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New perspectives on teachability

The acquisition of German (S)OV word order in classroom contexts

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To my parents, Hanna and Eberhard Winkler

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INTRODUCTION

Language, language learning and language teaching

It is almost impossible to imagine human life without language. Language has both a social and a cognitive-epistemic function. It can be seen as the human species' most important means of communication and it is indispensable for mentally organizing our knowledge, thoughts, and insights. From a more formal perspective, language can be regarded as a complex system of signs carrying specific meanings. When using a language, speakers combine the individual language signs into larger units and eventually, build rather complex expressions that can be understood by a hearer who is familiar with the relevant language signs and the rules of their combinability.

Language is an evolutionary product. A human being is able to acquire at least one language in the course of their life. However, most people in the world have acquired two or more, i.e., more than half the world's population is bi- or multilingual (e.g. Grosjean 2010). Normally, these bi- and multilingual speakers learn their second language(s) without any formal instruction, simply through verbal interaction with their social environment (e.g. Klein and Dimroth 2009: 503f., 519). This means that just as the mother tongue is learnt, the learning of a second language can happen spontaneously. In other words, language learning is a *natural* process. Human beings are equipped with the cognitive resources for developing linguistic systems without any external guidance. This is what sets learning a language so clearly apart from learning other things, e.g. learning to do math, or learning how the human circulatory system works.

Though typically characterized by both inter- and intra-individual variation, the process of L2 acquisition seems to follow its own inner logic. Its outcome, the individual learner language, can be seen as a linguistic system in its own right. This idea, the view that learner languages are not erroneous variants of a given target language, goes back to Corder (1967) and Selinker (1972), whose *interlanguage hypothesis* marked the beginning of a new era in second language acquisition research. In this era, the language learner is seen as a cognitively active and creative individual, instead of a passive recipient reacting to linguistic stimuli, as the language learner had been viewed in the behaviorist era.

The so-called *Kognitive Wende* (*cognitive revolution*) in the discipline of language acquisition research was accompanied by the so-called *Kommunikative Wende* (*communicative revolution*) in the field of foreign language teaching. While instructed language

learning during the behaviorist era was characterized by pattern drills and endless repetitions of given target constructions, Piepho (1974) introduced a fundamental paradigm shift when he called for more authenticity in foreign language classroom communication. In his famous publication *Kommunikative Kompetenz als übergeordnetes Lernziel im Englischunterricht*, Piepho defined the primary objective of language tuition as the development of a communicative competence in the foreign language.

The clear orientation on aspects of language use in foreign language teaching which has characterized most of the last four decades, finally found expression in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)*, which was developed in the context of the Council of Europe's project, Language Learning for European Citizenship, between 1989 and 1996. The CEFR descriptors are clearly focused on the learner's communicative skills and abilities. This focus on the *function* of language, i.e. its communicative power, seems appropriate, as far as the description of foreign language learners' *achievements* is concerned. However, in the context of language teaching, language cannot be reduced to just its communicative function. To my mind, every didactic approach to foreign language teaching should consider the fact that language is a *cognitive* activity and that learning a language is therefore a *cognitive* process. Moreover, as emphasized above, it is a *natural* process. As such, it can but must not necessarily, be accompanied by formal instruction.

In their handbook article "Untutored second language acquisition", Klein and Dimroth (2009) concluded that "if one wants to interfere with a natural process in order to optimize it, it is helpful to know the principles that govern this process" (ibid.: 519). In other words, if one wants to optimize the learning of a second language by means of formal instruction, it is helpful to know the principles that govern the learning of a second language in a naturalistic setting. Given that language acquisition research is the linguistic subfield concerned with the principles and processes involved in naturalistic language learning, one would logically assume a close collaboration between language acquisition researchers, on the one hand and experts in foreign language teaching, on the other. However, this does not seem to be the case, at least not in the German-speaking European area. Instead, the scientific discipline of language acquisition research and the practical field of foreign language teaching co-exist in silence, taking hardly any notice of each other. In his introductory textbook *Deutsch als Fremdsprache – Spracherwerblich reflektierte Unterrichtspraxis*, Koeppel (2010) described the situation as follows:

“Fremdsprachendidaktik und Spracherwerbsforschung hatten sich lange (bestenfalls) nichts zu sagen, ein Umstand, der die Entwicklung beider Gebiete behindert, besonders aber die Sprachdidaktik” (ibid.: i).

How has it come to pass that language acquisition researchers do not project their findings onto the reality of the foreign language classroom and that experts in foreign language teaching do not seem to consider that insights from language acquisition research are relevant to their discipline? The reasons for this rather unsatisfactory relationship between the two groups are multifarious.

First, it should be noted that in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there was a hefty scientific debate between psycholinguistically oriented language acquisition researchers on the one side, and language teaching researchers on the other.¹ While the former claimed that findings on the naturalistic acquisition of a second language should constitute the basis of a theory of instructed language learning, the latter vehemently rejected the relevance of insights about the untutored acquisition of a language, to a theory of tutored language acquisition. For details on this controversy, see, for example, Bausch and Königs (1983, 1985); Hüllen (1984); Felix (1982); Felix and Hahn (1985) and Wode (1985).

Manfred Raupach, a contemporary witness, summarized his observations as follows:

“Anders als in anderen Ländern hat es in der Bundesrepublik wenig gemeinsame Interessen zwischen den angesprochenen Forschungsrichtungen gegeben: von der Erforschung des Fremdsprachenlernens sind keine erkennbaren Impulse für die Zweitspracherwerbsforschung ausgegangen; umgekehrt wurden Hypothesen und Ergebnisse aus Untersuchungen zum natürlichen Zweitspracherwerb weniger als Anregung für die Erforschung des Fremdsprachenlernens / Fremdsprachenunterrichts, als vielmehr zum Anlaß einer Grundsatzdiskussion über die Vergleichbarkeit der involvierten Erwerbstypen genommen” (Raupach 1986: 143).

¹ The German name for the relevant discipline is *Sprachlehrforschung*, literally ‘language teaching research’. This comparatively young, scientific discipline has its roots in a DFG funding program “Sprachlehrforschung” that covered a period from 1973-1981 (cf. Koordinierungsgremium 1983). In 1976, the *Seminar für Sprachlehrforschung* (‘Seminar of Language Teaching Research’) was founded at the Ruhr University of Bochum, Germany, establishing *Sprachlehrforschung* as an academic field of study.

Apparently, the controversy between language acquisition researchers and language teaching scientists paralyzed any scientific exchange between the two groups for many years, perhaps even until now. Looking back on the debate in the 1980s, Götze (1995) summarized:

“Zu konstatieren ist eine vehemente Auseinandersetzung zweier konkurrierender Schulen, wobei aus unserer Sicht Profilierungssucht und die Unfähigkeit, einander zuzuhören, den wissenschaftlichen Erkenntniszuwachs in erheblichem Maße einschränkten, wenn nicht vollständig verhinderten” (ibid.: 650).

A second reason for the failure to integrate findings on the untutored acquisition of languages into foreign language teaching curricula, may lie in the nature of the findings themselves. The investigations and their outcomes are often very specific, they are bound to a concrete linguistic framework, and, most importantly, they sometimes conflict with other findings made within the same or a different framework. Which of these findings should then be applied to the praxis of foreign language teaching? Eckerth, Schramm and Tschirner (2009) seem to be quite right when they state:

“Given the partly inconsistent results of studies operating within different frameworks, and inconsistencies in the interpretation of data (see Meerholz-Härle and Tschirner 2001), one might not feel too comfortable about using these results as a basis for far-reaching decisions such as the fundamental revision of grammar curricula” (ibid.: 47).

