Temporality in L2 Spanish:
An investigation of the expression of temporality in the narrative discourse of Spanish L2 learners

by Kènia Puig i Planella, MA
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies

A thesis submitted to Dublin City University in candidacy for the degree of PhD

Supervisor Dr Bill Richardson
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies,
Dublin City University

September 2004
Declaration

I hereby certify that this material which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: [Signature]
ID No.: 00145405
Date: [Date]
Acknowledgements

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Abstract

The general objective of this research study is the investigation of the development of the expression of temporality in Second Language Acquisition. In particular, this study examines the acquisition process by native English speakers who are second languages learners of Spanish. Temporality is examined as it is manifested in the oral narration of events by these learners. The theoretical argument behind the research is based on linguistic relativity and "thinking for speaking" theories which consider how different languages deal with the linguistic coding of certain concepts, such as time and space, and the influence of linguistic forms on speakers' perceptions and cognitive development of these concepts. The present study aims to answer the following question:

If the language they speak influences the manner in which speakers conceptualise temporal relations, will learners of a second language adopt the cognitive strategies and styles of the native speakers to refer to events in time, as their Interlanguage develops to approximate the target language? Specifically, will second language learners of Spanish adopt the patterns of temporal expression in narrative discourse, typical of Spanish native speakers? To answer this question standard qualitative and quantitative methods of research used in applied linguistics are utilized.
List of abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used

ACT activity
A advanced
ANT anteronty
COMP completive
COND Conditional
FUT Future
I Intermediate
IMPER Imperative
INC inchoative
IPFV imperfective
ITE iterative
NN Nearnative
PAST PERF Past Perfect
PFV perfective
POST posteriority
PRES Present
PROG progressive
SIM simultaneity
STA states
SUBJ subjunctive
TAC Temporal adverb of contrast
TAD Temporal adverb of duration
TAP Temporal adverb of position
TAQ Temporal adverb of frequency
TEL telic
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Introduction

The general goal of this study is twofold. On the one hand we examine proposals related to the issue of linguistic relativity and on the other hand we investigate the acquisition of Spanish as a second language. In particular this investigation focuses on the development of the expression of temporality in the acquisition of Spanish as a second language amongst native English speakers.

The terms “Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis” and linguistic relativity refer to proposals which examine whether and how much language influences thought. In a modified version of the “Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis”, Slobin (1991) argues in favour of a special type of thinking activated in the processes of speaking. Slobin refers to this process as “thinking for speaking”. He argues that in the course of acquiring a particular language a person develops a particular “framework for schematising experience” (1991:7). Since each language has its own particular grammatical structure, Slobin hypothesises that when we present events in any language, we have to take a grammaticised point of view to fit the information we want to convey into the particular structure of the language we speak. Researchers in this area have argued that these distinctions and concepts, which are learned through language, are exceptionally difficult to be retrained in the process of acquiring a second language. Up until recently, these proposals and their implications in the L2 learning process have been largely ignored in the field of second language acquisition research. The present study is an attempt to contribute to the emerging body of research in this area. The investigation of the development of the expression of temporality, a conceptual domain subject to linguistic encoding, offers us the opportunity to assess the validity of these proposals.

While the last few years have seen an increase in the number of studies which address L2 acquisition of temporality, these studies have tended to focus on the acquisition of morphology. However, in order to capture the way in which L2 learners will gradually code and express temporal relations, it does not suffice to focus on just one level of analysis. The expression of temporality rests as much on the interaction between tense and aspect as it does on temporal adverbials and subordinate temporal clauses. As in L1, temporal information is conveyed both at the sentence level and the discourse level.
L2 learners have to acquire the appropriate knowledge to convey temporal information in grammatically well formed sentences, situate them in time and in relation to one another. With this in mind, the present study examines how temporality is expressed in the narrative discourse of Spanish L2 learners. We examine the ways in which the increasing mastery of the linguistic devices available for the expression of temporal relations enables these learners to expand their repertoire of strategies and achieve the same level of competency displayed by native speakers.

Several key terms appear throughout this study. Firstly, while some researchers contrast acquisition and learning, where the first represents "unconscious" learning (Lightbown and Spada 1993), these terms are used interchangeably in the present study. Secondly, the phrase Second Language Learning, has been defined in different ways by scholars. The term often refers to cases in which the target language plays a role in the community. Ellis (1994:2) defines the learning of a foreign language as learning that takes place primarily in the classroom. For the present study, and taking into consideration the learning experiences of the participating subjects, we follow Ellis and many other authors in employing the term second language learning as a term that encompasses both types of learning (Lafford and Salaberry 2003). Finally, in the course of this dissertation we refer to the “Frog Stories” or the “narratives”. It is important to note that for the purpose of this study we take the two terms “narrative” and "story" to be interchangeable.

The study is presented as follows: Chapter One provides the theoretical background for the study. The chapter begins by briefly introducing some philosophical and cultural considerations around the issue of time. Following these, the proposals of linguistic relativity and “thinking for speaking” are introduced. The chapter continues by considering the acquisition of temporality in first and second language, drawing primarily on previous research. In this section, a particular emphasis is placed on studies of Spanish L2 acquisition of temporality. Finally, the chapter concludes by introducing some considerations around the nature of narrative discourse.

Chapter Two describes the means by which English and Spanish express temporal concepts and temporal relations between events. This contrastive analysis outlines the
differences between the two languages. In turn, this allows us to identify the problems faced by the English L1 learner of Spanish. An example of this is the lack of correspondence of aspectual distinctions.

Chapter Three presents the methodology chosen to address the goal of the study. The methodological issues considered are related to the design of the data elicitation procedure, sample selection, framework of analysis and procedure and data analysis.

The results of the research are presented in Chapter Four. The findings are presented in detail according to the level of proficiency of the learners. This allows us to identify and describe the general features of the interlanguage of the subjects in relation to the expression of temporality.

Chapter Five presents an evaluation and discussion of the findings anticipated in the previous chapter. Conclusions are offered in relation to the development of the expression of temporality in the narrative discourse of Spanish L2 learners. Finally, linguistic relativity and “thinking for speaking” proposals and their relevance to second language learning are discussed in the light of these findings.
Chapter One
Theoretical Framework
1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical background against which the present research study is conducted. The chapter begins by exploring the concepts of time and temporality. Following this, the concepts of linguistic relativity and "thinking for speaking" are introduced. Studies designed to test the validity of these hypotheses are then reviewed. The chapter continues by providing background information on the acquisition of temporality in L1 and L2, drawing on material from previous research. Particular emphasis is placed on studies of L2 Spanish acquisition of temporality. To conclude, the structure of narrative discourse is briefly discussed.

1.1 Time and temporality: philosophical aspects

1.1.0 Introduction

In this section, we will present a brief discussion concerning the concept of time and temporality. We will also present proposals put forward by some of the most prominent philosophers in the western tradition in relation to time and temporality and we will briefly present other cultures' understanding of time.

1.1.1 Time and temporality in western philosophy

St Augustine attempted to define time in the well-known quotation

What is time? If nobody asks me, I know, but if I am asked what it is I cannot explain

(Confessions XI 14 in Chadwick 1986)

Kuczaj (1982) points out that the degree of confusion and disagreement in the literature regarding time is due to confusion about the nature of time and the fact that researchers have not employed the terms time, time concepts and temporal relations consistently. However, both the word and the concept, time acquire different meanings depending on
the field of enquiry or the nature of the debate, Universal time, Relativistic time, Biological time, Socio-cultural time or Human time. Kuczaj argues that discussions of time in this respect do not necessarily contribute to clarifying the nature of time but represent discussions of temporal experience.

Even though humans possess a highly developed reference system that allows us to deal with a wide range of temporal relations, we know little about the precise nature of time.

We can only experience the world, or ourselves, in the ways in which we are able to do so, just as the structure of one's spectacles is crucial to the perceptual reports he offers, so the temporal structure of his experiential outlook is a fundamental condition of the nature of his consciousness, of awareness, of his capacities and their limitations.

(Sherover 1975 437)

Through the centuries, philosophers have debated the nature of time extensively. And through the centuries philosophers have not stood alone. Their work and writings have been influenced by the world around them, especially by the scientific discoveries that have enhanced humans' knowledge of the universe they inhabit. In this debate, different points of departure and perspectives have been adopted. Earlier philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle and St Augustine were concerned with the relationship between time and motion as well as the relationship between time and the human mind. Plato saw time as an ordering force in the universe. Aristotle expanded the debate in two directions. He explored the relationship between time and movement, and at the same time, he was concerned by the perceiving of time. His contribution to the debate about time is of special significance. The intrinsic temporal value of verbs, what we now refer to as Aristotelian aspect, was first identified by this philosopher. St Augustine believed that time and space should be differentiated to a greater extent. He proposed a linear interpretation of time, and believed time to be in the mind (Ackrill 1984, Craig 1998). With the scientific advances, resulting from the work of Descartes and Newtonian physics there was a change in the direction of the debate. Philosophers like Locke, Leibniz and Kant concerned themselves primarily with the human understanding of time as a phenomenon. Locke emphasised the relationship between duration and time (Lowe 1995). Leibniz's proposals present time as relational in respect of change.
Kant has undoubtedly been one of the most influential philosophers of all time, and many modern theories represent an attempt to respond to Kantian theses. Kant shares with Plato the belief in time as an ordering principle. Kant's enquiries explore the relationship between experience and perception at the base of which we find temporal schemata. After Kant's work, Husserl (Miller 1984) and Heidegger (1927) developed theories about the structure of experiential time. For Husserl, the constitution of the present was the primary concern. Heidegger enlarged the scope of the debate by emphasising the importance of the future when analysing the nature of time.

Reichenbach's contribution to the debate about the nature of time is important because he proposed the first causal theory of time. He argued that many misconceptions about the nature of time had emerged because through the centuries philosophers' enquiries had often derived from human concern rather than science. He distinguished between two concepts fundamental to the theory of time. The first one is the "order" of time, which, he asserts, depends on the laws of causality. The second one is the "direction" of time, which is explained by means of irreversible events or processes. Reichenbach's work is particularly interesting because he is accredited with the introduction of the establishment of relations between speech time (ST), reference time (RT) and event time (ET), which are at the basis of the work on cognitive development and acquisition of temporal features. Reichenbach argues that to account for the meaning of an inflected verb form, these three points in time are necessary. The relationship between these points can be one of simultaneity, or precedence. Speech time refers to the time of utterance, and event time refers to the time of the situation. Thus, in the sentence *Mary went to the circus*, the event time is in the past and it is not included in the speech time. Reference time does not need to coincide with the time of the event, it introduced a third temporal anchoring point for the event at hand. Hence, in an utterance like *Yesterday afternoon, Mary had gone to the circus*, the reference time is the deictic centre for the event, that is, yesterday afternoon (Reichenbach 1941, Le Poidevin et al 1993, Parkinson 1988). The concept of time continues to capture the attention of contemporary philosophers such as Minkowski (1908 cited in Whitrow 1980 270), Prior (1967) and Mc Taggart (cited in Gale 1968).
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1.1.2 Time and culture

There are two main components of human temporal systems. The first component is the location of the event, or "time" of the event. The second component is the linguistic means that different languages employ in order to code such events. In this section, we will briefly explore the temporal systems of different cultures to present some of the variations across them. A reflection on the nature of time and temporality would not be complete without looking at how other cultures and philosophies have dealt with it. In the lines that follow, we will briefly attempt to illustrate some of these concepts for they represent a different view of the world and it is important to mention them in a study that aims to explore linguistic relativity.

Temporal reference systems appear in three fundamental ways, linear time, circular or cyclical time and sequential time. For most of us living in the western world, or westernised societies, time is the line along which our lives develop and events take place. We occupy a space in this perceived time line, and we call it the "now" or "present". Situations, objects and events that we have experienced, and consider to be "behind" us, constitute our past. Ahead of us, the unknown, what awaits us, is our future. Seddon, (1987) following Plato, presents the metaphor of the "flowing river" to illustrate this conception of time.

We are like passengers in a boat drifting down the river. The scenes that pass us are the events in our lives. Behind us, receding upstream, are all our past experiences, now for ever beyond our reach. We cannot see them any more; they exist for us only in memory. And downstream, ahead of us, lies the future, steadily getting closer and closer.

(Seddon 1987: 5)

For us time, as the river flowing, is a dynamic entity, and this conception of time is reflected in our language. When we speak about time in English we use expressions such as "time flies", we do not have "enough time", we "watch the world go by". At the same time, time is measured and perceived as a cycle as manifested in clocks and calendars, the celebration of birthdays and other annual rituals. In that respect, time in
the western world always moves at the same pace, days turn into weeks and weeks into months. In this way, we can segment time and organise it. We resort to the same linear concept of time when we talk about theories of evolution, astronomical or geological time, history and all other fundamentals of our civilisation.

The linear conception of time and temporality has also been influenced by various religious texts, such as the Bible and the Greek myths, which present time in opposition to eternity. If there were no such thing as time, all which would exist would be an everlasting present. Throughout the medieval period and despite the influence of Christianity, there was a conflict between the cyclical and linear concepts of time. The theory of cycles and astral influences was still accepted by the majority. This cyclical conception of time was influenced by the theories developed by scholars, scientists and by discoveries in astronomy. With the rise of the mercantile classes and the money economy, time gradually became associated with the notion of work and progress. This view came to be reinforced by religious tendencies and the emphasis placed on the individual in the Renaissance. The linear view of time was finally fully established in the nineteenth century, mainly due to the influence of biological evolutionists.

The linguistic representation of cyclical time suggests the repetitiveness of temporal relations. The representation of time in Mayan culture is an example of cyclical time. The Maya did not perceive time as a line along which events take place but rather as the manifestation of divine forces on everyday events. Contrary to the widespread view of cyclical time in the western tradition, this does not mean that events repeat themselves unceasingly. In the Maya conception of time, the diverse influence of these divine forces resulted in different world events. Evidence of this is found in the Libro de Chilam Balam of Chumayel, a book of prophesy. It indicates that every 374,440 years the same calendar system restarts. The following extract from the book illustrates this:

Katun (approximately 20 years) 8-ahau recurred approximately every 256 years, and for a thousand years, every time a Katun of this name occurred, the Itza (a subgroup of Maya linguistic family) were driven from their homes, no matter where they were living at the time.

(Roy cited in Kuczaj 1982 376)
Gell (1992) in his book, *The Anthropology of time Cultural Representations of Temporal Maps and Images* concludes that time in essence is the same and what we encounter are different representations of time. Time and temporal concepts differ in the way societies organise it. Different representations of time in societies are mainly due to ecological circumstances, such as labour organisation, planning demands and their technological developments. One example is the contrasted temporal organisation of the Umeda of New Guinea, and the Mura Gonds of central India. The Umeda subsist on sago, which is a year-round activity. Sago plants take up to fifteen years to mature and the preoccupations of the Umeda about their crops are of a long-term nature. The Mura are rice-growers. Certain activities like weeding and harvesting have to be carried out at very specific times. Changes in the crops can be appreciated in relatively short periods of time. The Mura farmer may consider short-term disaster if the crop fails, with the prospect of a better season. The difference in their means of subsistence has resulted in profound differences in time concepts and temporal attitudes. The Umedas landscape barely changes through the seasons; they have no names for months, nor do they count them. They barely differentiate between the dry and wet season. They do not have weeks or weekdays, or market days. They have seven words, which are equivalent to today, yesterday, the day before yesterday, the day before the day before yesterday etc. It is a fixed weekly cycle. The Muria on the other hand have names for the days of the week and months borrowed from the Hindi. All their major ceremonies fall at predetermined times of the year. They are able to make arrangements for social occasions months and years in advance thanks to their calendrical framework. This in turn results in a linear concept of time for the Umeda, and a cyclical one for the Mura. The stoics also believe in the cyclical nature of time. They believed that the heavenly bodies would return to their original positions and a new cycle would begin. Thus we can conclude that language is in fact universal but that there are different perceptions or world views of time which make it subject to culture specification.

Another example of a culture whose temporal system is radically different from western cultures is that of the Trobriand Islanders, presented by Lee (1965).

There is no temporal connection between objects. The taytu always...
remains itself, it does not become over-ripe, over-ripeness is an ingredient of another, a different being. Neither there is temporal connection made. There are no tenses, no linguistic distinction between past or present.

(Lee 1965 109)

Even though temporal relations are not made explicit, the order in which the actions are presented reflects the order in which the events would normally occur. According to Kuczaj, this could be regarded as a means of conveying temporal relations between events. A similar example is that of the Hopi language put forward by Whorf. We will turn to it in the next section.

Tiemersma (1996) presents another perception of time and temporality referred to as "organic time." He draws on his experience of African and Indian societies to explain the notion of "organic time." According to Tiemersma, organic time differs from linear time in the sense that it is not "strictly linear, rationally scheduled," but time is "the movement of differentiation of the situation" (Tiemersma 1996 162).

In this section, we have explored different conceptions of time, linear, cyclical and sequentional as manifested across some cultures and societies, thus, demonstrating the intricate nature of time and its relevance to the shaping of peoples' worlds. On the one hand, it could be argued that these very different conceptions of time suggest the lack of universals in relation to temporal systems. On the other hand, as Kuczaj (1982) points out, universals are present in the range of temporal relations described in most languages, such as simultaneity, priority, or order.

1.1.3 Conclusion

In the previous sections, we have explored the concept of time from a philosophical perspective. In the process of doing so, one realises the complex nature of time and its importance in the understanding and structuring of our view of the world. English and Spanish, the two languages of concern for this study are embedded in the western philosophical tradition and as such share a perception of time and temporality. Since we are specifically concerned with acquisition of temporal features by English speakers
learning Spanish as a second language, in Chapter 2 we will examine the temporal structures of both languages and how these two languages linguistically encode concepts related to the expression of time and temporality. In the section that follows, we shall turn to exploring how universal concepts such as time or space are linked to their particular linguistic expression.

1.2 Linguistic relativity

12.0 Introduction

Under this heading, we find a series of arguments which are concerned with the relationship between language and thought, these are the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, and linguistic relativity. The basis for linguistic relativity lies in the fact, which very few people will dispute, that the linguistic devices available in a language will in some way have an effect on what we say and how we say it.

1.2.1 The development of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis

The relationship between thought and language is important in the western philosophical tradition. St Augustine took the view that language is a mere symbolic system for existing concepts. Locke in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (Lowe 1995) also paid attention to the relationship between language and thought, supporting the view that the acquisition of ideas is mediated through language. In particular, he stressed the relationship between language and social behaviour, in a manner similar to that proposed by Whorf centuries later. Locke believed that there are not innate ideas. Knowledge is acquired through experience. In Locke's proposals, the acquisition of ideas is mediated through words. Later proposals exploring the relationship between language and thought appear in eighteenth century Germany, with Machaelis, Hamman, and Herder amongst others (Penn 1972, Lucy 1992a). W von Humboldt is the exponent of the study of linguistic relativity in the nineteenth century. He is a proponent of linguistic determinism which argues that the structure of a language determines the way in which speakers of that language view the world.
Humboldt assigns the origin of language to a super-human force, which he calls Geist. In his view, language is identical with thought, language is thought. This denies the existence of thought without language (Gumperz and Levinson 1996).

Scholars working in the area of linguistic relativity in more recent times use the work of Benjamin Lee Whorf as a starting point in their enquiries but Whorf derived many of his proposals from the work of anthropologists Franz Boas (1958-1942) and Edward Sapir (1884-1939), so it is important to examine their proposals first.

Lucy (1992) summarises the work of Boas under the following four headings:

1. *Language classifies experience*
   Since the total range of personal experience which language serves to express is infinitely varied, and its whole scope must be expressed by a limited number of phonetic groups, it is obvious that an extended classification of experience must underlie all articulate speech.

   (Boas, in Lucy 1992a:12)

In this passage Boas is referring to the fact that since an unlimited range of ideas must be expressed by a limited number of sounds and grammatical categories, it is clear that experience is classified according to the available categories. From this, Boas derives his second argument about the relationship between language and experience.

2. *Different languages classify experience differently*
   Thus it happens that each language, from the point of view of another language, may be arbitrary in its classifications; that what appears as a single idea in one language may be characterized by a series of distinct phonetic groups in another.

   (Boas, in Lucy 1992a:12)

As an example of this Boas offers a series of examples to show the variety amongst languages. One of these is the by now famous example of the Eskimo words for snow. These examples aim at showing how the same experience (snow for example) can be rendered differently depending on the language one happens to speak. His examples in
this respect indicate that Boas concern was primarily about lexical items. However, he also indicated briefly that the same principle applies to grammatical categories.

Many of the categories which we are inclined to consider as essential may be absent in foreign languages, and other categories may occur as substitutes.

(Boas, in Lucy 1992a:13)

Boas is making reference to the fact that when reporting a particular situation or event different languages orient speakers towards different choices of categories which need to be coded in the language.

3. **Linguistic phenomena are unconscious**

Boas concludes that, because the production of linguistic classifications is essentially automatic in nature, these are largely unconscious and speakers remain unaware of them.

The use of language is so automatic that the opportunity never arises for the fundamental notions to emerge into consciousness.

(Boas, in Lucy 1992a:13)

Boas argues that ideas have been reduced to their linguistic expressions and due to the fact that language classifies experience, by constantly using linguistic forms we have established associations between the idea or experience and the linguistic form, which we then use automatically in language. These concepts are brought into the conscious domain in the study of grammar.

4. **The relationship of language to thought and culture.**

Concerning the relationship between language, thought and culture, Boas 's view was that linguistic classifications reflect thought, but do not dictate it. Therefore linguistic data can be used to study these classifications and ideas. That is to say "language can influence culture via its influence on thought" (Lucy 1992: 16). Boas saw language as the reflection of culture but he was cautious to put forward proposals on the influence of
It does not seem likely, therefore, that there is any direct relationship between the culture of a tribe and the language they speak, except in so far as the form of the language will be moulded by the state of culture, but not in so far as a certain state of culture is conditioned by morphological traits of the language.

(Boas, cited in Lucy 1992a 16)

Edward Sapir was Boas's student. He elaborated on Boas's arguments. Lucy (1992) suggests that Sapir's most important contribution to the field is his emphasis on language as a symbolic system.

we may say that a language is so constructed that no matter what any speaker of it may desire to communicate the language is prepared for this work. The world of linguistic forms, held within the framework of a given language, is a complete system of reference.

(Sapir cited in Lucy 1992a 17)

Sapir agreed with Boas in relation to the classification of experience in terms of linguistic forms. To this, he added an emphasis on the social function of language. Language, according to Sapir, is a system shared by members of a particular culture. Sapir also went further than Boas in relation to the formal diversity of languages. He argued that the different categories and classifications of different languages not only form a complete symbolic system but also form incommensurate systems. Like Boas, Sapir finds the evidence for this in the comparison of different languages. His book *Language* (1949) offers a wide variety of examples in this regard. The most famous one is his examination of the sentence *the farmer kills the duckling*. He demonstrates how this sentence carries thirteen distinct concepts in English, (e.g. definite versus indefinite article) When we contrast this sentence with the equivalent in other languages we realise that, as Boas had pointed out, some of the concepts that are grammatically coded in one language do not need to be considered or obligatorily expressed in another. However, different languages pay attention to different sets of concepts, which are to be considered and linguistically coded in the rendering of a particular sentence.
Inasmuch as languages differ very widely in their systematization of fundamental concepts, they tend to be only loosely equivalent to each other as symbolic devices and are, as a matter of fact, incommensurable in the sense in which two systems of points in a plane are, on the whole, incommensurable to each other if they are plotted out with reference to differing systems of coordinates (Sapir 1964:218).

Regarding the relation of language to thought and culture, Sapir disagreed with Boas's argument that linguistic classification reflects thought. He argued for a more deterministic relationship between language and thought, stating that linguistic classification channels thought. His argument was constructed around two premises. First, although Sapir does not equate language and thought, he believed that thought happens through language. Second, Sapir argues that we perceive the world around us in terms of language categories.

Sapir places a great emphasis on culture and its influence on language and thought. Sapir considered language to be the system of communication shared by a particular group, that is, language is seen as a tool for communication, which in turn is transmitted through interaction amongst the members of the group. This gives rise to Sapir's view of language as a type of behaviour, similar to other types of cultural behaviour. Sapir concludes that both language and thought are under the influence of culture. Richardson (1999:7) summarises Sapir's view of the role of language as cultural behaviour in the following manner:

1. Firstly, language plays a role in the process of socialisation - language serves as a strong symbol of social solidarity for those who speak any particular language.
2. Language also plays a role in cultural accumulation and the historical transmission.
3. Sapir emphasises how the subtleties of an individual's use of language help to indicate personality traits.

Taking the work of his predecessors as starting point, Benjamin Lee Whorf continued the same line of enquiry. However, he arrived at some conclusions that brought him to
adopt a more radical position.

Whorf, like Boas and Sapir believed that language serves as an organisational tool for experience. He also agreed with Sapir in relation to the completeness of language as a system. However he went further by introducing two types of classification: overt categories and covert categories. Whorf defines them as follows:

An overt category is a category having a formal mark which is present (with only infrequent exceptions) in every sentence containing a member of the category. A covert category is marked, whether morphemically or by sentence-pattern, only in certain types of sentence and not in every sentence in which a word or element belonging to the category occurs.

(Whorf 1956: 88-89)

Through his contrastive analysis of different languages, Whorf concluded that a specific classification may be overt in one language and covert in another. For example, Spanish requires objects to be marked for gender (la mesa, el libro) while English does not. This distinction is a major contribution to Sapir’s view of language as a self-contained system while at the same time it contributes to enhancing our understanding of the relationship between language and thought. From this distinction Whorf concludes that the influence of language on thought can emerge not only from overt categories, morphologically marked and therefore easily perceived by speakers, but also from covert categories. This extended classification of categories also provided Whorf with an empirical framework for his analysis of the categories in different languages. His analysis showed that sometimes these differences in classifications signal differences in the linguistic representation of experience. He called these “fashions of speaking” which, he says, are indicators of conceptual differences between languages.

Languages do not depend so much upon ANY ONE SYSTEM (e.g., tense, or nouns) within the grammar as upon the ways of analysing and reporting experience which have become fixed in the language as integrated "fashions of speaking" and which cut across the typical grammatical classification, so that such a "fashion" may include
lexical, morphological, syntactic, and otherwise systematically diverse means, coordinated in a certain frame of consistency

(Whorf 1956 158)

An instance of "fashions of speaking" is what Whorf called "objectification", as for example manifested in the pluralisation rules in the English language, which treats imaginary entities (month-s) in the same way as concrete objects (house-s). Whorf also elaborated on Sapir's proposals about the unconscious nature of language classifications. His arguments are not so much based on automaticity, as those of his predecessors were, but on the lack of a basis for comparison.

if a rule has absolutely no exceptions, it is not recognised as a rule or as anything else, it is then part of the background of experience of which we tend to remain unconscious

(Whorf 1956 209)

According to Whorf, speakers pay more attention to function than form because they regard language as a tool for the expression of thought. Language is at the background of their consciousness and speakers are so influenced by it that even when they stop to consider a different language they do so in terms of the categories available in their own language. Whorf argues that covert categories are not as readily available to speakers of a particular language as overt ones, and therefore speakers are less consciously aware of them. In this sense, for Whorf, language is not very different from other parts of culture.

In summary, so far we have established that

- Like Sapir, Whorf believed that language classifications influence thought
- There are overt and covert categories in language
- These categories are not the same for all languages
- Speakers are largely unaware of language classifications

From all of this Whorf derives the "relativity principle"

From this fact proceeds what I have called the "linguistic relativity"
principle", which means, in informal terms, that users of markedly
different grammars are pointed by the grammars toward different
types of observations and different evaluations of externally similar
acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but
must arrive at somewhat different views of the world

(Whorf 1956 221)

Linguistic relativity is specifically dealt with in his article *The relation of habitual
thought and behaviour to language* (1956) In it Whorf presents a theoretical
framework and empirical evidence to account for the influence of language on thought
His research in this area aims at answering the following questions

- Are non-linguistic concepts experienced in the same way by all, or are
they under the influence of the structure of a particular language?
- Is it possible to trace similarities between cultural norms and linguistic
patterns?

Whorf emphasised that speakers of a language believe that language is a tool to express
their reality rather than realising the power of language in the shaping of thought As a
result of his encounter with Native American languages, Whorf's main interest was in
concepts such as time and space, which are at the basis of conceptual thinking, and the
interpretation of experience rather than focusing on lexical matters Whorf's idea of
what constitutes concepts does not derive from philosophy or science but from what he
called "habitual thought" of the speakers of a language For Whorf "habitual thought" is

the microcosm that each man carries about him within himself, by
which he measures and understands what he can of the macrocosm

(Whorf 1956 147)

That is to say, Whorf is primarily interested in the concepts speakers use to interpret the
reality and the world around them He set out to show how the particular structures of a
language influence these concepts, such as time and space To do this he provided
evidence taken from his study of the Hopi language It should be noted however, that
Whorf never provided or developed a theory of how this influence may occur His
arguments revolved around what he called "linguistic analogy." Linguistic analogy refers to the fact that different aspects of reality can be united by being treated similarly in linguistic terms. An example of a linguistic analogy is plural marking in the English language. We can speak of *ten men* but we can also speak of *ten days,* even though the second cannot be objectively experienced. This reinforces the idea of quantifying time as a concrete entity rather than an abstract one. Lucy (1992a, 52) summarises this with the following diagram.

Figure 11 Diagram of one of Whorf's contrastive grammatical examples (Lucy 1992a, 52)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH ANALOGY</th>
<th>HOPI ANALOGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic form</td>
<td>(cardinal number +)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Linguistic Meanings

- perceptible aggregate
- cyclic sequence
- multiple appearances

Mental Interpretations which can be quantified, objectification

- aggregate of objects
- repeated phase
- activity during

Nonlinguistic 2 Cultural behaviour

- observables patterns time, wages, diaries, interest payments
- occurrence of events (some of which are repetitions in a sequence)
- cultural patterns emphasis on preparation, persistence, etc

Critics of Whorf have pointed out some of the shortcomings of this proposal. One of these deficits is the fact that Whorf does not describe the non-linguistic observables.
which lead to the mental representation and he does not explain if they are the same or different for Hopi and English speakers. That is to say, Whorf did not refer to how speakers derive their experience of "duration". Although he cited language use as, for example, the fact that we can speak of "length of time", critics claim that he did not present non-verbal evidence to support his proposals.

Whorf was concerned with the relationship between "large-scale" linguistic patterns and culture rather than specific linguistic analogies. He believed that part of our cultural behaviour arises from these linguistic patterns. Referring again to the example of time and the process of "objectification" we can see how the concept of time as discrete and measurable units emerges. This conceptualisation of time has for Whorf important cultural consequences (i.e. historicity, anticipating and organising the future). Whorf argues that Hopi cultural behaviour in relation to time is quite different and related to their different treatment of time linguistically. As the diagram indicates, in Hopi, cycles are regarded as "multiple appearances". This results in the perception of a day returning, as if it were a person, not completely different but one that is similar to the previous day. It is because of this perception that, according to Whorf, the Hopi are not as concerned with historicity. Whorf (1956: 148-52) provides further evidence from other cultural practices to support his view.

In summary, Whorf showed evidence for the influence of language on thought by means of linguistic analogies. Whorf described how the analogies expand from linguistic to cultural behaviour. In other words, linguistic patterns, or fashions of speaking influence speakers' habitual thought (microcosm), which in turn results in cultural behaviour which is linguistically conditioned. Whorf developed Boas's and Sapir's proposals regarding the linguistic analysis of experience. He described how the linguistic classification of experience takes place in both overt and covert categories and that these categories vary from language to language. He also dealt further with the notion of the unawareness of language patterns on the part of speakers.

In relation to the influence of languages on thought, Whorf developed a model to describe the process by which this influence occurs, thereby providing an empirical
framework for the study of linguistic relativity and evidence for its existence

1.2.2 Linguistic determinism versus linguistic relativity

As has been shown, Sapir and Whorf argue for a deterministic influence of language and thought. This is what has become known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. The central argument of the hypothesis is that our language shapes our ideas rather than merely contributing to report them:

We cut up and organise the spread and flow of events as we do largely because, through our mother tongue, we are parties to an agreement to do so, not because nature itself is segmented in exactly that way for all to see.

(Whorf 1956: 241)

Hill and Mannheim (1992) argue that linguistic relativity as presented by Sapir and Whorf does not constitute a "hypothesis" as understood in the traditional sense but rather an axiom, which served as a starting point for linguistic anthropologists. They maintain that Boas, Sapir and Whorf were not as radical in their views as later scholars have suggested but rather adopted a view that recognised the influence of linguistic patterns and cultural universals in cognitive categorisation.

The prominent view during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and for the first half of the twentieth century favoured this belief in linguistic determinism. That is the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. It was believed amongst scholars that linguistic and cultural differences resulted in profound cognitive differences. The rise of the cognitive sciences and the influence of Chomskyan linguistics and language universals in the second half of the twentieth century discredited this view in favour of the "weaker version" of the hypothesis, referred to as linguistic relativity. Gumperz and Levinson define linguistic relativity in the following terms:

Linguistic relativity is a theory primarily about the nature of
meaning, the classic view focusing on the lexical and grammatical coding of language specific distinction. In this theory, two languages may "code" the same state of affairs utilising semantic concepts or distinctions peculiar to each language, as a result the two linguistic descriptions reflect different construals of the same bit of reality. These semantic distinctions are held to reflect cultural distinction and at the same time to influence cognitive categorisation.

(Gumperz and Levinson 1996 7)

Just not going as far as the strong view, proponents of linguistic relativity suggest that it will be easier for speakers of a language to perceive instances of those concepts which are linguistically coded, and therefore more salient and favoured by a particular language.

Lucy (1997) clarifies the concepts behind the hypothesis in the following manner:

- Linguistic relativity is not the same as linguistic diversity. For us to speak about linguistic relativity there must be some relation to thought.
- Linguistic relativity is not the same as any influence on thought.
- Linguistic relativity is a corollary of cultural relativity. It contributes to broader cultural diversity.
- Linguistic relativity emphasises the role of language in the interpreting of experience.

Lucy's work is of special relevance because he has revisited linguistic relativity presenting an empirical framework that is consistent with Whorf's writings and practice. Lucy argues that the implementation of research in linguistic relativity must deal with the recognition of linguistic patterns on a large scale, as Whorf attempted to demonstrate in the habitual ways of speaking about time in the Hopi and English languages. According to Lucy, research in the area should have the following components:

- Research should be comparative and present data from two or more language
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical framework

• The languages studied must be contrasted to establish how a common reality is constructed. This involves an analysis of the morphosyntactical features of the languages with a focus on how these patterns are used in habitual language.

• Implications of how these differences influence thought must be presented. This implies presenting evidence of the possible cognitive repercussions on the everyday language use.

• There must be an attempt to assess the hypothesised cognitive implications. To do this speakers should be asked to perform tasks with materials selected to elicit habitual language that represent the entity being examined, i.e. space, time etc.

In this respect Lucy's precepts are at the core of the methodological framework of the present study. The research I present is concerned with two languages, English and Spanish, and the expression of temporal concepts, thus staying at the same time within the parameters of Kantian categories. This study, however, brings a new perspective to the study of linguistic relativity since it examines the acquisition of Spanish temporal features from a second language learning point of view. Chapter 2 consists of a lexical and morphological analysis of how these two languages deal with the expression of temporality in everyday language. At the same time the comparison of the structure of two languages allows for a hypothesis to be presented as to how the temporal features of the first language, English, may influence the conceptualisation of time in the second language, Spanish. As Lucy suggests, learners of Spanish perform an elicitation task to assess the implications of linguistic relativity in a second language context.

The thesis of linguistic relativity exercises great fascination and promotes lively debate and therefore is not without its critics. One line of criticism has come from linguists in the Universalist tradition of Chomsky (1975), Pinker (1994) and Jackendoff (1997). They believe that the essential aspects of language are universal and therefore languages express universal concepts that are not susceptible to the influence of the particularities of a specific language. This criticism is more frequently directed to the deterministic position as presented by Sapir and Whorf. However, detractors often fail to differentiate between linguistic determinism and linguistic relativity. At the same time, there is a
tendency to refer to evidence which is often trivial (as is the case with the famous Eskimo words for snow) or misinterpreted, ignoring the real issues behind the study of linguistic relativity

The last decade has seen a revival of interest in the area of linguistic relativity, thanks to the work of Lucy (1992a), Gumperz and Levinson (1996) and Slobin (1991, 1994) amongst others. In the section that follows, we will examine the development of research in this field and we will discuss the evidence provided in support of the existence of linguistic relativity.

### 1.2.3 Review of existing research

Research in the area of linguistic relativity has been scarce. Gumperz and Levinson (1996) cite the assumption that basic cognitive processes are universal and the fact that variability in performance across populations has been ascribed to differences in content as the principal reason for the lack of research in this area. The general belief, following Chomsky's theory of a Universal Grammar, that all languages are fundamentally similar at some general level has resulted in the fact that scholars through the years have felt that it is not worth investigating their diverse forms. At the same time, some of the inadequacies with studies that address the linguistic relativity proposal lie in the fact that they deal with a single language omitting the comparative aspect advocated by Whorf. The research often tends to centre around certain aspects or categories of a language and often fails to provide direct evidence of how these categories have an effect on individual cognition. Gumperz and Levinson argue that a proper examination of linguistic relativity must deal with the properties of natural languages which contribute to diversity. It is these properties and their implications which will demonstrate the possible effects of the relationship between thought and language. Moreover, we must also look into how culturally specific patterns in the use of language demonstrates the impact that a particular language structure can have on thought.

Research in linguistic relativity has been mainly carried out within two different disciplines, anthropological linguistics and psycholinguistics. The focus and scope of
the research has therefore been very different. In the sections that follow, I will present the most significant research within both disciplines.

1.2.3.1 Research in anthropological linguistics

Studies conducted within anthropological linguistics tend to start with the assumption that language and thought are connected. They explore the linkage between cultural behaviour and beliefs and language structures but they do not explore the possible influences of this relationship on cognitive processes. Research carried out in this line follows the lines set by Whorf as we have described in the previous section. Whorf (1956) compared the formal structures of two languages, Hopi and English, and attempted to trace the connections between these structures and habitual thought. For example, he showed that the Hopi and English languages encoded what we call "time" differently and that this corresponded to distinct cultural orientations towards temporal notions. Even though there are some problems with the way Whorf's research was carried out, he laid down the basic design of an approach to empirical research on linguistic relativity. I will briefly describe the work of two researchers in the area as an example of the direction the study of linguistic relativity followed in this field.

Lee (1944) was concerned with grammar as a direct reflection of culture. Her aim was to extract the worldview of a culture from linguistic data. Her most important studies deal with the Wintu language of Northern California. She focused on the analysis of grammatical categories and gathered evidence from the Wintu distinction between the generic and the particular, kinship terms and possessives. She also analysed the categories Wintu speakers use in the verb phrase to indicate evidence for their statements and attitude towards them. From that, she concludes that the Wintu have a different worldview which is characterised by their belief in the existence of reality regardless of mankind.

Høijer's (1953, 1954) work is probably the best-known and best-regarded within the tradition of anthropological linguistics. Høijer's this process's point of departure differs slightly from that of Whorf since he viewed language and culture as two systems and examined the relationship between the two. He viewed culture as an organised system,
The fashions of speaking peculiar to a people, like other aspects of their culture, are indicative of a view of life, a metaphysics of their culture, ( ) The metaphysics, as well, supplied the link between language as a cultural system and all other systems found in the same culture (Hoijer 1953 561)

Hoijer found empirical evidence for this relationship between language and culture in a case study of the Navaho language. One of the examples he provided relates Navaho verb forms and cultural trends. He described the nature and function of the verb in Navaho as reporting nature, direction and status of an event. According to Hoijer, cultural parallelisms are found in the fact that the Navaho are nomadic people, and their beliefs in heroes and myths that restore order in the universe at times of misfortune. One of the limitations with Hoijer's work is that there is a tendency to analyse broad themes rather than providing more concrete empirical evidence, and this evidence comes from one language and one culture rather than presenting a comparative study between two linguistic communities.

1.2.3.2 Research in comparative psycholinguistics

With the emergence of psycholinguistics in the 1950s, the relationship between language and thought received a new emphasis. However, since then, the work in this field has been relatively limited. Lucy (1992a) argues that this is due to the fact that psycholinguists have tended to avoid cross-cultural comparisons. At the same time, there has been a strong tendency to focus on individual cognition and on the understanding of cognitive processes. Research in this area has been divided into studies of lexicon and grammar.

Research on lexical items has centred on categories of colour, kinship terms and folk taxonomies. The methodology that has dominated research within the psycholinguistics tradition was developed by Lenneberg (1953) and Brown and Lenneberg (1954). In relation to colour, their work is important as they gave a new direction to the study of
linguistic relativity. Since then, the studies in relation to colour have followed a similar methodology as that proposed by these authors. On the one hand, tasks are set up to measure how readily colour can be described lexically. The second set of tasks consists of perception or recognition non-linguistic exercises. Lenneberg’s main concern was with cognitive processes, perception, memory, learning abilities, that is, thought potential rather than Whorf’s habitual thought. Lenneberg criticised Whorf for not specifying how the relationship between language and thought worked. Brown and Lenneberg’s study is designed to provide evidence for how terms for colours influence the capacity for their recognition. Brown and Lenneberg started a tradition of a new method for assessing by presenting individual subjects with experimentally controlled memory tasks rather than by analysing naturally occurring patterns of everyday belief and behaviour. This method of analysis offered more control over some of the variables affecting performance. Their work was also important because it brought in a new concern for cognitive processes in the individual and added a new dimension to the study of linguistic relativity. The decision to focus on colour studies came from the establishment of "three criteria for choice of language data" (Brown and Lenneberg 1953 6). These criteria are only applicable to lexical items and are as follows: first, the lexical item must be universal, second it must present variation across languages and third the parameters for description must be simple. In light of the previous discussion of criteria for the study of linguistic relativity, it can be easily observed that there are several problems with Brown and Lenneberg’s approach as a measure for the study of Whorf’s proposals. One of these problems lies in the fact that they focus their research on lexical items, rather than grammatical categories for kantian universals such as space or time. The second is the fact that they mostly rely on conclusions drawn from evidence provided by the study of the English language and there is little cross-linguistic examination.

Kay and Kempton (1984) opened a second stage in the development of the study of colour terms. Their research demonstrates that differences in non-linguistic cognition correlate with, and depend on, differences in linguistic structure. Their study focused on English and Tarahumara an Uto-Aztecan language of Mexico, thus incorporating a cross-linguistic perspective. Tarahumara was chosen because it has one single term, siyone for two terms in English, blue and green. The results of their experiment
indicate that linguistic differences, in the appropriate circumstances, can have an effect on the performance of the task. Their work also provides evidence that language is a part of cognition rather than just providing labels for concepts. Other research on colour following this tradition is found in Lucy and Schweder (1979), Gaskins and Castillo Vales (1990), Lucy (1992).

It is important to notice that this line of research originated with Lenneberg rather than Whorf himself, who had identified the need for dealing with linguistic universals. Lenneberg developed this type of work because he found it to be suitable from a methodological point of view. However, as we have already mentioned, some of Lenneberg's premises do not address linguistic relativity as proposed by Whorf. There is no proper attempt made to relate the issue of colour categorisation to habitual thought. These studies do not appear to be concerned with the original aim of exploring whether differences in language result in differences in thought. The focus has been shifted to processing and recognition abilities instead.

Research on grammar is even more limited than on colour. Most of the studies are concerned with cross-linguistic comparison. Nevertheless, they are important because they bring together two traditions—the comparative interests of anthropologists and the cognitive concerns of psychologists. A first group of studies was carried out in the 1950s, particularly by Brown. Brown's aim (1957) was to show how one kind of grammatical practice, the allocation of words to one or another part of speech, does affect cognition. These studies tried to detect effects that grammar may have on cognition but do not directly address the issue of linguistic relativity. Nonetheless, they are important because they represent the first attempt to examine in a controlled fashion the relationship between a grammatical category and individual behaviour. The premise of Carroll and Casagrande (1958) was that it is necessary for successful communication that our perception or experience of the world is "fitted" into linguistic categories. They were primarily interested in grammatical categories and concepts that are obligatorily coded in a particular language. They aimed to answer the following question: "Is the behaviour of a person (aside from his language behaviour) a function of the language he happens to speak?" (1958). To do this, it was necessary for them to identify a linguistic category that resulted in a non-linguistic response. Carroll's (1958)
experiment centred on the different verbs the Hopi language has with the meaning "to close an opening" on the object receiving the action of the verb. In Hopi, the verb 'u'ta is used for placing covers, closing lids and/or holes, na kwapana or nonoma are used for expressing covering for protection. In English, we use "cover" in both instances. The task was based on a picture-sorting exercise carried out by Hopi and English speakers. The results that emerged did not reveal any significant statistical evidence. However, Carroll concluded that his experiment was, with certain changes and some pre-testing of drawings, an apt tool for the study of linguistic relativity. Casagrande's (1958) study dealt with the Navaho language and the different verb suffixes that need to be added to verbs that denote handling, depending on the specific characteristics of the object being handled. His hypothesis was that, because of this feature of Navaho language, children would develop at an earlier stage a capacity for attending to form and shape as a basis for classification. Again, the results were not conclusive. Despite this, as Lucy (1992) points out, these studies are important because, even with some empirical deficit, they brought together research in anthropological linguistics and psycholinguistics and provided a framework for further research in the area.

Bloom (1981) is responsible for some of the most recent research in this area. He describes how he noticed that Chinese speakers had difficulty with counterfactual markers and, in his argument, he traced this difficulty to the structure of the Chinese language and the absence of structures "equivalent to those through which English and other Indo-European languages mark the counterfactual realm." This in turn led him to ask if having or not having a counterfactual construction in one's language could play a significant role in determining how inclined one will be to think in counterfactual terms (1981 13). As with previous research, there are some problems with Bloom's approach. First, he did not present a comparative description of the language, secondly, he did not provide enough evidence to establish an influence on non-linguistic behaviour. Bloom's results are somehow ambiguous yet his approach was significant because it brought together for the first time experimental work and cultural analysis.
Choi and Bowerman's (1991) study of the expression of motion events in English and Korean shows that children as young as 15 years display a sensitivity for language specific patterns. These two languages differ in how they lexicalise the motion of events. Their findings show that learners of English generate spatial words (up/down/in) for both spontaneous and caused changes of location. In contrast, Korean learners distinguish between words for spontaneous and caused motion and use different words for vertical changes of location. They conclude that children's initial mapping of spatial concepts is highly influenced by the organisation of the language, challenging the more traditional view that spatial concepts develop independently of language.

More recent research in this area has been carried out by Lucy (1992) in relation to number-marking in English and Yucatec Maya. Following the empirical framework previously outlined, the study focuses on whether the difference in the grammatical codification of number in these two languages is mirrored in differences in habitual thought. This correspondence is assessed by means of a series of cognitive tasks that involve attention, memory and classification.

In examining English and Yucatec noun phrases, Lucy identifies three major types: Type A [+ANIMATE, + DISCRETE], Type B [-ANIMATE, +DISCRETE], Type C [-ANIMATE, -DISCRETE]. English requires pluralisation of Type A and B noun phrases. Yucatec does not require pluralisation instead it uses "unitization" (in English, "a", "the", "a piece of"). Lucy's experiments confirmed that these grammatical patterns are reflected in the manner of speaking. In the tasks carried out, English speakers were shown to be more sensitive to number than to substance, and the reverse was true of speakers of Yucatec. Lucy argues that this difference "is shown to relate intimately to the structure of lexical reference in the two languages" (1992b 9).

1.2.4 Linguistic relativity and Slobin's "thinking for speaking"

In the last decade, cognitive linguistics has contributed to research on the linguistic relativity issue along the lines proposed by Lucy. Cognitive linguistics grew out of the Chomskyan revolution as some linguists, especially Lakoff (1987) and Langacker...
(1998) realised the need for widening the scope of linguistic enquiry to include the cognitive, social and cultural dimension in the study of language and language acquisition. In general, we can summarise the cognitive approach to language as taking a psychological perspective. The capacity for language learning is considered to be part of a general set of abilities possessed by humans, such as the capacity to create and understand symbols, to interact or to develop concepts and categories (Tomasello 1998). Cognitive linguists have explored large-scale grammatical categories and their influence on the development of a theory of linguistic cognition. Langacker (1998) describes cognitive grammar in the following terms:

The theory called cognitive grammar represents one approach to cognitive linguistics. Its central claim is that grammar is per se a symbolic phenomenon, consisting of patterns for imposing and symbolising particular schemes of conceptual structuring. It is held that lexicon, morphology, and syntax form a continuum fully describable as assemblies of symbolic structures (form-meaning pairings), and consequently, that all valid grammatical constructs have conceptual import.

(Langacker 1998: 2)

Langacker (1986) points out that these proposals allow for the possibility that the habitual ways of speaking in different languages are due to different organisational systems. Lakoff (1987) concludes that Whorf was right in pointing out that the grammar of a language is used in thought in a spontaneous and unconscious manner. He argues that, in this respect, concepts that are automatic have an impact on our habitual thought. Givón (1987) developed a similar line of enquiry that has received the name of functional linguistics. One of the focuses of this approach is the inclusion of comparison amongst languages that the Chomskyan approach had neglected. He concludes that, across languages, grammar expresses a set of general concepts which he calls "the basic schematic framework for conceptual organisation within the cognitive domain of language" (1987: 98). He proposes that the grammatical markers in a sentence provide scaffolding for conceptual development. Although work in this tradition can be related to the Whorfian tradition, it generally lacks a cross-linguistic perspective.
In this regard, the work of Slobin acquires a significant relevance as he endorses a neo-Whorfian position, derived from a cross-linguistic study. Slobin refers to this position as "thinking for speaking" which he describes as "a modified form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis" (Berman and Slobin 1994 612). Slobin's proposal is to move the focus from the notions of language and thought, abstract, static entities, to the more dynamic processes of thinking and speaking, in Slobin's words "a special form of thought that is mobilized for communication" (1996a 76). Saussure's parole rather than langue.

Slobin defines "thinking for speaking" in the following manner

"Thinking for speaking" involves picking those characteristics of objects and events that (a) fit conceptualization of the event, and (b) are readily encodable in the language.

(Slobin 1996a 76)

Slobin's "thinking for speaking" hypothesis states that linguistic influence exists only when performing linguistically-mediated tasks. He is sceptical about any further effects language has on the mind beyond the moment of speaking.

We will probably never succeed in demonstrating the effects of grammar on world-view or nonlinguistic behaviour. But there is a special kind of thinking that is intimately tied to language -- namely, the thinking that is carried out, on-line, in the process of speaking.

(Slobin 1991 11)

Slobin highlighted several approaches to demonstrate linguistic relativity in "thinking for speaking." The first is to identify stages in child language development that appear to be shaped by the language system that they are acquiring. The second is to identify difficulties encountered by second language learners to adapt their thinking to the linguistic systems of the new language. In these approaches, the spoken language is used as the sole source of information. The third relates to the historical development of languages. The elements that appear to be more resistant to change would possibly be more ingrained in the thought of speakers. The fourth approach suggested by Slobin is the comparison of the depiction of events by speakers of different languages as experienced in translation. Students of translation are well aware of the need to remove
or add nuances depending on the characteristics of the particular languages involved

1.2.4.1 The Frog Story experiment

The Frog Story experiment was carried out by researchers in a number of countries and with a variety of languages (English, German, Spanish, Hebrew and Turkish). Slobin and his colleagues adopted this experiment as a part of their cross-linguistic study on child language acquisition. The material used to perform the task was the picture storybook *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1967). The book consists of 24 pictures (see Appendix A). It contains an elaborate series of events and narrators must refer to various topics such as temporal relations or locative trajectories. The subjects are speakers of the languages already mentioned. Two varieties of Spanish were included, Castilian Spanish and Chilean Spanish, as well as several varieties of North American English. The ages sampled are pre-school children from 3 to 5 years, 9-year old school children and adults.

The Frog Story used by Slobin and his colleagues is used in the present research study. The findings and conclusions elicited from the narration they had collected prompted this project. The data they present, available in CHILDES, has been used here to compare native and learners' performance (Chapter 3).

Following one of the approaches suggested by Slobin, the study of child language development across languages, children in different countries were asked to tell the story depicted in the book. The aim was to examine if their stories differed in the manner in which they were elaborated depending on the particular language they were speaking. The experiment is designed so that if consistent differences are found they cannot be attributed to external stimuli. For example, if certain aspects of events shown in the picture, (movement through space, movement through time, location) are expressed by one language group but not by others, that means those aspects receive special attention from the speakers of that particular language in the course of verbalisation.
For the purpose of presenting empirical evidence of language-specific "thinking for speaking", Berman and Slobin (1994) compared narrative texts of each language group from several points. They conclude that their findings give evidence of language-specific patterns and that these patterns have implications for the rhetorical style in each language.

In examining the several ways of "relating events in the narrative" across the five languages of our study, we have been impressed with the ways in which each of the languages represents a particular set of rhetorical options. After reading many stories in many languages, one comes to recognise an "English type" or a "Turkish type" of narration. That is, the various formal options available in a particular language, when taken together — as a system — orient speakers to particular patterns of information selection and information flow. These patterns may reflect underlying processes of "thinking for speaking" in a particular language.

(Berman and Slobin 1994 594)

What follows is a brief summary of the most relevant findings of Berman and Slobin's study, which provide evidence to support the "thinking for speaking" theory. In relation to temporal description, Slobin offers the following.

Consider the following scene in which there are two simultaneous events taking place. One is punctual and completed, the other non-punctual. This contrast is available to children as young as 3 years of age in English and Spanish. The following examples are taken from Berman and Slobin (1994 64).
(1) He's [dog] running through there, and he [boy] fell off [3,8]

(2) Se cayó y el perro salió corriendo [3,4]
   "He fell-PFV and the dog came-out-PFV running"

In Spanish, the contrast between the punctuality and the duration of events can be conveyed by gerundive expression (2) or an imperfective (3)

(3) Se cayó el niño y le perseguían al perro las abejas
   The boy fell-PFV and the wasps chased-IPFV the dog

German and Turkish do not have these grammatical distinctions. Hebrew has no grammatical aspect and German has a simple past and perfect. The obligatory grammatical categories of these languages do not require speakers to pay attention to this contrast. Yet it is obvious that speakers of these languages realise, at some conceptual level that the temporal contour of these two events differs. Slobin offers the following example from five year olds

(4) German
   Der Junge fällt vom Baum runter und die Bienen gehen hinter dem Hund her
   "The boy falls down from the tree and the bees go after the dog"
(5) Hebrew

Hu nafal ve hakelev barax
He fell and the dog ran-away

The trend shows that the tendency for German and Hebrew speakers is to maintain the same tense/aspect form in both clauses (Table 11). In the other two languages, the tendency is to differentiate the two.

Table 11 Percentages of narrative texts using the same tense/aspect form for "fall" and "run" clause (Slobin 1996:80)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Pre-school (3-5)</th>
<th>School (9)</th>
<th>Adult</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Slobin argues that the finding that best describes the nature of "thinking for speaking" is the fact that the figures are not 0 and 100 at either extreme of the scale. Some German and Hebrew informants express the punctual/durative contrast by means of lexical items or tense distinction. Spanish speakers whose language has the most elaborate set of aspectual forms, sometimes chose to ignore this distinction (see Chapter 2). According to Slobin, this shows that thinking is not identical with speaking as deviations from the extremes occur, indicating that other options are possible.

In relation to spatial description, another contrast found in the narrative texts is what Talmey (1985) called the satellite/verb-framed contrast, which concerns the way languages organise "motion event frames" (Ungerer & Schmidt 1996:223). According to Talmey, there are six universal components involved in the conceptual representation of the motion event. Four of these are described as central components: FIGURE, GROUND, MOTION, PATH, and two are optional: MANNER, CAUSE. These cognitive components are organised in a language-specific way. Indo-European languages, with
the exception of Romance languages, Finno-Ugric languages and Chinese present satellite-framed verbs. Verb-framed languages include Romance and Semitic languages amongst others. Table 1.2 (Ungerer & Schmid, 1996: 238) adapted from Talmy (1985), contrasts the way motion events are typically expressed in verb-framed and satellite-frame languages.

Table 1.2: Expression of motion events in English and Spanish (Ungerer & Schmid, 1996: 238)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English satellite-framed</th>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>MOTION</th>
<th>PATH</th>
<th>MANNER</th>
<th>GROUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The boy rode out of the courtyard</td>
<td>El chico salió montado a caballo del patio</td>
<td>verb-framed phrase/clause</td>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the table indicates, one of the principal features of satellite-framed languages is that, among the six basic components of motion events, path tends to be overtly expressed by a wide range of satellites. By satellites, we mean particles or prepositional phrases indicating the direction, the source, or the goal of the motion. At the same time, manner tends to be encoded in verbs. The most typical satellite-framed language is English, in which a compact and elaborate set of verb particles and prepositions are available. On the other hand, in verb-framed languages, verbs in motion descriptions often do not encode manner. Furthermore, the verb-framed languages such as Spanish often do not present satellites and therefore the path of the motion is not described by linguistic means. The Frog Story experiment conducted by Slobin and his colleagues confirms Talmy’s (1985) classification of satellite/verb-framed languages. The informants that took part in the experiment who were speakers of a satellite-framed language describe the path of the motion by means of prepositions. The contrary was observed for speakers of verb-framed languages who did not describe the path of the motion. Instead they covertly implied the path by providing information on locative settings concerning
The theoretical framework where events occur, where the motion starts and ends, for example. The descriptions of settings tend to be "isolated" from the description of the motion. They tend to be mentioned in relative clauses. Slobin (1996b: 84) offers the following sentences as an example of this:

(6) The boy put the frog down into a jar.
(7) El niño metió la rana en el frasco que había abajo.

"The boy inserted the frog en [=in/on] the jar that was below.

There are three episodes in the picture story in which someone falls down (pictures 6, 12, 17). Table 13 (Slobin 1991: 21) summarises the use of locative description in narrating the fall from the cliff (picture 17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>5 years</th>
<th>9 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these figures, we can deduce that locative elaboration develops between the ages of five and nine, except for speakers of English. Once again, Slobin suggests that these findings indicate substantial consequences for "thinking for speaking." In this instance, the non-availability of locative prepositions relating to verbs characteristic of verb-framed languages has important repercussions for scene setting and the overall organisation of the narrative. One way in which speakers of Spanish and Hebrew convey this information is by means of relative clauses which are much more frequent in these two languages than in English or German.

In summary, Slobin's notion of "thinking for speaking" suggests that, in the process of acquiring their first language, children are guided by the grammatical system of the
specific language they are learning to "adopt a particular framework for schematising experience" (1991 7) Slobin goes on to suggest that, rather than affecting habitual thought, this framework operates in the process of verbalisation

1.2.5 Conclusions

In this section, we have explored the theories and hypotheses which deal with the relationship between language and thought Sapir and Whorf are the representatives of the linguistic determinism hypothesis which proposes that a particular language largely dictates the way in which its speakers shape concepts and ideas In more recent times, researchers have argued in favour of a less deterministic role for language which has resulted in what has become known as linguistic relativity Proponents of linguistic relativity suggest that linguistically encoded concepts are more salient and therefore more readily available for conceptualisation by speakers of a particular language

Gumperz and Levinson (1996) argue that in order to carry out research in the area of linguistic relativity in a scientific and systematic manner we must

1 Deal with a concept that is both universal and liable to culture specification
2 Examine a non-linguistic concept that requires to be coded grammatically
3 Examine a concept that requires a cognitive disposition
4 Deal with two or more languages

Slobin's "thinking for speaking" hypothesis developed out of these hypotheses Offering a new perspective, Slobin moves away from the more abstract notions of language and thought to centre his attention on the more dynamic processes of thinking and speaking Slobin in the light of the cross-linguistic research carried out, proposes that linguistic relativity occurs while performing linguistically-mediated tasks
1.3 The acquisition of temporal concepts

1.3.0 Introduction

In this section, we shall present the concepts of tense and aspect. Following this, research dealing specifically with the acquisition of temporality and temporal features in the first language will be presented. We shall discuss temporal cognitive universals and the acquisition of temporal concepts and their linguistic expression in the first language. To conclude we will review the literature concerned with acquisition of temporality in a second language with special emphasis on the acquisition of Spanish.

1.3.1 Tense

Before we examine how temporal concepts are acquired, and how temporal information about events and situations is conveyed, we must pause to consider what is understood by the concept of tense. We do not intend to offer an in depth exploration of the fundamentals of tense but rather to summarise what is generally understood in the literature by the concept of tense.

Traditional grammarians understood tense as the linguistic correlation to time. That is, tense is the correspondence between our concept of time, that is, present, past or future, and a verb form. This has often led to confusion between tense, a grammatical category, and time. This is especially confusing in Romance languages, like Spanish which utilises the same word, *tiempo* to refer to both concepts. A quick glance at the nature of tense reveals that tenses do not correspond with time, as the use of the historic present exemplifies. Nor is tense a universal feature of language, as tense distinctions are not found in all languages. Binnick (1991) points out, as Whorf had done before him, that tense is not a necessary condition for the expression of time. The difference between languages in relation to tense is not whether particular temporal distinctions can be expressed linguistically in a particular language, but rather whether a particular language requires its speakers to do so.

Modern theories of tense are mainly based on Reichenbach's notion of reference point (Sec 1.1). Binnick (1991) argues that tenses do not denote a reference time (RT), but
rather "indicate the relation of the RT to the speech-act time" (1991 354) This implies a view of tense as a deictic category because the speech act serves as the reference around which speaker and listener construct time. The time of communication (TOC) refers, not to a specific expanse of time, but "to the subjective perspective from which the speaker observes all reality (past, present, and future)" (ibid)

King (1992) argues that linguistic time is based on chronological time even though we cannot talk about a complete correspondence between the two. He places linguistic time in what he calls "zero point". Each linguistic act has its own centre, or "zero point", around which events are considered to be posterior, anterior or simultaneous.

This means that tense is a deictic category. There is some element that serves as reference for the meaning of tense. Tense also involves the speaker's point of view and is therefore subjective. Tense functions as a shared point of reference or orientation for speaker and listener. At the same time, tenses may not relate an event to the speech time, but rather to another event on the time line, resulting in the distinction between relative and absolute tenses (Binnick 1991 454). Absolute tenses relate the time of situation to the time of speech, relative tenses relate the event or situation obtaining to another event in time. Verb forms may have a "tenseless" value as in the case of what are called "timeless" or "universal truths". In the light of this, some scholars (Binnick 1991, King, 1992) have concluded that, to adequately understand the meaning of tense, its semantics and pragmatics must be considered, as this will allow for the linguistic expressions of temporal relations to be defined in terms of their relationship to the "real world".

The main function of tense is to represent temporal concepts and the temporal relation between speech time and event time. Tense may be marked morphologically, (work vs worked), or syntactically by an auxiliary (will work) or both (has worked) or by an adverbial (Binnick 1991 452). However, verbal morphology may also encode modal and aspectual meanings. Comrie (1976 5), describes aspect as relating "situation-internal time" and tense as relating "situation-external time".
Mood is not discussed at length in this chapter since it largely falls outside the scope of this work. Mood has no influence on tense, orientation and aspect (King 1992:132). Mood differs greatly in Spanish and English since it is conveyed by the morphology of the predicate in Spanish (quisiera ir) and means of the subjunctive forms, but lexically or not at all (I would (really) like to go) in English. Aspect is discussed in detail in the following section for it is intrinsically link to temporality.

1.3.2 Aspect

In this section, our aim is to present what we understand by aspect. Thus, this section briefly explores the nature of linguistic aspect and considers the different categories of aspect.

As a starting point for the present discussion on aspect, we shall introduce Comrie's definition of aspect, as it is often quoted in the literature: "aspect are the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976:3). Aspect informs us about the manner in which events and situations unfold. This means conveying information about whether change takes place, and whether the event has a limit or endpoint (arrive) or lacks it (travel). Aspect tells us if the event is punctual (to shoot), permanent or habitual. Aspect also provides information about the temporal extension of an event. It provides information on the main phases of the event: the start (to flower), the middle (to grow), or the end (to die). Unlike tense, aspect is a non-deictic category. If tense temporally relates an event to the time of speech, aspect relates "situation-internal time" (Comrie 1976:5). Thus, aspect does not give information about the time of speech; the information provided by aspectual markers is independent of external time. Nonetheless, the distinction between tense and aspect is not a simple matter on many occasions. For example, perfective aspect marks an event as completed: thus, it also implies temporal anteriority to the time of speech (Fleischman 1992).

Givón (1993:152) further describes aspect as comprising several pragmatic and semantic categories. He suggests that some are related to the temporal properties of
events (boundedness, sequentality, temporal gapping) while others involve the notion of relevance or the perspective taken by the speaker. Aspect has been defined as both a general cognitive experience (Reinhart 1984) and as a language dependent one (Smith 1983). Smith (Smith 1983: 479) recognizes two components of aspect. Situation aspect concerns the types of situation, that is whether a particular situation is a state or event, for example. Viewpoint aspect is concerned with the type of perspective, e.g., simple or progressive. According to Smith, an element of choice is associated with aspect since speakers can talk about an event in more than one way by focusing on different parts of a particular event (start, middle, endpoint).

Aspectual distinctions in a particular language can be marked overtly or covertly. At the same time, Binnick (1991) points out that under the term aspect we find three independent phenomena, Aspect, Aktionsart, and Aristotelian aspect. The features of these three different categories of aspect are summarized by Salaberry (2000) as illustrated in the table below:

Table 14 Three different classifications of aspectual distinctions (Salaberry 2000: 17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical aspect</th>
<th>Aktionsart</th>
<th>Aristotelian aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grammaticised</td>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td>Lexical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systematic</td>
<td>Unsystematic</td>
<td>Unsystematic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligatory</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language specific</td>
<td>Language specific</td>
<td>Universal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overt</td>
<td>overt</td>
<td>covert</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grammatical aspect is overtly marked by means of auxiliaries (was going) or inflectional morphology (cantaba). The term Aktionsart means “kind of action.” Klein (1994) argues that Aktionsart is coded by secondary modifications to basic verb meanings. These modifications can take the form of affixes, as in the case of the Spanish affix re, (relavar/to wash again) the aspectual particle se or adverbs as in English read up. Even though grammatical aspect and Aktionsart differ in the way that the first is obligatory and the latter is optional, for the purpose of this study, grammatical aspect and Aktionsart are discussed under the common heading of...
grammatical aspect This is because both these categories of aspect are language specific and overt, thus of particular relevance to the study of the development of aspect in second language. The amalgamation of these two categories of aspect does not interfere with the purpose of our analysis.

The inherent lexical meaning of the verb is determined by the temporal features intrinsic in the semantics of the predicate (Salaberry 2000 17) This notion is referred to as Aristotelian aspect, as was first pointed out by Aristotle in his Book XI Vendler (1967 cited in Binnick 1991) subsequently classified verbs into four categories states, activities, accomplishments and achievements The relevance of lexical aspect in the study of the acquisition of verbal morphology in second languages has been highlighted in the previous chapter (see Section 13.2.1).

There are three basic semantic features of verbs which are used to classify these in relation to their inherent aspectual lexical value: dynamicity, durativity and telicity Accomplishments and achievements are telic; these are events which have different stages and natural end points States and activities are atelic; Activities have homogenous stages and the activity can begin and end arbitrarily States are situations that do not involve change, and by definition they do not include a beginning or an end nor do they accept progressive aspect.

Andersen (1986) presents the following table to illustrate lexical aspectual categories:

| Table 1.5 Temporal features and aspectual categories (adapted from Andersen 1986) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Temporal features               | States (STA)                    | Activities (ACT)                | Accomplishments (ACC)           | Achievements (ACH)              |
| Dynamic                         | -                               | +                               | +                               | +                               |
| Telic                            | -                               | -                               | +                               | +                               |
| Punctual                        | -                               | -                               | -                               | +                               |
| Examples                        | Ser, tener                      | Comer, correr                   | Leer un libro                   | Encuentrar                      |
|                                 | To be, to have                  | To eat, to run                  | To read a book                  | To find                         |

The aspectual information of a verb is not only provided by the lexical meaning of the head of the verb phrase, but also by the meaning of the verb in interaction with the other
elements that form the sentence, adverbs and other adjuncts. The following sentences illustrate this:

1. Mary read novels [-telic] [activity]
   Mary read a novel [+telic] [accomplishment]

Operational tests are designed to determine the aspectual class of predicates. These tests have been applied in several studies dealing with the acquisition of temporal features. In English, Dowty (1979) classifies predicates into 3 types to distinguish (1) statives and dynamic (2) activities and accomplishments (3) accomplishments and achievements. Operational tests are also developed for Spanish (Hasbún 1995, Salaberry 2000) with the intention to account for potential differences in meaning between the two languages, English and Spanish. The operational tests applied in the present study are described in Section 3.3.2.

Berman and Slobin (1994) list the main aspectual categories available with examples from the English Frog Stories gathered in the course of their research (for a comprehensive overview of extended lexical aspect classification of predicates see Gramatica Descriptiva de la Lengua Española 1999). These aspectual categories can be expressed by means of lexical aspectual marking such as English particles, aspectual verbal periphrasis and adverbial words and phrases. Table 2.4 shows these aspectual expressions with examples from the Frog Stories collected from non-native speakers for this research study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of extended aspectual expression</th>
<th>( \text{(Adapted from Berman and Slobin 1994)} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Achievement</strong></td>
<td>A goal is reached (consigue, logro derrumbar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cessive</strong></td>
<td>Termination or coming to an end of a process (finalmente, por fin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Completive</strong></td>
<td>Endpoint of a process (acabo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cumulative</strong></td>
<td>Adding to a series of events (incluso, hasta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Generic/habitual</strong></td>
<td>Timeless without implying inception or completion (solía guardar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imminent</strong></td>
<td>About to happen, on the point of occurring (estaba a punto de irse a la cama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inceptive/Inchoative</strong></td>
<td>Entering a state (empezo a jugar, de repente, se echo a correr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iterative</strong></td>
<td>Repeated individual events (grito y grito, otra vez, muchas veces)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lative</strong></td>
<td>Moving/changing location in order to do something (salo a buscar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perfect</strong></td>
<td>Relevance to time of speech or to some other reference time (ya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Protracted</strong></td>
<td>Process is drawn out continuously, extending over time (continuo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prospective</strong></td>
<td>Looking forward to when an event will take place (until)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recurrent</strong></td>
<td>Non-iterative repetition of an activity or state by the same protagonist (otra vez)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Retrospective</strong></td>
<td>Looking back to when an event occurred</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To summarise, the term "aspect" describes a variety of phenomena related to the internal structure of events. Researchers have identified three categories of aspect: grammatical, Aktionsart and lexical aspect.

### 1.3.3 Acquisition of temporal concepts in the first language

In 1927 Piaget published his landmark study *Le Développement du la Notion de Temps chez l'Enfant* which aims at establishing definitive stages in the development of temporal concepts in children. He stresses the difference between *temporal schema* and *temporal content*. Piaget's starting point is the notion that time is not an intuition with which we are born, but a concept that is slowly developed. Sherover (1975) summarises Piaget's position on the emergence of temporal concepts.
Awareness of time, then, in conceptual form, emerges in the seven or eight-year-old child by abstraction from the concrete unity of his lived experience - in which space, time, motion, and his operational unity with the world in which he functions, appear to be inextricably involved with each other, as in a synthetic whole

Sherover 1975 442

Through carefully designed experiments, and observing children at different developmental stages, Piaget proceeded to chronicle the development of the concept of time. He argues that children have no concept of quantifiable time in the early stages of life, but that it slowly develops as the child moves towards adolescence. Piaget criticises the complete separation between space and time. This criticism is based on the notion of velocity, out of which time emerges as a distinguishing element, according to Piaget. This means that time is "discovered", and therefore it is not the result of the observation of an object, but it emerges as an abstraction of the notion of velocity. He approaches the development of the concept of time by examining the ways in which it is manifested through the development of the child.

