief / naar je moeder."*

S // V // O

S / V / Od / Oi

2. She shouted: *"I hate you!"*.

S V O

S V O

3. Hij dronk rode wijn, // zei // *hij.*

O // V // S

S / V / O

4. *He / wanted to devour / the chicken, // he // said.*

O // S // V

S / V / O

4.3.2.3 NOMINAL NON-FINITE CLAUSES

Nominal non-finite clauses are constructed with a form of the infinitive and sometimes omit the subject. This contraction takes place when the subject is expressed in the main clause, and serves as an unexpressed subject in the subordinate clause. Because of the disappearance of the subject, the predicator is no longer finite but a non-finite form of the verb. Two types of infinitival constructions are found:

- **Short infinitive constructions:** These constructions, that feature an infinitive not preceded by *to*, can be subject, direct object, complement to the subject and (in Dutch but not in English) prepositional object.

Haar vader // zag // zijn echtgenote / soep / maken.

S // V // O

S / O / V

He // saw // John open the door.

S // V // O

S / V / O

- **To + infinitive constructions:** In Dutch and English, we find these functioning as subject, direct object or complement to the subject. Dutch also shows instances of these constructions serving as prepositional object, whereas English also has *to + infinitive* constructions functioning as complement to the object.

Sebastian // beloofde // geen ijs meer / te zullen eten.

S // V // O

O / V

Lucas // promised // to buy / first class tickets.

S // V // O

V / O

4.3.3 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES WITH ADVERBIAL VALUE

Subordinate clauses are often adverbials, which semantically modify the information of the main clause. The information they contain is not indispensable, and, unlike the former category, they generally do not form part of the essential elements that make up the verb valence pattern. From the point of view of their semantic value, we can discern the following semantic categories of adverbials (Devos, De Muynck and Martens 1992: 232):

- temporal adverbials
- spatial adverbials
- qualifying adverbials
- quantifying adverbials
- relational adverbials (of means, causality, finality, condition or assumption, admission, restriction and comparison)

For this overview we are going to continue with the formal approach we have been using, which again brings us to the three subcategories employed earlier.

4.3.3.1 ADVERBIAL FINITE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY A CONJUNCTION

This type of adverbials is usually introduced by a subordinating conjunction, but, as was the case for the nominal finite clauses introduced by a conjunction, the conjunction can also be a question word or relative.

Ik // haat // die schilder zijn werk // omdat / hij / zijn voorgangers / imiteert.

S // V // O // Adv.

Sub. Conj. / S / O / V

I // ordered // tuna // because / I / don't eat / meat.

S // V // O // Adv.

Sub. Conj. / S / V / O

4.3.3.2 ADVERBIAL FINITE CLAUSES WITHOUT CONJUNCTION

Conditional adverbials can be expressed with or without conjunction. The latter involves a hypothetical construction for which inversion is used in both English and Dutch (albeit much more restricted in English than in Dutch). In that sense it is unlikely to cause interference for English speakers when producing Dutch. It is relevant with regard to the use of inversion in English and Dutch, however, and is therefore also mentioned.

Halen / ze / de finale, // dan // wordt // Jackie // de grote ster.

Adv. // Adv. // V // S // Comp. S.

V / S / O

Were / the story / true, // I // would kill // that man // immediately.

Adv. // S // V // O // Adv.

V / S / Comp. S.

4.3.3.3 ADVERBIAL NON-FINITE CLAUSES

Infinitive constructions: The infinitive can be used after certain conjunctions and prepositions.

Alvorens / de feiten / toe te geven, // herhaalde // hij // nog eens // zijn excuus.

Adv. // V // S // Adv. // O

Adv. / O / V

She // visited // us // to check up / on us.

S // V // O // Adv.

V / Op

Participle constructions: Both past participles and present participles occur in these adverbial non-finite clauses, which can have their own subject and can be introduced by a conjunction. Their use is mostly limited to formal style.

Alle elementen / afgewogen hebbende, // besloot // hij // de job // te aanvaarden.

Adv. // V // S // O

O / V

Having complimented her sister, // Joan // was feeling // very relieved.

Adv. // S // V // Comp. S.

V / O

4.3.4 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES FUNCTIONING AS POSTMODIFIERS IN NOUN PHRASES

Postmodifying subordinate clauses can be categorised according to the element that introduces them. We can distinguish three categories:

4.3.4.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY A RELATIVE

De - kinderen - die / koekjes / hadden gebakken // verkochten // hun creaties.

S // V // O

det. - H. - Postmod.

S / O / V

Those - mothers - who / teach / cooking classes // usually // excel // at everything.

S // Adv. // V // Op

det - H - Postmod.

S / V / O

4.3.4.2 CONJUNCTIVE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY A CONJUNCTION

De - dag - dat / de mens / vliegensvlug / brieven / kan versturen, // is gekomen.

S // V

det - H - Postmod.

Sub. Conj. / S / Adv. / O / V

The - news - that / John / had betrayed / his father, // spread // quickly.

S // V // Adv.

det - H - Postmod.

Sub. Conj. / S / V / O

4.3.4.3 INTERROGATIVE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY A QUESTION WORD

De - vraag - wie / Sebastian / bedreigd had, // brandde // op ieders lippen.

S // V // Adv.

det - H - Postmod.

S / O / V

The - question - who / was / going to attend /the wedding, // remained //
unresolved.

S // V // Comp. S.

det – H - Postmod.

S / V / O

4.4 INVERSION IN ENGLISH AND DUTCH

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

For this part of the contrastive overview, we will be investigating the use of subject-verb inversion of English and Dutch.

In general one can say that inversion in Dutch occurs whenever linguistic material is put in the beginning of a sentence. This is very unlike the situation in English, where inversion is rather rare. In English, inversion is predominantly present in interrogative sentences and almost only to be found with auxiliaries. In the following paragraphs, we go into detail.

In addition to the works consulted for the previous section, we used another contrastive source of reference, viz. *A Contrastive Grammar of English and Dutch* (Aarts & Wekker 1993). By combining the literature used in the first part of the overview (Geerts and Haeseryn 1993, Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Quirk et al 1997, Devos, De Muynck and Martens 1992) with this comparative grammar, we generate a somewhat comprehensive list of the use of inversion in English and Dutch. Of course, an elaborate overview would not fit the scope of this paper. The comparative overview offered here is aimed at offering a broad framework rather than listing every detail, as this would not be relevant for our purposes. For more detail regarding the different types that are discerned underneath, we refer to Geerts and Haeseryn 1993, Huddleston and Pullum 2002 and Quirk et al 1997.

Of course, different subdivisions of sentences featuring subject verb inversion can be made, and can no doubt be defended. Because of the nature of the construction, it is no longer possible, like it was for the previous section, to adopt a syntactic functional approach. We have chosen to divide the different sentence types according to their syntactic category, hereby setting apart interrogative and declarative sentences. We feel

that this subdivision makes the overview more accessible and convenient; and, in addition, that it stays close to the actual use of the language.

4.4.2 INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

4.4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Inversion plays a crucial role in interrogative sentences. Inversion grants interrogative sentences their questionlike character. I would argue that inversion is the most important marker of the interrogative character of a sentence in written Dutch –next to punctuation, of course-.

Reasons for its importance:

- Inversion is present in all types of interrogative sentences in written Dutch. It is of course possible to ask questions by using a declarative sentence with a distinct intonation pattern, but this is only possible in spoken language, as it would generally be regarded to be confusing in written language, even when it is followed by a question mark.
- In the most straightforward type of question, the “yes/no-question”, inversion is the only marker of the interrogative character of the sentence. In other words, one only needs to invert the subject and the predicator to go from a declarative to an interrogative sentence in the simplest kind of sentences.

4.4.2.2 FURTHER SUBDIVISION OF INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

YES/NO QUESTION

I have typified this question as being the most “straightforward”, as it –in Dutch- requires nothing more than applying inversion to a regular declarative sentence.

In Dutch, inversion can be applied to virtually all sentences, regardless of what type of verb the predicator is.

In English, for inversion to take place, the predicator (generally) has to be an auxiliary. If there is no auxiliary present, a form of the verb *to do* is introduced to serve as one. There are two exceptions to this (Aarts & Wekker 1993: 273):

- the verb *to have*, used as a lexical verb (i.e. as in *to own*), but only in some varieties of British English

She has a lot of money. → *Has she* a lot of money?

- the verb *to be* used as a copula or a lexical verb (i.e. with locative meaning)

She is an annoying clown! → *Is she* an annoying clown?

They are in Dublin. → *Are they* in Dublin?

When forming a question with a lexical verb in English, a distinction has to be made between simple and composite verb forms.

The composite verb forms undergo inversion:

Hij had een biertje gedronken → *Had hij* een biertje gedronken?

He had told them the truth. → *Had he* told them the truth?

Whereas the simple verb forms require the introduction of a form of the verb *to do*, functioning as an auxiliary, which is then inverted:

Hij drinkt een biertje. → *Drinkt hij* een biertje?

He tells them the truth. → *Does he* tell them the truth?

WH-QUESTIONS

Wh-questions start with an interrogative pronoun, used either dependently (1) (as a predeterminer, e.g. *Which records did you sell?*) or independently (2) (as a syntactic constituent of the sentence e.g. *Who did you visit yesterday?*). The rest of the sentence

has the same structure as a yes/no-question. Hence, the same applies to these sentences with regard to inversion: in Dutch the subject and predicator are always inverted, in English the predicator needs to be or be made into a composite verb form before this inversion can take place (cfr. supra).

Welk lied *heeft* ze gezongen? (1) / Waar *ga* je morgen heen? (2)

What song *did* she sing? (1) / Where *are* you going tomorrow? (2)

It needs to be noted that, in both English and Dutch, in wh-questions in which the interrogative pronoun serves as a subject, the word order is the same as in a declarative sentence:

Wie heeft dat gedaan?

Who won the Eurovision Song Contest in 1984?

CHOICE QUESTIONS

In a choice question the choice is offered between different options. It is syntactically equal to the yes/no-question, but needs to be answered with one of the options offered.

Wil je koffie of thee?

Do you want coffee or thee?

TAG QUESTIONS

This sentence type is very typical of English and does not exist as such in Dutch. It consists of a repetition of the subject –in the form of a personal pronoun- and the predicator in inverted order. The same principle for regular questions applies: only auxiliaries can be found here, if there is no auxiliary present a form of to do is introduced. In Dutch, interjection or adverbs fulfil this function:

Jij haat house, *niet*? / Dat was niet zo fraai, *hé*?

You hate house, *don't* you? / That wasn't very nice, *was it*?

REPLY QUESTIONS

This construction again does not occur in Dutch. It is formed in the same way as tag question. In Dutch, again, interjections or adverbs are used to fulfil the same pragmatic purpose.

<i>Ik ben dol op bloemen.</i>	- <i>O ja?</i>
<i>I just love flowers.</i>	- <i>Do you?</i>

4.4.3 DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

4.4.3.1 INTRODUCTION⁶

The general rule for inversion in Dutch in declarative sentences is quite straightforward: as soon as a syntactic constituent other than the subject occurs in sentence initial position, the word order is inverted. In English, by contrast, the word order remains unchanged, as can be seen in the example underneath. Three main exceptions to this are listed underneath.

<i>Ik ben</i> naar huis gegaan.	→ Gisteren <i>ben ik</i> naar huis gegaan.
<i>I went</i> home.	→ Yesterday <i>I went</i> home.

4.4.3.2 CONTEXTS REQUIRING INVERSION IN ENGLISH

SENTENCES INTRODUCED BY NEGATIVE ADVERBS.

When a negative adverb is found in the beginning of a sentence, subject and predicator are inverted and a form of *to do* is used if no other auxiliary is present.

⁶ This overview was inspired by Devos, De Muynck and Martens 1992. For more detail on the different sentence types, we refer to Huddleston and Pullum 2002 and Quirk et al 1997.

(Nog) Nooit *had ze* zoveel kinderen bij elkaar.

Never before *had she* met such an impostor.

SENTENCES INTRODUCED BY PLACE ADVERBIALS.

Inversion in this kind of sentences is most common with verbs like *to sit, to lie, to live, to stand* and *to hang* and restricted to descriptive style.

In dat huis *leeft de beste goochelaar ooit*.

In that house *lives the best magician ever*.

CODED SENTENCES.

Coded sentences can be defined as “sentences in English in which only the auxiliary is repeated (not the lexical verb and other material accompanying it), or in which the lexical verb is later ‘picked up’ by a form of the auxiliary *to do*” (Aarts & Wekker 1993: 170). In declarative sentences, they can be recognised by the pattern “... and so ...”, with the first ellipsis representing a clause and the second one an auxiliary and a pronoun or noun phrase. Like tag and reply questions, coded declarative sentences are typical of English. The comparable construction in Dutch is formed with *en ... ook*, the verb is not repeated in any way.

Kevin houdt van dansen en Justin houdt van dansen.

→ Kevin houdt van dansen *en Justin ook*.

Kevin likes to dance and Justin likes to dance.

→ Kevin likes to dance *and so does Justin*.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

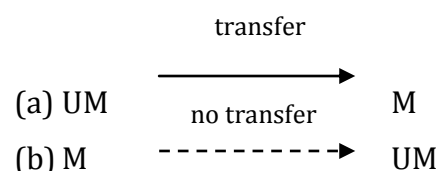
In the theoretical framework (Chapter 2: Explanatory Models and Chapter 3: Universal Grammar), different theories on L2 acquisition have been put forward. The contrastive overview (Chapter 4) which followed it, delineated the syntactic constructions we are going to be concerned with. The final part of this paper, seeks to incorporate some of these theories in a hypothesis on the place of Dutch word order acquisition within the field of SLA research. Firstly, we will put forward a hypothesis of how English as an L1 affects the acquisition of Dutch word order and of how Universal Grammar influences second language acquisition. In a second step, we will elaborate on what methodology was used to put our theory to the test. The third section is an empirical one, in which the data gathered for our research are analysed. This section will also feature an analysis of learner English produced by native Dutch speakers, widening the scope of our research and lending more credibility to our thesis. In this final phase, we will be able to assess the validity of our hypothesis with the results from our data analysis.