While this critical view on the applicability of the results of theoretical language acquisition research might explain the curriculum developers’ rather sceptical position, it leaves open the question of why individual foreign language teachers often do not see that insights about untutored language acquisition are relevant to their professional field. Based on personal experience, I have the impression that one reason might be that language teachers usually believe, very strongly, in the unrestricted effectiveness of teaching. This is further illustrated by an anecdotal self-report by Ellis (1984: vii):

“LIKE so many other second language (L2) acquisition researchers, I began life as a teacher of English as a second language. Like other language teachers in the 1960s and early 1970s, I was preoccupied with the techniques I could use to transmit a correct

knowledge of English to my students. Although it was apparent to me that my students tended to reproduce certain types of error irrespective of the teaching I provided, I stuck to my teacher-centered view of things and went on providing more of the same. I assumed that if only I could get the teaching right, the students would learn. And learning meant avoiding the stigma of error.

My first awareness that ‘good’ audiolingual teaching might not be the best answer came from reading ‘Error Analysis’ edited by Jack Richards in 1974. This made me aware that the learner had his own way of doing things which could not easily be subverted by teaching” [Emphasis in original].

In my experience, teachers of German as a foreign language (GFL) have little awareness that language learners have their “own way of doing things”. It should be the task of academic teacher education to sensitize prospective teachers to the limits of instructional intervention in L2 classroom learning and to raise their awareness of the learner’s cognitive involvement in the language learning process. In order to successfully *teach* a language, one has to understand how language is *learned*.

Finally, there is another reason why findings on the naturalistic acquisition of a second language have not influenced the praxis of foreign language teaching. Linguists and language acquisition researchers often give recommendations for L2 classroom teaching without empirically testing the applicability of their approach. Such a practice leaves the teacher with only a theoretically based suggestion, often without a concrete teaching concept and, in particular, without any empirical validation. It was precisely this missing link between theoretically based suggestions for foreign language teaching and their application and testing in the reality of L2 teaching praxis, that encouraged me to conduct the present study.

Aim of the dissertation and subject of study

The aim of the present dissertation project was to get out of the office and conduct an applied study that was close to the everyday reality of classroom teaching and that was understandable and made sense to GFL teachers. The subject of study was the teaching of the underlying OV word order in German, compared to languages with VO order in (1), below. The particular focus of the classroom study was on the teaching of the German OV order in declarative main clauses with a complex predicate, as illustrated in (2), be-

acquisition, the learner grammar is characterized by lexical projections only, with functional projections only being acquired later (e.g. Jordens 2012; Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1996).

At the IUO level or the lexical stage, the [+finite] vs. [-finite] distinction and its syntactic consequences have not yet been acquired. That is, initial learners of German commonly use utterances with non-finite or infinite forms of lexical verbs. In L1 acquisition and early child L2 acquisition, the lexical verb typically occurs in the utterance-final slot (e.g. Clahsen 1982; Mills 1985; Szagun 1996; Tracy 1991; Tracy and Thoma 2009; Winkler 2009). In later child and adult L2 acquisition, the position of the lexical verb in early non-finite learner utterances appears to be influenced by the learner's L1 (e.g. Haberzettl 2005; Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1996). The example in (3), below, is a representative learner utterance at this stage, taken from Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996: 16).

- (3) *Oya Zigarette trinken.*
 Oya cigarette drink-INF
 'Oya smokes cigarette(s)'

At the FUO level or the functional stage, the learners have acquired the finiteness category and use morphologically [+finite] forms of lexical verbs that occur in a syntactically target-like position, i.e. in the clause-second slot. For an illustration, see the utterance in (4), below, which stems from Becker (2005: 297).

- (4) *ich sage nicht deine name*
 I tell-1SG not your name
 'I will not mention your name (vis-à-vis a certain person)'

Numerous studies on the acquisition of German in a naturalistic setting have shown that semantically light verbs, in particular auxiliaries and modal verbs, play a crucial role in the learners' transition from the IUO to the FUO level, i.e. from the lexical to the functional stage (see, for example, Ingram and Thompson (1996), Tracy (1991), Tracy and Thoma (2009), and Winkler (2009) for the L1 acquisition of German, Haberzettl (2005) and Tracy and Thoma (2009) for (early) child L2 acquisition, and Becker (2005), Dimroth et al. (2003), Parodi (2000), Schimke (2009), and Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996)

for the adult L2 acquisition of German). In fact, *before* producing structures such as those in (4), in which a [+finite] lexical verb occurs in second position, untutored learners of German produce utterances in which [+finite] forms of auxiliaries and modal verbs occupy the utterance-second slot, while a [-finite] form of a lexical verb occurs in final position. The examples given in (5a) and (5b), below, are taken from Becker (2005: 293f.).

(5) a. *er* ***hat*** *nicht* *die zug* ***gesehen***
 he have-3SG not the train see-PP
 ‘He has not seen the train’

 b. *für moment* *du* ***kannst*** *nicht* *die ferien* ***haben***
 for moment you can-2SG not the holidays have-INF
 ‘For the moment you cannot get holidays’

To sum up, there is ample evidence that OV patterns with [-finite] lexical verbs in clause-final position and [+finite] light verbs in a structurally higher position, are an important intermediate step in the acquisition of German word order and clause structure rules in the naturalistic acquisition of German. In other words, the mastery of the target-like, morpho-syntactic expression of finiteness with lexical verbs in declarative main clauses, seems to presuppose a stage at which finiteness is marked only on semantically light verbs. Lexical verbs are not yet marked for finiteness but do function as the carrier of lexical content information. As such, they occupy the head position of the lexical projection of the VP in the learner system which, just as in the target language, seems to be head-final, as exemplified by the examples (5a) and (5b), above. These insights into the gradual development of German clause structure lead directly to the second reason for my decision to conduct a classroom study of the acquisition of the underlying OV word order of German.

As already criticized by Haberzettl (2006), in popular GFL textbooks, the introduction of German word order and verb placement rules starts with the presentation of structures with [+finite] lexical verbs in clause-second position, i.e. with structures like those in (4), above. Structures with [+finite] light verbs, such as those in (5), are only introduced to beginning GFL learners after a remarkable number of contact hours. This means that the introduction of German word order rules in GFL textbooks seems to run

counter to the order in which these structures are acquired in naturalistic settings. Moreover, the initial, exclusive presentation of SVO surface orders of the type shown in (6), below, might give the learner the wrong impression that German is a VO language. Note that as far as the surface order of elements is concerned, there is no difference between the German clause in (6) and the English or the Italian clause in (7a) and (7b).

(6) *Sarah isst* *eine Pizza.*
 Sarah eat-3SG a pizza
 ‘Sarah eats a pizza’

(7) a. *Sarah eats* *a pizza.*

 b. *Sarah mangia* *una pizza.*
 Sarah eat-3SG a pizza
 ‘Sarah eats a pizza’

This obvious conflict between the naturalistic and textbook progressions in the field of German word order, encouraged me to conduct a classroom intervention study that breaks with the order of introduction commonly used in textbooks.

Finally, there is a third argument that makes a (re)investigation of the instructed acquisition of German word order and clause structure a worthwhile endeavor. This argument comes from the introduction orders used in relevant classroom studies in this field, namely those by Ballestracci (2006, 2007), Diehl et al. (2000), Ellis (1989), Piene-mann (1984, 1989), and Terrasi-Haufe (2004). To the best of my knowledge, in all of the above-mentioned studies, the instruction in German as a foreign language began with the presentation of SVO orders with [+finite] lexical verbs, that is, with structures like those in (6), above, repeated here in (8a), below. Structures with [+finite] modal verbs and auxiliaries in second position and with [-finite] lexical verbs in final position, as in (2), repeated here as (8b), were only introduced later.

(8) a. *Sarah isst* *eine Pizza.*
 Sarah eat-3SG a pizza
 ‘Sarah eats a pizza’

- b. *Sarah will eine Pizza essen.*
 Sarah want to-3SG a pizza eat-INF
 ‘Sarah wants to eat a pizza’

The above-mentioned authors concluded unanimously that instructed learners start the acquisition of German with canonical SVO orders, such as those in (8a). In the initial phases, the learners were seen to overgeneralize the canonical SVO order to structures involving a complex predicate, which resulted in the production of target-deviant SVVO orders. For an illustration, see the example from Diehl (2000: 82) in (9), below. This utterance was produced by an adolescent L2 learner of German whose native language was French, a VO language.