According to Piaget, awareness of time in a conceptual form emerges in children at around the age of seven or eight by abstraction from their lived experience. In this world, time, space and motion are inextricably linked to each other. Piaget makes a distinction between "empirical" and "rational time". Empirical time is the passive observation of events, and in this sense, it is also unidirectional. Rational time is the intellectual understanding of the concept of time. To be able to understand rational time is to be able to use the notions of past and future. He delineated definitive stages in the acquisition of temporality:

• Stage 1 (before age 2) Intuitive grasp of time. Time is linked to observable phenomena in the outside world.
• Stage 2a (ages 3-6 approximately) The child is able to arrange in order different stages of an event that make a complete process. However, Piaget argues that the durational aspect of the processes has still not been developed. Use of "punctual" time indicators.
• Stage 2b (ages 7-11) Children are able to co-ordinate series of events with each
other, but do not conserve duration

- Stage 3 (age 12) Piaget calls it the “Operatory Stage”  Full co-ordination of series of events, conservation of duration  Ability to use reversible operations

Piaget defends a strong view of cognitive determinism, which states that learning a language depends on the prior acquisition of cognitive structures and argues that the basic temporal notions that make up awareness of temporality, simultaneity, succession and duration must be first constructed one by one

It is important to observe that Piaget largely neglected the role of language in cognitive studies  He focused his work on logical operations which emerge with the development of cognitive abilities regardless of the capacity for language  In this respect his work is significantly different from that of his contemporary Lev Vygotsky

Vygotsky (1986) formulated a theory about the development of mental functions and cognitive development He paid particular attention to the relationship between language and thought  He claimed that language and cognition are initially separate but as the inner speech of the child becomes an instrument for external communication language and thought come together and language becomes necessary for the development of higher mental functions

Early research in the area of acquisition of temporality examined the development of the ability to refer to present, past and future  Later studies have been concerned with the development of the capacity to relate two or more events temporally  In this section, I shall present some of the work in this field

Cromer (1968 cited in Nelson 1996) derived a development schema from Piagetan theory based on an analysis of temporal language, which included tense, aspect and lexical temporal terms  His starting point was the Piagetian position of decentralisation, which argues that young children are "centred" on the here and now  Before children can express more complex temporal relations they need to develop a capacity to "decentre"  In a later work, Cromer (1988) reconsidered his position adopting an interactionist position  He concluded that research seems to point in the direction of a
language system made up of several subsystems, some of which are dependent on general cognitive processes and development, while others seem to be more independent.

A similar position based on decentralisation was put forward by Weist (1986) who also argues that the acquisition of the temporal systems is closely related to the development of cognition. Weist, using Reichenbach's concepts of event time, speech time and reference time, proposes a four-stage model for the acquisition of these systems. According to Weist, children progress "through a sequence of four temporal systems during the development of the capacity to express increasingly complex configurations of temporal concepts" (1986: 357). In stage one the time of the event (ET), the speech time (ST) and the reference time (RT) are set at the same point. Therefore, children are only able to talk about events in the present context, the here and now, characterised by tenseless statements. The examples used to illustrate this development are extracted from Weist (1986).

- Mummy go
- Annie sleep

As they move on to the second stage children, 1½ to 2 years, become able to differentiate the ET from the ST but the RT is still frozen at the time of speech. It is at this stage that the use of contrasting verb tenses appears (present vs. past or past vs. future.

- I fell off the couch.

Children are able to refer to a past or future event but they are not able to locate it with respect to a time. In stage three (age 3-4), the use of adverbials begins to appear. This allows for the differentiation of reference time from speech time, but the event is still restricted to the RT context as in the following example:

- Santa came tonight.

As the child acquires the ability for displacement, or decentralisation in Piagetan terms, and the capacity to retrieve experiences from memory and locate them in a temporal
context, ST, RT, and ET become independent of each other by means of the use of complex tenses, like the perfect, and before and after clauses. This is illustrated by sentences of the type

- when I was young my father used to read me stories before I went to bed

Weist concludes that the increase in the complexity of these structures reflects the cognitive development of the child. His research is based on a cross-linguistic study consisting of Polish, Finnish and North-American children. Some slight differences were found in the development of the children as regards the acquisition of the morphological or syntactical means of expressing temporality. These sometimes had an effect on the speed of the development from one stage to the next. Weist attributes these differences to the characteristic of the specific languages and the features that are more salient in each of them. He concludes that

the research demonstrates the way in which conceptual development places a universal constraint on the developmental process and how specific properties of individual languages also have an effect.

(Weist 1991: 68)

Although Weist does not refer to linguistic relativity or “thinking for speaking” in his work, it is interesting to note that his results and conclusions coincide with those of Slobin.

Nelson (1996: 282) disagrees with Weist’s developmental course. To support her claim she provides evidence from a subject, Emily, at 22 and 23 months. She claims that Emily is ahead of the development projected by Weist since at the age of 2 she is able to use different events as temporal reference for successive ones

- When my step and mormor came
- Then mommy coming
- Then “get up, time to go home”
- Time to go home
- Drunk p-water [Perrier]
- Yesterday did that
According to Nelson, Emily's speech provides evidence that the ability to express complex temporal references appears in connected speech before it is manifested in individual sentences. She argues the need to examine the acquisition of temporal features in children from a discourse perspective.

As we have indicated previously, at the base of the development and understanding of temporality we find Human Time or Experiential Time, which is related to our experiencing of situations and events. This experiencing of events is basic to the young child. However, unlike space or objects that can be explained by non-linguistic means, a concept of time must be constructed from experience. Time, in this respect, is generally accounted for considering two basic dimensions, "sequence" and "duration". They are at the base of a child's experience of temporality. Several time concepts derive from these two. "Location" in time derives from sequence and "speed" derives from both sequence and duration. "Boundaries" between events, and "frequency" are other dimensions of temporal concepts. Nelson argues that to understand these concepts children must have an understanding of basic temporal relations, that is, an understanding of causal events, where one component necessarily precedes the other, and routine events.

Clark (1971) examines the acquisition of before and after. She describes four stages in the acquisition of this pair and concludes that before is acquired earlier and children treat after as if it had the same meaning. Clark (1973) also noted that the expression of simultaneity occurs before that of sequentiality. Studies by Friedman, (1990) and Richie & Bickhard (1988) provide evidence that duration and frequency are also crucial to the development of temporal concepts. Due to the fact that these relations not only are perceived but also are linguistically represented, it is no surprise that the development of temporality in all its different concepts is so intrinsically linked to language acquisition. Brockart and Sinclair (1973) carried out the first development study investigating the relation between tense and aspect. Their findings led them to the conclusion that tense markers are used to describe aspectual properties before marking deictic tenses. Antinucci and Miller (1976) examined the development of past tense expressions by Italian children. Their findings reveal this development to coincide with
the developmental route for the acquisition of temporal concepts in children described by Piaget. They further argue that there are two different cognitive routes to follow depending on the type of event. Children first use past tense forms to code resulting states. Past states and activities are referred to with the imperfect in Italian. Thus, they conclude that the use of tense emerges in the first instance as an aspectual distinction. Bloom et al. (1980) argue that in the first instance the use of the past forms does not indicate the deictic notion of tense but that it implies a representation of aspect. The aspectual contrasts of an event govern the use of inflections. Thus, they suggest that the stative/non-stative influences the inclusion or omission of inflections. The durative versus non-durative contrast plays a crucial role in opting for -ing versus -ed or irregular past. The hypothesis which suggests that the initial use of morphology is dependant on the intrinsic lexical properties of the verb is known as the Primacy of Aspect Hypothesis or the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis.

On the other hand, it has been argued that the semantics of the verb are responsible for this tense/aspect marking. Weist (1986) reports that Polish children are able to differentiate between tense and aspect as the two notions are marked separately on the verb. He concludes that children take two perspectives on situations internal and external. If a situation is conceptualised from an internal perspective properties such as "durative" and "incomplete" are more prominent. From an external perspective "completeness" and "punctuality" are more salient. Weist concludes that children are likely to acquire tense and aspect simultaneously in Polish. It could be argued, however, that since Polish marks aspect in the verb system children are more sensitive towards it, therefore accelerating its acquisition in contrast to other languages which do not present salient aspectual markings. A comprehensive review of L1 studies dealing with the lexical aspect hypothesis is offered by Li and Shirai (2000) and Slabakova (2001).

Summarising the research in the acquisition of temporal concepts Kuczaj and Boston (1982) present the following route for the development of the linguistic temporal reference system.
1. Children learn that the utterance serves as a primary reference point or anchor.

2. Children learn that speech time, reference time and event time do not necessarily coincide and therefore have to learn to relate them to one another.

3. From the second point it follows that children learn to use secondary reference point (tense markers).

4. Children learn to mark sequentiality and simultaneity.

5. Lexical markers of temporality, such as adverbs (e.g. today, yesterday) are the last to be acquired.

As we will see in the following section, the study of the acquisition of temporality in foreign or second language learners has revealed a completely different route of acquisition.

In conclusion, in this section we have offered a brief description of the proposals put forward to explain the development of temporal features in the child. Piaget's proposals were largely based on sensori-motor development with little concern for how this development was mirrored in the language acquisition process. Subsequent work in the area examined how Piaget's stages were manifested in the linguistic expression of temporality. Among some of the discrepancies that emerge, the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis has been one of the more controversial. As we will discuss in the following section, this controversy continues in second language acquisition studies.

1.3.4 Acquisition of temporal concepts in the second language

In this section, we will first briefly outline the main differences between first and second language acquisition of temporal features. We will continue by exploring and reviewing research undertaken in the acquisition of the expression of temporality in the second language in section 1.3.2.2. These studies have been carried out from two different perspectives, the investigation of acquisition of tense-aspect morphology on the one hand, and investigations into the discourse structure of temporality in interlanguage on the
other. Early morpheme studies were modelled on studies of child language acquisition and initially dealt with the acquisition of English as a second language. Morpheme studies examined certain aspects of the verbal morphology—progressive -ing, third-singular marker -s (Dulay and Burt 1973), (Bailey et al. 1974), the order of irregular and regular past acquisition (Larsen-Freeman, 1976) to cite a few. The move towards a discourse-based approach was prompted by the need to explain how L2 learners are able to express a wide range of temporal relations in spite of limited morphology, Givón (1982), Hopper (1982), Véronique (1987), Vet and Vetters (1994). In this section, I will also briefly summarise the most prominent studies that have Spanish as a target language. In section 1.3.2.3, I will present differences in acquisition between tutored and natural learners and review the role of instruction.

1.3.4.1 First language versus second language acquisition of the expression temporal features.

Research in the area of the expression of temporality in second language shows a completely different picture in the acquisition of temporality for first and second language learners (Weist 2002). As L2 learners have already conceptualised the temporal system in their LI they approach this process in very different circumstances when learning a second language. Research shows that L2 learners acquire temporal relations following a different route. Most L2 learners develop an interlanguage that at a very early stage of their L2 development allows them to express complex temporal contours, even though they lack a command of the morphological inflections of the verb. The SL learner does not need to acquire again the fundamental concepts of temporality, modality, aspect and others. Instead, these learners have to acquire the specific ways of expressing complex temporal relations in the target language.

As discussed in the previous section, in first language acquisition the developmental sequence moves from absolute location to a combination of absolute and relative location (see Section 1.3.1) (Weist 1986, Weist et al. 1991). In Second language learning research of the developmental route of untutored learners finds the sequence inverted, from relative location to an absolute-relative combination (Meisel 1987, Bhardwaj et al. 1988.
cited in Dietrich et al.) Other differences between first and second language acquisition advanced by these studies show that, in L1 acquisition, deictic temporal relations are coded by morphological means at an early stage of language development (Bowerman 1981). Learners resort to the use of adverbs and adverbial clauses at a later phase. At the same time, the contrast between "before" and "after", as we have mentioned before, is amongst the last to appear. Once again, this pattern is reversed in the L2 acquisition process, adverbial constructions emerge early and tense/morphology at a later stage.

The following table illustrates the differences in the developmental sequence in the acquisition of temporal features between L1 and L2 learners.

**Table 1.7 Summary of differences in the acquisition of temporal features between L1 and L2 learners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L1 learners</th>
<th>L2 learners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• understood both tense and aspect from the earliest phase of development examined</td>
<td>• Understood tense before aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Learners progressed from absolute location (ET&lt;=&gt;ST) to a combination of absolute and relative</td>
<td>• Learners moved from relative time to absolute-relative combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• &quot;Before&quot; &quot;after&quot; and conventions temporal expressions are amongst the last to emerge</td>
<td>• Learners use adverbial construction first and tense morphology later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Learners resort to the use of morphology first and adverbs at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In relation to the acquisition of the linguistic encoding of temporality, von Stutterheim and Klein (1987) state that learners are constrained in their selection of specific linguistic features for the expression of temporality in the target language through:

- Selective versus obligatory
- Implicit versus explicit
• Selection of specific linguistic devices (inflectional morpheme, adverbial expression).

These options are interrelated; for example, inflectional endings in the Spanish preterite-imperfect represent both explicit and obligatory markers of temporality (tense and aspect in particular). García & Van Putte’s (1998) study of aspectual marking in Spanish (preterite/imperfect) led them to claim that non-native speakers seem to rely more on local clues for the selection of aspectual markers in the past. While, native speakers pay more attention to the overall context of the narrative. Salaberry (2000) also points out the effect of three forces in the development of verbal morphology in the L2. These are (1) a cognitive disposition to distinguish semantic classes of verbs, (2) discursive (foreground/background), (3) input effect (native speakers’ model). The problem for L2 learners is, not to acquire this competence, since they have already done so in their L1, but rather “whether they will be able to acquire the conventional values associated with the morphological marking in the target language” (2000: 68).

1.3.4.2 Studies in the acquisition of temporal concepts in the second language

In this section, we briefly review theoretical and methodological approaches adopted to carrying out research on the development of temporality in L2 acquisition, studies of verbal morphology and discourse studies. The purpose of this section is not to review all existing studies of the acquisition of temporality in L2, a field that has been the focus of research in recent times. Instead, this section focuses on the most prominent studies that have Spanish as a target language.

1.3.4.2.1 Studies of verbal morphology

Bardovi-Harlig (1999) identifies two strands in morphology studies: “the investigation of the expression of semantic concepts through various linguistic devices and the distribution of verbal morphology as an indicator of the underlying semantic systems of interlanguage” (1999: 345). Form-oriented studies observe a particular form and examine how it is used by learners with the aim of establishing what its meaning is in the interlanguage system. The concept-oriented approach studies observe a temporal
concept and examine how learners express it. The former take a quantitative approach, the latter are characterized by a qualitative approach.

Studies of temporality using the concept-oriented approach include Dittmar (1981), Noyau (1984), Veronique (1987), Meisel (1987), Schumann (1987), Sato (1990), von Sutterheim (1991) and Bardovi-Harlig (1992, 1994) amongst others. The European Science Project (Dietrich et al. 1995) is one of the most ambitious studies on the acquisition of temporality in a second language ever to be undertaken. Unfortunately, it does not include Spanish. In the ESP Project the acquisition of temporality is explored with the aim of providing evidence in relation to the following:

- The expression of temporal concepts and the interaction of the different linguistic devices available to express such concepts
- The changes observed during development and the possible emergence of developmental patterns
- Principles accountable for the development in the expression of temporality in the untutored adult learner of a second language

Dietrich et al.'s study is very comprehensive and examines the acquisition and development of the capacity to express temporal relations in detail. Their work offers a very clear picture of the developmental route followed by L2 learners with different source languages and target languages.

The informants participating in this study are adult foreign immigrant workers in industrialised European countries who are untutored second language learners. As is the case with the present study, Dietrich et al.'s project was designed as a cross-linguistic study. There were two main reasons in deciding the languages of the study, first, that the languages chosen were representative of second language learning across European countries. Second to examine data produced by speakers of a particular language (Spanish for example) acquiring a L2 that was linguistically close for one of the informants, (French) and an unrelated language for the second informant, (Swedish).

In the first place, Dietrich et al. identify some common features in the interlanguage of
their informants

- In the beginning irrespective of SL and TL all utterances consist of nouns and adverbials. There is no way to mark temporality by grammatical means.
- Strategies for expressing temporality are similar across the languages, discourse strategies and contextual information. An example of this is the use of calendric adverbs or lexical items such as “begin” and “finish.”
- Within the various domains of temporality priority is given to localisation of events in time. This finding is in contrast with the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis. According to Dietrich et al., if a TL has morphological markings for tense and aspect the former takes priority.

With the exception of the third feature, which is still being debated by researchers, this study corroborates findings advanced by other previous work, as discussed in section 1.3.1 and Schumann (1987) who reports that baslang learners use the following as tools for the expression of temporal reference: (1) adverbial (2) serialization (sequence of utterances reflects actual temporal order of events) (3) calendric reference, (4) implicit reference (temporal context inferred from context).

Dietrich et al. divide the acquisition process into 3 major steps which they call the pre-basic variety, the basic variety and further development. In what follows, we will briefly summarise the characteristics of these three varieties. The examples used to illustrate them are taken from Dietrich et al. (1995).

- **Stage A** The Pre-basic variety
  - lexical expression of temporality (*twelve o'clock, three weeks,)*
  - non-functional inflection (*I not understand*)
  - few complex constructions (with no linking devices or anaphonic elements) (*all I have all friends talk Spanish I few few talk Swedish*)
  - heavily context dependent

- **Stage B** The Basic variety
  According to Dietrich et al. all learners (except those who received some teaching)
achieved a variety with the following characteristics

- Utterances consist of uninflected verb with no case marking and no finite constructions. Organisational principles are neither those of the SL or the TL (Punjab I do agriculture farm).
- Lexical verbs appear in base form, there is normally no copula (I after I go to Jordan).
- Increased repertoire of temporal adverbials (Twenty seventh June + right+ seventy seven I go to the Kabul + Afghanistan + Kabulatan I stay + nearly five six month no work here) (+ indicates unfilled pause).

This repertoire includes temporal adverbs of position of the calendaric type (Sunday), anaphoric adverbials to express before and after relations, deictic adverbials (yesterday, now), temporal adverbials of frequency (always, often), temporal adverbials of duration (two hours).

- Boundary markers (after go the car the police station why enter the France <via> the mountain).

The basic variety allows for the specification of a relatum, its position on the time line and the expression of its duration and frequency. Although at first glance it may seem somewhat simple, it is a very versatile system, and in their study Dietrich et al. report that some learners never develop their Target Language beyond this basic variety. As the development moves, on the learner has to acquire the particularities of the TL. Their study also identifies some shortcomings of this basic variety:

- Absence of adverbials such as yet and again.
- Does not allow speakers to mark certain types of aspectual variation (perfective v imperfective, for example).
- Difficulties expressing relative time.
- Difficulties differentiating between “habitual” or “generic.”

- Stage C Development beyond the basic variety

As learners move along the developmental route and acquire specific properties of
the TL one might expect that similarities in the expression of temporality in the
language of their study may decrease Dietrich at al observed the following
common features in advanced learners

- Initial co-existence of morphological forms without appropriate functions
- Further development is slow and continuous lacking of distinct developmental
  stages "language acquisition resembles the slow mastering of a skill, such as
  piano playing, much more than an increase of knowledge, such as the learning of
  a mathematical formula" (1995 270)
- Tense marking precedes aspect marking
- Irregular morphology precedes regular morphology

They conclude by saying that at this stage "Second language acquisition, as observed
here, is inductive and heavily input oriented" (1995 271)

In the light of their observations Dietrich at al conclude that the factors which play a
role in the expression of time are

(a) The type of content which the speaker might want to express Temporality is
    not a homogeneous conceptual category, it involves various kinds of temporal
    relations, inherent temporal features, etc,

(b) The type of expression There are various grammatical and morphological
    means, and a temporal relation such as BEFORE might be expressed by either one
    or the other, or by an interaction of both

(c) The role of contextual factors Only part of what is meant is made explicit and
    other parts are left to the context, this is illustrated not only by deictic
    expressions such as tense or adverbials like yesterday but also by global
    principles such as PNO (1995 274)

Dietrich at al observed that all these factors and how they interact plays a role in the
acquisition of temporality Although the nature of this interaction is not entirely clear,
they suggest the following principles concerning the sequencing of temporality and its developmental route.

1. From implicit to explicit.
   At the initial stages of acquisition, speakers rely on context to fill out content. On the other hand, at later stages of development speakers mark temporal relations explicitly even if the Principle of Natural Order does so. This principle constrains the way in which information is presented. According to the PNO the order of mention corresponds to the order of events unless otherwise specified.

2. From lexical to grammatical.
   As mentioned above, learners use lexical means of expressing temporality first. Morphology is acquired at a later stage (*morning at six start walk*).

3. From simple to complex.
   Examples of these are prepositional phrases that become noun phrases or just bare nouns.

4. From topological relations to order relations.
   Topological relations are those which express the temporal relation between two events as: \( t_c \) included in \( t_b \), \( t_c \) overlapping \( t_b \), \( t_c \) simultaneous to \( t_b \). Order relations express times before and after. In acquisition, topological relations are marked first.

5. From *after* to *before*.
   Within the order relations those which situate theme after relatum, that is, event time after speech time, are acquired earlier than those which express relatum before theme (*before he I come every Tuesday every Friday*).

6. From deictic relatum to anaphoric relatum.
   When a temporal relation is marked and the relatum is given in the context, this can be deictic (*now, yesterday*) or anaphoric (*later, before*). As a tendency, deictic relata are acquired before anaphoric relata.
Some deviations from these principles were observed in the development of the expression of temporality. Dietrich et al. suggest that rather than being rigid rules, these principles reveal "acting forces" in the acquisition of temporality (1995: 276). In addition, they attribute differences in the development of the expression of temporality and the final success rate to peculiarities of the TL, the living conditions of their informants and the issue of fossilisation. They conclude that this results in "strong similarity in the structure of the acquisition process, but considerable variation in the final success" (1995: 263).

In summary, Dietrich et al.'s study in the acquisition of temporality in the second language represents to this day the most comprehensive study carried out in this area. Nonetheless, as they point out on several occasions, a number of issues remain unanswered as for example the role of fossilisation. In spite of this, they conclude that "We have no evidence that an adult second language learner is in principle unable to achieve full mastery of the target language" and that "there is no significant SL influence in the acquisition of temporality" (1995: 277-278). It is the aim of my study to present significant data that will contribute to this area of research. It is within the scope of this study to elaborate on the developmental process of the acquisition of temporality by English-speaking learners of Spanish.

Form-oriented studies, also referred to as form-to-function, identify a form and trace its acquisition in the development of the learner's interlanguage. Andersen and Shirai (1994: 151-52) propose five cognitive factors, as elaborated by Slobin (1985), that account for how learners appear to notice and learn verbal morphology. These factors, which are stated as principles, are the following (Andersen 2002: 92):

1. **The One to One Principle** Learners assume that any new form has only one meaning. It takes time to discover other meanings.

2. **Prototypes** Learners more easily access the prototypical meaning of a verb and whatever tense-aspect gram they choose to associate with it.
3 *The Relevance Principle* In choosing to mark a verb, learners choose a verb with the most relevance to the meaning of the verb. For example, in Spanish L2, learners mark an event as *caer* (fall) as Preterite (-o) rather than a person agreement marker.

4 *The Congruence Principle* Learners will choose the tense-aspect gram most congruent with the meaning of the verb. Thus, Preterite is associated with event verbs, Present and Imperfect with states, for example.

5 *The Distributional Bias Principle* Native speakers and learners tend to associate verb classes with the relevant tense-aspect distinctions in their discourse in partial conformance with the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis.

Form-oriented studies have largely revolved around the lexical aspect hypothesis which, like morpheme studies, has its roots in first language acquisition (see section 1.3.2). Researchers have correlated the lexical aspectual value of the verb with the acquisition of morphology. Following research in second language acquisition of Spanish by English speakers in natural settings, Anderson (1991) suggests a sequence in the development of aspectual markers in second language as follows: first there are no occurrences of aspectual marking, (Ø), markers appear first with punctual verbs, followed by telic, dynamic and finally states. According to Andersen, there is a correlation between this sequence and the Aristotelian classification of aspect. This leads him to conclude that the acquisition of past tense morphology in L2 is guided by the semantic value of the verb. For example, he (1986, 1991) proposes the following sequence in the acquisition of the Imperfect in Spanish from stative to non-stative verbs and from punctual verbs to non-punctual. This is represented in the following figure.

*Figure 1* Spread of Spanish Preterite and Imperfect (Andersen 2002: 83)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB SEMANTICS</th>
<th>achievements</th>
<th>accomplishments</th>
<th>activities</th>
<th>states</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERFECTIVE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other studies which corroborate these findings include Robinson (1995), Shirai and Andersen (1995) and Collins (2002) amongst others. Robinson (1995) studied the interlanguage of 26 learners of English as a second language at four levels of proficiency. Chi-square tests carried out on the data gathered indicate that there exists a significant interdependence of morphology and aspect, learners link -s with states, -ing with activities and the past form with telic events. Shirai and Andersen (1995) examine the acquisition of tense/aspect morphology in three children acquiring English. Their study analysed both child language and caretaker language. Their results support the lexical aspect hypothesis. In addition, they conclude that the pattern of development should be attributed to prototype formation by children. Collins (2002) investigates the degree to which adult French speakers who are learners of English as a second language use tense/aspect markers in past contexts. The results, consistent with the aspect hypothesis, show that learners were most successful at marking past tense with telic verbs, and struggled with statives. The results also point in the direction of L1 influence. However, there are a number of empirical findings that contradict this hypothesis and claim that tense is acquired before grammatical aspect, Buczoswska & Weist (1991), Klein (1994), Dietrich et al (1995). Together with concept-oriented studies, they form the main body of research undertaken in the acquisition of temporal features in the L2.

1 3 4 2 2 Discourse studies

Discourse studies are a variety of form-oriented study. They investigate the distribution of tense-aspect morphology in discourse structure (see section 1 3 4 below). Andersen and Shirai (1994) attempt to explain how learners use tense-aspect forms in discourse. Andersen (2002 92) offers three possible explanations derived from the Distributional Bias Principle:

1 A biased distribution in the input "falsely" guides learners in the direction predicted by the Aspect Hypothesis
2 Both native speakers and non-native speakers have the same cognitive predisposition to arrive at similar verb-gram preferences
3 Forming and using prototypes is natural for humans. Thus, learners infer
prototypes partially from input and partially from a natural disposition to find prototypes.

Thus, discourse studies were originally linked to the Aspect Hypothesis and proposed the alternative view that tense-aspect marking may be influenced by the discourse motivations of the speaker (Kumpf 1984; von Stutterheim 1991; Andersen & Shirai 1996). These studies are of special relevance to the present research since, following a similar methodological analysis of the data, they too aim to shed light on the acquisition of temporal features. In what follows, we briefly present two studies dealing with discourse structure and the acquisition of temporality in the second language to illustrate the methodology employed.

Tense and aspect are a prominent way of establishing the differences between the foreground and background in narrative and therefore early studies of narrative discourse focused on them. Kumpf (1984) analysed the narrative discourse of a Japanese speaker who had lived in an English-speaking country for 28 years. Her findings suggested that there is a relationship between the use of verbal morphology and the grounding of the narrative. Completed actions in the foreground are expressed with the base forms. In the background, there are many marked forms, especially stative verbs.

Lambert (1998) studied temporal reference in story telling in the L2. Her subjects were French and American native speakers and French advanced learners of English. The production task was the retelling of the film *Modern Times* by Charlie Chaplin. Her premise was also based on Slobin’s claim that each language has trained speakers in a particular way to talk about events and that this training is “exceptionally resistant to restructuring in adult second-language acquisition” (Slobin, 1991: 23). One of the concerns of her study is to examine “if advanced language learners have acquired the target language (TL) specific influence on the construction of different types of texts or transfer their source language (L1) patterns” (Lambert 1998: 63). Lambert examined the following features of temporality and discourse orientation in her data: main structure utterances v. side structure utterances, temporal adverbials, tense and aspect marking, sequentiality and functions of the *be* *ing* form. Her findings can be
summarised as follows

1. The main differences occur in the use of temporal adverbials, which for the learners resembles more the use in their native language (French L1) than in their target language (American L2).

2. Learners tend to indicate temporal marking both by lexical and grammatical means at more advanced stages.

3. The expression of the simultaneous and sequential relations also approximates to the L1 rather than to the TL native usage.

4. The use of tense and aspect differs between native speakers and L2 learners. The occurrences of the imperfect forms are less common in the learners' interlanguage than in the data provided by the control group, resembling more the use of the imperfect in their mother tongue.

She concludes that "the learners, at this level of competence, remain under the influence of their source language on conceptual discourse structuring, thus confirming Slobin's assumption" (1998:72). Similar studies have been carried out by Veromque (1987), Flashner (1989) and Bardovi-Harlig (1992) amongst others. As has been indicated on several occasions, the present study addresses similar issues.

More recent work in this area is being carried out at present as part of a project coordinated by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. This research is carried out with the underlying assumption that even though adult learners of an L2 can attain native-like proficiency, deep-rooted differences in conceptualisation of temporal or spatial domains in the L1 and the foreign language may result in difficulties when constructing coherent discourse in L2 (Max Planck Institute Annual Report 2002). This assumption acknowledges the fact that linguistic relativity may play a role in the second language acquisition process. In an analysis of narrative texts produced by French and German L1 learners of English as a second language Carroll and Lambert (Max Planck Institute Annual Report 2002) conclude that at the level of macrostructure...
and information organisation L2 does not fully comply with the principles followed by native speakers. When examining the reporting of events in isolation, their results reveal that the L1 principles still govern the linguistic output. They attribute the differences they found to the coding of concepts in the L1. Schmiedtová’s research (Max Planck Institute Annual Report 2002) deals with the acquisition of temporal expression of simultaneity in the second language. Her study examines (i) how learners express simultaneity in the source and target language and (ii) how learners deal with acquisition of aspect in Czech. English, German and Czech are the languages of her study and Schmiedtová’s results suggest that in expressing aspectual modification in Czech L2, German and English learners opt for the linguistic devices which are also available to them in their respective source languages. The results of these studies are very promising since they point in the direction of a role for L1 developed concepts in the acquisition of a second or foreign language. In other words, they provide evidence that linguistic relativity and "thinking for speaking" influence second language(s) learning.

1.3.4.2.3 Studies of Spanish L2 acquisition of temporality

Several empirical studies have been concerned with the development of temporal verbal morphology in L2 Spanish. However, research in this area remains comparatively scarce. In what follows, we focus on a number of studies which have addressed the acquisition of Spanish as a second language.

Ramsay (1990 cited in Salaberry 2000) examines developmental stages in the acquisition of perfective and imperfective aspect by thirty classroom English-speaking L2 learners of Spanish. Her subjects were classified into five groups according to their level of proficiency. The elicitation procedure was based on Disney’s picture story “The Magic Stick” as presented in a children’s book. Each picture was accompanied by blank spaces, which informants had to complete with text. Ramsay explains that the inclusion of text was to prevent both informants and native speakers from using the historic present. The amount of text decreased gradually. She concluded that
The marking of telic verbs with the preterite increases with the level of proficiency (stages 2 and 3).

Learners marked statives mostly in the imperfective (stage 3).

Neither L1 speakers nor L2 learners used verbs of activity very often.

The appropriate use of preterite/imperfect endings does not occur until the advanced stages of development.

Thus, Ramsay’s study appears to offer support for the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis.

Hasbun (1995 cited in Salaberry 2000) examined the role of lexical aspect in the acquisition of the tense and aspect system in L2 Spanish. The data analysed was collected from English L1 students at four different levels of proficiency. The task was the production of a written narrative based on the video *Modern Times*. Students were granted 40 minutes to complete the task and were asked to start the story with the sentence *Había una vez* (Once upon a time) to prevent speakers from shifting to the use of the historic present. Data from Hasbun’s study casts some doubts on the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis.

1. The data did not show a spread of preterite marking from telic events to activities and later to stative verbs. That is, the spread of use of Preterte hypothesised by the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis is not present in this data.

2. The marking of telic verbs is similar across levels of proficiency and L1 speakers.

3. The first uses of past tense occur mostly with statives.

Salaberry (2000) reports on Lafford’s study (1996) on the development of tense/aspect relations in Spanish L2 narratives. Lafford asked thirteen Spanish L2 students of different levels of proficiency to do an oral retell of Disney’s silent video *The Sorcerer’s Apprentice*. She analysed data from two perspectives: the occurrence of telic versus atelic verbs, and the grounding. According to Salaberry, her conclusions are as follows.
Salaberry (1999) is concerned with the role of the lexical aspectual value of the verb in the acquisition of Spanish L2 past morphology. The data for the study was collected at two different times with an interval of two months. To generate a story in the past tense, students were asked to retell the stories as if they had been a witness to them. The stories were two short excerpts from the film *Modern Times*.

Salaberry's findings corroborate previous studies and are as follows:

1. Lower level learners use the simple past as the default marker for past tense. He argues that the use of this default marker signals the importance of marking temporal relations in the target language even for the weaker students.

2. The effect of tense appears to be stronger than lexical aspect during the early stages of acquisition.

3. The effect of lexical aspect appears to increase with the level of experience. His findings also contribute to corroborate the influence of the lexical aspectual value of the verb.

Liskin-Gasparro (2000) deals with the use of tense/aspect morphology in Spanish Oral narratives with particular reference to advanced learners. Eight participants took part in the study. The data gathered is the result of two oral narratives—one based on a personal experience and the second a retelling of an excerpt of the silent movie *Modern Times*, used also in Salaberry (1999), Bardovi-Harlig and Bergstrom (1996), Hasbun (1995).
cited in Salaberry 2000) and Klein and Perdue (1992). These two tasks were followed by an immediate retrospective protocol focusing on the learners’ choice of the aspect in past-tense verbs. Liskin-Gasparro analysed her data according to (1) the influence of the narrative task, (2) the influence of lexical aspect, and (3) the role of the narrator in constructing discourse. For each of these, her conclusions are as follows:

1. The distribution of obligatory marking for preterite and imperfect varies according to the task. The use of the preterite in the foreground clauses in the film retell task is much higher than in the personal narrative. On the other hand, occurrences of the imperfect are higher in the personal narrative.

2. In relation to the influence of lexical aspect, Liskin-Gasparro suggests that her informants acted as predicted by the Aspect Hypothesis.

3. The personal narratives included many clauses in which the narrator includes evaluative or descriptive comments; retelling personal narratives is linguistically a much more complex task. In contrast, the film retell was approached as merely a reproductive task. The appropriateness of personal narratives for the study of the acquisition of verbal morphology is debatable as it allows informants to avoid difficult constructions, especially with lower and intermediate students. This data also suggests that the role of the narrator affects the choice of tense. Some of the narrators chose the use of the imperfect to place themselves in the story they narrated, arguing that the use of the preterite is as “if I stepped outside of myself” (2000: 84). During the retrospective protocol students referred to the rules they had learnt to explain their decision between the two verb tenses.

Approaching the study of the acquisition of tense and aspect from a generative perspective, Montrul and Slabakova (2003) focused on the acquisition of the semantic properties of the Preterite/Imperfect contrast in English-speaking advanced learners of Spanish. In particular, they addressed the question of ultimate attainment in the aspectual domain. The authors conclude that, while aspect is a difficult area to master, learners overcome the options of the L1 and near-native competence is attainable.
In summary, in this section we have reviewed research dealing with the acquisition of the expression of temporality in the L2 with particular reference to Spanish. These studies have been carried out from a morphological or a discourse based perspective. Most of this research has been concerned with testing the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis and the sequence of acquisition of tense-aspect markers in the narratives produced by L2 learners of Spanish in tutored settings. The findings advanced by these studies will be contrasted to the data produced by informants participating in the present research in Chapter 5.

1.4 Narrative discourse

1.4.0 Introduction

The present study examines the development of the expression of temporality in English speakers who are Spanish L2 learners. This analysis takes place within the specific context of the expression of temporality in the narrative discourse of these learners as manifested through the retelling of the frog stories. In this section, we start by considering in a general manner the concept of narrative discourse. We then explore how the structure of this specific type of discourse relates to the linguistic forms existing in Spanish.

1.4.1 What constitutes a narrative

Traditionally, narratives were treated in Aristotelian terms, that is, as a discrete unit with a beginning, middle and end. In more recent times, the composition of narratives has been researched and a more complex picture of what constitutes a narrative has emerged. Labov and Waletzky (1967 cited in Silva-Corvalan 1983) argued that stories follow a chronological sequence; the order of events moves in a linear way through time and changing the order of the events would alter the interpretation of their sequencing. To this, the notion of temporality was incorporated. A narrative is constituted by a set of
utterances bound to each other by a temporal relation. These utterances follow some order and are placed on a temporal axis. Furthermore, narratives situate protagonists and their actions in time and space. A narrative is characterized by a temporal progression, "a temporal development so that the story represents the running from a (initial) time interval to another (final)" (LoCascio 1985: 251). There is a consensus in the literature at present to interpret narratives in the manner proposed by Labov (1972), who assumes all narratives to be stories about a specific past event, and they have common properties (described below). It is important to note that Labov's description is based on western expectations of what constitutes a narrative, which are subject to cultural diversity. As we can see from the quote above, temporality plays a central role in the organization of a narrative.

Labov's (1972, Labov and Waletzky, 1967) structural approach has been adopted by most investigators (Schiffrin 1981, Silva-Corvalan 1983, Langellier, 1989). Narratives, he argues, have formal properties and each has a function. He (1972) observes that a fully developed narrative shows the following elements:

- **Abstract**: The abstract summarizes the story, it is sequential and placed in the foreground.
- **Orientation**: The orientation provides information about the time, place, participants and the situation, the most frequent tense for the expression of the orientation is the imperfect.
- **Complicating action**: Answers the question what happened next. It constitutes the central part of the narrative or sequence of events.
- **Evaluation**: Indicates the value of the story to the narrator, it addresses questions such as what is the impact of the story?, why is it worth telling? Evaluations are common in conversational narratives as they imply the presence of an interlocutor, which is absent in the frog stories collected for the current study.
- **Resolution**: It informs of what finally happened.
- **Coda**: Returns the perspective to the present and indicates the end of the narrative. In stories of the type of the frog story the coda may be a formulaic comment, y colorín colorado este cuento se ha...
Hudson and Shapiro (1991) put forward a somewhat different interpretation of what constitutes a narrative. They suggest the following parts: (i) formal beginning, (ii) initiating events, (iii) a problem or obstacle to achieving the intended goal, (iv) Resolution of the problem, (v) formal ending device. This classification differs from Labov’s in that the evaluating part is omitted. In these respect our Frog Stories fit this classification better. By incorporating these structures to his or her discourse, a teller can construct a story from primary experience. This ability to narrate or tell a story is a necessary device to be acquired by speakers of any language if they are to become competent speakers.

Cross-linguistic investigations have identified a number of universal principles manifested in the organization of the narrative discourse, which must be acquired by all children. These are grounding and information status. By grounding, we understand the organizing of events in the narrative into the foreground and the background. The notion of grounding has its roots in principles of Gestalt psychology (Reinhardt 1984) and it is what transforms a series of events into a story (Fleischman 1985). The conventional view of what constitutes foreground and background has been put forward by Talmy (1978), Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Dahl (1985).

The part of discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker’s goal, but which merely assists, amplifies or comments on it, is referred to as BACKGROUND. By contrast, the material which supplies the main points of the discourse is known as FOREGROUND.

(Hopper and Thompson 1980: 280)

Events in the foreground are temporally ordered in relation to one another. Clauses relating events in the background do not follow a sequence in the same manner, thus they are not on the “time line” as such. This results in what Labov calls “displacement”. Cross-linguistic investigations indicate that the distinction between background and foreground is a universal of narrative discourse (Hopper 1979, Dahl
1984) The foreground consists of clauses that go forward. The background elaborates or evaluates on the events in the foreground. Reinhart (1984) lists the temporal criteria and textual criteria that mark the notion of foreground:

- narrativity (only narrative units can act as foreground)
- punctuality (punctual events act more easily as foreground)
- completeness (completeness events act more easily as foreground)

To this list, Bardovi-Harlig (1995) adds the notion of "newness".

Hopper observed that native speakers of a language "mark out a main route through the narrative and divert in some way those parts of the narrative that are not strictly relevant to this route" (1979: 239). Referring back to Slobin's work on first language acquisition, differences in rhetorical style, "English narrators devote somewhat more attention to descriptions of processes, while Spanish narrators tend to provide more descriptions of states" (Slobin 1991: 19). If we accept that there exist language and cultural constraints affecting the manner in which speakers structure their discourse, it follows that English speaking learners of Spanish are faced with the challenge of restructuring their narratives if they want to achieve mastery of the target language.

The background is characterised by the fact that it contains evaluating comments. It also elaborates on events in the foreground in terms of explanation, identification (information about characters) and orientation (setting the scene). We shall observe this in a short extract from one of the frog stories produced by one of the participants in this study (A01).
Table 18 Elements of a narrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>_spannable_text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>había una vez un chico</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>once upon a time there was a boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>que se llamaba Juanquito</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>named Juanquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>y que tenía un perro</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and he had a dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>al que llamaba Félix</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>named Felix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>y una rana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and a frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>que guardaba en un frasco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which he kept in a jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>grande en su dormitorio cerca de su cama</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in his bedroom near his bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>una noche mientras Juanquito y Félix dormían</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one night while Juanito and Felix were asleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>la rana se escapo del frasco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the frog escaped from the jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a la siguiente mañana cuando</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the next morning when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Juanito y Félix se despertaron</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juanito and Felix woke up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>se dieron cuenta de que</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they realised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>la rana no estaba en el frasco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that the frog was not in the jar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information status is closely linked to the organisational principles of the foreground and background. Therefore, the more relevant events and new information in the narrative appear in the foreground. The concepts of information status and foreground and background also fit in with cognitive principles of communication such as information value, saliency, memorability. Givón (1984) identifies how the characteristics of foreground and background interact with these principles.
• Tense: An event that has already taken place should be more easily retrievable from the memory than an event that is ongoing at the time of speech or is hypothesised.
• Sequence: It should be easier to recall and report events in the order in which they occur.
• Durativity: bounded, compact events should be more salient in coding than unbounded events.
• Perfectivity: completed events should be easier to code and recall than ongoing incomplete ones.
• Modality: Events which have actually taken place should be more readily available than hypothesised ones.

To sum up, narrative discourse, be it in the form of a story or a personal retelling of an experience, presents a set of universal properties and is constructed in a particular way. These properties reflect cognitive principles of information organisation. The expression of temporality plays a crucial role in the structure of the narrative. The development of the ability to narrate in the L1 is not discussed in detail here. (see Applebee 1978, Friedman 1982, McCabe and Peterson 1991 for a detail discussion).

1.4.2 Language in narrative discourse

This section intends to give, in general terms, an overview of the interplay between the structure of the narrative discourse and the linguistic devices available to construct it. Bamberg (1997) adopts a constructivist view towards the study of narratives.

Linguistic forms (construction types) are the building blocks out of which these texts are made. As such, the domain is morphosyntactically defined as grammar for discourse.

(Bamberg 1997: 85)

In temporal terms, in the process of constructing a narrative, tellers need to do two things, the first is to differentiate events along the temporal axis (tense and aspect)
(horizontal axis), and second, integrate events in the structure of the narrative (vertical axis) (Bamberg and Marchant 1991). We have mentioned that the distinction between background and foreground in the elaboration of the narratives is a universal of narrative discourse. As well as fulfilling different functions in the story, foreground and background are also characterised by differences in their linguistic composition. A variety of devices contribute to the grounding of events: aspect, subordination, word order. The linguistic devices available to speakers in their particular language put a constraint on the manner in which this may be done.

As far as the marking on verbal morphology and syntax is concerned, the foreground is functionally simple, by contrast, the background is functionally complex. Silva-Corvalan (1983) argues that the allocation of aspectual markers across the text varies in accordance to the function of the clause in the overall text. That is, there will be a higher use of imperfects in the orientation (in her data, 70% of the imperfect appears in clauses belonging to the orientation section), but perfect markers are more common in the complicating action or resolution. Events in the foreground are encoded as actions and therefore aspectually perfective. They generally are telic verbs, accomplishments and achievements. The supportive material in the background is provided by means of subordinate clauses, or stative and durative predicates in the imperfective form. They generally are predicates whose lexical aspect falls in the categories of state or activities. This is the reason why research carried out from the narrative hypothesis point of view (Silva-Corvalan 1983, Bardovi-Harlig 1995, for example) and the aspect hypothesis point of view (Andersen and Shirai 1994, Salaberry 2000 amongst others), often overlaps. Bardovi-Harlig (1998) examines the influence of narrative structure and lexical aspect in the use of tense-aspect morphology by adult learners of English as an L2. Her results suggest that both hypotheses are necessary to account for the development of verbal morphology in interlanguage.

An example of how tense/aspect forms opposition works as a pragmatic tool to organise the narrative discourse and how this is in turn influenced by the particular language is found in contrast between the imperfective and the perfective aspect. On the horizontal axis, the imperfective, due to its nature (see Chapter 2), describes states and actions in the background. On the vertical axis, it can describe simultaneity. The perfective
describes completed actions in the foreground

Where a language has a form marking perfective aspect and another marking imperfective, the former is more likely to be used in narrative, the later in description

(Binnick 1991 371-372)

This distinction is present in some way in both English and Spanish as the overview in the following chapter illustrates. In English, the background is presented in terms of past progressive, and the foreground in the simple past. In Spanish, the distinction between foreground and background is expressed by the perfective/imperfective dichotomy. The following example illustrates this:

\[\text{Y bueno mientras estar\'an durmendo (IPFVPROG)(background)}\]
\[\text{la rana que estaba (IPFV) bueno no muy contento dentro en su}\]
\[\text{jarra (background)sali\'o (PFV) (foreground)}\]

And well while they were sleeping (IPFVPROG)

The frog who was (PFV) well not very happy inside the jar

left (PFV)

Givon (1984 288) summarises the features of foreground and background in narrative discourse in relation to morphosyntax.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>feature</th>
<th>foreground</th>
<th>background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>Present, future, habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequentiality</td>
<td>in-sequence</td>
<td>out of sequence, anterior, perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durativity</td>
<td>compact/punctual</td>
<td>durative/continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modality</td>
<td>reals</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activeness</td>
<td>(action/event)</td>
<td>(state)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syntax</td>
<td>(main clause)</td>
<td>(subordinate clause)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Givon mentions, an important observation must be made in relation to the above table. The first is that these correlations are most typical of narrative discourse of the type produced in the retelling of the Frog Stones, rather than conversation or personal narratives. The second observation is that these correlations are not absolute, but rather suggest the norm. Tense alternation not only functions as a device to signal what events or information belongs to the foreground and background, but also allows the narrative to move back and forth in time, and the narrator to abandon the linear sequence to offer evaluative remarks.

In terms of the two languages of concern to the present study, the main difference in the linguistic composition of the foreground and the background in temporal terms is brought about by the aspectual distinction in the past in Spanish and the variation of tense in the subordinate clause. The expression of modality is also different in English and Spanish since English lacks the inflectional morphology of the Spanish subjunctive. The expression of the *irrealis*, in English is achieved using modal verbs and periphrasis. As is well known, the expression of subjunctive is another area of difficulty for the English speaker L2 learner of Spanish.

In summary, the universal properties of narrative discourse and their conceptual structuring are linked to the linguistic realisation of such properties. Therefore, different languages orient speakers towards different linguistic realisations of these properties. Whereas a significant body of research is concerned with investigating narrative strategies and styles across cultures, little investigation has been done on narratives produced by second language learners. The few studies carried out seem to suggest that learners approach the task within the parameters set by their native languages (Lambert 1998, Liskin-Gasparro 1996, Lopez-Ortega 2000).

In this respect, crosslinguistic research is crucial to determine the significance of language-specific factors in the development of narrative abilities and discourse organisation. As Bamberg and Marchman (1991) suggest, the examination of the functions of linguistic devices in narrative discourse across languages brings us back to the question of linguistic relativity and the manner in which the availability of certain linguistic forms in particular languages influences their frequency and manner of use in
Examination of the referential function of narrative linguistic units across languages turns up the Whorfian question of the degree to which the availability of particular linguistic forms in specific languages impacts on their frequency placements, and more interestingly, how narrators segment (i.e., categorize) the temporal flow of events.

Bamberg and Marchman 1991 278

Crosslinguistic research in this area has been carried out by Chafe (1980), Berman and Slobin (1994), and Hickman (1995). Berman and Slobin's work is of particular relevance to the present study. In section 2.3, their research is discussed in some detail. However, it is appropriate to present here the differences they attribute to English and Spanish in the organization of discourse elicited from the analysis of the Frog Stories produced by their informants (see Table 1.7 below).

Paying particular attention to the expression of temporality in the narratives, the first difference between the English and Spanish narratives derives from the more complex verbal morphology of the Spanish language and the consequent broad possibilities open to speakers. This translates into the use of a wider variety of tenses and aspectual distinction to mark the temporal contour of the events that form the story. The tenses used in the background of the Spanish narratives alter between the imperfect, imperfective progressive, perfective progressive.

N02 18  

mientras Carlos y el pequeño perrito estaban durmiendo (IPFVPROG)

profundamente

While Carlos and the little dog were soundly asleep (IPFVPROG)

N02 12  

pero estuvieron rato y rato mirando (PVFPROG) esa ranita verde

But they were for a long time looking (PVFPROG) at the little green frog.

N08 10  

al que le gustaban (IPFV) mucho los animales

Who liked (IPFV) animals a lot.

This rich verbal morphology also results in diversity of tenses across the background due to the tense correlation rules.
And he told Pecas to be quiet

Spanish, being a verb-framed language, because the core information is typically conveyed by the verb alone (entrar/ to come in), also makes ample use of aspectual periphrasis to alter the internal temporal flow of events. These periphrases are generally associated with event boundaries, signalling whether an event is starting to happen, about to end, or repeated. In this respect, inchoatives are the most common class of aspectual periphrasis.

entonces empezó a llorar
then he started to cry

As Slobin and Bocaz (1988) show, Spanish speakers tend to pay significant attention to setting the scene and situating landmarks and objects in the background.

Había una vez un niño que vivía en un pueblo muy pequeño en medio del campo. El niño siempre estaba solo pero tenía un perro como mejor amigo, aparte del perro el niño también tenía una ranita que guardaba en un envase de cristal en su habitación. La ranita había sido un regalo de su mamá ya que ella sabía que su hijo amaba los animales.

There was a boy who lived in a very small village in the middle of the countryside. The boy was always on his own but he had a dog as his best friend. As well as the dog, the boy had a little frog which he kept in a glass jar in his bedroom. The little frog had been a present from his mother, since she knew her son loved animals.

Another feature of the Spanish narratives is the use of relative clauses to move the action forward. The relative subordinate clause abandons the function of introducing events in the background and takes a foreground dimension. The verb in the subordinate clause appears then in the pretende instead of the imperfect. The following examples illustrate this.

eran los cuernos de un ciervo que con el susto empezó a correr
It was the horns of a deer who with the fright started to run
In sum, the combination of all of these features results in the narratives presenting a complex array of tense and aspect relations where subtle temporal nuances are marked by means of tense/aspect indicators. In addition, the narrative style is characterised by subordination and embedding.

**Table 10 Summary of characteristics of English and Spanish narratives as identified by Berman and Slobin (1994)**

**English**
- Alteration between simple and progressive aspect (for stories in the past tense)
- Use of progressive aspect for background situations ongoing at the time some event in the plot line takes place
  - e.g., To the dog's amazement, he knocked the beehive off the tree while the boy was searching at the trunk
- Use of nonfinite verbs as complements to aspectual or modal verbs to vary the temporal flow
  - e.g., The owl kept bothering the boy, but then he left him alone
- Use of voice alteration, past participle being used in adjectival passives, get-passives and syntactic passives retrospective
  - e.g., but luckily for the dog he was unharmed.
  - e.g., the boy gets his nose bitten or sniffed at by some little animal
  - e.g., the boy is also in danger now that the boy has been disturbed.
- The general flow of the narrative is right-branching in the form SVXY
  - e.g., he bumped his head when he fell
- Rich use of verb-satellite elements and prepositional phrases
  - e.g., an owl flew out of the hole in the tree and knocked him down out of the tree
- Large number of lexically specific verbs encoding manner of motion
  - e.g., crash bump, swoop tumble
- Little use of relative clause, which are mainly used to achieve effect in the narrative
  - e.g., The dog has a jar on top of his head, which was where the frog was originally located
- Reliance on lexical connectiveness or modifiers
  - e.g., But the boy did not give up his search, and he called "frog! frog!" while on top of a rock

**Spanish**
- In past narratives the tense used to move the action forward is the pretérito indefinido (perfective) with shifts to pretérito pluscuamperfecto (past perfect) for previous actions
  - e.g., pero el topo le dijo que no había visto a la rana
- Background conveyed by means of the imperfect and past progressive, which is used with a perfective or imperfective auxiliary
  - e.g., Una noche mientras estaban durmiendo la rana se escapo
- Ample use of aspectual verbs
  - e.g., Empezó a buscar a la rana
  - e.g., las abejas seguían persiguiendo al perro
- Detailed information about movement and overlap of events in time
- Tense/aspect distinctions mirrored in the subjunctive and conditional mood
- Little attention is given to movement through space
- Scene setting receives attention
- Use of relative clauses to move the action forward and to introduce and situate objects and protagonists
  - e.g., Había una vez un niño que se llamaba Pedro y que tenía una rana
  - e.g., Salto un loro que le tiro al niño
- Importance of non-finite constructions for stative description
  - El perro quería coger la colmena colgada del árbol
- Narrative style rich in subordination and embedding
- Flexible word order
  - e.g., Del agujero sale un topo
- High rate of event packaging
1.4.3 Conclusion

The construction of a narrative is both a cognitive and linguistic task, which draws on many kinds of knowledge. There are features that form part of the universals of discourse, which need to be acquired irrespective of the language being acquired. However, there are differences across languages in relation to the particular devices available to speakers in the process of elaborating a narrative. Speakers have to learn these forms and their functions (e.g. aspect shifting for foreground/background differentiation, relatives to advance the plot, etc.) In telling a story, speakers have to integrate the linguistic knowledge into their knowledge of the different discourse functions. The differences in the linguistic options in a given language result in different rhetorical styles as speakers make choices about what to say.

To summarise, in this chapter we have addressed the acquisition of temporality in first and the second language. We have established the differences in the developmental route of this process between first and second language learners. The study of temporality in the second language has mostly invariably dealt with the acquisition of tense-aspect morphology and the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis. Few studies provide a complete and clear picture of the development of temporality (Dietrich et al. 1995). In particular, the research carried out in the expression of temporality which has Spanish as the target language is very limited. In addition, linguistic relativity appears to be a neglected field in the pursuit of a better understanding of the principles and processes that govern and assist the acquisition of a second language. The present study is an attempt to fill these voids in the literature.
Chapter 2

The expression of temporality in English and Spanish
2.0 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to present the means by which the two languages of concern to the present study express temporal concepts and temporal relations between events. It is not our aim at present to offer a comprehensive account of the grammatical structure of temporal expression in Spanish and English but rather to present sufficient detail in order to consider the issues relevant for the cross-linguistic study of the acquisition of temporal features by English L1 learners of Spanish as a foreign language. The primary objective of the chapter is to identify differences in the means by which temporal relations are expressed in these two languages. It is in these differences that issues concerning the conceptualisation of time and its manifestation in the speaking process will become apparent.

To carry out this task we have chosen a dual approach. For the first part of this chapter, the starting point of the comparison is the formal expression of temporal relations in the verb phrase. This is in effect an examination of tense inflections and the meanings they express. The pragmatics of tense in English and Spanish are examined as presented in mainstream university grammars. Differences in translation will reveal different codifications of concepts in the two languages. Section 1.2 explores the expression of aspectual information. Section 1.3 deals with temporal adverbials in a general manner. Section 1.4 proceeds from a different perspective; the starting point is the expression of three types of relationships that hold between events, simultaneity, posteriority, and anteriority and we compare how these meanings are expressed in English and Spanish. This approach has been chosen on the assumption that these two languages share a similar linear conception of time.
2.1 Tense in English and Spanish

In what follows, I shall report on the pragmatic use of verb tenses in English and Spanish as described in university grammars Palmer (1965), Quirk et al. (1985), and Givón (1993) are the main sources for the description of English, while Gili Gaya (1965), Matte Bonn (1992), Butt and Benjamin (1995), and Pountam and Kattan-Ibarra (1997) are the main sources of reference for the description of Castillian Spanish. These manuals have been chosen because they are widely used by students of Spanish in third level institutions. Before we proceed, it is important to consider that tense and aspect meanings conveyed through verbal morphology are considered to be invariant (Comrie 1985, Dahl 1985). Contextual features add layers of meaning to these forms, that is, while the basic meanings conveyed by tense/aspect forms do not change, the particular discourse into which they are embedded adds differences to the verbal meaning (Gonzales 1995).

Spanish has a highly developed and complex verbal system. As an example of the variety of verbal forms in Spanish, King (1992) lists up to eighteen indicative forms and ten subjunctive forms. Gili Gaya (1965) lists ten indicative forms and six subjunctive forms. These discrepancies in the classification of tenses are related to the role of aspect given to a particular paradigm of the tense system in Spanish. A great deal of debate has also been generated around the most appropriate term to designate a particular form. The terminology used in the course of this dissertation follows that which is also found in the course books used in the third level institution where this study takes place. In this section, we are not able to discuss the wide range of tenses in the two languages. Instead, we limit the discussion to those verb forms which are most relevant to the present study. These include the Present, the Past forms, and a brief description of the Future and the Conditional in relation to simple forms. The Present Perfect and the Past Perfect are the only two compound forms discussed. Table 2.1 indicates the terminology adopted to refer to the tenses described.
### Table 2.1 Tense/Aspect forms in English and Spanish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>SPANISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple Present</td>
<td>Presente de Indicativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I eat)</td>
<td>(como)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present progressive</td>
<td>Presente continuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I am eating)</td>
<td>(estoy comiendo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Past</td>
<td>Preterito Indefinido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I ate)</td>
<td>(comí)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past progressive</td>
<td>Pasado continuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I was eating)</td>
<td>(estaba comiendo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Perfect</td>
<td>Pretérito Perfecto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I have eaten)</td>
<td>(he comido)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
<td>Preterito Pluscuamperfecto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I had eaten)</td>
<td>(había comido)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Futuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I will eat)</td>
<td>(comere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Condicional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I would eat)</td>
<td>(comería)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.1.1 The present tense (PRES)

Palmer says that the simple present is often labelled as "habitual" because it is rarely used in its basic, non-habitual, non-future sense. His reason for this is that we rarely "need to report a present activity, for the simple, but non-linguistic reason, that if the speaker can observe it, so too in most circumstances can the hearer." (Palmer 1974:60)

Alarcos Llorach qualifies the Spanish present tense as "el tiempo neutro por excelencia" (1980:65) because it is unmarked. It does not carry modal connotations, it is not marked for past time and it does not suggest realisation in a future time. However, the present tense should not only be equated to the time of speech, but also to a subjective choice made by speakers to include the event they are referring to in the time of speech.
The present tense is used both in English and Spanish for the following instances

1. Inductively known facts and general truths and universal statements
   The sun sets in the west
   *El sol se pone en el oeste*

2. Habitual occurrences
   I get up at seven o'clock
   *Me levanto a las siete*

3. Moment of speaking (expressed with either the simple or the progressive)
   He lives in London
   *Vive en Londres*

4. Historic present
   Colombua discovers America in 1492
   *Colón descubre América en el año 1492*

4. In commentary (such as television or radio), in demonstrations, with performative verb forms, or stage directions
   John enters through the window
   *John entra por la ventana*

In relation to the notion of frequency or habituality expressed by the present tense, Matte Bon (1992: 15) comments that this meaning is not carried by the verb tense on its own but in combination with other elements of the sentence, such as the adverbs and the knowledge of the extralinguistic world shared by the speaker and the listener. At the same time, English favours the use of the Present Progressive for the expression of actions taking place at the moment of speech (*The boy is sleeping*). According to King (1992), there are also modal differences between the present tense in English and Spanish since the Spanish present tense is marked for [+objective] in contrast to the present subjunctive.
2.12 The past

As Table 2.1 indicates, the Spanish verbal paradigm presents two past forms where English has one. In Spanish, the Preterite (PFV)/Imperfect (IPFV) contrast is the realisation of the aspectual distinction perfective/imperfective. English, on the other hand, does not mark overtly this distinction in the past morphology. The aspectual information conveyed by the Spanish contrast is expressed in English by the use of aspectual particles and the past progressive (Salaberry 2000:5) (see Section 2.2)

Thus, the English simple Past is the most common tense used to talk about past situations and events. It can be used to refer to punctual, completed actions and events, to longer actions and situations, and to habitual happenings. To use the simple Past with past meaning, the speaker must have in mind a definite period in time that is unrelated to the present. It is not necessary, however, to include a temporal marker, because the speaker relies on the listener's assumption that the time referred to is anterior to the time of speech. The past tense signals that the event time (ET) is prior to the speech time (ST). In turn, the time of the event coincides with the reference time (RT)

The simple past tense is used in the following contexts:

1. Immediate situation at the time of speech
   Did you take the keys?  
   ¿Has cogido las llaves?

2. General knowledge
   Shakespeare wrote Macbeth
   *Shakespeare escribió Macbeth*

3. Single definite event in the past
   John broke the glass
   *Juan rompió el vaso*

4. Habitual action in the past
When I was young, I spent the summers in the mountains
_Cuando era pequeña pasaba los veranos en la montaña_

This habitual meaning of the past can also be conveyed with the expression _used to_.

In Spanish, the Preterito Indefinido (Preterite) indicates that the speaker is merely relating events in the past, there is no attempt made to establish a connection to the present time or to another event. This tense has a perfective and punctual meaning. Thus, of the four uses described above for the past in English, only two correspond to the use of this form in Spanish.

1. **General knowledge**

   *Shakespeare escribió (PFV) Macbeth*

11. **Single definite event in the past**

   *John rompió (PFV) el vaso*

In Castilian Spanish the Present Perfect is the preferred form to refer to immediate situations. It must be noted, however, that Latin American varieties of Spanish use the Preterite to express this meaning. Habitual actions in the past are expressed in all varieties of Spanish with the Imperfect.

The event expressed by means of the Imperfect form interests the speaker from the perspective of its duration rather than its accomplishment. That is, the Imperfect combines meaning of pastness and of durativity. The Imperfect is used in the following instances:

1. **Notion of habituality**

   *Veraneaba (IPFV) en las montañas*

   I used to spend the summer in the mountains

11. **Imperfect of intention**

   *Perdón por el retraso salía (IPFV) de casa cuando sonó el teléfono*

   Apologies for the delay, I was leaving the house when the phone rang.
In this instance the aspectual value of the verb surpasses its temporal value. The activity reported is not fulfilled, and the imperfect in this instance carries a notion of intent. If the event had been realised, the speaker would opt for the preterite.

Perdón por el retraso, salí de casa cuando sonó el teléfono

Apologies for the delay, I left the house when the phone rang.

Because the Imperfect does not set boundaries it is the tense used in backgrounding events in the narrative. The imperfect rarely appears on its own as it is a form used to describe situations that work as a contextual frame for other information. The role of this tense/aspect form in narrative discourse has been discussed in section 1.3.3.

Cuando era pequeña viva cerca del mar

When I was little I used to live near the sea.

While in some instances the use of the Spanish Imperfect can be equated to the Past Progressive in English, (Mary read a novel/ Mary leyó una novela (PFV) Mary was reading a novel/ Mary leía una novela (IPFV)), the distinction Preterite/Imperfect in Spanish cannot systematically be correlated with the English simple Past/Past Progressive. As we have noted, the use of the Imperfect for sporadic events in the past renders an ungrammatical sentence in English if expressed with the past progressive.

When I was little I was sometimes living* near the sea

Cuando era pequeña a veces vivía cerca del mar

In addition, the meaning conveyed by the Imperfect with stative verbs, cannot be expressed in English.

Le oía gritar

I was hearing* him shout.
The Present Perfect, *Preterito Perfecto* in Spanish, shows an interesting relationship with both the past and the present. The English term for this tense highlights the relevance of this form to the present time. In contrast, the Spanish term, *pretérito*, means past. The Present Perfect coincides with the past in that both forms express a time anterior to the time of speech, and both are perfective. They differ though in one aspect: the event they describe is situated in a temporal frame which the speaker places in the past, in the case of the Preterite, and a unit of time which extends into the time of speech in the case of the Present Perfect. In addition, the Present Perfect is a relative tense, which situates an event in the time line prior to the time of speech or to another event time. This tense is often accompanied by temporal markers, which may bring the event closer to the present.

Quirk et al. explain the difference between the simple Past and the Present Perfect in the following manner: “it is not the time specified in the sentence but the period relevant to the time specified that must extend to the present” (Quirk et al. 1973: 43). That is, the Present Perfect refers to a past action which still holds at the time of utterance. They identify the following uses for this tense in English:

1. To indicate that an event stretches from the past into the present (universal)
   
   I’ve known Max since 1960

2. To indicate the existence of past events (existential)

   I have read Principia Mathematica five times

3. To indicate that the direct effect of a past event still continues (Stative)

   I can’t come to your party tonight. I’ve caught the flu

Matte Bon (1992a) and Butt and Benjamin (1995) attributes the following uses to this form in Spanish:

1. Current relevance

   ¿Has leído el Quijote?

   Have you read El Quijote?
Extended now of the past

Esta mañana he llegado tarde a clase
This morning I was late for class
This morning I have been late for class for the fifth time

Immediate past

¿Qué ha sido ese ruido?
What was that noise?

To report “hot news”

Franco ha muerto
Franco has died

As the examples illustrate, the main difference in the use of this tense in English and Spanish relates to the expression of the immediate past which cannot be expressed in the Present Perfect in English.

2.1.4 The Past Perfect

The Past Perfect, referred to as Preterito Pluscuamperfecto in Spanish, situates an event prior to another event itself in the past. Thus, the time of the event (ET) is anterior to the reference time (RT), which is also prior to the time of speech (ST). The past perfect may refer to both realised and non-realised actions. The temporal scope of this verb form can include both events that are punctual in the past and events that are durative or habitual. English and Spanish largely coincide in the use of this tense.

We use the Past Perfect to refer to an event anterior to a point in the past

I told him I had seen that film already

Le dije que ya había visto esa película

However, in English, the Past Perfect is used to describe unrealised wishes. In this context, Spanish uses the Imperfect.

To describe unrealised wishes
I had hoped that he would ask me out

Esperaba (IPFV) que me pidiera salir con él

2 1 5 The Future

The "future tense" has posed difficulties for grammarians. While some argue that the tense is expressed by means of the auxiliary construction (will + infinitive), others maintain that the future tense does not exist as such, and that "certain grammatical constructions are capable of expressing the semantic category of FUTURE TENSE" (Quirk and Greenbaum 1985 176). These authors follow those grammars that talk about tense as a category realised through verb inflection. Therefore, they do not refer to future as a tense or as a formal category. "What we do say is that certain grammatical constructions are capable of expressing the semantic category of FUTURE TIME" (1985 178). Spanish has several ways of expressing the future. However, in contrast to the English language, the Spanish verbal system itself presents a verb form (cantaré/I will sing) to refer to situations in a time posterior to the time of speech. This allows speakers of Spanish to exploit the contrast between present and past or future, while at the same time maintaining the notion of tense, not only as a temporal perspective but also as a grammatical category. Nonetheless, this form is not the most common in everyday speech.

In the expression of future time in English modality, aspect and futurity are closely related. This is due to the fact that to refer to future time we resort to the simple present, the present progressive form and modal auxiliaries. There is a wide range of linguistic devices both in English and Spanish, for referring to future time, including what has traditionally been labelled "future tense", (they will go tomorrow), futurate tenses of various kinds, including the present tense, (they go tomorrow), the present progressive tense, (they are going tomorrow), the Present Perfect (if they have gone (by the time you return))”. We will not go into detail of the various meanings conveyed by these forms because the expression of future is very limited in the present study due to the particular nature of the elicitation procedure used in the present study (see Section 3 3). As a brief illustration we present the uses of the future form in Spanish.
Matte Bon (1992) identifies the following uses for the future forms in Spanish:

1. **Futuro prospectivo** — the most general of all. It only indicates that the event we are referring to is posterior to the time of speech. It may be accompanied by other temporal markers.

   *Se lo diré*  
   I will tell him.

2. **Future form referring to present time to portray doubt or hypothesis**

   *A estas horas ya estará en Madrid*  
   She must be in Madrid by now.

3. The future tense is used to refer to an unlikely relationship between the subject and predicate of a sentence. It conveys a sense of “incredulity”.

   *Será muy rico pero no gasta ni un duro*  
   He might be very rich but he doesn’t spend a penny.

4. **Carrying connotations of intent or wish**

   *Iré lenta pero segura*  
   I may be slow, but I am safe.

It must be noted, however, that the future form co-exists with the periphrasis *ir a* + *infinitive* (to go to + infinitive) to express the notion of future time.

2.1.6 The Conditional form

King (1992) argues that if we concluded that the present, past and future tenses do not refer to real world time, and therefore cannot be represented in a time line, the conditional does so even even to a lesser extent. Because of its nature, the conditional is also referred to as an “atemporal form.” In the present study, we use the term “conditional” as this is the term adopted in university grammars. The conditional form
provides time references depending on the context, such as hypothetical situations for the past and future, polite requests or conditional statements. However, due to its nature the conditional does not provide the situation reported with a specific temporal viewpoint as the realisation of a given situation depends on the completion of the main clause in the case of if/si clauses, or it expresses a prediction and therefore it is non-factual.

In English the conditional form is used in the following situations:

1. **Polite requests**
   
   Would you mind closing the window?

2. **Probability in the past**
   
   That would be his mother.

3. **Preference**
   
   I would rather have tea.

4. **Conditional sentences**
   
   If they wanted to listen I would tell them the truth.

5. **Repeated actions in the past**
   
   When I was little, on Sundays we would visit my grandmother, go for walk.

Grammars of the Spanish language list the following functions for the conditional:

1. **Polite requests and statements**
   
   *Desearia hablar con usted*
   
   I would like to talk with you.

2. **Conditional statements**
   
   *Si quieren escucharme les diria la verdad*
   
   If they wanted to listen to me I would tell them the truth.
The conditional is mainly used to refer to events which the speaker wants to present as hypothetical or depending on conditions

*Si tuviera más dinero me compraría un coche*

If I had more money I would buy a car

In this example, we can see that even though the speaker is referring to an event which is not likely to occur, she/he is expressing a wish or hypothesis that is relevant and true at the moment of speech, and therefore can be qualified as referring to the present.