5.2 HYPOTHESIS

When learners of English acquire Dutch word order, they are faced with phenomena that are unknown to them in their native language. Two of the most striking phenomena are the difference in word order in main and subordinate clauses and the inversion of subject and verb. In the contrastive overview given earlier (Chapter 4: Basic Word Order and Canonical Word Order in English and Dutch), English has been characterised as a language that is rigidly SVO, with very few exceptions to this. English has therefore been

labelled “unmarked”. Twisting this around, we can say that the incongruity in Dutch word order can be described as a marked feature. This has been backed up with statements regarding the consistency within the language system and the typology of languages (Chapter 2: Markedness). With regard to the former, Dutch has been typified as inconsistent within its own system, as it has different word orders in different syntactic settings. From the point of view of language typology, it was noted that Dutch is marked because, contrary to what one would expect of a language that is SOV at its base, Dutch makes use of prepositions rather than postpositions.

The observation that English learners of Dutch have to acquire a marked syntactic feature with an L1 that is unmarked, has certain implications for the acquisition process. Following Eckmann’s Markedness Differential Hypothesis (Chapter 2), these features should be difficult to acquire, and should hence give rise to transfer. Conversely, learners of English with Dutch as L1, should not experience the same problems. After all, they will have to switch from a marked to an unmarked feature, in which case transfer is less likely to occur (cfr. Chapter 2, Eckman and the discussion of Kellerman’s *breken* study). We can outline the process taking place as follows:



The above illustrates how English speaking learners of Dutch find themselves in situation (a), where transfer is expected to occur, whereas Dutch speaking learners of English are in situation (b), where no transfer is predicted.

Another aspect that has featured prominently throughout the theoretical survey, is the role Universal Grammar plays in the acquisition of a second language. If UG is indeed active in the acquisition of Dutch as a second language, acquiring a certain construction will require no more than setting the correct parameter. Once this parameter has been correctly set, a learner should be able to form this construction correctly in all contexts.

Thus, if a single learner, at one point in time during the acquisition process, shows instances of both well formed and erroneous subordinate clauses or inversions, his language acquisition process rejects the presence of UG in SLA. This claim will also be assessable on the basis of our corpus based research.

With the aid of collected corpora, the validity of these hypotheses will be examined. The corpus based research will be addressed in the following sections on methodology and data analysis.

5.3 METHODOLOGY

5.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Before discussing the method of data collection, an explanation of the selection criteria for the data is needed. The data that are going to be studied for this research had to be collected from learners of a certain proficiency, to make sure that the constructions were known to them. If a learner has not yet mastered the complex sentence, or does not yet know when to use inversion, it is self evident that he/she will not be able to produce such constructions or assess the grammaticality of statements containing them. Also, the data had to be relatively “spontaneous”, in that the learner producing them could not be aware of what they were going to be used for, in order not to influence the outcome of the research. On top of these two observations, the research was marked by a logistic constraint, viz. the relatively limited number of English speaking learners of Dutch.

Because of the spontaneous character we require of the data, it was deemed inappropriate to opt for grammaticality judgment tests. In this kind of tests, learners are presented with a list of sentences of which they have to assess the grammaticality. By employing this method, the actual goal of the research is emphasised, and learners will

have a heightened sensitivity towards the constructions under discussion. It is plausible that this will lead to a distortion of the results, a test of this sort is hence not useful for our research.

Another common method of data collecting is corpus based research. This will be the method we will be employing for our research. To gather the data needed, two corpora were composed. Both corpora are a collection of texts written by native Dutch or English speakers studying English or Dutch as a second language. The texts were written as part of bigger test, which we will elaborate on later. The advantage of these texts is that the testees were not aware that their writings were going to be used for scientific research. Hence, even though their writing, being part of an official test, will have been very carefully produced, they will not have paid particular attention to word order issues. Also, from a practical perspective, this approach is the most feasible. After all, collecting samples of learner Dutch from English speakers would involve a period of research in one of the major Dutch centres in the English-speaking world. Collecting data at the University of Berkeley or University College London, two of the major institutions offering Dutch courses in the English-speaking world, would require too much time, financial resources and organisation. This is why we resorted to texts that were already produced as part of a test. Unfortunately, this also meant that no extra information (amount of time spent studying Dutch, other L2s, etc) could be obtained for the texts under scrutiny (as these parameters were not available). By settling for this method, however, a suitable consensus was made between academic value and practical feasibility.

Both corpora consist of texts written as part of an exam or a formal test, the *Certificaat Nederlands als Vreemde Taal* for the Dutch texts and an exam paper from secondary school for the English texts. The level of proficiency that was required of the texts was determined with the help of the Common European Framework of Reference, as will be specified in the next section.

5.3.2 COMMON EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK OF REFERENCE

The CEFR, in full The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment, is an instrument used in the instruction and assessment of languages and is supported by the Council of Europe. Its mission statement reads as follows (Council of Europe 2001: 1):

The Common European Framework provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe. It describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively. The description also covers the cultural context in which language is set. The Framework also defines levels of proficiency which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning and on a life-long basis.

With the introduction of this framework, the Council of Europe wanted to create uniformity in language education throughout the European Union. An important part of the framework involves the definition of different levels of proficiency. These different levels are universal across the different languages, and can be adopted by different institutions which offer standardised language tests. The framework distinguishes six different levels, each with its own descriptive label of what learners who attain it should be able to do in terms of active and passive language skills (Council of Europe: 24):

Proficient User	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
Independent User	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
Basic User	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

Table 1: Common Reference levels

As stated earlier, for our purpose, we need texts of a certain degree of proficiency. On the other hand, we do not want texts to be too advanced, because such texts will show less instances of transfer. After all, as learners progress in their language acquisition process, their interlanguage will show less instances of transfer and evolve more towards near native proficiency. To make sure that the texts we will be looking at provides us with enough material to analyse, we have decided to go for texts corresponding to the levels B1 and B2. Learners who have attained this state of

linguistic proficiency should be capable of constructing subordinate sentences and sentences with inversion. On the other hand, because they are not yet fully proficient, their interlanguage is likely to show flaws, including errors regarding word order.

Now the desired level of proficiency has been established, let us consider how this reflects on the selection of texts for the Dutch and English corpus.

5.3.3 COLLECTION OF DUTCH DATA

To collect the data needed for the corpus of learner Dutch, use was made of the collection of tests of the Certificaat Nederlands als Vreemde Taal (CNaVT). This organisation, founded in the 1970s, offers a standardised test to learners of Dutch all over the world. The CNaVT is run by one Flemish and one Dutch university, viz. the Catholic University of Leuven and the University of Amsterdam, under the supervision of the Dutch Language Union. Every year, 2400 people in over 40 countries take a test from the CNaVT. The test that is offered comes in different degrees of difficulty, all aimed at testing the language proficiency in a specific domain. The test is subdivided into different domains in order to stay close to the actual use of language. Six different types of tests are offered (from <http://www.cnavt.org/files/CNaVT%20alg.folder%20EN%20web.pdf>):

- Profile tourist and informal language proficiency – A1

For those who want to maintain social contacts with their Dutch-speaking family or friends. Also for those who want to demonstrate that they can manage as a tourist in a Dutch-speaking area, or for those who want to communicate with Dutch-speaking tourists in a non-professional context in their own country.

- Profile language proficiency practical professions – A2

For those who would like to work as labourers or skilled workers and therefore need Dutch (e.g. in the technical field as an electrician, in the

health sector as a nurse, in transportation as a driver or as a waiter in a restaurant).

- Profile societal language proficiency – B1

For those who have an interest in the Dutch language and culture or want to live in the Netherlands or Belgium for an extended period of time.

- Profile professional language proficiency – B2

For those who would like to work in an administrative or service-oriented profession and therefore need Dutch (e.g. as a secretary or bank employee).

- Profile language proficiency higher education –C1

For those who would like to study at a Dutch-speaking college of higher education or university.

- Profile academic language proficiency – C1

For those who have neared completion of their education in Dutch as a foreign language or for those who would like to teach Dutch as a foreign language. It is also for people who want to work in a Dutch-speaking academic environment, e.g. as a researcher.

These six different profiles were developed within the guidelines of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) and are each linked to a certain Common Reference level. For the reasons mentioned earlier, we will be focusing on the tests of the “independent users”, i.e. level B1 and B2. For the CNaVT tests, these are the profile societal language proficiency and profile professional language proficiency.

The tests consist of various parts, including reading, writing and an oral and aural part. Often the test strives towards an integrated approach of skills testing, and combines two or more skills in one task. This is also the case for the texts we have selected, which combine aural skills with writing skills. In a first phase, the test takers have to listen to a tape recording, which in a second stage will be summarised and/or replied to in an essay.

The obtained texts were all parsed, and a database of all the subordinate clauses and sentences involving inversion was made. Combining the texts of the B1 level (1276 words) and the B2 level texts (2973 words), the Dutch corpus consists of 4249 words. The database deduced from this corpus holds 148 subordinate clauses (42 B1 and 106 B2) and 43 instances of inversion (12 B1 and 31 B2).

5.3.4 COLLECTION OF ENGLISH DATA

One of the most important equivalents of the CNaVT in the English-speaking world is the Cambridge test for English Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). They work along the same lines as the CNaVT, offering language proficiency tests varying in degree of difficulty to learners all over the world. Because of the popularity of English as a second language, they are able to operate on a much larger scale – over two million people have taken a Cambridge ESOL test in 120 countries. It would seem logical to cooperate with this institution to gather the data needed for the analysis of learner English. Unfortunately, because of practical reasons, this was no option. The Cambridge ESOL prefers to work only within its established networks, and does not generally make material available to scholars or students from outside Cambridge University. Likewise, the corpus they have built on the basis of their tests is not accessible to people outside their own institution. Another corpus holding learner English of Dutch speakers, the International Corpus of Learner English, could not be used either because it consists solely of texts of an advanced level (C1(/C2) rather than the B1/B2 level we require).

Because of this, we resorted to another method to collect the necessary data. The texts were gathered from exams taken as part of the English curriculum in Flemish secondary schools. In Flemish schools, English is a compulsory subject from the first (or second, in some branches of the educational system) year of secondary education. Flemish secondary education is divided into 3 units, each consisting of two years. The curriculum objectives are defined for every unit, but within each unit there is also a difference in degree of difficulty. The different units of the secondary educational system can be equated with the Common Reference levels as follows:

unit 1 (1 st and 2 nd year)	:	A1/A2
unit 2 (3 rd and 4 th year)	:	B1/B2
unit 3 (5 th and 6 th year)	:	C1

The relation between the different years and the level they represent was established in cooperation with the teacher training department of Ghent University, whose expertise in the teaching and assessment of schoolchildren was very valuable with regard to the conception of the grid above. Of course not all pupils attain the same level of proficiency in the same year, so the above should be interpreted as a guideline of the degree of proficiency of the average pupil.

We will opt for texts written by pupils who have attained the level of “independent users”, i.e. the same level required from the Dutch texts. In this case, this implies we the texts we will be looking at were produced by pupils in the second phase of secondary education, viz. third and fourth year students. The texts we have analysed were written by pupils from the Lyceum in Aalst, who had all had between two and three (for B1 and B2 texts respectively) years of English, for two hours a week in the first two years and three or four in the third.

The English texts under scrutiny were produced as part of a mid-year exam in the third and fourth year of secondary education. Apart from the essay writing, pupils also had to do reading, listening, grammar and vocabulary exercises. The writing assignment for the third year pupils was very much guided, with illustrations depicting a story they had to come up with. For the fourth year pupils, a choice was offered between different topics.

After parsing the texts, a database was set up containing the subordinate clauses and the instances of inversion. Altogether, the English corpus consists of 4273 words, the sum of 1281 words from texts of B1 level and 2992 words in the B2 texts. The English database contains 117 (43 B1 and 74 B2) subordinate clauses and 90 instances of inversion (38 B1 and 52 B2).

5.4 ANALYSIS

The goal for our data analysis is twofold: on the one hand verifying whether our hypothesis regarding the influence of markedness on the occurrence of transfer holds true, on the other hand evaluating the role of Universal Grammar in second language acquisition.

5.4.1 MARKEDNESS AND L1 TRANSFER

We can summarise our hypothesis as follows: If the acquisition of a marked feature is more difficult for someone who has the corresponding unmarked feature in their L1, they will resort to transferring elements from their L1 into their L2. Hence, native English speakers should experience difficulties acquiring Dutch word order, and should transfer elements from English accordingly. Approaching this the other way around, we foresee no problems for Dutch speaking learners of English, as they go from a marked to an unmarked construction. We will examine how the data can back up this thesis with regard to subordinate clauses and inversion.

5.4.1.2 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

As a preliminary remark, we would like to go into the criteria for assessing the different subordinate clauses. While classifying them, we did not take into account their orthographic, morphological or grammatical (other than word order) correctness. Our sole interest was whether the constructions showed evidence from transfer from English word order. To assess this, a comparison was made between every incorrect subordinate clause and its English counterpart. Where the word order in Dutch clearly mirrored the one in English, this was accepted as a case of transfer. Hence, the following

constructions were all considered to be ‘correct’ from our point of view, in spite of their orthographic flaws, incorrect vocabulary use or grammatical mistakes⁷:

dat de producten die zij aanbieden gevaarieerd zal zijn	(D/B2/2)
zorgen dat uitgekochte producte weinig voorkomen,	(D/B2/5)
dat niemand in hetzelfde plaat in hun leven moet zitten	(D/B1/9)

The same method was employed to categorise the Dutch data: clauses were only judged on the presence of transfer, not on any other basis. Accordingly, the following English clauses were deemed acceptable:

course we were afraid	(E/B1/1)
because they had hungry	(E/B1/6)
precisly of he inhaled the air	(E/B2/5)

This last example, *precisly of he inhaled the air*, makes our focus very clear, as it does show evidence of transfer from the L1. We can see that the learner in question was literally translating from Dutch, where a construction like *(Het was) precies alsof hij de lucht inhaleerde/inademde* exists. Nevertheless, the learner did not transfer the Dutch word order, because this would have resulted in *precisely of he the air inhaled*. Consequently, the clause was not regarded as showing (subordinate clause) word order transfer.