- (9) *Ich kann spielen Federball und*
 I can-1SG play-INF badminton and
 ‘I can play badminton but
 ich kann nicht machen Judo.
 I can-1SG not make-INF judo
 I cannot do judo’

It is only in later stages of the classroom acquisition process that the investigated learners are able to apply a target-like SVOV order to structures with a complex predicate. They therefore seem to have acquired the German sentence bracket. As reported by Tschirner (1999: 229), two learners studied by Pienemann (1984, 1989) mastered the German sentence bracket after 90, respectively 102, hours of instruction. The participants in Ellis’ (1989) study were able to apply a target-like SVOV order to structures with complex predicates after an average of 113 hours (Tschirner 1999: 230). Ballestracci’s (2006) learners had not mastered German SVOV orders after 80 contact hours, but a data collection after 120 hours of instructed learning confirmed their mastery of SVOV structures (ibid.: 281f.). How can these results be interpreted?

First, as the GFL instruction began with the presentation of SVO orders, it is no great surprise that the first learner utterances exhibited a VO order. In the case of structures with a simple predicate, the VO strategy results in the production of target-like SVO orders. By contrast, the application of the same strategy to structures with a complex predicate results in target-deviant SVVO patterns. Secondly, it should be noted that all of

the participants in the above-mentioned classroom studies, were native speakers of a VO language.² This means that *both* the early mastery of German SVO orders by the L2 classroom learners *and* the usage of target-deviant, SVVO orders until at least the 90th hour of instruction, might have had their origins in the same source, namely the strategy of L1 structural transfer (see also Ellis 2009: 96ff.). Thus, it can be assumed that the initial, exclusive presentation of SVO orders in the GFL classroom supports the learners' erroneous, L1 based, assumption that German is a VO language. For this reason, it would be interesting to investigate how L2 classroom learners of German would develop if they were presented with German SVOV orders from the beginning of the L2 instruction, i.e. if the classroom progression were to imitate the progression found in naturalistic learners of German.

To sum up, the aim of this dissertation project is to develop a naturalistically based syllabus which caters to the acquisition of German OV word order. This syllabus is designed to

- a. respect and integrate the acquisition strategies found in successful, untutored acquisition and
- b. consider the potential influence of the L1 on the L2 acquisition process.

The syllabus will be tested with absolute beginners who are learning German as a second language. The objective is to find out whether instruction according to this syllabus, could lead to a more successful acquisition of the underlying OV order of German. In essence, this question addresses the teachability of language in general and word order phenomena in particular: Can formal instruction facilitate and speed up the mastery of a given language's underlying word order if the instructional treatment works with, rather than against, the mechanisms found in naturalistic language learning?

The present study was conducted as a one-person project at the University of Pavia, Italy. It is typically explorative hence it will doubtlessly leave questions open for further investigation.

² The concrete L1 background of the participants of the six relevant studies is: Ballestracci (2006): Italian; Diehl et al. (2000): French; Ellis (1989): Spanish, English, French, Mauritian Creole, Arabic; Pienemann (1984, 1989): Italian; Terrasi-Haufe (2004): Italian.

Overview on the dissertation

The present thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 is a discussion of the study's theoretical and practical background. Chapter 2 describes the application of existing theoretical findings to aspects of language teaching, eventually leading to a 60-hour syllabus for teaching German OV word order to learners who are absolute beginners. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the empirical testing of the proposed syllabus. While Chapter 3 introduces the participants and the classroom study procedure, Chapter 4 presents the results and their implications for the early GFL classroom. The thesis closes with concluding remarks in Chapter 5.

Chapter 1 is subdivided into three sections. Section 1.1 deals with German word order and clause structure from a linguistic perspective. It characterizes the German target system as an OV language featuring the V2 property. Given that the participants in the present classroom study were native speakers of Italian, the German word order rules are compared with those of Italian. In contrast to German, Italian is a VO language that is not V2. This means that while German is characterized by a so-called sentence bracket and allows linguistic material to occur between the [+finite] and the [-finite] part(s) of the predicate, this is not the case in Italian.

Section 1.2 then discusses the question of how German word order and verb placement rules might be perceived by a language learner. Given that the V2 constraint requires the [+finite] verbal element to occur in the second position of a declarative main clause, the lexical verb raises from its underlying clause-final position to the utterance-second slot in structures with a simple predicate. That is, the verb occupies the *derived* verb position in German and the respective clause has an SVO surface order. However, how can the learner find out that the clause-second position is, in fact, the *derived* verb position in the German target language? Crucially, this is only possible if the input provides counterevidence to an underlying VO order in German by means of OV structures. Furthermore, Section 1.2 addresses the strategy of L1 word order transfer in L2 learning and argues that starting the acquisition of German with an L1-based OV hypothesis, appears to be advantageous.

The last section of Chapter 1, Section 1.3, presents the results of a GFL textbook analysis. This shows that with respect to the word order and clause structure grammar, the classroom progression often contradicts the progression found in both naturalistic and instructed learners. The results are critically discussed, both from the perspective of lan-

guage acquisition research and language pedagogy. It is argued that there is no good reason why the GFL syllabus should initially present only SVO orders with lexical verbs, as in (8a), above. Instead, there are a number of arguments in favor of the early introduction of SVOV orders of the type shown in (8b).

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the development of a theoretically based concept for teaching the German OV word order in the L2 classroom. Section 2.1 summarizes the findings on the untutored development of L2 German clause structure and presents arguments derived from child L1, child L2 and adult L2 acquisition. The findings suggest that the early presentation of (SV)OV orders with modal verbs and auxiliaries in second position, might be advantageous for instructed L2 learners. By contrast, a progression that starts with SVO orders can be assumed to hamper the acquisition process. In addition, a review of relevant findings on cross-linguistic influence in L2 learning, allows the conclusion that learners transfer the L1 order to the emerging L2 interlanguage system if, and only if, the L1 order occurs in the L2 input data. This observation has crucial implications for structuring early input in GFL classes.

Section 2.2 is more practically oriented and provides the reader with detailed information on the development of two 60-hour syllabi which were designed for the purpose of the present study. On the one hand, there is a so-called *naturalistic syllabus* which integrates findings on the successful untutored acquisition of German word order and clause structure. On the other hand, there is the so-called traditional syllabus, which replicates the commonly used progression in the area of word order. The two syllabi differ only in respect to the word order patterns that are presented to the learners; the lexis and other grammatical phenomena are largely identical. This will be exemplified by a selection of relevant teaching materials. The section closes with the presentation of the hypotheses for the present classroom study. In essence, the following hypothesis is proposed:

Learners who follow the naturalistic syllabus will do better at mastering the OV order of German and the German sentence bracket construction, than learners who follow the traditional syllabus. At the same time, there will be no difference between naturalistic and traditional learners regarding the mastery of VO orders with lexical verbs.

The present hypothesis is tested and discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. The study participants, monolingual Italian university students at the University of Pavia, Italy, are introduced to

the reader in Section 3.1. Section 3.2 contains a detailed description of the concrete procedure and the meta-linguistic explanations given in class. Section 3.3, finally, is dedicated to issues of data elicitation. Six different instruments were tested for their applicability to the present investigation, in a pilot study. Three of the six piloted instruments were chosen for use in the study. These are:

- a. a written word order test (sentence puzzle test, SP test) to elicit structures with simple predicates ([+finite] lexical verbs, [+finite] copula) and structures with complex predicates ([+finite] modal verbs or auxiliaries and [-finite] lexical verbs
- b. an oral word order test (activity naming task, AN task) to elicit structures with a [-finite] lexical verb and an object constituent only, and
- c. an elicited imitation task (EI task) which again served to elicit structures with [+finite] modal verbs or auxiliaries and [-finite] lexical verbs.