The conditional form can be used to make predictions about the future

*Sería sorprendente que mañana se presentase en casa*

It would be a surprise if he arrived home tomorrow

2.1.7 Other forms

It is important to note that new temporal and aspectual meanings can be conveyed by the combinations of tenses, as is the case in Spanish with forms like *hube hecho*/*I had done*, which differs from the Past Perfect because it uses as an auxiliary the preterite form of the auxiliary instead of the imperfective (*había hecho*). In these instances the combined form carries the meaning of the two tenses that form it (see Matte Bon 1992, King 1992, Poutain and Kattan-Ibarra 1997) for a detailed description of the pragmatics of these tenses in Spanish.

2.1.8 Conclusions

The first obvious difference between English and Spanish tense is the lack of personal inflections in the English language and the fact that Spanish allows null subjects. On the other hand, there are many similarities between the verbal systems of English and Spanish. Both incorporate the notions of tense and aspect, mood however is not
expressed through verbal morphology in English. As we have illustrated in the previous section, in English and Spanish, tenses are polysemous, that is they express different meanings (Fleischman 1992).

Both languages use the Present tense as the base or unmarked tense, which coincides with the time of speech. At the same time speakers of English and Spanish are allowed by their respective languages to use this form to refer to situations which do not need to coincide with the time of speech, although Spanish seems to be more productive in this area.

The contrastive analysis of the tense systems of the two languages of concern to the present study indicates that the main differences in past morphology is the Preterite/Imperfect contrast in Spanish. The acquisition of this distinction in Spanish is notoriously difficult for L1 English speakers, whose tenses system does not make this an overt grammatical distinction. The choice given to speakers of Spanish by the perfective/imperfective aspectual contrast in the past results in some differences in the pragmatic uses of the simple past form. Salaberry (2000: 6) suggests that due to the differences in English and Spanish in the morphological marking of past tense, English speaking learners of L2 Spanish are likely to mark past tense in the following ways:

i. They may overextend the use of the Preterite as a single marker of past tense.
ii. They may equate the Preterite with the simple Past and the Imperfect with the Past Progressive, thereby overextending the use of the Past Progressive.
iii. They may fail to mark past (most likely with the use of present).
iv. They could be successful from the start.

These possibilities are considered in the analysis of the narratives gathered for the present study (Chapter 4).

In summary, in this section we have briefly explored the notion of tense and we have examined the pragmatics of present, past, future and conditional verb forms in English and Spanish. The verb forms presented here coincide with traditional verbal paradigms and are described as in university grammars. In relation to the pragmatics of tense in
English and Spanish, we have established that there are no significant differences in the conceptualisation of these tenses between Spanish and English. However, as the overview of the use of tenses indicates, pragmatic uses in both languages do not fully coincide. It is in these, often subtle, differences that the challenges for the second language learner rest.

In the section that follows we describe the grammatical marking of aspect in English and Spanish.

2.2 Grammatical Aspect in English and Spanish

By grammatical aspect we understand all of those features of the language which are morphologically coded to provide information about the internal temporal contour of a given situation. In this section, we examine aspect as it is coded in the English and Spanish languages. Several categories of aspectual information are conveyed by means of inflectional morphology and auxiliaries. These are referred to as progressive aspect, perfect aspect, perfective aspect and imperfective aspect. This information can be provided by means of inflectional morphology, (preterite vs. imperfect in Spanish), auxiliaries (present perfect in English and Spanish), and periphrastics (progressive in Spanish and English). There seems to be a lack of general consensus amongst scholars to use the term perfect or perfective and the two appear in the literature to describe the same aspectual value. In the course of the present dissertation the terms perfective and imperfective are reserved for Spanish (and Romance and Slavic languages) where they are obligatory aspectual distinctions.

2.2.1 Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect provides an event with the quality of an ongoing process. In English it is marked by the auxiliary "be" which carries the tense marking and the suffix "-ing". Quirk et al. (1985: 198) suggest three different components for the progressive in English: (i) the event has duration (in the case of events), (ii) limited duration (in the
case of events and habits), (iii) the event is not necessarily complete. Givon attributes a pragmatic meaning of simultaneity to the progressive. This is apparent in narrative discourse where the progressive aspect can contrast with the simple present, and in contexts such as

1. What is she doing? (as we are talking)
   • She is working?

The features King (1992:88) attributes to the progressive aspect in Spanish are the following: (i) emphasis on moment of speaking, (ii) change from norm, (iii) portray state as dynamic situation. Progressive aspect in Spanish is marked by the verb estar + gerund. The external time is provided by the tense of the auxiliary estar, therefore the progressive aspect can occur in the present (esta comiendo), the past (estuvo/estaba comiendo) and the future (estará comiendo). There has been a great deal of discussion around the inclusion of these forms into the Spanish verbal paradigm. While some authors have included them in the verbal paradigm with the compound forms of the verbs, more recent grammars do not (Matte Bon 1992)

2.2.2 Perfect aspect

In broad terms, the perfect aspect indicates anterior time (Quirk et al. 1985:190). The perfect aspect situates an event in the time line in relation to other verb phrases, elements in the sentence or context. The perfect aspect can co-occur with present, past and future tense.

According to Givón (1993) in English the perfect presents the following features:

(i) anteriority - in this sense the perfect is associated with past
(ii) perfectivity - an event has been terminated or accomplished before the reference time
(iii) counter-sequentiality - in narrative the perfect signals that the event described is "out of temporal sequence", in opposition to the simple past

King (1992:84) concurs with Givon in his description of the Spanish perfect aspect.
223 Perfective/Imperfective aspect

In the overview of the Spanish verbal paradigm presented in Section 211, it was seen that Spanish presents two simple past forms, the Preterite and the Imperfect, which have different pragmatic uses and convey different temporal information about the events they are referring to. These two forms have traditionally been considered aspectual indicators for past actions. The Preterite and the Imperfect differ in aspect but not in tense. They also differ in usage, since in the case of languages which present a perfective and an imperfective aspect marker (Romance and Slavic languages), the former is more likely to be used to advance a narrative in the foreground and the latter for description in the background as discussed previously.

The preterite, regarded as marked for perfective aspect, expresses the anteriority to the time of speech of a completed action in the past. Because perfective aspect is concerned with the beginning and end of an event or situation, it can be inceptive, punctual or completive (Lafford and Salaberry 2003 50).

As in English, the imperfective form in Spanish concentrates on the duration of the event, ignoring its beginning or end. Calvo Perez (1997 52) describes the imperfect as "un pasado ficticio." He argues that this form not only functions as a past form but can also refer to the present and the future therefore disagreeing with the widely accepted notion of the imperfect as a tense for the past.

a) Ayer salías de casa con tu mejor amiga (past)
   Yesterday you were leaving the house with your best friend

b) Yo salía a algo y se me ha olvidado el qué (present)
   I was leaving to do something and I have forgotten what it was

c) Dicen que salían mañana en el autobus de las tres (futuro)
   They say they were leaving tomorrow on the three o'clock bus
Calvo Pérez argues that the imperfect does not need to indicate event or temporal boundaries, which are established by the context, and therefore he concludes that the imperfect is not a tense but an aspect. According to King, the imperfective aspect may express the following aspećual meanings:

1. a situation in progress in the past
2. intention in past
3. extended duration of situation in past
4. lack of focus on situation in discourse

2.2.4 Perfect/Perfective/Imperfective Progressive

English and Spanish allow for two aspećual values to be morphologically marked within the one verb phrase. In English the combination of the perfect and progressive aspect denotes the following meanings (Quirk et al. 1985):

1. With durative verbs, the meaning of the construction is that of an ongoing situation leading towards the present or recent past
   - They have been working all their lives
   - It can also have a sense of a habitual event up to the present,
     - In December we will have been living in this house for three years

2. With verbs of accomplishment and process the meaning conveyed by the perfective progressive is one of result or incompleteness
   - I have been writing an essay but I haven’t finished yet
   - I have been writing an essay all weekend (and it is now finished)

3. With a conclusive verb, the result of the action is still visible
   - It has been snowing all week
In Spanish, the combination of aspectual meanings results in the expression of the perfect progressive (he estado leyendo I have been reading), the perfective progressive (estuvo (PFV) durmiendo he was sleeping) and the imperfect progressive (estaba (IPPFV) durmiendo he was sleeping). The perfective progressive is perhaps the most complicated aspectual distinction for the English native speaker. Comrie (1976:23) argues that an approximate meaning may be conveyed in English by periphrasis of the type “I happened one day to be sleeping”. However, the perfective/imperfective distinction in Spanish results in two temporal perspectives for progressive events in the past where English has only one. At the same time, it can be argued that the existence of the imperfect and its combined progressive form are proof that the English progressive should not be equated to the Spanish imperfective. There is no agreement in the literature on the meaning of the imperfect and imperfect progressive, while some authors claim (Comrie 1976) that these forms are interchangeable. Other researchers argue that these forms have specific discursive functions depending on the type of discourse in which they are embedded (Gonzales 1995).

Table 2.5 summarises the aspectual contrasts expressed by means of inflectional morphology and auxiliaries in English and Spanish, identified in the course of this contrastive analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect progressive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective progressive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective progressive</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we have mentioned, differences in aspectual distinctions between English and Spanish are the source of one of the main difficulties facing Spanish L2 learners, as teachers and students alike know. As stated in Section 2.2.4, the main difference between English and Spanish is the existence in the Spanish verbal paradigm of the
perfective-imperfective distinction. This distinction compels speakers of Spanish to choose a particular internal temporal contour for a situation or event in the past. Although it is possible in many instances to translate the Spanish imperfect by a past progressive form in English, the two forms do not fully correspond.

2.3 Lexical aspect in English and Spanish

Under this heading we discuss lexical specific means of conveying aspectual information. There are three major devices in English by which aspect can be expressed: lexically aspectual periphrasis, prepositions, and repetitions. There are a number of modifications to the verb phrase that contribute to the expression of lexical aspect in Spanish. These are aspectual periphrasis, affixes, repetition, clitic pronoun se.

2.3.1 Aspectual Periphrases

In Spanish, as in English, aspectual periphrases are formed by the combination of verbs. The first verb carries the aspectual value, the second, which in Spanish occurs in the infinitive and in English in the gerund, carries the semantic load. Thus the aspectual meaning of a periphrasis is determined by the lexical value of the leading verb. The temporal value is determined by its tense. In the present study we are concerned with the expression of three main aspectual meanings by means of periphrases: inchoative or progressive (referring to the inception of an activity or state), iterative (repetition of an activity) and completive. Table 2.6 illustrates the main verbs that are used for the expression of these aspectual values in English and Spanish.
Table 23 Examples of aspectual periphrases in English and Spanish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inchoative/Ingressive</th>
<th>Iterative/Frequentative</th>
<th>Compleative/cessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td><strong>Spanish</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start to</td>
<td>Comenzar a</td>
<td>Continue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begin to</td>
<td>Empezar a</td>
<td>Keep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To go to</td>
<td>Ir a</td>
<td>Resume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ponerse a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estar a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Echarse a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2 Repetition

The use of repetition of the head of the verb phrase to modify the aspectual value of the verb is briefly mentioned in Berman and Slobin (1994:117). This use appears in the English Frog Stories collected by these researchers. It denotes an iterative value (*run and run, searched and searched*). Spanish also allows for the repetition of the verb to convey this aspectual meaning. It appears in the narratives gathered for the present study, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3.3 The aspectual particle *se*

In this section we examine the nature of the Spanish clitic *se*, also referred to as aspectual particle *se* as it modifies the evaluative structure of a predicate. This particle represents a means of conveying aspectual information which is available to speakers of Spanish, but does not have an equivalent in English.

Although a number of studies exist on this aspectual particle, its use in sentences of the type *Maria se comió la manzana*, has been largely ignored (De Molina 1974, Nishida 1994). The clitic pronoun *se* with an aspectual value can be distinguished from the other uses of *se* because sentences including this pronoun with a non aspectual role...
become ungrammatical if *se* is omitted (1) Other uses of the clitic pronoun *se* are reflexive/reciprocal, inherent, middle *se* and passive *se*

(1) A12  
*y tenía un perro que se llama Sam* (reflexive pronoun)  
y tenía un perro que llama Sam*
And (he) had a dog called Sam

A11  
*Por desgracia el perro se cayó de la ventana* (aspectual *se*)  
*Por desgracia el perro cayo de la ventana*  
Unfortunately the dog fell from the window

Arce (1989, cited in Nishida 1994) observes that transitive sentences with *se* express completive actions and he defines *se* in these instances as an aspectual marker. However, there are certain conditions that must be fulfilled in order for this to happen (1) the direct object must have a determiner, (2) the subject must be a specified agent (*Juan leyó el libro anoche*/*Juan se leyó el libro anoche*/*Juan read the book last night*)

At the same time the aspectual modification introduced in the predicate by the pronoun *se* is related to the original lexical aspectual class of the same predicate. When combined with *se* a dynamic verb such as *comerse* can only form telic expressions (events with a natural end point) However, certain events are still ambiguous *Comerse un pastel* (to eat a cake), can be done over time or in a mouthful, being either durative or instantaneous Aspectual *se* can also occur with both accomplishments and achievements, although the first are more predominant

Accomplishments present a relationship of homomorphism, that is, “every part of the event refers to some part of the object”, “the verb phrase satisfies the condition of gradualty” (Nishida 1994 436) This is made clear in sentences such as *Se leyó el libro* (he read the book), in which the process of reading results in the accomplishment The verb and the object become closely related in that respect This is the reason why we find the aspectual particle *se* accompanying consumption verbs (*comerse/to eat, beberse/to drink*) or with verbs with a structured object (to read a book) Achievements are different in this regard since they do not hold this relationship The process does not
become part of the culmination of the event. As a result, in sentences of the type *María se encontró 10 euros en la calle* / *María found €10 in the street*, se fulfils the role of an ethic dative. The homomorphic relationship of accomplishments is also present with states when there is a quantified direct object as in *me sé la lección* (*I know the lesson*) in opposition to nonquantified objects which do not accept the clitic pronoun in this role (*se español/* I know Spanish).

Nishida (1994) presented native speakers in her study with sentences where aspectual *se* was present in some instances and omitted from others of the type (*[se] pasó un día entero viendo la tele*/* She spent the day watching television*) She reports that her subjects strongly preferred sentences with *se*, especially when they emphasized the totality of an object involved in the event, or the termination of the event. These are also some of the reasons why aspectual *se* is most frequently used with predicates in the preterite, since this tense is characterised by its perfective aspect, which indicates an end point. With dynamic predicates the progressive aspect appears to construct a meaning of habituality (*el mes pasado Juan se leía el periódico cada día* / *last month Juan read the newspaper every day*).

De Molina (1974) discusses the use of *se* with verbs of movement. This is of particular relevance to the present study, since the majority of *se* particles which appear in the data gathered fall into this category. De Molina argues that with intransitive verbs which imply a point of origin and a destination point the aspectual particle acquires an inchoative value (*su perro y el se fueron en busca de la ranita* N01) Molina also brings to our attention a number of verbs which are common in the Frog Stories, *caer, caerse, escapar, escaparse* (to fall, to escape). With the first the use of the *se* emphasises the idea of the place into which the falling takes place. He offers the following examples:

1. *Le empujaron y cayó al agua*  
   They pushed him and he fell into the water (they pushed him in order to make him fall).

2. *Le empujaron y se cayó al agua*  
   They pushed him and he fell in the water (as a consequence).
Escaparse (to escape) emphasizes the point of origin. The following are examples of this use from the Frog Stories analysed in the present study:

A03  \textit{Y se escapó la rana del tubo}
And the frog escaped from the jar
A04  \textit{La rana se escapa de la jarra}
The frog escaped from the jar

The majority of studies in the acquisition of Spanish temporal features as a second language have ignored the clitic pronoun \textit{se} as a marker of aspectuality. This issue will be addressed in the present study in an attempt to fill the void in the literature in this regard.

2.3.4 Conclusion

The contrastive analysis of the expression of aspect by lexical means has also revealed another significant difference between English and Spanish, the aspectual particle \textit{se}. Aspectual \textit{se} is a feature of aspectuality which is not present in the English language. As Nishida's research signaled, native speakers have a preference for its inclusion in certain contexts, nonetheless speakers are very often unaware of the role \textit{se} plays in the language. Aspectual \textit{se} does not usually form part of the syllabus in second language classroom, however, it appears in the Frog Stories produced by informants taking part in this study. The role of aspectual \textit{se} in the development of the expression of temporality in Spanish as a second language will be explored further in Chapter 4, when we deal with the data analysed for the purpose of this study.

2.4 Adverbs and adverbial phrases

As mentioned before, not all languages have the same linguistic items to express all temporal relations (some languages do not mark aspect or tense), however, all languages use a wide variety of temporal adverbials. Temporal adverbs are not language specific, therefore every English adverbial has a Spanish counterpart.
Adverbials are limited in number in any language, however temporal adverbial expressions are unlimited. The role of adverbials in the learner language and in the expression of temporality in a second language is briefly discussed in section 13.4. An extensive inspection of adverbials would take us beyond the scope of this study. In this section, we will restrict the discussion to a brief general description of temporal adverbials.

Klein (1994) argues that even though, traditionally, analysis of the acquisition of temporal features has concentrated on predicates, neglecting other linguistic means by which the expression of temporality is achieved, temporality is encoded beyond the head of the verb phrase. Temporal adverbials play an important role in this regard, since they may alter the temporal value of a given tense or contribute to the expression of aspect.

1. *She is watching TV (at this moment)*
   *She is always watching TV (habitual action)*
   *I will see you today*
   *I will see you tomorrow*

In terms of syntax, temporal adverbials take three forms (1) adverbial phrases, (2) prepositional phrases, (3) adverbial subordinate clauses (see section 2.3), and (4) idiomatic expressions. It is also important to note that the position of these within the sentence is highly flexible in English and Spanish.

Adverbials provide information about the time, frequency, duration or other temporal aspects of a situation. Adverbials can be deictic (*last week, now, this morning*) or referential (*July 22nd*). Adverbials can also be anaphoric or chronological. Anaphoric adverbials refer back to some time already referred to in the context (*He was the fittest when he was training in Barcelona. At that time, he was the fittest he ever was*). Chronological adverbials are of the following type (*born on the 4th of July, in the first year of my degree*). Binmick (1991 307) describes frame adverbials as “an interval of time within which the described action is asserted to have taken place.” Frame adverbials serve to indicate the reference time. They include lexical examples (*last*...
week, next month) and non-indexical (June 7 1948) Frame adverbials occur with all Aristotelian aspects, however there is a group of adverbials that are limited to accomplishments and achievements. These are called *Frist* adverbials. Unlike durative adverbials or frame adverbials, adverbials in this class do not give information about the nature of the event. *Frist* adverbials locate events in time and denote time intervals. Adverbials can order the events they refer to as previous, subsequent or simultaneous in relation to a given time reference as indicated in section 2.3. Adverbs and adverbial phrases can modify temporal subordinators such as *before* or *after* (Binnick 1991: 308).

1. She left the party five minutes after we arrived.
2. I saw him just before he left for Africa.

Dietrich et al. (1995) classify temporal adverbials into four categories: position, duration, quantity and contrast. This classification has been adopted in subsequent studies, (Starren and van Hout 1996) and it is adopted in the present study. Temporal adverbials are classified as follows:

- **Adverbials of position (TAP)**: They specify the position of a time span on the time axis in relation to some other time (such as ST) *now, then, yesterday at six, two weeks ago*.
- **Adverbials of duration (TAD)**: They specify the duration of a time span *for many days, all week, from 3 to 5*.
- **Adverbs of quantity (TAQ)**: They specify the frequency of time spans *twice, quite often, hardly ever*.
- **Adverbs of contrast (TAC)**: Dietrich et al. amalgamated what they call "a small but important" (1995: 25) number of adverbials in this class. These adverbials they classify on the basis that they mark a temporal contrast. In this class they place adverbials such as *again, still, yet, already*. Givon (1993: 74) refers to this class as "aspectuality adverbs". Both terms are used in the present study.
2.5 Subordinate temporal clauses

Subordinate temporal clauses establish a temporal relationship between the event in the main clause and the event in the subordinate clause. The event expressed in the subordinate clause can hold a relationship of anteriority, posteriority or simultaneity to the event in the main clause. The nature of the relationship between the two clauses may be determined in two ways, (a) by the meaning of the temporal connector introducing the subordinate clause (b) by the correlation of tenses (GDLE 1999). A more comprehensive overview on how these terms are interpreted in the present study is offered in Section 3.3.4. Tense correlation takes place when the subordinate verb orients its temporal value towards the event in the main clause as in the following example:

1. **El niño se dio cuenta de que la rana se había escapado**
   The boy realised the frog had escaped

In subordinate temporal clauses the axis of the temporal deixis is set by the tense of the event in the main clause rather than by speech time, as is the case in independent clauses. In the example above, the deictic centre is given by the verb in the main clause, therefore the temporal value of anteriority of the verb in the subordinate clause is held in relation to the event in the main clause rather than to the time of utterance. Since the present tense expresses simultaneity between speech time and event time, subordination to a verb in the present tense does not affect tense correlation. Verb tenses in subordination to a verb in the present tense maintain their meaning in relation to the time of speech. Tense correlation is made more complex in Spanish with the appearance of the subjunctive mood.

In this section we examine how relations of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority are expressed in English and Spanish. We will focus primarily on the use of temporal subordinators to express these temporal relations. In relation to tense correlation, only...
those particular instances of tense correlation for the expression of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority which are relevant to the present study are addressed

2.5.1 The expression of simultaneity

There are two ways by which simultaneity between the event in the main clause and the event in the subordinate clause may be expressed in English and Spanish, these are the use of connectors, on the one hand, and by means of tense correlation in subordinate clauses without a temporal connector, on the other.

Several subordinators indicate simultaneity that is to say an overlap in time between the events in the main and subordinate clause (Quirk et al, 1985)

1. *As* denotes the simultaneity of two situations
   - As the boat sailed away, the wind grew stronger

2. *As long* and *so long as*, appear in durative clauses
   - Both events finish at the same time
   - As long as I live here, there will not be a television in the house

3. *While* and *whilst* require that the event in the subordinate clause be durative, but the event in the main clause need not be
   - The phone rang while I was in the bath

4. *When*, like *while*, implies simultaneity if one of the clauses is durative. In the cases in which it implies repetition, it can be replaced by *whenever*
   - When I work I don't like being disturbed

In Spanish there are several connectors of simultaneity *cuando, mientras, al + infinitivo*

I shall refer to these connectors in relation to their temporal value, leaving aside other possible meanings which do not fall within the scope of this work.
1. *Cuando* may express both simultaneity and sequentiality. In what follows, I shall refer to the use of *cuando* as a marker of the former. *Cuando* expresses simultaneity in the following contexts (examples taken from GDLE 1999).

a) The verb either in the main or subordinate clause appears in the Imperfect.

   *Juan se marchó cuando María escribía la carta*  
   Juan left when María was writing the letter  
   *Juan escribía su carta cuando María escribía la suya*  
   Juan was writing his letter while María was writing hers

b) The verb in the main clause appears in the Past Perfect.

   *Juan se había marchado cuando María llegó*  
   Juan had left when María arrived  
   *Pepé habrá terminado la tesis cuando lleguen sus padres*  
   Pepé will have finished his thesis when his parents come

According to García Fernández, the simultaneity reading is obtained because the end result of the events in the two clauses coincides in time. In situations such as the ones depicted above, we may think that *cuando* expresses sequentiality, if that were the case, *cuando* could be replaced by *una vez que* (once) which is not possible in these instances.

11. *Al + infinitive* expresses simultaneity between the events in the two clauses. It is equivalent to *cuando* followed by an infinitive. The subject of the predicate is the same in both clauses.

   *Al levantarse, el niño descubrió que la rana se había escapado*  
   When he woke up the boy realised that the frog had escaped

111. *Mientras* always establishes a relationship of simultaneity between the event in the main clause and the event in the subordinate clause. The event in the subordinate clause can appear in the indicative or subjunctive mood.

   *Una noche mientras dormía la rana se escapó de la jarra*  
   One night while (he) slept the frog escaped from the jar

Simultaneity between events can also be expressed by the use of the progressive aspect (Givon 1993 155) which depicts an event (a) as occurring at the same time as another event (b) and uses it as an anchor tense in relation to which an event takes place.
correlation in this instance applies in English and Spanish, as we have seen in section 2.1 the general temporal value of tenses in the two languages coincides

iv When he arrived I was cooking the dinner
\textit{Cuando él llegó, yo estaba haciendo la cena}

However, it must be pointed out that, although Spanish allows for the use of the progressive aspect in this manner, native speakers display a preference for the use of the Imperfect (Silva-Corvalan 1983)

v \textit{Cuando él llegó, yo hacía la cena}

2.5.2 The expression of anteriority

By anteriority we understand the ordering of two events in time where the event depicted by the verb in the main clause is the orientation point for the event in the subordinate clause, and one event precedes the other on the time axis. Once again, the ordering of these two events in time may be expressed through the use of temporal connectors, or by tense correlation.

In English, the subordinators that serve to indicate that the situation in the main clause occurred before the situation in the subordinate clause are \textit{until}, \textit{till}, and \textit{before}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Until/Till} \textit{Till} is used in the same way as \textit{until}, but it occurs less frequently. These subordinators signal the time up to which the situation in the main clause takes place. The verb in the main clause must be a durative verb or a negative clause. \textit{She talked until she was asked to stop}
  \item \textit{Before} \textit{Before} also situates the event in the main clause prior to the event introduced by the subordinate clause. It differs from \textit{until} in a number of ways. \textit{Before} does not require the event in the main clause to be durative
\end{itemize}
\[I \text{ left the house before he arrived}\]

The situation in the subordinate clause may be prevented from taking place by the event in the main clause

\[He \text{ gave out to me before I had time to apologise}\]

In Spanish the connector \textit{antes} (before) orders two events in terms of precedence. \textit{Antes} can be followed by \textit{que} or \textit{de que}. As is the case with the simultaneity connectors, \textit{antes} allows for the verb in the subordinate clause to appear in a different tense form from the verb in the main clause.

The expression of anteriority is also possible by means of tense correlation. As we commented in section 2.2, the perfective aspect indicates anterior time. An absolute tense, present or past, serves as the anchor time towards which the perfective relative tense is oriented. In the particular context of this study, the development of the ability to establish temporal relations of anteriority by means of tense correlation between the Past Perfect and the Preterite by L2 learners of Spanish is examined.

2.5.3 The expression of posteriority

The expression of posteriority does not feature prominently in narrative discourse. In general, the principles of discourse organisation signal that events are interpreted in sequence unless otherwise stated. Nonetheless, speakers may choose to mark in an overt manner that the situation in the main clause takes place after the situation in the subordinate clause. Quirk et al. (1985) identify the following connectors for the expression of posteriority in English:

\[\text{as soon as, immediately, once, and similar modifiers express the idea of temporal proximity between events}\]

\[\text{As soon as they got home I left}\]

113
After is the adverb most commonly associated with the expression of posteriority. It differs from the previous subordinators because *after* allows for the possibility that the event in the main clause may occur before the event in the subordinate clause.

He was still hungry after he ate all his dinner.

*After* can be replaced by *before* in nondurative clauses. I did the housework before they arrived. They arrived after I did the housework.

*After* cannot be replaced by *before* in situations where the event described by the subordinate clause is durative or when the *after* clause implies cause.

I met him before he became an accountant. He became an accountant after I met him.

He won the prize after he climbed Everest. He climbed Everest before he won the prize.

*Since* marks the time after which the event in the main clause is relevant. I feel much better since I gave up smoking.

*When* and *whenever* can imply posteriority if they can be substituted by *after*. She was very surprised when/after she heard the news.

In Spanish, the connector *después* and *después* followed by *de* or *de que* orders events temporally resulting in the event in the main clause being posterior to the event in the subordinate clause.

*María llamó después de que Juan saliera del despacho.* Maria called after Juan had left the office.

When *después* holds a purely temporal value it can be substituted by *antes* reversing the order of the two clauses.

*Juan salió del despacho antes de que María llamara.* Juan left the office before Maria calle.
To conclude, in the previous sections we have detailed the lexical means by which English and Spanish express the temporal relations of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority, three basic elemental notions that inform our concept of time. The contrastive analysis of the devices available to English and Spanish speakers to convey this information indicates that the two systems are comparable. In general terms, English appears to be slightly more productive in terms of connectors. Spanish, with a very rich tense/aspect system, relies on tense correlation as well as connectors. These temporal relations are of particular relevance to this study concerned with the expression of temporality in narrative discourse.

2.6 Conclusion

This contrastive study has centered on the expression of temporality in English and Spanish through the use of tense, aspect and adverbials and subordinate clauses. In this section we shall summarise the conclusions drawn from the contrastive analysis.

To begin with, it is important to remember that all the devices available for the expression of temporality are interrelated and work together to convey the temporal characteristics of a particular event or situation. Tense, aspect and adverbials must be considered as a system and therefore the expression of temporality cannot be considered without considering all of these components. The following table illustrates the typological characteristics of the two languages.

The comparison of the tense systems has revealed that there is a relatively high correspondence between English and Spanish, made apparent by the translation equivalents between the two languages. However, the pragmatic use of each tense in a particular language does not always fully correspond to the use of its counterpart in a different language. As the table indicates, the major difference in the tense systems in English and Spanish results from the preterite/imperfect distinctions in Spanish. The aspectual difference in the characterisation of events by means of the imperfective/perfective progressive in Spanish, (estaba buscando/estuvo buscando) which does not
exist in English is difficult to convey to the speaker of a language which does not require that it be marked. This has obvious implications for the learner of Spanish as a second language.

"the problem comes when we try to understand what it is that the speaker of a language with aspectual oppositions knows which a nonspeaker does not know, and consider how to model this knowledge of grammar”

(Binnick 1991:209)

The second main difference in this regard is the use of the aspectual particle *se*.

| Table 2.4: Typological characteristics of Spanish and English (adapted from Berman and Slobin 1994) |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| **Tense/Aspect**                                 | English           | Spanish           |
| Grammaticised tense                             | +                 | +                 |
| Present                                         | +                 | +                 |
| Present progressive                             | +                 | +                 |
| Present perfect                                 | +                 | +                 |
| Perfective past                                 | +                 | +                 |
| Imperfective past                               | -                 | +                 |
| Past perfect                                    | +                 | +                 |
| Future                                          | -                 | +                 |
| Conditional                                     | +                 | +                 |
| Grammatical aspect                              | +                 | +                 |
| progressive                                     | +                 | +                 |
| perfect                                         | +                 | +                 |
| Perfective/imperfective                         | -                 | +                 |
| Aspectual periphrasis                           | +                 | +                 |
| prepositions                                    | +                 | -                 |
| Aspectual pronouns                              | -                 | +                 |
| **Temporal adverbials**                         |                   |                   |
| Subordination to express temporal relations between events | +                 | +                 |
| Connectors                                      | +                 | +                 |
In section 1.3, we presented the stipulations for research in the area of linguistic relativity. These are:

1. Deal with a concept that is both universal and liable to culture specification
2. Examine a non-linguistic concept that requires to be coded grammatically
3. Examine a concept that requires a cognitive disposition
4. Deal with two or more languages

In this chapter, the examination of the linguistic features for the expressions of temporality and temporal relations in English and Spanish has allowed us to identify where differences lay in linguistic terms in the two languages. In turn, this allows us to recognise where the linguistic realisation of a particular temporal contour is not marked in English but requires to be in Spanish. An example of this is the auxiliary of the past progressive in Spanish, which can be perfective or imperfective, rendering two perspectives where English has only one (estaba durmiendo/estuve durmiendo/ I was sleeping). The analysis of the data gathered for the present study will contribute to shed more light to how these aspectual distinctions are acquired and expressed in narrative discourse by the Spanish L2 learner. In addition, it will allow us to assess the influence of language in the conceptualisation of these distinctions.
Chapter Three
Research Methodology
3.0 Introduction

As suggested earlier, the focus of the present study is the development of the expression of temporality in L2 learners of Spanish in narrative discourse. Research in the field of language acquisition has progressed from descriptions of learner varieties to a more general investigation of their dynamic nature. As far as the study of temporality is concerned, this means looking in detail, not only at the morphology of temporal concepts, but also looking at the elaboration of temporal constructions in discourse (Noyau 2002:107). At the same time, the present research approaches the study of temporality within the particular framework of linguistic relativity and "thinking for speaking" proposals, which suggest that linguistically coded concepts are more salient and therefore more readily available for conceptualisation by speakers of a particular language. This becomes apparent in the process of carrying out linguistically mediated tasks. It is in the process of using language in discourse that the relationship between the grammar of a particular language and shaping of the thinking process is made apparent. As a conceptual domain interwoven with the linguistic one, the study of temporality allows us to examine these proposals.

We have chosen this line of enquiry because temporality is central to narrative discourse. As in L1, in narrative discourse temporal information has to be conveyed at the sentence level and the discourse level. Learners have to produce semantic and syntactic relations in grammatically well-formed sentences and situate them in time and in relation to one another. In order to capture the way in which L2 learners will gradually code and express temporal relations, it does not suffice to focus on one level of analysis, that is morphology or lexicon (Andersen 1986, King 1992, Cadierno 2000, Salaberry 2000 amongst others) as is often the case. The expression of temporality rests as much on the interaction between tense and aspect as it does on temporal adverbials and subordinate temporal clauses (Berman and Slobin 1994, Dietrich et al. 1995).

With this in mind, our research embarks on the study of the acquisition of temporality by Irish native speakers of English who are learners of Spanish as a second language. The goals of the study are two-fold. On the one hand, we propose to present a picture of the development of the linguistic expression of temporality in narrative discourse by
learners from the early stages of acquisition to near-native level of proficiency. On the other hand, we intend to consider the linguistic relativity and “thinking for speaking” proposals as relevant theories in the study of second language acquisition. It is in the manner outlined in the course of this chapter that this study endeavours to add to the growing body of knowledge about the acquisition of Spanish as a foreign language.

For the purpose of this study we understand the study of temporality in the manner defined by Berman and Slobin

TEMPORALITY. the expression of the location of events on the time line, temporal relation between events, and temporal constituency of events (contour, phase) by means of tense/aspect marking on verbs, lexical marking of aspect (particles, verbs, adverbs), temporal conjunction and subordination

(Berman and Slobin 1994 19)

Therefore, our concern is with the range of different linguistic devices available in Spanish for the expression of temporality, so the linguistic forms we focus on are fundamental for the successful elaboration of a narrative text in this language. These include (1) tense (2) aspect (3) adverbials (4) temporal subordination. The examination of these formal categories is carried out with an emphasis on the relationship between form and function since the particular ways in which temporality can be expressed is highly dependent on form-function relations available to speakers. We use “forms” in the broad sense of the term to include the range of existing linguistic devices, such as morphemes, particles, adverbs and syntactic constructions. Thus, forms emerge to fulfil particular functions in the narrative discourse. With the development of linguistic competency, these forms acquire and develop new functions.

The chapter will proceed as follows, section 3.1 describes and justifies the material selected for the elicitation procedure. Section 3.2 briefly explains the pilot study and discusses the changes introduced before the main study was undertaken. The subsequent section describes the research methodology of the main study in some detail considering the subjects, testing procedure, coding and transcription and data analysis.
3.1 Materials and procedure

Previous studies into the acquisition of Spanish L2 temporality along lines similar to the present study have opted for the retelling of either fictional or personal narratives as elicitation procedures. These studies have noted that the type of task may influence the results (Lopez Ortega 2000, Camps 2002). Some of the arguments put forward in favour of personal narratives include the fact that non-native speakers will normally integrate less background information in fictional narratives (Tomlin 1984). Noyau (1990) argues that personal narratives, unlike fictional narratives, which tend to follow a chronological order of events, provide more information in relation to the acquisition of temporality. Bardovi-Harling (1995) offers arguments for the appropriateness of fictional narratives in second language research of tense, aspect, and narrative discourse. In the first place, fictional narratives allow the researcher greater control over the types of events as well as the subsequent examination and analysis of what has been left out. In addition, fictional narratives contribute to the collection of a larger database for any given item with the result that statistics are more reliable. This allows for cross-sectional comparability across speakers at a particular developmental stage and in longitudinal studies across different stages contributing to inform the process of acquisition. Furthermore, the use of fictional narratives allows for comparison between languages and studies. Chafe (1980) noted, for example that in his study it was useful to gather data from different people talking about the same thing in order to see what similarities and differences emerged between different verbalizations of what was, at least to a large extent, the same knowledge.

Chafe, W 1980 xii

Bearing Chafe's observations in mind a fictional narrative was considered an appropriate elicitation tool for the purpose of the present research study. As noted in chapter 2, studies in the acquisition of Spanish L2 temporality have often selected the film Modern Times (Liskin-Gasparro 2000, Salaberry 2000, 2003). This is an 8-minute silent film. After viewing the film, learners are asked to retell the story following a particular set of instructions. These instructions compel informants to retell the story as a witness adopting the role of one of the characters in the story or simply as a recall.
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task There are, however, several reasons why picture stories, such as our Frog Story, may be considered more appropriate than film narratives. In the first place, picture stories eliminate possible constrains and difficulties confronting the participating learners, as the memory variable is removed from the task. In addition, the pictures guide the relator through the narrative process, thus contributing to ensure that all participants refer to all events in the story.

As a result, the picture book *Frog, where are you?* was adopted as a suitable tool for the elicitation of the narratives which were to inform the study. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this is a picture book without words, expanding across 24 vignettes which depict the adventures of a boy and his dog in search of their lost frog (Appendix A). This story has been previously used for research in Spanish first language acquisition (Sebastian, Ornat, Aguilar in CHILDES). To our knowledge, however, it has not informed research in the acquisition of L2 Spanish.

The story includes all the components for a narrative as presented in Chapter 1 (Labov 1972). Table 3.1 provides a summary of the plot of the story by episode as interpreted by the researcher. The first column indicates the picture number, the middle column corresponds to the part of the narrative and the last column offers a summary of the plot as depicted in the particular frame. This summary will also assist the analysis of the narratives gathered.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>episode</th>
<th>stage</th>
<th>Scene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>orientation</td>
<td>The boy and the dog look at the frog in the jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Initiating</td>
<td>While the dog and the boy are asleep, the frog escapes from the jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Complicating</td>
<td>The boy and the dog wake up and realize the frog is missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>action</td>
<td>They search for the frog around the room The dog sticks his head in the jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>They look out the window and call for the frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>The dog falls from the window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>The boy climbs out of the window The jar breaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>They go to the woods Continue to call for the frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>The boy looks in a hole The dog jumps at a beehive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>A gopher comes out of the hole The dog barks at the beehive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>The boy climbs a tree and looks inside The hive falls down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>An owl comes out of the hole The boy falls down The bees chase the dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>The owl attacks the boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>The boy climbs on top of a rock, holding on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>The boy is caught on the antlers of a deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>The deer carries the boy off The dog follows them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>The deer stops, the dog, and the boy fall down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>The boy and the dog fall into the water below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>The boy hears a sound The dog is on his head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>The boy asks the dog to be quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>They look behind a log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>They see two frogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>A family of frogs appear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Resolution</td>
<td>The boy has a frog The boy and the dog leave waving goodbye to the others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the table indicates, the story gives rise to a wide range of possibilities for the expression of temporality, both at the level of the single episode and in relation to the overall temporal development of the narrative. There are a number of discrete units, as well as simultaneous actions. At the level of the episode the internal contour of events may be considered as either perfective—punctual and completed—, or imperfect—durative. This requires a choice between two possible aspectual distinctions. The following is an example of how two participants have opted for a different temporal perspective in the narrating of the same episode describing the boy and his dog setting out in search for the frog.
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(1) NN01 42-44  
y los dos se fueron a buscar (PFV) a la rana perdida La buscaron (PFV) por todos los sitios
And the two went to look (PFV) for the missing frog (They) looked (PFV) for it everywhere

(2) NN05 36-41  
y empezaron a buscar (PFV) a la rana Estaban (IPFV) muy tristes El niño nuraba nuraba (IPFV) por todas partes por todo el bosque
And (they) started to look (PFV) for the frog They were (IPFV) very sad The boy looked and looked (IPFV) everywhere in the woods

As the examples show, participant S01 refers to the boy “looking everywhere” as a perfective event and uses the preterite On the other hand, participant S05 describes it as an ongoing situation both by means of the imperfective aspect and by introducing repetition This availability of choice offers the researchers an opportunity to observe how the competency of learners in expressing temporality is manifested in their discourse as compared with the choices made by native speakers

At the level of narrative discourse, a skilled narrative must consist of more than a linear succession of events, but rather events must be organized into a hierarchy That is, a narrative is more than a sequence of events, whose order follows that of the pictures or episodes in the story A skilful use of temporal forms in a narrative will integrate references to different points of events These event phases are subordinated to main clauses In addition, a foreground and a background need to be constructed To achieve this, narrators must link up events to each other temporally, establishing relations of simultaneity, posteriority and anteriority between events The frog story offers many opportunities for narrators to do so In the following example, a native speaker chooses to overtly establish a relationship of anteriority between the frog’s escape and the boy and the dog’s realisation that the frog has left This is done by means of tense alternation between the pretende and the past perfect

(3) N05 20 25  
a media noche el niño y el perrito se despertaron (PFV) y vieron (PFV) que la ranita ya no estaba (IPFV) dentro del potecito, se
extrañaron (PFV) y no entendieron (PFV) porque se había escapado (PAST.PERF).
During the night the boy and the dog woke up (PFV) and saw (PFV) that the frog was (IPFV) not in the little jar, (they) were surprised (PFV) and (they) did not understand (PFV) why it had escaped (PAST.PERF).

Alternatively, the example below extracted from the narrative by an informant in the advanced group, establishes a temporal relationship of simultaneity between these two events.

(4) A01:18-22 a la siguiente mañana cuando juansito y felix se despertaron, (PFV) se dieron (PFV) cuenta de que la rana no estaba (IPFV) en el frasco.
The following morning when juansito and felix woke up (PFV) (they) realised (PFV) that the frog was (IPFV) not in the jar.

By using the Frog Story as a device for eliciting data it is possible, therefore, to detect what type of temporal relations are more likely to be expressed and in which manner both by native and L2 learners of Spanish.

3.2. Pilot study

An initial pilot study was conducted during the academic year 2000-2001. The objectives of the pilot study were (i) to test the validity of the elicitation procedure, (ii) to ensure that adequate and valid data would be gathered.

3.2.1 Subjects

Twelve Spanish L2 learners, enrolled at the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies (SALIS) in Dublin City University (DCU), were invited to participate in the pilot study as volunteers. Six of the participants were second year degree students attending their fourth semester (L2a). The second group was formed by fourth year degree students (L2b). Subjects in this group had spent an academic year in Spain attending a third level institution as part of their degree requirements. The pilot
study was conducted at the two levels of proficiency in separate sessions. It was necessary to examine the production of two groups of learners with different proficiency levels to confirm that the procedure would ensure the validity of the data gathered at different stages of the acquisition process. There was no data gathered from a control group of native speakers at this stage. Rather transcriptions from narratives and results found in previous research studies were used to contrast L2 to L1 production. In particular, previous work by Sebastián and Slobin (1994) which examines the Frog Story narratives produced by young learners and adults was used as a reference point for L1 production. This allowed the researcher to preliminarily identify the type of temporal relations expressed and the linguistic devices used to convey this temporal information.

3.2.2 Materials and Procedure

Copies of the picture story were distributed to students and they were then asked to look at the story. They were told that they would be asked to retell the story. They were allowed to ask questions in relation to vocabulary. They were not given a time limit to prepare. As informants felt ready to start, they could do so, since the session took place in the language laboratory and they were assigned individual booths. There was no time limit to complete the task. The average length of the narratives was 7’30” for second year students and 11’45” for final year students. It is important to mention at this point that a number of informants were eliminated from the task as they told their stories entirely in the present tense. It was felt that for the purpose of this particular study it was important to deal only with narratives in the past. There are a number of reasons for this. In the first place, the present tense is not overtly marked for aspect, while aspectual distinctions are compulsory in the past tense in Spanish. A story narrated in the present tense does not provide information about the internal temporal perspective of the event adopted by the narrator. At the same time the use of the past tense marking means that, in certain instances, the learner may need to consider or may opt for marking three temporal points: speech time, reference time and event time. This complicates the temporal perspective of the situation being described. This allows the researcher to
make comparisons and predictions about the development of the expression of temporality in L2 Spanish of a more significant and valuable nature

3.2.3 Analysis of Results

The data gathered from the recordings was transcribed and coded for verbal morphology and syntax. The items classified included tense/aspect, aspectual periphrasis, adverbials and temporal subordinators. The analysis carried out at this point was of a qualitative nature. Table 3.2 summarises the findings of the Pilot Study. As the table indicates, the analysis of the narratives revealed significant differences in the marking of temporality amongst the learners and the stories produced by Sebastián and Slobin’s Spanish L1 speakers.

In relation to tense, the narratives produced by L2 learners showed considerably less tense variation than those of L1 speakers. The uses of the present tense in the L2 narratives signal in the majority of instances difficulties in inflectional morphology and in maintaining the temporal anchoring of the narrative in the past. On the other hand, native speakers make ample use of the present tense to insert evaluative comments, or in direct speech.

Another interesting finding was related to the use of the imperfective progressive. This tense/aspect form did not appear in the small section of narratives produced by informants in the lower proficiency group. However, it was used quite extensively by more advanced students, practically disappearing again in the L1 narratives.

(1) L2b  Cuando el niño estaba buscando la rana en el suelo, el perro estaba jugando (IPFV PROG) con las abejas
When the boy was looking (IPFV PROG) for the frog on the ground, the dog was playing (IPFV PROG) with the bees

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In general, the role assigned to the imperfective in the learner's narratives was that of marker for durative aspect, contrasting situations in the imperfect to punctual events reported in the preterite.

(2)L2b  
*Durante la noche mientras dormía* (IPFV) *el pequeño se escapó* (PFV) *la rana.*  
During the night while slept (IPFV) the boy, escaped the frog (PFV)

This is contrary to results reported by Sebastian and Slobin (1994) which suggest that the main role of the pretente/imperfective distinction is to provide a contrast between foreground and background information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/Aspect</th>
<th>Second year learners</th>
<th>Fourth year learners</th>
<th>Control group (Sebastian and Slobin 1994)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forms encountered</td>
<td>Present* Pretente Imperfective</td>
<td>Present* Pretente Imperfective Imperfective progressive Past Perfect (limited use)</td>
<td>Pretente Imperfective Past Perfect (others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfective completed actions Imperfective states / durative events</td>
<td>Perfective completed actions Imperfective durative events, background</td>
<td>Perfective encode plot advancing events imperfective various kinds of background</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspectual Periphrasis</th>
<th>Inchoatives</th>
<th>Inchoatives, iteratives</th>
<th>Inchoatives, Iteratives, Completives Use throughout across lexical classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual se</td>
<td>Not significant</td>
<td>Present in some narratives with verbs of movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Adverbs of Position</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal Adverbial clauses</th>
<th>Limited use subordination High use of coordination and sequential chaining Cuando Limited use</th>
<th>Temporal subordination</th>
<th>Extensive use of subordination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cuando used to express simultaneity</td>
<td>Cuando used to express simultaneity</td>
<td>Mientras used to express simultaneity relating two clauses with different protagonists Limited use</td>
<td>Mientras used to express simultaneity relating two clauses with different protagonists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cuando used to express simultaneity
Mientras used to express simultaneity relating two clauses with different protagonists

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Regarding the expression of aspect by means other than marking on the verb, two items were selected for analysis: aspectual periphrases and the particle se with an aspectual value. The examination of the use of aspectual periphrases showed that inchoatives are the only periphrasis to appear in the narratives from the L2a group. At the L2b level, iteratives emerged. There were no instances of other types of periphrases at these levels of proficiency. A similar route has been reported in studies of child language acquisition. The analysis of the use of se proved to be very revealing. Native speakers make frequent use of this marker to add a perfective meaning to the verb. The accompanying verb could be in either the perfective or imperfective aspect. Se appears in two instances in the L2a narratives, with the verb escapar (to escape). Its frequency of use was increased in the production of more advanced learners. To our knowledge, there is no study at this point that examines this aspectual marker in Spanish L2 acquisition.

Temporal adverbs have been identified as the earliest markers of temporality to appear in the Interlanguage of L2 speakers and in this regard they play a very significant role (Dietrich et al., 1995). The examination of the use of adverbs in the narratives collected for this pilot study indicated that, as far as narrative discourse is concerned, their role is of limited significance. However, the possibility that this may be due to sample size rather than to task constraints will be explored in the main study.

L1 narratives present a narrative style rich in subordination. Temporal relations between events are expressed both by means of tense alternation, and by means of temporal connectors. This affects the overall temporal organisation of the narrative. L2 narratives are elaborated as a sequence of events with little temporal connection between them in the first stages of acquisition. In time, narratives develop to offer a temporal dimension beyond the level of the predicate. Thus, events are integrated into an overarching temporal structure which encompasses the full story. The examination of the role of these subordinators indicates that their process of acquisition may contribute to inform the question of the expression of temporality at the discourse level.

In conclusion, the data from the pilot study revealed that the selection of temporal markers in Spanish L2 changes as the level of proficiency increases. As more linguistic
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devices are acquired and integrated into the L2 narrative, stories begin to show some of the temporal features which characterise the expression of temporality in the narrative discourse of native speakers. At the same time, the data suggests that the materials and procedure adopted are a valid tool for the present research study. The pilot study indicated that much of value could be learnt from a systematic study of the expression of temporality by Spanish L2 learners. Nevertheless, following the pilot study a number of changes were introduced. These are briefly outlined in the section which follows.

3.2.4 Review of Pilot Study

Following the pilot project it was established that the chosen picture book *Frog where are you?* was an appropriate tool for the elicitation of the narratives. However, the fact that a number of participants chose to tell the story in the present tense rendered some of the narratives inadequate for this particular study. Consequently, it was decided that instructions for the production of the main task would be more specific. This was done by asking informants to begin their narratives with the phrase *había una vez* (once upon a time). This procedure has been used in a previous study by Hasbún (1995). This situates the story in the realm of the past. There are two reasons for doing this. One is that there was much disparity between what informants chose to do. And more importantly, as we have mentioned before, the aspectual distinction of the Spanish past could not be manifested if the stories were narrated in the present tense. Once the instructions were given, stories which did not include the past tense were eliminated from the study.

Although all informants had completed a questionnaire to ensure they shared the same linguistic background, (Appendix B) and were enrolled in the same courses, there was a perception that some may have been more competent L2 learners than the rest of their counterparts. To ensure all informants in the one group shared the same level of proficiency in Spanish, a proficiency test was administered. This test was adapted from the examinations for the *Certificado Inicial de español lengua extranjera* for the second year students, and the *Diploma Superior de español lengua extranjera* for final year degree students. These exams lead to qualifications in Spanish as a foreign language.
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granted by the Ministerio de Educacion y Cultura (Spanish Department of Education) and are recognised as indicators of Spanish L2 proficiency worldwide. The level of the subjects was also considered according to the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) proficiency scale. This was done to render the results of the present study comparable to similar research, which uses this scale as an indicator of proficiency.

While the narratives produced by these two groups of informants yielded a significant amount of data for the study of the expression of temporality, it was felt it would be of interest to complement the data gathered by the inclusion of a more proficient group of speakers. A number of arguments justify this decision. Firstly, to date, the majority of the research carried out on the acquisition of temporality, both in naturalistic and classroom environments has been concerned with learners at the beginner or intermediate level of proficiency (Dietrich et al. 1995, Bardovi-Harling 1995, Salaberry 2000, Andersen 1986, 1991). Only a limited number of studies have dealt with advanced learners in Spanish L2 acquisition (Liskin-Gasparro 2000, Cadierno 2000). In this regard, this study will contribute to the limited body of knowledge concerned with the expression of temporality at the advanced stages.

In addition, in order to explore linguistic relativity and the "thinking for speaking" theory in second language acquisition, we must address the question of ultimate attainment. As discussed in Chapter 1, two different positions have been adopted by researchers in this regard. While Slobin (1991) suggests temporal schemata are intrinsically linked to L1 acquisition and therefore unlikely to be restructured in second language acquisition, Dietrich et al. argue that their study offers no evidence to sustain the claim that adult L2 learners cannot achieve mastery of the target language. For the purpose of this study a "proficient speaker" will be understood in the manner proposed by Berman and Slobin.

"Becoming a proficient speaker" means being able to use the linguistic forms to meet the specific discourse needs in a way which is appropriate from at least three points of view: (1) structural, as determined by the morphosyntax of the native language; (2) rhetorical, as determined by the way in which texts are typically...
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constructed in a particular native language and (3) **discursive**, as suited to the particular task at hand (Bermand and Slobin 1994 597)

3.3 **Main Study**

Having provided an overview of the materials and procedure and the pilot study, the remainder of the chapter presents in detail the research methodology employed in the main study.

3.3.1 **Subjects**

This study is informed by data gathered from 48 subjects. Thirty-six of these are L2 learners of Spanish. Twelve informants are native speakers of Spanish whose narratives provide a model of target performance. L2 learners are divided into three different groups according to the level of proficiency: Intermediate, Advanced, and Near-native. These correspond to the “generic descriptions” of proficiency for speaking, listening, reading, writing, and cultural awareness developed by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). The proficiency levels of the subjects were aligned with the ACTFL scales based on both the results of the proficiency questionnaire carried out for the purpose of the present research and general performance in their degree courses. The grouping of participants in this manner allows for comparison with other studies which also use ACTFL as indicators of proficiency. The distinction between untutored and classroom learners is an important variable in previous studies of Spanish L2 acquisition. Untutored learners, by definition, do not receive explicit instruction in the target language, and develop their language skills through social interaction. Classroom learners receive their input from instruction that resembles social interaction in communicative approaches (Salaberry 2002 399). In this regard, the data collected for the present study has been gathered from Spanish L2 learners who are classroom learners in the first instance (Intermediate), and who take part in immersion programmes (Year abroad) before being designated Advanced learners.
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3.3.1.1 Intermediate Learners

There are twelve Intermediate learners. These are second year degree students in the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies (SALIS), at Dublin City University. They had no formal knowledge of Spanish prior to their entry into third level education. Their chosen degrees include the B.A. in European Business, and B.A. in International Business and Languages. Students in the International Business and Languages degree must study two foreign languages. Students enrolled in the European Business degree course only take one foreign language, Spanish in this case. Their previous language learning experience included Irish and German or French at secondary level. One informant was fluent in sign language. They were involved in the fourth semester of language tuition at the time the exercise was conducted. They received an average six contact hours of tuition in Spanish a week.

To form this group students were selected in the following manner. Students taking the Spanish language module (SP240) were asked by their lecturer to complete the linguistic background questionnaire and to answer the test as discussed in section 3.2.1. This was done during class time and students were informed that it was a voluntary exercise unrelated to their coursework. Twenty-four students completed both the questionnaire and the test. Students were allowed 50 minutes to complete the task. The questionnaire revealed that all learners in this group perceived their level of Spanish to be low. The proficiency assessment exercise comprised 4 sections (Appendix C).

Section 1: The learners were presented with a short text with blanks to complete. The options were given in the form of a multiple-choice test.

Section 2: This section tested pragmatic knowledge. Students were presented with five possible everyday life situations and were asked to choose the appropriate response amongst three options.

Section 3: Students were asked to replace the wrong word in a sentence by the correct one out of a list provided.

Section 4: Reading comprehension exercise.
The researcher proceeded to correct the language proficiency tests. In order to ensure a homogeneous group, students' scores in the language test were considered. Students both at the upper and lower ends of the scale were eliminated. Candidates who scored between 27 and 31 points out of 35 possible marks were selected to carry out the narrative task. This resulted in 17 learners being deemed eligible. As a result of their performance in the language test the subjects in this group were designated as Intermediate according to the ACTFL proficiency scale. These learners were then asked to perform the narrative task which took place at a later date in the language laboratory. The set of instructions issued to participants before they engaged in the retelling of the Frog Story were as follows:

- Copies of the picture book were distributed to students. They were told that the task consisted in the oral narration of the story. There would be no time limit in the preparation;
- Questions relating to vocabulary items were answered by the researcher. However, students were not allowed to take notes.
- When students felt ready, they were asked to record themselves retelling the story. They were not allowed ask questions once they had commenced the recording.
- They were prompted by the researcher to commence their narrative with the sentence *había una vez* typical of story telling, and their attention was drawn to the past form.

The narrations were then transcribed by the researcher. This will be discussed in section 3.3.2. Out of the seventeen stories collected three were narrated in the present tense ignoring the instructions received. One subject used the present perfect as the leading temporal form and this too rendered her narrative inadequate. One informant did not finish the task.

3.1.1.2 Advanced Learners

This group was formed by 12 learners from a final year degree language module (SP475) at the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies (SALIS) at Dublin.
City University The informants were students of International Business and Languages or International Marketing and Languages. This language module was at the time taught by the researcher. The background questionnaire indicated that all students in this group had spent a year abroad at a third level institution in Spam as part of their degree. Students were on their eighth semester and had spent a minimum of 9 months in a naturalistic environment. They all perceived their level of Spanish to be intermediate. The language test was adapted from the *Diploma Superior de español lengua extranjera*. The procedure used for the selection of the participants in this group coincides that of the Intermediate. During class time students completed a linguistic background protocol and the proficiency test. A total of 28 students completed this task. As with the Intermediate group, students were informed that their participation in the study was voluntary and unrelated to their college work. The test included four sections:

- **Section 1** Multiple-choice cloze test exercise
- **Section 2** Multiple-choice cloze test exercise
- **Section 3** Learners were asked to identify out of the provided alternatives, the one with the same meaning as the question. This tested students’ pragmatic ability.
- **Section 4** Reading comprehension exercise

The results of the test were calculated, resulting in an average mark of 31/44. Fourteen students who scored between 29 and 32 points were selected to take part in the narrative task. These participants are in the Advanced level on the ACTFL proficiency scale. The procedure followed for the recording of the narrative task was the same as in the Intermediate group. Each student received each copy of the picture book. They were asked to look at it and ask any questions relating to vocabulary. They were informed that the task consisted in the oral narration of the story, which would be recorded. There was no time limit for the completion of the assignment, nor was there a limit to the length of the narration. Students were asked to begin their narration with the sentence *había una vez*. The stories produced by the fourteen learners were then transcribed and, as there were no discards, the first twelve were selected. These indicated a high level of compliance with the task instructions.
3.3.1.3 Near-native speakers

This third group of informants was incorporated into the study following the pilot project. The preliminary data from the pilot project suggested that the research would benefit greatly from the introduction of participants who were at a more advanced level in L2 Spanish acquisition. To this end, the researcher approached postgraduate students of Spanish who had been assigned teaching duties in their departments, and academics in third level institutions in Ireland. These participants were selected on the basis that they would share a similar background in relation to their language learning experience and everyday use of Spanish. This group is therefore formed by L2 speakers with considerable linguistic expertise. Their backgrounds differed in relation to the time spent studying Spanish, or the time spent in a Spanish speaking country. Nonetheless, their perceived level of proficiency is that of Near-native speakers. Informants received the same set of instructions as the two previous groups. This time however, the recording took place in the informant's office. Fourteen stories were collected from Spanish L2 speakers at this level of proficiency. Two of these had to be discarded because the initial use of the past tense was shifted to the present.

3.3.1.4 L1 speakers

Twelve narratives produced by native speakers were gathered for the purpose of this study. The narratives produced by this group of participants differ in length as well as in style. Native speakers have command of an extensive repertoire of linguistic forms. For example, some narrators make extensive use of direct speech while others do not. There is not such a thing as the "perfect" or "ideal" native narrative. However, as Berman and Slobin (1994) suggest, there is a set of general trends that configure Spanish Frog Stories (Section 1.4). In this context, the group of native speakers which took part in the present study serves a dual purpose. It provides us with a model, to use as a basis of comparison for the L2 narratives and also as the end product. L2 learners could aspire to achieve. In the study of the expression of temporality in the narrative discourse taking into consideration issues relating to linguistic relativity, it is necessary to have a model to which the L2 learner aspires. Although it is difficult to predict the
frequency and type of temporal relations to be established in the narrative, it is possible to compare learner frequency of use to native speaker frequency for the same text. Subjects in the control group are native speakers of Castilian Spanish. The data was gathered in the course of a scheduled meeting between the participant and the researcher. They received the same set of instructions as the rest of the participants in the study and were also asked to begin their story by using *habia una vez*. This seemed to be particularly difficult for native speakers, who tended to shift to the present tenses. This tendency common to native speakers has been documented in previous studies (Silva-Corvalán 1983, Hasbun 1995, Salaberry 2000). Seventeen stories were collected from native speakers. Five of these were eliminated since subjects shift to the use of the present tense, forgetting the instructions received. Table 3.3 provides a summary of the participating subjects' backgrounds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No of participants</th>
<th>Length of study</th>
<th>Self-rate</th>
<th>Instructions compliance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15 months</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>12/17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36 months</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>14/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near-native</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>more than 36 months</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>12/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1 group</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(native speakers)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12/17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2 Transcription and Coding

The audio-recordings of each of the narratives selected were transcribed and entered on the computer using CHILDES (Appendix E). The acronym CHILDES stands for Child Language Data Exchange System. This is a program designed specifically to analyze linguistic data. The analyses include frequency counts, word searches, co-occurrence analyses, MLU counts, interactional analyses, text changes, and morphosyntactic analysis.

The text was entered in lower case and no punctuation signs were introduced. Unintelligible speech was entered and marked as such. No prosodic information was
entered for the narratives as these features were of no particular relevance to the study. Evaluating comments were included in the transcription. These conventions follow data for the Frog Stories available in CHILDES. At the same time, following previous transcriptions of the Frog Story, the minimum unit of analysis was a clause, understood as

"any unit containing a unified predicate by which we mean a predicate that expresses a single situation (activity, event or state) including finite and non-finite verbs as well as predicate adjectives whether in the form of a verb or an adjective"

(Berman and Slobin 1994 657)

As a result, every clause containing a predicate was entered on a separate line. This means that aspectual perphrases and modal verbs were also interpreted as a single clause. The following examples illustrate these transcription criteria:

A01 17  

and in the morning juanito could not find the frog

A04 24  

the boy and the dog went to look for the frog in the fields

S03 63  

(they) stayed there some minutes

S03 64  

to rest

S09 30  

But the dog had the head inside the jar

S09 31  

And he could not take it out

In the course of the dissertation, informants can be identified by the reader in the following way: the first digit or letter identifies the group, I represents Intermediate informants, A represents Advanced, Nn stands for Near-native and N for native speaker. The following two digits identify the informant’s number within the group, for example, A02, identifies learner number 2 in the Advanced group. When part of the text produced by an informant is cited to illustrate an example, this ID number is followed by the number of the line as it appears in the transcription. The text was divided in a manner that could be identified as illustrating a particular picture. This allowed the researcher to

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identify what situations were omitted, if any. In the case of part of a text referring to more than one picture, the two numbers identifying the vignette have been entered.

After this process, the narratives were then coded. The coded items include: lexical class, tense-aspect, lexical aspect (periphrases and aspectual particle *se*, repetition) temporal adverbs and temporal subordinate clauses. Clauses were also coded for reference to foreground or background. The opening line, *había una vez* (once upon a time) was not coded for analysis as it was provided by the researcher. The last clause of the narrative, if a formulaic coda of the type *y vivieron felices para siempre* (and they lived happily ever after) was also not coded for morphology. Since it is not the errors than concern us in the present study, but rather the successful marking of temporal relations in the narrative, and how this marking develops to approximate the target language, erroneous verbal morphology was coded when the tense could be inferred from the situation. Research in the acquisition of tense-aspect morphology within the lexical aspect and discourse hypothesis maps out the order in which past morphology emerges, regardless of whether particular use is target-like in context or not as in the following example:

101:20 \textit{de repente el chico empezó* a vestirse muy rápidamente.} [\textit{=empezó}]
All of a sudden the boy started* to dress very quickly.

3.3.3 Frame of analysis

Following the coding, the analysis of the categories applied to the study was carried out. In this section, we shall present the temporal domains on which this study focuses and the procedures adapted to carry out the analysis of the data gathered. In the Frog Story, the length of the story is not critical for producing a felicitous narrative, and generally this it is not a factor considered in the analysis. An assumption which guides the present analysis was put forward by Schifflin (1994) and summarised by Bamberg (1997):

the type of discourse analysis is based first on the assumption that the recurrence of the same linguistic form signals the same meaning, as long
as the context is the same. Conversely, the employment of a different form, when the context is the same, signals a different meaning.

(Bamberg 1997 100)

The analysis of the narratives gathered for this study includes both standard qualitative and quantitative methods of linguistic research. Qualitative analysis can contribute to compare native use to learner use. This type of analysis is also suitable for use in language samples which contain unequal numbers of tokens. In addition, it serves to inform us about the development of form-function relations amongst the learners. The analysis includes quantitative details in relation to numbers and proportions of particular forms with the objective of finding common trends within groups which may contribute to inform the overall pattern in the developmental sequence of the expression of temporality. However, it is impossible to predict the frequency of occurrence of a particular form. Statistical tests, when they have been performed, are intended to present only those quantitative differences that seem large enough to suggest a developmental pattern. In some instances we have not performed statistical tests, because the number of subjects in each group is small. At the same time, the nature and orientation of the study renders statistical analysis inadequate at times. There are many ways in which temporality can be expressed, and, in many instances, it is a matter of style.

The result of this analysis is a description of the different temporal features included in the learners’ interlanguage in narrative discourse.

3 3 3 1 Tense/Aspect

As we have seen in Chapter 2, English and Spanish vary in the form-function relations attributed to tense and aspect forms. Although both languages have means of marking aspect, they differ with regard to the range and meaning given to forms. For this reason, to determine the meaning of a particular form, the entire system needs to be considered. Tense and aspect use is determined by both syntactic and discourse requirements. Discourse requirements are dictated by the narrative functions, as for example the use of the imperfective in the orientation and scene setting elements of the story. Syntactic requirements are dictated by subordination (tense correlation). For example, a study by
García and van Putte (1988) claims that non-native speakers rely more on local cues to select aspectual marking of the past (perfective/imperfective contrast), where native speakers rely more on the overall content of the narrative. In addition, tense/aspect contrasts inform us about the internal temporal contour of an event adopted by the speaker. In this regard, tense/aspect usage becomes subjective. The present study considers how tense/aspect forms function are developed in the narratives of Spanish L2 learners with a particular emphasis on how differences in the temporal conceptualisation and marking of events are approached by these learners.

Andersen (2002:82) argues that research on the L2 development of tense and aspect should focus on two main points. The first is concerned with form and function relations and how learners discover the meaning encoded in the morphology they begin to use and what that meaning is. The second aim of the study of tense and aspect should be to provide an explanation for the changes in form-meaning relations as learners’ interlanguage develops until correct form, function and distribution are attained. The analysis of the data gathered for the present study addresses these two issues.

In this context, the following approach was adopted in relation to tense/aspect form-function relations. Finite verbs were coded for verbal morphology. When a learner repeated the verb twice, it was coded only once. In cases where informants self-corrected, the final form offered by the learner was coded. This was done to ensure that there was no bias towards the corrected form on the part of the researcher. This avoided the total number of verb tokens from being artificially inflated, if all attempts at producing the correct form had been considered.

As noted previously on several occasions, tense and aspect are closely linked. This is of special relevance in the case of Spanish, since the use of the past tense results in an aspectual choice between the preterite-perfective form and the imperfect-imperfective form. For this reason, grammatical aspect as manifested through the use of the progressive is also addressed in this section.

Following the morphological coding, narratives were coded for grounding. Following Dry (1981, 1983 cited in Bardovi-Harling 1995) and Bardovi-Harlig (1995) clauses that
moved the narrative forward were identified as belonging to the foreground. Direct speech was not counted as foreground, however, the reporting verb introducing it was *(dijo)*. There are, however, considerations to be taken into account. When examining the distribution of grammatical aspect across the background and foreground in relation to the lexical aspect hypothesis and discourse hypothesis, tenses other than the imperfective and perfective have been eliminated. There are several reasons for this:

- *Firstly*, the present tense does not present overt aspectual marking, and therefore the data does not provide any information in this respect.
- The use of the present made by L2 learners was in most instances incorrect and in the case of L1 appeared as quoted speech.
- A number of tenses do not appear in a significant number. Therefore, it is impossible to reach conclusions in relation to their role in the learners' interlanguage.
- Some forms, as for example in the case of the past perfect in native discourse, refer to an event outside the main temporal frame. Thus, they invariably belong to the background.
- *Finally*, progressive forms are included in the category of the head of the accompanying lexical verb. Thus, *(PFV PROG)* is included as marked for perfective aspect and *(IPF PROG)* as imperfective.

The results are presented in the following manner. Firstly, we present a general description of the narratives with a quantitative analysis. This will contribute to create a picture of development of tense/aspect forms in the narrative discourse of Spanish L2 learners. Next, the use of tense/aspect and form-function relations are examined for what they tell us about the stages in the acquisition process. This largely qualitative description of the data is supported by quantitative information provided in terms of percentages. Raw scores are included to complement the information provided by the percentages. The use of tense and aspect across the foreground and the background are examined in order to establish the impact of the structure of the narrative discourse on the morphological marking of the verb. This will allow us to assess claims put forward by the Discourse Hypothesis. A statistical analysis (Chi-square test) was chosen as a tool to assess the dependence between grammatical aspect and grounding.
3 3 3 2 Lexical aspect

Under this heading, we examine aspectual marking of events by lexical means, such as periphrases, aspectual se and repetition. As discussed in Chapter 2, Spanish allows speakers to convey aspectual information also by means of lexical devices, aspectual periphrases and the aspectual form se. While the majority of the research into the acquisition of temporality in Spanish L2 centres on past-tense morphology, little attention has been paid to the role of these other markers of temporality. In this respect, the present study fills an important void in this area. The role of aspectual periphrasis in the narrative is examined both from a quantitative and qualitative perspective. We will focus on three types of aspectual periphrasis which the story lends itself to: inchoatives—entry into a state-, iteratives—continuation of an activity-, and completives—cessation or culmination of an activity. We aim to assess the developmental route followed by learners as well as investigating the discursive functions of periphrasis.

The particle se was identified in the pilot study as an interesting linguistic device in the expression of aspect in the informants’ interlanguage. Its use remains largely unexplored in studies of Spanish L2. As with aspectual periphrases, the use of se is examined quantitatively and qualitatively for what it can tell us about the emergence and development of this form and how learners discover its form-function content.

The quantitative analysis of aspectual periphrases and the aspectual particle se relies on the use of raw scores, given the small number of occurrences of the forms under scrutiny.

3 3 3 3 Lexical Aspect Hypothesis

In this section, we address the Aspect Hypothesis which states that L2 morphology is guided by the inherent meaning of verbs. This section of the study follows two lines of inquiry which examine the possible impact of lexical aspect on the acquisition of tense/aspect morphology. It is important to investigate the contribution of the...
interaction between both grammatical aspect and lexical aspect on the one hand, and grounding and lexical aspect on the other, to be able to form a complete picture of the temporal morphology of Spanish L2 learners. This study addresses them. The role of lexical aspect in the acquisition of past tense morphology in Spanish L2 has been the focus of a number of studies in recent times (Salaberry 2000, Camps 2002). As discussed earlier, the lexical aspect of the verb is determined by its intrinsic temporal features. Thus, in a study of the acquisition of temporality in a second language, how this temporal information interacts with the grammatically coded one (tense) provides empirical data to address the question of the development of form-function relations in the expression of temporal concepts. In this regard, this study aims to contribute to the growing body of evidence relating to the lexical aspect hypothesis. A number of assumptions made for this study stem from this earlier work. In particular, operational tests to determine the lexical class of verbs has been adopted from the work of Salaberry (2000).