Applying the transfer/no transfer criterion to our database of subordinate clauses, we generate the following data:

⁷ The references in between parentheses refer to the reference number of the text in the corpus.

<i>category</i>	<i>number of subordinate clauses</i>	<i>number of sub. cl. indicating transfer</i>	<i>number of sub. cl. not indicating transfer</i>	<i>percentage of sub. cl. indicating transfer</i>
total	148	17	131	11,5 %
B1	42	7	35	16,5 %
B2	106	10	96	9,5 %

Table 2: Analysis of D2 subordinate clauses

<i>category</i>	<i>number of subordinate clauses</i>	<i>number of sub. cl. indicating transfer</i>	<i>number of sub. cl. not indicating transfer</i>	<i>percentage of sub. cl. indicating transfer</i>
total	117	0	117	0 %
B1	43	0	43	0 %
B2	74	0	74	0 %

Table 3: Analysis of E2 subordinate clauses

The grid above shows conclusive evidence of L1 transfer in the Dutch of English speakers: between 9,5% and 16,5% of all subordinate clauses indicate interference from English word order. The English data, on the other hand, are abundantly clear: not a single instance of L1 interference can be found. As we had expected, the transfer that can be found in the Dutch of English speakers demonstrates the difficulty they have with acquiring Dutch subordinate word order. We have linked this to the notion of markedness, and have stated, drawing on previous research, that learners with an unmarked background will have difficulties acquiring a marked feature. To back up this explanation, we investigated whether the reverse of this proposition would hold true; in other words whether unmarked features would pose no problem for learners with a marked background. This is proven by the significant data from our corpus based research: constructing subordinate clauses in English does not cause Dutch speakers to resort to transfer of L1 word order.

NUMBER OF INCORRECT DUTCH SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

One might have expected the number of incorrect Dutch subordinate clauses to be even higher. Judging by my own experiences as a Dutch teacher, I feel such mistakes seem very common in learner Dutch. Also in conversations with other teachers, this type of

mistake is often mentioned as typical of English speakers. We can discern a number of factors, however, that might have played a role in counteracting transfer in the data at hand.

The first factor is the nature of the test. The texts are the result of oral input: the testees had to listen to a recording which they had to summarise or incorporate in their text. This way genuine, correct language input was given before they actually wrote their own text. This might have influenced these learners' own use of language, as they had the possibility to take notes which could serve as a framework for their text. These notes might feature the correct construction of a subordinate clause, which could serve as a reminder for their own production of such clauses. We should also point out that the corpus is based on texts written for an official examination. It is probable that fewer mistakes were made because of this somewhat formal setting and the nature of such written texts, causing the learners to construct their sentences carefully with much attention for linguistic correctness.

Secondly, we can detect a possible facilitating role of other L2s. More specifically, the language of some of the texts reflects a certain knowledge of German, as we can see in the examples underneath:

Davolgens is het nog makkelijker de werkdag te organiseren. (D/B2/10)

[...] e-mails, gespreken, *uzw.* en niet het hele project *unonderbrochen*. (D/B2/10)

Werkraum netjes houden. (D/B2/11)

These examples account for only two out of 23 texts, but this does not rule out that the other learners might also have had knowledge of German. Unfortunately, the CNaVT does not have this information available. Nevertheless, we can say that in a minimum of two cases and probably more, German will have played a facilitating role in constructing subordinate clauses. The word order of German has been described earlier as very similar to Dutch (Chapter four: Basic Word Order and Canonical Word Order in English and Dutch). This phenomenon, in which previously acquired L2s have a positive

influence on the acquisition of a new L2 has been documented in previous research. In Chapter 2, for instance, we discussed Kellerman's (1987) research on the role of perceived language distance. He proved that learners have certain notions on the relationship between languages, and that these notions influence the likelihood of transfer. It is probable that English speaking learners (rightfully) perceive Dutch word to be close to German word order and draw on their knowledge of L2 German when producing Dutch subordinate clauses/sentences with inversion. Thus, they will use transfer from one L2 to another as a device to facilitate L2 production.

TYPES OF INCORRECT SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The various incorrect subordinate clauses are of different types, as can be seen in the selection of examples underneath. If we classify the different constructions according to the categories we have listed in the contrastive overview, we can see that there is no clear predominance of a certain type: learners make mistakes when producing subordinate clauses with nominal value, adverbial value or functioning as postmodifiers. Also with regard to verb forms, it is clear that both composite and single verbs feature in the wrongly constructed subordinate clauses. The examples underneath illustrate this⁸:

[de dingen] *die u wou even graag weten	(D/B2/8)
[omdat wij] *hebben veel te doen	(D/B2/14)
[wij weten] *dat de succes van André Hazes blijft sterk	(D/B1/6)
[dit ... bedoelt] *dat alleen twee uur blijft over	(D/B2/12)
*Toen de presentator Frank van der Linden vraagt tegen haar,	(D/B1/8)
[een nieuwe dag] *waar nieuwe beslissingen zijn mogelijk.	(D/B1/9)

⁸ Asterisks are only used to indicate that a sentence shows evidence of L1 word order transfer, rather than ungrammaticality in general.

PROGRESS

When we compare the results for the B1 texts with those of the B2 texts, we see that the more advanced texts contain fewer incorrectly formulated subordinate clauses. This reflects the progress in the language acquisition process and the increasing proficiency of the language users. Because the CNaVT does not have information available regarding the previous language education, we do not have data on the number of years Dutch or other foreign languages had been studied when learners took the test. The progress we see should therefore be interpreted as no more than an indication. More detailed investigation of this, with the necessary information on all relevant variables, is called for to shed further light on this issue.

5.4.1.3 INVERSION

The Dutch database of sentences with inversion consists of all cases where Dutch word order requires inversion. The English one lists all the instances where Dutch would normally employ inversion, and where interference of native Dutch in English as the L2 might therefore occur. The results are listed in the tables underneath.

<i>category</i>	<i>number of contexts requiring inversion</i>	<i>number of contexts indicating transfer</i>	<i>number of contexts not indicating transfer</i>	<i>percentage of contexts indicating transfer</i>
total	42	1	42	2,5 %
B1	12	1	11	8 %
B2	30	0	31	0 %

Table 4: Analysis of D2 inversion

<i>category</i>	<i>number of contexts where Dutch requires inversion</i>	<i>number of instances indicating transfer</i>	<i>number of instances not indicating transfer</i>	<i>percentage of instances indicating transfer</i>
total	90	0	90	0 %
B1	37	0	37	0 %
B2	3	0	53	0 %

Table 5: Analysis of E2 inversion

The data concerning inversion yield very different results from the subordinate clause data. With the exception of only one sentence, no Dutch sentence shows influence from English word order. A few examples are given, the first sentence being the one that shows L1 interference:

*in 2001 EMI gaf hem	(D/B1/2)
Sinds zij veertien of zo was, heeft zij	(D/B1/8)
Dagelijks noteer je	(D/B2/9)
Om dat te doen hebben we	(D/B2/7)

Less surprisingly, none of the Dutch data indicates transfer from Dutch word order:

in less than fourthy seconds the boat had fallen	(E/B1/3)
During the holiday, me and my father went	(E/B1/11)
When he arrived at the car his friends were disapered	(E/B2/7)
“Problems at work, darling!” he answered	(E/B2/11)

Whereas the absence in the English sentences once again confirms our hypothesis, the virtual absence of transfer in the Dutch sentences with inversion seems puzzling. A possible explanation for this might be that inversion is acquired earlier in the language acquisition process than subordinate clauses. Learners will thus be more familiar with the former than with the latter, causing them fewer difficulties to know how and when inversion should be used. A consultation of two course books for English speaking learners of Dutch (Donaldson 1996 and Shetter 1993) confirms that in the set up of these course books, inversion is indeed learnt before word order in the subordinate clause.

Another, more salient observation we can make regarding our inversion data, is the remarkable difference between the number of inversion contexts in D1 and E2. For the English data, all settings were inventoried where Dutch would normally require

inversion (see Chapter 4: Inversion in English and Dutch). These were all cases with sentence initial adverbials (with the exception of some sentences involving reported speech). Surprisingly enough, the E2 corpus holds twice as many such constructions as the D2 corpus (90 against 42). This remarkable difference can also be linked to a kind of word order transfer, an issue addressed by Hasselgård (forthcoming). Hasselgård's research deals with the same significant difference in sentence initial adverbials, but with regard to English and Norwegian. This language also has subject verb inversion when an adverbial is put in thematic position; with regard to this particular syntactic construction, the relation between Dutch and English is the same, as is illustrated by the example (Hasselgård forthcoming 7, her italics):

I denne oppgaven vil jeg drøfte i hvilken grad medieutviklingen vil kunne påvirke vårt politiske system.

Corresponding to the following Dutch and English sentence:

In deze uiteenzetting wil ik bespreken in welke mate de ontwikkeling van de media ons politieke systeem kan beïnvloeden.

In this paper I will discuss the extent to which the development of the media may affect our political system.

Hasselgård also observes a tendency with native Norwegian speakers to place adverbials sentence initially, much more than native English speakers tend to do. She links this to the fact that, in Norwegian adverbials are more frequently placed in initial position than in English. Because of the similarity of Norwegian and Dutch with regard to this structure, it seems very plausible that the same L1 transfer process is active.

5.4.2 THE ROLE OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR IN SLA

If Universal Grammar is indeed still active in second language acquisition, acquiring a certain grammatical feature would involve the triggering of the correct parameter setting. Hence, if UG leads the acquisition of Dutch word order, as soon as learners have

acquired the correct setting, i.e. SOV in subordinate clauses and inversion of subject and verb in specific contexts, they will always produce these constructions correctly. An analysis of our data shows us that this is not the case: learners who have acquired a certain construction do not necessarily always produce them correctly. Consequently, a text from a single learner will show instances of both correct and incorrect subordinate clauses and inversions, as in the examples underneath. The first two sentences illustrate that both correct and incorrect inversion can occur in the same text, the other examples show how one text can show instances of both correct and incorrect subordinate clauses.

Toen hij 8 jaar was, was André Hazes	(D/B1/2)
*in 2001 EMI gaf hem	(D/B1/2)
[tijd] om alles te doen	(D/B2/12)
*dat alleen twee uren blijft over	(D/B2/12)
wat u heeft gedaan	(D/B2/12)
*wat kost veel tijd	(D/B2/12)

These observations confirm the intermediate position on the role of UG in SLA. We can link this to the fact that, contrary to what happens in native language acquisition (Neeleman and Weerman 1997), learners of Dutch do not acquire word order in stages where the acquisition of a certain stage implies a complete mastery of a certain construction. Rather, it seems that each specific construction (inversion, subordinate clause) is the result of applying construction specific rules. This can be noticed in the coexistence of subordinate clauses and inversion contexts with and without L1 interference: in some cases, the learner has failed to apply the rules correctly.

The evidence from the English corpus could nevertheless be used to claim the opposite: learners do seem to have acquired full proficiency with regard to the constructions we are concerned with. This leads us to assume that, if UG can indeed play a role in SLA, it only does so in cases where learners go from a marked to an unmarked setting. A similar theory has been put forward by Berwick, who introduced the Subset Principle (1985). This theory claims that, from the point of view of Universal Grammar, a marked

construction (the superset) subsumes the unmarked construction (the subset). In the language acquisition process, learners go from the subset to the superset on the basis of positive evidence: they start off by using a certain construction, and on the basis of linguistic input they will extend their use of language to include the superset. This could explain why learners of Dutch do not seem to experience problems to revert back to an unmarked setting: UG supports the language acquisition process by helping the learner to take a step back. This theory should be seen as a mere suggestion; it is of such complexity that it deserves more thought and would provide fertile soil for further research.

Also, in accordance with what has been pointed out earlier (Chapter 3: UG and SLA: an Intermediate Position), the data do not seem to contradict certain general linguistic rules; we do not find “wild grammars”, which indicates some kind of role for UG (see the discussion of the current stances on UG in SLA for more details, Chapter 3).

This leads us to conclude that UG is no longer active in SLA in the way it was in the acquisition of the mother tongue, because SLA requires learners to acquire construction specific rules. Nevertheless, we adopt an intermediate position rather than completely dismissing the role of UG in SLA. After all, the language learning process will not violate the rules of Universal Grammar and UG might be able to play a facilitating role in reverting back from a marked to an unmarked setting.

In other words, Universal Grammar still restricts the different pathways the language learner can follow, and it might make it easy for a learner to go back to where he/she came from, but it does no longer provide easy access to other routes the language learner wants to take.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

With this dissertation we have explored some of the word order issues native English speakers face when learning Dutch. We have outlined some of the major theories on second language acquisition in general and word order acquisition in particular, and have defined our research as an answer to some of the gaps in the literature. On the one hand, we address the issue of language transfer which has not yet been given a well-defined position within the framework of Dutch word order acquisition. The research on this topic was either focused on other areas of language -such as phonology or semantics (e.g. Eckman 1977, Kellerman 1987)-, or lacked persuasion because of flaws in its theory (e.g. Clahsen and Muysken 1986, 1989). On the other hand, we go into the role of Universal Grammar in second language acquisition, an issue which has been heavily debated. With our particular approach, centred around the acquisition of word order phenomena, we try to consider this topic from a new angle. The outline of this dissertation reflects how we will be tackling the subject matter: in a first theoretical chapter we discuss language transfer, and look into how -with the aid of the notion markedness- this can serve as a tool to explain second language acquisition processes in general. In a second chapter, we focus on Chomsky's Universal Grammar and the extent to which it is active in the acquisition of an L2. After an overview outlining the use and formation of subordinate clauses and sentences with inversion, we will use the theoretical framework as a point of reference for our corpus based research in Chapter 5. It is in this chapter that we will expand on our original question, i.e. what factors influence the acquisition of Dutch word order by native English speakers, with more precise hypotheses. In the following paragraphs we offer a more detailed explanation of the content of the different chapters.