In addition, both the SP test and the EI task were designed to elicit negated structures with the respective verb types. Given that (the acquisition of) verb placement and (the acquisition of) negation appear to interact in a specific way (e.g. Becker 2005; see also Subsection 2.1.3 of this thesis for more details), the elicitation of negated sentences promises to provide a deeper insight into the L2 development of word order and clause structure in the classroom learners.

As regards the specific linguistic knowledge resources activated by the three data elicitation instruments, although the design of the SP test tries to stimulate spontaneous production, the possibility that learners resort to explicit linguistic knowledge in the L2 cannot be ruled out. In contrast, the AN task and the EI task can instead be seen as instruments measuring implicit L2 knowledge (e.g. Erlam 2006). All in all, the combination of three different data elicitation instruments involving different types of linguistic knowledge, can be assumed to provide a more complete picture of the effectiveness of instruction following either the naturalistic or the traditional syllabus.

Chapter 4 deals with the results of the classroom study and their implications for GFL teaching. It contains the presentation and detailed discussion of the results of the SP test (Section 4.2), the AN task (Section 4.3), and the EI task (Section 4.4). Taken together, the outcomes of the classroom intervention study suggest that instruction following the naturalistic syllabus, is beneficial for beginning GFL learners with a VO background. As

hypothesized, the learners who followed the naturalistic syllabus performed significantly better than those who followed the traditional syllabus. This was true for both the sentence bracket construction and the two-word utterances consisting of a [-finite] verb and an object constituent only. At the same time, there was no significant difference between the two learner groups with respect to their mastery of SVO orders with [+finite] lexical verbs. Furthermore, the negation data from the SP test suggest that the lack of evidence for OV orders in German in the initial phases of instructed learning, leads to incorrect hypotheses about the syntax of German sentential negation. Given that a VO interim syntax does not provide an appropriate syntactic position between the [+finite] and the [-finite] part(s) of the verbal complex, the majority of the traditionally instructed learners initially followed a target-deviant post-infinite negation strategy (e.g. *Heike kann spielen nicht Fussbal.* (CHI, SP test 3)). Finally, the results of the EI task regarding the acquisition of negation, in particular, provide grounds for assuming that German post-finite sentential negation triggers the establishment of a syntactic position between V_{fin} and V_{inf} and, thus, facilitates the target-like placement of the object constituent to the left of V_{inf}.

A summary of the results of the classroom study is provided in Section 4.5.

The clear difference between the naturalistic learner group's learning outcomes on the one hand, and those of the traditional learner group on the other, allows for some recommendations for the GFL teaching practice. These suggestions are presented in the form of five guidelines, listed in (10), below, which are explained in more detail in Section 4.6.

- (10) Empirically based guidelines for the teaching of the German OV word order to absolute beginning learners with a VO native language
 1. Early presentation of evidence for the OV order of German
 2. Reduction of SVO patterns with lexical verbs during the early acquisition phases
 3. Presentation and practice of bare VP patterns during the initial phases and throughout the language course
 4. Provision of interpretable OV input
 5. Presentation of V-Neg-V patterns as trigger for a middle field slot

Finally, Chapter 5 contains my concluding remarks. These point out that with respect to L2 acquisition theory, any theory on the *instructed* acquisition of word order phenomena needs to consider the fact that *both* the learners' L1 knowledge *and* the specific structure

of the classroom input, seem to influence the speed and success of the classroom acquisition process. Given these insights, it seems that the option of providing L2 learners with specifically prepared and controlled input is one of the crucial advantages of instructed over naturalistic language learning. Chapter 5 also addresses the limitations of the present study and discusses some open issues. Central aspects here are the generalizability of the findings to other learner populations with different L1-L2 pairings, the role of the learners' L2 background in the instructed acquisition of German, and the question of whether the acquisition of word order phenomena related to the functional domain of the German clause, e.g. inversion or V-end, could also be facilitated by appropriate input control.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Theoretical issues: German word order and clause structure

1.1.1 German word order and clause structure from a linguist's perspective³

OV property and V2 finiteness position

Following the Greenbergian tradition of specifying the word order of a given natural language according to the basic order of its “meaningful elements” (cf. Greenberg 1963), i.e. the basic order of the subject (S), the direct object (O) and the lexical verb (V), German can be classified as an SOV language (e.g. Haider 2010a; Sternefeld 2006). This means that in an unmarked case, as reflected, for example, in a bare infinitive construction, the direct object precedes the verb (cf. (1a), below). The German language system shares the OV word order feature with several other West Germanic languages, such as Dutch, Afrikaans, or Frisian, as well as with 47% of the world's languages (cf. Dryer 2005). SOV is therefore the most frequent word order type in the world's languages. The second most frequent word order type in the world is SVO with 41% (cf. Dryer 2005). Germanic languages such as English, Swedish, Danish, or Icelandic and Romance languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, Romanian, and Catalan exhibit this basic word order.⁴ In VO languages, the direct object characteristically follows the verb in a syntactically unmarked case, as illustrated by the Italian example in (1b), below.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------|---------------|----|-----------------|-----------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>ein Buch</i> | <i>kaufen</i> | b. | <i>comprare</i> | <i>un libro</i> |
| | | a book | buy-INF | | buy-INF | a book |
| | | ‘to buy a book’ | | | ‘to buy a book’ | |

In terms of generative X-bar syntax, it could also be said that the VP is head-final and thus left-branching in OV languages, while in VO languages, the VP is head-initial and consequently right-branching. See the corresponding figures for the German (A) and the Italian (B) VP, respectively:

³ As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the source language involved in the empirical part of this thesis, i.e. the classroom intervention study, is Italian. For this reason, German word order and clause structure properties will be presented and described under particular consideration of – or in direct contrast to – the word order and clause structure phenomena that characterize the Italian source language system.

⁴ In the following, I will mainly use the terms *OV (language)* and *VO (language)*, as introduced by Greenberg (1963), when referring to one or the other word order type / language.

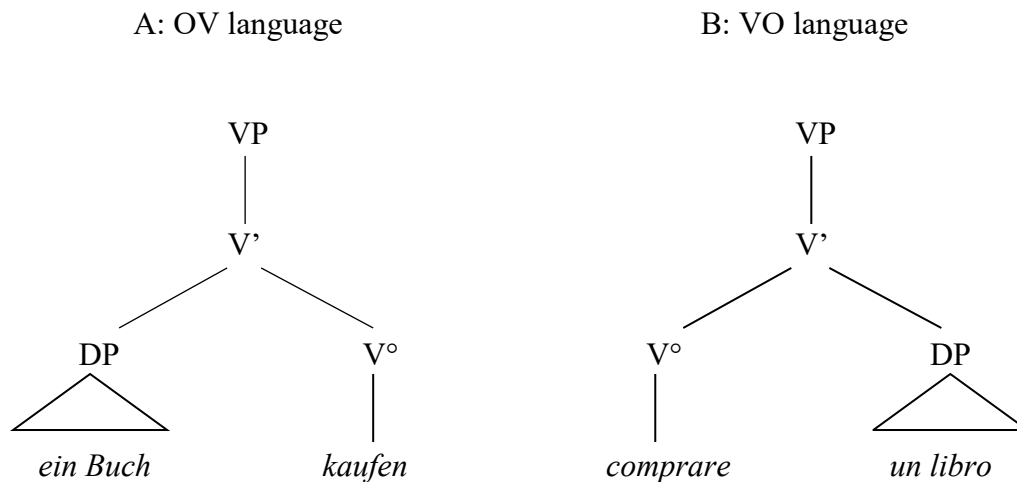


Figure 1: The VP in OV and VO languages

As noted by Haider (2010a: 5), German, as well as the other Germanic languages of the OV type, are not *strict* OV languages, as are, for example, Turkish or Japanese. In strict OV languages, *any* phrasal head is a phrase-final one, which means that *all* projections in the structural tree are left-branching. In German, only V and in some cases, A are phrase-final. All other phrasal heads, both lexical and functional ones, are phrase-initial.⁵ However, these data do not negate the fact that German shows clear syntactic characteristics of an OV language. Given that in its specific phrasal architecture, the VP forms the structural basis for extended projections and hence, largely determines the overall clausal architecture of the language in question, the German VP's head-final value seems sufficient for German to be included in the OV languages from a generativist point of view (cf. Haider 2005, 2010b, here, in particular footnote three).