The analysis of the function of lexical aspect was conducted as follows. Firstly for the quantitative analysis, the verbs coded for verbal morphology were also coded for lexical class. Three categories are considered states, activities and telic verbs (accomplishments and achievements are included in this class). This was done independently on two separate occasions to ensure the consistency of the classification. The tests have been widely used (Dowty 1979, Hasbún 1995) and are as follows:

- The test of stativity distinguished stative versus non-stative verbs. If the verb cannot have a habitual interpretation it is a stative verb.
- The test of telicity distinguished telic versus atelic verbs. If you stop in the middle of V-ing have you done the act of V (entailment test)?

(Salaberry 2000 129)

In the classification of verbs, the following criteria were taken into consideration:

- In the case of aspectual periphrases, the test was performed on the aspectual verb. This resulted in inchoatives and completives being classified as telics by definition.
- Iteratives were not classified for lexical class because, as Salaberry argues, verbs such as *continuar* (to continue) may refer both to the continuation of the event or to a specific activity.
- In the case of modals, the operational test was performed on the modal verb and not the main lexical verb.
- The use of negatives (infrequent in the sample) was ignored for the purpose of the test. The test was performed on the base form of the predicate.

A quantitative analysis was carried out to establish the distribution across tenses and lexical class per each informant and the percentage of use. This analysis mirrors within category analyses found in previous studies dealing with the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis (Bardovi-Harling 2002: 136). This approach analyses the use of verbal morphology in one category at a time and examines how the different lexical aspectual categories are marked by learners. In this instance, the use of the Chi-square test as a procedure for statistical analysis was not valid as one of the five assumptions of this test is not met. Not all learners used morphological markers to the same extent and, in a number of instances, the average cell frequency falls below five. This renders Chi-square test invalid.

3.3.4 Adverbs

Temporal adverbials fulfil a wide range of functions in providing temporal information about events and situations. As mentioned in Section 1.3.2, studies of second language acquisition report on the importance and the role of temporal adverbs for the marking of temporality at the early stage of second language acquisition, (Dietrich et al. 1995). Nonetheless, these studies have been concerned with learners in naturalistic environments who have not received formal tuition. It is expected that this process may be somehow different when we consider formal settings. This may be due to the weighting assigned to morphology and syntax in the foreign language classroom. Adverbs may play a significantly different role in personal narratives, the procedure often adapted to elicit data in studies which address this issue, from the role they may play in the performing of a task such as the retelling of a movie narrative or the Frog.
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Story. In order to study the development of the expression of temporality in Spanish L2 amongst instructed learners, we need to describe the functions temporal adverbials perform in their narrative discourse. Some of the questions we shall address are whether temporal adverbials are used to compensate for lack of morphology, and what is the temporal-aspectual value of the adverbials used. To do this we shall first carry out a quantitative analysis of our data, following which we shall examine the functions attributed to these temporal adverbials.

3.3.3.5 Temporal adverbial clauses

In this section, we examine how the ability to organise and express complex temporal relations between events develops amongst learners of Spanish. To do this, we have chosen to examine three basic elements which are characteristic of our concept of time, simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority. As outlined in Section 1.3.2, the expression of the concept of “anterior”, “posterior” or “simultaneous” are amongst the last to emerge in child language acquisition, but appear early in second language acquisition. From a cognitive point of view, and as part of the general concept of time, the coordination of different temporal perspectives is required to express these temporal relations, that is, Reichenbach’s notions of event time, speech time and reference time (see Section 1.1.1.).

Even in Spanish, a language with a wide range of aspect and tense markers, there are instances where the verbs are insufficient to establish a temporal relation between the predicates in two clauses. As a result, temporal connectors, as well as acting as linking devices, serve to specify if two events are to be interpreted as simultaneous, posterior or anterior to one another.

Although there is a large body of work dealing with the expression of temporality, the specific issue of simultaneity has not been the object of any single study. References to simultaneity feature in the existing literature on temporal concepts both in the context of research on discourse structure (Hopper 1982, Klein 1994), and in research on language acquisition (Nelson 1991, Silva 1991, Berman and Slobin 1994).
Aksu-Koç and von Stutterheim (in Berman and Slobin, 1994, 397) present two definitions of simultaneity, a narrow one and a wide one. The narrow definition of simultaneity states that “Two events, processes, or states are simultaneous if they have identical values on the time axis. This means that their respective right and left temporal boundaries must coincide” (1994, 396). The second is the definition adopted in their study which is as follows: “two events, processes, or states are simultaneous if they share a value on the time axis. Temporal boundaries need not coincide” (1994, 397). The following example illustrates how this definition has been applied in the present study, where the two events are considered simultaneous when their temporal boundaries coincide at one point.

N11 78-79 cuando llegó al acantilado el ciervo frenó
When (it) reached the cliff the deer stopped

Aksu-Koç and von Stutterheim explain their adopting of the “loose” definition on the basis that simultaneity in the narrow sense occurs very rarely in reality and that information given linguistically does not usually present this level of precision. Their definition of simultaneity therefore grows to include overlaps, inclusion and immediate anteriority and sequentiality. For the purpose of this study, sequentiality is not considered under this heading. This is because it does not offer any valuable information about temporal connections between events, but rather places them in a chronological order following PNO principles. Simultaneity in the foreground occurs when a story presents several protagonists involved in actions at the same time, as is the case in the Frog Story. Our sample provides several examples of this. If there is no explicit mention of simultaneity, events are interpreted as being sequential. Simultaneity can also occur in the background and in events across foreground and background.

Once a working definition of simultaneity has been adopted, it is easier to deal with the expression of posteriority and anteriority. These are considered when the temporal connection between the two events is overtly marked by means of tense correlation, as the past/past perfect contrast, or a suitable connector.

The linguistic development of the expression of these concepts and the various linguistic devices employed for the expression of these temporal relations across the
three groups of learners is investigated. To do this, clauses have been coded according
to the temporal relation expressed. This allows the researcher to carry out a quantitative
analysis for each variable and at the same time examine the type of connectors used and
the function they have been assigned within the overall organisation of the narrative.

In what follows we present an analysis of the expression of simultaneity in the frog
stories. In particular we are concerned with the following:

- Instances in which two particular events are marked as being simultaneous.
- Grammatical and lexical means to express simultaneity.
- Simultaneity across the foreground and background.

Relations of anteriority and posteriority between events and actions in the Frog Story
are also considered. The forms used to establish these temporal relations are examined
as well as their discursive functions.

3.4 Conclusion

In the course of this chapter, we have presented the research methodology selected for
the present study as informed by previous studies (also discussed in Chapter 1) and the
pilot study. In addition, we have described the procedures for the gathering and analysis
of data. As shown in Chapter 1, there are substantial differences in research design, and
procedures across studies concerned with the acquisition of temporality in Spanish L2.
Our study differs from much of the recent research carried out in Spanish L2 acquisition
of temporal features in the following ways:

1. It is based on data elicited using a picture book rather than on the recalling of a
   film.
2. It deals with informants with different levels of expertise, thus offering a very
   comprehensive picture of the development route.
3. It focuses on the expression of temporality both at the level of the predicate and
   at the wider level of temporal relations between events and temporal
   organization of the narrative discourse.
4 It concerns narrative production and form-function relations as well as the acquisition of temporal morphology.

The results of the analysis described in this chapter are offered in Chapter 4.
Chapter Four

Presentation of Results
4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the narratives produced by all participants in the present study. The results are presented in the following manner. First, we present the analysis of the narratives produced by native speakers. This will offer a clear picture of the expression of temporality in L1 narrative discourse. Following this, the chapter continues by presenting the analysis of the narratives produced by the L2 learners, beginning with Intermediate learners and followed by Advanced learners and near native speakers. For each group, the section begins by offering a general description of the narratives. This is followed by the presentation of results in this order: Tense/aspect forms, Lexical Aspect, Lexical Aspect Hypothesis, Adverbials, and Temporal adverbial clauses.

4.1 Presentation of results: L1 narratives

In this section, we present a description of the expression of temporality in the narrative discourse of a group of Spanish native speakers. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this group is formed by twelve participants, speakers of Castilian Spanish who received the same instructions as the L2 learners. This set of narratives show individual variation to a large extent, demonstrating how the same content can be organised in different ways. We assume that the native speakers provide the norm. Thus, the analysis of this group of narratives indicates how native speakers arrange and manage the temporal frame of the Frog Story, providing us with a collage of possibilities for selection. At the same time, the analysis allows us to identify the general features of the coding of temporality in this situation. In addition, this will provide us with a model against which to contrast the production of L2 learners.

Despite the variation across the stories, informants coincide in the way they construe the story. All informants approached the task as if they were telling the story to a child. This was prompted by the use of the opening line *había una vez* (once upon a time) and it is reflected in the coda, *colorín, colorado este cuento se ha acabado* used by six of the participants.
The majority of the participants refer to all episodes of the plot. Information on the events depicted in each vignette is narrated except for four instances (N01, N03, N04, N08) where participants omit the falling of the dog from the window in picture 6, and the dog and the boy together in picture 7. Participants N03 and N04 also fail to talk about the owl attacking the boy. Interestingly, 6 out of the 12 informants describe pictures 22 and 23 as a whole unit. The following excerpt is characteristic of the narrative style adopted by Spanish native speakers. It shows an interesting combination of the different linguistic devices available.

(1)

G 01

N02 había (IPFV) una vez carlos y el pequeño perrito bobby, estaban murando (IPFV PROG) esa ranita verde que habían cazado (PAST PERF) aquella misma noche (TAP) Se disponían (IPFV) a irse (SEASP) a la cama pero estuvieron rato y rato mirando (PFV PROG) esa ranita verde. La pusieron (PFV) en una especie de pecera en la que ellos consideraron (PFV) que estaría (COND) confortable aquella noche (TAP)

G 02

N02 mientras (SIM) carlos y el pequeño perrito estaban durmendo (IPFV PROG) profundamente de hecho incluso estaban soñando (IPFV PROG) con lo que harían (COND) al día siguiente (TAP) con esa ranita ella se despertó (PFV) y salió (PFV) de la pecera, saltó (PFV) por la ventana que quedó (PFV) entreabierta en aquella noche de verano (TAP)

Once upon a time, Carlos and the little dog Bobby were looking (IPFV PROG) at that little green frog which they had caught (PAST PERF) that same night (TAP). They were about to go (IPFV) to bed but they were spending (PFV PROG) time and time looking at that little green frog (they) put (PFV) it in a kind of fishbowl in which they considered (PFV) that (it) would be (COND) comfortable that night (TAP). While (SIM) Carlos and the little dog were sleeping (IPFV PROG) soundly in fact (they) were even dreaming (IPFV PROG) about what (they) would do (COND) the following day (TAP) with that little frog (she) woke up (PFV) and came out (PFV) of the fishbowl, jumped (PFV) through the window which remained (PFV) open on that summer’s night (TAP).
4.1.1 Tense and aspect

As the example above illustrates, native speakers make use of a wide range of tense/aspect forms to convey temporal information about events (see table 4.1 below). Thirteen different tenses are used in at least one instance. Participants employ between 5 and 8 verb forms. The total number of finite forms counted for this analysis is 845. An examination of the use of tenses in the narratives produced by this group of native speakers reveals that the preterite (PFV) is the most used form in all frog stories, 55.50% of the total of tokens appear in this tense. The imperfect occurs in 27.81% of instances. Following Bermán and Slobin's analysis, dominant tense is defined as being used in 80% of the clauses in a text. In this set of narratives, we do not find one where either of these tenses appears as the dominant form. They all present a distribution of the two past forms. Although the present tense is the third most frequently used tense, (5.9% of tokens), this reflects the use of direct narration to record conversation exchanges between the boy and his dog in the course of the search for the frog. The past perfect appears in 4.61% of instances, and therefore is the third most common used tense to establish temporal relations. The use of the subjunctive, (2.48%) reflects a narrative style rich in subordination.
Table 4.1 Distribution of tense/aspect forms in L1 narratives % (raw frequencies)

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<th>PRES</th>
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<th>PFV</th>
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Table 4.1 Distribution of tense/aspect forms in L1 narratives (continuation)

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<tr>
<td>N12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>1.06 (845)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4111 Use of the Present tense

Previous research has found that native speakers manifest a tendency to shift to the historic present, as discussed in section 3.2.4. As already mentioned, narratives produced by native speakers which use the present tense as the anchoring tense have been eliminated from this group. Consequently, the use of present tense forms when it appears in the telling of the story fulfills discursive and rhetorical needs. In the majority of instances, the present tense is used to introduce direct narration clauses between the boy and the dog (2), or to illustrate the boy’s calling the frog. Eight speakers resort to this in the course of their narration. In temporal terms, this signals a break in the temporal flow of events anchored in the past, which is successfully resumed after the boy’s words. Schiffm (1891-46) cites traditional analyses which suggest that the present increases the dramatic impact of the story and makes the past more vivid because it moves events out of the past and into the speech time. This stylistic device is complementary with the child-friendly approach adopted by the native speakers. The present tense also occurs in evaluative comments, which act as sequentiality markers to move the narrative forward (3), or to express the coda at the end of the story. Overall, this alternation between the past tense in the main body of the narrative and the occasional shift to the present to allow for direct narration contributes to enhance the story-telling mode of the plot.

(2) Present tense in direct narration

N01 80-83  
no chilles (IMPER) no hagas (IMPER) ruido me parece (PRES) que aqui detrás hay (PRES) algo
Don’t shout, (IMPER) don’t make (IMPER) noise, I think (PRES) that there is (PRES) something behind this here

N09 63  
juliana juliana dónde estás (PRES) juliana juliana juliana juliana where are (PRES) you Juliana

(3) Present tense marking sequentiality

N11 52-53  
p ero resulta (PRES) que la colmena se cayó (PFV)
But it happened that the beehive fell (PFV)
4112 Use of the Preterite (PFV)/Imperfect (IPFV)

The contrast between the two past forms in Spanish can serve two functions in narrative discourse. On the one hand, as has been described previously, the distribution of verbal forms works at the high level of the overall organization of the narrative and it is related to the grounding of events and narrative structure. As theories of discourse discussed in section 133 predict, and the grammars of Spanish identify (Chapter 2), the preterite encodes plot-advancing events while the imperfect is used mainly to describe people and places in the background. The second function of preterite/imperfect contrast is related to the internal temporal contour of the verbs. The Preterite presents events as bounded and the Imperfect as unbounded. That is, regarding the development of these form-function relations, studies into first language acquisition suggest that younger narrators focus on the second function in the first instance. That is, at the early stages of language development children attribute to these forms the function of illustrating a contrast between a completed action and a state or durative action. By the age of 5, the preterite starts to code plot-advancing events and the imperfect signals the background (Sebastian and Slobin 1994, Lopez Ornat 1994)

The following excerpt from one of the narratives illustrates these two functions of the imperfect

(4) N08 entonces decidió (PFV) ir al bosque a buscar a su rana con su perrito, gritaba (IPFV) por todos sitios entre los árboles y no podia (IPFV) encontrarla

Then (he) decided (PFV) to go to the wood to look for the frog with his dog, (he) shouted (IPFV) everywhere between the trees and (he) could not (IPFV) find her

The first imperfect in this passage refers to the calling of the frog as a durative and unbounded event, in contrast with the telic nature of decidir (to decide). Furthermore, the imperfect in the modal verb poder (to be able/can) situates the event in the background.
The narratives elaborated by this group of native speakers reflect the discursive properties of the Preterite/Imperfect contrast. The Preterite occurs mainly in the foreground of a total number 480,442 of these are in this form (92.08%). Equally, the background is predominantly signaled by the use of the Imperfect, 195 of the 221 clauses (88.23%). Nonetheless, the imperfective is slightly more likely to appear in the foreground than the perfective in the background. These results point towards a dependency between grounding and grammatical aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Foreground</th>
<th>Background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>IPFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N01</td>
<td>93.33 (31)</td>
<td>6.45 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N02</td>
<td>97.43 (38)</td>
<td>2.63 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N03</td>
<td>88.00 (22)</td>
<td>12.00 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N04</td>
<td>100 (25)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N05</td>
<td>86.53 (45)</td>
<td>13.47 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N06</td>
<td>88.09 (37)</td>
<td>11.90 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N07</td>
<td>87.93 (51)</td>
<td>12.09 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N08</td>
<td>87.09 (27)</td>
<td>12.91 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N09</td>
<td>98.21 (55)</td>
<td>1.81 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N10</td>
<td>95.34 (41)</td>
<td>4.87 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N11</td>
<td>89.47 (34)</td>
<td>10.53 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N12</td>
<td>94.73 (36)</td>
<td>5.55 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>92.08 (442)</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.91 (38)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Chi-square test was performed to corroborate this finding. The results presented in table 4.3 indicate that there is strong evidence against the null hypothesis -H0. There is no dependency between grammatical aspect and grounding- for all subjects. Thus, in L1 narratives, the use of the Preterite/Imperfect contrast is influenced by the discursive function of the forms.
Table 4.3 Grounding by grammatical aspect L1 narratives (Chi-square test)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>participant</th>
<th>correlation</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N01</td>
<td>0.621166</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N02</td>
<td>0.621945</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N03</td>
<td>0.519059</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N04</td>
<td>0.652328</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N05</td>
<td>0.554802</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N06</td>
<td>0.626099</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N07</td>
<td>0.648409</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N08</td>
<td>0.621988</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N09</td>
<td>0.697657</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N10</td>
<td>0.605632</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N11</td>
<td>0.637377</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N12</td>
<td>0.601853</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1.3 The use of Perfective Progressive (pfvprog)/ Imperfect Progressive (IPFVPROG)

In the Frog Stories as told by native speakers, there are very few instances of progressive aspect forms. This limited use of the progressive aspect amongst native speakers has previously been documented by Silva-Corvalan (1983). She found that in the 30 narratives in her study, the use of the progressive is generally limited to the "complicating the action" section, and reports a 2% use. Sebastian and Slobin report only 2.9% of the total verbs in the progressive. They also report that the progressive is much more frequent amongst young speakers. They attribute this to the function of this form in picture description. The narratives produced by the participants in the present study present only a 1.06% use of the progressive aspect (see table 4.1). It appears in the narrative of only four participants. Its distribution varies from that of Silva-Corvalan's study, since in five instances the imperfective progressive occurs in the orientation section (5) and only once in the "complicating events" section. The two cases of the imperfective progressive also occur in the orientation section. The function of the progressive is to signal the continuousness of an event in the background. In this sense, it appears to act as a means of emphasising the duration of an activity in the background.
(5) Use of the imperfective progressive

N03 11-13 Después una noche la ranita cuando el niño estaba durmiendo IPFVPROG, se fue PFV
Then one night the frog when the boy was sleeping IPFVPROG, left PFV

4114 Use of the Past Perfect (PAST PERF)

As table 41 indicates, all informants make use of the past perfect. Out of 845 tokens analysed 39 occur in the Past Perfect (4.6%). As discussed on previous occasions, the past perfect has a retrospective function. The use of this tense involves a reference point to which the event being described is related. In our native narratives, verbs marked for past perfect serve to fulfil this function, the expression of anteriority. The Frog Story provides numerous opportunities to overtly express this temporal relation between two events. This is manifested in the different actions from the story which speakers choose to mark in this manner. Examples of these include the scene in which the boy wakes up and realizes that the frog has left the jar, or the bees chasing the dog after the dog jumps at the beehive. Therefore the use of the Past Perfect is not limited to any particular part of the narrative, but rather occurs freely in the orientation, “complicating action” and resolution.

(6) Use of the Past Perfect

N11 20-23 Por la mañana cuando pedro y su perro se despertaron (PFV) descubrieron (PFV) que la rana se había escapado (PAST PERF)
In the morning when pedro and his dog woke up (PFV) (they) discovered (PFV) that the frog had escaped (PAST PERF)
4.1.2 Lexical aspect

As discussed in the previous chapter (Section 2.2), under this heading we examine aspect as it is realised through the use of aspectual periphrases (4.1.2.1), the aspectual particle *se* (4.1.2.2) and repetitions (4.1.2.3) as they occur in the narratives of this group of native Spanish speakers.

4.1.2.1 Aspectual periphrases

Aspectual periphrases are used with great frequency by native speakers. As shown in table 4.4, inchoatives are the most common aspectual distinction made in this manner. All participants in this group use them. Inchoatives mark the entry into a state or activity. They are usually marked by the verb *empezar* *Comenzar*, an indicator of formal style, occurs only twice in this sample, in comparison with 35 instances of *empezar*. Native speakers use *empezar* with activities and durative verbs to describe events motivated by the plot of the story, such as the search for the frog.

(7) Inchoative periphrases marking entry into new episode

N05 27 *empezaron a buscar por toda la habitacion* (they) started to look everywhere in the room

The verb *ir* (to go), is used to mark the commencing of an activity which involves an end point. This is the second most frequent periphrasis.

(8) Inchoative periphrases marking entry into new activity

N06 26 *inmediatamente fue a mirar su ranita* Immediately (he) went to look at his frog

There is a relatively low use of other types of verbs to express inchoative aspect. *Disponerse a, estar a punto de,* and *ponerse a* occur only in one instance each.

Iterative aspect is expressed by the verbs, *seguir* and *continuar*. They mark episodes which continue throughout the narrative, in particular the continuation of the search.
instances) and the calling of the frog (6 instances). There is one instance of the periphrasis *volver a* (to do something again). Unlike inchoatives, not all participants use iteratives in their stories. This is probably due to the nature of the task, and although some events are repeated throughout the plot, the sequential focus of the events depicted in the story takes precedence. Because repetition of the verb phrase also carries an iterative value, speakers have a choice in the manner in which they elaborate this meaning.

(9) Use of iterative periphrasis

N06 88  *pero él continuó llamando a la ranita paula paula*

But he continued calling the little frog *paula paula*

The last type of aspectual periphrases to appear in the control sample is completives. However, they only appear in the narratives of two informants. This is partly due to the fact that the plot of the story does not lend itself to this. Another reason is that Spanish has many ways in which to express events as completed.

<p>| Table 4.4 Distribution of aspectual periphrases in L1 narratives Raw frequencies |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|----------------------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INC</th>
<th>ITE</th>
<th>COMP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N01</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N02</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N03</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N04</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N05</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N06</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N07</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N08</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N09</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INC = inchoatives, ITE = iteratives, COMP = completives
4122 Aspectual particle \textit{se}

Native speakers make extensive use of the aspectual marker \textit{se}. As discussed previously (Section 2.2.17), this particle adds an extra perfective or completive dimension to transitive verbs and an inchoative value to intransitive verbs emphasising the point of origin. Due to the plot of the story, with a wide range of verbs depicting movement, intransitive verbs are more frequent in the Frog Stories. \textit{Se} appears with the intransitive verbs \textit{escapar} (to escape), \textit{ir} (to go), \textit{caer} (to fall), \textit{subir} (to climb), and the transitive verbs \textit{esconder} (to hide), \textit{romper} (to break) and \textit{llevar} (to carry)\(^{(10)}\). In the following examples, two informants describe the boy going to the wood to continue the search for the frog. Participant N01 omits this aspectual marker\(^{(11)}\), participant N11 includes it\(^{(12)}\). A native speaker, and possibly an advanced L2 learner, is unlikely not to perceive this very subtle aspectual nuance.

\(^{(10)}\) Aspectual particle \textit{se} with completive value

\begin{align*}
\text{N05 38-39} & \quad \text{esto hizo que el perrito} \text{ \textit{se}} (\text{ASPSE}) \text{ metiera el potecito en la cabeza} \\
& \quad \text{This made the dog put the little jar on his head}
\end{align*}

\(^{(11)}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{N11 39} & \quad \text{los dos} \text{ \textit{se} fueron} \text{ al bosque en busca de la rana} \\
& \quad \text{The two went to the wood in search of the frog}
\end{align*}

\(^{(12)}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{N01 26} & \quad \text{\textit{fueron} al bosque} \\
& \quad (\text{they}) \text{ went to the wood}
\end{align*}

In addition, some informants combine the aspectual information provided by an aspectual periphrasis by adding the aspectual particle \textit{se}.

\(^{(13)}\) Aspectual particle \textit{se} with inchoative periphrasis

\begin{align*}
\text{N12 13} & \quad \text{una noche despues de un largo dia pepe y su perro} \text{ \textit{se} fueron a dormir} \\
& \quad \text{One night after a long day Pepe and his dog went to sleep}
\end{align*}
Presentation of Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SE</th>
<th>N01</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N02</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N03</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N04</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N05</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N06</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N07</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N08</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N09</td>
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<td>N11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>N12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4123 Repetitions

As discussed earlier, the repetition of a verb form contributes to the expression of temporality as it extends the duration of the activity and underlines the notion of progress. In this regard, repetition of a verb token confers it an aspectual value similar to that expressed by the imperfective aspect and an iterative aspectual verb. An analysis of the tense distribution indicates that the PFV is the form most habitually repeated, being used in seven out of the sixteen instances. This indicates that speakers choose to append a sense of duration to a punctual predicate rather than marking it for imperfective aspect (14). In doing so they extend a punctual completed action over time, rather than expanding the activity on the timeline. In three instances, the infinitive following the head of the periphrasis is repeated to indicate the duration of the activity (15). The gerund also contributes to express a durative meaning and is used for this purpose in three instances (16). Contrary to what might be expected, the imperfective, which already implies length of the event over time only appears in two instances (17). It is interesting to note that a close examination of the verb forms which are repeated reveals that they all represent activities. This suggests an influence of the Aktionsart on
the aspectual value inherent lexical value

States and telic verbs are not subject to repetition due to their inherent lexical value.

(14) N03 42 \(y \text{ buscó y buscó (PFV) por todo el jardín}
And he searched and searched (PFV) all around the garden

(15) N07 89 entonces empezó a llorar y llorar (INF)
Then (he) started to cry and cry (INF)

(16) N04 70 \(y \text{ fueron buscando buscando (GER)}
And (they) went searching searching (GER)

(17) N11 40 \(y \text{ pedro gritaba y gritaba (IPFV) margarita margarita}
And pedro shouted and shouted (IPFV) margarita margarita

Table 4.6 Use of repetitions marking aspect in L1 narratives Raw frequencies

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N01</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N02</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N03</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N04</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N05</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N06</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>N07</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N08</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>N09</td>
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<td>N10</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.3 Lexical Aspect Hypothesis

Regarding the role of inherent lexical aspect, we propose to assess the Aspect Hypothesis in the narratives of the L1 speakers. This means determining the interaction between verbal morphology and aspectual class, that is, whether the lexical verb is categorized aspectually as telic, activity, or state is a key factor in marking for tense.

As discussed in Chapter 1, research in L1 acquisition of aspectual properties (Bloom et al. 1980, Brockart and Sinclair 1973, Antinucci & Miller 1976, Li and Shirai 2000) suggests that perfective marking is used with accomplishments and activities (telic verbs) and imperfective marking with activities. States are treated as unbounded and therefore inflected with the imperfective. There is very limited data available for Spanish L1 regarding the role of the inherent lexical value of the verb and its role in the acquisition and development of form-function meaning in narrative discourse (Morales 1989 cited in Salaberry 2000). Sebastián and Slobin's analysis of the Frog Stories for their research does not address this issue. In this regard, the following analysis will contribute new data on the role of lexical aspect in Spanish L1 narrative discourse.

To begin with, inflected verb tokens were coded for aspectual class. The total number of tokens is 830. Of these, 477 (57.46%) are telic predicates, 159 (19.15%) are activities, and 194 (23.37%) are states. The distribution of tenses across lexical class is shown in tables 4.7 to 4.9.

The analysis of individuals' stories indicates that for the overall number of lexical class verbs coded, telic predicates appear in a range of between 44.06%, for the participant who includes the least number of telic verbs, to 70.14% for the participant with the highest instances of telic predicates. 78.61% of telic verbs occur with the perfective. The imperfect appears in 10.69% of instances in the narratives of nine of the participants in this group and it is not included by three participants. Telic verbs appear in the past perfect in the narratives produced by all informants in this group. 67.0% of telic predicates analysed appear in this tense. Both the present and a collection of other tenses (imperfect subjunctive, conditional, future) occur in similar percentages, 18% for the present and 2.0% for other tenses.
Activities represent 19.51% of verbs in the sample analysed. The range of distribution across the narratives is between 11.94% for participant N10 and 25.92% for participant N08. It is interesting to note that activities occur similar distribution patterns for the preterite (40.25%) and the imperfect (45.9%) and are used by all participants with both tense/aspect forms. In six of the Frog Stories told by native speakers, activities are more frequent in the imperfective, four include more activities with the perfective and two subjects include the same percentage across both forms. This is in contrast to what had been predicted, since activities usually have supportive roles and therefore are inflected with the morphological marking associated with the background, that is the imperfect. Recent studies in Chinese, Japanese and English child production (Li and Shirai 2000) suggest that the distribution patterns predicted by the lexical aspect hypothesis are more pronounced in certain languages than in others. Their study reveals that English children combine past morphology with activities although to a lesser extend than with telics. Chinese-speaking children show very definite patterns of distribution for telic events marked for PFV and atelic with IPFV. The analysis of the present set of data seems to point towards similarities between English and Spanish as an L1 in this regard. Telic verbs do not appear frequently with the present, only included by four participants (5.03%), the past perfect (2.5%) or other tense forms (6.2%).

As we have mentioned, states are the second most common lexical class (23.27%). All participants used states with the imperfect, representing 68.55% of instances of this lexical class. An examination of the distribution across tenses reveals that nine participants include the present with states (16.49%), this correlates with the use of direct narration. Finally, eight participants use the preterite with this lexical class, representing 10.82% of instances.
## Table 4.7 Distribution of tense within telic verbs in L1 narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>Tel+PFV</th>
<th>Tel+IPFV</th>
<th>Tel+Pres</th>
<th>Tel+</th>
<th>Tel+Other</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PASTPERF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOKENS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N01</td>
<td>85 29 (29)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>5 88 (2)</td>
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<td>3 84 (1)</td>
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<td>4 88 (9)</td>
<td>6 70 (32)</td>
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## Table 4.8 Distribution of tense within activities in L1 narratives

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<th>INFORMANTS</th>
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<th>Act+Pres</th>
<th>Tel+PASTPERF</th>
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<td>0 (0)</td>
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<td>0 (0)</td>
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<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>21 21 (14)</td>
</tr>
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<td>5 03 (8)</td>
<td>2 51 (4)</td>
<td>6 28 (10)</td>
<td>19 51 (159)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Across tenses, the analysis reveals that perfective predicates are used with telic and activity verbs by all native speakers in this group. All participants also include the imperfective with states and activities. However, not all participants include imperfective predicates with telic verbs. In relation to the present tense, when it occurs in the context of direct narration it is more frequent with states, although a certain number of activities and telic predicates appear in the present, as the tables above indicate.

### 4.1.4 Adverbials

Native speakers do not make extensive use of temporal adverbials in the course of narrating the frog story. Temporal information is mainly conveyed by means of temporal morphology and discourse organising principles (PNO). An analysis of native narratives reveals that temporal adverbials of position (TAP) are the most frequent class to be used. They appear in the narratives of all except one informant. However, a closer inspection indicates that when temporal adverbials are present they first appear at
the beginning of the story, in the scene-setting section. The temporal expressions used in this regard refer to night-time, as the boy and his dog go to sleep, and to the following morning. These lexical expressions establish the temporal orientation of the narrative. They are used with demonstratives to constitute deictic expressions (18), or articles to constitute anaphoric expressions (19).

(18) 
N02 10 aquella misma noche
that same night

(19) 
N01 12 una noche pepito se fue a dormir
One night Pepito went to sleep

Temporal expressions of duration (TAD) appear in only three of the stories told by native speakers and therefore their use cannot be considered significant. Temporal adverbials of frequency (TAF) indicate the regularity and rate of occurrence of events. There are only 3 instances of this type of adverbials in the stories. Clearly, this lack of temporal adverbials of duration and frequency is influenced by the plot of the story, which depicts events taking place in the course of a day, in particular circumstances, as well as the sequential nature of a narrative.

Finally, temporal adverbials of contrast are introduced by six subjects in this sample. This type of adverbials provides aspectual information, and are referred to as aspectual adverbials by some authors (Sebastian and Slobin 1994). These findings are interesting when contrasted with those of Sebastian and Slobin. They found that this class of adverbs was more frequent than aspectual verbs in their Frog Stories. The temporal adverbials of contrast that appear most frequently in our data include ya (already), todavía (still), de repente (suddenly) and al fin (in the end). Ya usually accompanies the present perfect, and in this function it contributes to enhance the relevance to the present characteristic of this tense. This use is particularly frequent with younger learners, although it decreases with age. Since the present perfect is largely omitted in our sample because the story must be told in the past, ya is used with a discursive function. The discursive function of ya emphasises the completive aspect of an activity and the end of an episode before a new one begins (20). This is the function it serves in the narrative elaborated by participant N07.
(20) Temporal adverbial of contrast with discursive function

N07 71  ya (TAC) fuera de la casa fueron hacia el campo lejos de la casa
Already out of the house (they) went towards the field far from the house

Temporal aspectual adverbials can also fulfil inchoative aspectual values (21), emphasising the beginning, or a completive one, focusing on the ending of the activity

(21) temporal adverbials of contrast with inchoative value

N06 7  y salio de repente de su madriguera
And (it) came out all of a sudden from its den

(22) temporal adverbials of contrast with completive value

N05 81  el panal finalmente cayo
And the beehive finally fell

Table 4.10 Distribution of adverbials in L1 narratives Raw frequencies

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<tr>
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<th>TAP</th>
<th>TAD</th>
<th>TAQ</th>
<th>TAC</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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TAP temporal adverbial of position
TAD temporal adverbial of duration
TAQ temporal adverbial of frequency
TAC temporal adverbial of contrast
4.1.5 Temporal adverbial clauses

Temporal connectives work both as clause-linking devices and as indicators of the temporal relationship between two events. As discussed previously, in this section we analyse the expression of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority in the Frog Stories. Native speakers make ample use of subordination and tense correlation to convey these relations.

The expression of simultaneity is the most frequent. It is achieved in three different ways, the use of *cuando* (when), *mientras* (while) and the construction *al + infinitive*.

*Cuando* can realise two different discursive functions: it foregrounds two events in immediate succession, thus denoting immediate anteriority (23), and it can act as a marker of simultaneity between events in the foreground and the background (24).

(23) *Cuando* as a marker of immediate anteriority

N01 16-18 *por la mañana cuando* (SIM) *Pepito se levanto* (PFV) *oh se dio cuenta* (PFV) *que no estaba* (IPFV) *su ranita*

In the morning when Pepito woke up (PFV) oh (he) realised (PFV) that his frog was not (IPFV) (there).

(24) *Cuando* as a marker of simultaneity across the foreground and background

N03 11-13 *después una noche la ranita cuando* (SIM) *el niño estaba durmiendo* (IPFV PROG) *se fue* (PFV)

Then one night the frog when (SIM) the boy was sleeping (IPFV PROG), left (PFV).

Clauses with *mientras* are the most numerous temporal subordinate clauses. They relate two clauses with different protagonists. They introduce an event in the background being carried out by one character in the story, while the foreground is occupied by the actions of another protagonist (26). *Mientras* incorporates two events and confines the clause to one episode, as depicted in one frame in the story book. It is alternated with *mientras tanto* (meanwhile),

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(25) Mientras como marcador de simultaneidad
N11 62-64 que pedro se cayó del árbol mientras las abejas empezaron a perseguir a pecas
That Pedro fell from the tree while the bees started to chase Pecas

Al + INF tiene el mismo valor temporal de simultaneidad. Sebastián y Slobin identifican esta construcción como la última en surgir entre marcadores de simultaneidad, alrededor de los cinco años de edad. Hay solo tres ejemplos de Al + INF en este conjunto de narrativas. Además de indicar simultaneidad entre eventos, esta construcción ayuda a la transición entre eventos y, al hacerlo, adquiere un significado causal. El siguiente ejemplo ilustra esto:

(26) Al + infinitivo como marcador de simultaneidad
N06 44-46 y el perro se cayó por la ventana al caerse el envase de cristal se rompió
And the dog fell through the window, in falling the glass jar broke

Anterioridad es expresada por la correlación de tiempos, y con el subordinador temporal antes de. Hay un número de ejemplos de este en nuestra data. Una relación de anterioridad entre dos eventos en la historia de la rana se expresa principalmente por el uso de alternancia de tiempos entre el pasado y el pasado perfecto. Esto se ha discutido en la sección 2.1.4, donde hemos examinado el uso del pasado perfecto.

Hay solo un ejemplo de antes de para introducir un evento anterior al evento en el frente, por lo tanto, el papel de este subordinador no puede ser considerado adecuadamente. Marcado explícito de posterioridad con subordinadores temporales es muy raro en la producción de una narrativa entre hablantes nativos. Conexiones marcando secuencia se ocupan de esta función en la mayoría de los casos. Curiosamente, después de siempre aparece en la misma situación, describiendo al niño habiendo jugado con la rana. Esto ocurre en cuatro ejemplos en este conjunto de narrativas. Parece que los hablantes toman el hilo de la historia como una continuación de una serie de eventos no reflejados en el libro.

(27) Después de como marcador de posterioridad
N0721-22 y después de haber jugado un rato ya decidió ponerse el pijama
And after (POST) having played for a while already (he) decided to put on his pijamas

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>CUANDO (SIM)</th>
<th>MIENTRAS</th>
<th>AL+ INFINITIVE</th>
<th>PAST PERF</th>
<th>ANTES DE</th>
<th>DESPUES DE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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4.1.6 Conclusions

The different versions of the Frog Stories produced by native speakers display the wide range of linguistic devices available to speakers of Spanish to convey temporal information about the external and internal contour of situations depicted in the story book. In this section we present a summary of the findings anticipated throughout this section which characterize the Spanish Frog Stories gathered for the present research study.

The wide variety in the use of verbal morphology identified by previous researchers working with the Frog Stories is also manifested here. The most frequently used tenses are the PFV, IPFV, PAST PERF, and PRES (as a marker of direct narration). The distribution of tense/aspect forms appears to be in great part explained by the properties of narrative discourse. The quantitative and qualitative analyses indicate that in the adult L1 narratives the discursive functions of these forms take precedent over the non-discursive one.
PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

In relation to the role of grounding in grammatical aspect, that is the PFV/IPFV contrast, the following figure summarises the results. As can be observed, the choice of past tense is highly dependent on the grounding.

**Figure 4.1** Grounding and grammatical aspect in L1 narratives

In relation to the role of lexical aspect in the selection of past tense morphology, our findings are concurrent with the lexical aspect hypothesis. Telic verbs are mainly marked with the Perfective and states with the Imperfect. Even though activities occur in more cases with the imperfective as the lexical aspect hypothesis predicts, their pattern of distribution is very similar to the perfective.

**Figure 4.2** Distribution of tense/aspect forms across lexical class in L1 narratives

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The influence of both aspectual class and narrative structure is evident in the Frog Stories elaborated by L1 speakers. With these findings, we shall be able to contrast the production of the L2 learners and establish their developmental route.

As mentioned on several occasions, aspectual distinctions can be conveyed in Spanish in a variety of ways apart from verbal morphology. The rich system of inflectional marking, does not seem to lessen the reliance on lexical means to mark aspect. The variety of devices conveying these aspectual choices used by participants highlights the important role aspect plays in the expression of temporality in narrative discourse.

Although the use of adverbials may be influenced by the particular task at hand, they clearly play a secondary role in the expression of temporality in Spanish L1 narrative discourse. On the other hand, the use of temporal subordinate clauses is extensive, in particular the expression of simultaneity.

In summary, the analysis of the narrative produced by the L1 group portrays a state of affairs which supports the general findings of Sebastian and Slobin (1994) presented in section 1.3.3.3. These narratives are very rich in terms of the temporal information they express about the situations in the story and the linguistic devices used to convey it. This information is concerned with the internal temporal value of the actions as manifested by means of aspectual information and the level of the overall temporal organisation of the events. The analysis also revealed that linguistic forms have acquired discourse-led functions.
4.2 Presentation of results. Intermediate learners’ narratives

4.2.0 Introduction

This group of Intermediate learners is formed by 12 informants (101-112) who are second year degree students and who started learning Spanish as ab-initio students in the first year of their degree. None of the informants in this group had received tuition outside their place of study. The narratives were collected when the informants were enrolled in the fourth academic semester. Stories which were narrated entirely in the present (3 narratives) or in the present perfect (1 narrative) have been eliminated from the sample, since informants received specific instructions to set their narratives in the past.

Inflectional errors are common in the texts produced by these participants. As we have mentioned in chapter three, incorrectly inflected forms have been coded for analysis if the temporal distinction could be ascertained, that is, in cases were the inflectional endings were incorrect but the form could be identified as having been marked for perfective or imperfective past marker (1). These errors belong to the following categories: incorrect personal inflection (2), errors in the use of the copula for the formation of the progressive forms also occur, where speakers use _ser_ instead of _estar_ (3), and lexical errors (4). These examples are intended as an illustration of the interlanguage of this group of participants.

1. Incorrect inflection

102 10 _su perro se llamaba_ (IPFV) _gordon_ [=_llamaba]
His dog _was called_ (IPFV) _gordon_

2. Incorrect personal inflection

104 33 _y pedro fue_* (PFV) _con el perro al colmena_ [=_fue]
And _pedro went_ ((PFV) (1 PERS SING) with the dog to the beehive

3. Incorrect copula

104 23 _y era buscando_* _el rana_ [=_estaba]
And (he) _was looking_ (IPFV PROG) for the frog
PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

(4) Lexical error

101 39 y de repente muchas abejas dejaron* (PFV) de la colmena [±salieron]
- And all of a sudden many bees left (PFV) the beehive

Not all participants describe the content of all pictures despite the fact that they received instructions to do so. Picture 5, depicting the boy looking out the window and the dog falling, is omitted by five out of the twelve participants in this group. The same is the case with picture 13, which illustrates the owl chasing the boy. This may point towards the difficulty at this level of changing protagonist since in both these episodes the main action is carried out by a character other than the dog. Generally, the stories are constructed by the chaining of simple clauses. The following excerpt is characteristic of the narrative style at this level (5)

(5)

103 al próximo día el niño se despertó (PFV) y la rana no estaba (IPFV) El niño se vistió( PFV) * [=se vistio] Y miró (PFV) a la ventana con su perro Se miró (PFV) para la rana El perro saltó (PFV) de la ventana Y el niño saltó (PFV) también. El niño y su perro fue buscando (PFVPROG) para el rana Y el niño vio (PFV) una colmena El perro estuvo saltando (PFVPROG) en el árbol y el niño buscó (PFV) la rana

The next day the boy woke up (PFV) and the frog was not (there) The boy got dressed And (he) looked (PFV) to the window with his dog (He) looked (PFV) for the frog The dog jumped (PFV) out of the window And the boy jumped (PFV) too The boy and his dog went looking (PFVPROG) for the frog The boy saw (PFV) a beehive The dog was jumping (PFVPROG) in the tree and the boy looked (PFV) for the frog

4.2.1 Tense and Aspect forms

As noted earlier in this section we consider the use of tense and aspect. As we have discussed in Chapter 2, although tense refers to the external contour and aspect to the internal contour of a situation or event, for the purpose of this analysis they are discussed jointly since Spanish past tense morphology requires speakers to make an aspectual choice between perfective and imperfective past. Table 4.12 indicates the occurrence and distribution of tense forms. It includes all forms that have been used at least once
A total of 416 tokens were analysed from the narratives produced by the intermediate group of participants. There are ten different tense/aspect forms across this set of stories. The Preterite (PFV) and the Imperfect (IPFV) are used by all informants. It is interesting to observe that the imperfective is the dominant form (more than 80% of tokens) in four of the narratives. This corresponds with a move to a descriptive mode rather than a narrative one. Only one informant has opted for the preterite past as the dominant form (106). The rest of the narratives present a more or less even distribution of the two tenses. In the case of five participants, these are the only forms used in the production of the story.

After the Preterite and the Imperfect, the present is the third most frequent form in the narratives. However, its emergence signals a shift in the temporal flow of events rather than corresponding to evaluative comments or direct narration. The Imperfect Progressive is the next most frequent tense/aspect form. A number of tenses appear in limited instances. The lack of more tense variation in this group (if contrasted with more advanced and native learners) is because these stories are told in chronological order, following the Principle of Natural Order, and there is little in terms of background detail. In the sections that follow, we shall examine the use of the different tense and aspect categories pertaining to the frog stories narrated by this group of informants.
## Table 4.12 Distribution of tense/aspect forms in Intermediate learners’ narratives

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<tr>
<th>PART</th>
<th>PRES</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>PRES</th>
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"Presenta7ion of Results"
4 2 1 1 Use of the present (PRES)

As mentioned earlier, the present tense is the third most frequent tense. It accounts for 62% of the total of tokens. The present occurs in this set of narratives for three reasons: tense shifting, evaluative comments, and direct narrative. In the first place, as the table above indicates, there are 25 instances of the present; of these 16 tokens (64%) correspond to temporal shifting due to the failure to maintain the temporal anchoring in the past (6). The rest (36%) of present tense tokens appear when informants step outside the narrative in order to provide general evaluative comments (7). There is only one instance of direct narrative in the present in these Frog Stories.

(6) Tense shifting

203 32-33 el niño encuentra* (PRES) un ciervo El ciervo corrió (PFV)

The boy meets (PRES) a deer The deer ran (PFV)

(7) Present tense in evaluative comments

206 35 la rana parece (PRES) muy contento con su familia

The frog seems (PRES) very happy with her family

(8) Present tense in direct narration

206 20 Miguel ¿dónde estás?

Miguel Where are you?

4 2 1 2 Preterite (PFV)/Imperfect (IPFV)

In this section, we examine the use of the Preterite and the Imperfect tense/aspect forms in the narrative discourse of these Spanish L2 learners. The analysis indicates that the Imperfect is used more frequently, 204 (49.03%) of verb tokens appear in the imperfective tense. The Preterite accounts for 163 (39.18%) of tokens in the narratives. It is interesting to note that in three of the stories the Preterite occurs as the dominant form (more than 80% of tokens), while in three stories, the Imperfect is the dominant form. It is possible that this use of the Imperfect reflects the fact that participants approach the task as a description of the events in the story rather than as a narrative.
PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

This would explain the choice of the Imperfect as the default tense for these narratives. The remaining stories present an alternation of the two forms.

The majority of the stories recounted by this group begin with imperfective verbs, the characteristic form for scene setting. This appears to hint at a systematic use of these forms to signal discourse functions at this early level of proficiency, since the use of the past tense necessarily requires an aspectual choice, perfective or imperfective. In two instances, narrators shift to the perfective after using the opening line provided by the researcher.

Nonetheless, in the complicating section of the narratives, episodes three to twenty-three, the examination of the Preterite/Imperfect contrast indicates a form-based use of these forms. Learners use the Preterite to indicate completed actions and the imperfect to indicate durative events and states. The following example illustrates how the search for the frog is reported as an unbounded, ongoing activity in contrast with the punctual events reported in the Preterite.

(9) Preterite/Imperfect contrast

210 20-22 el niño buscaba (IPFV) en toda la habitación No encontraba (IPFV) la rana El perro metió (PFV) la cabeza en la jarra
The boy looked (IPFV) all around the room (He) did not find (IPFV) the frog. The dog put (PFV) his head in the jar.

As far as the overall structure of the narrative is concerned, little attention is paid to the construction of the background at this stage and the narratives present limited layering. Clauses marked for either perfective or imperfective were coded for grounding. The subsequent analysis of the distribution of clauses found that there were 245 clauses in the foreground and 138 in the background marked for either of these two tense/aspect forms. Table 4.13 summarises the distribution of preterite/imperfect across foreground and background for all participants (imperfect progressive and perfective progressive forms are included under IPFV/PFV respectively). As predicted, the perfective is the most frequently used tense/aspect form in the foreground. However, the similar percentages of distribution of the imperfect across the foreground and background suggest that the
Presenting Results

grounding function of this tense has not been fully acquired yet. In the narratives produced by the control group, the imperfect appeared in the foreground only in 53.3% of instances, in comparison with 27.41% in this set of Frog Stones. As a result, the perfective/imperfective contrast is mainly used to provide information about the time span of actions and events in the plot. As illustrated above, the preterite is used to signal completed and punctual aspects in contrast to durative ones, marked with the imperfect. At this level, the contrast between the perfective and the imperfective past forms are almost the only means to express temporal contours of activities. The discursive function of these tense/aspect forms, is not fully established in the informants' interlanguage at this stage of development.

(10)

212 45-47 pedro buscaba (IPFV) la rana en un árbol y encontré* (PFV) un búho
[=encontró]
Pedro looked for (IPFV) the frog in a tree and (he) found (PFV) an owl.

Table 4.13 Grounding by grammatical aspect in Intermediate learners' narratives

| PARTICIPANT | FOREGROUND | | BACKGROUND | |
|-------------|------------| |------------|------------|
|             | PFV        | IPFV | PFV | IPFV |
| 101         | 95 (21)    | 45 (20) | 18 (2) | 81 (9) |
| 102         | 13 (3)     | 87 (20) | 0 (0) | 100 (10) |
| 103         | 100 (20)   | 0 (0) | 83 (5) | 16 (1) |
| 104         | 70 (12)    | 29 (5) | 10 (2) | 90 (18) |
| 105         | 100 (19)   | 0 (0) | 33 (2) | 66 (4) |
| 106         | 100 (15)   | 0 (0) | 70 (7) | 30 (3) |
| 107         | 33 (4)     | 66 (8) | 18 (2) | 81 (9) |
| 108         | 8 (2)      | 92 (23) | 100 (22) | 0 (0) |
| 109         | 100 (17)   | 0 (0) | 77 (7) | 22 (2) |
| 110         | 14 (5)     | 85 (30) | 0 (0) | 100 (16) |
| 111         | 80 (8)     | 20 (2) | 33 (2) | 66 (4) |
| 112         | 58 (14)    | 41 (10) | 9 (1) | 90 (10) |
| TOTAL       | 57 (14)    | 42 (105) | 21 (30) | 78 (108) |

PFV perfective IPFV imperfective

A chi-square test was performed to assess the validity of these observations and the dependency between grounding and grammatical aspect (Table 4.14). The results
corroborate the finding and reveal that, even though there appears to be a general trend towards dependency, that is perfective aspect marks foreground information more often than background information, the opposite is true of the imperfective aspect, which marks background more often than foreground Nonetheless, the statistical results do not yield a conclusive result regarding the discursive function of the perfective/imperfective contrast at this level of proficiency as the null hypothesis cannot be corroborated in four instances (102, 107, 108, 110) (P=0.05)

Table 4.14 Grounding by grammatical aspect in Intermediate learners' narratives (Chi-square test)

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4213 Perfective Progressive (PFV PROG)/ Imperfective Progressive (IPFV PROG)

In this section, we consider the use of the progressive aspect in the present set of narratives. There are only 16 instances of progressive marking in 8 instances with the imperfective and in 8 instances with the perfective. As table 4.12 indicates, events are marked for progressive aspect in the narratives of six participants. The low ratings are due to the structure of the narratives, as we have described in the previous section. The progressive aspect in narrative discourse traditionally acts as a marker of simultaneity which is seldom reported at this level. In this collection of frog stones, informants use the progressive to indicate different temporal relations on the one hand, two simultaneous actions covering the same time span (11), on the other hand, to contrast a
punctual event in the perfective, which is placed within the time span of a durative one, expressed in the progressive imperfective (12)

(11) 203 33-34

\[y \text{ el niño estuve murando} \] *(PFVPROG) en una (xxx) el perro
\[estuve saltando* (PFVPROG) en el árbol \] [=estuvo]
And the boy was looking (PFVPROG) into a (xxx) the dog was
jumping (PFVPROG) in the tree

(12) 201 43-45

\[mientras \text{ niño estaba buscando} \] (IPFVPROG) por un árbol muchas
\[abejas empezaron (PFV) dejar la colmena\]
While the boy was looking (IPFVPROG) for a tree many bees
started (PFV) to leave the beehive

4.2.2 Lexical Aspect

4.2.2.1 Aspectual Periphrases

L1 studies on child language development indicate that aspectual verbs are rarely used by children younger than nine years of age. In addition, inchoative periphrases are the first type to appear and the most commonly used by young learners. At this level of proficiency, L2 learners make very limited use of aspectual periphrases. An analysis of the stories reveals that inchoatives are the only type present in these narratives. Inchoative periphrases appear only in the narratives produced by 6 of the participants in this group. The results are presented in Table 4.15. This suggests a similar development of aspectual verbs in L1 and L2.

The examination of the discursive functions of aspectual periphrases reveals that, in all but 3 instances, the periphrasis is used to signal the beginning of a concrete action rather than a series of events (13). Interestingly, this is contrary to reports from Sebastian and Slobin who found that at early stages of acquisition inchoatives tend to mark the onset of a series of events. The head verb used in all instances is empezar

(13) Inchoative periphrasis marking entry into new activity
el chico empezaba a subir a los arbes
the boy started to climb the trees

Table 4.15 Distribution of aspectual periphrases in Intermediate learners' narratives

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INC: inchoative periphrases

4 2 2 2 Aspectual Particle *Se*

L2 learners at an Intermediate level have encountered the particle *se* in the context of reflexive morphology. However, as we have discussed in Section 2.2.1, this particle may also function as an additional way to indicate aspect. Specifically, *se* contributes to add an inchoative or cessive sense to verbs. When used in this manner, *se* is optional. As these learners have not been formally introduced to this form, they are not expected to include this aspectual nuance in their narratives. Surprisingly, an analysis of the texts reveals a different state of affairs. There are 14 uses of aspectual *se* distributed across this set of frog stories (Table 4.16).

The event most frequently reported in this manner is the frog's escape. The verb *escapar* appears with *se* in seven instances as narrators describe the frog escaping from...
the jar. It also appears with *caer* (to fall) and *ir* (to go). There are no instances of *se* with transitive verbs. This suggests that at the early stages of acquisition the use of this particle is linked to verbs of movement.

Sebastian and Slobin argue that, for narrative purposes, *se* is used to indicate that one event is "over and done with" (1994: 256) and the speaker moves on to a different topic, thus attributing a discursive role to this particle. However, an inspection of the aspectual markers in this sample suggests that this is not always the case (14). Their observations are likely to reflect the fact that these events tend to coincide with episode boundaries as depicted by the illustrations. It is our belief that at this point of the L2 acquisition of Spanish *se* is largely concerned with the expression of aspect. At this level of proficiency, these narratives do not display enough elements of discourse organization for the aspectual *se* to acquire a function beyond the predicate which it accompanies. In addition, stories are seldom constructed as structural units, but rather narrators deal with the story picture by picture, rather than by episodes. This is illustrated by the examples below which describe the picture where the dog falls from the window (15). Participant 103 includes the aspectual particle, while participant 106 omits it.

(14) Aspectual Particle *Se*

101 30-31 *se cayó* (PFV) *y por eso rompió la jarra*  
(the dog) fell (PFV) and because of this (he) broke the jar

106 22 *el perro cayó* (PFV) *de la ventana y juan saltió* [saltó]  
The dog fell (PFV) from the window and juan jumped
**Table 4.16 Distribution of aspectual particle Se Intermediate learner’s narratives.**

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>N04</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N05</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N06</td>
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<tr>
<td>N12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.2.3 Lexical Aspect Hypothesis**

In this section, we investigate how the inherent lexical aspect of a predicate influences the distribution of tense-aspect morphology in interlanguage. Tables 4.17 to 4.19 show the distribution across tense and lexical class by subject. The last column in the table indicates the percentage of verbs in the lexical class in the overall narrative. Progressive forms for the purpose of this analysis are included in the respective perfective or imperfective class. The distribution of the Past Perfect across lexical class is omitted from the analysis of this set of narratives because there are no instances of this form in the data gathered. Telic predicates show greater occurrence, (220 or 52.63%), followed by states (105 or 25.11%). Activities are the least frequent lexical class (93 or 22.24%).

Telic predicates are the lexical class to occur most predominantly; half of the predicates coded for analysis in this group of learners belong to this class. The investigation of telic predicates reveals disparity across informants in the overall number of telic verbs included in the narratives. For informant 104, only 39% of predicates occur with telic verbs, while 109 includes 73% of verbs in this lexical class (the median is 52.38%). The
PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

tense/aspect form most frequent with telics is the perfective (65.90%) All informants include this past marker with telic predicates. However, if we consider the production of individual learners the pattern of use shows significant rates of personal variation. Three subjects produced telic verbs only in this tense/aspect form, while two subjects use the preterite in less than half of the total of telic verbs in their narrative. The imperfective occurs with this lexical class only in five of the narratives produced by this group of informants yet two participants (102 and 108) use this form for practically all the telic predicates in their story. Very few lexical telic are produced with the present tense or other tenses in this set of narratives.

Activities are the lexical class with the lowest level of use in this set of narratives. The variation across informants evident in the use of telics is replicated with activities. 50% of predicates coded for analysis of lexical class produced by informant 103 are activities. On the other hand, only 3.84% of predicates analysed for subject 109 belong to this lexical class. Not all informants produced activities with the tense/aspect forms considered for the analysis. Ten participants in this group include the imperfective, which represents 58.06% of instances, showing the higher use of this past form with activities. Nine participants use activities marked with perfective past (31.08%). This means that at this level of proficiency activities are almost twice as likely to appear in the imperfective as the perfective. This distribution differs from that revealed by the analysis of the control group, which indicates similar distribution patterns for activities with both past markers. The use of activities with other tense/aspect forms is very limited.

Few lexical states are used by these learners (25.11%) States are more likely to occur in the imperfective (77.42%) than in any other tense/aspect form. All informants include states in this category. Only four participants use the perfective with states, representing 14% of tokens.
### Table 4.17 Distribution of tense within telic verbs in Intermediate learners' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>Tel+PFV</th>
<th>Tel+IPFV</th>
<th>Tel+PRESENTS</th>
<th>Tel+OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL TOKENS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>92 00 (23)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>8 00 (2)</td>
<td>67 56 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>14 28 (3)</td>
<td>87 50 (21)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>70 58 (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>66 66 (8)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>33 33 (4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>40 00 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>75 00 (12)</td>
<td>18 75 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6 25 (1)</td>
<td>39 03 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>94 44 (17)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>5 55 (1)</td>
<td>64 28 (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>100 (12)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>44 44 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>36 36 (4)</td>
<td>36 36 (4)</td>
<td>27 27 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>39 28 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>9 10 (2)</td>
<td>90 90 (20)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>44 89 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>100 (19)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>73 07 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>100 (23)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>45 09 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>72 72 (8)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>27 27 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>57 89 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>51 85 (14)</td>
<td>40 74 (11)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>7 40 (2)</td>
<td>57 44 (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>65 90 (145)</td>
<td>26 81 (59)</td>
<td>4 45 (1)</td>
<td>2 72 (6)</td>
<td>52 63 (220)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.18 Distribution of tense within activities in Intermediate learners' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>Act+PFV</th>
<th>Act+IPFV</th>
<th>Act+PRESENTS</th>
<th>Act+OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL TOKENS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>75 00 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>25 00 (1)</td>
<td>10 52 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>25 00 (1)</td>
<td>75 00 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>11 76 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>100 (15)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>50 00 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>33 33 (2)</td>
<td>33 33 (2)</td>
<td>33 33 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>14 63 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>60 00 (3)</td>
<td>20 00 (1)</td>
<td>20 00 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>17 85 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>50 00 (2)</td>
<td>25 00 (1)</td>
<td>25 00 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>14 81 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>33 33 (2)</td>
<td>66 66 (6)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>28 57 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>84 61 (11)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>15 38 (2)</td>
<td>26 53 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>100 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3 84 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>100 (15)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>29 41 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>40 00 (2)</td>
<td>60 00 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>26 31 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>7 69 (1)</td>
<td>69 23 (9)</td>
<td>23 07 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>27 65 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>31 18 (29)</td>
<td>58 06 (54)</td>
<td>7 52 (7)</td>
<td>3 22 (3)</td>
<td>22 24 (93)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In terms of tense, the analysis indicates that telic predicates appear largely with the perfective, followed by activities and finally extending to states. The imperfective is used predominantly with states. Thus, these narratives show the patterns of distribution found in studies that have investigated the aspect hypothesis (Andersen 1991, Bardovi-Harling 1998, Salaberry 2000).

4.2.4 Adverbials

Research on the expression of temporality by L2 learners in naturalistic environments (Dietrich et al., 1995) indicates that temporal lexical markers are amongst the first indicators of time relations to appear. However, these conclusions were reached following interviews with the informants in which they tell personal narratives. In this context, establishing the temporal circumstances of the narrative becomes more pertinent. This results in temporal adverbials of position (TAP), which place an event in relation to other time spans, in this case SP (speech time) or events on the time line, being documented as the most frequent category of temporal adverbials at the initial stages of L2 acquisition. Fictional narratives, such as the Frog Story, do not require the same level of input from learners in relation to the external temporal relations. An analysis of the use of adverbials indicates that overall they do not play a very significant role.
role in the narrative since temporal relations are mainly indicated through the use of verbal morphology and subordination (see section 4.6 below) Table 4.20 summarises the use of adverbials by Intermediate participants.

The most frequent class of adverbials appearing in these narratives is temporal adverbials of position. In particular, the adverbial to appear first in the narratives refers to the night, immediately setting a temporal frame for the rest of the story to follow, all of the informants refer to it (16).

(16) Temporal adverbial of position

106 11 *por la noche el chico dormió*
  *At night the boy slept*

Following this, the majority of participants refer to the following morning or the following day as the next external temporal anchoring of the narrative. In three instances we encounter the adverbial *ahora* (now). This adverbial is used in order to move the deictic center from the past to the present (ST) in the context of evaluative comments (17).

(17) Deictic use of adverbial

109 51 *el perro estuvo en su cabeza ahora*
  *the dog was on his head now*

Temporal adverbials of duration (TAD) and temporal adverbials of contrast (TAC) appear with the same frequency. Of these two categories, adverbials of contrast are more interesting since they include aspectual adverbs. These include the adverbial *de repente* (all of a sudden) marking the beginning of a new episode and *finalmente* (finally) marking the end boundary of an event. This seems to indicate that although in a limited manner, at this level, aspectual adverbial expressions begin to appear in the learners' repertoire of devices for expressing temporal relations between events, thus assisting in the transition from a narrative characterized by segmentation and chaining of events to a more structured text.
(18) Temporal adverbial of contrast

101 58 \textit{de repente con el susto el ciervo empezó a correr por una peña}
Suddenly with the fright the deer started to run on a cliff

Table 4 Distribution of temporal adverbials in Intermediate learners' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TAP</th>
<th>TAD</th>
<th>TAQ</th>
<th>TAC</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>112</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TAP = temporal adverbial of position
TAD = temporal adverbial of duration
TAQ = temporal adverbial of frequency
TAC = temporal adverbial of contrast

4.2.5 Temporal subordinate clauses

As we have suggested previously, this set of narratives does not manifest a high degree of overall cohesiveness or elaborateness. Rather, these texts are organized on the basis of picture to picture narration of events in independent sentences. These "stand-alone" clauses are not linked lexically or syntactically to either the preceding or following utterance. This results in sequentiality being the means by which the narrative moves forward rather than temporal connections being established between events. Table 4.21 indicates the instances in which temporal subordination occurs, as well as specifying the type of subordinators used.
As we mentioned earlier, simultaneity can be expressed by means of tense alternation as well as by the use of subordinators. In this set of narratives, two events are reported as simultaneous in fourteen instances, however not all participants relate situations in this manner. The events most frequently reported as simultaneous are in picture number 2, (where the boy is asleep and the frog escapes from the jar). In terms of subordinators, *cuando* (when) is the preferred form at this stage. *Mientras* (while) requires the presence of two different protagonists and therefore its use requires the ability to shift protagonist, which, as we have mentioned before, does not happen easily at this level.

(19)  

\[ \text{Cuando as a marker of simultaneity} \]

I08 53-54  

\[ \text{el ave venía \textit{cuando} veía a juan} \]

the bird came \textit{when} (it) saw juan

There are only three attempts to relate events as anterior to one another. In these cases, informants have erroneously used the present perfect. As mentioned in Chapter 2 the present perfect is a complex form, since it establishes temporal relations with both the past and the present. The appropriate form in this context is the past perfect, which has a retrospective function. These uses of the present perfect to refer to an event preceding another signal the onset of the ability to increase the complexity of the range of temporal expressions in narrative discourse (20).

(20)  

\[ \text{Use of Present Perfect as a marker of anteriority} \]

I05 15-16  

\[ \text{por la mañana \textit{vi}}^{*} \text{ (PFV) que la rana \textit{ha salido}}^{*} \text{ (PRES PERF) [=había salido]} \]

In the morning (he) saw (PFV) that the frog has left (PRES PERF)

Temporal markers of posteriority cannot be described as being a feature of the Interlanguage of L2 learners at this stage of acquisition. This is because events are chained to one another, or linked by means of coordination rather than subordination. Only one informant (I01) established a temporal connection between events in this manner (21). Nonetheless, as the example shows, this results in transfer from the L1 structure to the L2. The appropriate Spanish structure does not seem to have been acquired yet.
(21) *Después de* as a marker of posteriority

101:12 *una noche después de mirando* (GER) *la rana* [*=mirar*]

One night after looking at the frog.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CUANDO</th>
<th>MIENTRAS</th>
<th>DESPUÉS DE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.6 Conclusions

In summary, this section describes the Interlanguage of intermediate L2 learners of Spanish in relation to the expression of temporality in narrative discourse. These stories manifest limited use of tense morphology. The informant who displays a wider variety of tenses uses six different tenses in the narrative, the informant with the smaller number of tenses includes just two, the past tense in both its aspectual form, perfective and imperfective. The analysis of the texts indicates that these informants have extensive problems with the use of personal inflection. At the same time, some informants have approached the task in a descriptive mode and use the imperfective form throughout the text after the cue from the researcher (formulaic *había una vez*).

The examination of the use of tense/aspect forms reveals that at this level of proficiency verbal morphology is used as a local marker for temporal and aspectual distinctions. There is no generalized use of the discursive functions of these forms at this stage in the development of Spanish L2 acquisition. This is evident in the use of the
Perfect/Imperfect to contrast punctual and durative predicates. The lack of more extensive use of the past progressive is interesting. It was expected that this form would be frequent in the interlanguage of these learners since, in the early stages of acquisition, the past progressive in Spanish tends to be equated with the functions of the English Past Progressive. Contrary to what was expected, learners make little use of the progressive in their telling of the Frog Stones.

The distribution of tense-aspect morphology in the oral narratives at this level of proficiency does not yield conclusive results in support of the discourse hypothesis. Figure 4.4 summarises the findings of the analysis of the marking of the foreground and the background. As the figure indicates, while the background is mainly marked by events in the imperfect, the foreground shows similar patterns of occurrence for both past markers.

We followed the analysis by examining the role of grammatical aspect expressed through the use of aspectual periphrases and the aspectual particle *se*. In general, aspectual periphrases are seldom used at the intermediate level of Spanish L2 development. Inchoatives are the first type of periphrases to emerge in the narratives. However, since they are only used by six of the informants in this group, they cannot be considered to be established in the informants' Interlanguage at this stage. Surprisingly, the analysis shows that these learners already make use of the aspectual particle *se* to reinforce the completive nature of some predicates. This interesting finding seems to point towards the role of input in the acquisition process, since in a tutored setting this
particular use of *se* has not been encountered by learners at this stage. In general, aspectual information on events is poorly conveyed by grammatical devices other than the morphology of the past tense.

In relation to lexical aspect, the pattern so far presented seems to point towards the Aspect hypothesis. That is, past tense marking at the intermediate stages of acquisition is interrelated with the lexically inherent aspect of the verbs. Telic verbs are most frequently used with the perfective and states with the imperfective, activities fluctuate between the two. Figure 4.5 summarises these results.

**Figure 4.4** Distribution of tense/aspect forms across lexical class in intermediate learners' narratives

![Graph showing distribution of tense/aspect forms across lexical class](image)

Adverbials do not play a significant role in the telling of the story, nor does temporal subordination. This is in great part due to the sequential organization of the text, where temporal relations between events are rarely constructed. At the level beyond the sentence, learners in this group resort to the use of the Principle of Natural Order, to achieve cohesion in the temporal structure of their narratives.
4.3 Presentation of Results. Advanced learner’s narratives

4.3.0 Introduction

This group is formed by 12 participants (A01-A12), who are in the final year of a four year degree course. They started learning Spanish as ab-initio students in their first year at university. They all have spent one academic year in Spain as part of their four year degree. The analysis of the verbal morphology reveals a more stable system than the intermediate group. The majority of informants in this group do not manifest problems with inflections or irregular morphology. Nonetheless, some participants still manifest problems with the choice of copula (1). The use of the present tense in contexts where a past marker is required and the consequent shifting of the temporal flow subsist in the narratives of four of the informants in this group (2).

(1) Incorrect copula
A10 60  

despues el niño era* (IPFV) en una roca [=estaba]  
after the boy was (IPFV) on a rock

(2) Tense/aspect form shift
A12 40  

entonces de repente el perro cae (PRES) de la ventana con la jarra en su cabeza  
Then suddenly the dog falls (PRES) from the window with the jar in his head

Seven participants in this group refer to the twenty-four vignettes in the story. The remaining five informants omit different parts of the story, or amalgamate the events depicted by two scenes into one. None of the informants includes the use of a formulaic coda. In general terms, this set of narratives present a cohesive structure. Although coordination still features predominantly, it appears to be in decline in favour of subordination. Temporal markers that occur in the text such as, entonces (then), contribute to chaining events. The following excerpt is characteristic of the narratives produced by this group.
As this passage illustrates, verbal morphology is used to distinguish between completed, punctual actions in the Preterite (PFV), as the depiction of the bees leaving the beehive indicates, and ongoing activities (IPFV PROG). In this extract, the Imperfect (IPFV) occurs with statives marking the background. Events are syntactically linked by means of the conjunction y (and).

### 4.3.1 Tense/Aspect forms

Table 4.22 shows the distribution of tense/aspect forms in the frog stories produced by subjects in the Advanced group. The total number of tokens coded for analysis is 613. The range of tokens produced by participants is 32-84 and the median is 51. The analysis reveals a significant variation in the array of tenses used at this level of proficiency, which ranges between two and eight (see table below). At this level of proficiency, six of the participants use five different tenses, three participants include four tenses, and only one participant includes three tenses. Participant A06 appears to be the weakest in terms of tense variation; only two tenses appear in the story narrated by this informant. The high number of tenses appearing in informant A12's story correlates with the higher number of tokens present. The Preterite occurs in 278 of the tokens analysed (45.35%) and the Imperfect in 235 (38.33%). Learners in this group still include the present as the third most frequent verb tense (6%). This is followed by the imperfective progressive, which accounts for 5.54% of tokens used. The rest of the tenses in the stories appear with limited use.
Table 4.22 Distribution of tense/aspect forms in Advanced learners' narratives (% raw frequencies)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART</th>
<th>PRES</th>
<th>PRES</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>PRES</th>
<th>PAST</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>PROG</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>PFV</td>
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Table 4 22 Distribution of tense/aspect forms (continuation)

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<th>FUT</th>
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</tr>
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<td>(1)</td>
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</table>
4311 Use of the Present (PRES)

There are 40 instances of the present tense in the frog stories told by this group of informants. However, a closer examination of these forms reveals that in 24 (60%) of these instances the present tense appears as an indication of tense shifting (4) where informants, even though telling the story in the past move to the present tense occasionally signalling difficulty in sustaining the temporal anchoring of the narrative in the past. On six occasions (15%), the present tense appears as the narrator uses direct narration to imitate the boy calling the frog in the course of the search or to talk about the conversation between the boy and his dog when they are in the river (5) The present tense occurs on nine occasions (22.5%) in evaluation clauses answering rhetorical questions as a narrative strategy (6) This results in a use of the present tense similar to that of learners at the Intermediate level. The use of the present is illustrated by the following examples

(4) Tense shifting

A10 26-27 y el perro ponía (IPFV) su cabeza en la jarra de la rana y no puede (PRES) el perro dejar la jarra
And the dog put (IPFV) his head in the frog's jar and he cannot (PRES) leave the jar.