After an introductory chapter which outlined the set up of this paper, Chapter 2 examined some explanatory models for second language acquisition. It started off by introducing behaviourism to the field of applied linguistics and SLA. This originally psychological current was brought into the study of SLA by Skinner (1957). His vision, in which acquiring a second language was equated with habit formation, spurred a new tradition of research. This research was centred around the notion of language transfer, i.e. using elements from one's native language in one's L2. Language transfer was regarded as the result of the L1 influencing L2, like an old habit influencing new habit formation. We made clear that transfer on its own lacks explanatory power to account for language transfer processes. This is why, following this discussion, a new notion was presented, viz. "markedness". This notion served as a fruitful approach towards the process of transfer. More specifically, we assessed Eckman's Markedness Differential Hypothesis (1977). This hypothesis states –succinctly put– that marked features will be difficult to acquire for L2 learners who have corresponding unmarked features in their L1. After this, we went into a second study evaluating the use of markedness with regard to language transfer, viz. Kellerman's *breken* study. This study confirms some of Eckman's findings, and expands on the theory of markedness and transfer by introducing the concept of learner intuitions. Finally, two more explanatory models were addressed: the model equating L2 acquisition with L1 acquisition and the canonical word order strategy.

In the second theoretical part, Chapter 3, we focused on Chomsky's Universal Grammar. After a general introduction to this paradigm, we gave an overview of some of the different stances on the role of UG in SLA. Three main positions were discerned, ranging from a view where UG is fully active to one where UG is dead. The former considers UG to be as active in the acquisition of a second language as it was in the acquisition of the mother tongue. The latter adheres to quite the opposite belief, and states that UG does no longer have any role to play in the acquisition of an L2. We concluded with a third point of view, an intermediate position. This intermediate position combines elements of both models, and states that UG might no longer be active, but that it still has a certain function to fulfil. Both theoretical chapters approached the different theories under

discussion from a general perspective. In the chapter on data analysis, these theories were applied to our specific area of interest.

Following this, Chapter 4 outlined the use and construction of subordinate clauses and sentences with inversion in English and Dutch. This chapter also featured a discussion of the basic and canonical word order of English and Dutch. The aim of this chapter was not to give an exhaustive overview of all the different kinds of subordinate clauses and inversion contexts. This would have been too big of an undertaking to fit the scope of this research. For our purposes, a general outline sufficed.

The fifth and pivotal part of this dissertation was the analysis of our corpus based research in Chapter 5: Data Analysis. Two hypotheses guided our examination of the data. A first hypothesis was based on the first theoretical chapter (Chapter 2: Explanatory Models), and stated that Dutch word order (subordinate clauses and sentences with inversion) will be difficult for English speakers to acquire because of its marked character. Dutch speakers, on the other hand, will not have difficulties acquiring such English construction because their acquisition process goes from a marked to an unmarked setting. The second hypothesis drew on the second theoretical chapter (Chapter 3: Universal Grammar), and predicted that, if UG is active in SLA, learners who have acquired a certain construction will produce such constructions correctly in every setting. Accordingly, if the data were to show that learners produced both correct and incorrect subordinate clauses and sentences with inversion, UG would be considered not to be fully active. We then went on to discuss the selection criteria for the texts for the corpus, involving a digression on the European Common Reference Framework. After this, we explained the data collection for the Dutch and English corpus of learner language. The final part of this chapter consisted of the analysis of the data. Our first hypothesis turned out to hold true, and could be backed up with the results from the analysis of the subordinate clauses. These data showed that transfer can be found in the Dutch of native English speakers, but not in the English of native Dutch speakers. The results regarding inversion did not give the same results, as only one instance of transfer was recorded. A possible explanation for this was given, which took into account the set

up of instructed language learning. In the second part of our data analysis we assessed the validity of our second hypothesis. We found that correct and incorrect subordinate clauses and inversion do indeed occur in the same text in the Dutch corpus, contradicting the active status of UG in SLA. We also pointed out how the English data do provide possible proof for a limited role of Universal Grammar. To these observations we added some further considerations on the role of UG in the acquisition of the L2, which lead us to adopt an intermediate position.

Of course, this research has only gone into a small part of the field of second language acquisition research. By zooming in and clearly delineating what this dissertation was going to be concerned with, we hope to have made some interesting points rather than staying at the surface. Nevertheless, also our well-defined subject matter could benefit from further research.

A first valuable addition to this research would consist of collecting more precise information on the texts of the corpus. As we have discussed earlier, this was not possible for our research because of practical reasons. A corpus of learner Dutch should be created of learners of every level, in which certain information of each text is available. This information should include parameters like amount of time spent studying Dutch, learning method, at what age the learner started to learn Dutch, what other languages he/she has previously acquired. This could provide interesting insights into the evolution of language proficiency and the presence of transfer or the correlation between language proficiency and mastery of other L2s.

Another proposal we could formulate on the basis of our research, is the investigation of the connection between markedness and learner perceptions. Kellerman (1987) offers evidence for this with regard to lexico-semantics, stating that learners have certain perceptions on the markedness of elements. This in turn influences their assessment of what elements can be transferred, the more marked elements being less likely to be transferred. It is highly plausible that the same process is active when it comes to

syntactic phenomena (i.e. that learners perceive certain grammatical constructions to be more marked than others, rather than this dichotomy only being part of theoretical linguistics); specific research could confirm this. Also, with regard to markedness and the role of UG (the subset principle, Chapter 5: Data Analysis: The Role of UG in SLA), further research is necessary.

Finally, our last remark pertains to the field of language education and didactics. We have typified the second language acquisition process as a process requiring the application of construction specific rules, an observation which clearly has its implications on language didactics. It implies that, in order for learners to acquire a good level in any second language acquisition, they will have to be familiar with these rules. In order to achieve this, explicit grammar teaching is necessary, as this is the way such declarative knowledge can be acquired. This goes against the current tendency to focus only on skills and disregard grammar education. Regardless of how fruitful an integrated skills approach to language learning might be, a minimum of well instructed grammar lessons remain crucial for a good command of a foreign language.

Summing up, this dissertation has explored some of the issues in the acquisition of Dutch word order by native English speaker, but, equally so, has characterised this field of research as one which needs and deserves further research.

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WEBSITES OFFICIAL DUTCH/ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE TESTS

Certificaat Nederlands als Vreemde taal, <<http://www.cnvt.org>>

Cambridge ESOL, <http://www.cambridgeesol.org/>

ADDENDUM

The addendum consists of:

- Corpus Learner Dutch: B1
- Corpus Learner Dutch: B2
- Corpus Learner English: B1
- Corpus Learner English: B2
- Database Learner Dutch
 - subordinate clauses
 - inversion
- Database Learner English
 - subordinate clauses
 - inversion

CORPUS LEARNER DUTCH: B1

D/B1/1

Beste mevrouw, meneer.

Ik wil in de competitie voor de versamel-cd van André Hazes deelnemen. Hieronder vinden jullie mijn antwoorden voor de vier vragen die op de website stond.

- 1) André Hazes was op de markt ontdekt door Johnny Kraaykamp die zijn talent heeft gezien.
- 2) André Hazes' bijnaam was 'De Zingende Barman'. Hij kwam aan deze bijnaam door zijn liefde voor het werk als barman en ook voor zijn muziek. Hij heeft de twee gecombineerd.
- 3) André's grote doorbraak kwam door de 1970's wanneer Tim Griek zijn produceur was.
- 4) André blijkt succesbaar in zijn job als barman en ook als een heel populair zanger met jonge en oude.

Dit zijn mijn antwoorden, ik hoop dat ik de winnaar bent!!

Groetjes,

Gemma

D/B1/2

Ik geef u hieronder de antwoorden op de 4 vragen.

1. Toen hij 8 jaar was, was André Hazes ontdekt. Johnny Kraagaan heeft hem eerst op de grootmarkt geontdekt.
2. André had de bijnaam "de zingende barman". Hij werkt meestal in een bar – dus kreeg hij zijn bijnaam.
3. Zijn groot doorbraak was in 1976 met "Eenzaam Keerst".
4. Waaruit blijvende André een groot success –twee redenen zijn
- in 2001 EMI gaf hem een mooi cadeau met een album met zijn grootste hits

- in de zomer van 2002 was er een concert in Amsterdam. Er waren 36.000 mensen in de concertzaal.

D/B1/3

Beste Sterrenstatus,

André Hazes is ontdekt in Amsterdam wanneer hij acht jaar oud was door Jonnie Kijkans. Zijn bijnaam was de “Barman” maar dat was een van de beroepen dat hij liefste deed.

Zijn grote doorbraak was in 1980 met de hulp van Tim Kriek.

André's blijkt blijvende succes met de film en de documenteren over hem die prijzen hebben gewonnen.

Hij blijkt ook een blijvende succes met de film en de documenteren over hem die prijzen hebben gewonnen.

Hij blijkt ook blijvende succes in 2001 wanneer de plaatmaatschappij heeft alle zijn albums weer uitgebracht.

En finalment, de concert in de Olympia Stadium van Amsterdam in 2002 met 36.000 mensen blijkt blijvende succes.

Groeten, Nadjia

D/B1/3

° André Hazes is op een markt in Amsterdam door Johnny Kaikham ontdekt. “de zingende barman” was zijn bijnaam.

° Hij kwam aan die bijnaam want hij werkte als barman in een kroeg in Amsterdam en was ook heel bekend.

° Zijn grote doorbraak kwam in 1980 toen hij Tim Griek ontmoette

° Er wordt een documentaar over hem gemaakt –“Zij geloofd in mij”. Het is door de vertegenwoordigers van de populaire die won prijzen en kwam in de bioscoop. EMI heeft alle zijn albums opnieuw uitgebracht. Hij heeft een eredekken van verdienst gekregen. Hij heeft een

concert in het Olympia stadion gegeven. 36,000 mensen kwamen en het concert was verledig uitverkocht.

D/B1/4

Diva Karin Bloemen heeft een nieuwe CD en een nieuwe theatervoorstelling!

De zangares Karin Bloemen heeft een nieuwe CD geregistreerd. De naam van de CD is "Weet je nog". Het is een collectie van liederen dat Karin Bloemen's ideeën en gevoelens bekend maakt. Karin Bloemen heeft alle de liederen geschreven en georganiseerd. Het lied "Ief" is een personeel gevoel over het leven. Zij schrijft nu over haar leven. Vroeger schreef zij over de andere man's fysiek en zorgen.

De nieuwe theatervoorstelling van Karin Bloemen heet "Sunnyside Up". Het is een nieuwe productie. Ik denk dat de lezers van dit maandblad deze toonstuk zullen genieten. Maar koop U eerst de nieuwe CD. Het muziek is een echte profiel van de zangares. Het is als een autobiografie van Karin Bloemen in mijn mening.

D/B1/5

Voor mij was de vraaggesprek met Karin Bloemen interessant. U kunt in haar stem horen dat zij een hele positief vrouw is. Ten eerste, begint zij met humor. En dat laat ons zien dat zij is serieus over haar werk maar niet statig. Toen Frenk VD Linden vroeg, "waar sta je nu?" haar antwoord was simpel en waar –op de grond- en op de grond met haar twee voeten, talent, gevoelens, en ziel.

Ik vond haar definitie van "Ief" logische en waar. Zij is een vrouw die heeft haar dromen en talent gerealiseerd op een wat diepere niveau. Zij weet dat men moet doorgaan, dat als kunstenaar of zangeres, men moet proberen en een emotioneel niveau bereiken.

Het is ook belangrijk om risico's te nemen (dat geldt voor iedereen) volgens haar. Met die nieuwe risico's kan zij haar talent, enz. ontwikkelen, en haar kunst gaat naar een diepere laag. Elke dag moet men proberen en niet in "de wachtkamer" zo blijven. Na deze vraaggesprek wil ik aan haar CD luisteren maar ik ben ook reuze nieuwsgierig om haar te zien met haar energie die straalt uit.

D/B1/6

Beste heer of mevrouw,

Ik wil de cd van André Hazes winnen!

André Hazes werd op een markt door Johnny Krikkamp ontdekt. Hij kreeg de bijnaam “De Zingende Barman” toen hij achter de bar werkte en daar zijn levenslied zong.

Zijn grote doorbraak kwam in 1980 wanneer hij met producent Tim Griek begon te werken.

D/B2/1

Er is een probleem met het nieuwe faxtoestel BES 2003 in brochure. Het probleem is dat de zending is weg. Er is nu geen brochure.

Tieneke, Jeroen en Joke moeten een realistische plan uitwerken, omdat de klanten over het nieuwe faxtoestel moeten geïnformeerd zijn. ("geïnformeerd" put before moeten with an arrow).

Tieneke zegt dat zij een mindere brochure moeten schrijven. Het is niet te duur en heel belangrijk.

De uiteindelijke beslissing is dat zij een mindere brochure volgende week zullen schrijven en uitzenden.

D/B2/2

Het was dit jaar en slecht jaar voor de levensmiddelen markt. Er was sprake van en afnemend vertrouwend van de consument, maar ORIT toch ruimschoots de aanwete te houden 2004 liet voor ORIT uitstekende groei zien –en daar kunnen wij allemaal trots op zijn. Er waren onzekere tijden maar het blijkt dat succesvol ondernemen een doordachte formule vraagt. –en die formule hebben we! En formule die we al 20 jaar en duidelijke course vaaren, gebasered op eenersits goed personeelsbeleid en andersits gedegen onderzoek. Goed personeelsbeleid is essential om ervoor te zorgen dat en onderneeming kan bouwen op en gemotiveerde medewerking. Goed onderzoek naar veranderinge in de konsumenten gedrag is essential voor ORIT., en daardoor zorgen dat het aanbod in de supermarkten aantrekelijk blijft voor de consument. Er waren 3 veranderingen in het konsumenten gedrag –wij proberen om op deze veranderingen in te spelen.

Ontstaan van voedingspatronen. Veranderende bevolking leidt naar veranderende voedingspatronen bijvoorbeeld migratie. Nieuwe voedingspatronen worden overgenomen

door oudegtonne bevolking –hierbij verliest de vlaamse keuken steeds meer terrein. ORIT zorgt ervoor dat de producten die zij aanbieden gevarieerd zal zijn.

Meer en meer en opkomst van kleinere huishouders. Steeds meer 1 en 2 huishouders. Het individu geeft een belangrijke economische eenheid. ORIT probeert hierbij verpakkingen kleiner te maken.