In addition to the OV property, another crucial characteristic of German clause structure, as well as that of all other Germanic languages with the exception of English, is the so called *V2* (= verb-second) feature. The V2 feature is a syntactic constraint which states that the finite verb occurs as the *second* constituent in declarative main clauses, preceded by only *one*, yet arbitrary, constituent. For an illustration of this, see the structures in (2), below, which all represent structural variants of the clause 'Sarah eats a pizza today'. (2a) - (2c) satisfy the V2 constraint, since only one constituent precedes the finite

⁵ Note that Haider (1997, 2010a) and also Sternefeld (2006) do not assume the existence of an IP projection for the German language system. Consequently, V° and A° are the only two remaining phrase-final heads. If, however, an IP were to be hypothesized for German, its head I° would also be phrase-final.

verb. By contrast, (2d) - (2f) do not satisfy the V2 constraint and are consequently ungrammatical, since more than one constituent occurs in the position before the finite verb.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| (2) | a. | <i>Sarah</i>
Sarah | <i>isst</i>
eat-3SG | <i>heute eine Pizza.</i>
today a pizza |
| | b. | <i>Heute</i>
today | <i>isst</i>
eat-3SG | <i>Sarah eine Pizza.</i>
Sarah a pizza |
| | c. | <i>Eine Pizza</i>
a pizza | <i>isst</i>
eat-3SG | <i>Sarah heute.</i>
Sarah today |
| | d. | * <i>Sarah heute</i>
Sarah today | <i>isst</i>
eat-3SG | <i>eine Pizza.</i>
a pizza |
| | e. | * <i>Sarah eine Pizza</i>
Sarah a pizza | <i>isst</i>
eat-3SG | <i>heute.</i>
today |
| | f. | * <i>Heute eine Pizza</i>
Today a pizza | <i>isst</i>
eat-3SG | <i>Sarah.</i>
Sarah |

It is important to notice that only the [+finite] part out of the verbal complex appears in the V2 slot; all other verbal elements in the clause, as well as verbal particles, are realized in the clause-final position. For an illustration, compare the examples in (3).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| (3) | a. | <i>Sarah isst</i>
Sarah eat-3SG | <i>eine Pizza.</i>
a pizza | |
| | | 'Sarah eats a pizza' | | |
| | b. | <i>Sarah isst</i>
Sarah eat-3SG | <i>die Pizza</i>
the pizza | <i>auf.</i>
up-PART |
| | | 'Sarah eats up the pizza' | | |

- c. *Sarah hat die Pizza aufgegessen.*
 Sarah have-3SG the pizza up-eat-PP
 ‘Sarah has eaten up the pizza’
- d. *Sarah hat die Pizza aufessen wollen.*
 Sarah have-3SG the pizza up-eat-INF want-INF
 ‘Sarah wanted to eat up the pizza’

These distributional properties suggest that the V2 slot is not open to verbs in general. In fact, as argued by Klein (2006), it is the feature of *finiteness* which needs to be expressed in the utterance-second position. Only if properties of finiteness are marked in the utterance-second slot, is the relevant clause understood as being a declarative clause expressing an assertion. Given these insights, the term *verb-second* can be seen as quite ill-chosen and eventually misleading, since the second position is not genuinely verbal. In fact, the V2 property is a *structural requirement* concerning the position in which *finiteness* has to be expressed, and it is only the fact that the category of finiteness is morpho-syntactically spelled out in *verbs* in Indo-European languages⁶ that is responsible for the appearance of *verbs* in the clause-second position in German sentences.

Hence, sentences such as that in (3a), in which a [+finite] lexical verb occurs to the left of an object or another constituent with complement status, are not to be interpreted as instances of an underlying VO order in the German language system. Instead, they can be seen as the result of fronting the atomic finite verbal element of the clause (cf. (4)).

- (4) *Sarah isst eine Pizza e_i.*
 Sarah eat-3SG a pizza
 ‘Sarah eats a pizza’

In sum, German declarative main clauses have two structural positions in which verbal elements can occur. These are firstly, the clause-final position to the right of the direct object and secondly, the clause-second position. The former constitutes the underlying position for verbal elements in the German language system. The latter, by contrast, is a

⁶ See Klein (2006: 269).

derived position. It is the position for the expression of finiteness, a linguistic category which is overtly marked in verbs in German. This, and only this, is the reason for the occurrence of verbal elements in a position other than the clause-final, in German declarative main clauses.

German and Italian clause structure within the generative framework

In the generative framework of Government & Binding Theory (henceforth also GB, Chomsky 1981), it is generally assumed that the [+finite] verb form occupies the C° position in German declarative main clauses, i.e. the phrase-initial head position of the CP, while the [-finite] part(s) of the verbal complex is / are realized in the clause-final V° position (see, for example, Grewendorf (1988) and von Stechow and Sternefeld (1988)). For an illustration, compare the structural trees in Figure 2 and Figure 3, below.