(5) Present tense in direct narration

A02 25 rama rama* (rana rana) ¿donde estás tu? (PRES) frog frog where are (PRES) you?

(6) Present tense in evaluative comments

A12 107-108 ¿Y entonces que ven? (PRES) y ven (PRES) una familia de ranas
And then what do (they) see (PRES) and (they) see (PRES) a family of frogs

4312 Use of the Preterite (PFV) / Imperfect (IPFV)

As we have mentioned on several occasions, informants were given explicit instructions that the narratives should be told in the past form. An analysis of the use of the use of the two past forms reveals that the Preterite is the dominant tense in only one of the narratives (A04 83.33%). Two participants (A05, A10) have a high use of the
PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

Imperfect, although not as the dominant tense/aspect form in the narrative. This use extends beyond the orientation section into the “complicating action” and resolution and as a result, the story acquires a descriptive tone. The rest of the participants in this group use the two tenses in similar distribution patterns. This distribution indicates a change in relation to the narratives of the Intermediate learners, where a high number of subjects showed a tendency to use either the Preterite or the Imperfect past markers as the dominant form.

As mentioned previously, universals of narrative discourse indicate that the Imperfect should be the expected form for scene-setting or orientation in Spanish narratives. This does not occur in all of the stories, in three instances the tense appearing in the orientation is the Preterite and, in another three instances, the Imperfect alternates with the present tense. This suggests that at this level of expertise this discursive function of the Imperfect has not been acquired by all learners.

(7) Tense use in the orientation section

A0 8-14  *había* (IPVF) un chico que *se llama* (PRES) *tim* y *tenía* (IPVF) un perro que *se llama* (PRES) (xxx) *tenía* (IPVF) un regalo para su cumpleaños que *era* una rana

There was (IPVF) a boy whose name is (PRES) *tim* and (he) had (IPVF) a dog whose name is (PRES) (xxx) (he) had (IPVF) a present for his birthday which was (IPVF) a frog

In general, the “complicating events” section includes clauses in the foreground in the perfective and the background is composed of clauses in the imperfective or imperfective progressive. This discursive function is realised in clauses such as example (8) below. In this example, the plot is moved forward by the Preterite while a relative clause with a verb in the Imperfect provides the additional information in the background. However, at this level of proficiency there are still instances in which the alternation of these two tenses, rather than serving narrative grounding, is used to contrast punctual or completed actions in the foreground with states or durative events also taking place in the foreground. Example (9) illustrates how this temporal contrast between events is conveyed.
(8) Discursive function of the Preterite/Imperfect contrast

A06 45-49  *montó* (PVF)  *miguel en un árbol donde vivía* (IPVF)  *un búho pero el buho era* (IPVF)  *muy peligroso*

Climbed (PVF) Miguel a tree where there lived (IPVF) an owl but the owl was (IPVF) very dangerous

(9) Preterite/Imperfect contrast

A02 66-67  *y el búho le llevaba* (IPVF) *hasta una roca, y allí el niño*  *se acordó* (PVF)  *otra vez de su rana perdida*

And the owl brought (IPVF) him to a rock, and there the boy remembered (PVF) again his lost frog

The subsequent analysis of the distribution of clauses found that there were 306 clauses in the foreground and 242 in the background marked for either of these two tense/aspect forms. Table 4.23 summarises the distribution of preterite/imperfect across foreground. The Preterite scores higher than the Imperfect in the foreground in nine of the narratives. Only one informant produced more tokens in the Imperfect in the foreground. Two informants produced a similar number of tokens in the two forms. This signals a difference in the composition of the foreground in relation to less advanced learners, where these two tenses were more evenly distributed in the foreground. Similarly, the examination of data for the background indicates that in all of the stories in this group the Imperfect is the preferred past marker. This also contrasts with the Intermediate learners, as four subjects in that group used the perfective as the most frequent form in the background.
As in the analysis of the narratives of L1 speakers and Intermediate learners, a Chi-square test was carried out to confirm the validity of these preliminary observations. The results confirm those advanced by the analysis, thus providing support for the discourse hypothesis for ten of the Advanced learners. Hence, the Preterite is the dominant tense in the foreground while background predicates appear predominantly in the Imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
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</thead>
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<td>69 56 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>83 78 (31)</td>
<td>16 21 (6)</td>
<td>14 28 (4)</td>
<td>85 71 (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>86 48 (32)</td>
<td>13 51 (5)</td>
<td>31 57 (6)</td>
<td>68 42 (13)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>100 (34)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>20 00 (1)</td>
<td>80 00 (4)</td>
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<td>53 84 (7)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>69 23 (9)</td>
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<td>91 66 (22)</td>
<td>8 33 (2)</td>
<td>13 63 (3)</td>
<td>86 36 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>91 66 (11)</td>
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<td>5 88 (1)</td>
<td>94 11 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>97 05 (33)</td>
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<td>28 57 (4)</td>
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<td>88 00 (22)</td>
<td>12 00 (3)</td>
<td>15 38 (2)</td>
<td>84 61 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>89 28 (25)</td>
<td>10 71 (3)</td>
<td>9 75 (4)</td>
<td>90 24 (37)</td>
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<td>14 87 (36)</td>
<td>85 12 (206)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

As in the analysis of the narratives of L1 speakers and Intermediate learners, a Chi-square test was carried out to confirm the validity of these preliminary observations. The results confirm those advanced by the analysis, thus providing support for the discourse hypothesis for ten of the Advanced learners. Hence, the Preterite is the dominant tense in the foreground while background predicates appear predominantly in the Imperfect.

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</table>
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4.2.2.3 Use of the Perfective Progressive (PFV PROG)/ Imperfective Progressive (IPFV PROG)

The imperfective progressive (IPFV PROG) is the next most utilised form appearing in the story of nine of the twelve informants, 554% of the tokens occur in this form (see table 4.22). This is an interesting development if we consider the narratives of Intermediate learners where the imperfective progressive accounted for only 182% of the tokens. There are only two tokens inflected for perfective progressive across the sample. As mentioned before, the progressive is optional in Spanish because the imperfective past (pretérito imperfecto), can convey a meaning of durativity. Nonetheless, the progressive aspect includes a notion of dynamicity not necessarily conveyed by the imperfective. The analysis of the use of the progressive aspect across this sample indicates that the progressive aspect indicates several temporal relations. In a number of instances, the progressive aspect takes the place of the imperfect (10). As we discussed in the analysis of the narratives produced by intermediate learners, it can be argued that in these instances the past progressive is a transfer from English. In this regard, the progressive is used to contrast the duration of two events taking place at the same time in the foreground, as the following example illustrates:

(10) A03 23 rápidamente se puso (PFV) sus ropa y estaban buscando (IPFV PROG) por todos lados
Quickly (he) put on (PFV) his clothes and (they) were looking (IPFV PROG) everywhere

However, the imperfective progressive occurs most frequently in the background. Learners in this group use the progressive aspect to signal simultaneity between events or to add layering to the background by contrasting a state, in the imperfective, with an action extended in time, in the imperfect progressive (11):

(11) Imperfective Progressive as a marker of simultaneity
A12 25-27 y el perro estaba mirando en la jarra a ver donde estaba (IPFV) la rana
And the dog was looking (IPFV PROG) in the jar to see where was (IPFV PROG) the frog
4.3.1.4 Other tenses

As table 4.22 indicates, a number of verb tenses appear with limited frequency across the Frog Stories produced by this group of informants. These are the present perfect (PRES.PERF), past perfect (PAST.PERF), imperfective subjunctive (IPVF.SUBL), imperative (IMPER), future tense (FUT) and conditional (COND). These tenses are used in very small numbers and generally they only appear in the narratives of one of the informants. However, it is interesting to note the use of the Past Perfect.

Studies of child language document the Past Perfect as a late acquisition form. In the Spanish Frog Stories collected by Sebastián (1994), the past perfect does not appear until the age of 4 for their Castilian Spanish sample, 5 for the Chilean sample and 9 for the Argentinean sample. The analysis of the narratives by Intermediate learners revealed that, of the 416 tokens analysed, none were inflected for Past Perfect. In the narratives of the advanced learners recounted for the present study, the Past Perfect is introduced by four of the participants in this group and it accounts for 1.46% of the tokens analysed. This tense does not come to be widely used in narrative discourse until superior levels of proficiency in Spanish L2, when we encounter more evidence of a sense of plot in the narrations. The present perfect occurs incorrectly in two instances across the sample where a past perfect would be expected to signal the anteriority of the action in the subordinate clause. This is further evidence of the problem of tense consistency when establishing orientation centres. Nonetheless, together with the few instances of the imperfective subjective, the use of more complex forms is evidence of the learners’ efforts to provide the narratives with a more cohesive temporal structure.

4.3.2 Lexical aspect

4.3.2.1 Aspectual periphrasis

Table 4.25 below displays the results from the analysis of aspectual periphrasis in the narratives produced by Advanced learners. Aspectual periphrases appear in ten of the narratives in this group. Inchoative periphrases are the most frequent type, followed by
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Iteratives There are no instances of completive aspectual periphrasis in the sample of frog stories produced by learners in this group.

Inchoative periphrases are included in the narratives of eight of the subjects in this group. The range of predicates used in the formation of the periphrasis is significantly higher in relation to the previous group of informants. The most common periphrasis is still \textit{empezar a} (10 instances), followed by \textit{ir a} (to go to) (6 instances), and \textit{ponerse a} (to set out to) (4 instances). There is one instance of \textit{estar a punto de} (to be about to do something). Three informants out of the five who use multiple aspectual periphrases present divers predicate types. The other two informants resort to only one verb for the formation of the periphrasis. The examples of inchoatives in this group of stones are most frequently used to mark the beginning of an activity (12), in three instances an inchoative is used to mark the beginning of the search (13).

(12) Inchoative periphrasis marking entry into new activity

\begin{verbatim}
A09 39  jose empezó a correr (PFV)  
Jose started to run (PFV)
\end{verbatim}

(13) Inchoative periphrasis parking entry into new episode

\begin{verbatim}
A09 19  y empezó a buscar (PFV) a la rana por todas partes  
And (he) started to look (PFV) for the frog everywhere
\end{verbatim}

Iterative periphrases mark a situation or event as extended in time. This class of aspectual periphrasis does not appear in the narratives recounted by the intermediate learners. As the table shows, their use is not widespread amongst informants in this group, nonetheless, it indicates a progression in the use of aspectual markers. Two verbs are used to refer to activities in this manner, \textit{seguir} (4 instances) and \textit{continuar} (two instances) both meaning \textit{to continue} in English. These aspectual periphrases generally mark an event that runs through almost the entirety of the story, the boys' search for his frog (14), only in one of the five instances of iterative periphrases does it appear to extend the duration of a single event (15). Informants generally use the progressive aspect to indicate this.
(14) Iterative periphrasis marking event extending throughout the plot

**A07:36** continuó buscando (PFV) a su rana.  
(he) continued to look (PFV) for this frog

(15) Iterative periphrasis marking continuation of an event

**A04:32** el perro siguió ladrando (PFV) a la colmena de abejas.  
the dog continued to bark (PFV) at the beehive.

| Table 4.25 Distribution of aspectual periphrases in Advanced learners’ narratives. |
|---------------------------------|------------|----------|
| Raw frequencies                | INC | ITE | TOTAL |
| A01                            | 1   | 0   | 1     |
| A02                            | 4   | 1   | 5     |
| A03                            | 3   | 0   | 3     |
| A04                            | 3   | 1   | 4     |
| A05                            | 0   | 1   | 1     |
| A06                            | 0   | 0   | 0     |
| A07                            | 0   | 2   | 2     |
| A08                            | 0   | 0   | 0     |
| A09                            | 5   | 0   | 5     |
| A10                            | 1   | 0   | 1     |
| A11                            | 3   | 2   | 5     |
| A12                            | 1   | 0   | 1     |
| **TOTAL**                      | 21  | 7   | 28    |

INC: inchoatives, ITE: iteratives

4.3.2.2 Aspectual particle *se*

In the analysis of the narratives produced by Intermediate learners of L2 Spanish, we identified the use of the pronoun *se* as an aspectual marker to emphasise the inchoative condition of an activity. The analysis of the use of this aspectual particle in the narratives of advanced learners reveals a higher use of this particle. Aspectual *se* appears in eight of the narratives, as table 4.26 below indicates. The most common inclusion of *se* is with the verbs of movement such as *caer* (to fall), *ir* (to go), *escapar* (to escape), *subir* (to climb/to go up). There is only one instance in this set of
narratives where \textit{se} occurs with a transitive verb, \textit{montar} (to mount/ to get on) acquiring a completive meaning

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(16)] Use of aspectual particle \textit{se} with inchoative value
\begin{quote}
407 48 \textit{el pobre pablito se cayó del árbol} \\
poor pablito fell from the tree
\end{quote}
\item[(17)] Use of aspectual particle \textit{se} with completive value
\begin{quote}
403 79 \textit{el perro se montó en la cabeza del niño} \\
the dog got on the head of the boy
\end{quote}
\end{enumerate}

It is interesting to note the rates of targetlike production for aspectual \textit{se}. Of the 32 tokens which appear in the sample, 29 conform to target use (86.6%). Four of the six participants who chose to include \textit{se} do so with complete accuracy. Participant A03 includes a significantly high number of tokens, with an extremely high accuracy rate (91.6%). Participant A01 includes eight instances of this form in her story, however, two of those are incorrect since the verb \textit{buscar} (to look for) and \textit{correr} (to run) are predicates describing an ongoing activity. Thus, the completive meaning of the particle \textit{se} with transitive verbs is not compatible with an activity in progress. This could be interpreted as an indicator that this participant has an incline that \textit{se} appears with verbs of movement but has not yet acquired the rule in relation to telicity.
Table 4.26  Distribution of aspectual se in Advanced learners' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A02</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A03</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A04</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A05</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A06</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A07</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A08</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A09</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3 Lexical Aspect Hypothesis

As outlined for previous analysis of dependency between lexical class and verbal morphology, 611 tokens from this set of narratives were coded for this analysis. Tables 4.27 to 4.29 show the results of the analysis per lexical class. Approximately half of the predicates are telic 47.95% (293). The remaining predicates are almost evenly divided between states 29.29% (179) and activities 22.74% (139).

Telic predicates are used with greater frequency with the perfective than any other tense/aspect form, (222 tokens or 74.6%) (Table 4.27). Compared to the Intermediate group, the advanced group shows a higher use of telic predicates in the perfective. Only two participants include more imperfective predicates with this lexical class. The use of the imperfective is limited to 38 tokens (12.96%), almost half of that of the Intermediate group.

Learners use more than twice as many activities in the imperfective (88 or 63.30%) than in the perfective (36 or 25.89%). Only one participant includes more activities in the perfective. This overall distribution of tense/aspect form is similar to that of learners in...
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the Intermediate stages of Spanish L2 acquisition and does not signify a move towards a more targetlike production which indicated similar frequency values for both past forms with this lexical class. However, the analysis also reveals that the significant personal variation found across participants in the previous group is not present at this level. All participants show similar distribution rates for the two past tense/aspect forms.

States constitute 29.29% of the corpus. They only appear inflected for either of past markers and present tense. States show greater occurrence with imperfective (78.77%) Two participants marked all the states in the narratives with this form. The perfective (8.93%) or present (12.39%) are never used predominantly with states at this level of proficiency. This distribution patterns are similar to those revealed by the analysis of Intermediate learners' narratives.

Thus, these narratives show the familiar patterns of distribution across lexical class found in studies that have investigated the aspect hypothesis. The data reveals a progression of perfective use for telic verbs, to activities. Activities occur predominantly with the imperfective, as do states, supporting the distribution of tense/aspect morphology predicted by Andersen (1991). The data also shows a more uniform distribution across informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>TEL+PFV</th>
<th>TEL+PPF</th>
<th>TEL+PRES</th>
<th>PASTPERF</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>75.00 (12)</td>
<td>6.25 (1)</td>
<td>12.50 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6.25 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A02</td>
<td>76.92 (30)</td>
<td>15.38 (6)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>7.69 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A03</td>
<td>89.47 (34)</td>
<td>5.26 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>5.26 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A04</td>
<td>89.66 (26)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3.44 (1)</td>
<td>3.44 (1)</td>
<td>3.44 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A05</td>
<td>55.55 (5)</td>
<td>44.44 (4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A06</td>
<td>81.25 (13)</td>
<td>18.75 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A07</td>
<td>79.16 (19)</td>
<td>8.33 (2)</td>
<td>8.33 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>4.16 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A08</td>
<td>87.50 (7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>12.50 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A09</td>
<td>93.75 (30)</td>
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<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3.12 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
<td>47.61 (1)</td>
<td>71.42 (15)</td>
<td>19.04 (4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>4.76 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td>79.31 (23)</td>
<td>3.44 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>17.24 (5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>68.75 (22)</td>
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<td>15.62 (5)</td>
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<td>6.25 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75.76 (222)</td>
<td>12.96 (38)</td>
<td>4.77 (14)</td>
<td>2.38 (7)</td>
<td>4.09 (12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 4.28 Distribution of tense within activities in Advanced learners' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>ACT+PFV</th>
<th>ACT+IPFV</th>
<th>ACT+PRES</th>
<th>ACT+PASTPERF</th>
<th>ACT+OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>14 28 (2)</td>
<td>85 71 (12)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A02</td>
<td>28 57 (4)</td>
<td>64 28 (9)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>7 14 (1)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A03</td>
<td>33 33 (2)</td>
<td>66 66 (4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A04</td>
<td>70 00 (7)</td>
<td>10 00 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>20 00 (2)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A05</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>100 (9)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A06</td>
<td>12 50 (1)</td>
<td>87 50 (7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A07</td>
<td>30 00 (3)</td>
<td>30 00 (3)</td>
<td>10 00 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>30 00 (3)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A08</td>
<td>35 71 (5)</td>
<td>64 28 (9)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A09</td>
<td>46 15 (6)</td>
<td>38 46 (5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>7 69 (1)</td>
<td>7 69 (1)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
<td>11 11 (1)</td>
<td>77 77 (7)</td>
<td>11 11 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td>10 00 (1)</td>
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<td>10 00 (1)</td>
<td>20 00 (2)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>18 18 (4)</td>
<td>72 72 (16)</td>
<td>4 54 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>4 54 (1)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>63 30 (88)</td>
<td>2 15 (3)</td>
<td>1 43 (2)</td>
<td>7 19 (10)</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 4.29 Distribution of tense within states in Advanced learners' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>STA+PFV</th>
<th>STA+IPFV</th>
<th>STA+PRES</th>
<th>STA+PASTPERF</th>
<th>STA+OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>25 00 (5)</td>
<td>65 00 (13)</td>
<td>10 00 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A02</td>
<td>5 26 (1)</td>
<td>78 94 (15)</td>
<td>15 78 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A03</td>
<td>10 52 (2)</td>
<td>57 89 (11)</td>
<td>31 57 (6)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A04</td>
<td>33 33 (1)</td>
<td>66 66 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A05</td>
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<td>100 (19)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A06</td>
<td>25 00 (2)</td>
<td>75 00 (6)</td>
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<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A07</td>
<td>5 55 (1)</td>
<td>88 88 (16)</td>
<td>5 55 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A08</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>72 72 (8)</td>
<td>27 27 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A09</td>
<td>16 66 (1)</td>
<td>83 33 (5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
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<td>90 47 (19)</td>
<td>9 52 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
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<td>100 (6)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>10 34 (3)</td>
<td>72 41 (21)</td>
<td>17 24 (5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>8 93 (16)</td>
<td>78 77 (141)</td>
<td>12 29 (22)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.4 Adverbials

As Table 4.30 shows, learners do not make extensive use of adverbials at this level of proficiency. Temporal information is conveyed mainly by means of verbal morphology. Interestingly, the examination of the role of temporal adverbials in this set of narratives shows that these advanced learners include fewer temporal adverbials than the intermediate students.

In particular, there are no adverbials of quantity in this group of narratives. This is due to the nature of the particular narrative presented to subjects in this instance. There are no events or actions in the frog story which require the specification of the frequency of time spans. The most common adverbials indicate the temporal adverbial of position (TAP). These tend to occur with scenes 1, 2 and 3. In these instances, the adverbials situate the action of the story at night-time, and in scene 3 in the following morning. When informants make limited use of adverbials to indicate temporal relations, these are the first events to be marked in this manner. On the other hand, the use of aspectual adverbials (TAC) has increased in relation to the previous narratives. Aspectual adverbials appear with relative frequency in the story told by participant A02, especially otra vez (again). This adverbial is used in place of the iterative aspectual periphrasis volver a (to do something again). Other aspectual adverbs include de repente (suddenly), marking the incipient value of the event, and finalmente (finally) marking completiveness.

(18) Adverbial with inchoative value
A01 57 pero de repente algo apareció de dentro del árbol
But suddenly something appeared from inside the tree

(19) Adverbial with iterative value
A03 65 y también empezaron a gritar otra vez
And also (they) started to shout again

214
Table 4.30 Distribution of adverbials in Advanced learners' narratives. Raw frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TAP</th>
<th>TAD</th>
<th>TAC</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A02</td>
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<td>A03</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>A08</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TAP: temporal adverbial of position  
TAD: temporal adverbial of duration  
TAC: temporal adverbials of contrast

4.3.5 Temporal subordinate clauses

Participants in this group make extensive use of temporal adverbial clauses to convey simultaneity between events. Table 4.31 indicates the instances of simultaneity, posteriority, and anteriority present in the narratives as well as illustrating the subordinators.

The expression of simultaneity between events is included by eleven of the participants. Only participant A06 in this group does not relate any two events in the story as being simultaneous. This is the participant that has produced the shortest narrative and shows more limited use of morphology. The most common relations of events perceived as simultaneous refer to picture two, which depicts the boy sleeping and the frog escaping from the jar. Seven of the participants established a simultaneous connection between these events. Four participants refer to the events in picture 9 as simultaneous, the boy is looking into a hole while the dog is playing with a beehive. One participant depicts the events in picture 4 as taking place at the same time. *Cuando* (when) is the temporal...
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subordinate conjunction to appear with most frequency. It appears to be well established at this stage. *Cuando* is mainly used as a marker of immediate anteriority.

(20) *Cuando* as a marker of immediate anteriority

A04 55-56  

<table>
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<tr>
<th>cuando</th>
<th>(SIM)</th>
<th>el niño se levanto</th>
<th>(PFV)</th>
<th>del charco oyó</th>
<th>(PFV)</th>
<th>el ruido de ranas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

When (SIM) the boy got up (PFV) from the pool (he) heard (PFV) the noise of the frogs.

When an event in the background is described as being simultaneous with an event in the foreground, *mientras* is the preferred subordinator. At the same time, *mientras* is used to relate two clauses with different protagonists (21). This subordinator appears in the narratives of eight of the participants in this group. This represents a sharp increase in the use of *mientras* in relation to the intermediate learners.

(21) *Mientras* as a marker of simultaneity

A02 49-50  

| y el perrito encontró una colmena mientras el niño buscaba el rana |
|------------------------|------------------|

And the dog found a beehive while the boy was looking for the frog.

As the table indicates, there are only two instances of the *al+infinitivo* construction to indicate simultaneity between events in the frog stories told by this group of advanced learners. The use of tense morphology to signal simultaneity has been discussed in the previous sections.

(22) *al+infinitive* as a marker of simultaneity

A09 17-18  

| y al despertarse el niño encontró la jarra vacía |
|------------------------|------------------|

And on waking up the boy found the jar empty.

In the data produced by participants in this group, we find two instances of simultaneity which do not relate two concrete events but rather contribute to the overall narrative. Participant A05 01 sets the scene for the story by telling us that *Juanito encontró una rana mientras anadaba en el bosque* (Juanito found a frog while he wandered in the woods) and participant A08 opts for amalgamating the events depicted in several pictures by saying that it all happened while the boy was looking for the frog.

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As mentioned previously, an event can be marked as anterior to another event in the timeline by means of tense correlation or subordination. In this set of narratives there are fourteen events explicitly related in this manner. The episode that most informants chose to refer to in this way is the boy waking up to realise that the frog has escaped. The past perfect is the linguistic device used on most occasions to convey the meaning of posteriority. Nonetheless, it only appears in four of the Frog Stories. In three instances, the adverbial construction *antes de* + infinitive is used.

(24) **PAST PERF as a marker of anteriority**

A11 15-17 *cuando el niño despertó por la mañana descubrió que la rana había escapado* (PAST PROG)

when the boy woke up in the morning he discovered the frog had escaped (PAST PROG)

(25) **antes de as a a marker of anteriority**

A04 8-9 *antes de acostarse el niño miró su rana*

Before going to bed the boy looked at his frog

Relations of posteriority are rarely marked linguistically. This is due to the task in hand, since in general narrative discourse follows a chronological order. This results in the expression of sequentiality, rather than posteriority. As we have discussed previously, we have considered an event to be reported as posterior to another event in cases where there is subordination rather than coordination. This results in one token of posteriority in the entirety of frog stories at this level of proficiency.

(26) **después de as a marker of posteriority**

A04 28-29 *después de sacar la cabeza de la jarra el niño y el perro se fueron a buscar la rana en el campo*

After taking out the head from the jar the boy and the dog went to look for the frog in the countryside.
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Table 4.3.1 Distribution of temporal adverbial clauses in Advanced learners' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CUANDO (SIM)</th>
<th>MIÉNTRAS</th>
<th>AL+ INFINITIVE</th>
<th>PAST PERF</th>
<th>ANTES DE</th>
<th>DESPUÉS DE</th>
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4.3.6 Conclusions

In summary, the analysis of the Frog Stories for the Advanced group reveals that at this level of proficiency the verbal system of learners is established, as the low number of errors indicates. Nonetheless, the difference in the range of tenses used is significant.

Generally, the use of the present tense reflects the difficulty which some learners still have in maintaining the temporal anchoring of events in the past. The analysis of tense distribution also indicates that the verbal system allows for the specification of events in the foreground and the background by means of perfective and imperfective tense alternation. Informants in this group also use the contrast between these two forms of the past to contrast punctual and durative events.
Aspectual periphrases are not used with great frequency in all the frog stories, however, at this level the use of inchoatives is more extended than that of iteratives. We do not believe at this point that this may be attributed to the nature of the story since there is a significant number of recurring events in the search for the frog: the boy calling and searching, for example. However, this may signal a possible developmental route in this regard, especially since iteratives were not present in the narratives produced by informants in the intermediate-low group.

As we have already mentioned, the use of se aspectual is an interesting development of the aspectual competency of Spanish L2 learners. As the analysis of the stories by learners in the intermediate-low group indicates, this form appears at the early stages of the acquisition process. The increase in its use manifested in this set of narratives indicates the form becomes more stable in the learners' interlanguage at advanced levels of proficiency and at the same time that learners become more aware of aspectual nuances in L2.

The distribution of tense/aspect forms across lexical aspectual class presents less individual variation than that observed in the narratives of Intermediate learners. The use of the perfective past form with telic verbs has increased in relation to the previous set of narratives analysed, and reveals a trend towards the model provided by the L1 narratives. However, this development is not observed in the case of activities, which still present patterns of development similar to Intermediate learners. On the other hand, the marking of states emulates the behaviour observed in the narratives of both L1
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speakers and Intermediate learners. This may suggest that this lexical class may be the first to be marked correctly for perfective/imperfective distinction in the past tense.

Figure 4.6 Distribution of tense/aspect forms across lexical class in Advanced learners' narratives

The analysis of the use of temporal adverbials in the retelling of the frog story reveals that, as the morphology and syntax of the learners' interlanguage increases in complexity, the reliance on lexical means to mark temporality, such as temporal adverbials, decreases. In the use of different types of temporal adverbials, priority is given to locating the event in time (TAP). However, their use is limited and therefore fails to provide significant information.

Temporal adverbial clauses are used to indicate how the temporal relation between two events is to be interpreted. The most common relation established in this regard is that of simultaneity. Two connectors are widely used to establish relation, *cuando* and *mientras*. The number of events between which connections are established has increased in relation to the intermediate-low group both in relation to the expression of simultaneity and anteriority. The “chaining” of events typical of the previous group of informants tends to disappear, suggesting once again the developmental path that L2 learners may follow in the expression of temporality in narratives.

The result is stories in which events are depicted as merely a sequence of actions in main clauses linked by conjunctions. These stories present very few events as constituting the background and there is very little layering.
4.4 Presentation of results: Near-native speakers' narratives

4.4.0 Introduction

This section examines the Frog Stories produced by twelve English native speakers who are academics specialised in different areas of Hispanic Studies. They have considerable language expertise and are able to communicate in Spanish with great accuracy and fluency. As mentioned earlier, few studies of Spanish L2 acquisition have dealt with learners at this level of proficiency.

In general terms, these narratives are woven together by means of coordination and markers of sequentiality. The level of morphological and inflectional accuracy is very high, and subordination features predominately to establish temporal relations between events. In many instances, this set of narratives is very similar to those produced by native speakers. The following excerpt reflects the common characteristics of these stories. It would be difficult for any reader with knowledge of Spanish to ascertain if this passage was related by an L2 speaker or a native speaker.

(1) G 01

NN01 había una vez un chico que se llamaba (IPFV) juansito y que tenia (IPFV) un perro al que llamaba (IPFV) felix y una rana que guardaba (IPFV) en un frasco grande en su dormitorio cerca de su cama

G 02

NN01 una noche (TAP) mientras juansito y felix dormian (IPFV) la rana se escapó (PFV) (SEASP) del frasco

G 03

NN01 a la siguiente mañana (TAP) cuando juansito y felix se despertaron (PFV) se dieron (PFV) cuenta de que la rana no estaba (IPFV) en el frasco

Once upon a time there was (IPFV) a boy who was called (IPFV) Juansito and who had (IPFV) a dog to whom he called (IPFV) Felix and a frog which (he) kept (IPFV) in a big jar in his bedroom near his bed. One night (TAP) while Juansito and Felix slept (IPFV) the frog escaped (PFV) (SEASP) from the jar. The following morning (TAP) when Juansito and Felix woke up (PFV) (they) realized (PFV) that the frog was (IPFV) not in the jar.
As the text illustrates, the Preterite (PFV) and the Imperfect (IPFV) are the main tenses used for the temporal anchoring of the narrative. The contrast between the two forms contributes to shape the foreground and background as well as contrasting punctual and durative actions, as the description of picture 2 indicates. In addition, the inclusion of the aspectual particle se emphasises the punctuality of the event described in the perfective. Adverbials function to set the orientation of the story. Finally, a temporal adverbial clause expressing simultaneity is introduced contributing to the overall structure of the narrative and to the building up of more integrated scenes.

Only four of the participants refer to all twenty-four episodes of the story. Four participants refer to all episodes except for vignettes twenty-two and twenty-three, which are amalgamated together to form the resolution part of the narrative. Three participants do not refer to episode ten when the gofer comes out of the den. Episode fourteen depicting the boy on the rocks calling for the frog is omitted in two instances. In spite of the high level of proficiency and acculturation amongst informants, only two of them include a coda typical of Spanish story-telling. This may suggest that the overall approach to the task by these participants is a repertative one rather than a storytelling one. Participant NN02 introduces an unusually high number of evaluative comments, which further hints at this. The following is an example of how the majority of informants chose to indicate the end the story.

(2) NN05:135-136 y volvieron (PFV) a casa contentos y todos vivieron (PFV) felices para siempre.
And they returned (PFV) home happy and (they) all lived (PFV) happy for ever.

4.4.1 Tense and Aspect forms

The scrutiny of the inflected verbs results in a total number of 691 tense/aspect tokens coded for analysis. The range of tokens produced by participants was 40-97. No errors in the inflection of verb forms have been noted and, more significantly, there were no instances of contexts were a different form from that required was used. Hence, all tense/aspect forms in the narratives of this group of participants conform to target-like use. Seven different tenses are used in the telling of the Frog Story by this group of
informants. This number is smaller than the overall number of tenses used by participants in the Advanced group. Informant NN08 presents the least variation in terms of tense/aspect forms, using only the preterite and the imperfect. Considering the entire sample, the preterite is used in 55.86% of clauses coded for analysis, and the imperfect in 35.02%. The past perfect appears in 3.76% of clauses and 2.74% of inflected forms are in the present tense. As table 4.32 indicates, a number of tenses are used in limited instances. The preterite appears as the dominant form (80% of tokens) in only one of the narratives (NN04).

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<th>PRES</th>
<th>PRES</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
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(19) (1) (386) (242) (1) (10) (26) (7) (691)
4 4 1 1 Use of the Present tense (PRES)

The number of instances in which the present tense is used has decreased significantly in relation to the Advanced group, appearing in the narratives of only three of the twelve subjects in this group. While subjects at the advanced and low stages elevated frequency of use of the present tense corresponded to instances of shifting the temporal anchoring, informants in this group do not manifest this tendency. As the table indicates, the majority of tokens in the present appear in the narrative of participant NN02, who includes a significant number of evaluative remarks. Only one instance of the present tense across the entire sample illustrates direct narration. This further contributes to suggest a reportative mode in the approach to the task.

4 4 1 2 Use of the Preterite (PFV) / Imperfect (IPFV)

As we have done with the preceding group, in this section we examine the functions of the Preterite and Imperfect forms in the narrative discourse of these participants. As mentioned in previous sections, at the early stages of language acquisition these forms are used to contrast punctual and durative events. As the learners’ Interlanguage develops, these forms acquire discursive functions. With regard to the choice of past markers, the majority of forms used are in the Preterite (386 or 55.86%) and 242 (35.02%) occur in the Imperfect. In all the narratives, the Imperfect is the tense used in the scene setting section, with no evidence of tense shifting as documented in the analysis of the Advanced group. This sets the scene for a collection of stories that closely resemble those of native speakers in the use of the past markers, as in the excerpt reproduced in section 4 4 0 above. In the “complicating events” section, the Preterite/Imperfect contrast is used mainly with a discourse function. That is, a foregrounded clause in the Preterite is complemented by a clause in the background in the Imperfect.
(3) Discursive function of the Preterite/Imperfect contrast

NN08 55-57  después de un rato apareció un ciervo un ciervo grande que no estaba (IPFV) nada contento con juan
After a while appeared (PFV) a deer a big deer who was (PFV) not at all happy with juan

The analysis of the use of Preterite and Imperfect forms to construct the grounding of the narrative shows that 91.81% of all clauses in the foreground are marked with the Preterite. The Imperfect is clearly the dominant tense in the background (93.61%). While the perfective past is the dominant form in the foreground for all participants, there is significant variation in the instances of Imperfect. Three participants do not include the Imperfect in the foreground. For the remaining participants the percentages of use vary from 3.21% for participant NN12, to 22.58% for participant NN10. Similar individual variation is found in the use of the Preterite in the foreground.

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<td>NN06</td>
<td>83.33 (20)</td>
<td>1666 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN07</td>
<td>79.48 (31)</td>
<td>2051 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN08</td>
<td>88.46 (23)</td>
<td>1153 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN09</td>
<td>90.32 (28)</td>
<td>967 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN10</td>
<td>81.57 (31)</td>
<td>2258 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN11</td>
<td>91.42 (32)</td>
<td>857 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN12</td>
<td>96.87 (31)</td>
<td>312 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>91.81 (370)</td>
<td>818 (33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFV perfective, IPFV imperfective
Thus, as in the previous sets of narratives, a statistical analysis was performed to corroborate this finding. The results, displayed in the table below, confirmed those anticipated by the raw scores analysis.

Table 4.34 Grounding by grammatical aspect in Near-native speakers' narratives (Chi square test)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Correlation</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN01</td>
<td>0.692</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN02</td>
<td>0.707</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN03</td>
<td>0.707</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN04</td>
<td>0.544</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN05</td>
<td>0.557</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN06</td>
<td>0.559</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN07</td>
<td>0.561</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN08</td>
<td>0.637</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN09</td>
<td>0.665</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN10</td>
<td>0.574</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN11</td>
<td>0.666</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN12</td>
<td>0.695</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.1.3 Use of the Perfective Progressive (PFV PROG) / Imperfective Progressive (IPFV PROG)

The analysis reveals that the use of progressive aspect is very limited amongst the subjects in this group. There is only one instance of the perfective progressive, and the imperfective progressive occurs only in 10 instances, representing 1.59%. This is a sharp decrease in the numbers of imperfective progressive in comparison with the Advanced (6.46%). It signals an approximation to the use of the progressive made by native speakers, where the analysis reveals a usage of the progressive of 10.6%. In the present set of narratives, the use of the past progressive is confined to the stories produced by four of the participants. In the instances in which the imperfective progressive occurs in this set of narratives, it is used to contrast a punctual action taking
place in the foreground with a durative one in the background as the following example indicates

(4) Use of the Imperfective Progressive

NN07 40-42  \( y \) Después benito que estaba mirando (IPFV PROG) también por la ventana se cayó (PfV)
And then benito who was looking (IPFV PROG) through the window too fell (PfV)

4 4 1 4 Use of the Past Perfect (PAST PERF)

As the table indicates, all but two subjects include the past perfect in their narratives. The number of raw scores is 26 (3.7%). This is an interesting figure as it represents a sharp increase in the use of this form on the Advanced group (1.43%). Moreover, it approximates the performance of the control groups (4.61%). The past perfect indicates narrative retrospection. In this regard, the higher number of instances of this tense signals that at this level learners have taken a significant step forward in the development of the expression of temporal relations in the narrative discourse. The past perfect, used to refer to a prior event of relevance to the current situation, indicates that the learners are considering the overall organisation of the narrative, moving beyond a stage where they are concerned with the picture by picture description of events and at this level of proficiency they have developed the ability to do so successfully. The past perfect appears in the “complicating action” and resolution sections of the narratives in a variety of episodes and situations. The following is an example of the use of this tense by subjects at the near-native level of proficiency.

(5) Use of the Past Perfect

NN12 99-101 \( y \) había ido (PAST PERF) a visitarlos y no sabía (IPFV) como volver a casa
And (it) had gone to visit them and (it) did not know how to return home.
4.4.2 Lexical Aspect

4.4.2.1 Aspectual periphrasis

Aspectual periphrases are frequently used by near-native speakers in the telling of the Frog Stories. Inchoatives, iteratives and completives feature in these narratives. All participants indicate the incipient value of actions by means of inchoative periphrases. At this level of proficiency, a wide range of verbs is used to mark this aspectual distinction. Inchoative aspect is marked mainly by the verbs *empezar* (to start/to begin), 21 instances, and the synonyms *comenzar* and *echarse a* (*to start*), *Ponerse a* (*to set to*), *ir a* (*to go*) are also present.

*Empezar* and its synonyms have two discursive functions. These constructions are used to signal the beginning of a new action marking the entry into a new activity. An example of this is (6) below, where the participant refers to the boy and the dog swimming after they have fallen into the water. The most frequent function of inchoative periphrases amongst this group of participants is marking major episodes which expand throughout the plot of the story (7). These include the beginning of the search and of the calling for the lost frog.

(6) Inchoative periphrasis marking entry into new activity
NN02 81 *luego comenzaron (PFV) a nadar*
Then (they) *started (PFV) to swim*

(7) Inchoative periphrasis marking entry into new episode
NN01 44 *y los dos se *fuieron *PFV*) *a buscar a la rana perdida*
And the two *went (PFV) to look* for the missing frog

Iterative periphrases appear in the narratives of seven participants. The number of instances remains almost unchanged in comparison with the narratives produced by participants in the Advanced group (7 instances), nonetheless, the number of participants who include iteratives at this level has increased (5 in Advanced). Four different verbs are used. *Seguir* together with *continuar* (both meaning to continue) are the most common. *Soler* (used to) appears in one instance to explain how the boy habitually kept the frog in a jar. *Volver a* (to do something again) appears in one instance.
(17) Use of iterative periphrasis
NN05 el perro seguía jugando (IPFV) con las abejas
The dog continued (PFV) to play with the bees

Completemive periphrases were not very frequent in native narratives, only two participants use them. Participants in the near-native group are similar to L1 speakers in this regard. There are only three instances of completives, which appear in the narratives of two of the participants.

(9) Use of Completemive periphrasis
NN05 50-51 el niño le dijo al perro que dejara (IPFVSUBJ) de jugar con las abejas
The boy told the dog to stop playing with the bees

Table 4.35 Distribution of aspectual periphrases in Near-native speakers' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raw frequencies</th>
<th>INC</th>
<th>ITE</th>
<th>COMP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN01</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN02</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN03</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN04</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN05</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN06</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN07</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN08</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN09</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INC: inchoatives, ITE: iteratives, COMP: completives

4422 \ Aspectual particle SE

Informants at this high level of proficiency make extensive use of the aspectual particle se. As table 4.36 illustrates, it is included in the narratives produced by all participants.
PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

This may indicate an expansion in the use of this aspectual marker in relation to participants at the Advanced stage and suggests that there is strong evidence to believe that at this level of proficiency this aspectual *se* has become fully established in the learners' interlanguage.

The examination of this particle reveals a target-like use of *se*. *Se* accompanies verbs of movement, as we have identified in the previous sets of narratives. It appears most frequently with verbs marked for perfective aspect (60/66 tokens). In addition, in these Frog Stories, we also find six instances in which it accompanies a verb in the past perfect. As in the cases where *se* is used with the perfective past, this emphasises the notion of the completion of the event.

(10) use of aspectual particle *se*

NN07 64-65  *y como pepe se* (SEASP) *había caído* (PAST PERF) *se perdieron* (PFV)

And as Pepe *had fallen* (PAST PERF), (they) *got lost* (PFV)

In the narratives produced by the native speakers, we observed how L1 speakers combine different aspectual values by the inclusion of several markers in the predicate, the aspectual particle *se*, together with an inchoative periphrasis. From the perspective of the expression of temporality, this combines the incipient value of the event as highlighted by the use of the inchoative periphrasis, while its completion is conveyed by the perfective and accentuated by the inclusion of *se*. While inchoative periphrases surface early in the L2 development, they do not appear in conjunction with the aspectual particle *se* in the data gathered from the Intermediate or Advanced subjects. Interestingly, the analysis of this set of narratives reveals that at this level of proficiency L2 learners are aware of this possibility and have incorporated it to some degree in their interlanguage. The aspectual particle *se* co-occurs with inchoative periphrases on four occasions in the narratives of four participants. Although there are only three instances of this, and therefore it may be premature to make over-generalizations, it is nonetheless a qualitatively distinct stage in the developmental route. It seems that highly proficient L2 speakers of Spanish pay attention to the wide range of devices available to express aspectual contrast. This awareness shows how the language is guiding these learners to
notice a number of ways of conceptualizing the temporal contours of situations and events

(11) Aspectual particle *se* with inchoative periphrasis

\[ \text{entonces} \ se \ (\text{SEASP}) \text{ fue} \ (\text{PFV}) \text{ a murar} \ (\text{INC}) \text{ en un árbol} \]

Then he **went** (PFV) **to look** (INC) in a tree

### Table 4.36 Distribution of aspectual *se*
in Near-native speakers' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN01</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN02</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN03</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN04</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN05</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN06</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN07</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN08</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN09</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>67</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.4.2.3 Repetitions

In the discussion of the narratives produced by the control group of native speakers, we identified repetition of the verb as a lexical marker of aspect. This repetition, we suggested, contributes to underline the notion of progression and durativity of the particular event. The analysis of the narratives produced by the learners in the Intermediate and Advanced groups revealed that this feature was not present in their stories. However, at the Advanced level of proficiency, the analysis of the current set of narratives shows that this lexical marker of aspect is included by narrators.

There are five instances of repetition of the verb head across four of the participants in this group. This repetition occurs with predicates inflected with the imperfective (1)
and in the lexical verb of the imperfect progressive (2) This use of repetition lengthens the duration of a predicate which already is expanded in the timeline by means of the imperfect This is in contrast with native speakers who displayed an inclination to use repetition with perfective predicates.

(12) Repetition of the imperfective

NN10 38  
\text{y el nino llamaba (IPFV) y llamaba (IPFV) a la rana}
And the boy called (IPFV) and called (IPFV) the frog

(13) Repetition of the gerund

NN07 64  
\text{estaba corriendo corriendo (IPFV PROG) adentro del bosque (he) was running running (IPFV PROG) into the woods}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raw frequencies</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\text{SE}</td>
<td>\text{NN01}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.37 Distribution of repetitions marking aspect in Near-native speakers' narratives
4.4.3 Lexical aspect Hypothesis

As in the preceding sections, the analyses of the role of inherent lexical aspect in the development of the expression of temporality will continue along two lines. First we examine the relationship between inherent lexical aspect and tense. Then we examine the influence of inherent lexical class in the grounding of the narrative.

The overall distribution of the 686 predicates coded for analysis is as follows: more than half of the predicates are telic, 375 (or 54.81% of the total), followed by states (174 or 25.36%) and activities 136 (19.82%). Tables 4.38 to 4.40 summarise the distribution patterns of verb tenses within lexical class. The last column in the table indicates the number of raw scores and the percentage of telic, activities or states.

All informants show similar overall percentages of use of telic predicates in their narratives, with the exception of participant NN06, with only 40% of forms belonging to this lexical class. Participant NN10 includes the largest number of telic verbs (61.66%). Telic verbs appear predominantly with the perfective for all participants. The range is 76.36% to 97.05 (the median is 86.40%). The imperfective (6.13%) and the past perfect (6.4%) are used at very similar levels and appear in the narratives of ten of the twelve participants in both cases. Finally, other tenses rarely occur with telic verbs, and the present is never used with this class of verbs.

As already mentioned, activities are the least frequent lexical class in this set of narratives (19.85%). The individual percentages of frequency indicate that the use of activities in the telling of the Frog Story is quite similar across participants, with a range of 15%-23.21%, with the exception of participant NN06. This participant shows a much higher use of this lexical class (42.5%). The distribution of activities across tenses indicates that they are used with the imperfect in the majority of cases (the median is 59.55%). However, the analysis of the production by individual learners shows percentage usage of activities with the Imperfect between 23.07% and 100%. It is interesting also to note that activities are more common with perfective than imperfective in the narratives of four of the participants in this group, thus, signalling significant variation across learners for the past marking of this class of predicates. The
preterite is used with activities in 34.55% of occurrences. Informants also display variation in the use of this tense/aspect form, (from 0% to 71.42%) Activities occur with the present only in the story of one subject (NN02) in the context of evaluative comments provided. The past perfect is uncommon with activities, as are other tenses which occur in a limited number of instances and are only used by three participants.

States constitute 25.36% (174 tokens) of all predicates coded for lexical class. They occur predominantly with the imperfect (83.9%) for eleven participants. Only participant NN02 includes more states with the present tense. These correspond once again to the number of evaluative comments in the Frog Story told by this participant. As table 4.40 indicates, while five participants do not produce the Preterite with states, the percentage of use is as high as 22% for participant NN07. With regard to the use of the imperfective, three participants produced all states in this form and the rest use it in more than 50% of state verbs.

Thus, in terms of tense, the results indicate that the perfective is more prominent with telic predicates (86.40), followed by activities (34.55%) and it is used by all participants with these two classes. Not all participants use the perfective with states. The imperfect shows a gradual increase from telics (6.11%), to activities (59.55%) and finally to states (83.90%). It is used with all lexical classes for all informants with the exception of NN01 and NN03, who do not produce telic predicates in the imperfect form. Ten of the twelve participants include telic predicates in the past perfect. However, this tense does not appear regularly with states or activities. Even though this study focuses on the use of the past tense, the present tense is common in a number of narratives. When the present is used, the analysis reveals that it occurs mainly with states (9.19%)
### Table 4.38 Distribution of tense within telic verbs in Near-native speakers’ narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>TEL+PFV</th>
<th>TEL+IPFV</th>
<th>TEL+PRES</th>
<th>TEL+</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PASTPERF</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN01</td>
<td>97.05 (33)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2.91 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN02</td>
<td>96.42 (27)</td>
<td>3.5 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3.5 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN03</td>
<td>85.00 (17)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>5.00 (1)</td>
<td>10.00 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN04</td>
<td>96.66 (29)</td>
<td>3.33 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>16.36 (9)</td>
<td>3.63 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN06</td>
<td>87.50 (14)</td>
<td>6.25 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6.25 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN07</td>
<td>82.35 (28)</td>
<td>8.82 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>8.82 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN08</td>
<td>87.50 (21)</td>
<td>12.50 (3)</td>
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<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>81.08 (30)</td>
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<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>90.90 (30)</td>
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<td>3.03 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN12</td>
<td>82.85 (29)</td>
<td>5.71 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>11.42 (4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>86.40 (324)</td>
<td>6.11 (23)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6.38 (24)</td>
<td>1.32 (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.39 Distribution of tense within activities in Near-native speakers’ narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>ACT+PFV</th>
<th>ACT+IPFV</th>
<th>ACT+PRES</th>
<th>ACT+</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PASTPERF</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN01</td>
<td>54.54 (6)</td>
<td>45.45 (5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>19.29 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN02</td>
<td>30.76 (4)</td>
<td>23.07 (3)</td>
<td>30.76 (4)</td>
<td>7.69 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN03</td>
<td>71.42 (5)</td>
<td>28.57 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>20.58 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN04</td>
<td>71.42 (5)</td>
<td>28.57 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>13.72 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN05</td>
<td>43.75 (7)</td>
<td>50.00 (8)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6.25 (1)</td>
<td>16.49 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN06</td>
<td>35.29 (6)</td>
<td>64.70 (11)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>42.5 (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN07</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>100 (13)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>19.69 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN08</td>
<td>33.33 (3)</td>
<td>66.66 (6)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>20.00 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>16.66 (2)</td>
<td>83.33 (10)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>21.05 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN10</td>
<td>33.33 (3)</td>
<td>66.66 (6)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>15.00 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN11</td>
<td>20.00 (2)</td>
<td>70.00 (7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>10.00 (1)</td>
<td>17.24 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN12</td>
<td>33.33 (4)</td>
<td>66.66 (8)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>17.14 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>34.55 (47)</td>
<td>59.55 (81)</td>
<td>2.94 (4)</td>
<td>0.73 (1)</td>
<td>1.47 (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4 4.4 Adverbials

As table 4 41 indicates, temporal adverbials of position (TAP) and temporal adverbials of contrast (TAC) are the most frequent types in the Frog Stories. The distribution of adverbials is illustrated in table 4 41. All informants make use of temporal adverbials of position to give an overall temporal context to the narrative. Thus, the story is placed at night-time in the orientation section, and the “complicating events” section is explicitly set on the following morning. When participants only include two adverbials of position, they invariably refer to both night and morning as the anchoring points for the development of the story. Other uses of this type of adverbials situate specific events in particular points of the timeline. In this way adverbials display a deictic function (14).

(14) Adverbial with deictic function

NN04 61  
*el perro que ahora* (TAP) *era más medoso*  
The dog who *now* (TAP) was more frightened
Temporal adverbials of contrast (TAC) are the second most common class of adverbials in this set of narratives. They appear in nine of the stories told by this group of participants in the study. There are several different adverbials used: *de repente* (all of a sudden) is used regularly by these learners. *Todavía* (still), *ya* (already) *otra vez* (again) and *al final* (in the end) are also frequent. As discussed earlier, these adverbials of contrast, also described as aspectual adverbials, contribute to (a) accentuate the inchoative, iterative or completive aspect coded by additional lexical means and (b) to shape the temporal contours of the events being described (15).

(15) Adverbial with inchoative value

NN05 76 \textit{de repente} (TAC) \textit{los árboles y los arbustos empezaron a moverse} (INC)
\textit{All of a sudden} (TAC), the trees and the bushes began to move (INC)

(16) Adverbial with completive value

NN09 22 \textit{ya} (TAC) \textit{no estaba en la jarra}
\textit{Already} (TAC), was not in the jar

At this level of proficiency *ya* and *todavía* show the discursive functions characteristic of their use in native speech. They are not linked to the present perfect as in the earlier stages of acquisition, but rather have a narrative function. *Ya* brings in the temporal perspective of the narrator who is referring to an event in the past and making it relevant to the event being described in speech time. As we have observed previously, adverbials of duration or frequency do not feature extensively in the narratives.
### Table 4.41 Distribution of temporal adverbials in Near-native speakers’ narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TAP</th>
<th>TAD</th>
<th>TAQ</th>
<th>TAC</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN03</td>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN04</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TAP: temporal adverbial of position  
TAD: temporal adverbial of duration  
TAQ: temporal adverbial of frequency  
TAC: temporal adverbials of contrast

#### 4.4.5 Temporal subordinate clauses

This group of learners presents quite a complete repertoire of connective devices to introduce a clause which is temporally bounded to a main clause. As in the analysis of the narratives produced by the rest of participants, in this section we examine the temporal relations of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority as manifested by this group of narratives. We shall first address the description of events as simultaneous.

Learners at this high level of proficiency use *cuando* (when) in the following two ways. In a number of instances *cuando* signals immediate anteriority between the event in the subordinate clause and the event in the main clause (17). *Cuando* may also indicate that a relationship of simultaneity holds between the event in the foreground and another event in the background. In these instances the two verb forms are used in the preterite. The following example illustrates this in the description of episode seventeen where the deer throws the boy and the dog into the river.
(17) *Cuando* as a marker of immediate anteriority

NN10 70-71  

\[ y \textit{cuando} (SIM) \textit{llegó} (PFV) a un acantilado \textit{tiró} (PFV) al niño y al perro al agua \]

And *when* (SIM) *the deer* *arrived* (PFV) at a cliff *it* *threw* (PFV) the boy and the dog into the water

In some instances *cuando* establishes a relation of simultaneity between an event in the foreground and an event in the background (18) We have noted this in the analysis of the narratives produced by learners at earlier stages of the acquisition process However, at this level of proficiency, this function appears to have been taken over by *mientras* Consequently, there is a relatively small number of instances where *cuando* fulfils this function as a marker of simultaneity

(18) *Cuando* as a marker of simultaneity

NN11 13  

\[ una \textit{noche} \textit{cuando} (SIM) \textit{juan y bobby estaban durmiendo} (IPFV PROG) \textit{la rana se escapó} (PFV) \textit{de la jarra} \]

One night *when* (SIM) *juan and bobby were sleeping* (SIM) *the frog escaped* (SIM) from the jar

In this regard, as table 4.42 indicates, *mientras* (while) is the most frequent marker of simultaneity It is present in all the narratives in this group *Mientras* appears in the first instance to describe the boy and the dog asleep while the frog escapes from the jar Seven of the subjects include this in their narratives Other instances in which *mientras* occurs portray the boy and the dog engaged in different activities throughout the story In these examples, *mientras* connects the events in the background to the action taking place in the foreground being carried out by different protagonists The background is inflected with the imperfective and the foreground with the perfective We have observed in previous analysis of the discursive function of this temporal marker that this is the most common function it fulfils

(19) *Mientras* as a marker of simultaneity

NN06 28-29  

\[ \textit{mientras} (SIM) \textit{miraba} (IPFV) \textit{por la ventana el perro se cayó} (PFV) \]

While (SIM) *the boy* *looked* (IPFV) through the window the dog *fell* (PFV)
The last temporal subordinator expressing simultaneity that we have identified in the Frog Stories, is the particle *al* followed by the lexical verb in the infinitive form. There were only two instances of this form in the narratives of the Advanced group. In the narratives told by near-native participants this number has increased to 6. The use of this marker by native speakers identified a causal discursive function in addition to the temporal value. In this set of narratives, *al + infinitive* carries the same functions. Thus, sometimes it acts merely as a marker of simultaneity which is synonymous with *cuando* or *mientras* (20). In three instances in addition it conveys the notion of causality. Two events are simultaneous in the measure that the event in the subordinate clause introduced by *al* causes the event in the main clause to happen (21).

(20) *al + infinitivo* as a marker for simultaneity

NN02 17-19  *y al despertarse* (SIM) *al día siguiente el pobre chico descubrió* (PFV) *que se había ido la ran*  
And *when* (SIM) *(he)* *woke up* (PFV) the following day the poor boy discovered that the frog had gone.

(21) *al + infinitivo* as a marker of simultaneity and causality

NN07 44-45  *al* (SIM) *caerse se rompió* (PFV) *el cristal*  
In *falling* (SIM) *it* *broke* (PFV) the glass.

After the expression of simultaneity, subjects choose to establish relations of anteriority as the second most frequent relation between events. Once again, this is achieved through the use of two different linguistic devices: tense correlation and the subordinator *antes de*.

*Antes de* is used in three instances describing the same scene in the story. It makes reference to picture one, where the boy and the dog are looking at the frog in the jar and it connects this picture to the following scene, where the boy is asleep.

(22) *Antes de*

NN12 12-13  *cada noche antes de ir* (ANT) *a dormir guardaba a doris en una jarra*  
Every night *before* (ANT) *going to bed* he kept doris in a jar.
More frequent in this set of narratives, as we have identified in the previous analyses, is the introduction of the past perfect (PAST PERF) to situate an event prior to another in the timeline. The events may or may not be depicted in the story. In this sense, participants use this tense to describe events in the background which they invent to contribute to the story. This use of tense correlation is adopted by ten of the subjects. This indicates that at this level of expertise, the ability to encode this temporal relation is well established in the interlanguage of the subjects. Examples of this are abundant in the "complicating action" and resolution sections of the story.

(23) PAST PERF as a maker of anteriority

NN05 54-56  
y preguntó a todos los otros animales por el bosque si **han visto**  
PAST PERF a la rana pero no **ha visto** PAST PERF nada ninguno  
And (he) asked all the other animals in the wood if they **had seen**  
PAST PERF the frog but no one **had seen** PAST PERF anything

As we have mentioned, we distinguish posteriority from sequentiality when a temporal relation between a main clause and the subordinate clause is overtly marked by means of a temporal subordinator, rather than main clauses linked by connectors. This relation is marked by the introduction of **después de** (after). Although **después de** appears in six instances across these narratives, the analysis of this form reveals that in only two of these as a temporal subordinator. In the remaining instances it acts as a marker of sequentiality or an adverb of duration.

(24) **después de** as a marker of posteriority

NN06 32-35  
*luego después de consolarle al perro el niño y el perro salieron a dar una vuelta por el bosque*  
Then after consoling the dog the boy and the dog went for a stroll in the wood.
Table 4.42 Distribution of temporal adverbial clauses in Near-native speakers' narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CUANDO</th>
<th>MIENTRAS</th>
<th>AL+ INFINITIVE</th>
<th>PAST PERF</th>
<th>ANTES DE</th>
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4.4.6 Conclusions

The different versions of the Frog Stories produced by near-native speakers present a wide range of linguistic devices available in Spanish to convey temporal information. In this section we present a summary of the findings anticipated throughout this section. In general, this set of narratives includes all the major devices which are also present in the narratives produced by native speakers. Thus, the near-native group of learners certainly shows a tendency to include a wider variety of temporal information and aspectual nuance than less proficient learners.

Near-native speakers of Spanish use the Preterite, Imperfect and Past Perfect as the main tenses to establish the temporal relations in their narratives. The Present appears mainly in evaluative comments. The omission of direct narration and a formulaic coda in the majority of cases results in reportative texts lacking in story-type qualities. At this level of proficiency, tense/aspect forms have clearly acquired a discursive function, thus confirming the departure from a form-based usage instantiated in the previous
PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

group. This is confirmed by the analysis of the distribution of Preterite and Imperfect across foreground and background. Figure 4.7 summarises the results. At the same time, the use of the progressive has decreased considerably in relation to the Advanced group.

Figure 4.7: Grounding and grammatical aspect in Nearnative speakers' narratives

In relation to other means of marking aspectual information in addition to the perfective/imperfective contrast, the analysis reveals that periphrasis, the aspectual particle *se*, and repetition to a lesser extent, form part of the learner's repertoire. The use of these devices in the Frog Stories by near native speakers of Spanish clearly signals a departure from the previous narratives. The use of aspectual periphrases has been extended to include examples of the three types examined in the course of the analysis, and the variety in the lexical verbs incorporated has also increased. The use of the aspectual particle *se* has been extended and it is present in all the narratives in this group. In addition, it appears in combination with aspectual periphrases. Repetition as a linguistic device to signal the duration of an activity occurs in a number of narratives.

The analysis of the data in relation to the lexical aspect hypothesis has revealed substantial differences in the marking of lexical aspect amongst Intermediate, Advanced, and Near-native learners. In the use of telic verbs, these narratives display very similar frequencies of distribution to the narratives produced by L1 speakers. This is a trend that was identified first in the narratives of Advanced learners and continues to develop as the level of proficiency advances. The narratives of Intermediate and Advanced learners revealed that activities are not frequently marked with the perfective past marker. The narratives of this group of learners suggests that another step towards

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native-like performance has taken place since the use of the perfective with activities is increased to reveal a more even distribution of the past markers across this lexical class, as was identified in L1 narratives.

Figure 4.8 Distribution of tense/aspect forms across lexical class in Near-native speakers' narratives

Temporal adverbials play a more significant role in the expression of temporality in the narratives produced by these near-native Spanish L2 speakers than in the Intermediate and Advanced groups. The most frequent type of adverbials to be included in the stories is temporal adverbials of position, followed by aspectual adverbials which have increased noticeably. This further confirms the trend of this group of participants to pay more attention to aspectual information, anticipated by the examination of grammatical means of expressing aspect.

Temporal subordinate clauses feature prominently in this set of narratives. The range of markers and frequency of usage closely mirrors that of L1 narratives. Near-native speakers' narratives display all the features characteristic of L1 narratives in relation to the expression of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority. As we suggested in the introduction to this part of the analysis, this results in retellings of the Frog Story by near-native speakers which are difficult to differentiate from those of native speakers.
Chapter 5
Discussion and Evaluation
5.0 Introduction

The aim of this study is to investigate the development of the expression of temporality in the acquisition of Spanish as a second language amongst native English speakers. In addition, the data gathered for the study is examined in relation to linguistic relativity and “thinking for speaking” proposals.

Thus, this chapter addresses two central questions. Firstly, we address the developmental pattern of the expression of temporality. Section 5.1 considers the qualitative and quantitative findings advanced in Chapter 4. We introduce these results in an integrated fashion in order to present a comprehensive picture of the developmental patterns of the expression of temporality in Spanish L2 narrative discourse. The different devices that serve to convey temporal information are examined along the developmental route. This allows us to identify stages in the acquisition process.

In section 5.2, we review the findings of the study in the context of linguistic relativity and “thinking for speaking” proposals as presented in Chapter 1.

5.1 Developmental stages in the acquisition of temporality in Spanish L2

The design of our study has allowed us some control over the contents of the expression of temporality, without determining how this expression should take place. As a result, the analysis of the narratives produced by participants in the study has provided us with a picture of the learners’ interlanguage at different stages in the acquisition process. In the course of this section, we present a review of the learners’ interlanguage at the different stages, and how form and functions develop over time.

To our knowledge, the development of the expression of temporality in discourse and of the different linguistic options available to learners to carry out this task has not been previously explored. Consequently, the results of the present study allow us to make tentative generalisations about the development of the expression of temporality in the narrative discourse of Spanish L2 learners.
5.1.1 Tense/Aspect forms

The use of verbal morphology by second language learners may be indicative of the developmental stages learners go through in the process of becoming proficient speakers of a second language. We will focus on those forms that are produced by the majority of participants: that is, the Present, the Perfect and Imperfect, including their progressive forms and the Past perfect.

Even though participants in this study were asked to recount the Frog Story in the past, in order to elicit the choice between Perfect and Imperfect forms, the majority of informants included forms in the Present in their narratives. The examination of the use of the present in L1 narratives revealed that it is used in (1) direct narration, (2) as a marker of sequentiality and, (3) to introduce evaluative comments.

![Figure: 5.1: Distribution of Present tense across groups (%)](image)

As figure 5.1 above indicates, Intermediate students display a high percentage of use of the Present. However, the rate of target-like forms is very low, as intermediate students were not capable of inflecting all activities in the story for past tense. In most instances, the present appears as the temporal flow of the narrative is broken and learners produce a present form in place of a past form. Advanced learners produce the Present tense in a similar manner to the Intermediate learners. The analysis shows an overall slight increase in the number of tokens in the Present between these two groups. However, this corresponds with a higher number of evaluative comments. Two new functions appear to emerge at this stage in the narratives of two of the informants. These are the use of the present in direct
narration in one instance and the present as a marker of sequentiality in another instance. It is interesting to note that most of these relatively advanced learners have not yet acquired the ability to keep discourse in the past. By the time learners achieve near-native levels of proficiency their use of the Present in narrative discourse decreases significantly. This reflects the fact that these learners do not manifest problems in preserving the temporal flow of the narrative. In contrast to L1 narratives, there are few instances of the present used to introduce direct narration.

As a result, in relation to the use of the Present tense in the telling of the Frog Story we can conclude that L2 learners of Spanish fail to display the patterns of use typical of L1 speakers in their entirety. While it is obvious that, as the level of expertise increases, the frequency of non-target-like forms decreases, the set of narratives gathered in the course of the present study do not exhibit the entire range of functions attributed to this tense/aspect form in L1 narrative discourse.

The analysis of the narratives produced by native speakers shows that in adult narratives, the Preterite/Imperfect contrast serves primarily discursive functions. Thus, the Preterite encodes plot-advancing events. In the narrative context, the Imperfect conveys the meaning that events coexist with the narrative, rather than presenting events as repeated habitual actions, or ongoing activities. The analysis of the data from the Intermediate learners presented in section 4.2.1.2 shows a significant amount of individual variation in the use of the past markers. Nonetheless, the examination revealed that, at this stage of acquisition, learners have acquired a sense of the discursive function of these forms. This is manifested in the choice of the Imperfect as past marker for the orientation section of the story. The analysis also indicates that in the “complicating events” section of the narrative, the alternation between the Preterite and the Imperfect in the majority of instances functions as an aspectual distinction at the local level of the predicate rather than as a means of creating foreground and background distinctions. Advanced learners' narratives show that amongst this group of learners these tense/aspect forms have acquired a new discursive function. The coexistence of the aspectual contrast to mark the punctual/durative contrast, as well as serving to ground the narrative, places these
learners in the "halfway house" Figure 5.2 indicates that in near-native narratives the pattern of development in the use of the past markers in Spanish L2 shows an increasing approximation to the target. That is, at this level of proficiency the employment of the Imperfect is largely due to the discursive context in which it occurs. The percentage use of Imperfect in the background is smaller for L1 speakers because these participants also include a high number of non-finite subordinate sentences, thus displaying more verbal variation in the elaboration of the background.

The Imperfect progressive form in Spanish conveys a meaning of an "overt, ongoing activity" (King and Suñer 1980:227). The perfective progressive combines the meaning of boundedness as denoted by the perfective and that of ongoing activity as denoted by the progressive verb. This form is very infrequent in the Frog Stories due to the specific events depicted in the story. The perfective progressive is more frequent in personal narratives. As discussed in Chapter 2, the imperfective progressive and the imperfect can be interchangeable in certain situations. These are denoted by activities which may occur in either form, while states occur mainly in the Imperfect. The use of progressive tense/aspect forms across the narratives yields interesting results. Figure 5.3 shows that the use of these forms is relatively limited across the narratives with the exception of the Advanced group. These findings are explained by the functions attributed to these forms.
As the analysis of the Imperfect indicates, Intermediate speakers use this tense/aspect form primarily as a means of contrasting bounded and unbounded events. Thus, at this stage of acquisition it can be argued that the Imperfect and the Imperfect progressive are perceived by learners as carrying the same meaning. As a result, the Imperfect is the form chosen to fulfil this function. The high frequency in the use of the Imperfect progressive by the Advanced learners suggests that they have identified two different discursive functions for these forms. Thus, while the Imperfect becomes established as a marker for events in the background, the progressive is used to signal that an event is perceived as ongoing in the foreground focusing on the progression or duration of the event. An important function of the Imperfect Progressive used in background contexts is that it conveys a sense of simultaneity with the events in the main frame of the narrative. The narratives produced by Near-native speakers show the Imperfect Progressive occurs in the background. It contrasts a punctual event expressed in the Preterite with an ongoing activity in the background. This suggests that learners associated the narrative function of the background with the imperfective and at the same time included the progressive aspect to emphasize the durativity of the event.

The examination of the use of tense/aspect forms has revealed that the Past Perfect plays a significant role in the narratives of L1 speakers as a marker of anteriority. In this manner, it contributes to increase the temporal complexity of the narrations. As mentioned on several occasions the appearance of the use of this marker reflects an
emerging sense of narrative organisation (Sebastian and Slobin 1994, 253). Figure 5.4 summarises the use of the Past Perfect across all levels.

**Figure 5.4 Distribution of Past Perfect across groups (%)**

![Distribution of Past Perfect across groups (%)](image)

There is no need for the Past Perfect in the Intermediate learners' narratives because the stories are told in chronological order. The Past Perfect appears in only four of the Advanced narratives providing evidence that the features of the interlanguage are not static, but that they change over time. By the time L2 learners of Spanish reach a near-native level of proficiency, they are capable of establishing retrospective temporal relations between events in the narrative by using this form. As figure 5.4 indicates, the use of the Past Perfect amongst Near-native speakers, almost reaches native-like frequency of use.

In the course of the study of the expression of temporality in the narrative discourse of Spanish L2 learners, we encountered a variety of tense/aspect forms which occur with limited frequency in the narratives of the participants in this study. These forms occur for the most part in the background, which is fertile ground for morphological diversity. These forms illustrate the fact that there is great diversity in the way the Frog Story can be recounted.

Studies in the acquisition of verbal morphology have addressed the issues of the grounding of the narrative as a way to explain the emergence of tense/aspect forms as discussed in Chapter 1. A number of studies in the acquisition of tense/aspect morphology by learners of a second language (Kumpf 1984, Bardovi-Harlig 1994,
1995, López-Ortega 2000) point to the hypothesis that the structure of the narrative influences the distribution of tense/aspect form in interlanguage (Chapter 1). Briefly, the discourse hypothesis states that learners mark verbal morphology in accordance with discourse functions, that is, to distinguish between information in the background and foreground. In this section, we review the Frog Stories for what they can tell us about this hypothesis. Thus, the hypothesis predicts that the verbs in the foreground will carry simple past morphology, the Preterite in the case of Spanish. The background is characterised by a variety of forms, which start with the use of the past progressive (Imperfect/Imperfect progressive in Spanish) progressing towards a more nativelike distribution of forms with the increase in proficiency (Bardovi-Harlig 1995:286).