Men heeft minder tijd om te boodschappen. Er blijft minder vrije tijd over want zij moeten alle huishoudelijke taken doen. Gemak wordt belangrijker in de industrie.. –Alle boodschappen op een plaats hebben. ORIT zorgt ervoor dat consumenten snel en eenvoudig boodschappen kan doen. Uitgekiend assortiment, waar bij gemak voor de klant en belangrijke plaats in neemt. Producten op logische plekken en overbodige keuzes voorkomen.

ORIT kan alleen goed inspelen op verandering in het consumenten gedrag, als er betrouwbare onderzoek gegevens te beschikking staan, en die zijn er! Dankzij de afdeling onderzoek en innovatie. Niet eenigste onderdeeling waar goed werk wordt gedaan, het is de inzet van alle ORIT werkers te danken is in 2004, weer uitstekende resultaten heeft gehaald. *Vol vertrouwen gaan we* daarom het komende jaar in. Dank u alle voor u inzet, en ik verzoek u, met mij het gelast te heffen op u alle, en op ORIT!

Gezondheid!

D/B2/3

Beste Lucia,

Zoals gewenst zal ik u over de toespraak vertellen en alle punten, over die werd gesproken.

Situatie van de economie: *In 2004 was er* een goede terughoudendheid van de consumenten, om geld uit te geven. De economische groei vertraagde en er kan van een recessie gesproken worden.

Situatie van de autoverhuursector: De economische recessie had voor gevolg dat de tarieven –internationaal, nationaal en plaatselijk- voor autoverhuur dalen. Er was ook een aanzienlijke daling van reserveringen, van ondernemingen en particulieren.

Gevolgen voor Carrent: De gevolgen van de economische situatie voor Carrent waren ook een daling van de tarieven en de reserveringen maar de impact was minder groot dan bij de concurrentie. Carrent had de voordeel, zich makkelijk op marktomstandigheden aan te passen en klaar te zijn voor het omzwaai van het markt.

belangrijkste gerealiseerde doelstelling: De belangrijkste gerealiseerde doelstelling van Carrent was om te groeien tot meest vertakte autoverhuurbedrijf en zo is Carrent vandaag de Europees marktleider voor verhuur van autos.

Enkele strategieën: Carrent heeft twee strategieën gekozen en omgezet om zijn resultaten te bereiken. De eerste strategie was een diversificatieplan, om eventuele verliezen op te vangen. Nieuwe diensten en producten zijn ontwikkelt worden, die op verschillende markten nu aangeboden worden. De tweede strategie was een expansie strategie, om activiteiten in Zuidamerika, Centraalamerika en Oosteuropa te groeien.

Concrete resultaten: twee concrete resultaten van Carrent in 2004 zijn de continuë stijging van de omzet, vooral bij particulieren, en de resultaat van alle teams wereldwijd, dat 71 meer autos verhuurd werden.

Met vriendelijke groeten,
Sylvia Brierley

D/B2/4

ORIT heeft in 2004 een slecht jaar gehad. Maar zij zijn nu trots op hun success van de nieuwe initiatives die zij ondernemen heeft. Zij weten dat een goed personels beleid en motiverende medewerkers zijn ensetiele en dat alles blijft aantrekkelijk voor de consument.

Orit heeft die verandering gemaakt over aspecten van hun onderzoek, om hun bedrijf te verbeteren.

Nummer één was voeding patroon. ORIT heeft nu een variatie van producten omdat immigratie heeft een invloed gehad over producten. Levensmittle hebben verandert want de bevolking heeft zich verandert.

Nummer twee verzoekte om economisch eenheid te krijgen door verpakking –kleinere kunnen verpakking kopen.

De laatste belangrijke punt was voor de consument: De moderne consument heeft minder tijd om boodschappen te doen. ORIT wil de consument meer tijd geven. Om het sneller en gemakkelijker te maken product zijn in een logische plek geplaatst. De consument moet alleen een supermarkt bezoeken, want alles wat zij nodig heeft is daar. Innovatie is hun toekomst. ORIT dankt hun medewerkers voor hun success door 2005.

D/B2/5

Dit jaar was een slecht jaar voor de levensmiddelensector. Maar ORIT heeft een succesvol formule en waren uitstekende goed gezien dit jaar (2004) 1 waar ze heel trots zijn. Een goede personeelsbeleid met motiverend medewerkers is essentieel. Zij hebben een goed onderzoek in de levensmiddel gedaan. De aanbod moet aantrekkelijk voor de consumenten blijven. *Ten eerste hebben ze een andere voedingspatroon. Met een verschillende bevolking en meer allochtone heeft de migratie een nieuwe voedingspatroon overgenomen.* Vlaamse koken verliest steeds meer consumenten. ORIT heeft nu een meer varied product aanbod en nieuw voeding opgenomen. *Ten tweede zijn er* nu meer kleine huishouden. Met meer 1 en 2 persoonshuishouden willen ze economische kunnen kuper (?). ORIT speelde hierin met kleine pakketten te verkopen. *Ten derde hebben mensen* vandaag minder tijd voor de boodschappen te doen daarom is gemak van grote belang. Alle boodschappen moet op een plek geburen. Mensen gaan minder vaak naar de supermarkt maar ze geven meer uit op een keer. Ze willen snel + gemakkelijk de boodschappen doen. ORIT helpt met veel parkplaatsen te hebben, de consumenten weinig tijd bij de kasse te laten wachtte, producte op logische pleke te plaatsen, zorgen dat uitgekochte producte weinig voorkomen, niet te veel verschillende varierte van de zelfde producten hebben. *Daardoor is alles* veel gemakkelijker en snelle voor de klant. Ten slotte is het inzet van alle medewerkers belangrijk om een uitstekende resultaat op nieuw in 2005 te krijgen.

D/B2/6

2004 was geen goed jaar voor de levensmiddelsector, er werd van afnemend consumentvertrouwen gesproken. Toch was het goed voor ORIT die van enorme groei heeft genoten. Dit komt vanwege een 20 jaar oude formule die op goed personeel beleid en goed onderzoek is gebaseerd. Het is belangrijk om onderzoek te doen om zich aan te kunnen passen en daarmee aantrekkelijk te blijven. Meneer Planckaert noemt de volgende drie veranderingen in het consumentengedrag:

nieuwe voedingspatronen zijn ontstaan vanwege de invoering van verschillende producten die naar Nederland zijn gekomen met migratie.

Er bestaan tegenwoordig kleinere huishoudens
mensen hebben minder tijd om boodschappen te doen.

ORIT spelen zich in op deze veranderingen en maakt de volgende veranderingen in hun winkels:

nieuwe producten worden opgenomen in het assortiment om te zorgen dat dit varieert blijft.

Het is nu mogelijk maaltijden en voedingsmiddelen in kleinere hoeveelheden verpakt te kopen

Zij zorgen ervoor dat het winkelen eenvoudig + logisch blijft zonder overbodige keuze

Hij voegt toe dat 2004 een goed jaar was met uitstekende resultaten, dankzij de inzet van alle medewerkers. En hij begint 2005 met vol vertrouwen.

D/B2/7

Beste, Hier staat mijn verslag over wat de algemeen directeur zei. De situatie van de economie bracht weinig goed nieuws, het was voorspoedig voor niemand. Er was een depressie. *Als gevolg was er* minder reserveringen voor de algemene industrie, en minder besteden in het algemeen. de belangrijkste gerealiseerde doelstellingen voor Carrent waren dat we de markt in hand kreeg en dat we groeiden tot de beste van de wereld. *Om dat te doen hebben we* nieuwe produkten geïntroduceerd en nieuwe gelegenheden begonnen in Central- en Zuid-Amerika en Oost Europa. Twee resultaten zijn dat we veel klanten van andere bedrijven hebben overgenomen en dus 7% meer autos hebben verhuurd in 2004 dan vroeger ondanks de depressie.

D/B2/8

Geachte Meneer Carranza,

Hier is wat ze heeft gezegd over de dingen die u wou even graag weten:

2004 was niet voorspoedig in het algemeen en ook in de autoverhuursector. Veel landen hebben recessies en depressies. 2004 was niet voorspoedig voor Carrent in particulier en onderneming verhuuring. Onze belangrijkste gerealiseerde doelstelling: Carrent heeft een goed markt positie in Europa, in particulier en onderneming verhuuring. Onze strategieën zijn diversificatie (nieuw markts, nieuwe produkten) en ook niets veranderen want we hebben een goed markt positie. We zijn voor 3 jaar het grootste autoverhuuring in westerlijke Europa en *in 2004 hebben we 7% autoverhuring toegenomen*.

Medewerker Caroline Meikle

D/B2/9

Hier is een verslag over de presentatie van Lisa Vandeweghe. Zij is de cursus coordinator van Management Corp, en de presentatie gaat over de thema tijd management. *Eerst heeft Lisa* verklaart wat tijd management is. De bedoeling van tijd management is je werkdag in orde te stellen zo dat je meer efficiënt kunt zijn. *Als je beter doelen stelt en de takken prioriteren, kun je* dan de tijd van de werkdag optimaal gebruiken. Lisa verklaart dat tijd management belangrijk voor iedereen is.

Volgens Lisa zijn er twee voordelen van effectieve tijd management. *Eerst maak je* een onderscheid tussen wat echt belangrijk is en wat niet zo belangrijk is. *Ook kan je* zien hoeveel tijd een bepaalde taak zal gebruiken. Lisa geeft vier handige en concrete tips. Een is dat je dagelijks een doellijst zou maken. Dat helpt want je kan alle de takken zien die je moet doen. *Dan kan je* die prioriteren zo dat je tijd genoeg de belangrijke takken te afmaken. Twee, Lisa suggert dat je een dagboek maken met blokjes van een half uur. *Dagelijks noteer*

je wat je gedaan heeft. Zo kan je zien die activiteiten te veel tijd kosten, b.v. e-mailen of telefoontjes. Drie is een tip van houdhakkers. Jij zou een grote project opdelen in kleine stukjes. Het is makkelijker een onderdeel van een project te plannen. Vier, Lisa verklaart dat veel tijd verloren is wanneer je papieren op je bureau moet vinden. Wij bewaren te veel papieren op de bureau. Bewaar alleen de takken die je direct gebruiken.

D/B2/10

Tijdsmanagement bestaat van plannen, prioriteiten te kiezen, en de onderbrokene werkdag beter te organiseren. Als men denkt dat er te weinig uren in de dag zijn, *zo kan men* bij goede tijdsmanagement optimaler en productiever werken. En onverwachte emails, collegas vzw (?) te keren. Tijdsmanagement staat voor iedereen die zijn arbeidsproductiviteit verbeteren kan. *Zeker staat de tijdsmanagement* voor allemaal. er zijn twee voordelen van tijdsmanagement, men kan tussen wichtig en unwichtig taken kiezen. Men kan ook tussen dringend en undringend taken kiezen. Davolgens is het nog makkelijker de werkdag te organiseren. Dus, vier tips op tijdsmanagement te oefenen; *Eerstens zult u* prioritere kiezen; *dus neemt U* alle taken en daarmee en lijst schrijft –de belangrijkste te eersten.

Tweedens, krijgt U een dagboek. Men kan dus de werkdag in blokjes delen, taken in ieder gedeelte invullen maar en *overzicht van de hele dag staat U* nog klaar.

De derde tip is waarme en grote project in kleine stukjes gedeelt zult worden. Men kan het hele project in het zicht laten, maar het is nodig alleen en stukje beetje beetje te doen. Er kan dus ander taken doen; e-mails, gespreken, usw. en niet het hele project ononderbrochen.

Het laatste tip bestaat uit het werkruim; *gedurende tien procent van Uw werktijd moet uw* papier lezen, en lezen nog en keer en organiseren. *Om beter en efficiënter te werken, zult U* uw bureau ruimen, en unnodige papieren verwijderen.

D/B2/11

Presentatie “Tijdsmanagement”

Tijdsmanagement betekent het optimale gebruik van uw tijd en energie binnen een bepaalde tijd. Tijdmanagement wordt bedoeld voor iedereen die hard werkt en die een overvol agenda heeft. Eén belangrijk voordeel van tijdmanagement is dat men zijn taken in “belangrijke” en “minder belangrijke” onderdelen kan. Het wordt eenvoudig te zien, wat moet als eerste gedaan worden en wat als tweede. Vier tips van belang waren gegeven:

Uw werk prioriteren. Welke taken moeten als eerste gedaan? Maak maar een doellijst.

Een agenda behouden. Schrijf op wat u gedaan heeft en notier hoeveel tijd u ervoor besteden heeft.

Gebruik de “houthakker”-methode. Als grote taken in stukken gehakt worden, dan is het eenvoudiger elke stuk te plannen.

Werkraum netjes houden. Papieren die niet meer gebruikt worden moet u weggooien. Taken die nog in gang zijn moeten binnen handbereik zijn. Deze tips helpen, want zij maken het eenvoudig, een weg door de dagelijkse taken te maken. Door gebruik van deze tips kan men stress verminderen, en zijn werktijd beter gebruiken.

D/B2/12

Tijdsmanagement

Wat is tijdsmanagement?

onze agendas blijven overvol

er is te weinig tijd om alles te doen

dit moet veranderen

wij moeten plannen en prioriteiten

de helpt van werktijd is:

-emails, telefoontjes, spoetklusjes, conversaties

dit plus afspraken bedoelt dat alleen twee uren blijft over

beschikbaar tijd moet optimaal gebruikt

Voor wie is tijdsmanagement?

iedereen die tijdsgebruik willen verbeteren

de totale functioneren

allemaal!

Voordelen van tijdmanagement.

u moet eerst doen wat werkelijk belang is

u moet tweede doen wat in het tweede plaats is

welke taken hebben korte en lange termijnen?

u moet prioriteiten stellen

u moet efficiënte tijd gebruiken zodat:

uw stress verminderd

uw agenda is goed georganiseerd

Vier belangrijke tips

Gebruik een 'doelijst'

taken in een volgorde van belangrijkheid

helpt door - u doet de belangrijkste dingen eerst

een goede doellijst doet wonderen

Gebruik een dagboek

voor enkele dagen in halfuur blokjes

schrijft wat u heeft gedaan, bv. emails, meetings, u.z.w.

helpt door – geeft een inzicht – wat u heeft gedaan en wat kost veel tijd!

u heeft een overzicht van alle taken en kan de typen van taken aanslaan

Plannen in blokken

stel uw projecten in stukjes of blokken

de behandeling van kleine stukjes is makkelijker

helpt door – doen van stukjes is beter als, is makkelijker dan de hele project

Beter gebruik van de werkruimte

85% van gebruikte papieren zijn nooit meer gebruikt

10% van de werktijd is gebruikt om papier te vinden

houdt op uw bureau wat werkelijk nodig is

ruimt uw bureau op

bv. dossiers en papieren die niet voor een maand gebruikt zijn, moet in een kast leggen

helpt door – een opruimde bureau geeft meer tijd om te werken want u gebruikt geen tijd

om actuele papieren te vinden

D/B2/13

Wat is tijdmanagement?