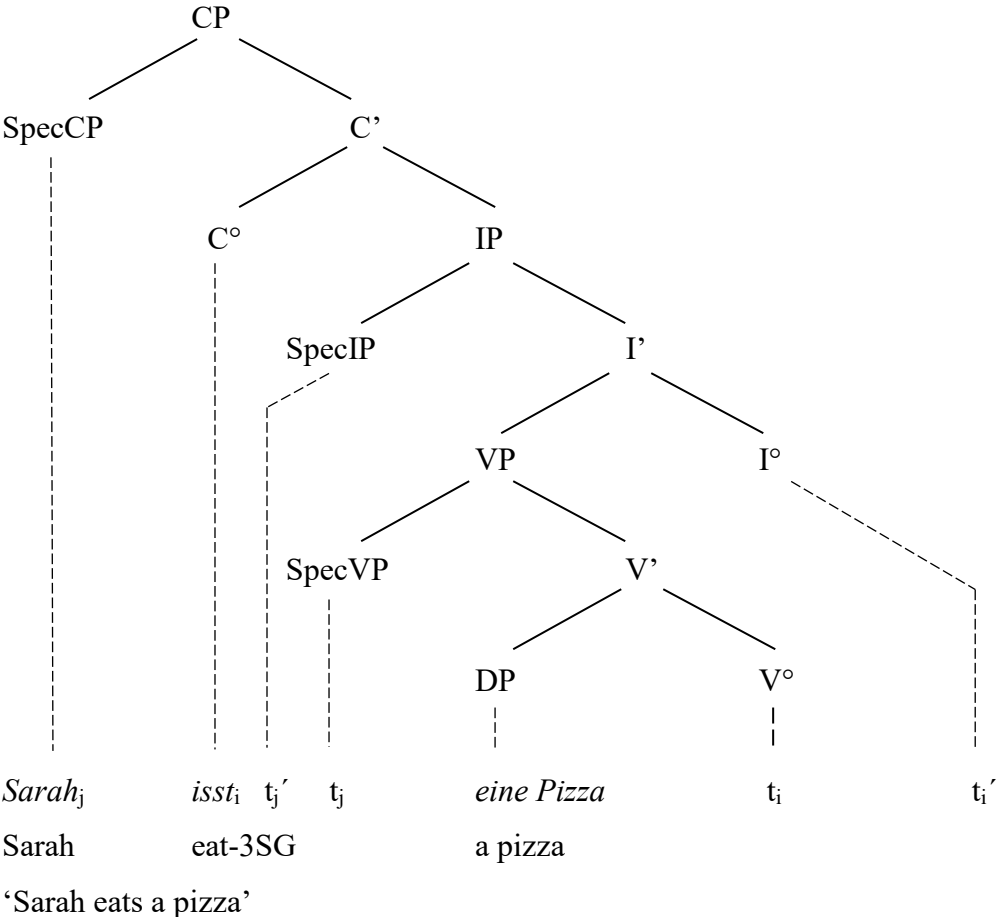


Figure 2: The structure of a German main clause with a simple verb

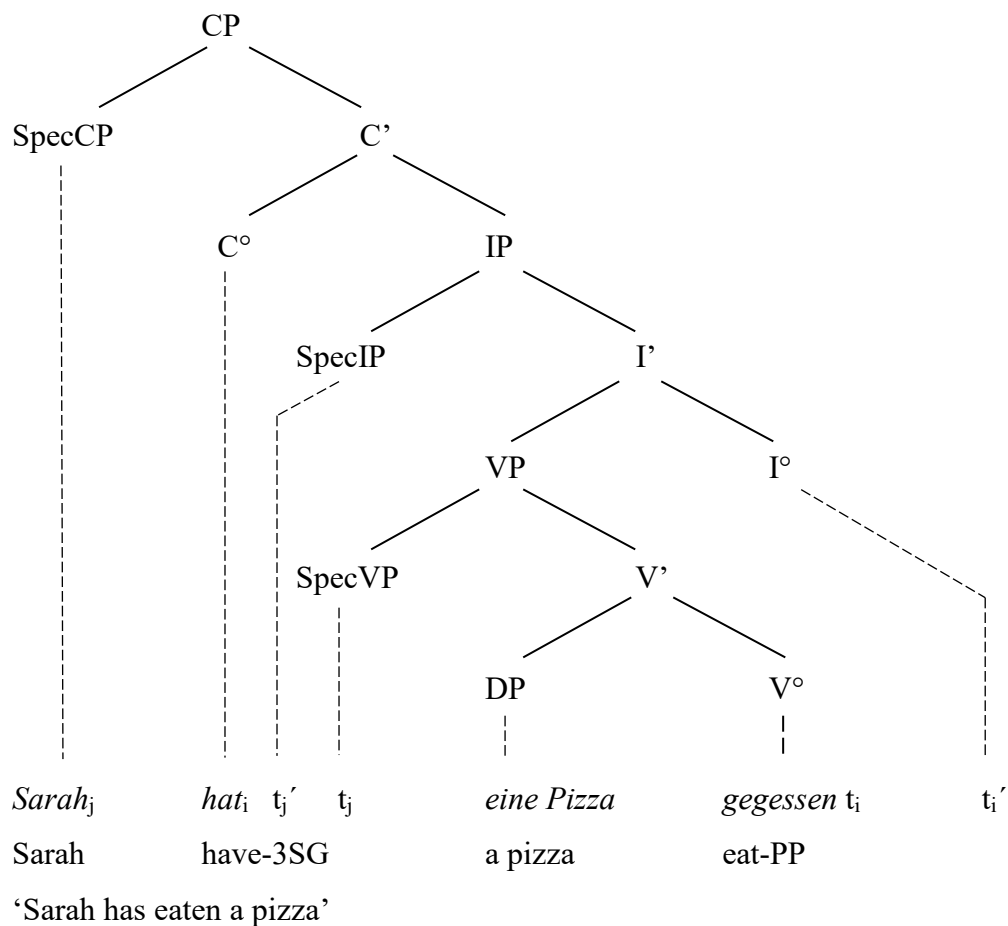


Figure 3: The structure of a German main clause with a compound verb

It is generally agreed that the verb arrives in the C° position via an operation of syntactic movement, more specifically, head movement from V° to I° to C° (e.g. Roberts 1997). According to Platzack and Holmberg (1989) and Holmberg and Platzack (1995), raising of the [+finite] element from the underlying V° position to a structurally higher slot, is triggered by an (abstract) finiteness operator [+F], which is positioned under C° in German. If, however, the C° position is filled by a complementizer, i.e. the introductory word of an introduced subordinate clause, that position is blocked and the [+finite] verb form cannot land there. Consequently, it remains in the phrase-final head position of the IP and occurs clause-finally, as illustrated in Figure 4.

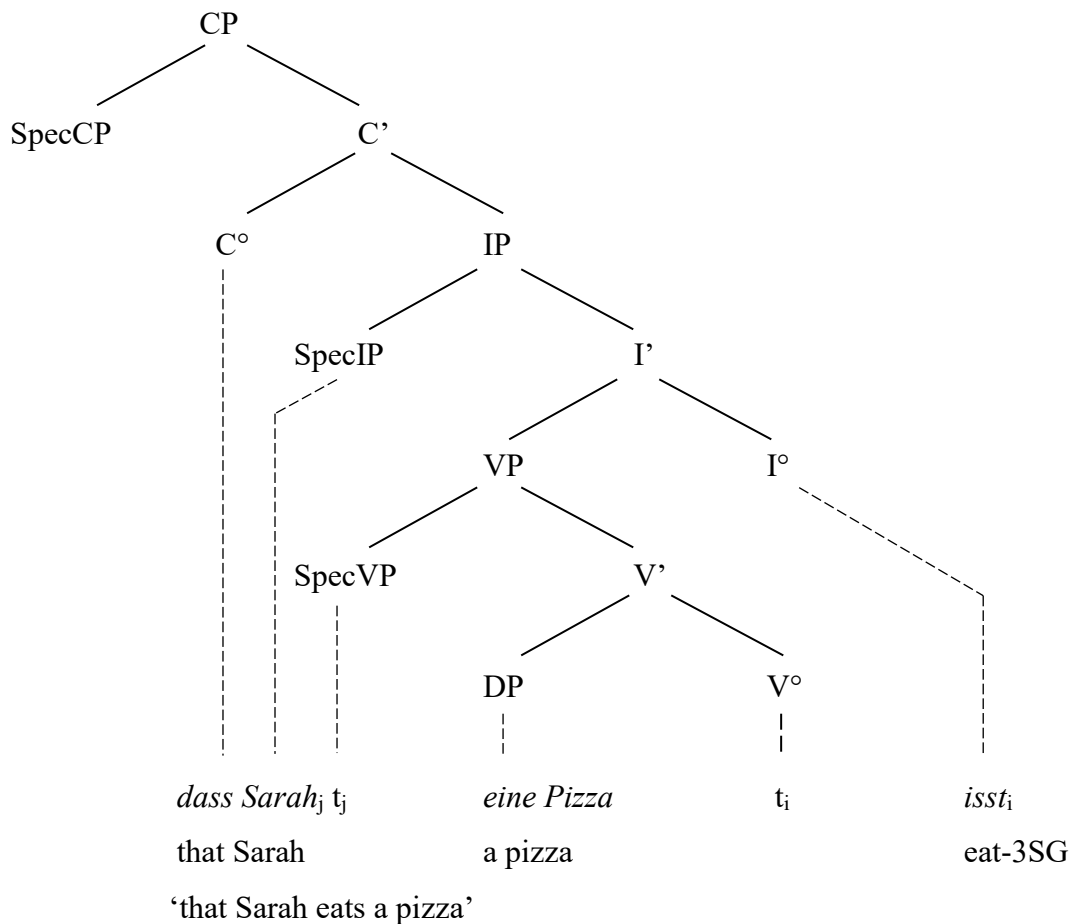


Figure 4: The structure of a German subordinate clause

The structure in Figure 3, above, as well as the examples in (3b) - (3d), is characterized by the non-adjacent positioning of the [+finite] and the [-finite] parts of the verbal complex. A structural configuration of this type, which is typical for German compound verb clauses, is usually referred to as the ‘verbal bracket’. From the syntactic tree in Figure 3, it is clear that the German verbal bracket can be seen as the structural consequence of the OV word order property on the one hand, and the V2 constraint on the other. While the [-finite] part(s) of the verb form can remain in its / their underlying phrase-final head position of the VP, i.e. V°, the atomic finite element of the clause needs to be realized in the C° position, which means that the verbal compound is eventually split up and all the linguistic material that had been in the structural positions between C° and V° now appears in the field between the [+finite] part of the verb, i.e. the left bracket, and the [-finite] part(s) of the verb, i.e. the right bracket. In fact, in a German declarative main clause, any non-verbal constituent, including the subject, can be realized in the position between the [+finite] element in C° and the [-finite] element(s) in V°. Given that the V2