Comparing the foreground and background for the emergence of tense/aspect forms reveals that the use of the Preterite in the foreground exceeds the use of the Preterite in the background in the narratives across the different groups of learners. However, we cannot conclude that for the Intermediate group of learners, the Preterite characterises the foreground, as the distribution figures indicate. This changes in the Advanced group. The use of the Preterite across the foreground gradually moves to approximate to the model obtained from the L1 narratives. The use of the Imperfect in the foreground is reduced steadily to mirror native behaviour.

![Figure 5.5: Distribution of PFV/IPFV across foreground.](image)

Figure 5.6, shows the distribution of the Preterite and the Imperfect in the background. The figures include the use of progressive aspect. The background is interesting territory for the study of the development of tense/aspect morphology.
because of competition between forms resulting in greater morphological diversity. As expected, the frequency of use of the Preterite in the background is low. It is interesting to note how this frequency decreases as the incidence of imperfective increases with the level of proficiency. This provides evidence that the development of form-function relations is closely linked to the emergence of narrative structure. However, a detailed examination of how L2 learners of Spanish use verbal morphology to elaborate the background merits further study.

A finding which emerges from this study is that, as identified in the L1 Frog Stories of Berman and Slobin, while learners mark aspectual distinction in the past tense at the local level, the functions associated with these forms become motivated by discourse as the learners progress along the acquisition route. This can be seen in the shift in the distribution of tenses across foreground and background in the different levels of learners. This use of form preceding function is also identified by Diertrich et al. (1995: 270). Our data concurs with previous studies (Bardovi-Harling 1995, López Ortega 2000) to show that narrative structure plays a key role in the development of tense/aspect systems. More importantly, the structure of narratives guides learners to develop target-like functions for these forms.

To conclude, the analysis of the use of verbal morphology in the Frog Stories produced by participants in the present research study reveals the following:

* The present tense occurs with relative frequency in the Intermediate and Advanced stages. The patterns of non-target-like morphological coding in
this respect signals that the ability to keep discourse in the past has not been fully acquired.

- At the Intermediate stages of Spanish L2 development, the Preterite/Imperfect aspectual contrast encodes temporal distinctions at the level of the predicate. With an increase in expertise learners move to use this contrast as a tool for the grounding of the narrative.
- The use of the Imperfect progressive expands in the Advanced levels as the Imperfect is used to signal background and this form appears as a marker for ongoing activities.
- In narratives told by Near-native speakers, the frequency of use of the Imperfect Progressive is reduced to approximate to target-like use.
- The Past Perfect, frequent in LI narratives, is a late addition to the expression of past events in the narratives of L2 learners.
- The use of verbal morphology across foreground and background provides evidence to support the discourse hypothesis at the advanced stages of language development.

Finally, the findings of this analysis present evidence to suggest that with regard to the use of verbal morphology in fictional narrative discourse, there is no reason to believe that L2 learners of Spanish cannot achieve, and in fact do achieve, a target-like production.

5.1.2 Lexical aspect

In this section, we examine the findings in relation to aspectual periphrases, aspectual particle *se* and the use of repetitions for what they can tell us about the developmental stages of Spanish L2 acquisition.

Aspectual periphrases allow speakers to view events from a particular perspective and to focus on their temporal boundaries. They also contribute to the overall organisation of the narrative and provide additional information on the temporal contours of events. Thus, iterative periphrases can serve to link reoccurring events in the plot. The development of aspectual verbs in Spanish L1, identified in the Frog
Stories by Sebastian and Slobin, suggests that inchoatives are the first periphrases to emerge. The use of periphrasis extends to iteratives and finally to completives. Interestingly, the Frog Stories gathered for the present study reveal that L2 learners follow the same developmental route in the expression of extended aspect as native speakers. The frequency and sophistication of these constructions increases with linguistic expertise. Figure 5.7 shows the developmental pattern in the percentage. The figure indicates the percent of aspectual verbs out of the total of verbs coded for analyses, that is, all forms inflected for form/aspect.

As shown in figure 5.7, inchoatives are the most frequently used category of aspectual periphrases in the Frog Stories. They are also the first to emerge. Although the percentage analysis reveals a higher use of inchoatives by Intermediate learners than Advanced learners, the qualitative analysis shows that inchoatives only appear in the narratives of six Intermediate learners. On the other hand, eight participants in the Advanced group include this type of aspectual distinction in their narratives. They are used by all informants in the Near-native group. As we have seen in the analysis of these forms by group, there is an increase in the lexical variety of this class. Thus, while all intermediate learners use empezar (to start), as the only means of marking an inchoative periphrasis with language development, this repertoire is increased to include a range of lexical verbs. Advanced learners include ir a (to go), ponerse a (to proceed to). Near-native speakers display a similar array of forms to native speakers. In native-narratives, in the majority of instances, the use of inceptive aspect marking seems to signal the start of major episodes in the narrative, such as the start of the search for the frog. L2 learners begin by using inchoative periphrases to mark the entry into new small activities which move the plot forward. This is due to the event-by-event narration of the story at the Intermediate level. These two functions co-exist in the narratives of Advanced and Near-native learners.

Iterative periphrases emerge first in the narratives of Advanced learners. Advanced learners resort to the use of two verbs seguir and continuar (to continue). In the narratives of Near-native speakers their use is extended across participants. The range of verbs used to construct these periphrases is only marginally increased by more proficient speakers and native speakers who include the periphrases volver a.
Iterative periphrases serve to connect an event to another one at an earlier point in the story, thus providing continuity, such as the search and the calling for the frog. We found that at the early stages of language acquisition there is little evidence of marking continuation. This is because in moving along the narrative task, events are presented as they appear in the pictures, with little planning. As learners progress, this function is carried out by aspectual adverbials.

Compleitive periphrases are the last type of aspectual periphrases to appear and their use is relatively low across informants in the near native and native groups. This is partly due to the task in hand and the particular events depicted in the Frog Story. At the local level, the notion of completion of a predicate is usually expressed by means of the aspectual particle *se* (see section 5.2.2). In relation to the overall structure of the narrative, it is interesting to note that only in one instance does the narrator choose to signal the achievement of the goal in hand, that is, the frog has been found, by means of a completive periphrasis. In general, the completion of the search is signalled by a descriptive account of the situation. The other instances where completion of an event is overtly marked occur in concrete activities undertaken by the dog or the boy, such as the falling of the beehive.

![Figure 5.7: Development of aspectual periphrases (%)](image)
In sum, from the analysis of the use of periphrases in the narrative discourse of Spanish L2 learners we can conclude that (1) the number of tokens in the narratives increases with the level of proficiency, and (2) the developmental route followed by learners is as follows: The incipient value of an event is the first to be expressed by learners of Spanish as a second language. Iterative periphrases surface at the advanced levels of Spanish L2 acquisition.

However, the evidence from the Frog Stories gathered for the present study suggests that these aspectual periphrases do not reach target-like levels of production. The completion of an event or activity is not marked with aspectual periphrases until learners acquire a near-native level of competency.

As we have mentioned on previous occasions, the research carried out to date in the acquisition of aspect has mainly centred on the aspectual distinctions carried by tense/aspect form and the lexical aspect hypothesis. To our knowledge, there are no previous studies on the expression of extended aspect and the role of aspectual periphrases in Spanish L2. There is no prior investigation which could provide a basis for our study. Hence, it is not possible to contrast the results of the present study with other set of data. The data from this study, however, showed that aspectual periphrases emerge very early in the acquisition process. Nonetheless, these conclusions remain merely indicative and require further study.

As we have mentioned on previous occasions, to our knowledge, the role of the aspectual particle *se* in the Interlanguage of Spanish L2 speakers has not been addressed by previous studies. In this regard, the data presented here is the first attempt to trace the development of this particle in learners’ interlanguage.

The particle *se* can have an inchoative value if it denotes the beginning of the action. This occurs with intransitive verbs. With transitive verbs, it acquires a completive meaning. Considering the plot of the Frog Story, it is expected that *se* will mostly occur with intransitive verbs of movement describing the different actions of the boy in his search for the frog. The analysis of the native speakers’ narratives shows that they include *se* with both inchoative and completive value. Intermediate learners use...
se with intransitive verbs of movement such as escapar (to escape) caer (to fall) and ir (to go) In the narratives produced by Advanced learners, this aspectual particle continues to be included most frequently with this type of verb In fact, only one participant in the Advanced group includes the particle se with transitive verbs When learners achieve a near-native level of proficiency, the use of this aspectual marker in the course of telling the Frog Story matches that of the L1 speakers Se with an inchoative value is included in the narratives of all informants in the Near-native group In addition it appears in several of the narratives accompanying transitive verbs

The examination of se also reveals that it is combined with inchoative periphrases to accentuate the incipient value of the predicate This feature occurs frequently in L1 narratives, as well as in the narratives of near-native L2 speakers However it was omitted in the stories narrated by less proficient learners

Accordingly, it can be argued that the data gathered and analysed in the course of the present study gives a preliminary indication that the use of the particle se with an aspectual value in the narratives of L2 learners of Spanish appears first linked to intransitive verbs of movement This adds an inchoative value to the predicate and emphasises the point of origin of the activity This particle shows very gradual developmental trends and its use does not expand to include transitive verbs until speakers have achieved a high level of competency in Spanish Nonetheless, when the form emerges it appears to be with high degrees of accuracy The particle se can
be combined with other grammatical aspectual markers such as periphrases. Again, this occurs at the late stages of language acquisition.

In sum, the analysis of the aspectual particle *se* has revealed the important yet largely ignored role that it plays in conveying aspectual information. The reason for this gap in the research seems to be the late emergence of this use of the particle in the interlanguage of Spanish L2 learners. The developmental route documented in our analysis addresses the question of how learners begin to use this form productively in communication and it accounts for its development over time. It indicates that L2 learners expand the prototypical association of *se* as a marker of reflexive into an aspectual marker. In order to answer how the form-function relationship of aspectual *se* is discovered by the learners, further research is needed. Research in this area should focus on the role of input and the Distributional Bias Hypothesis.

In Chapter 2, we presented the use of the repetition of the verb as a means available to speakers for the expression of extended aspect. The repetition of the verbs carries an iterative or protracted value (*run and run*, *searched and searched*). The use of repetition to convey additional aspectual information on an activity appears in the English frog stories collected by Berman and Slobin (1994). It is also a device available to speakers of Spanish. The analysis of the Frog Stories collected for the present study reveals that repetition occurs only in the narrative of near-native speakers. This suggests that, as a strategy for the expression of iterative aspect, repetition emerges at the late stages of L2 development, independently of L1 influence. If we consider that iterative periphrases were not very frequent in the narratives, this seems to indicate that in the overall expression of temporality this category of aspectual information does not play an important role in the retelling of the Frog Story. This may be because of the particular plot of the picture story which could be described as linear. Thus, these results should be considered within the context of the specific elicitation procedure adopted for the present study since a different story could include more events in this category.
5.1.3 Lexical aspect Hypothesis

The role of inherent lexical aspect in the development of verbal morphology has probably been the most prolific topic of research in second language acquisition in recent years. Briefly, the Aspect Hypothesis states that L2 morphology is guided by the inherent meaning of verbs thus, the acquisition of the perfective past forms (preterite), is predicted to surface earlier with telic predicates (see Chapter 1). This is followed by the acquisition of imperfective past with states moving gradually to activities. Eventually telic verbs appear in the imperfect, and states and activities in the perfective. With this in mind, in Chapter 4, we analysed the role of lexical aspect in the acquisition of verbal morphology. In this section, we comment briefly on these findings.

Figure 5.9 Distribution of lexical class by level of proficiency

The majority of verbs used by subjects are telic across all levels. However, the analysis of the Intermediate group revealed a significant amount of individual variation, which has an influence on the overall percentages for this group of learners. The use of telic verbs is represented largely by the Preterite. As figure 5.9 indicates, this use increases with the level of proficiency. In contrast, the use of the Imperfect with this lexical class decreases.
Activities are associated with the Imperfect in over 50% of instances for L2 learners. There is a slight increase from the Intermediate to the Advanced learners, Near-native speakers usage mirrors that of Intermediates. However, the analysis of L1 narratives indicates that this lexical class is almost as likely to occur in the Preterite as in the Imperfect. Thus, the decrease in the Near-native group could be interpreted as a move towards an approximation to the target. Activities are the least frequent class across all levels. This was also reported by Ramsay (1990). On the other hand, it is in contradiction with Lafford (1996) and Camps (2000), who found that the majority of verbs at all levels were atelic. However, these authors do not specify the operational tests adopted for the classification of verbs, which could be responsible for the discrepancy in the results.
States emerge first with the Imperfect across all levels. Interestingly, L1 speakers show the lowest frequency of use for this combination. A larger number of states occur in the Present for L1 speakers. This correlates with the high use of the copula in direct narration clauses for this group of informants.

In summary, the data gathered shows a strong correlation between lexical aspectual classes and the use of past tense markers, as predicted by the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis. Other tense/aspect forms, such as the Present and the Past Perfect, show different distribution patterns across learners. The selection of verbal morphology, in particular past endings, is not as strong during the early stages, as is evident in more advanced levels of proficiency where significant levels of individual variation are present. This hints at developmental effects taking place between the Intermediate and Advanced levels of proficiency. That is, the influence of lexical aspect in narrative discourse in Spanish L2 seems to increase with the level of expertise. These findings are in agreement with those reported by Salaberry (1999) who found that the effect of tense appears to be stronger during the early stages of acquisition and that the effect of the lexical aspect appears to increase with the level of expertise.
In the expression of temporality in L1, lexical markers of temporality, such as adverbs, are the last to be acquired. Berman and Slobin (1994) report adverbials as being poor role players in the narrative discourse of English L1 speakers. Studies in the acquisition of temporality in the second language, (von Stutterheim 1986, Dietrich et al. 1995, Starren and van Hout 1996) have shown that many learners' tense/aspect morphology fossilizes at an early level because of the possibility of expressing complex temporal relations by means of a sophisticated handling of adverbials and discourse principles. This research was carried out with learners in naturalistic environments with very little or no formal instruction in the target language. Typically, the data was collected from learners recounting personal narratives. Thus, the data gathered for the present study, provides an opportunity to examine the role of adverbials in a different context.

Throughout the analysis of learners' narratives in Chapter 4, adverbials have been clustered along the semantic categories of positional adverbials, adverbials of duration, adverbials of frequency and adverbials of contrast, these last also referred to as aspectual adverbials. Noyau (2002) suggests that, for second language learners, temporal adverbials of position and adverbial expressions of duration and frequency come into play at the early stages of L2 acquisition, whereas adverbs of contrast appear later on. The analysis of our data concurs with this. Figure 5.13 shows the distribution of adverbials across categories. The percentages have been calculated taking into consideration the number of utterances of the narratives for each group participating in the study. Therefore, the percentage results are an expression of the average use of temporal adverbials per group in relation to the number of utterances of the narratives in each group.
Temporal adverbials of position (TAP) appear frequently in the narratives produced by Intermediate learners and continue to be used by Advanced and Near-native learners. In the first instance, learners resort to adverbials of position to establish a temporal context for the story they recount. Thus, while the scene-setting section of the story takes place at night, the "complicating section" is located in the morning. In this regard, the function of temporal adverbials of position is to situate the events depicted by the plot on the time axis, thus providing an overarching temporal framework for the story. At particular points in the story, some participants introduce adverbials of position such as ahora (now), to move the deictic centre of the narrative. However, this occurs in a limited number of cases. The highest frequency of adverbials with a deictic function occurs in the narratives produced by the native speakers.

Temporal adverbials of duration (TAD) do not feature extensively in these narratives. Durativity occurs in the Frog Story at two levels. At the general level, the plot of the story confines the duration of the events. Thus learners do not need to overtly refer to this. At a local level, durativity affects the internal contour of a situation. In this regard, it is expressed by the aspectual distinctions of imperfectivity and perfectivity in the past tense forms. Thus, it is rare to find this aspectual notion being conveyed by means of adverbials.
Temporal adverbials of contrast (tac) relate information on types of transition between events and convey information on the event boundaries such as the adverbials de repente (suddenly), todavía (still). The use of ya (already) proposes a temporal relationship of anteriority between two clauses or between two points in the timeline. In particular ya (already), indicates a temporal point of view and it is used in a retrospective manner. In this regard, it has a discursive function rather than being a reinforcer of the verb tense. The analysis in our narratives of this class of adverbials yields interesting results: (1) they rarely appear in the early stages of L2 development, (2) their use increases rapidly amongst more advanced learners, (3) the use of temporal adverbials of contrast decreases again with further language development. This trend coincides with Berman and Slobin's (1994) report of a less frequent use of this type of adverbials amongst adult speakers in favor of aspectual periphrases.

In sum, in L2 discourse the use of adverbs seems to be highly influenced, both by the task, personal versus fictional narrative, and the specific context of the narrative. The Frog Stories show generally low reliance on adverbial expressions. While previous studies conclude that temporal adverbials compensate for the lack of developed tense/aspect systems in the learner's interlanguage, the present analysis reveals that the use of adverbs in narrative discourse of the participants in this study increases with the level of expertise. The limited role that adverbials seem to play in the narrative discourse of learners participating in this study suggests that, in relation to locating events in the timeline, grammatical marking of tense and aspect takes precedent. A probable reason for this is that as learners become more proficient, they become better at handling the variety of devices available and are capable of integrating them in their narratives. At the same time as the focus of the effort recedes from morphological inflection, speakers become freer to express additional temporal information.
5.1.5 Temporal subordinate clauses

The temporal organisation of a narrative also concerns the integrating events in the structure of the narrative. That is, the locating of the events which form the story on the timeline and in relation to one another, thus expressing the idea that two events may be simultaneous, or that one may precede the other. In their first language, children progress from juxtaposing two clauses expressing events in chronological order to relating events by means of adverbials and subordinate clauses without following the order of occurrence (see section 1.3.2). This entails the ability to organise the narrative into an overall structure which goes beyond the expression of the temporality of the predicate. To express the relations of "simultaneous", "anterior", and "posterior" requires coordination of several temporal reference points (ET, ST, RT). To this end, speakers use complex tense/aspect forms marking and temporal adverbs.

In Chapter 4, we have examined how these temporal relations are expressed at specific stages along the L2 Spanish acquisition route. As the results of the analysis in the previous chapter indicate, it is clear that the use of temporal subordination is related to language competency. Figure 5.14 represents the percentage of temporal subordinate clauses relative to the overall number of utterances. It shows that the use of temporal subordination becomes more target-like with the level of proficiency. Interestingly, the near-native L2 speakers surpass native speakers in the use of subordination. The figure also shows how advanced students have already achieved similar levels of frequency of subordination as L1 speakers. Simultaneity is expressed more frequently, followed by anteriority. Marking of posterity by means of temporal subordination is limited. Clearly, this results from the nature of the task.
In the course of narrating the adventures of the boy and the dog in search of the lost frog, the most frequent temporal relation expressed between events is that of simultaneity. Figure 5.15 shows the percentage of utterances expressing simultaneity between events relative to the overall number of utterances. Intermediate learners make limited use of temporal subordinators to mark simultaneity explicitly in their narratives. Their texts are mainly constructed by stringing together a series of main clauses which describe picture by picture the events in the story. *Cuando* (when) is the preferred subordinator at this level. This subordinator is used to link together two clauses with the same protagonist. Advanced learners are the most productive group in the present study in the expression of simultaneity by means of temporal subordination. Interestingly, new subordinators have been added to the repertoire of these learners and new functions have emerged. Thus, at this level, *cuando* acts more frequently as a marker of immediate anteriority. The expression of simultaneity is performed by *mientras* (while). *Mientras* establishes a relationship between events in the foreground and background carried out by different protagonists. This subordinator is well established amongst Advanced learners, who have acquired the ability to shift the perspective from one protagonist to another as their narratives become more cohesive. The examination of the narratives produced by the Near-native group of learners reveals further change in the expression of simultaneity. The use of *cuando* decreases significantly in relation to Advanced learners, while instances of *mientras* increase. This trend signals a move towards target-like usage. At the same time, the production of subordinate clauses introduced
by *al-infinitivo* augments and surpasses that of L1 speakers. In addition to temporal subordination, this construction introduces a causal relation.

![Figure 5.15: Distribution of markers of simultaneity](image)

Relations of anteriority are introduced by means of the use of the past perfect, which clearly plays a retrospective function, and the temporal subordinator *antes de*. In child language, anteriority does not begin to be expressed until after the age of seven (Sebastian and Slobin 1994) when children acquire the ability to give a sense of plot to their stories. These forms are absent in the narratives of the Intermediate group of learners. As we have discussed, Intermediate informants move the story line forward, relying on sequential chaining, and do not include actions whose repercussions are included in the event time. By the time learners reach the Advanced stage of language development, markers of anteriority begin to emerge, both in the form of tense/aspect morphology and subordinators. The first events to be related in this manner concern events relatively close on the timeline, such as the boy waking up to find that the frog has escaped. Near-native speakers displayed similar patterns to L1 speakers in the expression of anteriority although the frequency is less. These speakers tend to mention what happened in the background in a retrospective mode, with embedded clauses. This background is expanded to include events which are not depicted in the story.
The concept of "posterior" is rarely expressed by means of temporal subordination across the Frog Stories. This is due to the inherent nature of the task. Sequentiality and the Principle of Natural Order are the means by which events are related.

In sum, the analysis of the development of the expression of complex temporal relation by means of subordination indicates that in narrative discourse the most typical relation between events to be overtly marked is that of simultaneity. The developmental route suggested by the narratives of participants in this study includes the following stages: (1) the first form to mark this function is *cuando* (when) (2) with time new forms are added to the repertoire, (3) the functions of the forms available change over time. Therefore, with the inclusion of *mientras* in the learners' Interlanguage to express simultaneity, *cuando* becomes more frequently a marker of immediate anteriority. Thus, in becoming proficient speakers, learners learn to set up new discourse functions for already acquired forms. Overall, the use of temporal subordinators and adverbials becomes more target-like. While temporal morphological markers become established quite rapidly in the Spanish learners' L2 interlanguage, our findings for the development of the overall temporal structure of the narrative suggest that the linguistic ability of how to elaborate on the relations between events emerges rather late.

Finally, we can conclude that these groups of learners show a steady tendency to approximate the target. The analysis of the Frog Stories gathered for this study also
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reveals that development is gradual and continuous, with no sharp developmental stages. With the increase in the level of expertise and exposure to the target language, the wide range of devices available for the expression of temporality interact with each other to convey temporal nuances typical of L1 speakers. An example of this is the expression of inchoative aspect, which is conveyed both by means of periphrases and aspectual adverbials.

Intermediate speakers have surpassed the pre-basic and basic varieties in their interlanguage development described by Dietrich et al. (see section 13.2.1) evidencing differences between classroom learners and learners in a naturalistic environment. At the Intermediate level of proficiency there is an apparent reliance on the use of tense/aspect markers for the expression of temporality to the detriment of other devices, such as periphrases. Intermediate narratives are based on universal organisational principles of discourse, in particular linearisation and the Principle of Natural Order. Advanced learners display a wider array of tenses in the telling of their narratives and a more developed repertoire of form-function relations. As learners enjoy a more advanced level, not only do they display a more extensive repertoire but also they display the ability to "change" the functions assigned to forms to accommodate new forms and new meanings. The structure of narrative discourse plays a more significant role in the narratives of this group of learners in comparison with Intermediate students. Near native speakers have added additional forms to their Interlanguage which appear to be beyond the reach of less experienced learners. Their narratives are very similar to those produced by native speakers both in terms of the range and function of linguistic devices used for the expression of temporality, and the overall structure of the narrative, thus, suggesting that native-like levels of proficiency are attainable.

Three forces seem to be at play in the development of the expression of temporality in Spanish L2, as previously identified by Salaberry (2000 68). These are (1) a cognitive disposition to develop form-function relations, (2) discourse specific requirements (foreground and background) and (3) the effect of the input as provided by native speakers. Earlier research in the acquisition of temporality in Spanish L2, has largely focused on the development of past tense morphology and the Lexical
Aspect Hypothesis. Andersen (2002: 102) argues for the need to adopt a discourse-functional approach to the study of the development of tense-aspect morphology. The present study is an attempt to take a step in this direction. Furthermore, this study explores the development of additional devices which contribute to the expression of temporality in Spanish L2 discourse which had previously been ignored.

5.2 Linguistic relativity and “thinking for speaking” proposals

We started this study by considering the notion of linguistic relativity, that is, the role of language in interpreting experience. Our aim was to explore the role of these proposals in the process of acquiring a second language. We chose the study of temporality as a domain which is cognitively structured with a high dependency on the particular features of languages. At the same time, this allowed for a second goal for the present study, namely to present a picture of the development of the expression of temporality in the narrative discourse of English-speaking Spanish L2 learners. In the previous section, we have presented our conclusions in this regard. In the present section, we examine these findings in the context of linguistic relativity and “thinking for speaking” proposals.

Briefly, proponents of linguistic relativity suggest that language has a role in the interpreting of experience. Thus, it will be easier for speakers of a language to perceive instances of those concepts which are linguistically coded, and therefore more salient and favoured by a particular language. Thus, conceptual categories, such as time, are guided by language in their acquisition process. Research in the area of linguistic relativity has mainly been carried out in L1. It has focused largely on the spatial and temporal domains, since these distinctions can only be learnt through language (see Section 1.2).

Slobin's “thinking for speaking” proposal states that linguistic influence on thought exists only when performing linguistically-mediated tasks, given that distinctions such as aspect, voice, space are learnt through language and have no other use except
to be expressed in language (Slobin 1990:249) Thus, according to Slobin there is no influence of language on thought beyond the on-line process of speaking.

In relation to second language learning, crosslinguistic analyses address the difficulties in reaching native-like proficiency to account for the impact of linguistic relativity in second language acquisition. These difficulties arise when L1 learners encode a specific concept for which there are no linguistic devices in the L2 and vice versa. In this circumstance, learners have to identify how the concept is expressed linguistically and the function it serves in discourse. As an example of this, Von Stutterheim (2002 cited in Max-Planck Institute Annual Report 2002:150) reports that, although German learners of English had acquired the native English pattern in the description of events in isolation to a certain degree, they remained under the influence of the L1, hence concluding that the options available in the first language influence the choice learners make in the target language. Thus, L2 systems appear not to conform to the principles of native discourse. As discussed in section 1.3, these findings are corroborated by Lambert (1998) and Schmedtová (2002)

Aspect is an interesting category to examine in the study of linguistic relativity, since aspectual distinctions are determined by the particular linguistic system of a language (Carroll et al. 2003). There is no evident non-linguistic input to guide second language learners in the acquisition of aspect. As we have mentioned on previous occasions, studies of aspect in L2 have focused on the role of lexical aspect. In the course of the present study (Chapter 2), we have identified several grammaticized temporal concepts that differ in English and Spanish. These are associated with the expression of aspectual values, the area of temporality where the two languages of concern in this study show greater differences in the codification of temporal concepts. An example of this is the perfective/imperfective distinction in the past. Spanish codes the concept of [+past] [+imperfective] on the verb, while English uses the progressive aspect or periphrases (used to). The assumption is that English-speaking learners of Spanish will find this Spanish aspectual distinction difficult to master. In Chapter 4, we presented the analysis of the tense-aspect systems in the learner's interlanguage as manifested in their narrative discourse. The analysis revealed that near-native speakers achieve native-like patterns of use for this
aspectual distinction. Thus, English speaking learners of Spanish as a second language describe an event as [+past] [+imperfective] in situations where that aspectual situation is not marked in their L1. These findings suggest that, even though native languages train speakers to pay attention to different features of events and situations, differences in conceptualisation patterns between L1 and L2 over time do not seem to result in learning difficulty or fossilisation as predicted by Slobin (1991).

To account for the learners’ success we turn to Slobin’s principles for first language acquisition (1973, 1982) adopted by Andersen and Shirai (1994) in second language acquisition. (see Section 1.3.2.2.1). Slobin suggests on several occasions (1990, 1991) that the study of second language acquisition provides fertile ground for the assessment of his proposals. The examination of our Frog Stories indicates that these cognitive principles account for the development of temporality in Spanish L2 narrative discourse. As an example of how these principles operate, we examine the acquisition of the aspectual particle *se*.

Learners first encounter this form in the context of reflexive morphology. Thus, the One to One Principle guides them to expect that this morpheme will have only one meaning, that is, a reflexive marker. As their interlanguage develops and exposure to the target language increases, new functions and meanings are acquired for this form. This is achieved by having access to Prototypes which accounts for how learners discover which meaning to assign to the form. Thus, learners realise that in certain contexts *se* is not a reflexive marker, but that it may provide diverse information, such as in passive sentences or as aspectual marker. The Relevance Principle and the Congruence Principle, which are especially sensitive to discourse-pragmatic functions, (Andersen and Shirai 1994: 147), guide learners to include or omit *se* according to their discursive needs. While using this particle as an aspectual marker, the Congruence Principle accounts for how learners use this particle with the most similar meaning to the meaning of the verb it accompanies, telic verbs or activities. The Distributional Bias Principle explains why *se* occurs first with telic verbs, and is less frequent with activities.
Thus, the same principles which guide L1 learners also steer second language learners in the acquisition of markers of temporality. In the same way that experience with the language channels the attention of the child learner so it does with the second language learners.

In section 3.2.4, following Slobin's definition (1994: 597), we understood the term "proficient speaker" to describe a speaker who is able to use the language from three points of view: structural, rhetorical, and discursive. This is achieved by acquiring linguistic forms that develop to acquire a range of functions, as is the case of the aspectual marker se. At the same time, functions acquire forms, as connectors such as cuando (when) and mientras (while) develop to serve the expression of simultaneity between events. This linguistic knowledge is then integrated into the discursive properties of the communicative task at hand. In this study, this is the narration of events. We conclude, that, based on the evidence provided by the analysis of the Frog Story gathered for the present study, there is no reason to believe that English speaking second language learners of Spanish, as long as they continue to develop their competency, cannot achieve full mastery in the expression of temporal concepts. In this regard, our findings concur with Dietrich et al. (1995) and Giacalone-Ramat (2002). However, in light of the contradictory findings advanced in this area, by Schmiedtova (2002), it is important that further cross-linguistic research in second language acquisition from this perspective is undertaken.

5.2 Conclusion

The theoretical and methodological issues addressed in the study are related to linguistic relativity and "thinking for speaking" proposals. This is an area of investigation which has not received much attention in Second Language Acquisition research. In this respect, the present study aims to contribute to the work starting in this field. As Slobin himself warns (1991: 29), we have to be cautious not to make generalisations based on experiments with small samples. Similar experiments must be undertaken with a larger number of subjects and a variety of target languages. In concluding this study, however, we would like to point out that as far as linguistic
relativity and “thinking for speaking” proposals are concerned, the present study provides evidence to substantiate the claim that language has a role in the interpreting of experience. However, we cannot agree with Slobin’s premise that these experiences are “exceptionally difficult to be retrained” (1990: 249) in the processes of acquiring a second language. Our narratives provide some evidence to indicate that both native and non-native speakers alike are guided by the particular devices available in language in the acquisition process. Over time L2 learners seem to arrive at the same “preferences” for the expression of temporality.

The second goal of this study was to give an account of the development of the expression of temporality in narrative discourse from L2 learners of Spanish and to consider whether these learners acquire the patterns of expression typical of L1 speakers. We argue that given the necessary exposure to the target language there is reason to believe that learners will in fact succeed in this task. The effect of the learning environment, classroom settings versus natural settings, plays a role in the expression of temporality in L2. In general, classroom learners are coached to pay attention to verbal morphology, while untutored learners rely on calendric reference and adverbials (see Section 13.2.1). This study presents data from learners who start as classroom learners and become natural learners at some point in their linguistic development. Thus, it could be argued that participants in this study are “typical” learners. In this regard, it is not clear to what extent the findings of the present study can be extrapolated to learners who only received classroom instruction, nor to those who acquire Spanish in natural settings.

In addition, research undertaken on development of the expression of temporality amongst second language learners has centred on the acquisition of tense-aspect morphology. This study has provided us with the opportunity to examine the development of a larger variety of forms which contribute to the expression of temporal notions amongst Spanish L2 learners. Therefore, while much research remains to be done to increase the validity of the present findings, the present study represents a significant contribution to the field of Spanish second language acquisition.
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Appendix A

Picture Story

Frog, where are you?
Appendix B

Background Questionnaire
Personal Details (Strictly Confidential)

Ref Number __________________________ (Please, do not fill in. A reference number will be used instead of your name in the study)

Date __________________________ Place __________________________

Name __________________________

Degree __________________________ Year __________________________

Age __________________________

Nationality __________________________

Please, answer the following questions

What is your mother tongue?
________________________________________________________________________

What other languages do you speak?
________________________________________________________________________

How long have you spent in a Spanish speaking country? Please give your answer in months ______________________________________________________________________

How long have you been studying Spanish? __________________________

Have you studied Spanish in any other institutions outside DCU? If yes, please specify
________________________________________________________________________

Would you consider your level of Spanish to be

☐ low
☐ intermediate
☐ advanced

Thank you,
Muchas gracias
Appendix C

Proficiency Test

(Intermediate Learners)
1. Complete los huecos del texto siguiente con una de las tres opciones que se le proponen al final del ejercicio

LA FAMILIA, EL TRABAJO

Hoy en día trabajar ocho horas al día y tener una familia no es fácil. Muchas mujeres creen que es importante tener un trabajo, (1) que también es importante pasar más tiempo (2) la familia, sobre todo con los niños. Los psicólogos (3) a los padres con niños problemáticos estar (4) tiempo con sus hijos, ayudarles en la tarea escolar y ocuparse un poco de sus cosas. Es decir, los padres (5) saber qué hacen en la escuela, (6) amigos tienen, que deporte les (7) o si si (8) bien o mal entre sus compañeros de clase. Por (9) parte, el mundo del trabajo es cada vez más competitivo y (10) personas tiene que hacer horas extraordinarias (11) el trabajo para poder ganar más dinero o para progresar en su carrera. Muchas madres no quieren dejar a sus hijos en las guarderías, pero tampoco pueden pagar a una persona para estar en casa con sus hijos. Antes muchas mujeres se (12) en casa cuidando a sus hijos, pero eso en los 90 (13) totalmente. Lo que antes (14) normal, ahora (15) no lo es.

OPCIONES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a) o</th>
<th>b) en</th>
<th>c) pero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a) dentro</td>
<td>b) con</td>
<td>c) hasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a) recomiendas</td>
<td>b) dan</td>
<td>c) reparte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>a) muy</td>
<td>b) mas</td>
<td>c) muchos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>a) deberían</td>
<td>b) tienen</td>
<td>c) hay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a) cual</td>
<td>b) cuando</td>
<td>c) cuantos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>a) gustan</td>
<td>b) gusta</td>
<td>c) gustas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>a) sientan</td>
<td>b) sienten</td>
<td>c) sienta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>a) alguna</td>
<td>b) ninguna</td>
<td>c) otra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>a) muchas</td>
<td>b) una</td>
<td>c) todas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>a) a</td>
<td>b) de</td>
<td>c) en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>a) quedaron</td>
<td>b) quedaban</td>
<td>c) han quedado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>a) cambiaba</td>
<td>b) ha cambiado</td>
<td>c) cambio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>a) es</td>
<td>b) sera</td>
<td>c) era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>a) ya</td>
<td>b) aun</td>
<td>c) todavía</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
¿Qué diría usted en las siguientes situaciones? Marque con una X la respuesta adecuada

1. Usted quiere comprar un periódico. Va a un quisco y pregunta.
   a) ¿Me presta el periódico, por favor?
   b) ¿Cuánto cuesta este periódico, por favor?
   c) ¿Le devuelvo el periódico?

2. Usted va en un taxi y quiere escuchar las noticias por la radio. Usted le dice al taxista.
   a) ¿Puede poner la radio, por favor? Es que tengo mucho interés en oir las noticias.
   b) He oído las noticias por la radio y tienen mucho interés.
   c) ¿Le importa bajar el volumen de la radio? Es que no podemos comentar las noticias.

3. Usted habla con un/a amigo/a en su casa sobre el periódico que más le gusta.
   a) Pues yo prefiero El Día, porque su formato facilita la lectura.
   b) Pues a mí, el que me molesta es El Mediodía, porque es complicado de leer.
   c) Bueno, para mí, lo que importa es la calidad periodística, por eso no soporto El Añochece

4. Formar una familia sigue siendo el ideal de muchos jóvenes españoles.
   a) Muchos jóvenes quieren independizarse de sus familias.
   b) Muchos jóvenes quieren vivir en familia.
   c) Muchos jóvenes se llevan bien con su familia.

5. Muchos prefieren vivir en la ciudad si pueden salir los fines de semana al campo y pasar en verano un mes en la playa.
   a) Quieren vivir en la ciudad con la posibilidad de salir mucho al campo.
   b) No quieren vivir en el campo, sino en la playa.
   c) Prefieren vivir en una ciudad que tenga playa.
A continuación tiene usted 10 frases o diálogos. En cada frase o diálogo hay una palabra en negrita que no es adecuada. Debe usted sustituirla por alguna de las palabras de la lista que aparece al final.

1. A - ¿A donde quieres ir de vacaciones?
   B - A mi me viene igual, sólo quiero descansar

2. Respirar aire puro se ha convertido en una realidad para los que viven en las grandes ciudades

3. Carlos esta delgadísimo porque se pasa un día corriendo

4. La ciudad tiene una breve oferta cultural museos, espectáculos, cines, etc

5. Una pareja para tres hijos ya es familia numerosa

6. A - ¿Estudias o trabajas?
   B - Ahora estoy estudiando pero en verano hago todo el trabajo

7. A - ¿Tu lees el periódico todos los días?
   B - Hombre, todos no, pero entre todos

8. En España, como ahora, no hay demasiados vegetarianos

9. Me gustaría ser millonario para ir a la ópera en cualquier parte del pueblo

10. A - ¿A cuanto te dedicas?
    B - Trabajo en una biblioteca

   A) da   B) ilusión   C) que   D) con   E) el
   F) mundo   G) casi   H) algún   I) gran   J) hasta
SECCIÓN 2

4 Lea con atención el siguiente texto. A continuación encontrará tres preguntas. Indique si son verdaderas (V) o falsas (F) de acuerdo con el contenido del artículo leído.

IDEAS NUEVAS
Empresas privadas buscan los establecimientos que ofrecen los mejores precios al comprador.

Para un comprador es muy frustrante no encontrar lo que busca o, lo que es peor, comprobar que lo que acaba de comprar estaba más barato en otro sitio. Se han creado empresas nuevas que ahorrán esos disgustos informando sobre donde está el artículo deseado a mejor precio.

Los que no soportan ir de compras, los que tienen tiempo a causa de sus horarios de trabajo a los que quieren el precio más barato son los posibles clientes de estas empresas. Estas empresas dan información sobre artículos muy variados, aunque de momento no se ocupan de los alimentos ni de la ropa. Los productos más solicitados suelen ser los electrodomésticos. El precio de este servicio es del 20% del ahorro conseguido. Solo tiene que llamar por teléfono, dar las características de lo que desea comprar, y la empresa se pone en marcha.

(Adaptado de El País Semanal)

PREGUNTAS

1. En todos los establecimientos los productos tienen el mismo precio  V  F
2. Hay nuevas empresas que le ayudan a conseguir un producto más barato  V  F
3. La empresa no cobra nada por los servicios  V  F

Lea con atención cada uno de los textos siguientes. Marque con una X la respuesta correcta de acuerdo con el texto.

TEXTO 1
Acuérdate de que hoy vienen los Moreno a cenar. Recoge la tarta de fresa que tengo encargada en la pastelería. Son 2 000 ptas.

Esta nota dice que:

a) Tiene que comprar un postre dulce
b) Tiene que ir a la frutería para comprar
c) Tiene que ir a la cena pero no tiene que comprar nada

TEXTO 2
Los jardines de Valencia

Entre los múltiples atractivos de Valencia, para disfrutar todos los días, están sus jardines. En el jardín del Real encontrarás varios estanques, una gran pajarera, flores muy diversas y bonitos rincones para pasear.

La gente de Valencia según el texto:

a) No tienen lugares atractivos para disfrutar
b) Pueden ir a un parque lleno de naranjos
c) Pueden pasear por un parque agradable y cuidado
Appendix D

Proficiency Test

(Advanced Learners)
Complete el siguiente texto eligiendo para cada uno de los huecos una de las tres opciones que se le ofrecen

**El fin de semana**

Por fin viernes Había tenido una semana difícil en el trabajo Su jefe, que (1) con la moral baja por no se qué líos, llevaba quince días (2) pegar ojo, un cliente alemán se puso intransigente con el plazo de entrega de un informe y con que si la formalidad es la formalidad y, para (3), su secretaria tuvo que faltar dos días, porque al mocoso de su hijo no se le había ocurrido otra cosa que coger las papeletas Condenado a jornadas de 11 horas, (4) logró sobrevivir Ahora ya era viernes y, ante la ventana de su recién estrenado despacho en la flamante Torre Picasso ( ) se extendía una vista maravillosa una inmensa hilera de coches cargados con papas y niños (5) silenciosamente la terrorífica ciudad en busca del fin de semana perfecto

Repaso tranquilamente su agenda y decidió que en las próximas 60 horas el mundo era suyo El tesoro que buscaba (6) en la Carla, una chica despampanante, amiga de no se quien que había llegado huyendo de Italia (7) busca del paraíso de la modernidad (8) seis meses en Madrid y ya se conocía todos los bares modernos, todas las tiendas de diseño y casi todos los platos de rodaje Era modelo, se arrastraba por las calles con un inmenso *book* debajo del brazo y, naturalmente, estaba como un (9) La presa perfecta para un fin de semana sin compromisos La (10) a cenar en un restaurante de lujo, hablarían alegremente de la vieja Roma – en realidad, el solamente había estado allí una vez un par de días, por una cosa de la oficina, pero para eso estaban las películas -, a la salida se irían a tomar una copa al Hanoi y luego Dios dirá

Texto de ALBERTO ANAUT (Adaptado de El País)

1 a) andaba b) anduvo c) andaría
   2 a) por b) sin c) en
   3 a) máximo b) límite c) colmo
   4 a) finalmente b) en fin c) en paz

5 a) se cruzaban b) cruzaban c) habían cruzado
   6 a) estaba b) encontraba c) era
   7 a) en b) por c) de
   8 a) Llevo b) Había llevado c) Llevaba

9 a) tren b) tranvía c) trolebus
   10 a) invito b) invitase c) invitaria
2 Elija entre las opciones de respuesta aquella que tenga un significado equivalente al del fragmento subrayado

1. No me lo cuentes otra vez, Ana María me lo contó ayer con pelos y señales
   a) muy rápidamente b) detalladamente c) someramente

2. Os creíais muy inteligentes, pero al final os la dieron con queso
   a) engañaron b) invitaron a queso c) criticaron mucho

3. En diplomacia hay que ir con pies de plomo
   a) a paso lento b) con zapatos especiales c) con cautela

4. Usted está como un roble, no tiene de que preocuparse
   a) tiene todos los problemas solucionados b) es una persona con mucho poder c) está sanísimo

5. ¿Sabes lo que pienso? Que mas vale pajaro en mano que ciento volando
   a) los pájaros que vuelan valen menos b) es mejor tener confianza en uno mismo c) vale más lo seguro que lo posible

6. ¡Sois unos manazas!
   a) tenéis las manos enormes b) sois torpes c) sois generosos

7. Este conferenciante siempre acaba vándose por las ramas
   a) se desvia del tema b) habla mucho c) dice cosas muy interesantes

8. Lo importante es tocar la fibra sentimental de la gente
   a) el punto sensible b) la fibra llorona c) el nervio mayor

9. Inés es la que siempre corta el bacalao
   a) ofrece comida b) trabaja c) destaca

10. Ninguno se atrevía a hablar del asunto, pero llegó Juan y puso el dedo en la llaga
    a) habló del tema extensamente b) buscó una solución para el hondo c) tocó el asunto problemático
11 Es un derrochador, no piensa en el futuro
   a) Es un mal trabajador  b) Es muy vago  c) Malgasta el dinero

12 Las circunstancias me son adversas
   a) favorables  b) indiferentes  c) desfavorables

13 Tuvo la desfachatez de decírmelo delante de todos
   a) poca verguenza  b) satisfacción  c) audacia

14 En este tema sus conocimientos son muy vastos
   a) burdos  b) amplios  c) reducidos

15 Dieron ropa y alimentos a los damnificados
   a) perjudicados  b) refugiados  c) pobres

3 Complete las frases con el término adecuado

1 No me gusta este sitio, si lo se, no
   a) vendrá  b) vengo  c) vendré

2 sin verguenza que todavía no ha llamado para disculparse
   a) Sera  b) Sería  c) Es  d) Habrá sido

3 Todavía no he fregado los platos
   -Dejalo, ya yo
   a) fnegue  b) fnego  c) fregara

4 ama de casa no está justamente reconocida por la sociedad
   a) El  b) La

5 Nunca cómo me llamo
   a) Se recuerda  b) se acuerda  c) se acuerda de
6 Niños, no mucho ruido al entrar
   a) haced          b) hagáis          c) haríais

7 Antes viniera, yo ya me había ido
   a) de – él        b) de – ø          c) de – que

8 María trata a Carlos fuera su hermano
   a) como          b) si             c) como si   d) tal como

9 Te dejaré mis apuntes me los devuelvas el martes
   a) excepto que   b) siempre que    c) si       d) como

10 Iré a tu casa nunca te encuentro en la oficina
    a) por qué       b) como          c) que       d) dado que

11 Cuando una fiesta no le vamos a invitar, nos cae tan mal
   a) organizamos   b) organizaremos  c) organizemos

12 Si un buen trabajo, te invitaré a cenar
    a) encontrare    b) encontrara     c) encuentro  d) habré encontrado

13 ¿Hay campings por esta zona? No, no hay
   a) ninguno       b) ningunos       d) algunos

14 ¡A trabajar! La casa está aun limpiar
   a) por           b) para

15 Si por casualidad que no llego a tiempo, entra tu y no me esperes
   a) vieras        b) veas           c) verás       d) veías
Lee el siguiente texto y a continuación responde a las preguntas

El Gobierno mantendrá la eñe en los ordenadores por razones de “carácter cultural”

Un decreto de Cultura y Sanidad y Consumo pretende contentar las exigencias de la CE*

Fedelino Ibáñez, director general del Libro del Ministerio de Cultura fue uno de los primeros en alertar hace casi dos años sobre el daño que podía causar a la lengua española la aplicación estricta de la letra eñe. La Comisión de la Comunidad Europea (CE*) volvió entonces alegar precisamente criterios culturales para el aprobación del Tratado de Maastricht el Gobierno español va a alegar precisamente criterios culturales para la defensa de la letra eñe en los teclados.

El anteproyecto de real decreto se encuentra en la actualidad en manos del Consejo de Estado que ha pedido informes al Ministerio de Industria y a la Real Academia Española, Ambos han respondido favorablemente a la exigencia de la letra eñe en los teclados.

Salvadores de la letra

La opinión parece ser unánime respecto a que el nuevo texto legal arreglará definitivamente los problemas de la CE con la letra eñe. También parece ser unánime que ahora, no como cuando saltó la polémica hace casi dos años, todos quieren aparecer como salvadores de la letra eñe. Alvaro Espina, secretario de Estado de Industra explica que el retraso está provocado porque son muchos los argumentos que exige homologar la CE y ha habido otras prioridades. El retraso está provocado por las dificultades de la CE con la eñe. También parece ser que el nuevo texto legal preparado por Cultura y Sanidad y Consumo y que reemplaza al Tratado de Maastricht para defenderla.

Respecto a si existe temor de que la Comunidad Europea pueda impugnar la nueva legislación, el secretario de Estado de Industria afirma que el nuevo texto legal preparado por Cultura y Sanidad y Consumo y que reemplaza al Tratado de Maastricht para defenderla.

Aviso al consumidor

Respecto a cómo se va a garantizar entonces la libertad de mercancías que exige la CE, la fórmula legal va a consistir en lo siguiente según explica Ibáñez. El texto consagra la obligatoriedad de la letra eñe en los teclados pero no podemos negar a un ciudadano europeo de que el nuevo texto legal se anularán los anteriores que exigen la obligatoriedad de la eñe.

Además precisamente porque el breve texto legal no explicita la referencia a la letra eñe de la actualidad en manos del Consejo de Estado que ha pedido informes al Ministerio de Industria y a la Real Academia Española, Ambos han respondido favorablemente a la exigencia de la letra eñe en los teclados.

Texto de DIEGO MUÑOZ (Adaptado de El País)
PREGUNTAS

1 En relación al problema suscitado por la letra eñe
   a) el Ministerio de Industria se ha visto obligado a derogar una serie de reales decretos, al exigir que los equipos informáticos contengan la letra eñe
   b) La Comisión de la UE no acepta que sean los reales decretos del Ministerio de Industria los que exijan la obligatoriedad de que los equipos informáticos contengan la letra eñe
   c) La Comisión de la UE exige que una serie de reales decretos dejen de estar en vigor, pues no se puede obligar a los equipos informáticos a contener la letra eñe

1 Según declara Ibañez
   a) se exigirá que en los teclados que no sean de lengua castellana se haga constar la ausencia de la letra eñe para información del consumidor
   b) Los consumidores españoles se verán obligados a comprar un teclado que contenga la letra eñe, para así diferenciarse de los europeos
   c) El ciudadano europeo que viva en España puede comprar cualquier tipo de teclado con la única obligación de que en ellos figure un aviso al consumidor

1 El retraso en tomar una decisión se ha producido porque
   a) Homologar tantas normas ha exigido otras prioridades
   b) Las otras prioridades de la UE han impedido que se respetasen las normas impuestas por ella
   c) El problema de la eñe ha pasado de Sanidad y Consumo a Cultura para que se tramitase en este último organismo

1 Para el presidente de la SEDISI
   a) La obligatoriedad de la eñe en los teclados no será aceptada en Bruselas debido a que quien realmente manda es el mercado
   b) Al final lo que realmente se impone es el mercado y si éste pide teclado con eñe tendrá que adaptarse a la demanda
   c) Entre políticos y fabricantes las opiniones son encontradas aunque en Bruselas tomarán posición por los primeros, por representar los intereses del consumidor
Appendix E

Transcriptions
@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants 101
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way narrative task

@G 01
*101 había una vez (STA) (IPFV) (B) un niño muy pequeño
*101 un chico que tenia(STA) (IPFV) (B) un perro
*101 y una rana que esta (STA) (PRES) (E) en un jarra

@G 02
*101 una noche (TAP) despues (POST) de mirando (ACT) la rana
*101 fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) a su cama para dormir
*101 durante la noche (TAD) de repente (TAC) la rana saltio (TEL) (PFV)
(F) por la jarra

@G 03
*101 y por la mañana (TAP) el chico no podia encontrarle (ACT) (IPFV)
(F) (E)

@G 04
*101 de repente (TAC) el chico empezo a vetirse (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) (E)
muy rapidamente
*101 mientras (SIM) el perro ha ponido (TEL) (PRESPERF) (E) su cabeza
por el jarra
*101 y no podia (ACT) (IPFV) (B) (xxx)

@G 05
*101 cuando el niño abrio (TEL) (PFV) (B) la ventana

@G 06
*101 la el perro saltio (TEL) (PFV) (F)

@G 07
*101 y vio (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la terra
*101 se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)
*101 y por eso rompio (TEL) (PFV) (F) la jarra
*101 el perro ahora (TAP) esta (STA) (PRES) (E) muy contento

@G 08

@G 09

@G 10
*101 despues el niño y el perro empezo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) a gritar a
un colmena

@G 11
*101 el niño empezo a llorar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
*101 y de repente (TAC) muchas abejas dejaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la
colmena

@G 12
*101 (xxx) mientras (SIM) el niño estaba buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B)
por un arbol
*101 muchas abejas empezaron dejar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) la colmena

@G 13
*101 y empezaron a correr a seguir (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) el perro

@G 14

@G 15
*101 cuando el niño despues el niño encontre (TEL) (PFV) (F) una piedra
muy grande
*101 y al otro lado habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) una sierra

@G 16
*101 cuando (SIM) el niño empezo a subir (TEL) (PFV) (F) 9INC) al piedra
*101 se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) por la ciervo

@G 17

@G 18
*101 de repente (TAC) con el susto el ciervo empezó a correr (TEL) (PFV)
(F) (INC) por una peña

xxi
60  @G 17
61  *101  el cuervo se (xxx)
62  @G 18
63  *101  pero el niño y el perro se cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (SEASP) por un
64  río un charco
65  @G 19
66  *101  graciadamentee el niño y el perro estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) bien
67  @G 20
68  *101  después el niño encontré contelo (TEL) (PFV) (F) un árbol en el río
69  *101  y dije (TEL) (PFV) (F)
70  *101  al perro para que quedara (TEL) (IPFVSUBJ) (B)
71  tranquilamente
72  @G 2
73  *101  el niño y el perro empezaron a subir (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) escalar
74  el árbol
75  @G 22
76  *101  y delante al otro lado del árbol se encontraron (TEL) (PFV)
77  (F) (SEASP) dos ranas su rana y un otro una amiga
78  @G 23
79  *101  el niño y el perro estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contento para
80  encontrar
81  *101  que su rana esta (STA) (PRES) (E) muy buena
82  *101  pero ahora (TAP) tiene tema (STA) (IPFV) (B) una amiga tambien
83  @G 24
84  @End
85  @Begin
86  @Languages es
87  @Participants 102
88  @ID es/pugplanella
89  @coder kemia pug i planella
90  @situation one-way narrative task
91  @G 01
92  *102  había una vez un chico muy pequeño
93  *102  tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) solo dos amigos
94  *102  su perro se llamía (STA) (IPFV) (B) gordon
95  *102  y su rana se llamía (STA) (IPFV) (B) george
96  *102  juntos vivían (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en su dormitorio
97  @G 01
98  *102  una noche (TAP) el chico se acostaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) con el perro
99  *102  y la rana salía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) de la jarra
100  @G 03
101  *102  el próximo día (TAP) el chico no encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) la rana
102  @G 04
103  *102  busco la rana en todos los lugares en el dormitorio
104  *102  pero no lo encontro (TEL) (PFV) (F)
105  @G 05
106  *102  el chico busco (TEL) (PFV) (F) la rana en la calle
107  *102  y su perro ayudó (TEL) (PFV) (F)
108  @G 06
109  *102  el perro caía (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana
110  *102  cuando (SIM) el chico no estaba visto (TEL) (IPFVPREG) (B)
111  @G 07
112  *102  el chico besaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) al perro muchas veces (TAQ)
113  *102  cuando (SIM) lo encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (B)
114  @G 08
115  *102  entonces el chico iba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) al bosque
116  *101  y grita (TEL) (IPFV) (F) para la rana
117  @G 09

xxii
*102 busqua (ACT) (IPFV) (F) a todos los lugares en el bosque
*102 su perro gntia (ACT) (IPFV) (F) a una colmena
@G 10
*102 y el chico (xxx) un otro animal (xxx) la tierra
@G 11
*102 el chico empezaba a subir (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) a los arbes
@G 11
*102 entonces el perro empezaba a correr (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (9INC)
@G 12
*102 y el chico casa (TEL) (IPFV) (F) del arbe
@G 13
*102 y un eagle empezaba a rebatir (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) con el chco
@G 14
*102 el chico gntia (TEL) (IPFV) (F) para su rana
@G 14
*102 y su madra tema (STA) (IPFV) (B) miedo
@G 15
*102 un ciervo venia (TEL) (IPFV) (F) al chico para ayudarle
@G 16
*102 el ciervo y el perro empezaban a correr (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC)
@G 17/18
*102 el chico empezaba a subir (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) a los arbes
@G 18
*102 entonces el perro empezaba a correr (TEL) (IPFV) (F) 9INC)
@G 19
*102 y el chico caía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) del arbe
@G 19
*102 y un eagle empezaba a rebatir (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) con el chco
@G 19
*102 el chico gntia (TEL) (IPFV) (F) para su rana
@G 19
*102 y su madra tema (STA) (IPFV) (B) miedo
@G 18
*102 un ciervo venia (TEL) (IPFV) (F) al chico para ayudarle
@G 17
*102 el ciervo y el perro empezaban a correr (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC)
@G 18
*102 el chico casa al agua (TEL) (IPFV) (F)
@G 19
*102 pero estaba bien (STA) (IPFV) (B)
@G 10
*102 el chico empezaba a nadar (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) con el perro
@G 11
*102 y entonces subia (TEL) (IPFV) (F)a un arbe
@G 11
*102 y entonces encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) la rana finalmente (TAC)
@G 12
*102 la rana estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) con su familia las otras ranas
@G 13
*102 y entonces el chico y el perro venian (TEL) (IPFV) (F) a la casa
@G 14
*102 y entonces el chico y el perro venian (TEL) (IPFV) (F) a la casa
@End

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants 103
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder kema puig i planella
@situation one-way narrative task
@G 01
*103 había una vez
*103 cuando un niño estuve (STA) (PFV) (B)en su habitacion con su
perro y una rana en una jarra
@G 02
*103 fue (STA) 9PFV) (B) noche
*103 y el niño estuve durmiendo (ACT) (PFVPROG) (B)
*103 la rana se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de la jarra
@G 03
*103 al proximo dia (TAP) el niño se desperto (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*103 y el rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)
@G 04
*103 el niño se veste (TEL) (PRES)
@G 05
*103 y miro (ACT) (PFV) (F) a la ventana con su perro
*103 se miro (ACT) (PFV) (B) para el rana
@G 06
*103 el perro salto (TEL) (PFV) (F)de la ventana
@G 07

xxiii
y el niño salto (TEL) (PFV) (F) también

el niño y su perro fue buscando (ACT) (PFVPROG) (F) para el rana

y el niño vio (TEL) (PFV) (F) una colmena

el perro estuvo jugando (ACT) (PFVPROG) (F)

y el niño estuvo mirando (ACT) (PFVPROG) (F) en una (xxx)

y el perro estuvo saltando (ACT) (PFVPROG) (F) en el árbol

y el niño busco (ACT) (PFV) (F) el rana

el niño y su perro fue buscando (ACT) (PFVPROG) (F) para el rana

el niño encontra (TEL) (PRES) un ciervo

el ciervo comó (ACT) (PFV) (F) a desde el perro

empujó (TEL) (PFV) (F) el niño el perro en un acantilado

el niño cayo (TEL) (PRES) (F) en el lago

el niño nado (ACT) (PFV) (F) con el perro en su cabeza

el niño nado (ACT) (PFV) (F) a un tronco

y el niño y su perro alcanzant (TEL) (PRES) el tronco

el perro busco (ACT) (PFV) (F) las ranas

y el perro y el niño miro (ACT) (PFV) (F) las ranas

el niño coge el rana (TEL) (PFV) (F)
y el niño y se perro (xxx)

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants 104
@ID es/puigplanella
@Coder kenia puig i planella
@Situation on-way recording
@G 01
*104 había una vez pedro estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en su casa con su perro
juan y su rana miguel

*104 cuando (SIM) pedro dormio (ACT) (PFV) (B)
su rana se escapaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (SEASP) de su jarra

*104 cuando pedro se dormio (ACT) (PFV) (B) (SEASP)

por la mañana la rana no había (STA) (IPFV) (B)
y no estaba (STA) (TPFV) (B) dentro

*104 estaba buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) la rana con su perro
*104 pero no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en la casa

*104 miguel donde estas (STA) (PRES)

*104 pedro no estaba contento (STA) (IPFV) (B)

*104 porque su perro ponía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) su cabeza en la jarra

*104 el perro no había (STA) (IPFV) (B) contento tampoco

*104 fui (TEL) (PFV) (F) al bosque con el perro

*104 y era buscando el rana (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) (E)

*104 pero el rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)

*104 vi (TEL) (PFV) (F) un colmena

*104 y pedro fui (TEL) (PFV) (F) con el perro al colmena

*104 fui (TEL) (PFV) (F) a su perro corriendo

*104 porque había (STA) (IPFV) (B) abejas dentro

*104 fui (TEL) (PFV) (F) más en el bosque

*104 y vi (TEL) (PFV) (F) una guía (xxx)

*104 el aguila estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el aire

*104 pero no había (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana

*104 vi (TEL) (PFV) (F) a su perro corriendo

*104 porque había (STA) (IPFV) (B) a su perro de no hablar

*104 cuando (SIM) su perro no habla (ACT) (PRES)

*104 vi (TEL) (PFV) (F) a su rana

*104 pero estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) cerca del lago con su novia

*104 por su rana estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) contento también

*104 pedro di (TEL) (PFV) (F) adiós a su rana

*104 pero tomo (TEL) (PFV) (F) un de los pequetas ranas

*104 y después las ranas estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) (xxx)

xxv
1. @Begin
2. @Languages es
3. @Participants 105
4. @ID es/pugiplanella
5. @Coder kenia pug i planella
6. @situation one-way
7. @G 01
8. *105 había una vez había un chico y un perro en la habitación
9. *105 tuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) una rana
10. *105 se quería guardar (ACT) (IPFV) (B) la rana
11. @G 02
12. *105 en la noche (TAP) cuando (SIM) estuvo durmiendo (ACT) (PFVPROG) (B)
13. *105 la rana salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) la habitación
14. @G 03
15. *105 por la mañana (TAP) vi (TEL) (PFV) (F)
16. *105 que la rana haya salido (TEL) (PRESSUBJ) (ANT)
17. @G 04
18. *105 busco (ACT) (PFV) (F) para la rana
19. *105 pero no había (STA) (IPFV) (B)
20. @G 05
21. *105 vi (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la ventana
22. *105 fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) el perro a la ventana
23. @G 06
24. @G 07
25. @G 08
26. *105 fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) a fuera de la casa con el perro
27. *105 esperando encontrar la rana
28. @G 09
29. *105 había (STA) (IPFV) (B) una colmena en la parque
30. @G 10
31. *105 el perro salto (TEL) (PFV) (F) a una colmena
32. @G 11
33. *105 la colmena cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) al árbol
34. *105 fui (TEL) (PFV) (F) en el árbol para esperanza la rana
35. @G 12
36. *105 el perro corre (ACT) (PRES)
37. @G 13
38. *105 una (xxx) esta (STA) (PRES) en el cielo
39. @G 14
40. *105 el chico busco (ACT) (PFV) (F) para la rana
41. @G 15
42. *105 el chico encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) un cervizó
43. @G 16
44. @G 17
45. *105 pero cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) el chico a la montaña
46. @G 18
47. *105 cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) en un río
48. @G 19
49. *105 el perro fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la cabeza
50. @G 20
51. *105 se dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) silecio al perro
52. @G 21
53. *105 fui (TEL) (PFV) (F) al otro lado del árbol
54. @G 22
55. *105 encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) dos ranas
56. @G 23
57. *105 y entonces había (STA) (IPFV) (B) más ranas quizás una familia
58. @G 24
59. *105 toma (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la rana

xxvi
*105 y dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) adiós a las otras ranas con el perro

*105

@End

@Begin

Languages es

Participants 106

ID es/pugplanella
coder: kenia pug i planella

@situation one-way narrative task

@G 01

*106 había una vez un chico su rana y su perro

*106 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el dormitorio de juan

*106 por la noche (TAP) chico dormio (ACT) (PFV) (B)

*106 y la rana salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la jarra

*106 en la mañana (TAP) juan estuvo (STA) (PFV) (F) muy triste

*106 cuando la rana no estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) en la jarra

*106 no estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) la rana en el dormitorio

*106 y juan estuvo (STA) (PFV) (F) muy triste

*106 juan grito (TEL) 9PFV) (F)

*106 el perro cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la ventana

*106 juan salto (TEL) (PFV) (F)

*106 juan estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) enfadado con el perro

*106 en el bosque juan gritó (TEL) (PFV) (F)

*106 pero la rana no estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) en el bosque

*106 el perro juega (ACT) (PRES) con una colmena

*106 estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) en el arbol

*106 pero la rana no estuvo aqui

*106 juan (xxx) y el perro (xxx)

*106 juan vio (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un ave

*106 juan vio (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un ciervo en el bosque

*106 y el ciervo (xxx) a juan

*106 juan llegó (TEL) (PFV) (F) en un lago

*106 y juan y su perro cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F)

*106 juan quiera (ACT) (IPFV) (B) silencio

*106 y busco (ACT) (PFV) (F) a la rana

*106 vio (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la rana con otras rana

*106 la rana parece (STA) (PRES) muy contento con su familia

xxvii
*106 y Juan estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) también alegre

*106 y dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) hasta la vista a la rana y su familia

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants 107
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way narrative task

*107 había una vez hay un chico pequeño con su perro y una rana

*107 era (STA) (IPFV) (B) la noche (TAP)

*107 el chico pequeño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy cansado

*107 fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) al lit

*107 pero durante la noche (TAD) el rana se escapa (TEL) (PRES) (SEASP) (E) del jarra

*107 y el chico y el perro se levanto (TEL) (PFV) (F) muy pronto (TAD) pero sin rana

*107 buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) por el rana en todas partes sobre la mesa delante la mesa

*107 sobre la casa delante la casa pero no pusemos (ACT) (PFV) (B) encontrar la rana

*107 buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) sobre la ventana de la casa pero no pusemos (ACT) (PFV) (B) encontrar la rana

*107 buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) sobre la ventana delante de casa pero estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) imposible ver la rana

*107 decidían (TEL) (PFV) (F) ir al bosque por encontrar la rana

*107 el bosque era (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy grande y muy morena con muchos animales y varios tipos de insectos

*107 el perro vine (TEL) (PFV) (F) una colmena

*107 y saltaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) para la alcanzar

*107 la colmena cae (TEL) (PRES) (E)

*107 habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) una problema un gran problema muy serioso

*107 habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) muchas abejas

*107 que no gusta (ACT) (IPFV) (B) el perro

*107 el chico pequeño buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) en todas las plazas por la rana

*107 en ciervo grande vine (TEL) (PFV) (F)

*107 pero no para ayudar al chico pequeño

*107 el ciervo empujaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) el chico
y sin duda hay (STA) (PRES) (EVA) un gran (xxx) entre el acantilado y el lago

*107 (xxx) el chico pequeño en lago con su perro

*107 pero este día tenía (xxx) (STA) (IPFV) (B)

*107 empezaban a buscar (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) para el rana

*107 y no encontraban (TEL) (IPFV) (B) solamente un rana pero una familia de rana

nuestra historia hay (STA) (PRES) (EVA) un final feliz

había una vez juan y su perro sentaba al lado de una jarra

en el jarra estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana

y era (STA) (IPFV) (B) la noche (TAP)

juan estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy cansado

tarde en la noche (TAP) juan dormía (ACT) (IPFV) (B)

el rana probaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) escaparse (SEASP) de la jarra

juan se despertaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F)

y descubría (TEL) (IPFV) (F)

que la rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en la jarra

juan se vestía (TEL) (IPFV) (F)

y abría (TEL) (IPFV) (F) la ventana

gritaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) a la rana

pero no escuchaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) nada

no oía (TEL) (IPFV) (B) nada

su perro estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) al lado de el

y su cabeza estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en la jarra

saltaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) el perro de la ventana

y cara (TEL) (IPFV) (F) al suelo

juan no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contento con el perro

pero el perro no sabia (STA) (IPFV) (B)

Juan y su perro iban (TEL) (IPFV) (F) al bosque

para encontrar su rana

gritaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) muy alto

pero no había (STA) (IPFV) (B) el perro cerca de el

vi (TEL) (PFV) (F) el perro una colmena

y probaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) alcanzar colmena

juan buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) en un agujero

pero la rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) ahí
el perro conseguía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) saltando en el árbol

después de un rato (TAD) la colmena caía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) en el suelo
y las abejas no estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contento con el perro
probaban (ACT) (IPFV) (B) doler el perro
porque el perro ha probado (ACT) (PRESPERF) (ANT) (E) doler sus habitaciones

de repente (TAC) vi (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un ciervo

decía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) al perro quedar en silencio
y iba (TEL) (PFV) (F) sobre el tronco con precisión
probaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) coger el rano
y tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) éxito
decía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) ciao a la familia del rano
y todos estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) contentos

havia una vez había un chico raul y su perro en la habitacion
raul tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) una rana en una jarra tambien
durante la noche (TAD) la rana se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de la jarra
en la mañana (TAP) raul se levanto (TEL) (PFV) (F)
y vie (TEL) (PFV) (B) que la rana
se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) (E)

se vestio (TEL) (PFV) (F) inmediatamente (TAC)
y empezo buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) la rana

xxx
*109 raul y su perro buscaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) la rana de la ventana

*109 que estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) en la habitación

*109 después un poco tiempo ((TAD) raul y su perro fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) al bosque

*109 para buscar la rana

*109 los dos pasaron (TEL) (PFV) (B) mucho tiempo en el bosque

*109 el perro encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) una colmena

*109 y raul encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) un animal pequeño

*109 después raul fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) (xxx) en un árbol

*109 pero no encontró (TEL) (PFV) (B) la rana

*109 entonces había (STA) (IPFV) (B) una abeja en el árbol

*109 y muchas abejas fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) detrás del perro

*109 y la abeja fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) después raul también

*109 el chico pequeño subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) en un roche

*109 para buscar la rana

*109 pero encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) un animal grande

*109 raul estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) en la cabeza de este animal

*109 después raul (xxx) en este animal en el lago pequeño

*109 el perro estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) en su cabeza ahora (TAP)

*109 raul subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) un tronco

*109 y después un poco tiempo (TAD) encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) la rana

*109 pero la rana estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) con su familia pequeña con cuatro ranas pequeñas

*109 después un poco tiempo (TAD) raul salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el lago con

*109 su propia rana

*109 había una vez un niño y un perro miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) una jarra

*109 el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) feliz

*109 el perro y el niño despertaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) en la cama

*109 la rana escapó (TEL) (IPFV) (F) de la jarra

*109 el niño y el perro no sabía (STA) (IPFV) (B)

*109 que la rana escapaba (TEL) (IPFV) (B) de la jarra
*110 en la mañana (TAP) el niño y el perro despertaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) y levantaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) de la cama
*110 buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana
*110 el niño buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) en toda la habitación
*110 no encontraba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) la rana
*110 el perro metío (TEL) (PFV) (F) la cabeza en la jarra
*110 el niño y el perro miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) y gritaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) por el rana
*110 el niño no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) contento pero el perro estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) contento
*110 el niño buscaba la rana (ACT) (IPFV) (F) y saltaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) el perro no alcanzaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) la colmena después de la rana
*110 entonces la rana salo (TEL) (PFV) (F) y el niño no creía (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana salía la colmena (TEL) (IPFV) (F) la rana se iba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (SEASP)
*110 el niño buscaba la rana (ACT) (IPFV) (F) el perro se quedaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el arbol
*110 entonces el ave volo (ACT) (PFV) (F) el niño y el niño estaba (xxx) (STA) (IPFV) (B)
*110 después el niño gritaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) la rana y el perro buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana debajo las piedras
*110 entonces un ciervo salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) los arboles y el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en la cabeza
*110 el ciervo corra (ACT) (IPFV) (F) después del perro
*110 el perro y el niño casa (TEL) (IPFV) (F) del acantilado
*110 el ciervo empujaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) el niño y el perro
*110 el niño y el perro casa (TEL) (IPFV) (F) en el rio
*110 no llora (ACT) (IPFV) (B) el niño
*110 y el perro estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contentos
*110 el perro nadaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) en el rio
*110 el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) silencio
*110 el niño y el perro buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana en debajo de tronco
**APPENDIX E**