In de volgende zinnen zal ik uitleggen de principes van tijdmanagement.

Iedereen kan een verbeteringen in hun functioneering bereiken door gebruik te maken van 4 belangrijk "tips".

1 Prioriteren. Met dit bedoel ik een doellijst te gebruiken met de meest belangrijk doel op nummer één en dan in volgorde tot het minst belangrijk werkzaamheid. *Dus verspilt u niet uw tijd aan nutteloze taken.*

2 Dagboek. Verdeelt uw werktijd in blokjes van 30 minuten. *Dan ziet u waar uw tijd is aan besteed.* Met dit inzicht krijgt u precies te weten hoe veel tijd verliest is aan emails lezen, meetings, enz.

3 "Hout hakkers". Dit is een soort verdelen van een grote taak in meer aantrekkelijke kleine stukjes. *Dan is het ietjes meer eenvoudig.* *Met dit methode raakt u niet kwijt van de omvang van uw taak.* U ziet de resultaten.

4 Uw werkruimte. 85% van papieren + dossiers op uw bureau zijn nooit meer gebruikt. Dus weg met alles dat onnodig is. Uw versilt 10% van werktijd om papieren te vinden op een rommelige bureau. Een chaotisch werkplek hept uw productiviteit niet en geeft een slecht indruk. Dossiers en papieren moet in de kast gaan. *Dan ziet uw beter wat uw mee bezig bent.* Een andere voordeel is dat alles veel gemakkelijker te vinden is.

D/B2/14

Tijdmanagement is nodig omdat wij nu erg hard werken (originally: omdat wij werken nu erg hard), hebben veel te doen en onze agenda's zijn altijd voll –wij hebben niet genoeg tijd om alles te doen. Het kun beter worden als wij plannen en prioriteeren. De helft van onze tijd wordt gebruikt om emails te lezen, door telefoonbelletjes en tijd met kollegas. Wij hebben alleen 2 uur voor "echte" werk.

De cursus is voor idereen, die zijn tijd beter wil organiseren, en tijd en energie sparen.

Er zijn twee voordelen van tijdmanagement:

U moet onderscheiden tussen belangrijk en niet zo belangrijk. De onbelangrijker werk kun later gedaan worden. U moet beslissen welke taken korte en welke lange zijn. Het is belangrijk te weten hoeveel tijd u nodig heeft voor een bepaalde taak.

Met tijdmanagement kunt u efficiënter werken en met minder stress.

U moet prioriteren. Maak een doellijst in volgorde van belang. Doe eerst het meest belangrijkst taak.

Schrijf een dagboek. Schrijf in blokjes van half uur en schrijf wat u heeft gedaan. U kunt dan zien hoeveel tijd u verliest door emails en meetings.

Deel projects in klein stukjes. Dan is het makkelijke vordering te maken en gestructureerd te werken. Als u een project als een grote taak ziet, is het moeilijk het einde te zien.

Papierwerk kost veel tijd te organiseren, omdat wij niet altijd iets kunnen vinden. Leg alleen de papieren op buro, die U gebruikt. Dit helpt om tijd te sparen.

Wij weten dat de succes van André Hazes blijft sterk want hij trekt veel interesse nog aan: hij had een uitverkocht concert in de Amsterdam Olympische Stadium in 2002 en een prijswinnende documentaire in de bioscoop in de jaren 90.

Ik ben de grootste fan van André!

Met hartelijke groet,

Carli

D/B1/7

Karin Bloemen

De diva van divas Karin Bloemen heeft CD gemaakt die de mooiste liedjes uit haar solo shows heeft. U kunt ook naar haar nieuwste theatervoorstelling bezoeken. Al veel jaren is Karin heel bekend voor haar theaterzalen en televisieshows. zij heeft altijd hard gewerkt en houdt van haar eigen organiseren te doen. Zij doet haar eigen schrijven enz. en heeft haar eigen visie van haar werk. U kunt haar CD kopen natuurlijk maar beter eerst naar haar theatervoorstelling gaan. Daar kunt u dit 'groter van leven' diva beter verstanden en waarderen.

D/B1/8

Karin Bloemen is onwettig de Diva van Nederland. Toen de presentator Frank van der Linden vraagt tegen haar, in een radio-interview, waar zij artistiek is in haar carrière, antwoordt ze: “op de grond!” zij is zeker humoristisch maar er is een serieuze kant bij haar werk – zij wilt haar toehoorders aanraken, niet lichamelijk maar in hun geesten, op een emotioneel niveau. Karin gelooft aan de “schoonheid van het leven”, zij is een positivist. Zij aanmoedigt mensen om uit hun levens te stappen, en hun levens te vieren. Sinds zij veertien of zo was, heeft zij deze denkwijze gehad. Karin is een fantastische zangeres met een lust voor het leven. Ik raad je aan haar nieuwe cd te kopen of haar show in september te zien!

D/B1/9

De diva en haar nieuwe cd!

beste lezers, ik had vandaag de kans om met Karin Bloemen te praten – en zij is zoals altijd vol met energie!

Zij doet haar beroep nu 22 jaar en haar artistieke ontwikkeling gaat door haar uitvoering waarin zij mensen kunt aanraken. Zij voelt dat zij nog steeds als een zangeres groeit. En zij wil met haar nummer “leef” zeggen dat niemand in hetzelfde plaat in hun leven moet zitten – iedere dag is een nieuwe dag waar nieuwe beslissingen zijn mogelijk.

Voor uitdagingen heeft ze een nieuwe concert, en ze moet zichzelf bekendmaken zodat mensen haar herkent.

Voor nu is zij haar eigen zelf en zij vertelt wat zij voelt. Daarvoor vertelde zij een andere mans visie en woord.

Iedereen weet dat zij altijd het goed in leef ziet, en haar geheim is dat zij met deze attitude was geboren.

Nou, zouden jullie haar cd kopen?

Jazeker! Het geeft het bericht dat iedereen aardiger en positiever zou zijn –en dat is altijd een goed bericht. En hetzelfde voor haar theatervoorstelling –deze zijn altijd een goede, positieve avond uit!

CORPUS LEARNER ENGLISH: B1

E/B1/1

For our wedding, I booked a sailing holiday for my wife. We went to the sea in China. I found it beautiful out there. We loved the boat and each other. It was still summer and there were lots of whales. While I was taking photos a huge whale was swimming under our boat. People came to save us from the water and the animal. While we were on board in a small boat my wife was crying. We were shocked and thirsty. While we're having very cold, sweet people gave us new clothes. We thought about vacation, of course we were afraid. 2 weeks later we went back on holiday, and we liked to snowboard in Italy.

E/B1/2

Mark and Jane love sailing with the boat during their holiday, but this year it all went wrong... They were watching at sea (illegible), when suddenly a whale came to the surface, only five feet away by the boat. They saw him attacking the boat and their lost hope was to abandon the ship. While they were escaping they saw that the whale was destroying their boat. Mark and Jane had luck because there was in the little rescue boat a device which turns unhealthy water in healthy water. They lived for 2 weeks of raw fish and water and while they were eating fish, they saw a fishing boat. They made it to the boat and they went to the land. At land Mark said to Jane: "Today we had luck, but you don't want to do this again so we're going to sell all our sea devices and we go next year to Spain". What was going to be a fabulous holiday went a disastrous drama on the sea.

E/B1/3

It was all going to be great. Daddy Dirk and little Rudiger would go fishing and take some pictures of whales and stuff. They hopped on to the boat and left the port. "Oh look

overthere” said Rutiger and Dirk took a picture. They saw hundreds of wales, all different types and colours. But then in happened. A black wale, wich Dirk was calling Michiel, made the boat flip. in less than fourthy seconds the boat had fallen into the water and Dirk and Ruttiger went in the water too. Luckily they had a rubber boat wich they could sit on. After 14 hours of sitting there in the water and fishing for some food they saw a ship. They jumped and screamed so to captain would see them. He saw them and helped them on board. It all turned out good, but it will take a long time before Dirk and Ruttiger go sailing again.

E/B1/4

A little while ago, me and my husband went sailing with our new boat. We were enjoying the fresh air when we suddenly saw a whale swimming by. Peter grabbed his camera to take some pictures, but the whale didn't seem to like it, so he bumped back, but luckily we could escape with a little rubber boat. After half an hour we saw a huge cruiseship which could be our savior. The captain of the ship saw us and picked us up. After they had brought us home we thanked them and rewarded them for their help. What a day!

E/B1/5

While Sarah and Jack were on their sailing holiday, last August, they saw a group of whales. Unfortunately, the whales saw them to. They started bumping their boat. For about half an hour the whales kept bumping, untill there was a whole in it. Jack and Sarah quickly jumped into their lifeboat and grabbed something to fish and a little machine that changes sea water into drinking water. During fifty long days they caught fish and ate them raw. A lot of boats passed by, but didn't see them. Untill one day, a little boat came to them, on the big Atlantic Ocean, and picked them up. That was the end of their terrible adventure.

E/B1/6

Two people were sailing with a boat and they were having fun. They saw whales that are jumping in the sea and they were taking pictures with a camera. Even later the whale pushed to their boat and the boat fell in the sea. The two people took a little boat, the man was fishing, because they were hungry. Later the woman saw a great boat and she was taking the attention of the passengers of the great boat. The two men on the boat rescued the two people.

E/B1/7

Last summer it was very hot so me and my brother decided to go for a sailing holiday. We rented a boat and went sailing in the Atlantic Ocean. During the afternoon we saw two whales while they were playing. It was so beautiful that we took a lot of pictures. But before we realised one of the whales swam to us, and the boat capsized. Just in time me and my brother took the rubber boat and jumped in. After a while we saw a big boat appearing at the horizon. We waved and waved, but they didn't see us. For a last time we tried to shout and finally the boat turned. A few minutes later the captain welcomed us on his boat, and finally we went home.

E/B1/8

Last year, my father and I were sailing in the ocean. We saw beautiful animals while we were watching to the sea. Unfortunately, there came a storm and we felt off our boat. Fortunately there was a big ship, who helped us. We were so cold and I was scared. That was my biggest adventure of my life.

E/B1/9

Let's make time for a sailing holiday. At first you have to get a sailingship. You control of everything is okay. Then you can sailing. Anna and Tom are sitting on that ship, and they are taking pictures of the beautiful fishes. The fishes want to play with the children. And so have the children so much fun during two hours. But after so long Anna got hungry. Tom has an idea. He wants to go fishing. They'll get a sheep of rubber. Then they search some

insects to put on the top of the fish line and they're kept much fishes. But when they're finished they were lost. It took three hours before a ship of the marine found them. This was a day of their sailing holiday.

E/B1/10

It was a beautiful day for sailing. The sun was shining and it was very hot. Jandy and her father were going to sail with their new boat on the sea. While they were looking at the whales that were dancing one of them did not like it that they were looking and he became very angry. He was furious so he hit the boat and it started to sink. But they had a safety boat with them so they started to blow up the boat and climbed into the airboat. It was hopeless there was nobody and they stayed for many hours in the boat. After hours there was a fishboat. They jumped and swam to the boat. They climbed into the boat and there they got food and hot milk. They were safe now and the boat sailed to the town and the people brought them home.

E/B1/11

During the holiday, me and my father went sailing. Every year it was a success but this year everything went wrong. While we were at sea we saw a whale. He was heading our way. He flipped our boat around. Thank god we had a rescue boat. After two long hours we saw a boat. At first he didn't see us but when I waved he saw us and rescued us.

CORPUS LEARNER ENGLISH: B2

E/B2/1

Once upon a time there was a very old and ugly spinster who lived in a small hovel in the middle of a forest. She had a gaint wart on her nose and wore dirty clothes. On a day, a young postman came by. He had a letter for the spinster. He knocked on the door, but nobody answered. He knocked again. Finally, the old woman opened the door.

"What do you want, you impudent kid?"

"I'm here because I have a letter for you." answered the postman

"From who is it?"

"It's from one Miss Carot from Dublin"

"Never heard of" and she closed the door. The postman knocked again.

"I will shove the letter under your door." The spinster opened the door again while the postman sat on his knees.

"You know what? Come inside and have a cup of soup, fresh nettlesoup."

"Okay, why not?" answered the mand and walked into the small hovel. The time goes by, until suddenly the old woman came back from her kitchen with a knife in her hand.

"I like soup" she said

"Me too" answered the postman while he was eating the delicious nettlesoup. That were the last words he ever said.

E/B2/2

Once about a time there was a husband and a wife. They were very long together, they had married almost 10 years ago. but the wife, she had a problem. She was full of greed, she would do anything for money. And because she had abused her position as an assistant a few years ago to steal money, she can't find work anymore. Her husband controls the money, because of her "little" problem. If she has money in her hands, she buys all kind of gems.

It was almost their wedding anniversary, and she came up with a good idea. "Why don't we celebrate our wedding anniversary with a party?" "And our present would be an ice-statue with us on it" The husband agreed: "We're only once 10 years married" And he organised the party; friends and family were invited, the ice-statue was ordered, everything would be perfect.

At the day of the party the ice-statue had arrived. The guests were expected at 5. That was only two hours away. So the wife puts on her dress, puts on make-up and she was ready. Her husband also started dressing him up. But after his back, his wife takes the statue and hits her husband on the head; he was dead. The wife puts the statue back on its place and turns up the heat. The doorbell, she runs outside and starts to scream: "A burglar killed my husband." The police arrives, but they just can't find the murder weapon. The guests were drinking a lot, because it was so warm. In the mean time, the murder weapon was destroyed. Now her husband is dead, she controls the money, but not only that, she also gets a widow's pension now.