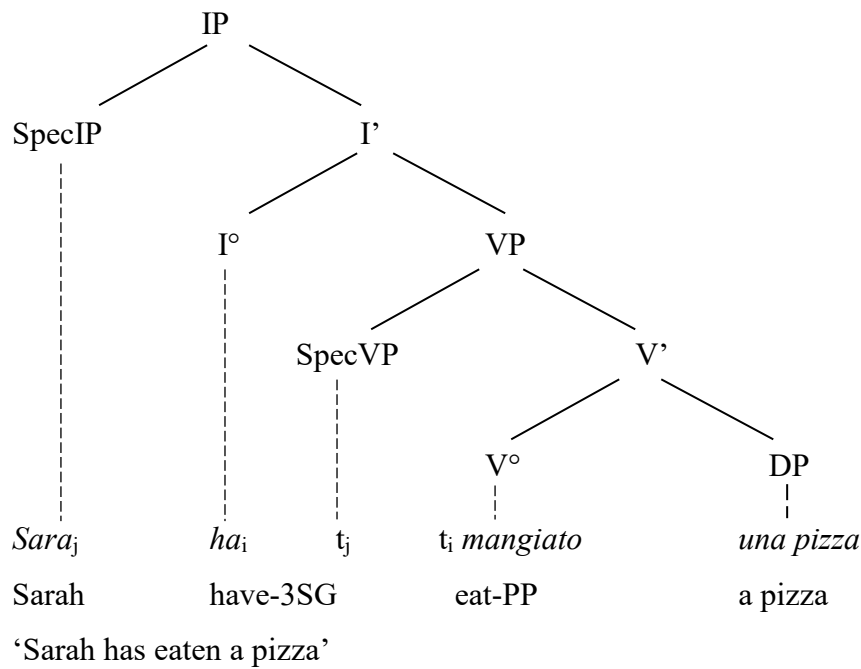


Figure 7: The structure of an Italian main clause with a compound verb

As is the case with German, Italian subordinate clauses are analyzed as CPs (cf. Gabriel and Müller 2008: 28ff.). The [+finite] verb form occurs under I° and therefore occupies the same structural position as in main clauses, which again is a difference compared to the German analysis. See the Italian structure in Figure 8, below, and the German structures in Figure 2 and Figure 4, above.

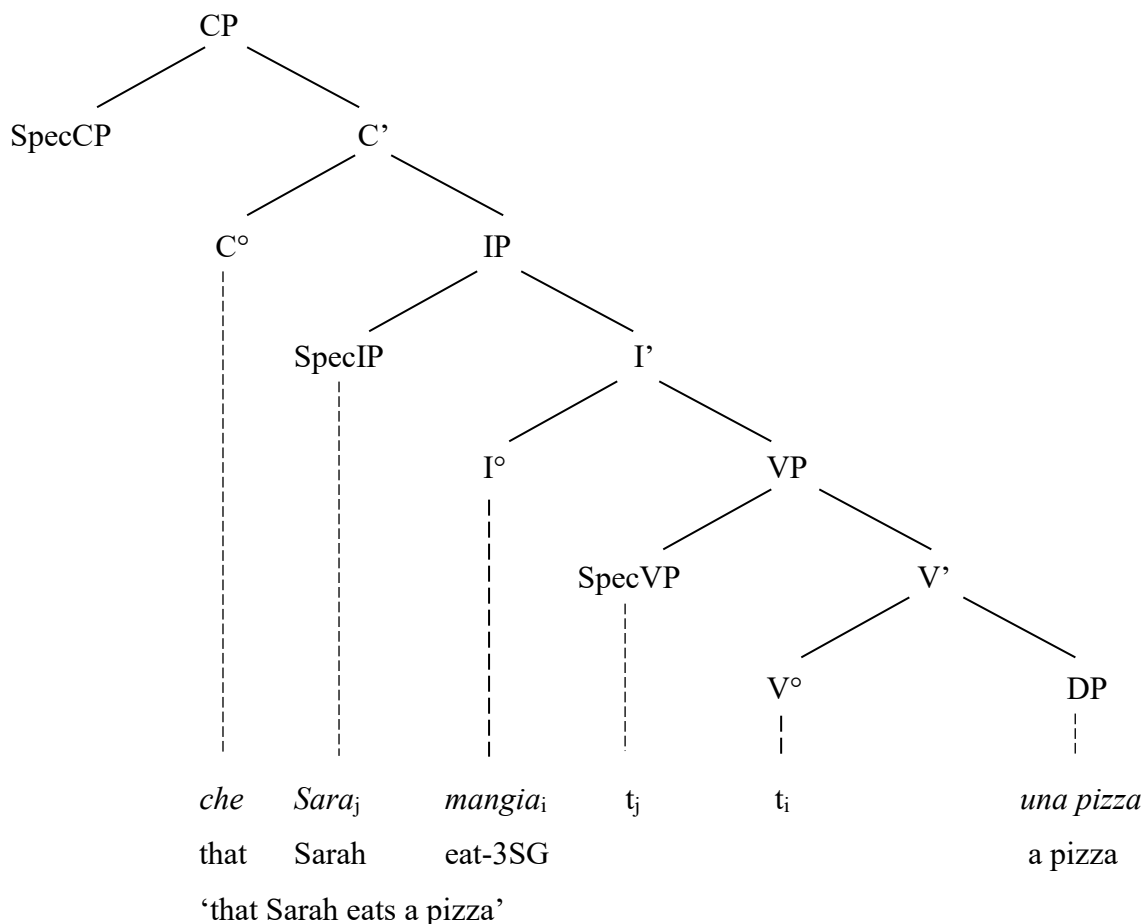


Figure 8: The structure of an Italian subordinate clause

It is clear from the structure in Figure 7, that as a combined result of the Italian VP’s head-initial value on the one hand, and the [+F] finiteness operator being located under I° on the other hand, the [+finite] and the [-finite] parts of an Italian compound verb form occur adjacent to each other. In other words, the Italian language system does not exhibit a verbal bracket as the German language does. In fact, all verbal arguments occur to the right of the verbal head in Italian since the Italian VP head’s language-specific licensing directionality is to the right. In contrast, the German verbal head licenses to the left. The left-licensing property of the German VP head is in accordance with the – universally constrained – directionality of merger (for details of these aspects, see Haider (2005, 2010b)). Thus, a (complex) German VP is characterized by a layer by layer architecture which allows linguistic material, other than the verbal arguments, to intervene in the domain of argument structure projection. See, for example, (5a) - (5c), below, in which a temporal adverbial and / or a local expression occur between the direct and the indirect object. In contrast, in Italian, as well as in all other VO languages, there is a mismatch

between the licensing directionality of the verbal head (i.e. to the right) and the directionality of merger. As a consequence, the verbal head has to be reinstated a number of times during the process of building up a complex VP, in order to both satisfy the directionality of merger and to guarantee the directional licensing of the verbal arguments. These operations finally result in a compact VP with a shell structure (cf. Haider 2005: 14), which does not allow for intervening elements, such as adverbials, in the domain of argument structure. Thus, constituent orders such as those in the German sentences in (5), in which one or more adverbs occur in the position between the direct and the indirect object, would be ill-formed in Italian. Compare the corresponding structures in (6).⁷ Instead, adverbs, more specifically local and temporal ones, such as those in (5) and (6), typically occur either clause-initial or clause-final in Italian (cf. Kirsten and Mack 2009: 89). For an illustration, see (7a) - (7e), below, which show possible Italian variants of the clause ‘Sarah has given a pizza to Marco today / at the university / at the university today’.