74  @G  22
75  *110  se buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) (E) familia de la rana
76  @G  23
77  *110  se sentaban (TEL) (IPFV) (F) en el tronco
78  *110  estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) (E) muchas ranas cerca del tronco
79  @G  24
80  *110  el niño decía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) adiós
81  *110  y la familia de ranas quedaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el tronco
82  *110  la familia estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contento
83  @End

1  @Begin
2  @Languages  es
3  @Participants 111
4  @ID  es/puigplanella
5  @Coder  kenia puig i planella
6  @situation  one-way narrative task
7  @G  01
8  *111  había una vez había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un niño una rana y un perro en
9  una casa muy grande
10  @G  02
11  *111  y una noche (TAP) la rana se escapa (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de la
12  jarra
13  *111  en que vivo (ACT) (PFV) (B)
14  @G  03
15  *111  en la mañana (TAP) empezaron buscando (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) por la
16  rana
17  @G  04
18  *111  pero no la encuentran (TEL) (PRES) (E)
19  @G  05
20  *111  el perro salta (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana
21  @G  06
22  @G  07
23  @G  08
24  *111  buscan (ACT) (IPFV) (B) por la rana en el bosque
25  @G  09
26  @G  10
27  @G  11
28  @G  11
29  *111  huía (ACT) (IPFV) (F) el perro con una colmena
30  *111  las abejas comen (ACT) (PFV) (F) detrás del perro
31  *111  había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un pájaro grande también
32  @G  13
33  *111  el pájaro estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy enfadado
34  @G  14
35  *111  el niño busca (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la rana en los arboles
36  @G  15
37  *111  salto (TEL) (PFV) (F) sobre un tronco también
38  @G  16
39  @G  17
40  *111  temieron (ACT) (PFV) (B) cuando (SIM) el ciervo
41  *111  los empujo (TEL) (PFV) (F) sobre el acantilado
42  @G  18
43  @G  19
44  @G  20
45  @G  21
46  @G  22
47  *111  después de horas encuentran (TEL) (PRES) (E) la rana muy cerca en un
48  tronco

XXXIII
háblava una vez un chico y un perro
el chico se llama (STA) (PRES) pedro y el perro spot
el pedro tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) una rana
que estaba viviendo (ACT) (IPFVPOROG) (B) en su habitación dentro de
una jorra
un noche (TAP) cuando (SIM) el pedro y su perro spot estaba
dormiendo (ACT) (IPFVPOROG) (B)
la rana escapada de la jorra
y fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) dentro de la ventana
01
a la mañana (TAP) pedro se levantaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F)
miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) que la rana
no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)
y empecio a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) a la rana con spot
pedro buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana dentro de su vestido
y spot buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana dentro de la jorra
spot no puede (ACT) (PRES) (E) salir de la jorra
pedro abrio (TEL) (PFV) (F) la ventana
y empezaba a gritar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) para la rana
pero el perro cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) fuera
y rompio (TEL) (PFV) (F) la jarra
pedro salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana
y empezaba a buscar (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) la rana en el bosque
cerca de la casa
empezaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) buscando la rana en la tierra
y el spot buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana en el arbol
pero pedro no encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (B) solo una rata
y spot no le encontro (TEL) (PFV) (B) solo una casa de abejas
pedro buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana en un arbol
y encontre (TEL) (PFV) (F) un buho
y con el sorpresa cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) del arbol
el spot estaba corriendo (ACT) (IPFVPOROG) (F) con las abejas detras
el pedro corro (ACT) (PFV) (F) tambien porque
el búho estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) enfadada

y subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) sobre una roca

empezaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) a gritar

pero había (STA) (IPFV) (B) una ciervo

y el ciervo empezaba corriendo (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) (E) con el spot detrás

y subió (TEL) (IPFV) (F) a un río

empezaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) a gritar

pero había (STA) (IPFV) (B) una ciervo

empezaba corriendo (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) (E) con el spot detrás

hasta el río

cambió de actitud (X) muy rápido

empezaba corriendo (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) (E) con el spot detrás

llegaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) a un río

empezaba corriendo (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) (E) con el spot detrás

llevaba (TEL) (PFV) (F) un sonido

decía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) a spot

que calla (TEL) (IMPER) (E)

buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) el sonido a la otra lado de un tronco

y cuando (SIM) levantaba (TEL) (IPFV) (B) el pedro

encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) con la rana

pero estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) con su mujer y su familia

el pedro y el spot estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy sorprendido

la rana dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) que no puede (ACT) (PRES) (E) ir a casa con pedro

pero puede ir (ACT) (PRES) (E) con uno de sus niños
APPENDIX E

25 *A01 cuando (SIM) el perro y juamto no podían encontrar (ACT) (IPFV) (B) a la rana
26 @G 05
28 *A01 se buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) (SEASP) (E) dentro de la ventana
29 @G 06
30 *A01 pero pipi se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)
31 @G 07
32 *A01 y juamto tiene que bajar (STA) (PRES) (E) de la ventana
33 *A01 para rescatarlo
34 @G 08
35 *A01 fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) después al campo
36 *A01 y a un bosco bosque para ver
37 *A01 si la rana estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) (E) allí
38 @G 09
39 *A01 pero pipi se corria (ACT) (IPFV) (F) (SEASP) (E) hasta una colmena
40 *A01 que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) llena de abejas
41 *A01 pero la rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) allí
42 @G 10
43 *A01 pero una ardilla dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a juamto
44 *A01 que ha visto (TEL) (PRETPERF) ((ANT) la rana dentro del bosque
45 @G 11
46 *A01 y por eso juamto fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) al bosque
47 *A01 para ver
48 *A01 si estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) allí
49 *A01 pero las abejas siguen, siguiendo (GER) pipi y el (xxx)
50 *A01 porque se va (B) (TEL) (PRES) (E) (SEASP)
51 *A01 se picaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (E)
52 *A01 cuando busco (ACT) (PFV) (B) (SIM) en una (xxx)
53 *A01 habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) un arbol muy grande
54 *A01 y juamto buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) dentro del arbol
55 *A01 y pero tampoco la rana estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) allí
56 @G 12
57 *A01 pero de repente (TAC) algo apareció (TEL) (PFV) (F) de dentro del arbol
58 *A01 fue (STA) (PFV) (B) (E) un buho
59 *A01 pero era (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy antipatico
60 *A01 y no dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) nada a juan
61 @G 13
62 *A01 y para escapar del buho juamto
63 *A01 corria (ACT) (IPFV) (F) hasta unas piedras grandes
64 @G 14
66 *A01 y se subia (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (SEASP) a las piedras
67 @G 15
68 *A01 y en las piedras habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) un ciervo muy grande
69 *A01 pero era (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy antipatico
70 *A01 no ayudaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) a juanito y el perro
71 @G 16
72 *A01 y le corria (ACT) (IPFV) (F) con juamto encima
73 @G 17
74 *A01 y juanito y el perro se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de un acantilado
75 en un lago pequeño
76 @G 18
77 *A01 no se hicieron (ACT) (PFV) (B) daño
78 *A01 pero estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy fljos
79 *A01 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy mojados
80 @G 19
81 *A01 pero de repente (TAC) escuchaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F)
82 *A01 juanito escuchaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) algo
83 @G 20

xxxvi
*A01: debajo de una rama de un árbol en el lago estuvo (STA) (PFV) (B) las dos ranas
*A01: era (STA) (PFV) (B) la amiga de juanito y el perrito, el perro
*A01: y la rana dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a Juanito
*A01: que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) (xxx) con su familia

*A01: y es (B) (STA) (PRES) (E) verdad
*A01: que había (STA) (IPFV) (B) las dos ranas y cuatro de sus niños ahí
*A01: juanito y el perro pipi se despidieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) de las ranas
*A02 y allí estaban llamando (TEL) (IPFVPROG) (F) por por la rama
*A02 diciendo (GER) rama rama ¿donde estas? (STA) (PRES) (DIR) otra vez (TAC)
*G 09
*A02 y el perrito encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) una colmena
*G 10
*A02 mientras (SIM) el niño estaba buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) el rama
*G 11
*A02 y se asusto (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*G 12
*A02 cuando (SIM) un animal salió (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*G 13
*A02 y luego encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) un árbol
*G 14
*A02 y el niño empezó a jugar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
*G 15
*A02 y olvido (TEL) (PFV) (F) del rama
*G 16
*A02 y el perrito empezó a jugar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
*G 17
*A02 con unas avispas que estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) allí dentro de la colmena
*G 18
*G 19
*A02 bueno otra vez (TAC) el niño se asusto (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*G 20
*A02 cuando (SIM) un buho salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) del árbol
*G 21
*A02 y el niño cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*G 22
*A02 y el buho le llevaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) hasta una roca
*G 23
*A02 y otro vez (TAC) el niño se asusto (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*G 24
*A02 cuando (SIM) encontro (TEL) (PFV) (F) con un ciervo
*G 25
*A02 que le llevó (TEL) (PFV) (F) hasta un acantilado
*G 26
*A02 y desde allí cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) en el agua
*G 27
*A02 y estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) mojados
*G 28
*A02 y el perrito y el niño jugaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) junto
*G 29
*A02 y luego el niño pensaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) otra vez (TAC) en su rama
*G 30
*A02 y en la posibilidad que podía (ACT) (COND) estar cerca de ellos
*G 31
*A02 porque encontró (TEL) (PFV) (B) tantos animales
*G 32
*A02 que le llevó (TEL) (PFV) (B) a sitios
*G 33
*A02 donde podía (ACT) (IPFV) (B) estar
*G 34
*G 35
*A02 y allí estaba (TEL) (PFV) (B) dos ramas juntas
*G 36
*A02 y bueno estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) (E) una mujer rama y un hombre
*G 37
*G 38
*A02 y pareció (STA) (PFV) (B)
*G 39
*A02 que estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) junto
*G 40
*A02 que mostró (TEL) (PFV) (F) al niño
*G 41
*A02 que tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) una familia con bueno cinco o seis ramitas
*G 42
*A02 y el niño jugaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) con el perrito y con la familia de ramas
*G 43
*A02 y sabía (STA) (IPFV) (B)

xxxviii
A P P E N D I X E

*A02 que una de las ramas era (STA) (IPFV) (B) su rama
*A02 que tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) dentro de la jarra
*A02 y sabía (STA) (IPFV) (B)
*A02 que la rama era (STA) (IPFV) (B) (E) mucho más contenta ahí con su familia que dentro de la jarra en su cuarto

@G 14
*A02 y preguntó (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la rama
*A02 si quería volver (ACT) (IPFV) (B) con ello con ella
*A02 para jugar un poco
*A02 y luego que volvería (TEL) (COND) a su familia
*A02 a tomar (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rama
*A02 y decía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) adiós a la familia
*A02 y que diría (TEL) (COND) (E) a la familia
*A02 que devolvería (TEL) (COND) a la familia la rama dentro de poco

@End

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants A03
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way recording

*G 01
*A03 había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un chico con su cachorro en su habitación por la noche
*A03 estaba hablando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) con su cachorro
*A03 y con una rana que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en un tubo
*A03 y estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contentos como tres amigos

*G 02
*A03 después (SEQ) se fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) a dormir (INC) el niño con el cachorro en la cama
*A03 y se escapa (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) la rana del tubo
*A03 creo que se escapa (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) por la ventana

*G 03
*A03 y cuando (SIM) despertó (TEL) (PFV) (F) el niño con el cachorro
*A03 no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) allí

*G 04
*A03 rápidamente se puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) sus ropa
*A03 y estaban buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) por todos lados
*A03 donde estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana
*A03 el cachorro estaba mirando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) en el tubo y todo
*A03 y tiene (STA) (PRES) (E) la cabeza metida en el tubo

*G 05
*A03 gritaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana
*A03 para encontrarlo
*A03 el perro se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la ventana con el tubo puesto

*G 07
*A03 y rompió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el cristal
*A03 pero no paso (TEL) (PFV) (B) nada
*A03 el niño le abrazo (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*A03 y todo estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) bien

*G 08
*A03 así salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) al campo
*A03 y gritaron (TEL) (PFV) (F)

*G 09
*A03 gritaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) para
*A03 que venga (TEL) (PFV) (B) (E) la rana
*A03 y encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una colmena en un arbol

XXXIX
A P P E N D I X E

44 A03 y claro el perro empezó a ladrar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) a la colmena
45 G 10
46 A03 y se escaparon (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) todas las obejas abejas
47 A03 y bueno las abejas se estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) (E) (SEASP) por todos lados
48
49 G 11
50 A03 y el niño se montó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) en el árbol
51 A03 pero el perro tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) un miedo de las abejas
52 G 12
53 A03 y claro las abejas venían (TEL) (IPFV) (F) por ellos
54 A03 y se corrían (ACT) (IPFV) (F) (E) por todos lados
55 A03 el niño se cayó del árbol (TEL) (PFV) (SEASP)
56 A03 donde también había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un buho
57 A03 y se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F)
58 G 13
59 A03 y se hizo (ACT) (PFV) (B) daño en la cabeza
60 A03 no se (STA) (PRES) (EVA)
61 G 14
62 A03 bueno tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) mucho miedo mucho pánico
63 A03 así se montó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) en una roca
64 A03 donde vio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un buho
65 A03 y también empezaron a gritar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) otra vez (TAC)
66 A03 gritar (INF) para la rana
67 A03 para que volviera (TEL) (IPFVSUBJ) a casa
68 G 15
69 A03 después (SEQ) se encontro (TEL) (PFV) (F) con un ciervo
70 G 16
71 A03 y montó (TEL) (PFV) (F) en el ciervo
72 G 17
73 A03 pero no fueron (TEL) (PFV) (B) muy lejos
74 A03 cuando se cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de no se una montaña o algo
75 G 18
76 A03 así salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) del lago con un tronco
77 G 19
78 A03 y montaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) en el tronco (xxx)
79 G 20
80 A03 debajo del tronco encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) dos ranas
81 A03 y bueno no se (STA) (PRES) (EVA)
82 G 21
83 A03 así que estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) todos contentos
84 G 22
85 A03 porque (xxx) la rama y también la familia de ranas
86 G 23
87 A03 bueno también encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una familia de ranas
88 A03 así que estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) todos contentos
89 A03 porque (xxx) la rama y también la familia de ranas
90 G 24
91 A03 así que volvieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a casa contentos
92 A03 y ya esta (STA) (PRES) (EVA) la historia
93 A03 dijeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) adiós a la familia
94 A03 y se fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) otra vez (TAC) el perro y las ranas
95 A03 no se (STA) (PRES) (EVA)
96 A03 si la rana se quedó (STA) (PFV) (B) con el niño
97 A03 o se quedó (STA) (PFV) (B) con la familia en el lago
A P P E N D I X E

* A03 pero ya esta

G 01

* A04 antes de (ANT) acostarse (TEL) (INF) (ANT)

G 03

* A04 el niño miro (ACT) (PFV) (F) su rana

G 04

* A04 mientras (SIM) que el perro tambien miro (ACT) (PFV) (F) la rana en la jarra

G 05

* A04 pues, mientras (SIM) que durmiera (ACT) (IPFVSUBJ) (E) el niño

G 06

* A04 la rana se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SE) de la jarra

G 07

* A04 por la mañana (TAP) el niño se desperto (TEL) (PFV) (F)

G 08

* A04 por la mañana (TAP) el niño se desperto (TEL) (PFV) (F)

G 09

* A04 y descubio (TEL) (PFV) (F) que su rana

* A04 se habia escapado (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) (SE)

G 10

* A04 el niño buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) la rana por todas partes del cuarto,

G 11

* A04 el perro se puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) la cabeza en la jarra y

G 12

* A04 el niño y el perro grito (TEL) (PFV) (F) el nombre de la rana por la ventana

G 13

* A04 despus de (POST) sacar (INF) la cabeza de la jarra

G 14

* A04 el niño y el perro se fueron a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) la rana en el campo

G 15

* A04 grito (TEL) (PFV) (F) el nombre de su mascota por todas partes del campo

G 16

* A04 y seguieron (ACT) (PFV) (F) el niño y el perro una fila de abejas hasta que

G 17

* A04 hasta que vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a una colmena de abejas

G 18

* A04 mientras (SIM) que el perro ladra (ACT) (IPFVSUBJ) (E) el colmena de abejas

G 19

* A04 el niño grito (TEL) (PFV) (F) por ¿como se dice? por el agujero de un coño coño

G 20

* A04 el perro siguro ladrando (PFV) (F) (ITE) a la colmena de abejas

G 21

* A04 y el niño se puso a llorar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)

G 22

* A04 despus (SEQ) el niño fue a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SE) (INC) la rana en el tronco de un arbol grande

G 23

* A04 el perro alcanzo destrozar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (COM) la colmena de abejas

G 24

* A04 por eso las abejas persiguieron (ACT) (PFV) (F) al al perro

G 25

* A04 persiguieron (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro por el bosque

G 26

* A04 el niño se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SE) del arbol

G 27

* A04 porque salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un buho del tronco del arbol

G 28

* A04 el buho tambien persiguio (ACT) (PFV) (F) al niño

xli
*A05 había una vez juasito encontro (TEL) (PFV) (F) una rana
*A05 mientras (SIM) andaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en un bosque
*A05 querra guardarla (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*A05 la puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) en una jarra en su propio dormitorio
*A05 la rana le gustaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) a su cucharro rex tambien
*A05 cuando (SIM) estaban durmiendo (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) juansito y rex
*A05 la rana salto (TEL) (PFV) (F) la jarra
*A05 la mañana siguiente (TAP) la rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el
dormitorio de juansito
*A05 juansito era (STA) (IPFV) (B) (E) triste
*A05 juansito y su cucharro rex buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana por
todas partes
*A05 buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana
*A05 juansito llamaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) la rana
*A05 grito (TEL) (PFV) (F) su nombre
A05 rex salto (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la ventana rompiendo la jarra
A05 pero estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) bien
A05 los dos iban (TEL) (IPFV) (F) al bosque
A05 gritaban Juan gritaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) Juan el nombre de la rana
A05 pero no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)
A05 no podía encontrarla (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
A05 rex también estaba ladrado (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B)
A05 los dos iban (TEL) (IPFV) (F) al bosque
A05 gritaban Juan gritaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) Juan el nombre de la rana
A05 pero no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)
A05 no podía encontrarla (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
A05 estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) una colmena en un arbol
A05 y dentro de esa colmena había (STA) (IPFV) (B) muchísimas abejas
A05 había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un buho en el bosque también
A05 pero el buho tampoco sabia (STA) (IPFV) (B)
A05 donde estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana
A05 y ademas había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un ciervo
A05 el ciervo no sabia (STA) (IPFV) (B)
A05 donde estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana
A05 juansito y su cucharro caían (TEL) (IPFV) (F) dentro de un lago
A05 en ese lago había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un arbol antiguo
A05 con cuidado Juansito y su perro seguiron (PFV) (F) buscando (ITE)
A05 la rana detrás de ese arbol detrás de ese arbol
A05 alli estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana
A05 pero la rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) solo
A05 estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) con su mujer y sus niños
A05 y ya esta
A06 había una vez un niño
A06 que se llamo (STA) (PFV) (B) (E) miguel
A06 y paso (ACT) (PFV) (B) (E) todas las tardes en su habitacion con su
A06 perrito
A06 y una rana que vivia (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en una jarra debajo de la cama
A06 una noche (TAP) se fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SE) la rana de la jarra
A06 y escapó (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana
*A06 la mañana siguiente (TAP) miguel y su perrito se despertaron
*A06 encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) la jarra
*G 04

*A06 buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) por todos sitios por todos lados
*A06 pero no encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (B) la rana
*A06 miguel iba gritando (ACT) (IPFV) (F) por la rana
*A06 y el perrito puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) su cabeza dentro de la jarra
*A06 y no podía sacarla (ACT) (IPFV) (B)

*G 05

*G 06

*A06 después de (SEQ) un rato cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) el perro de la ventana
*G 07

*G 08

*G 09

*A06 buscaban por todos sitios por todos lados
*G 10

*G 11

*G 12

*A06 en el bosque buscando (ACT) a la rana

*G 13

*G 14

*A06 había (STA) (IPFV) (B) una colmena en un arbol lleno lleno lleno de abejas

*A06 y miguel vio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un tope en el suelo

*G 15

*G 16

*G 17

*G 18

*G 19

*G 20

*G 21

*G 22/23

*G 24

*A06 y no había (STA) (IPFV) (B) ninguna (xxx)

*A06 no había (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana

*G 25

*G 26

*G 27

*G 28

*G 29

*G 30

*G 31

*G 32

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*G 36

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*G 68

*G 69

*G 70

*G 71

*G 72

*G 73

*G 74

*G 75

xlv
@Languages es
@Participants A07
@ID es/puigplanella
@encoder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way recording
@G 01
A07 pues había una vez un pequeño chico
A07 que se llamó (STA) (PFV) (B) (E) pablo
A07 y tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) una rana en una jarra y un perrito
A07 una noche (TAP) antes de (ANT) dormir (INF) (ACT)
A07 puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) a su rana en su jarra
A07 y ya esta
@G 02
A07 durante la noche (TAD) mientras (SIM) dormía (ACT) (IPFV) (B) el
A07 pequeño
A07 se escapó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) la rana y
A07 salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la habitación
@G 03
A07 pues al levantarse (TEL) (SIM) (INF) por la mañana (TAP)
A07 pablo tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) (E) el choque
A07 para ver
A07 a ver (INF)
A07 que su rana ya no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)
@G 04
A07 pues se vistió (TEL) (PFV) (F) rápidamente
@G 05
A07 y va llamando (ACT) (PRESPROG) (E) a su rana
@G 06/07
A07 pues salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la ventana a hurtadillas
@G 08
A07 y va por el campo llamando (ACT) (PRESPROG) (E) a su a su querida
A07 rana
@G 09
A07 pues en un momento veía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (E) un colmena
A07 y se escapaban (TEL) (IPFV) (B) (SEASP) un montón de abejas
A07 pues iba
A07 continuó buscando (PFV) (F) (ITE) a su rana
@G 10
A07 y salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) un topo de un agujero
@G 11
A07 pues andó preocupado (ACT) (PFV) (B) el pobre pablo
A07 y continuó buscando (PFV) (F) (ITE) a su rana
A07 entre tiempo las abejas salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) de su colmena
A07 y persiguieron (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro
@G 12
A07 entonces (SEQ) subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) en un árbol pablito
@G 13
A07 y un buho salió (TEL) (PFV) (F)
A07 y como tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) mucho miedo
A07 pues a pablo se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) del arbol
@G 14
A07 pues el buho perseguía (ACT) (PFV) (F) a pablito
@G 15
A07 y de golpe detrás de un roca ve (TEL) (PRES) (E) a alguien
A07 que lleva (STA) (PRES) (E) cuernos
A07 pues no pasa (ACT) (PRES) (E) nada
A07 porque era (STA) (IPFV) (B) un ciervo
@G 16
A07 el ciervo atrapa (TEL) (PRES) (E) a pablito
@G 16

A07 y lo llevo (TEL) (PFV) (F) hasta un acantilado

A07 entonces empujo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a pablitó y a su perro

A07 y los dos se cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) hasta hasta un lago

A07 pero una vez que estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el lago

A07 se dieron cuenta (TEL) (PFV) (F)

A07 de que estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) bien

A07 y no estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) heridos

A07 pues de golpe oyerón (TEL) (PFV) (F) a alguien

A07 que que llamaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) a pablitó

A07 pues dicendo (GER) a su perro

A07 que se daba (E) callar calla callarse (INF) (E)

A07 pablo miro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al otro lado del tronco del arbol

A07 que se hallaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el lago

A07 vio (TEL) (PFV) (F) al otro lado

A07 su rana que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) con su mujer

A07 y bueno había (STA) (IPFV) (B) toda una familia

A07 y era (STA) (IPFV) (B) entonces que pablo

A07 entendio (TEL) (PFV) (B)

A07 lo que era (STA) (IPFV) (B) el (xxx) familiar

A07 pues pero bueno

A07 parecia (STA) (IPFV) (B) bastante contento la rana

A07 pero como pablo era (STA) (IPFV) (B) un pequeño macho humano

A07 no tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) muchos sentimientos

A07 pues robo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a una de las ranitas o ranitos

A07 y se fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)

A07 y ya esta

@End

@Begin

Languages es

Participants A08

@ID es/puigplanella

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@situation one way reordering

G 01

A08 había una vez un niño pequeño su perro y su rana

A08 y el rana el vivia (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en una jarra enfrente de la cama del niño

A02

A08 entonces una noche (TAP) la rana se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F)

A08 saltó (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana

A03

A08 y pues por la mañana (TAP) cuando (SIM) desperto (TEL) (PFV) (F) el niño

A08 no podia (ACT) (IPFV) (B) encontrar su rana en ningun sitio

A04

A08 entonces intentio (ACT) (PFV) (F) de encontrar su rana

A08 pero no le podia (ACT) (IPFV) (B) encontrar
*A08 y entonces fue (ACT) (PFV) (F) en el bosque
*A08 que que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) situado cerca de su casa
*A08 y allí intentaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) durante muchas horas (TAD) de
encontrar a la rana
*A08 el niño llamó (TEL) (PFV) (F) el nombre de la rana
*A08 y el perro también intentó (ACT) (PFV) (B) de encontrarla
*A08 pero solo podía (ACT) (IPFV) (B) encontrar una colmena
*A08 y unas abejas que no estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contentas
*A08 cuando el perro le molestaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*A08 y las abejas no se (STA) (PRES) (EVA)
*A08 atacaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro
*A08 entonces mientras (SIM) todo esto estaba pasando (ACT)
(IPFVPROM) (B)
*A08 el niño todavía (TAC) estaba buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROM) (F) la rana
*A08 y mientras (SIM) que estaba estaba buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROM) (B)
*A08 había (STA) (IPFV) (B) muchos animales en el bosque por ejemplo
un pajaro grande también un ciervo

*A08 y el ciervo como las abejas no estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy
contentas
*A08 cuando (SIM) el niño y el perro le molestaron (ACT) (PFV) (F)
*A08 y le los les echo (TEL) (PFV) (F) en el agua
*A08 y el niño y el perro le molestaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) en el agua
*A08 y el niño y el perro le molestaron (ACT) (PFV) (F)
*A08 pues cerca del agua del pequeño lago había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un
tronco
*A08 y allí por fin (TAC) el niño encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la rana y a
su pequeña familia
*A08 el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) contento
*A08 porqué había encontrado (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) la rana
*A08 y pues este momento sabía (STA) (IPFV) (B) que si
*A08 la rana estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) mas contenta allí en el tronco con su
familia que en la jarra enfrente de la cama del niño
*A08 y entonces el niño se fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) a casa con su
perro
*A08 y no se (STA) (PRES) (EVA) que con otra rana pequeña
*A08 y ya esta

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants A09
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder. kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way recording
@G 01
*A09 había una vez un niño
*A09 que se llamó (STA) (PFV) (B) José
*A09 y en su cuarto antes de (ANT) dormir (ACT) (INF)
*A09 tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) una rana con una jarra
*A09 le encanto (ACT) (PFV) (B) mirarla con su perro Tríxie
*G 02
*A09 una noche (TAP) mientras (SIM) dormía (ACT) (IPFV) (B) la jarra vacía
*G 03
*A09 le sorprendió (TEL) (PFV) (F) mucho
*G 04
*A09 y se puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) su ropa
*G 05
*A09 empezó a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la rana por todas partes
*G 06
*A09 le llamó (ACT) (PFV) (F) desde la ventana de su cuarto
*G 07
*A09 no la encontró (TEL) (PFV) (B)
*G 08
*A09 su perro Tríxie saltó (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la ventana
*G 09
*A09 cogió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el perro en sus brazos
*G 10
*A09 y empezaron a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) las abejas por todas partes
*G 11
*A09 las abejas salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la colmena
*G 12
*A09 José estaba buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) a la rana en el árbol
*G 13
*A09 estaba buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) en la casa de un buho
*G 14
*A09 cuando (SIM) empezaron las abejas a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) detrás del perro
*G 15
*A09 José cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) del árbol
*G 16
*A09 el buho le siguió (ACT) (PFV) (F)
*G 17
*A09 José empezó a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) se subió en una roca (TEL) (PFV) (SE)
*G 18
*A09 estaba llamando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) a la rana
*G 19
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente se levantó (TEL) (PFV) (F) la cabeza de un ciervo
*G 20
*A09 el ciervo estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy sorprendido
*G 21
*A09 y empezó a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) con el niño metido en sobre su cabeza
*G 22
*A09 el ciervo llegó (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un acantilado
*A09 y el niño cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*A09 el niño y el perro cayó en un río (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*A09 no habían hecho (ACT) (PASTPERF) (ANT) ningún daño
*A09 y el perro se puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) en encima de la cabeza del niño
*A09 Jose susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 y el niño y el perro cayó en un río (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*A09 no habían hecho (ACT) (PASTPERF) (ANT) ningún daño
*A09 y el perro se puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) en encima de la cabeza del niño
*A09 Jose susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el resto de la familia
*A09 entonces la familia encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
*A09 José susurro (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro que se calle
*A09 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un tronco de un árbol la rana
*A09 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) metidos allí
*A09 cuando (SIM) de repente vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una pareja de ranas
detrás del tronco
*A09 y al lado de la pareja salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el rest...
*A10 y después iban a buscar (TEL) (IPFV) (F) (INC) la rana
*A10 porque era (STA) (IPFV) (B) su regalo favorito
*A10 gritan gritan gritaban (TEL) (IPFV) (F) en toda el bosque para la rana
*A10 pero no había (STA) (IPFV) (B) nada
@G 09
*A10 el perro notaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) un colmena
*A10 y cuando (SIM) el niño estaba buscando(ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) en un hueco en el suelo
*A10 el perro estaba jugando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) con la colmena
@G 10
*A10 un topo veía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) del hueco
*A10 pero no había (STA) (IPFV) (B) nada de ranas
@G 11
*A10 después la colmena se cae (TEL) (PRES) (E) (SEASP) del bosque atraves del perro
*A10 y las abejas las abejas seguían (ACT) (IPFV) (F) al perro en la bosque
*A10 el niño buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) en un hueco en un (xxx)
@G 12
*A10 venia (TEL) (IPFV) (F) un buho
*A10 el niño veía venia (TEL) (IPFV) (F) de la bosque
*A10 y el niño se cae (TEL) (PRES) (E) (SEASP) también del perro
@G 13
@G 14
*A10 después el niño era (STA) (IPFV) (B) en una roca
*A10 pero no veía (TEL) (IPFV) (B) nada de la rana
@G 15
*A10 después se encontró (TEL) (PRES) (E) con un ciervo que
*A10 y el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en la cabeza del ciervo
@G 16
*A10 y el ciervo (xxx)
@G 17
*A10 pero el niño se cae (TEL) (PRES) (E) (SEASP) del acantilado y el perro también
@G 18
*A10 caen (TEL) (PRES) (E) en un charco
@G 19
*A10 donde se notaba (TEL) (IPFV) (B) un log
*A10 el chico pequeño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contento (xxx) en el charco
*A10 porque había (STA) (IPFV) (B) una oportunidad
*A10 de que la rana estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el charco
@G 20/21
*A10 el perro y el niño buscaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) en este log
@G 22
*A10 pero y encontraban (TEL) (IPFV) (F) con una familia de ranas su rana y la mujer de su rana también sus pequeñas ranas sus niños
@G 23
*A10 y el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contento
*A10 de que su rana estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) contento y con su familia
@G 24
*A10 pero hablaban (ACT) (IPFV) (B) durante poco tiempo (TAD)
*A10 y después el chico el chico iba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) {oh ah god} del charco
*A10 y la familia de las ranas quedaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) allí
*A10 donde estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) contentas
@End
@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants A11
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way recording
@G 01
* A11 erase una vez un niño
* A11 había encontrado (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) una rana en el campo
* A11 decidió guardarla (TEL) (PFV) (F) en una jarra
@G 02
* A11 mientras (SIM) que el niño dormía (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
* A11 la rana escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la jarra
@G 03
* A11 cuando (SIM) el niño desperto (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la mañana
* A11 descubrió (TEL) (PFV) (F) que que
* A11 la rana había escapado (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT)
@G 04
* A11 miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) por todas partes
* A11 pero no la encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (B)
@G 05
* A11 miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) por la ventana
@G 06
* A11 por desgracia el perro se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SE) de la ventana
@G 07
* A11 el niño salió (TEL) (PFV) (F)
* A11 para recuperarlo (INF)
@G 08
* A11 se fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) al campo
* A11 a ver
* A11 si podrían encontrar (ACT) (COND) el la rana
@G 09
* A11 el niño miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) y miraba (IPFV) (REP)
* A11 mientras (SIM) que el perro estaba fastidiando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) una colmena
@G 10
* A11 el niño se sorprendio (TEL) (PFV) (F)
* A11 cuando (SIM) descubrio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un conejo
@G 11
* A11 el niño siguo mirando (PFV) (F) (ITE) en un hueco en un arbol
* A11 mientras (SIM) que todas las ovejas abejas habían salido (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) de la colmena
@G 12
* A11 el perro se puso a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
* A11 y el niño se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SE) del arbol
* A11 cuando (SIM) salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un buho
@G 13
* A11 el niño tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) miedo
* A11 cuando (SIM) salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) el buho
@G 14
* A11 se puso a gritar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
* A11 a ver (INF)
* A11 si podía encontrar (ACT) (IPFV) (B) la rana
@G 15
* A11 descubrió (TEL) (PFV) (F) un ciervo
* A11 cuando un ciervo le le había recorrido (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) por los cuernos
@G 16
* A11 el ciervo y el perro se pusieron a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants A12
@ID es/pugplanella
@coder kema pug i planella
@situation one-way recording

A12 había una vez que un chico
que se llama (STA) (PRES) (E) juan
tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) una rana
y también tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) un perro
que se llama (STA) (PRES) (E) sam
y quiere (STA) (PRES) (E) la rana además del perro
una noche (ADV) fue a acostarse (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
y mientras (SIM) que estaba durmiendo (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B)
l la rana salto (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la jarra
la siguiente mañana (ADV) cuando (SIM) desperto (TEL) (PFV) (F)
de repente vio (TEL) (PFV) (F) una jarra vacia
estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) asombrado y además triste
rápidamente se vistio (TEL) (PFV) (F)
le pone le pomo (TEL) (PFV) (F) un jersey
y el perro estaba murando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) en la jarra
a ver (INF)
donde estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana
fue (STA) (PFV) (B) (E) como su amigo
el perro entonces tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) problemas
porque la jarra estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) pegado en su cabeza
estaba intentando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) ayudar el chico
encontrar la rana
*A12 ven (TEL) (PRES) (E) por la ventana
*A12 a ver (INF)
*A12 para gritar (INF) el nombre de la rana
*A12 y a ver (INF)
*A12 si la volverá (TEL) (FUT) a casa
@G 06
*A12 entonces de repente el perro cae (TEL) (PRES) (E) de la ventana con la jarra en su cabeza
*A12 pero la jarra rompió (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*A12 entonces el chico fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) fuera de la casa
*A12 y dio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un abrazo al perro
@G 08
*A12 entonces los dos fue buscando (ACT) (PFVPROG) (F) por todas partes
*A12 buscando (GER) la rana
*G 06
*A12 habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) un bosque cerca de la casa
*A12 y pensaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) que a lo mejor
*G 08
*A12 la rana estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) dentro
*A12 entonces fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) en el bosque
@G 09
*A12 mientras (SIM) que el chico Juan buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*A12 y estaba mirando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) en un (xxx)
*A12 el perro estaba jugando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) con otro
*A12 que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) (xxx) del arbol
@G 10
*A12 entonces oyen (TEL) (PRES) (E) algo raro
*A12 y estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) las abejas
*A12 que estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) en la colmena (xxx)
*A12 estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) (xxx) del arbol
@G 11
*A12 no se daban cuenta (TEL) (IPFV) (B)
*A12 que algo raro estaba pasando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B)
*A12 porque ve el (xxx)
*A12 estaba mirando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) en un tronco de un arbol
*A12 y entonces las abejas salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la colmena
@G 12
*A12 y siguieron (ACT) (PFV) (F) al perro
*A12 que temía (STA) (IPFV) (B) mucho miedo
@G 13
*A12 el el chico estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)
*A12 entonces al lado de una piedra y había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un pajaro cerca
*A12 también el chico salto (TEL) (PFV) (F)
@G 14
*A12 fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) encima de la piedra
*A12 y estaba gritando (TEL) (IPFVPROG) (F) el nombre de la rana
@G 15
*A12 entonces vino (TEL) (PFV) (F) un ciervo y
*A12 cogio (TEL) (PFV) (F) el niño en su cabeza
@G 16
*A12 y corrió (ACT) (PFV) (F) muy muy deprisa con el perro a su lado
@G 17
*A12 pero llegaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un precipicio
@G 18
*A12 y cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) el chico y el perro
*A12 pero estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) bien
*A12 porque había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un charco debajo de la precipicio
precipicio
*A12 cuando (SIM) cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) en el charco
@G 19
A12 oyeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) ruidos raros
A12 y pensaban (ACT) (IPFV) (B) que
A12 tuvieron (STA) (PFV) (B) suerte
A12 el chico estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy muy feliz
A12 porque pensaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) que a lo mejor
A12 había (STA) (IPFV) (B) su rana junto con los demás
A12 dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) al sam el perro
A12 cállate (ACT) (IPFVER) (DIR)
A12 y ten (STA) (PRES) (DIR) cuidado
A12 porque a lo mejor esta (STA) (PRES) (DIR) nuestra nuestro amigo
A12 cuando (SIM) el perro estaba tranquilo buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) detrás del tronco y (xxx)

A12 y entonces que ven (TEL) (PRES) (DIR) una familia de ranas
A12 charlando (GER)
A12 y especialmente una rana estaba hablando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) a las demás
A12 y estaba hablando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) de su vida con un chico joven
A12 que estaba estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy muy simpático
A12 y que una noche quería ir (ACT) (IPFV) (B) fuera
A12 a ver
A12 que viven los demás como viven (ACT) (PRES) los demás
A12 pero cuando (SEQ) lo hizo (TEL) (PFV) (B)
A12 entonces se daba cuenta (TEL) (IPFV) (B)
A12 que su vida con este chico fue (STA) (PFV) (B) mucho mejor
A12 entonces las ranas notaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) la presencia del chico y del perro
A12 a) y la rana se notó (TEL) (PFV) (F) juan
A12 y estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy muy feliz y alegre
A12 que la ha encontrado (TEL) (PRETPERF) (E) otra vez más (TAC) su familia
A12 porque no y no quería volver de volver (ACT) (IPFV) (B) ella sola
A12 y vivir en el mundo sola sin amigos

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants NN01
@ID es/puegplanella
@coder keni puig i planella
@situation one-way recording
@G 01
NN01 había una vez un chico
NN01 que se llamaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) juansito
NN01 y que tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) un perro
NN01 al que llamaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) felix
NN01 y una rana que guardaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en un frasco grande en su dormitorio cerca de su cama
@G 02
NN01 una noche (TAP) mientras (NNIM) juansito y felix dormían (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
NN01 la rana se escapa (TEL) (PFV) (F) (NNEANNP) del frasco
@G 03
NN01 a la siguiente mañana (TAP) cuando (NNIM) juansito y felix se despertaron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
APPENDIX E

21  *NN01 se dieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) cuenta
22  *NN01 de que la rana no estaba (NNTA) (IPFV) (B) en el frasco
23  @G  04
24  *NN01 juansito se levanto (TEL) (PFV) (F) enseguida
25  *NN01 y se vistio (TEL) (PFV) (F)
26  *NN01 felix se puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) muy furioso
27  *NN01 y husmeo (ACT) (PFV) (F) la parte del suelo alrededor del frasco vacío
28  *NN01 y al final logro meter (TEL) (PFV) (F) (COMP) la cabeza dentro del frasco
29  *NN01 juansito estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy preocupado por la desaparición de la rana
30  @G  05
31  *NN01 asi que salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la ventana
32  *NN01 y empezó a llamarla (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
33  @G  06
34  *NN01 entretanto felix que todavía tenia (TAC) temía (STA) (IPFV) (B) la cabeza dentro del frasco
35  *NN01 se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de la ventana
36  *NN01 y rompio (TEL) (PFV) (F) el frasco
37  @G  07
38  *NN01 juansito un poco enfadado lo recogió (TEL) (PFV) (F) del suelo
39  @G  08
40  *NN01 y los dos se fueron a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) a la rana perdida
41  *NN01 la buscaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) por todos los sitios
42  @G  09
43  *NN01 juansito primero miro (ACT) (PFV) (F) en un hoyo en el suelo
44  *NN01 mientras tanto (SIM) felix se acercó (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un árbol
45  *NN01 donde había (STA) (IPFV) (B) una colmena llena de abejas
46  @G  10
47  *NN01 del hoyo donde juansito buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) la rana
48  *NN01 salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un tope
49  *NN01 y le dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F)
50  *NN01 que no había visto (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) a la rana
51  *NN01 por otro lado felix muy atraído por las abejas se puso a ladear (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
52  *NN01 y a saltar al arbol (INC)
53  @G  11
54  *NN01 y por fin logro derrumbar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (COMP) la colmena
55  @G  12
56  *NN01 entonces las abejas muy enfadadas le atacaron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
57  *NN01 y felix tuvo (STA) (PFV) (F) que correr
58  *NN01 para salvarse
59  *NN01 todo este alboroto despertó (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un buho
60  *NN01 que dormía (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en un arbol cerca
61  *NN01 el buho descontento por haber sido despertado
62  @G  13
63  *NN01 ataco a juansito (ACT) (PFV) (F)
64  *NN01 pero después de un poco (TAD) se calmo (TEL) (PFV) (F)
65  @G  14
66  *NN01 entonces juansito subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) a una piedra grande
67  *NN01 y empezó a llamar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) a su rana
68  @G  15
69  *NN01 pero en vez de la rana encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un ciervo
70  @G  16
71  *NN01 que lo tiró (TEL) (PFV) (F) de un precipicio
72  @G  18
*NN01 y juansito junto con felix acabó (TEL) (PFV) (F) en un lago
*NN01 que había (STA) (IPFV) (B) abajo
@G 19
*NN01 juansito y felix estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) empapados los dos
*NN01 pero contentos de que no se hicieron (ACT) (PFV) (B) ningún daño
*NN01 en la orilla del lago había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un tronco abandonado
de un viejo árbol
@G 20
*NN01 cuando (SIM) los dos se acercaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a este tronco
*NN01 oyeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) las voces de unas ranas
@G 21
*NN01 en seguida (TAC) subieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) al tronco
@G 22/23
*NN01 y entonces vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) al otro lado del tronco
*NN01 dos ranas adultas con un montón de ranas pequeñas que eran
(STA) (IPFV) (B) sus hijos
*NN02 una de las ranas adultas era (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana de juansito
*NN01 juansito y felix se alegraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) mucho
*NN01 de haberla encontrado
*NN01 juansito comprendió (ACT) (PFV) (F) que
*NN01 la rana quería (ACT) (IPFV) (B) estar con su familia
@G 24
*NN01 asi que la dejó (TEL) (PFV) (F) allí
*NN01 y volvieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la casa con felix
@End

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants NN02
@ID es/pugplanella
@coder kena pug i planella
@situation one-way recording
@G 01
*NN02 una noche (TAP) un niño pequeño con su perro y su rana estaban
(STA) (IPFV) (B) en el cuarto en la habitación
*NN02 antes de (ANT) dormirse (INF) (SEASP) el niño
*NN02 y el perro parece (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) ser amigo de la rana
@G 02
*NN02 y se durmieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) los dos el niño y el
perro en la cama
*NN02 pero se escapó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) la rana
@G 03
*NN02 y al despertarse (SIM) (INF) al día siguiente (TAP) el pobre chico
*NN02 descubrió (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN02 que se había ido (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (SEASP) (ANT) la rana
*NN02 y parece (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) también
*NN02 que el perro estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) asustado
@G 04
*NN02 entonces el niño se vistió (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN02 y el perro intentado encontrar (GER) a la rana
*NN02 puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) la cabeza en la jarra
*NN02 y no pudo (ACT) (PFV) (F) sacar la cabeza la cabeza de la jarra que
horror
@G 05
@G 06
*NN02 luego el perro saltó (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana
@G 07
*NN02 se rompió (TEL) (PFV) (F) la jarra

juansito y felix acabo (TEL) (PFV) (F) en un lago
APPENDIX E

*NN02 y el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) un poco enfadado
*NN02 pero a la vez abrazó (TEL) (PFV) (F) al perro
*NN02 porque quería (ACT) (IPFV) (B) mucho al perro
08
*NN02 luego salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) al campo
*NN02 y el niño comenzó a llamar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) a la rana
*NN02 y el perro también comenzó a ladrar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) o lo que
09
*NN02 y el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) un poco enfadado
*NN02 pero a la vez abrazó (TEL) (PFV) (F) al perro
*NN02 porque quería (ACT) (IPFV) (B) mucho al perro
10
*NN02 y el niño mientras (SIM) estaba llamando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) a la
rana
*NN02 apareció (TEL) (PFV) (F) un topo
11
*NN02 pero las abejas se escaparon (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de la colmena
*NN02 y el niño subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un arbol
12
*NN02 buscando (GER) todavía a la rana
*NN02 pero el perro había molestado (B) (ACT) (PASTPERF) (ANT) mucho a
las abejas
*NN02 y mientras (SIM) intentó (ACT) (PFV) (F) escaparse
*NN02 las abejas le siguieron (ACT) (PFV) (F)
*NN02 luego apareció (TEL) (PFV) (F) un buho
13
*NN02 y no se (B) (ACT) (PRES) (EVA) exactamente
*NN02 que hizo (ACT) (PFV) (F) el buho
*NN02 el niño parece (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) tener miedo
14
*NN02 y el ciervo porque tema (STA) (IPFV) (B) miedo
*NN02 supongo (B) (ACT) (PRES) (EVA)
*NN02 comenzó a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) muy rápido y el perro también
15
*NN02 y el niño y el perro se cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) en un
estanque
*NN02 pero no es (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) un estanque hondo (xxx)
*NN02 luego comenzaron a nadar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
16
*NN02 y encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) un tronco seco
*NN02 y al lado del tronco vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) las ranas
*NN02 la rana que se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) y su novia y las
criaturas pequeñas siete hasta siete criaturas pequeñas
*NN02 pues entonces el niño decidió (TEL) (PFV) (F) dejarlos en paz
*NN02 porque esta contento (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA)
*NN02 porque se dio cuenta (TEL) (PFV) (F)
17
*NN02 de que la pobre rana necesitaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) una familia un
compañero una compañera y su familia su propia familia

*NN02 y parece también
*NN02 que el perro estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contento
@G 24
*NN02 pero parece (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) que en la mano del niño
*NN02 hay (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) una rana muy pequeña
*NN02 no se (B) (ACT) (PRES) (EVA)
*NN02 si es (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) su rana o no
*NN02 pero parece (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) muy contento el niño
*NN02 y ya esta termina bien el cuento

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants NN03
@ID es/puigplanella
@Coder kenia puig i planella
@Situation one-way recording
@G 01
*NN03 era una vez un chiquito
*NN03 llamado juanito gris
*NN03 tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) dos animales domesticos uno normal un perro
*NN03 y el otro era (STA) (IPFV) (B) una rana
*NN03 y juan solia guardar (IPFV) (B) (ITE) la rana en una jarra en su dormitorio
@G 02
*NN03 entonces una noche (TAP) mientras (SIM) juanito dormía (ACT)
(IPFV) (B) en la cama
*NN03 la rana se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de la jarra
@G 03
*NN03 luego por la mañana (TAP) juanito se dio (TEL) (PFV) (F) cuenta
*NN03 de que la rana se había escapado (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (SEASP) (ANT)
@G 04
*NN03 y con su perro empezaron a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) la rana
*NN03 buscaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) por todas partes del dormitorio
*NN03 pero de la rana no había (STA) (IPFV) (B) señales de vida
@G 05
*NN03 abrieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) la ventana
*NN03 y buscaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) fuera sin éxito
@G 06
*NN03 luego el perro de juanito salto (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana al jardín
@G 07
*NN03 y los dos se pusieron a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) la rana en un bosque cerca de la casa de los padres de juan
*NN03 se fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) al bosque
*NN03 y buscaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) la rana
@G 09
*NN03 en el bosque tropezaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) con una colmena
*NN03 y el perro se divertió (ACT) (PFV) (F) jugando con las abejas
@G 10
*NN03 pero todavía (ADV) ninguna señal de la rana fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
un poco mas lejos
@G 12
*NN03 y tropezaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) con una lechuga
@G 13
*NN03 en compañía de la lechuga juanito y el perro fueron (TEL) (PFV)
(F) hacia dentro del bosque

@G 14

@G 15

*NNO3 y encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) un ciervo

@G 16

*NNO3 por desgracia juanito y el perro que estaban corriendo

@G 17/18

*NNO3 cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) al río

@G 19

*NNO3 pues era (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy peligroso

@G 20

*NNO3 junto al perro que estaban corriendo con el ciervo

@G 21

*NNO3 se quedaron (STA) (PFV) (F) allí algunos minutos

@G 22

*NNO3 para descansar

@G 23

*NNO3 luego después de diez minutos miraron (TAD) (TEL) (PFV) (F) por debajo del árbol

@G 24

*NNO3 y vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) la rana

@G 25

*NNO3 entonces la rana estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) con su familia

@G 26

*NNO3 contentísimo de estar con ellos

@G 27

*NNO3 pero juanito y el perro quisieron (ACT) (PFV) (F)

@G 28

*NNO3 que la rana volviese (B) (TEL) (IPFVSUBJ) a casa con ellos

@G 29

*NNO3 y así pues la cogieron (TEL) (PFV) (F)

@G 30

*NNO3 y juanito y el perro se despertaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la familia de la rana

@G 31

*NNO3 y los tres volvieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a casa contentísimos nada más

@End

@Begin

@Languages es

@Participants NNO4

@ID es/pugplanella

@Coder kema pug i planella

@Situation one-way recording

@G 01

*NNO4 una noche (TAP) cuando (SIM) estuvo durmiendo (ACT) (PFVPROG) (B)

@G 02

*NNO4 que tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) una rana en un jarro y un perro pequeño

@G 03

*NNO4 una noche (TAP) cuando (SIM) estuvo durmiendo (ACT) (PFVPROG) (B)

@G 04

*NNO4 que tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) en la cama con el

@G 05

*NNO4 busco (TEL) (PFV) (F) por todas partes de su habitación

@G 06

*NNO4 y el perro le ayudó (TEL) (PFV) (F) buscando (GER) en la ropa

@G 07

*NNO4 buscando en la ropa parece (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA)

@G 08

*NNO4 que es (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) una camisa

@G 09

*NNO4 y cuando (SIM) se despertó (TEL) (PFV) (F) y el perro también

@G 10

*NNO4 que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en la cama con el

@G 11

*NNO4 que ya (TAC) no tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) rana

@G 12

*NNO4 que todavía (TAC) tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) el jarro en la cara

@G 13

*NNO4 que es (B) (STA) (PRES) (EVA) muy gracioso

lix
y lo que le paso (ACT) (PFV) (F) de repente
*NN04 fue (STA) (PFV) (F) que el perro
cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) al suelo pobre
*NN04 el niño salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) también de la ventana
*NN04 y abrazo (TEL) (PFV) (F) al perro
con el jarro ya (TAC) roto (xxx) pues los dos fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
al bosque
*NN04 llamando a la rana
*NN04 el perro ladrando (GER) ladrando (GER) (REP)
*NN04 el niño llamando (GER) llamando (GER) (REP)
buscaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) por todos los sitios
el niño salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) también de la ventana
*NN04 y abrazo (TEL) (PFV) (F) al perro
*NN04 el perro busco (ACT) (PFV) (F) en una colmena
*NN04 y asusto (TEL) (PFV) (F) a las abejas
*NN04 el niño busco (ACT) (PFV) (F) en un hueco en el suelo
*NN04 y encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) un topo
*NN04 el perro huyo (ACT) (PFV) (F)
*NN04 y entretanto (SIM) el niño cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) del arbol
de donde salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un buho
*NN04 que le sorprendio (TEL) (PFV) (B)
y le dio (TEL) (PFV) (B) muchísimo miedo
*NN04 los dos siguen buscando (F) (PRES) (ITE) (E)
*NN04 el perro que ahora (TAP) era (STA) (IPFV) (B) mas medoso
*NN04 y el niño encima de una roca llamando (GER)
y seguía llamando (IPFV) (F) (ITE)
y encontro (TEL) (PFV) (F) en un hueco en el suelo
*NN04 y salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) muy enfadadas las abejas
*NN04 y encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) por otro lado de un árbol viejo
*NN04 cogio (TEL) (PFV) (F) a su rana
**APPENDIX E**

*NN04 despidióse (TEL) (PFV) (F) SEASP de la familia de ranas
*NN04 y el perro y el volvieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a casa
*NN04 y se acabo
@End

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants NN05
@ID es/puigplanella
@Coder kena puig i planella
@Situation one-way recording
@G 01
*NN05 había una vez un niño un perro y una rana
*NN05 los tres vivían (ACT) (IPFV) (B) felices en un bosque muy misterioso
*NN05 el perro era (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy travieso
*NN05 y siempre (TAQ) quería (ACT) (IPFV) (B) jugar con la rana
@G 02
*NN05 una noche (TAP) mientras (SIM) el niño y el perro dormían (ACT)
*NN05 la rana se escapó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)
@G 03
*NN05 al día siguiente (TAP) al despertarse (SIM) (ANT) (INF)
*NN05 el niño se dio cuenta (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN05 de que la rana se había desaparecido (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (PFV)
*NN05 (SEASP) (E)
@G 04
*NN05 empezó a buscarla por toda la habitación (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
*NN05 pero no la encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN05 el perro le ayudó (ACT) (PFV) (F)
@G 05
*NN05 empezó a gritar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) por la ventana
*NN05 porque estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy triste
*NN05 la rana era (STA) (IPFV) (B) su amiga
@G 06
*NN05 de repente (TAC) el perro travieso como siempre (TAQ) se cayó
*NN05 de la ventana
@G 07
*NN05 el niño saltó (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la ventana
*NN05 y salvó (TEL) (PFV) (F) al perro
*NN05 pero el perro estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) (xxx)
@G 08
*NN05 los dos entraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) en el bosque
*NN05 y empezaron a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) a la rana
*NN05 estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy tristes
@G 09
*NN05 el niño miraba miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) (REP) por todas partes por
*NN05 todo el bosque
*NN05 pero no encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (B) la rana
*NN05 el perro travieso como siempre (TAQ) se puso a jugar (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN05 (INC) con unas abejas
*NN05 las abejas claro se enfadaron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN05 porque no les gustaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*NN05 que el perro jugara (B) (ACT) (IPFV (SUBJ) con ellas
@G 10
*NN05 el niño le dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) al perro
*NN05 que dejara de jugar (B) (TEL) (IPFV (SUBJ) (COMP) con las abejas
*NN05 pero no le hizo (ACT) (PFV) (F) caso
@G 11
*NN05 el niño se subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) a un árbol
55 *NN05 y preguntó (TEL) (PFV) (F) a todos los otros animales por el bosque 
56 *NN05 si habían visto (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) a la rana
57 *NN05 pero no había visto (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) nada ninguno
58 *NN05 el perro seguía jugando (IPFV) (F) (ITE) con las abejas
59 @G 12
60 *NN05 de repente se enfadaron todas (TEL) (PFV) (F)
61 *NN05 y empezaron a ir (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) tras el perro
62 *NN05 y lo atacaron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
63 *NN05 el perro se fugó (TEL) (PFV) (F)
64 *NN05 pobre niño se cayó(TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) al suelo
65 *NN05 y estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) asustado
66 *NN05 de repente (TAC) le atacó (ACT) (PFV) (F) también un buho
67 @G 13
68 *NN05 claro estaba asustado (STA) (IPFV) (B)
69 *NN05 porque las abejas atacaban (ACT) (IPFV) (B) a todo el mundo
70 @G 14
71 *NN05 el niño se subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEANNP) a la roca
72 *NN05 empezó a gritar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
73 *NN05 y a gritar para (xxx) a su amiga la rana
74 *NN05 el perro ya (TAC) estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) harto
75 *NN05 y estaba dormido (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
76 @G 15
77 *NN05 de repente (TAC) los árboles y los arbustos empezaron a moverse
78 *(TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
79 *NN05 el niño pensaba (ACT) (PFV) (B)
80 *NN05 que se había subido (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) (SEASP) a un árbol
81 *NN05 pero era (STA) (IPFV) (B) un ciervo
82 @G 16
83 *NN05 el ciervo asustado se echó a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) (SEASP)
84 *NN05 estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) enfadadísimo
85 *NN05 el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) encima de él
86 *NN05 el perro se despertó (TEL) (PFV) (F)
87 *NN05 y empezó a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) tras el ciervo y el pobre niño
88 @G 17
89 *NN05 el ciervo enfadado tiro (TEL) (PFV) (F) al niño por un barranco
90 *NN05 el perro lo siguió (ACT) (PFV) (F)
91 @G 18
92 *NN05 los dos se cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) a un río
93 @G 19
94 *NN05 suerte que el río era (STA) (IPFV) (B) poca cosa
95 *NN05 y no se ahogaron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
96 *NN05 el niño y el perro se salvaron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
97 @G 20
98 *NN05 y de repente (TAC) el niño oyó (TEL) (PFV) (F) algo
99 *NN05 parecía (STA) (IPFV) (B) que
100 *NN05 oía (TEL) (IPFV) (B) a su amiga la rana
101 *NN05 pero no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) seguro
102 @G 20
103 *NN05 le dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) al perro
104 *NN05 que no digiera (B) (TEL) (IPPFVSUBJ) nada
105 @G 21
106 *NN05 miró (ACT) (PFV) (F)
107 *NN05 y de repente (TAC) la vio (TEL) (PFV) (F)
108 @G 22
109 *NN05 estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) detrás de un árbol
110 @G 23
112 *NN05 y estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) con otras ranas
113 *NN05 había (STA) (IPFV) (B) unas ranas pequeñitas unas ranitas

APPENDIX E
*NN05 y había (STA) (IPFV) (B) muchas
*NN05 el niño y el perro se sorprendieron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN05 nunca habían visto (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) tantas ranas juntas
*NN05 hablaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) un rato con su amiga la rana
*NN05 la rana les dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN05 que había conocido (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) a otra rana
*NN05 se había enamorado (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT)
*NN05 pero temía (STA) (IPFV) (B) vergüenza
*NN05 no se lo había dicho (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) al niño y al perro
*NN05 ellos se enfadaron (TEL) (PFV) (B) con el
*NN05 temía (STA) (IPFV) (B) vergüenza
*NN05 dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN05 que la había conocido (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) el año pasado (TAP)
*NN05 y que estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contentas
*NN05 y que quería (ACT) (IPFV) (B) seguir ahí en el río con su familia
*NN05 el niño y el perro le dieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) que sí
*NN05 que no había (STA) (IPFV) (B) ningún problema
*NN05 y que fueran a visitarlos (TEL) (PFV) (B) de vez en cuando (TAQ)
*NN05 todos se quedaron (STA) (PFV) (B) muy contentos
@G 24
*NN05 al final de un día (TAP) muy largo el niño y el perro se
despidieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la rana y su familia
*NN05 y volvieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a casa contentos
*NN05 y todos volvieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) felices para siempre
*NN05 y luego se separaron (ACT) (PFV) (B) al perro
*NN06 el niño y el perro salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a dar una vuelta por el bosque
*NN06 a ver si podían (ACT) (IPFV) (B) encontrar la rana
*NN06 buscaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) por todas partes en un colmena en un agujero de un topo por todas partes
*NN06 el perro miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) en la colmena
*NN06 mientras (SIM) el perro miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en la colmena
*NN06 las abejas se pusieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) muy enfadados
*NN06 porque se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) la colmena encima del suelo
*NN06 las abejas fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) detrás del perro con mucha ira
*NN06 mientras tanto (SIM) el niño tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) sus aventuras también
*NN06 el buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana encima de una roca
*NN06 y pensaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*NN06 que había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un arbólo detrás de la roca pero no
*NN06 no fue (STA) (PFV) (B) (E) un arbólo sino un ciervo
*NN06 y mientes (SIM) el niño buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) la rana
*NN06 el niño buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) otro ciervo
*NN06 de repente (TAC) el niño se encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) encima del ciervo como encima de un caballo
*NN06 se paró (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)
*NN06 y el niño y el perro se cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) al agua
*NN06 al darse (SIM) (INF) con el agua
*NN06 el niño pensó (ACT) (PFV) (F) oír algo
*NN06 y hizo (ACT) (PFV) (F) callar al perro
*NN06 para ver por encima de un tronco de un árbol
*NN06 lo que se encontraba allí: (TEL) (IPFV) (B)
*NN06 y que sorpresa allí había (STA) (IPFV) (B) dos ranas
*NN06 y en vez de tener solo una rana
*NN06 el niño había encontrado (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) dos y más todavía (TAC) dos ranas con una familia de ranitas casi cinco o seis ranitas
*NN06 y en vez de dejarles solitos allí
*NN06 el niño encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) su propia rana y toda la familia con abuelos y todos
*NN06 y les dejaron (TEL) (PFV) (F) allí
*NN06 para vivir para siempre muy felices
*NN06 y comieron perdices
*NN06 y comieron perdices

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants NN07
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way recording
@G 01
*NN07 había una vez un niño
*NN07 que se llamaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) pepe
*NN07 tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) un perro
*NN07 que se llamaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) benito
*NN07 y un día (TAP) como le encantaban (ACT) (IPFV) (B) los animales
*NN07 se cogio (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) (E) una rana
*NN07 la daba (TEL) (IPFV) (B) el nombre de Jose
*NN07 se puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) (SE) la rana Jose en una jarra de cristal
*NN07 se queda (B) (STA) (PRES) (E) con benito el perro mirandola todo el día y toda la noche (TAD)
@G 02
*NN07 pues el mismo día (TAP) que cogio (TEL) (PFV) (B) la rana
*NN07 se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)
*NN07 cuando (SIM) pepe estaba durmiendo (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) y benito tambien
@G 03
*NN07 buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) la rana por debajo de la cama por todos los sitios
*NN07 hasta que benito se quedo (STA) (PFV) (F) con la cabeza cogida en la jarra
@G 04
*NN07 despues de (POST) buscar (INF) Jose la rana por toda la habitacion
*NN07 pues se pusieron a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) por fuera
*NN07 abrieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) la ventana
*NN07 y pepe se puso a gritar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
*NN07 Jose Jose donde estas (B) (STA) (PRES) (DIR)
@G 05
*NN07 y despues benito que estaba mirando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) tambien por la ventana
*NN07 se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)
@G 06
*NN07 al caerse (SIM) (INF) se rompio (TEL) (PFV) (F) el cristal que tema (STA) (EPFV) (B) la cabeza metida en la jarra
*NN07 pues pepe estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) bastante enfadado con benito
*NN07 por haber caido (ANT)
*NN07 y le daba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) miedo
@G 07
*NN07 se pusieron a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) a Jose fuera en el jardin
*NN07 y benito estaba buscandole (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F)
*NN07 y se acercaban (ACT) (IPFV) (F) a un bosque
@G 08
*NN07 pepe miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) por un aguero
*NN07 mientras (SIM) benito miraba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en una columna
@G 09
*NN07 a benito le picaba (TEL) (PFV) (F) la nariz
@G 11
A P P E N D I X E

*NN07 y cuando (SIM) se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) la colmena

@G 12

*NN07 benito se puso a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)

*NN07 estaba corriendo corriendo (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) (REP) a dentro del bosque

*NN07 y como pepe se había caído (B) (TEP) (PASTPERF) (SEASP) (ANT)

*NN07 se perdieron (TEL) (PFV) (F)

@G 13

*NN07 Jose estaba buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) por todas las partes a benito

*NN07 veía (TEL) (IPFV) (F) hasta un buho en el (xxx)

*NN07 se puso a gritar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)

*NN07 a llamar a benito (INC)

*NN07 y benito vino (TEL) (PFV) (F) después de (POST) un rato

@G 14

*NN07 había (STA) (IPFV) (B) una roca muy muy grande

*NN07 y como pepe se fue a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) (INC) a benito

*NN07 que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) detrás de él

*NN07 se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)

@G 15

*NN07 y vino (TEL) (PFV) (F) un ciervo

*NN07 pepe se quedó (STA) (PFV) (F) cogido en las (xxx) del ciervo

@G 16

*NN07 y el ciervo se corrió (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)

*NN07 pepe cayó y benito corriendo detrás

*NN07 estaban corriendo (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (F) muy muy rápido

@G 17

*NN07 y el ciervo se paró (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de repente (TAC)

*NN07 se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) en el río el pobre pepe y benito

@G 18

*NN07 aunque estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy muy mojado

*NN07 pepe estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) super contento

*NN07 porque por fin (TAC) estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) junto con benito

*NN07 tuvo (STA) (PFV) (F) una idea pepe

@G 19

*NN07 le dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a benito

*NN07 de no hacer ningún ruido

@G 21

*NN07 y se fue buscando (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SESAP) por encima de un trozo a

*NN07 José

*NN07 la rana que estaba buscando (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B) al principio

@G 22

*NN07 se encontró (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) a dos

*NN07 y de (xxx) como había (STA) (IPFV) (B) ahora dos ranas

@G 23

*NN07 José se había enamorado (B) (TEP) (PANNTPERF) (ANT) con otra

*NN07 y ahora tenía (STA) (PFV) (B) un montón de mini ranas bueno de niños

@G 24

*NN07 pues cogió (TEL) (PFV) (F) una

@G 25

*NN07 y se fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)

*NN07 despidió (TEL) (PFV) (F) a José y su nueva mujer y a los hermanos del nuevo (xxx)

@End

@Begu

@Languages es

@Participants NN08
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder kena puig i planella
@situation one-way recording
@G 01
*NN08 había una vez un chico
*NN08 que se llamaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) juan
*NN08 tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) dos animales domesticos un perro y una rana
*NN08 cada noche (TAP) pasaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) horas jugando con la rana
*NN08 y mirando la rana
*NN08 que tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) dentro de una jarra grande
@G 02
*NN08 una noche (TAP) la rana salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la jarra
*NN08 y se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)
@G 03
*NN08 el dia siguiente (TAP) cuando (SIM) juan se desperto (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN08 se dio (TEL) (PFV) (F) cuenta que
*NN08 la rana ya (TAC) no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)
@G 04
*NN08 busco (TEL) (PFV) (F) por todos lados detras de la cama encima de la
cama por todos lados
*NN08 pero no encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (B) la rana
@G 05
*NN08 empezo a gritar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) por la ventana
@G 06
*NN08 el perro que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) a su lado
*NN08 se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)
@G 07
*NN08 juan y el perro salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) por el bosque
*NN08 juan empezó a gritar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)
*NN08 buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) por todas partes en el bosque
*NN08 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*NN08 el perro jugaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) con una colmena
*NN08 que estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) al lado
*NN08 en el bosque juan encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (B) de todo otros animales
del bosque
@G 09/10
*NN08 también buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) dentro de los arboles
*NN08 al final (TAC) con tanto jugar la colmena se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F)
(SEASP) del arbol
*NN08 y salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) las abejas
*NN08 de repente (TAC) aparecio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un buho
@G 12
*NN08 y dio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un susto muy grande a juan
@G 13
@G 14
*NN08 pero juan segua buscando (IPFV) (F) (ITE)
@G 15
*NN08 despues de (TAD) un rato aparecio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un ciervo un
ciervo grande
*NN08 que no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) nada contento con juan
@G 16
*NN08 y el ciervo se lo llevo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) hasta un acantilado
@G 17
@G 18
*NN08 juan se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) con el perro dentro de un lago
@G 19
@NN08 dentro del lago había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un tronco
@G 20
@NN08 juan sabia (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
@G 21
@NN08 que la rana iba a estar (TEL) (IPFV) (B) (INC) dentro del tronco
@G 22
@NN08 buscaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) los dos
@NN08 el perro y juan buscaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) detrás del tronco y por
@G 23
@NN08 y al final (TAC) en una esquina encontraron (TEL) (PFV) (F) la rana
@NN08 la rana que tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) antes (ADV) como animal domestico
@G 24
@NN08 pero esa vez la rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) sola
@NN08 estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) con otra rana y con una familia grande
@NN08 juan estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy contento de haberlo encontrado
@NN08 y reconocio (TEL) (PFV) (F) su rana
@G 25
@NN08 y saludo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a las otras ranas
@NN08 y se fue (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)
@NN08 volvio (TEL) (PFV) (F) a casa con el perro y la rana

G 1
Languages es
Particpants NN09
ID es/puigplanella
coder kenia puig i planella
situation one-way recording
@G 01
@NN09 había una vez un chico llamado pedro
@NN09 y tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) un perro llamado rex
@NN09 y una rana llamada juanita
@G 02
@NN09 juanita la rana vivia (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en una jarra de cristal
@NN09 todas las noches (TAP) antes de ir a dormir (ANT) (INF)
@NN09 pedro y su perro miraban (ACT) (IPFV) (B) a la rana
@G 03
@NN09 pero una noche (TAP) mientras (SIM) pedro y el perro dormian
@ACT (IPFV) (B)
@NN09 la rana salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la jarra
@G 04
@NN09 por la manana (TAP) cuando (SIM) pedro y rex se despertaron
@TEl (PFV) (F)
@NN09 descubrieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) que la rana
@NN09 ya (TAC) no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en la jarra
@G 05
@NN09 entonces los dos empezaron a buscárla (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) por toda
@la habitacion
@NN09 como no la encontraban (TEL) (IPFV) (B) por ningun lado
@G 06
@NN09 pedro abrio (TEL) (PFV) (F) la ventana
@NN09 para llamar a la rana
@NN09 pero el perro tenia (STA) (IPFV) (B) la cabeza dentro de la jarra
@NN09 y no podia sacarla (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
@G 07
@NN09 y con el peso de la jarra se cayo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) por la
@ventana
@NN09 pedro salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) al jardin
*NN09 y abrazo (TEL) (PFV) (F) al perro
*NN09 que por suerte no se había hecho (B) (STA) (PASTPERF) (ANT) daño
@G 08
*NN09 entonces decidieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) ir al bosque
*NN09 a ver
*NN09 si allí estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) juanita la rana
@G 09
*NN09 mientras pedro buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en un agujero
*NN09 rex jugaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) con una colmena de abejas
@G 10
*NN09 al final (TAC) salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) un topo del agujero
*NN09 pero no sabía (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*NN09 donde estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana
@G 11
*NN09 entonces pedro subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un árbol
*NN09 y llamaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) a juanita
*NN09 mientras (SIM) la colmena se había caído (B) (TEL) (PANNTPERF) (ANT)
@G 12
*NN09 y todas las abejas salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN09 y perseguían (ACT) (IPFV) (F) al perro
*NN09 que corria (ACT) (IPFV) (B) asustado
*NN09 del árbol salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) un buho
*NN09 que persiguió (ACT) (PFV) (F) al niño
@G 13
*NN09 que se subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) una roca
*NN09 y continuo llamando (PFV) (F) (ITE) a la rana
*NN09 y para no caer
*NN09 se cogió (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) unas ramas
@G 15
*NN09 que no eran (STA) (IPFV) (B) unas ramas
*NN09 eran (STA) (IPFV) (B) los cuernos de un ciervo
*NN09 y pedro se quedó (STA) (PFV) (F) colgado de los cuernos
@G 16
*NN09 entonces el ciervo empezó a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) con pedro encima
@G 17
*NN09 que se subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un acantilado
*NN09 entonces frenó (TEL) (PFV) (F) de repente (TAC)
@G 18
*NN09 que pedro y rex se cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) al agua
*NN09 porque debajo del acantilado había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un río
*NN09 por suerte estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) bien solo un poco mojados
@G 19
*NN09 que se dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a su perro
*NN09 a que se callara (B) (TEL) (IPFV)SUBJ
@G 20
*NN09 que miro (ACT) (PFV) (F) detrás de un tronco
*NN09 que tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el río
@G 21
*NN09 que allí vio que había (STA) (IPFV) (B) dos ranas
*NN09 que las saludo (TEL) (PFV) (F)
@G 22
*NN09 que las ranas tenían (STA) (IPFV) (B) una familia
*NN09 que con ellas estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) juanita
*NN09 que se había perdido (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) en bosque
*NN09 que juanita le dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a pedro
*NN09 que quiera volver (ACT) (IPFV) (B) a la casa con ellos
@G 24
*NN09 y todos dijeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) adiós a la familia de ranas
*NN09 y el cuento acaba con todos felices
@End

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants NN10
@ID es/puigplane
@coder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way recording

*NN10 había una vez un niño un perro y una rana
*NN10 y los tres vivían (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en una casa en el bosque
*NN10 y eran (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy amigos
@G 01
*NN10 una noche (TAP) mientras (SIM) el niño y el perro dormían (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*NN10 la rana que era (STA) (IPFV) (B) un poco traviesa
*NN10 se escapo (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana
@G 03
*NN10 y entonces por la mañana (TAP) cuando (SIM) el niño y el perro se
despertaron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN10 vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) que la jarra de la rana
*NN10 estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) vacía
@G 04
*NN10 entonces se pusieron a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) a la rana
*NN10 pero no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en ningún lado
@G 05
*NN10 también llamanaban (TEL) (IPFV) (F) en el jardín
*NN10 pero no la encontraban (TEL) (IPFV) (B)
@G 06
*NN10 entonces el perro que tenía (NNTA) (IPFV) (B) la cabeza en la jarra
*NN10 se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de la ventana
@G 07
*NN10 y así se rompió (TEL) (PFV) (F) la jarra
*NN10 entonces el perro se puso (TEL) (PFV) (F) contento
*NN10 pero el niño estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) enfadado
*NN10 porque se había roto (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (ANT) la jarra de la rana
@G 08
*NN10 y se fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) al bosque cerca de su casa
*NN10 y el niño llamaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) y llamaba (REP) a la rana
*NN10 pero no apreciaba (TEL) (IPFV) (B)
@G 09
*NN10 también miró (ACT) (PFV) (F) en un agujero
*NN10 y el perro buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (F) a la rana en el pinal de unas
abejas
*NN10 pero nadie encontraba (TEL) (IPFV) (B) a la rana
@G 10
*NN10 en un agujero era (STA) (IPFV) (B) la casa de un conejo
*NN10 y cuando (SIM) salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) el niño
*NN10 se dio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un susto
@G 11
*NN10 entonces se fue a mirar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) (INC) en un árbol
*NN10 que había (STA) (IPFV) (B) cerca
*NN10 y se subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) al árbol
*NN10 y llamó (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la rana
*NN10 mientras (SIM) las abejas salieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la colmena
Una noche (TAP) cuando (SIM) Juan y Bobby estaban durmiendo (ACT) (IPFVPROG) (B).