E/B2/3

It's Christmas Eve and John Mills is making himself ready to make the children of the small village Smallville happy. He dresses himself into Santa and he puts all the presents from the parents to their sons and daughters in his bag. He gets in the car and drives to the town hall because that's where the children are waiting.

But on his way to the town hall something unusual happens. It's really dark and there are no lanterns on the side of the road and twenty meters in front of him suddenly two lights of a car got on and they crashed in together. John flies out of the car and falls on the road. He can't get up because he's in a lot of pain. A few seconds later John hears someone coming and the man stops where his head is. "Help" John groans. The man doesn't say anything, takes out a gun and shoots John in the head. The Santa of Smallville is dead.

After an hour the people in the town hall couldn't wait anymore and went to look after Santa and on the way to his house they found him laying dead on the road with a whole in his head. They immediately called the police but the mystery was never solved.

E/B2/4

In 1992 there was a little girl; her name was Katie. She had a brother called Bart. Katie and Bart were still very young, not older than 10 years. It was July the 3rd when their parents were going on a date. They arranged a babysitter. At seven o'clock the babysitter arrived. Kelly was her name; she was seventeen years old. Now that the parents were gone, she asked the children what they wanted to do. She was very nice. They played games and watched some TV. At eleven o'clock the children had to go to bed, so she tucked them in. The babysitter was downstairs when the phone rang. A scary voice said: "Shouldn't you go check the children if they're still alright?" Kelly was scared and went step by step up the stairs. She was quiet and listened with her ears against the door. She didn't hear a thing. She went downstairs again and put the TV on a music channel. Two minutes later the phone rang again. There was that scary voice again and it said: "If I was you I would really go check the children if they're still alright. Kelly didn't know what to do because she was very scared. She went the stairs up again and entered the room very slowly and quietly. She saw that the window was open so she ran up to it and closed it. She looked at the children and saw the faces, she whispered. "Katie, Bart, ..." There was no response. She went up to the bed and when she pulled the blanket away she saw...

E/B2/5

It was twelve o'clock in the evening. When Ellen was taking a bath the bell rang. Ellen was a girl, her age was twenty-two, who loved cooking, doing her job and going out with some friends. She had long blond hair, blue eyes, a little nose, and beautiful legs. All the men fell in love with her. She had a nice character, was friendly to everybody and loved to help everybody. She was someone who was very punctual. But she was a little bit rare because she believed in magic.

She stood up, dried herself with a large towel, got dressed and walked to the door. Before opening the door she thought of something. She didn't expect somebody this late. Now the person knocked at the door, harder and harder. She decided to run away through the backdoor. But it was already too late. The front door "flew" open and a man walked in the hall. The man was strangely dressed and his face was (illegible) red. Actually his whole body. Ellen thought it was a rash but in her "backhead" a little voice said: "it's magic, it's a demon".

And actually she remembered something. She already had seen this demon in a book in the attic. The book called: The book of shadows. The demon his name was kidnapper of the souls. The book said that it was a demon who kidnapped the souls of mortal people because those souls give him power. The demon walked forwards and suddenly made a strange move. It was precisely as if he inhaled the air, but in reality he inhaled Ellen's soul. Ellen fell down and didn't move anymore. She was dead. The next day the body was found by a friend of her. He called the police and tried to know how she died, but he didn't know how. She had no wounds or nothing like that.

E/B2/6

It was upon a dark evening when Peter and Sally were riding with their new car. They were married two months ago and Peter had bought a beautiful expensive car. Suddenly it started raining. They were driving on a deserted road and for many miles around them there was nothing but the pale colour of the fields. "We are very close to the old forest" Sally said, "I think we better go home" The Old Forest was a place that had passed into legend. Nobody had the courage to go into that forest. Parents told strange stories about it to their children because they didn't want them to go that way. Sally also grew up in this place and she knew the stories. Peter lived more south in the mountains so he wasn't very scared of it. Suddenly a fierce light blinded Peter and he crashed the car. Fortunately they both weren't hurt. But there they stood then. In the rain with no mobile phone, miles and miles away from the nearest village and only a hundred yards away from the Old Forest. On the borders of the Old Forest stood up, a little house, made of wood. They went there, thinking they could spend the night out there. Suddenly it all came too fast for Peter. When he opened the door, he heard a scream. He looked up and saw a body, hanging on a meat hook. Sally fell on the ground. The only thing that she heard before she passed out was Peter, saying: "Damn, that light wasn't there for nothing..."

E/B2/7

In England there were three friends who decided to go on camping in a scary forest. When they were sitting in the car listening to the news they heard there was a prisoner escaped

from jail. They were a little scared because that jail was not so far away from the places they will spend the night so they look a little further from the places they had chosen.

Suddenly the car stopt in the middle of the rode, they tried to start the engine, but it wouldn't start. Jhon said: "look I now what the problem is. Look to the gasmeter!" Than they remember that they forgot to tank. None of them want to go to the gasstation, so they played a game called "leaf, stone and scissors". The loser of the game Jhon had to go on gas. When he stapped out of the car he saw there was fog on the road.

When Jhon arrived at the gasstation there was nobody; he filled the jerry can and went back to the car. After 5 minutes walking he heard some voyses and footstaps: he was a little scarried sow he stept quicklier. When he arrived at the car his friends were disapered, he called and called there names but didn't get an answer. In the car he saw a on the steering wheel some blood, that blood made a spur to the forrest. He called the police and the next morning they arrived whit an investigation team. They search thil the evening but they didn't found the body's. never nauone nows what happened.

E/B2/8

Ah, Britain: the land of green grass, cosy inns, lovely cars, big pints of beer, tea time, and breakfast. At least, that's what I see when I think about the Big Island. But let's go downtown in one of the major cities, the lovely (read: dodgy) Manchester. In the home of Man. United, the houses are so tiny there's not even enough oxigen for one family. So when you walk the filthy streets, you can see little girls sitting on the treshold, playing with their dolls. Well, the little girls don't really mind –maybe their lungs do because of the polluting traffic, but what about the 16-year-old, greasy hair, ultra-soft moustache boys? Well, they go outside, hanging around parks, plaza's, sometimes trailer parks. They grow up with the thought to study and to work is to waste time. They learn that philosophy from their fathers and so on... Because why would one work! You can get a wage by doing... nothing! Isn't that easy? The pleasure of boycotting the system. But let's not change the subject, we were talking about what's officially defined as crime here. So, the pubers, they stick together and in order to have a little excitement in their boring lives, they start pickpocketing old ladies or stealing gadgets in stores. They move themselves around in buses for free, 'till the busdriver gets mad. Therefore they go outside the bus, grab a little rock and "kling!", throw it through a

window. That's just one example of what they might do against boredom. Do you think these boys are criminals who should be locked away along with their fellowers of fortune? Or are they victims of society, who should get helped. See it for yourself, think about it, develop a statement.

E/B2/9

He didn't have any friends, never got mocked either. People just left him alone, out of fear, probably. He was a genius, but he didn't care at all. His mother tried to help him by sending him to a psychiatrist, but he didn't trust strangers. In his dreams he danced with the dead, and every day the war in his head was raging louder and harder. He never showed what he felt, he burried his feelings. He never fell in love, he hated and rejected the whole, disgusting human race.

On a regular monday, he went to school, as usual, everyone ignored him and he ignored everyone. Noone dared to speak to him, except that monday.

"Hello, who are you?" the new student asked. The other students were terrified because they knew talking to him wasn't a smart thing to do. But he didn't do anything, even his face didn't express a sign of rage or disgust. The next day the new student finally understood what was going on and didn't talk to him anymore. Weeks past by and he still didn't have his revenge, but there was something going on in his head, there was a lot going on in his head, as always. One evening he decided to make his dream come true, the dream that had been his goal since that arrogant bastard dared to talk to him. He was going to kill that stupid boy. The next day, after school, he followed the "new" student, on the way home. When they were walking in the woods he ran and came to stand before that little daredevil. He took his knife, "what, why?" the bastard screamed. But he didn't say anything. He cut the boy's throat and went home immediatly. Nobody ever knew who had killed that poor boy, except his fellow students, but they didn't dare to tell anything...

E/B2/10

Lisa was doing the laundry while Jack was playing with his new toys. Yesterday was his birthday and he had a lot of new things like a race-car and a few other things boys get on

their 5th birthday. Marie –she was already 13 years old- was outside on the street with her friends John and Lucy. She was never at home, always hanging out with friends. Lisa was married to Steve, father of Jack, Marie and Alex, the oldest boy which was 18. Steve was working and Alex was sleeping after a wild night out.

It was always a happy family, but on the next day it went wrong.

Steve had to do some things for work so he would be late. Lisa knew this so she cooked dinner for her and the kids; Steve had to make something himself when he came home.

After dinner, Jack went to bed. Marie was reading a book on her bed and Alex was working in the garage on his new car. Lisa went also to bed. When it was ten past nine Alex came inside, his girlfriend had called, she broke up with him. First, he was very calm, but after ten minutes he was so mad! He went to his mother's room, but she was already asleep. He screamed that she had to wake up but she didn't. He took a knife and pushed it 1 time, 2 times, 3 times, even 4 times into her body. One last scream and he ran out of the house. Jack and Marie were so afraid they ran up the stairs, to the attic.

Later that night, Steve came home. He knew his wife would be asleep so he went to the bedroom. He found his wife in bed, dead... He screamed the childrens names, only 2 came from the attic. They did the whole story and Steve went out looking for Alex. It was midnight.

Steve ran in the wood, following the blood. After that night, nobody saw Steve or Alex back.

E/B2/11

Mrs Podevijn and Mr De Doncker were very happy together, at least, she thought they were. But the last few days, Mr De Doncker came very late home. It was a bit strange because he was always right on time. So she asked her husband about it. "Why are you coming so late home the last days?" she asked very quietly. "Problems at work, darling!" he answered very convincingly. But still she wouldn't believe him. So she decided to follow him the next day to work. So she did and followed Mr De Doncker. He really went straight to his work. She thought by herself: "Don't act so silly! He's telling the truth!" And she went home. But that day, he didn't get home and she was really worried. "Maybe he's got an accident or he really has problems on his work. She decided to look after him and went first to his work. All the

lights in the buildings were out, except one light. So Mrs Podevijn went upstairs to take a (illegible) look. There she saw him, lying on the floor with his boss! Oh no! Her husband was gay!! She was so shocked that she couldn't move her body. It can't be real! Maybe she was dreaming but she wouldn't wake up when she hit herself in the face so it wasn't a dream!

DATABASE LEARNER DUTCH

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

	level	transfer?
dat iedereen aardiger en positiever zou zijn	B1	n
dat ik de winnaar bent	B1	n
dat Karin Bloemen's ideeën en gevoelens bekend maak	B1	n
dat men moet doorgaan	B1	n
dat niemand in hetzelfde plaat in hun leven moet zitten	B1	n
dat zij met deze attitude was geboren.	B1	n
dat zij nog steeds als een zangeres groeit	B1	n
de lezers van dit maandblad deze toonstuk zullen genieten	B1	n
die de mooiste liedjes uit haar solo shows heeft	B1	n
die op de website stond	B1	n
die prijzen hebben gewonnen.	B1	n
die won prijzen	B1	n
die zijn talent heeft gezien	B1	n
een emotioneel niveau bereiken	B1	n
en daar zijn levenslied zong	B1	n
en hun levens te vieren	B1	n
haar eigen organiseren te doen	B1	n
haar nieuwe cd te kopen	B1	n
haar show in september te zien!	B1	n
om haar te zien	B1	n
om met Karin Bloemen te praten	B1	n
om risico's te nemen	B1	n
om uit hun levens te stappen,	B1	n
Sinds zij veertien of zo was	B1	n
Toen hij 8 jaar was	B1	n
toen hij achter de bar werkte	B1	n
toen hij Tim Griek ontmoete	B1	n
waar zij artistiek is in haar carrière,	B1	n
wanneer hij acht jaar oud was	B1	n
wanneer hij met producent Tim Griek begon te werken	B1	n
wanneer Tim Griek zijn produceur was	B1	n
wat zij voelt	B1	n
zodat mensen haar herkent	B1	n
dat de succes van André Hazes blijft sterk	B1	y
dat zij is serieus over haar werk maar niet statig	B1	y
die heeft haar dromen en talent gerealiseerd op een wat diepere niveau	B1	y
die straalt uit	B1	y
en kwam in de bioscoop	B1	y
Toen de presentator Frank van der Linden vraagt tegen haar,	B1	y
waar nieuwe beslissingen zijn mogelijk	B1	y

wanneer de plaatmaatschappij heeft alle zijn albums weer uitgebracht	B1	y
die op verschillende markten nu aangeboden worden.	B2	n
om economisch eenheid te krijgen door verpakking	B2	n
om eventuele verliezen op te vangen.	B2	n
tijd om boodschappen te doen	B2	n
, die zijn tijd beter wil organiseren	B2	n
, producte op logische pleke te plaatsen,	B2	n
Als grote taken in stukken gehakt worden	B2	n
Als u een project als een grote taak ziet	B2	n
als wij plannen en prioriteeren	B2	n
dat 2004 een goed jaar was met uitstekende resultaten	B2	n
dat alles veel gemakkelijker te vinden is.	B2	n
dat de producten die zij aanbieden gevaarieerd zal zijn	B2	n
dat de tariven –internationaal, nationaal en plaatselijk- voor autoverhuur dalden	B2	n
dat dit variëert blijft.	B2	n
dat en onderneeming kan bouwen op en gemotiveerde medewerking	B2	n
dat er te weinig uren in de dag zijn	B2	n
dat het aanbod in de supermarkten aantrekkelijk blijft voor de consument	B2	n
dat het winkelen eenvoudig + logisch blijft	B2	n
dat je dagelijks een doellijst zou maken	B2	n
dat je een dagboek maken met blokjes van een half uur	B2	n
dat konsumenten snel en eenvoudig boodschappen kan doen	B2	n
dat men zijn taken in “belangrijke” en “minder belangrijke” onderdelen kan	B2	n
dat onnodig is	B2	n
dat successvol onderneemen een doordachte formule vraagt	B2	n
dat tijd management belangrijk voor iedereen is.	B2	n
dat veel tijd verloren is wanneer je papieren op je bureau moet vinden	B2	n
dat we de markt in hand kreeg	B2	n
dat we groeiden tot de beste van de wereld	B2	n
dat we veel klanten van andere bedrijven hebben overgenomen	B2	n
dat zij een mindere brochure moeten schrijven	B2	n
dat zij een mindere brochure volgende week zullen schrijven en uitzenden	B2	n
de consumenten weinig tijd bij de kasse te laten wachtte	B2	n
de je moet doen	B2	n
de werkdag te organiseren	B2	n
die activiteiten te veel tijd kosten	B2	n
die een overvol agenda heeft.	B2	n
die je direct gebruiken	B2	n
die niet meer gebruikt worden	B2	n
die niet voor een maand gebruikt zijn	B2	n
die nog in gang zijn	B2	n
die op goed personeel beleid en goed onderzoek is baseert	B2	n
die U gebruikt	B2	n
die van enorme groei heeft genoten.	B2	n
die zij aanbieden	B2	n
die zij ondernemen heeft	B2	n