Había una vez un niño que se llamaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) Juan y tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) un perro que se llamaba Bobby. Había una vez una rana que guardaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) en una jarra en su dormitorio.

Entonces le dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) que si su rana estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) allí (ADV) y le dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) que sí y él cogió (TEL) (PFV) (F) a su rana y dijeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) adiós a las ranas y se fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) a casa contentos y comieron perdices.
la rana se escapó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) de la jarra

y salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana

a la mañana siguiente (TAP) cuando (SIM) juan y bobby se despertaron

(TEL) (PFV) (F)

vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F)

que la rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)

entonces empezaron a buscarla (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) por todas partes

pero no aparecía (TEL) (IPFV) (B)

asi que salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana

y empezó a llamarla (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)

el perrito bobby tenía (STA) (IPFV) (B) la cabeza dentro de la jarra

para la sorpresa del niño bobby saltó (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana

y salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana

la rana no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B)

entonces empezaron a buscarla (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) por todas partes

pero no aparecía (TEL) (IPFV) (B)

luego fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) al bosque

para ver si allí estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana

en el bosque vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) una colmena

y bobby empezó a jugar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (TNC) con ella

mientras (SIM) el niño buscaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) a la rana en un agujero

entonces una ardilla salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) de su agujero

pero no sabía (NNTA) (IPFV) (B)

donde estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) la rana

entonces el niño subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un árbol

para buscar a la rana

pero la colmena se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)

y las abejas empezaron a salir (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC)

y perseguían (ACT) (IPFV) (F) al perro

entonces un búho salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) del árbol

y el niño se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP)

el búho perseguía (ACT) (IPFV) (F) al niño

entonces el niño subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) a una roca

y llamó (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la rana otra vez (TAC)

pero no aparecía (TEL) (IPFV) (B) por ningún lado

detrás de la roca había (STA) (IPFV) (B) un ciervo

y se cayó (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) encima del ciervo

el ciervo enfadado empezó a correr (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) con juan encima

y el perro también corría (ACT) (IPFV) (F) detrás del ciervo

entonces el ciervo tiró (TEL) (PFV) (F) a juan
*NN11 y juan y bobby cayeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) en un río
*NN11 y cuando (SIM) estaban (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el río
*NN11 juan oyó (TEL) (PFV) (F) un ruido
*NN11 y le dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a bobby
*NN11 que no hiciera (B) (ACT) (IPFVSUBJ) ruido
*NN11 entonces miraron (ACT) (PFV) (F) detrás de un trozo
*NN11 que había (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el río
*NN11 y alia vieron (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN11 que había (STA) (IPFV) (B) dos ranas
*NN11 que tenían (STA) (IPFV) (B) muchos hijos
*NN11 y una de las ranas era (STA) (IPFV) (B) su rana
*NN11 que había escapado (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (SEASP)
*NN11 pero ella quería (ACT) (IPFV) (B) quedarse en el río con su familia
*NN11 que juan y el perrito bobby jugaron (ACT) (PFV) (F) con las ranas
*NN11 un rato
*NN11 y luego volvieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a su casa muy contentos

*SN11
*SN11 había una vez un niño que se llamaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) pepe
*SN11 tema (STA) (IPFV) (B) un perro que se llamaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) rex
*SN11 cada noche (TAP) antes de (ANT) ir a dormir
*SN11 guardaba (TEL) (PFV) (B) a dons en una jarra
*SN11 una noche (TAP) mientras (SIM) pepe y rex dormían (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*SN11 dons salió (TEL) (PFV) (F) de la jarra
*SN11 a la mañana siguiente (TAP) pepe se dio cuenta (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*SN11 de que la rana se había escapado (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (SEASP)
*SN11 y se preocupó (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*SN11 a la mañana siguiente (TAP) pepe se dio cuenta (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*SN11 de que la rana se había escapado (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) (SEASP)
*SN11 y se preocupó (TEL) (PFV) (F)

*SN11 entonces se vistió (TEL) (PFV) (F) rápidamente
*SN11 y empezó a buscar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) a dons
*SN11 y rex le ayudaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B)

*SN11 abrió (TEL) (PFV) (F) la ventana
*SN11 para ver
*SN11 si dons estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) en el jardín
*SN11 y gritó (TEL) (PFV) (F) dons dons

*SN11 entonces él saltó (TEL) (PFV) (F) por la ventana con la jarra en la
cabeza
*SN11 y la jarra se rompió (TEL) (PFV) (F)
APPENDIX E

*NN12 y pepe se enfadó (TEL) (PFV) (F) con el perro
*NN12 porque la jarra era (STA) (IPFV) (B) la casa de dor sí
@G 08
*NN12 los dos fueron (TEL) (PFV) (F) al bosque
*NN12 que habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) cerca de la casa
*NN12 y pepe llamaba (TEL) (IPFV) (F) otra vez (TAC) a la rana dor sí
@G 09
*NN12 en el bosque pepe encontro (TEL) (PFV) (F) un agujero
*NN12 y penío (ACT) (PFV) (B) que
dor sí podia (ACT) (IPFV) (B) estar allí
*NN12 y rex se puso a jugar (TEL) (PFV) (F) (INC) con una colmena de
abejas
*NN12 que habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) en un árbol
@G 10
*NN12 del agujero salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) un conejo
*NN12 y pepe estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) triste
*NN12 porqué allí no estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) su rana
@G 11
*NN12 entonces subió (TEL) (PFV) (F) a un árbol muy grande
dor sí donde habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) otro agujero
*NN12 y miro (TEL) (PFV) (F)
*NN12 para ver si dor sí
*NN12 se habia escondido (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) allí
@G 12
*NN12 pero el agujero era (STA) (IPFV) (B) la casa de un buho
*NN12 que salio (TEL) (PFV) (F) volando
*NN12 y tiro (TEL) (PFV) (F) a pepe del árbol
*NN12 mientras (SIM) rex corria (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*NN12 porqué todas las abejas le perseguían (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*NN12 porqué habia tirado (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) su colmena
@G 13
@G 14
*NN12 luego pepe subio (TEL) (PFV) (F) a una roca
*NN12 y se cogio (TEL) (PFV) (F) a unas ramas
*NN12 y volvio a llamar (PFV) (F) (ITE) a su rana
@G 15
*NN12 pero las ramas no eran (STA) (IPFV) (B) unas ramas
*NN12 eran (STA) (IPFV) (B) los cuernos de un ciervo muy grande
@G 16
@G 17
*NN12 y el ciervo se lo llevo (TEL) (PFV) (F) (SEASP) hasta un acantilado
*NN12 y allí tiro (TEL) (PFV) (F) al pobre pepe y a rex a un no
*NN12 que habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) debajo
@G 18
@G 19
*NN12 pero por suerte el rio no era (STA) (IPFV) (B) muy profundo
*NN12 y no se hicieron (ACT) (PFV) (B) daño
*NN12 como a rex no le gustaba (ACT) (IPFV) (B) el agua
*NN12 subio (TEL) (PFV) (F) a la cabeza de pepe
*NN12 y de repente (TAC) los dos oyeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) un ruido
@G 20
*NN12 y pensaron (ACT) (PFV) (B) que
*NN12 podia (ACT) (IPFV) (B) ser su rana dor sí
*NN12 y pepe le dijo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a rex
*NN12 que estuviera (B) (STA) (IPFV SUBJ) llamado
@G 21
*NN12 murieron (ACT) (PFV) (F) detrás de un tronco
@G 22
*NN12 allí habia (STA) (IPFV) (B) dos ranas juntas un papa y una mama
**APPENDIX E**

*NN12 y teman (STA) (IPFV) (B) muchas ranitas pequeñas
*NN12 que eran (STA) (IPFV) (B) sus hujtos
*NN12 y doris estaba (STA) (IPFV) (B) con ellos
*NN12 porque eran (STA) (IPFV) (B) sus amigos
*NN12 y habia ido (B) (TEL) (PASTPERF) a visitarlos
*NN12 y no sabia (ACT) (IPFV) (B)
*NN12 como volver a casa
*NN12 entonces pepe cogo (TEL) (PFV) (F) a doris
*NN12 y muy contentos dijeron (TEL) (PFV) (F) adios a las ranas
*NN12 y volvieron (TEL) (PFV) (F) a casa

**BEGIN**

**Languages es**

**Participants N01**

**ID es/puigplanella**

**situation one-way recording**

*N01 había una vez un niño
*N01 que se llamaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV) Pepito
*N01 tema (STA) (B) (IPFV) dos amigos un perro y una ranita
*N01 una noche (TAP) pepito se fue a dormir (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) (SEASP)
*N01 pero no se acordo (TEL) (B) (PFV) de cerrar bien la ventana
*N01 y la ranita aprovecho (ACT) (F) (PFV) para saltar pluc por la ventana
*N01 por la mañana (TAP) cuando (S1M) Pepito se levanto (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N01 oh se dio (TEL) (F) (PFV) cuenta que
*N01 no estaba (STA) (F) (IPFV) su ranita
*N01 asi que con su perro y el se fueron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) en busca
de la ranita
*N01 fueron (TEL) (F) (PFV) al bosque
*N01 y pensaron (ACT) (F) (PFV) que
*N01 alli se podia (ACT) (B) (IPFV) (SEASP) haber escondido (ANT)
*N01 y en el bosque se encontraron (TEL) (F) (PFV) con un nido de abejas
*N01 pepito vio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un agujiero
*N01 y llamo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N01 raanta ranita que estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) aqui
*N01 pero no del agujiero le salvo (TEL) (F) (PFV) un topo
*N01 el perro vio (TEL) (F) (PFV) el nido de abejas
*N01 y empez lo jugar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) con ellas
*N01 al final (TAC) el nido se cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
*N01 y las abejas salieron corriendo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (REP) corriendo
persiguendo al pobre perro
*N01 pepito mientras (SIM) tanto se habia subido (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF)
(SEASP) (ANT) a un arbol
*N01 del arbol tambien habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) un agujiero
*N01 y del agujero uh uh salió (TEL) (F) (PFV) un buho
*N01 pepito se dio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un susto
@G 13
*N01 oí, oí, oí dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV) el buho
*N01 no me molestes (ACT) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N01 que yo estoy durmiendo (ACT) (B) (PRESPROG) (DIR)
@G 14
*N01 así que pepito continuó buscando (F) (PFV) (ITE)
*N01 ranita ranita donde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
@G 15
*N01 detras de unas piedras muy altas muy altas pepito vio (TEL) (F) (PFV)
 unas ramas
*N01 y se subió (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a las piedras
*N01 y se cogió (TEL) (F) (PFV) a las ramas
*N01 y seguía gritando (F) (IPFV) (ITE)
*N01 ranita ranita donde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N01 pero la ranita nada de repente (TAC) las ramas empezaron a moverse
 (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC)
*N01 y pepito se dio (TEL) (F) (PFV) cuenta de que
*N01 no eran unas ramas (STA) (B) (IPFV)
*N01 sino que eran (STA) (B) (IPFV) los cuernos de un ciervo
@G 16
*N01 el ciervo salió (TEL) (F) (PFV) corriendo
@G 17
*N01 y tiro (TEL) (F) (PFV) a pepito y a su perro al agua chof
*N01 oh dijo (TEL) (B) (PFV) pepito
*N01 oh dijo (TEL) (B) (PFV) su perro
*N01 así que continuaron buscando (F) (PFV) (ITE) por allí
*N01 ranita ranita donde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
@G 18
@G 19
*N01 de repente pepito oyó (TEL) (F) (PFV) un ruido
@G 20
*N01 croc croc croc sss le dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV) a su perro
*N01 no chilles (TEL) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N01 no hagas ruido (ACT) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N01 me parece (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N01 que aquí detrás hay (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) algo
@G 21
*N01 miraron (ACT) (F) (PFV) detrás de un tronco
@G 22/23
*N01 y en efecto allí encontraron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un papa rana y a una
 mama rana y a las ranitas hijitos
*N01 oh mira (ACT) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N01 es (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) mi ranita hola hola ranita
*N01 como estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N01 te había perdido (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) (DIR)
*N01 oh gracias ranitas por cuidar a mi ranita eh muchas gracias
@G 24
*N01 ahora (TAP) me la llevo (TEL) (B) (PRES) (DIR) a casa
*N01 otro día (TAP) os vendrá (TEL) (B) (FUT) (DIR) a ver vale
*N01 que contento estoy (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N01 hasta luego ranitas adiós y colorín colorado este cuento se ha acabado
@End
@coder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way recording

@G 01
*N02 había una vez carlos y el pequeño perro boby
*N02 estaban mirando (ACT) (B) (IPFVPROG) esa ranita verde
*N02 que habían cazado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) aquella misma noche (TAP)
*N02 se disponian a irse (ACT) (B) (IPFV) (SEASP) (INC) a la cama
*N02 pero estuvieron rato y rato mirando (ACT) (B) (PFVPROG) esa ranita verde
*N02 la pusieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) en una especie de pecera
*N02 estaria (STA) (B) (COND) confortable aquella noche (TAP)

@G 02
*N02 mientras (SIM) carlos y el pequeño pemto estaban durmiendo (ACT) (B) (IPFVPROG) profundamente
*N02 de hecho incluso estaban soñando (ACT) (B) (IPFVPROG)
*N02 con lo que habian (ACT) (B) (COND) al dia siguiente (TAP) con esa ranita
*N02 ella se desperto (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N02 y salto de la pecera (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N02 salto por la ventana (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N02 que quedo (TEL) (B) (PFV) entreabieta en aquella noche de verano (TAP)

@G 03
*N02 a la mañana siguiente (TAP) carhtos miro (ACT) (F) (PFV) la pecera
*N02 y vio (TEL) (F) (PFV) que
*N02 la ranita no estaba (STA) (F) (IPFV)

@G 04
*N02 boby husmeo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (REP) e husmeo
*N02 pero la cabeza se le quedo (TEL) (F) (PFV) dentro de la pecera
*N02 mientras (SIM) carhtos se vestia (TEL) (B) (IPFV)rapidamente
*N02 y se limpiaba (ACT) (B) (PFV) la cara y los dientes
*N02 despues de (POST) haber comido alguna cosita pequenia

@G 05
*N02 y se disponia (ACT) (B) (IPFV) (B) (INC)
*N02 a ir a buscar a la ranita verde
*N02 el pequeno perro que se había quedado (TEL) (F) (PASTPERF) (ANT) con la cabeza dentro de la pecera

@G 06
*N02 salto (TEL) (F) (PFV) por la ventana

@G 07
*N02 con cual disgusto que cayendo (GER)
*N02 se rompio (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) la pecera
*N02 el disgusto fue (STA) (B) (PFV) para carhtos
*N02 que esa pecera se la había regalado (ACT) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) su madre
*N02 pero bien contento estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) el perro boby
*N02 que no paro de lamerle (TEL) (F) (PFV) (COMP) la cara a carlos

@G 08
*N02 empezaron a buscar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) a la ranita verde por el bosque
*N02 ranita verde ranita verde donde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N02 pero nadie respondio (TEL) (F) (PFV)

@G 09
*N02 empezaron a buscar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) por todos los nidos de los topos
*N02 que habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) por todo el bosque

@G 10
*N02 a carlos le saltó (TEL) (F) (PFV) un topo
*N02 le dio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un buen susto

lxxvi
*NO2 el perrito boby empezó a zarandear (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) cada uno de
los arboles
*NO2 que encontraba (TEL) (B) (IPFV)
   @G 11
*NO2 en aquello que un arbol tenia (STA) (B) (IPFV) un panal de abejas
*NO2 lo zarandeo (ACT) (F) (PFV) tanto que el panal
*NO2 cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*NO2 y las abejas comenzaron a perseguir (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) a boby el
perrito
*NO2 que desesperadamente se iba (TEL) (B) (IPFV) (SEASP) de un lado a otro
*NO2 dando (GER) vueltas por todo el bosque
*NO2 intentando deshacerse (GER) de las mas que molestas abejas
*NO2 entre ello carritos se subio (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a un arbol
*NO2 miro (ACT) (F) (PFV)
*NO2 que habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) dentro de un agujero
   @G 12
*NO2 pero era (STA) (B) (IPFV) un nido de un buho
*NO2 carlos cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV) asustado
   @G 13
*NO2 el buho se fue (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) volando
   @G 14
*NO2 y entre esto carlos subio (TEL) (F) (PFV) a una montafia
*NO2 donde habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) varios arbustos
*NO2 y entre estos arbustos se encontraban (STA) (B) (IPFV) los cuernos de
un alce
   @G 15
*NO2 carritos sin darse (INF) cuenta
*NO2 se subio (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a la cabeza del alce
   @G 16
*NO2 el alce cogio (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*NO2 y empezó a correr (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) con carritos entre los dos
cuernos
*NO2 carritos todo asustado pensaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV)
*NO2 que de esa no saldría (TEL) (B) (COND)
*NO2 el perrito boby se había desecho (ACT) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) de las
abejas
*NO2 que le habían perseguido (ACT) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) durante minutos y
minutos horas y horas (TAD)
*NO2 entre esto que el perrito boby consuugo alcanzar (TEL) (F) (PFV)
   (COMP) al alce y a carritos
*NO2 pero el alce se encontro (TEL) (F) (PFV) en un barranco
   @G 17
*NO2 freno (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*NO2 y carritos cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV) barranco abajo con boby detras
*NO2 suerte tuvieron (STA) (B) (PFV)
*NO2 que debajo de ese pequeño barranco habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) una charca
llena de agua
   @G 18
*NO2 cayeron (TEL) (F) (PFV) en el agua
   @G 19
*NO2 y todo acabo (TEL) (F) (PFV) en un susto
   @G 20
*NO2 entre esto que carhtos le hizo callar (ACT) (F) (PFV) a boby
*NO2 porque habia oido (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) de ranitas
   @G 21
*NO2 miro (ACT) (F) (PFV) detras de un tronco
   @G 22
*NO2 y ahí estaban (STA) (B) (IPFV) dos ranitas
*NO2 una era (STA) (B) (IPFV) la ranita verde
*N02 que habían cogido (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) la noche anterior (TAP)
@G 23
*N02 y alrededor se encontraban (STA) (B) (IPFV) todas las ranitas
*N02 su hogar natural
*N02 todas las ranitas y las ranitas pequeñitas felices
*N02 y allí se quedaron (TEL) (B) (PFV) para toda la vida (TAD)
@G 24
*N02 carlitos y boby volvieron (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N02 despues de (POST) jugar (INF) un ratito con las ranitas pequeñitas
*N02 volvieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a su casa
*N02 y colorín colorado este cuento se ha acabado
@End

@Begin
@Languages es
@Participants N03
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way recording
@G 01
*N03 había una vez un niño
*N03 que le regalaron (ACT) (B) (PFV) una ranita
@G 02
*N03 despues una noche (TAP) la ranita cuando (SIM) el niño estaba durmiendo (ACT) (B) (IPFVPROG)
*N03 se fue (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
*N03 y se escapo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
@G 03
*N03 a la mañana (TAP) siguiente el niño buscaba (ACT) (F) (IPFV)
*N03 ranita ranita donde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) la ranita
*N03 porque en el pote donde la tenia (STA) (B) (IPFV) guardada
*N03 pues no estaba (STA) (F) (IPFV)
@G 04
*N03 entonces remeno (ACT) (F) (PFV) (REP) y remeno desorden (ACT) (F) (PFV) (REP) (su habitacion)
*N03 buscandola (GER)
@G 05
*N03 y salio (TEL) (F) (PFV) por la ventana
*N03 con su perro diciendo (GER)
*N03 ranita ranita donde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) ranita ranita
@G 06
@G 07
*N03 entonces salio (TEL) (F) (PFV) de la ventana
*N03 y dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N03 sabes (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) que
*N03 lo que haremos (ACT) (B) (FUT) (DIR)
*N03 buscaremos a la ranita (ACT) (B) (FUT) (DIR)
*N03 entonces le dije (TEL) (F) (PFV) a su perro
*N03 vamos a buscar (TEL) (B) (PRES) (DIR) (INC) a la ranita
@G 08
*N03 entonces (SEC) empezaron a gritar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) por el jardin
*N03 ranita ranita donde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) ranita ranita
@G 09
*N03 asi que busco (ACT) (F) (PFV) (REP)
*N03 y busco y busco por todo el jardin
@G 10
*N03 pero el perro entoncesvio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un panal de abejas
*N03 y entonces las abejas salieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) ante los gritos del niño de ranita ranita
*N03 salieron (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N03 y entonces empezaron a perseguir (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) al niño
*N03 y al que me pica (TEL) (B) (PRES) (DIR) una abeja
*N03 que me pica (TEL) (B) (PRES) (DIR) una abeja
@G 11
@G 12
*N03 entonces el perro un corredo (ACT) (F) (PFV) (REP)
*N03 corredo corredo
*N03 porque todas las abejas perseguian (ACT) (B) (IPFV) al perro
@G 13
@G 14
*N03 entonces el niño continuaba buscando (IPFV) (F) (ITE)
*N03 ranita ranita donde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) ranita
*N03 y se cogio (TEL) (F) (PFV) a unas ramas
@G 15
*N03 pero ya estas ramas no eran (STA) (B) (IPFV) ramas
*N03 eran (STA) (B) (IPFV) un ciervo
@G 16
@G 17
*N03 y entonces el ciervo enfadado porque el niño había confundido
*TEL (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) sus cuernos con unas ramas
*N03 lo tiro (TEL) (F) (PFV) al agua
@G 18
*N03 al tirarle (INF) (SIM) al agua
@G1 19
*N03 un sorpresa empezó a oir (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) cruac cruac cruac
*N03 y el niño y el perro se dieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) cuenta
*N03 que habian encontrado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) su ranita
@G 20
*N03 entonces el niño le dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV) al perro
*N03 sss que me parece (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N03 que he encontrado (TEL) (B) (PRESPERF) (DIR) a la
*ranita
@G 21
@G 22
*N03 y un sorpresa detras de un tronco habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) una ranita
@G 23
*N03 pero cual fue (STA) (B) (IPFV) la sopresa
*N03 que la ranita tenia (STA) (B) (IPFV) tres hijos y un xxx
*N03 entonces la ranita le dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N03 mura (ACT) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N03 es (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) que
*N03 yo soy (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) una mama
*N03 y tengo (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) tres hijos
*N03 y entonces tu no me puedes guardar (ACT) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N03 porque yo tengo (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) que cuidar a los hijos
*N03 y el niño pues entendio (TEL) (B) (PFV) (B)
*N03 que no se podia quedar (ACT) (B) (IPFV) (B) con la ranita
@G 24
*N03 pero entonces dijeron (TEL) (B) (PFV) (F)
*N03 bueno no te preocupes (ACT) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
*N03 yo cuidare de ti (ACT) (B) (FUT) (DIR)
*N03 entonces collorin colorado este cuento se ha acabado
@End
*N04: había una vez un niño
*N04: que le regalaron (ACT) (B) (PFV) una ranita

*N04: y mientras (SIM) dormía (ACT) (B) (IPFV)
*N04: la ranita se escapó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)

*N04: y el con su perro venga a buscar (PRES) (ITE) la ranita

*N04: salieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) al bosque
*N04: y llamaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) ranita ranita
*N04: y vio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un agujerito
*N04: y pensó (ACT) (F) (PFV)
*N04: allí está (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) la ranita
*N04: miró (ACT) (F) (PFV)
*N04: pero en vez de una ranita le salió (TEL) (F) (PFV) un topo
*N04: y el perro también vio (TEL) (F) (PFV) en un árbol una cosa
*N04: se pensaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV) (SEASP)
*N04: que podía estar (ACT) (B) (IPFV) la ranita
*N04: pero era (STA) (B) (IPFV) un nido de abejas uuh
*N04: y salieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (F) que correr y correr (REP) muchísimo
*N04: y tuvieron (STA) (PFV) (F) un susto muy grande con un mochuelo
*N04: y para ver (INF) si
*N04: veían (TEL) (B) (IPFV) más cosas
*N04: el niño se subió (TEL) (F) (PFV) encima de una piedra
*N04: y se agarró (TEL) (F) (PFV) a una rama
*N04: porque estaba a punto de caer (TEL) (B) (IPFV) (INC)

*N04: pero oh no era (STA) (B) (IPFV) una rama
*N04: eran (STA) (B) (IPFV) los cuernos de un ciervo
*N04: y se quedó (TEL) (F) (PFV) colgado del cuello

*N04: y el ciervo empezó a correr (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) a correr (REP) y el perro detrás
*N04: hasta que llegaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un precipicio
*N04: y entonces el ciervo se paró (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
*N04: y entonces el niño y el perro se cayeron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) por el precipicio

*N04: pero había un río abajo (STA) (B) (IPFV)
*N04: y cuando (SIM) llegaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) xxx chuf todos mojados

*N04: y entonces de golpe el niño oyó (TEL) (F) (PFV) un ruidito
*N04 y dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N04 que es esto (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)

@G 20

*N04 le dijo al perro (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N04 callate perro (TEL) (B) (IMPER) (DIR)
*N04 callate (REP)

@G 21

*N04 y fueron buscando (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) buscando (REP)

@G 22

@G 23

*N04 oh y encontraron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un papa y una mama ramita con todo
de ranitas

@G 24

*N04 y entonces la mama ranita le dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV)

*N04 ten (STA) (B) (IMPER) (DIR)
*N04 esta es (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) tu ramita

@G 25

*N04 y el niño estuvo (STA) (B) (PFV) muy contento muy contento

*N04 porque había encontrado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) la ramita

@G 26

@Begin

@Languages es

@Participants N05

@ID es/puigplanella

@coder kenia puig i planella

@situation one-way recording

@G 01

*N05 había una vez un niño y su perro
*N05 estaban (STA) (B) (IPFV) en una habitación

*N05 y miraban (ACT) (B) (IPFV) a su ramita
*N05 los dos estaban (STA) (B) (IPFV) muy contentos

@G 02

*N05 pero decidieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) irse a dormir
*N05 durmiendo (GER) (SIM) el niño y el perro tranquilamente

*N05 la ramita salió (TEL) (F) (PFV) del potecito

*N05 donde estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) guardada

*N05 y esto hizo (ACT) (B) (PFV) que

*N05 se escapara (TEL) (B) (IPFVSUBJ) (SEASP) de su casita

@G 03

*N05 a media noche (TAP) el niño y el perro se despertaron (TEL) (F) (PFV)

*N05 y vieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) que

*N05 la ramita ya (TAC) no estaba (STA) (F) (IPFV) dentro del potecito

*N05 se extrañaron (TEL) (F) (PFV)

*N05 y no entendieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) porque

*N05 se había escapado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT)

@G 04

*N05 empezaron a buscar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) por toda la habitación

*N05 la revolvieron (ACT) (F) (PFV) de arriba a abajo

*N05 pero la ramita no salió (TEL) (F) (PFV)

@G 05

*N05 abrieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) la ventana

*N05 el perro y el niño exclamaron (TEL) (F) (PFV)

*N05 dónde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) (REP) ranita

*N05 dónde estás

*N05 y no la encontraron (TEL) (F) (PFV)

@G 06
*N05 esto hizo (ACT) (B) (PFV) que
*N05 el perrito se metiera (TEL) (F) (IPFVSUBJ) (SEASP) el potecito en la cabeza
*N05 y sin querer (INF)
*N05 saltara (TEL) (F) (IPFVSUBJ) de la ventana hasta el jardín de casa
@G 07
*N05 el niño se asusto (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N05 y acto seguido fue a buscar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) al perrito
*N05 y le dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N05 pero que has hecho (ACT) (B) (PRETPERF) (DIR)
*N05 has roto (TEL) (B) (PRETPERF) (DIR) el potecito la casita de la ramta
*N05 y ya esta (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) bien
*N05 el niño dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N05 dirigiéndose (GER) de forma enfadada al perrito
@G 08
*N05 salieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) en busca de la ramta
*N05 se dirigieron (ACT) (F) (PFV) al bosque
*N05 empezaron a exclamar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC)
*N05 ranita ranita donde estas (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) (REP)
*N05 donde estas
*N05 el perro también aullaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV)
*N05 pero no había (STA) (B) (IPFV) manera de que
*N05 la ranita apareciera (TEL) (B) (IPFVSUBJ)
@G 09
*N05 de repente (ADV) se acercaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un árbol
*N05 donde habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) un panal de abejas
*N05 el niño también exclamaba (TEL) (F) (IPFV)
*N05 ranita ranita buscandola (GER) (SIM) dentro de un agujero
*N05 seguramente un agujero hecho (PART) por un topo
@G 10
*N05 un topo que acto seguido aparecio (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N05 y les dio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un buen susto xxx
*N05 mientras (SIM) tanto el perrito viendo (GER) el panal
*N05 moviendo (GER) el arbol
*N05 donde estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) el panal
*N05 provoco (ACT) (F) (PFV) que
*N05 las abejas salieran (TEL) (F) (IPFVSUBJ) de ella
*N05 el perrito y el niño continuaron (ACT) (F) (PFV) por el bosque en busca de la ranita
*N05 pero esta no aparecia (TEL) (B) (IPFV)
@G 11
*N05 se subieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) encima de un arbol
*N05 miraron (ACT) (F) (PFV) por los agujeros
*N05 el panal finalmente (TAC) cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N05 y las abejas salieron (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N05 esto provoco (ACT) (F) (PFV)
*N05 que el perrito se asustara (TEL) (F) (IPFVSUBJ)
*N05 empezara a correr (TEL) (F) (IPFVSUBJ) (INC)
*N05 y todas las abejas persguieran al perrito (ACT) (F) (IPFVSUBJ)
*N05 pansando (GER) por delante del chico
@G 12
*N05 la busqueda continuaba (ACT) (F) (IPFV)
*N05 siguieron (ACT) (F) (PFV) por el bosque
*N05 y acto seguido se encontraron (TEL) (F) (PFV) con un buho
@G 13
*N05 un buho que les pasaba (ACT) (F) (IPFV) por encima
*N05 y asustaba (TEL) (F) (PFV) al niño y al perrito
@G 14
*N05 y subieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) encima de las piedras
98 *N05 y exclamaban (TEL) (F) (IPFV)
99 *N05 ranita ranita donde estás (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR)
100 *N05 pero seguía (ACT) (B) (IPFV) sin aparecer
101 @G 15
102 *N05 se subieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a un árbol
103 *N05 pero no era (STA) (B) (IPFV) tal árbol
104 *N05 sino que era (STA) (B) (IPFV) un ciervo
105 *N05 era (STA) (B) (IPFV) un ciervo muy grande
106 @G 16
107 *N05 y esto hizo (ACT) (F) (PFV)
108 *N05 que se llevara (TEL) (F) (IPFVSUBJ) (SEASP) montado encima suyo al
109 chico y al perro al lado suyo
110 *N05 exclamando (GER) (SIM)
111 *N05 dejeme (TEL) (B) (IMPER) (DIR) (REP)
112 *N05 dejeme a mi amo
113 @G 17
114 *N05 el ciervo soltó (TEL) (F) (PFV) al niño
115 *N05 y soltó (TEL) (F) (PFV) al perro por un acantilado
116 @G 18
117 *N05 se cayeron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) justo encima de un pequeño
118 riachuelo
119 *N05 y se mojaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) tanto el perro como el niño
120 @G 19
121 *N05 los dos ya (TAC) empezaron a sonreír (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC)
122 *N05 diciendo (GER) (SIM)
123 *N05 que aventura vaya aventura que estamos viviendo (ACT) (B) (PRES PROG)
124 (DIR)
125 *N05 buscando (GER) (SIM) la ranita
126 *N05 pero la búsqueda continuaba (ACT) (F) (IPFV)
127 @G 20
128 *N05 el niño hizo (ACT) (F) (PFV) callar al perro
129 *N05 pensando (GER)
130 *N05 que había encontrado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) la ranita
131 @G 21
132 *N05 dieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) la vuelta a un tronco
133 @G 22
134 @G 23
135 *N05 y ahí debajo del tronco se encontraron (TEL) (F) (PFV) dos ranitas dos
136 ranitas y muchas muchas muchas ranitas pequeñas
137 *N05 los dos se pusieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) muy contentos
138 *N05 y dieron (TEL) (F) (PFV)
139 *N05 por fin (TAC) creo (ACT) (B) (PRES) (DIR) que
140 *N05 hemos encontrado (TEL) (B) (PRESPERF) (DIR) nuestra ranita y a toda su
141 familia
142 @G 24
143 *N05 el niño y el perro contentos uno y otro se fueron (TEL) (F) (PFV)
144 (SEASP) para casa con su ranita
145 *N05 despidiéndose (GER) de la familia entera
146 *N05 y diciéndoles (GER) adiós adiós
147 *N05 muchas gracias por haber encontrado (ANT) la ranita gracias
148 gracias
149 @End
150
1 @Begin
2 @Languages es
3 @Participants N06
4 @ID es/puigplanella
5 @coder kenia puig planella
6 @situation one-way recording
había una vez un niño
que vivía en un pueblo muy pequeño en medio del campo
el niño siempre estaba solo
pero tenía un perro como mejor amigo
aparte del perro el niño también tenía una ranita
que guardaba en un envase de cristal en su habitación
la ranita había sido un regalo de su mama
ya que ella sabía que su hijo amaba los animales
una noche el niño se acostó despues de un largo día de juego con su perro
aquella noche sobre las dos de la mañana la ranita salto y se fugo por la ventana
al día siguiente el niño se levanto muy temprano a las ocho de la mañana con su perro
inmediatamente fue a mirar su ranita
pero la ranita no estaba
el niño empezó a llamar a la ranita a mirar por todas partes de la habitación debajo de la camas dentro del armario
muy temprano el niño se levanto a las ocho de la mañana
pero no había manera de encontrarla
se llamaba paula
el niño empezó a buscar, y el perro también una hora caminando y gritando
llegaron a un claro en el campo donde había un árbol y una colmena
el perro empezó a ladrar y quería saber si las abejas habían visto a paula también el niño llamo a la ardilla.
A P P E N D I X E

*N06 y le preguntó (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N06 si había visto (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) a al ranita paula
*N06 pero no tuvieron (STA) (F) (PFV) éxito
*N06 la ranita no aparecía (TEL) (F) (IPFV)

@G 11

*N06 a las abejas no les pareció (STA) (F) (PFV) bien
*N06 que el perro las molestara (ACT) (F) (IPFVSUBJ) durante su siesta
*N06 y entonces se enfurecieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
*N06 tampoco tuvo (STA) (F) (PFV) el niño buena suerte
*N06 ya que el buho a quien el niño había preguntado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF)

(ANT) por el paradero de la ranita

*N06 estaba también durmiendo (ACT) (B) (IPFVPROG)

@G 12

*N06 y salió de repente (TAC) de su madriguera (TEL) (F) (PFV)

@G 13

*N06 no vuelvas (TEL) (B) (PRES) (DIR) por aquí

@G 14

*N06 pero el continuo llamando (PFV) (F) (ITE) a la ranita paula paula

@G 15/16

*N06 y golpeó (TEL) (F) (PFV) con sus alas la cabeza del niño

@G 17

*N06 y se fue (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)

@G 18

*N06 pero el continuo llamando (PFV) (F) (ITE) a la ranita paula paula

@G 19

*N06 al niño y al perro sin embargo tampoco le importó (ACT) (F) (PFV)

@G 20

*N06 ya que era (STA) (B) (IPFV) verano

@G 21

*N06 y un poco de agua fresquita no les venía (TEL) (B) (IPFV) mal

@G 22/23

*N06 y entonces ocurrió (ACT) (F) (PFV) el milagro

@G 24

*N06 al niño y su perro estaban (STA) (B) (IPFV) tan felices

@G 25

*N06 allí estaba (STA) (F) (IPFV) paula con su amante y otras tres o

@G 26

*N06 que como no eran (STA) (B) (IPFV) sus hijos

@G 27

*N06 el niño y su perro estaban (STA) (B) (IPFV) tan felices

@G 28

*N06 que estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) sana y salva y con una maravillosa
@ID es/pugiplanella
@coder kenia pug i planella
@situation one-way recording

*G 01
*N07 una vez un niño
*N07 que se llamaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) pablito
*N07 y vivía (ACT) (B) (IPFV) con sus padres y sus hermanos en una casa
*N07 en el campo
*N07 le gustaban (ACT) (B) (IPFV) mucho los animales
*N07 y entre ellos tenía (STA) (B) (IPFV) un perro y una rana
*N07 jugaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV) con ellos todos los días (TAP)
*N07 y por las noches (TAP) en su habitacion les decía (TEL) (B) (IPFV)
*N07 buenas noches
*N07 un día ya (TAC) por la noche (TAP) antes de irse a acostar (ANT)
*N07 (INF) (INC)
*N07 ya como siempre estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) con el perro y la rana en su
*N07 habitacion
*N07 y después de haber jugado un rato (POST) (INF)
*N07 ya (TAC) decidió (TEL) (F) (PFV) ponerse el pijama
*N07 y irse (SEASP) a la cama
@G 02
*N07 durmió (ACT) (F) (PFV) toda la noche
*N07 y mientras tanto (SIM) la rana que estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) inquieta
*N07 intento (TEL) (F) (PFV) salir de su tarro del frasco
*N07 donde vivía (ACT) (B) (IPFV) normalmente
*N07 y se escapo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
@G 03
*N07 por la mañana (TAP) cuando pablito se despertó (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*G 04
*N07 se dio cuenta (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N07 de que la rana no estaba (STA) (F) (IPFV)
*N07 y claro estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) un poco triste
*N07 porque era (STA) (B) (IPFV) su rana preferida
@G 05
*N07 entonces se vistió (TEL) (F) (PFV) rápidamente
*N07 y llamó al perro (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N07 para comunicarle la mala noticia
*N07 el perro ya (TAC) en la habitacion metió (TEL) (F) (PFV) la cabeza
*N07 dentro del tarro
*N07 que había sido (STA) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) la casa
*N07 donde vivía (ACT) (B) (IPFV) la rana
*N07 y se le quedó (STA) (F) (PFV) (la cabeza dentro
*N07 no la podia sacar (ACT) (B) (IPFV)
*N07 sin embargo los dos pablito y el perro empezaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) la
*N07 busqueda de la rana
@G 06
*N07 primero desde la ventana gritaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (REP) y gritaron
*N07 por ver
*N07 si la rana aparecía (TEL) (B) (IPFV)
*N07 pero nada la rana no estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) por ningun sitio
@G 07
*N07 después de unos minutos (TAD) el perro se resbaló (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N07 (SEASP)
*N07 se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) por la ventana
*N07 y fue a dar al suelo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC)
@G 08
*N07 pero aunque se dio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un buen golpe
*N07 hizo (ACT) (F) (PFV) que

xxxvii
*N07 el tarro se rompiera (TEL) (F) (IPFVSUBJ)
*N07 y asi la cabeza quedo (TEL) (F) (PFV) liberada del tarro
*N07 en ese momento los dos amigos pablito y el perro se abrazaron
(ACT) (F) (PFV) uno al otro
*N07 porque claro pablito ya habia perdido (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) un amigo
*N07 y no quenia (ACT) (B) (IPFV) perder al perro tambien
@G 08
*N07 pues la busqueda continuo (ACT) (F) (PFV)
*N07 ya (TAC) fuera de la casa fueron (TEL) (F) (PFV) hacia el campo
lejos de la casa
*N07 para ver
*N07 si encontraban (TEL) (B) (IPFV) a la rana
*N07 gritaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (REP) y gritaron
*N07 pero no encontraban (TEL) (B) (IPFV) a la rana
*N07 no estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) por ningun sitio
@G 09
*N07 llegaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un arbol
*N07 y cerca pablito descubrio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un agujero
*N07 y se quedo (STA) (F) (PFV) mirandolo
*N07 mientras tanto (SIM) el perro estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) un poco divertido con unas abejas
*N07 que habia (STA) (B) (IPFV)
*N07 y empezo a mover (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) el arbol
@G 10
*N07 pablito sin embargo vio (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N07 que habia una rana (STA) (B) (IPFV)
*N07 pero su sorpresa fue (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N07 que no era su amiga (STA) (B) (IPFV)
*N07 entonces empezo a llorar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) (REP) y llorar
*N07 pero eso le hecho (ACT) (F) (PFV) pensar
*N07 que quizas su amiga estaba (STA) (B) (COND) cerca
@G 11/12/13
*N07 con esto siguieron buscando (PFV) (F) (ITE) tanto el perro como pablito por el bosque los arboles
*N07 y claro de vez en cuando (TAQ) cuando (SIM) pablito se subia (TEL) (F) (IPFV) (SEASP) a los arboles
*N07 pues se caia (TEL) (F) (IPFV) (SEASP)
*N07 y pero no le importaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV)
*N07 se caia (TEL) (F) (IPFV) (SEASP)
*N07 y se levantaba (TEL) (F) (IPFV)
*N07 y mientras tanto (SIM) el perro que habia provocado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) a las abejas de alguna manera
*N07 vinieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) todas en masa
*N07 y le persiguieron (TEL) (F) (PFV)
@G 14
*N07 despues siguieron caminando (PFV) (F) (ITE) por el campo
*N07 y llegaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un monticulo
*N07 desde donde pablito siguió gritando (PFV) (F) (ITE) (REP) y gritando
*N07 para ver
*N07 si encontraba (TEL) (B) (IPFV) su ranita
@G 15
*N07 pero detrás del monticulo habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) un ciervo
*N07 que le hecho (ACT) (F) (PFV) de transporte
@G 16
*N07 y le llevo (TEL) (F) (PFV) muy deprisa
*N07 para poder seguir buscando (ITE) la ranita
*N07 de repente (TAC) iban corriendo (TEL) (F) (IPFV) pablito encima del ciervo y el perro a su lado
A P P E N D I X E

*N07 y llegaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un precipicio

*G 17

*N07 y entonces pablito salio (TEL) (F) (PFV) despedido y el perro tambien

*N07 18

*a consecuencia de esto cayeron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un rio

*N07 19 y los dos claro estaban (STA) (B) (IPFV) mojados hasta los huesos

*G 20

*N07 el perro intento (TEL) (F) (PFV)

*N07 como no sabia (ACT) (B) (IPFV) nadar muy bien

*N07 ponerse encima de pablito

*N07 para no ahogarse

*G 21

*N07 y entonces pablito salio (TEL) (F) (PFV) despedido y el perro tambien

*N07 a consecuencia de esto cayeron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un no

*N07 y los dos claro estaban (STA) (B) (IPFV) mojados hasta los huesos

*G 22

*N07 el perro intento (TEL) (F) (PFV)

*N07 como no sabia (ACT) (B) (IPFV) nadar muy bien

*N07 ponerse encima de pablito

*N07 para no ahogarse

*G 23

*N07 por fin los dos lograron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (COMP) llegar a tierra

*N07 salieron del agua (TEL) (F) (PFV)

*G 24

*N07 y al lado habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) un tronco de arbol

*G 25

*N07 entonces ya (TAC) cuando estaban (STA) (B) (IPFV) fuera

*N07 26 se dieron cuenta (TEL) (F) (PFV)

*N07 27 de que al lado del tronco habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) unas ranas

*N07 28 entonces se alegraron mucho (TEL) (F) (PFV)

*N07 29 porque pensaron (ACT) (F) (PFV)

*N07 30 que quizai su amiga estaria (STA) (B) (COND) alli

*G 31

*N07 poco despues vieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a la familia de las ranas

*N07 32 porque primero simplemente habian visto (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT)

*N07 33 una pareja

*N07 34 y ahora (TAP) vieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a toda la familia

*N07 35 entre ellas estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) la rana

*N07 36 que habia vivido (ACT) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) con pablito su amiga

*N07 37 y por eso pablito estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) muy contento

*N07 38 porque habia logrado encontrar (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) (COMP) a

*N07 39 su rana

*G 40

*N07 despues ya (TAC) con la rana se despidio (TEL) (F) (PFV) de la

*N07 41 familia de la rana

*N07 42 y tanto el como el perro se dirigieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) hacia la
casa

*N07 43 ya (TAC) muy contentos porque volvian (TEL) (F) (IPFV) los tres

*N07 44 juntos

*End

1

@Begin

@Languages es

@Participants N08

@ID es/puigplanella

@coder keina puig i planella

@situation one-way recording

*G 01

*N08 02 juan era (STA) (B) (IPFV) un niño

*N08 03 al que le gustaban (ACT) (B) (IPFV) mucho los animales

*N08 04 especialmente le gustaban (ACT) (B) (IPFV) los perros y las ranas

*N08 05 y por eso su madre le habia comprado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) un

*N08 06 pequeno perro y una rana

*N08 07 a la que adoraba (ACT) (B) (IPFV)

*N08 08 la tenia (STA) (B) (IPFV) dentro de un frasco de cristal

*G 09

*N08 10 una noche (TAP) cuando (SIM) se fue a dormir Juan (TEL) (F) (PFV)

lxxxix
A P P E N D I X  E

17 (INC) (SEASP) con su perro
18 *N08 la pequeña rana que estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) cansada
19 *N08 de estar dentro del frasco de cristal
20 *N08 salió (TEL) (F) (PFV)
21 *N08 y salto (TEL) (F) (PFV) por la ventana
22 @G 03
23 *N08 por la mañana (TAP) juan descubrió (TEL) (F) (PFV) sorprendido
24 *N08 que no estaba (STA) (F) (IPFV) su rana
25 @G 04
26 *N08 y empezó a buscar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) por toda la habitación
27 *N08 la llamaba (TEL) (F) (IPFV) (REP) y la llamaba
28 *N08 porque su ranita tenía (STA) (B) (IPFV) el nombre de margarita
29 @G 05
30 *N08 juan miro (ACT) (F) (PFV) por la ventana pero nada
31 *N08 no había (STA) (B) (IPFV) rastro de su ranita
32 @G 06
33 @G 07
34 @G 08
35 *N08 entonces decidió (TEL) (F) (PFV) ir al bosque
36 *N08 a buscar a su rana con su perro
37 *N08 gritaba (TEL) (F) (IPFV) por todos sitios entre los árboles
38 *N08 y no podia (ACT) (B) (IPFV) encontrarla
39 @G 09
40 *N08 el perro de juan vio (TEL) (F) (PFV) una colmena
41 *N08 no sabia (STA) (B) (IPFV)
42 *N08 lo que era (STA) (B) (IPFV)
43 *N08 y pensaba (ACT) (F) (IPFV) que tal vez
44 *N08 la ranita margarita podria (ACT) (B) (COND) estar allí dentro
45 @G 10
46 *N08 asi que empezó a mover (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) el árbol
47 *N08 del que colgaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV) la colmena
48 @G 11
49 *N08 y la colmena cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
50 *N08 pero todas las abejas salieron (TEL) (F) (PFV)
51 @G 12
52 *N08 y persiguieron (ACT) (F) (PFV) al perro
53 @G 13
54 *N08 mientras tanto (SIM) juan buscaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV) por otros sitios
55 entre unas piedras
56 @G 14
57 *N08 se agarro (TEL) (F) (PFV) a unas ramas
58 *N08 para gritar mas fuerte
59 *N08 y buscar a su ranita
60 @G 15
61 *N08 pero resulta (STA) (B) (PRES)
62 *N08 que las ramas eran (STA) (B) (IPFV) los cuernos de un ciervo de un
63 ciervo enorme
64 *N08 y quedo enganchado (TEL) (F) (PFV) en los cuervos de este ciervo
65 @G 16
66 *N08 el ciervo les empujo (TEL) (F) (PFV)
67 @G 17
68 *N08 y los tiro (TEL) (F) (PFV) por un pequeño acantilado
69 @G 18
70 *N08 y cayeron (TEL) (F) (PFV) en el agua
71 @G 19
72 *N08 afortunadamente no se hicieron (ACT) (B) (PFV) daño
73 *N08 entonces juan se dio cuenta (TEL) (F) (PFV)
74 *N08 que habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) unas ranas en la charca de agua
75 *N08 reconocio (TEL) (F) (PFV) a su rana margarita

xc
*N08: entonces el perro que se puso (TEL) (F) (PFV) muy contento
*N08: empezó a ladrar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC)
*G: 20
*N08: y le pidió (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N08: que se mantuviera (ACT) (B) (IPFVSUBJ) en silencio
*G: 21
*N08: de ver a juan
*N08: porque a pesar de que tenía (STA) (B) (IPFV) ganas
*N08: de tener una aventura en el bosque
*N08: le gustaba mucho (ACT) (B) (IPFV)
*N08: jugar con juan
*G: 24
*N08: juansepuso(TEL)(F)(PFV) contentísimo
*N08: vio (TEL) (F) (PFV) a su ranita entre otras ranas
*N08: de las que se había hecho (ACT) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) amiga
*N08: su rana margarita se puso (TEL) (F) (PFV) muy contenta
*N08: de ver a juan
*N08: así que todos se fueron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) muy contentos y
felices a su casa
*N08: prometiéndoles (GER) volver al bosque para visitarlas
@G 05
* N09 abrió (TEL) (F) (PFV) la ventana pepe
* N09 y empezó (TEL) (F) (PFV) a dar gritos
* N09 a ver si juliana
* N09 le escuchaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV)
* N09 y venía (TEL) (B) (IPFV) corriendo
* N09 por la ventana también asomó (TEL) (F) (PFV) su perro con la
escafandra de cristal
* N09 como el frasco de cristal le pesaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV) demasiado
* N09 se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) al jardín
* N09 el niño se alegró (TEL) (F) (PFV) mucho
* N09 de que no le hubiera ocurrido (ACT) (B) (PASTPERFSSBJ) (ANT) nada al
perro
* N09 pero se enfadó con el (TEL) (F) (PFV)
* N09 por ser tan travieso
* N09 en su jardín no estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) la rana
@G 07
* N09 por lo tanto el perro y el niño se fueron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) al
bosque cercano
* N09 para ver
* N09 si la podían (ACT) (B) (IPFV) encontrar por algún sitio
@G 08
* N09 mientras (SIM) el niño daba (TEL) (B) (IPFV) gritos llamando a
juliana
* N09 juliana where estaba (STA) (B) (PRES) (DIR) juliana
* N09 el perro se distrajo (ACT) (F) (PFV) viendo a un enjambre de
abejas
* N09 que volvían (TEL) (B) (IPFV) a su panal
* N09 y decidía (TEL) (F) (PFV) seguirlas
@G 09
* N09 el niño mientras tanto (SIM) empezó (TEL) (F) (PFV) a dar voces en un
agujero
* N09 pensando (GER) que a lo mejor la rana
* N09 se había ido (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) a esconder allí,
* N09 pero lo que salió (TEL) (F) (PFV) del agujero
* N09 fue un topo (STA) (F) (PFV)
* N09 y no había (STA) (B) (IPFV) rana por ningún lado
* N09 mientras tanto (SIM) el perro que era (STA) (B) (IPFV) muy
travieso
* N09 empezó a mover (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) el tronco del arbol
* N09 y esto hizo (ACT) (F) (PFV)
* N09 que se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) se viva de las abejas al
suelo
* N09 y que todas las abejas furiosas se pusieran a perseguirlo
* N09 (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC)
@G 10
* N09 cuando (SIM) las abejas perseguían (ACT) (B) (IPFV) al perro
* N09 el niño se subió (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a un arbol
* N09 y vadeando (GER) un agujero en el arbol
* N09 también asomó (TEL) (F) (PFV) la cabeza
* N09 para ver
* N09 por allí aparecía (TEL) (B) (COND) la rana juliana
* N09 pero no apareció (TEL) (F) (PFV) la rana juliana
@G 11
* N09 lo que apareció (TEL) (F) (PFV)
* N09 fue (STA) (F) (PFV) un buho
un buho que estaba irritadísimo
y que ataco al niño
y le araño la cabeza
pobrecito niño estaba desesperado
no sabia que hacer
se subio a una roca
se apoyo en una rama
y siguo gritando juliana juliana por favor
pobrecito niño estaba desesperado no sabia que hacer
se subio a una roca se apoyo en una rama y siguo gritando juliana juliana por favor
de repente las ramas en las que se habia apoyado el niño comenzaron a moverse (INC) se quedo totalmente asustado el perro le siguo y salto (INC) las que se habia apoyado el niño comenzaron a moverse (INC) se quedo totalmente asustado el perro le siguo y salto (INC)
pero el árbol no era tal árbol era un ciervo enorme al que no le hizo ninguna gracia llevar una carga
meneo la cornamenta justo al lado de un precipicio y el niño cayo seguido por el perro a un estanque
menos mal que en el estanque no había mucha agua y lo único que consiguió el niño fue bañarse pero no ahogarse
como estaba en el estanque se le ocurrió que a lo mejor juliana había ido a darse un baño o a visitar a sus amistades empezó a llamarla de nuevo sin tener éxito
pero el perro saltó por encima de un gran tronco y el niño le siguió
y entonces allí encontro lo que buscaba allí había una familia de ranas una mama rana un papa rano y un monton de ranitas y entre ellas estaba juliana había venido a visitar a sus antiguas amigas
pero el perro salto por encima de un gran tronco y el niño le siguió
y entonces allí encontro lo que buscaba allí había una familia de ranas una mama rana un papa rano y un monton de ranitas y entre ellas estaba juliana había venido a visitar a sus antiguas amigas
y cuando el niño le pregunto si queria volver a casa ella acepto muy contenta a condicion de que volviera a dejarle (ANTE) venir a visitar a sus amistades de vez en cuando y colorín colorado este cuento se ha acabado
(SlBegin
@End

@Begin
Languages: es
@Participants: N10
@ID: es/puigplanella
@coder: kenia puig i planella
@situation: one-way recording

@G: 01
*N10: había una vez un niño
*N10: que estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) en su cuarto con su perrito y una
*N10: rana metida en una jarra
*N10: era (STA) (B) (IPFV) de noche (TAP) y el perro y el niño estaban
contemplando (ACT) (B) (IPFVPROG) la jarra
*N10: después de (POST) un rato se fueron a dormir (TEL) (F) (PFV)
(SEASP) (INC)

@G: 02
*N10: y mientras tanto (SIM) la rana aprovechó (ACT) (F) (PFV)
para escaparse sigilosamente de la jarra

@G: 03
*N10: a la mañana siguiente (TAP) cuando (SIM) el niño y el perro se
despertaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
*N10: estuvieron (STA) (F) (PFV) muy sorprendidos
*N10: porque no se veía (TEL) (F) (IPFV) la rana por ningún lugar
*N10: y la jarra estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) vacía

@G: 04
*N10: empezaron a buscarla (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) por todas partes
*N10: pero no la encontraron (TEL) (F) (PFV)
*N10: el perro metió (TEL) (F) (PFV) la cabeza dentro de la jarra
*N10: y después no pudo (ACT) (F) (PFV) sacarla

@G: 05
*N10: se asomaron (TEL) (F) (PFV) los dos a la ventana
*N10: y empezaron a llamar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) a la rana

@G: 06
*N10: entonces el perro se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)

@G: 07
*N10: y rompió (TEL) (F) (PFV) la jarra
*N10: y el niño no estuvo (STA) (B) (PFV) muy contento

@G: 08
*N10: después decidieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) ir al bosque
*N10: para seguir buscándola

@G: 09
*N10: una vez (TAP) en el bosque el niño empezó a buscar (TEL) (F) (PFV)
(INC) por algunos agujeros
*N10: que había (STA) (B) (IPFV) en el suelo
*N10: y el perro se distrajo (ACT) (F) (PFV) con una colmena llena de
abejas

@G: 10
*N10: del agujero salió (TEL) (B) (PFV) un topo
*N10: y el niño se llevó (TEL) (B) (PFV) un buen susto
*N10: mientras (SIM) el perro iba ladrando (TEL) (B) (IPFV) a la colmena
*N10: de la cual salían (TEL) (B) (IPFV) las abejas

@G: 11
*N10: prosiguió (ACT) (F) (PFV) la búsqueda
*N10: y el niño buscaba (ACT) (F) (IPFV) dentro de los árboles
*N10: y la colmena se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) al suelo
*N10: por lo cual las abejas empezaron a perseguir (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC)
al perro

@G: 12

xciv
58 *N10 mientras (SIM) que un buho salió (TEL) (F) (PFV) del tronco del arbol  
59  
60 *N10 que estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) inspeccionando el niño  
61 *N10 con lo cual el niño se llevo (TEL) (F) (PFV) un buen susto  
62 *N10 y se cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) al suelo de espaldas  
63 @G 13  
64 *N10 el buho empezo a perseguir (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) al niño  
65 *N10 que se protego (TEL) (F) (PFV)  
66 @G 14  
67 *N10 y se subio (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a una roca  
68 *N10 desde la cual empezo a llamar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) a la rana  
69 @G 15  
70 *N10 se apoyo (TEL) (F) (PFV) a una especie de ramas  
71 @G 16  
72 *N10 que resultaron (STA) (B) (PFV) ser los cuernos de un ciervo  
73 @G 16  
74 *N10 que se llevo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) al niño en la cabeza  
75 *N10 y se dirgio (TEL) (F) (PFV) hacia un acantilado  
76 @G 17  
77 *N10 al llegar (SIM) (INF) al acantilado  
78 *N10 el ciervo tiro (TEL) (F) (PFV) al niño  
79 *N10 y el perro tambien cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV)  
80 *N10 que habia ido sugendolos (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF)  
81 @G 18  
82 *N10 se cayeron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a una especie de estanque  
83 *N10 que no estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) a una gran distancia del pequeño acantilado  
84 @G 19  
85 *N10 y entonces el niño oyo (TEL) (F) (PFV) algo  
86 *N10 por lo cual empezo a prestar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) atencion al ruido  
87 *N10 que se oia (TEL) (B) (IPFV) proveniente de un tronco cercano  
88 @G 20  
89 *N10 le dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV) al perro  
90 *N10 que se callara (TEL) (F) (IPFVSUBJ) el niño  
91 @G 21  
92 *N10 y entonces se dirgio (TEL) (F) (PFV) al tronco  
93 *N10 y subio (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) al tronco  
94 @G 22  
95 *N10 y al otro lado vio (TEL) (F) (PFV)  
96 *N10 que habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) una pareja de ranas  
97 *N10 una era (STA) (B) (IPFV) rana y la otra su companera  
98 @G 23  
99 *N10 cuando (SIM) bajo (TEL) (F) (PFV) del tronco  
100 *N10 el niño vio (TEL) (F) (PFV)  
101 @G 24  
102 *N10 que habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) un monton de ranitas  
103 *N10 que formaban (ACT) (B) (IPFV) el resto de la familia de ranas  
104 *N10 estuvo jugando (ACT) (F) (PFVPROG) con ellas un rato  
105 @G 25  
106 *N10 y al final (TAC) decido (TEL) (F) (PFV) lleverse una de las ranitas pequeñas  
107  
108 *N10 y dejar a ran con el resto de su familia en el tronco  
109 *N10 y prometio (TEL) (F) (PFV) que  
110 *N10 iria a visitarles (TEL) (B) (COND) (INC) con frecuencia (TAQ)  
111 *N10 y traeran (TEL) (B) (COND) su hijo pequeno  
112 *N10 para que viera (TEL) (B) (IPFVSUBJ) la familia  
113 *N10 y colorn colorado este cuento se ha acabado  
114 @End  
115 @Begin 
@Languages es
@Participants N11
@ID es/puigplanella
@coder kenia puig i planella
@situation one-way recording
@G 01
*N11 había una vez un niño
*N11 que se llamaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) pedro
*N11 y tenía (STA) (B) (IPFV) un perro y una rana
*N11 el perro se llamaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) pecas
*N11 y la rana se llamaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) margarita
*N11 margarita vivía (ACT) (B) (IPFV) en una jarra de cristal
@G 02
*N11 pero una noche (TAP) mientras (SIM) pedro y pecas dormían (ACT) (B) (IPFV)
*N11 margarita decidió (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) escaparse de la jarra
@G 03
*N11 por la mañana (TAP) cuando (SIM) pedro y su perro se despertaron
*N11 descubrieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
*N11 pero no encontraban (TEL) (F) (IPFV) a margarita por ningún lado
*N11 pecas metió (TEL) (F) (PFV) la cabeza dentro de la jarra de margarita
*N11 y luego no la podían (ACT) (B) (IPFV) sacar
@G 05
*N11 pedro abrió (TEL) (F) (PFV) la ventana
*N11 para buscar a la rana
@G 06
*N11 y pecas se cayeron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) por todas partes de la habitación
*N11 buscaron (ACT) (F) (PFV) a margarita por ningún lado
*N11 mientras (SIM) buscaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV)
*N11 pecas metió (TEL) (F) (PFV) la cabeza dentro de la jarra de margarita
*N11 los dos se fueron (TEL) (F) (PFV) al bosque en busca de la rana
@G 09
*N11 y pecas se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) por la ventana
@G 07
*N11 la jarra se rompió (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
*N11 y por suerte pecas no se hizo daño (ACT) (F) (PFV)
@G 08
*N11 los dos se fueron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) al bosque en busca de la rana
@G 11
*N11 y pecas se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) por la ventana
*N11 la jarra se rompió (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
*N11 y por suerte pecas no se hizo daño (ACT) (F) (PFV)
@G 10
*N11 pero margarita no apareció (TEL) (F) (PFV) por ningún lado
@G 10
*N11 pedro miro (ACT) (F) (PFV) dentro de un hoyo
*N11 y volvió a llamar (PFV) (F) (ITE) a la rana
*N11 pero en vez de margarita apareció (TEL) (F) (PFV) un castor
*N11 que no había visto (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) pasar ninguna rana
*N11 mientras tanto (SIM) pecas también buscaba (ACT) (F) (PFV) a margarita en una colmena
@G 11
*N11 pero resultó (STA) (B) (PRES) que
*N11 la colmena se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)
*N11 y empezaron a salir (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) todas las abejas
*N11 pedro se subió (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a un árbol
*N11 donde había (STA) (B) (PFV) un agujero
*N11 y continuó llamando (PFV) (F) (ITE) a la rana
@G 12
*N11 entonces del árbol salió (TEL) (F) (PFV) un buho
 xcvi
*N11 que le dio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un susto tan grande
62 *N11 que pedro se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) del árbol
63 *N11 mientras (SIM) las abejas empezaron a perseguir (TEL) (F) (PFV)
64 (INC) a pecas
65 @G 13
66 *N11 que pedro se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) del árbol
67 @G 14
68 *N11 mientras (SIM) las abejas empezaron a perseguir (TEL) (F) (PFV)
69 *N11 para poder ver mejor
70 @G 15
71 *N11 el buho se había enfadado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) con pedro
72 @G 16
73 *N11 el ciervo salió corriendo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) con pedro en la
74 *N11 cabeza
75 @G 17
76 *N11 el buho se había enfadado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) con pedro
77 @G 18
78 *N11 que se agarro (TEL) (F) (PFV) a unas ramas
79 @G 19
80 *N11 que en realidad eran (STA) (B) (IPFV) los cuernos de un ciervo
81 @G 20
82 *N11 y pedro y pecas salieron despedidos (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC)
83 @G 21
84 *N11 y cayeron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un rio
85 @G 22
86 *N11 que le dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV) a pecas
87 @G 23
88 *N11 que se llamaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) ademas muchas ranitas pequeñas
89 @G 24
90 *N11 que habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) en el rio
91 @G 25
92 *N11 que tenian (STA) (B) (IPFV) dos ranas
93 @G 26
94 *N11 asi que pedro cogio (TEL) (F) (PFV) a su rana
95 @G 27
96 *N11 que estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) abierta
97 @G 28
98 *N11 que se escapo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) por la ventana de la habitacion
99 *N11 para poder ver mejor
100 @End
N12 por la mañana (TAP) cuando (SIM) pepe se desperto (TEL) (F) (PFV) 
N12 descubrio (TEL) (F) (PFV) que 
N12 la rana se habia escapado (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (SEASP) (ANT) 
@G 04 
N12 entoces el y su perro empezaron a buscar (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) a la 
N12 y el perro se quedo (STA) (F) (PFV) con la cabeza enganchada en el 
@G 05 
N12 pepe grito (TEL) (F) (PFV) por la ventana 
N12 esperando encontrar a la rana 
@G 06 
N12 el perro se cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) por la ventana 
@G 07 
N12 pero no se hizo (ACT) (B) (PFV) daño 
N12 solo se rompio (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) la jarra 
@G 08 
N12 entonces pepe decidió (TEL) (F) (PFV) salir al campo en busqueda de 
N12 la rana desaparecida 
@G 09 
N12 encontro (TEL) (F) (PFV) una madriguera 
N12 y llamo (TEL) (F) (PFV) a la rana 
@G 10 
N12 pero salio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un castor 
N12 mientras (SIM) el perro jugaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV) con un panal de 
N12 abejas 
@G 11 
N12 despues pepe se subio (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a un arbol 
N12 donde habia (STA) (B) (IPFV) otro agujero 
N12 porque pensó (ACT) (B) (PFV) que tal vez ahí 
N12 podia (ACT) (B) (IPFV) 
N12 haberse escondido (ANT) la rana 
@G 12 
N12 pero salio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un buho 
N12 que le dio (TEL) (F) (PFV) un buen susto 
N12 y pepe se cayo (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) del arbol 
N12 mientras (SIM) las abejas que estaban (STA) (B) (IPFV) muy enfadadas 
N12 habian salido (TEL) (B) (PASTPERF) (ANT) de la colmena 
N12 y perseguián (ACT) (F) (IPFV) al perro 
N12 que salio (TEL) (F) (PFV) corriendo despavorido 
@G 13 
N12 el buho tambien estaba (STA) (B) (IPFV) enfadado 
N12 y ataco (ACT) (F) (PFV) al niño 
@G 14 
N12 cuando (POST) escapo (TEL) (F) (PFV) del buho 
N12 pepe se subio (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a unas piedras 
N12 y continuo llamando (PFV) (F) (ITE) a la rana 
@G 15 
N12 pero lo que parecian (STA) (B) (IPFV) una ramas 
N12 eran (STA) (B) (IPFV) los cuernos de un ciervo 
@G 16 
N12 que con el susto empezó a correr (TEL) (F) (PFV) (INC) 
N12 y pepe se quedo (STA) (B) (PFV) colgado de su cabeza 
N12 y no podia (ACT) (B) (IPFV) bajar 
N12 el perro seguia (ACT) (F) (IPFV) a pepe y el ciervo 
N12 para pedirle 
N12 que dejara (TEL) (B) (IPFVSUBJ) a pepe en paz 
@G 17 
N12 pero el ciervo llego (TEL) (F) (PFV) a un acantilado
*N12 y allí se paró (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP)

80  "y tuvo (TEL) (F) (PFV) a Pepe al agua
81  el pobre perro se cayó (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) al agua también
82  pero no se hicieron daño (ACT) (B) (PFV)
83  ni se ahogaron (ACT) (B) (PFV)
84  porque el río no era (STA) (B) (IPFV) muy profundo

85  A
86  "el perro se subió (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a la cabeza de Pepe
87  porque no le gustaba (ACT) (B) (IPFV) el agua
88  entonces Pepe oyo (TEL) (F) (PFV) un ruido
89  y pensó (ACT) (F) (PFV)
90  que era (STA) (B) (IPFV) el croar de unas ranas
91  "B
92  y le dijo (TEL) (F) (PFV) al perro
93  que no hiciera (ACT) (B) (IPFV) un ruido
94  para no asustar a las ranas
95  "C
96  los dos se subieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) (SEASP) a un tronco
97  que había (STA) (B) (IPFV) en la orilla del río
98  "D
99  y al otro lado del tronco vieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) una pareja de ranas
100  "E
101  y teman (STA) (B) (IPFV) muchas ranas
102  y entonces por suerte la rana del Pepe se dio (TEL) (F) (PFV) cuenta
103  de que
104  eran (STA) (B) (IPFV) sus amigos Pepe y el perro
105  y muy contenta salió (TEL) (F) (PFV) de un salto
106  "F
107  y por fin Pepe el perro y la rana volvieron (TEL) (F) (PFV) a casa
108  todos juntos
109  "G
110  y colorín colorado este cuento se ha acabado
111  "H