die zijn arbeidsproductiviteit verbeteren kan	B2	n
dus 7% meer autos hebben verhuurd in 2004 dan vroeger ondanks de depressie.	B2	n
een doellijst te gebruiken	B2	n
een onderdeel van een project te plannen	B2	n
eenvoudig te zien,	B2	n
en de onderbrokene werkdag beter te organiseren	B2	n
gestructureerd te werken	B2	n
hoeveel tijd een bepaalde taak zal gebruiken	B2	n
je werkdag in orde te stellen	B2	n
klaar te zijn voor het omzwaai van het markt	B2	n
met kleine pakketen te verkopen	B2	n
met veel parkplaatsen te hebben,	B2	n
niet te veel verschillende varierte van de zelfde producten hebben.	B2	n
om alles te doen	B2	n
Om beter en efficiënter te werken	B2	n
Om dat te doen	B2	n
om een uitstekende resultaat op nieuw in 2005 te krijgen	B2	n
om emails te lezen	B2	n
om ervoor te zorgen	B2	n
om geld uit te geven	B2	n
Om het sneller en gemakelijk te maaken	B2	n
om hun bedrijf te verbeteren	B2	n
om op deze veranderingen in te spelen	B2	n
om te boodschappen	B2	n
om te zorgen	B2	n
om zich aan te kunnen passen en daarmee aantrekkelijk te blijven	B2	n
omdat de klanten over het nieuwe faxtoestel moeten geïnformeerd zijn	B2	n
omdat wij nu erg hard werken	B2	n
onze agenda's zijn altijd voll	B2	n
op tijdsmanagement te oefenen	B2	n
over die werd gesproken	B2	n
over wat de algemeen directeur zei	B2	n
papieren te vinden op een rommelige bureau	B2	n
prioriteiten te kiezen,	B2	n
producten die naar Nederland zijn gekomen	B2	n
van plannen,	B2	n
verpackingen kleiner te maken	B2	n
voor iedereen die hard werkt	B2	n
vordering te maken	B2	n
waar bij gemak voor de klant en belangrijke plats in neemt	B2	n
waar ze heel trots zijn	B2	n
waarme en grote project in kleine stukjes gedeelt zult worden	B2	n
wat in het tweede plaats is	B2	n
wat je gedaan heeft	B2	n
wat u heeft gedaan	B2	n
wat werkelijk belang is	B2	n

wat ze heeft gezegd	B2	n
wij niet altijd iets kunnen vinden	B2	n
zich makkelijk op marktomstandigheden aan te passen	B2	n
zo dat je meer efficient kunt zijn	B2	n
zorgen dat uitgekochte producte weinig voorkomen,	B2	n
dat alleen twee uren blijft over	B2	y
dat alles blijft aantrekkelijk voor de consument	B2	y
dat de zending is veg	B2	y
dat een goed personels beleid en motiverende medewerkers zijn en setiele	B2	y
dat je tijd genoeg de belangrijke takken te afmaken	B2	y
die u wou even graag weten	B2	y
hebben veel te doen	B2	y
omdat immigratie heeft een invloed gehad over producten	B2	y
wat kost veel tijd	B2	y
wat moet als eerste gedaan worden	B2	y

INVERSION

	level	transfer?
in 2001 EMI gaf hem	B1	y
Hieronder vinden jullie	B1	n
in de zomer van 2002 was er	B1	n
Ten eerste, begint zij	B1	n
Met die nieuwe risico's kan zij	B1	n
Sinds zij veertien of zo was, heeft zij	B1	n
Voor uitdagingen heet ze	B1	n
Voor nu is zij	B1	n
Daarvoor vertelde zij	B1	n
Toen hij 8 jaar was, was André Hazes	B1	n
Toen de presentator Frank van der Linden vraagt tegen haar, in een radio-interview, waar zij artistiek is in haar carrière, antwoord ze	B1	n
Al veel jaren is Karin	B1	n
Vol vertrouwen gaan we	B2	n
Zoals gewenst zal ik	B2	n
In 2004 was er	B2	n
Ten eerste hebben ze	B2	n
Met een verschillende bevolking en meer allochtone heeft de migratie	B2	n
Ten tweede zijn er	B2	n
Ten derde hebben mensen	B2	n
Daardoor is alles	B2	n
Als gevolg was er	B2	n
Om dat te doen hebben we	B2	n
in 2004 hebben we	B2	n
Eerst heeft Lisa	B2	n

Als je beter doelen stelt en de takken prioriteren, kun je	B2	n
Eerst maak je	B2	n
Ook kan je	B2	n
Dan kan je	B2	n
Dagelijks noteer je	B2	n
zo kan men	B2	n
Eerstens zult u	B2	n
dus neemt U	B2	n
Tweedens, krijgt U	B2	n
overzicht van de hele dag staat U	B2	n
gedurende tien procent van Uw werktijd moet uw	B2	n
Om beter en efficiënter te werken, zult U	B2	n
In de volgende zinnen zal ik	B2	n
Dus verspilt u	B2	n
Dan ziet u	B2	n
Dan is het	B2	n
Met dit methode raakt u	B2	n
Dan ziet uw	B2	n
Zeker staat de tijdsmanagement	B2	n

DATABASE LEARNER ENGLISH

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

	level	transfer?
Now her husband is dead	B2	n
Now that the parents were gone,	B2	n
When he opened the door	B2	n
When he stepped out of the car	B2	n
When Jhon arrived at the gasstation	B2	n
After 5 minutes walking	B2	n
When he arrived at the car	B2	n
When it was ten past nine	B2	n
when she hit herself in the face	B2	n
because I have a letter for you.	B2	n
while the postman sat on his knees	B2	n
until suddenly the old woman came back from her kitchen with a knife in her hand	B2	n
while he was eating the delicious nettlesoup.	B2	n
he ever said	B2	n
And because she had abused her position as an assistant a few years ago	B2	n
If she has money in her hands,	B2	n
dressing him up	B2	n
because it was so warm	B2	n
to make the children of the small village smallville happy	B2	n
because that's were the children are waiting	B2	n
because he's in a lot of pain.	B2	n
when there parents were going on a date	B2	n
when the phone rang	B2	n
because she was verry scared	B2	n
when she pulled the blanket away	B2	n
to help everybody	B2	n
because she believed in magic	B2	n
to run away thru the backdoor	B2	n
who kidnapped the souls of mortle people	B2	n
precisly of he inhaled the air	B2	n
to know	B2	n
when Peter and Sally were riding with there new car	B2	n
we better go home	B2	n
that had pass into legend	B2	n
to go into that forest	B2	n
because they didn't wanted them to go that way	B2	n
made of wood	B2	n
thinking they could spend the night out there	B2	n
hanging on a meat hook	B2	n
that she heard	B2	n

to go on camping in a scary forrest	B2	n
When they were sitting in the car	B2	n
there was a prisonar escaped from jail	B2	n
because that jail was not so far away from the places	B2	n
they had chosen	B2	n
that they forgot to tank	B2	n
what happened	B2	n
there's not even enough oxigen for one family	B2	n
to study and to work is to waste time	B2	n
what's officially defined as crime	B2	n
in order to have a little excitement in their boring lives	B2	n
be locked away along with their fellowers of fortune	B2	n
who should get helped	B2	n
by sending him to a psychiatrist	B2	n
what he felt	B2	n
wasn't a smart thing to do	B2	n
what was going on	B2	n
that had been his goal	B2	n
When they were walking in the woods	B2	n
who had killed that poor boy	B2	n
while Jack was playing with his new toys	B2	n
things boys get on their 5 birthday	B2	n
which was 18	B2	n
when he came home	B2	n
they ran up the stairs	B2	n
looking for Alex	B2	n
following the blood	B2	n
strange because he was always right on time.	B2	n
to follow him the next day to work	B2	n
to look after him	B2	n
to take a (illegible) look	B2	n
lying on the floor with his boss	B2	n
that she couldn't move her body	B2	n
who lived in a small hovel in the middle of a forest	B2	n
course we were afraid	B1	n
to snowboard in Italy	B1	n
sailing with the boat during their holiday	B1	n
when suddenly a whale came to the surface	B1	n
him attacking the boat	B1	n
While they were escaping	B1	n
that the whale was destroying there boat	B1	n
because there was in the little rescue boat a device	B1	n
which turns unhealthy water in healthy water	B1	n
What was going to be a fabulas holiday	B1	n
wich Dirk was calling Michiel	B1	n
wich they could sit on	B1	n

hours of sitting there in the water and fishing for some food	B1	n
before Dirk and Ruttiger go sailing again	B1	n
when we suddenly saw a whale swimming by	B1	n
to take some pictures	B1	n
which could be our savior	B1	n
While Sarah and Jack were on their sailing holiday	B1	n
bumping their boat	B1	n
untill there was a whole in it	B1	n
that are jumping in the sea	B1	n
because they had hungry	B1	n
while they were playing	B1	n
that we took a lot of pictures	B1	n
a big boat appearing at the horizon	B1	n
to shout	B1	n
while we were watching to the sea.	B1	n
who helpt us	B1	n
of everything is okay	B1	n
to put on the top of the fish line	B1	n
when they're finished	B1	n
While we were at sea	B1	n
for sailing	B1	n
that they were looking	B1	n
to blew up the boat	B1	n
when I waved	B1	n
While I was taking photos	B1	n
While we were on board in a small boat	B1	n
While we're having very cold,	B1	n
whille they were eating fish,	B1	n
After they had brought us home	B1	n
whill they were looking at the wales	B1	n
before a sheep of the marine found them	B1	n

INVERSION

	level	transfer?
"Oh look overthere" said Rutiger	B1	n
For our wedding, I booked	B1	n
While I was taking photos a huge whale was	B1	n
While we were on board in a small boat my wife was crying	B1	n
2 weeks later we went	B1	n
whille they were eating fish, they saw	B1	n
in less than fourthy seconds the boat had fallen	B1	n
A little while ago, me and my husband went	B1	n
After half an hour we saw	B1	n

After they had brought us home we thanked them	B1	n
last August, they saw	B1	n
Unfortunately, the whales saw	B1	n
For about half an hour the whales kept	B1	n
During fifty long days they caught	B1	n
Even later the whale pushed	B1	n
Later the woman saw	B1	n
During the afternoon we saw	B1	n
But before we realised one of the whales swam to us	B1	n
Just in time me and my brother took	B1	n
After a while we saw	B1	n
For a last time we tried	B1	n
A few minutes later the captain welcomed	B1	n
finally we went	B1	n
Last year, my father and I were sealing	B1	n
Unfortunately, there came	B1	n
Fortunately there was	B1	n
At first you have to	B1	n
Then you can	B1	n
After hours there was	B1	n
During the holiday, me and my father went	B1	n
Every year it was	B1	n
After two long hours we saw	B1	n
At first he didn't see	B1	n
when I waved he saw	B1	n
While we're having very cold, sweet people gave us	B1	n
While we were at sea we saw	B1	n
At land mark said to Jane	B1	n
"..." answered the postman	B2	n
Once upon a time there was	B2	n
On a day, a young postman came by	B2	n
Finally, the old woman opened	B2	n
"Okay, why not?" answered the man	B2	n
Once about a time there was	B2	n
At the day of the party the ice-statue had arrived	B2	n
But after his back, his wife	B2	n
In the mean time, the murder weapon was destroyed	B2	n
Now her husband is dead, she controls	B2	n
But on his way to the town hall something unusual happens	B2	n
suddenly two lights of a car got on	B2	n
A few seconds later John hears	B2	n
After an hour the people in the town hall couldn't wait	B2	n
In 1992 there was	B2	n
At seven o'clock the babysitter arrived	B2	n
Now that the parents were gone, she asked	B2	n
Two minutes later the phone rang	B2	n

The next day the body was	B2	n
Suddenly it started	B2	n
"We are very close to the old forest" Sally said	B2	n
Suddenly a fierce light blinded	B2	n
Furtunately they both weren't	B2	n
Suddenly it all came	B2	n
When he opened the door, he heard	B2	n
In England there were	B2	n
Suddenly the car stopt	B2	n
When he stapped out of the car he saw	B2	n
When Jhon arrived at the gasstation there was	B2	n
After 5 minutes walking he heard	B2	n
When he arrived at the car his friends were disapered	B2	n
In the car he saw	B2	n
In the home of Man. United, the houses are	B2	n
Therefore they go	B2	n
In his dreams he danced	B2	n
and every day the war in his head was raging	B2	n
On a regular monday, he went	B2	n
"Hello, who are you?" the new student asked	B2	n
The next day the new student finally understood	B2	n
One evening he decided	B2	n
The next day, after school, he followed	B2	n
"what, why?" the bastard screamed	B2	n
When it was ten past nine Alex came	B2	n
First, he was	B2	n
after ten minutes he was	B2	n
Later that night, Steve came	B2	n
After that night, nobody saw	B2	n
But the last few days, Mr De Doncker came	B2	n
"Problems at work, darling!" he answered	B2	n
But still she wouldn't	B2	n
But that day, he didn't get home	B2	n
Maybe she was dreaming	B2	n
After dinner, Jack went	B2	n