- (5) a. *Sarah hat* ***Marco heute*** ***eine Pizza*** *gegeben.*
 Sarah have-3SG Marco today a pizza give-PP
 ‘Sarah has given a pizza to Marco today’
- b. *Sarah hat* ***Marco in der Uni*** ***eine Pizza***
 Sarah have-3SG Marco at the university a pizza
 gegeben.
 give-PP
 ‘Sarah has given a pizza to Marco at the university’
- c. *Sarah hat* ***Marco heute in der Uni*** ***eine Pizza***
 Sarah have-3SG Marco today at the university a pizza
 gegeben.
 give-PP
 ‘Sarah has given a pizza to Marco at the university today’

⁷ Note that in Italian ditransitive constructions, the direct object usually precedes the indirect object: *dare qualcosa (ACC) a qualcuno (DAT)* ‘to give something (ACC) to someone (DAT)’ (cf. Kirsten and Mack 2009: 61), while in German, the direct object usually follows the indirect, *jemandem (DAT) etwas (ACC) geben* ‘to someone (DAT) something (ACC) give’.

- (6) a. *Sara ha dato* ***una pizza*** **oggi a Marco.*
 Sarah have-3SG give-PP a pizza today to Marco
 ‘Sarah has given a pizza to Marco today’
- b. *Sara ha dato* ***una pizza*** **all’università*
 Sarah have-3SG give-PP a pizza at the university
a Marco.
 to Marco
 ‘Sarah has given a pizza to Marco at the university’
- c. *Sara ha dato* ***una pizza*** **oggi all’università*
 Sarah have-3SG give-PP a pizza today at the university
a Marco.
 to Marco
 ‘Sarah has given a pizza to Marco at the university today’
- (7) a. *Oggi Sara ha dato* ***una pizza*** ***a Marco.***
 today Sarah have-3SG give-PP a pizza to Marco
- b. *Qui, all’università,* *Sara ha dato* ***una pizza***
 here, at the university, Sarah have-3SG give-PP a pizza
a Marco.
 to Marco
- c. *Oggi Sara ha dato* ***una pizza*** ***a Marco***
 today Sarah have-3SG give-PP a pizza to Marco
all’università.
 at the university
- d. *Sara ha dato* ***una pizza*** ***a Marco*** *oggi*
 Sarah have-3SG give-PP a pizza to Marco today
all’università.
 at the university

- e. *Oggi, all'università,* *Sara ha dato* ***una pizza***
today, at the university, Sarah have-3SG give-PP a pizza
a Marco.
to Marco

In terms of GB theory, this means that local and temporal adverbs are realized either as adjuncts to the VP or as adjuncts to the IP (see also Gabriel and Müller 2008: 59ff.). There is also a third position in which adverbs can occur in Italian, that is, immediately after the past participle, i.e. as an adjunct to V' (see Gabriel and Müller 2008: 24ff.). According to Kirsten and Mack (2009: 89), especially adverbs of manner take this position in Italian. For an illustration, see (8), below.

- (8) *Sara ha dato* *personalmente* ***una pizza*** ***a Marco.***
Sarah have-3SG give-PP personally a pizza a Marco
'Sarah has given a pizza to Marco personally'

It should be pointed out that the rules and restrictions on adverb placement in Italian, as presented by popular and / or relevant grammar books, are partially conflicting (see, for example, Esposito 1995; Kirsten and Mack 2009; Reumuth and Winkelmann 2012; Schwarze 2009). This applies in particular to statements about the *preferred* position of certain classes or subclasses of adverbs. Interestingly, native speakers also show variation in their grammaticality judgments and individual preferences for certain adverb placement strategies.⁸ Schwarze (2009: 188) points out that adverb placement in structures with a compound verb is determined by (the interaction of) several principles, including lexical, pragmatical, and phonetical ones.

However, there is a general consensus that there are only a limited number of Italian adverbs that can occur in the position between the [+finite] and the [-finite] verb form(s) in a compound verb clause. These adverbs are firstly, non-deictic temporal adverbs, such as *sempre* 'always', *spesso* 'often', *ancora* 'still / yet', *subito* 'immediately', and adverbs of quantity, such as *molto* 'very / much', *troppo* 'too much', *poco* 'few', *tanto* 'much / very' (cf. Kirsten and Mack 2009: 89; Schwarze 2009: 187f.). If accented, these types of adverbial elements typically occur between V_{fin} and V_{inf}, while they are

⁸ I am grateful to Valentina Cristante and Giusy Turco for their native speaker judgments on certain Italian adverb structures.

realized after *Vinf* in an unaccented reading. For an illustration, see the following examples from Kirsten and Mack (2009: 89) in (9):

- (9) a. *Ha sempre parlato di te.*
 have-3SG always talk-PP about you
 ‘He / she has always talked about you’
- b. *Ha parlato sempre di te.*
 have-3SG talk-PP always about you
 ‘He / she has always talked about you’
- c. *Ha tanto lavorato che . . .*
 have-3SG a lot work-PP that
 ‘He / she has worked so much that . . .’
- d. *Ha lavorato tanto.*
 have-3SG work-PP a lot
 ‘He / she has worked a lot’

Second, there is a small group of adverbs like *già* ‘already’, *più* ‘more’, *quindi* ‘hence / consequently’, which *preferably* are positioned between the [+finite] auxiliary and the [-finite] participle (cf. (10), below) (cf. Esposito 1995: 72 and see Schwarze 2009: 189 for a complete list of these adverbs).

Finally, certain negative adverbs, such as *mai* ‘never’ or *neppure* ‘not even’, can be placed between *Vfin* and *Vinf* in Italian. For an illustration, see (11).

- (10) *Sara ha già dato una pizza a Marco.*
 Sarah have-3SG already give-PP a pizza to Marco
 ‘Sarah has already given a pizza to Marco’
- (11) *Sara non ha mai dato una pizza a Marco.*
 Sarah not have-3SG never give-PP a pizza to Marco
 ‘Sarah has never given a pizza to Marco’

It should be noted that the constraints on adverb placement in Italian outlined above, in particular with respect to the realization of adverbial elements between V_{fin} and V_{inf}, are in striking contrast to German, in which *any* adverb can appear in the field between V_{fin} and V_{inf} and where adverbs can also intervene in the domain of argument structure projection.

A final remark in this paragraph on Italian clause structure relates to the V2 phenomenon which was introduced above for the German language system. As a matter of fact, Italian is not a V2 language, which means that it is possible for more than one constituent to occur in the position preceding the [+finite] verb of the clause (see, for example, (7a) - (7c), (7e), above) and that subject-verb inversion is not obligatory in declarative clauses when a constituent other than the subject is fronted. However, V2 phenomena in terms of subject-verb inversion in declaratives are not completely unknown in the Italian language system, though the subject's postposition after the [+finite] verb is never obligatory and in most of the cases, quite marked. In particular, structures with prepositional phrases in a position preceding the [+finite] verb form exhibit the phenomenon of optional subject-verb inversion, as exemplified by Kaiser (2002) (cf. (12a) and (12b), below, which stem from Kaiser (2002: 51 and 3, respectively)). In certain cases, also the object can appear in sentence-initial position, again yielding optional subject-verb inversion as in (13), cited from Kaiser (2002: 3).⁹ However, the subject's postposition is only possible if it does *not* occur in the position between the auxiliary and the past participle, i.e. in the position between the [+finite] and the [-finite] part of the verbal complex (Kaiser 2002: 3). Therefore, constituent orders of the type shown in (14), which would be perfectly grammatical in strict V2 languages such as German, are ungrammatical in Italian.

(12) a. *In questa stanza dorme Piero.*
 in this room sleep-3SG Peter
 'Peter sleeps in this room'

b. *Con piacere ha letto la donna il libro.*
 with pleasure have-3SG read-PP the woman the book
 'The woman has read the book with pleasure'

⁹ These optional V2 structures, as they are evidenced for the whole subgroup of Romance languages, are usually interpreted as kind of "remnants" from a historical period in which the V2 constraint applied to the Old Romance languages in the same way as it synchronically applies to the Germanic languages, excluding English (cf. Kaiser 2002: 6f.).

(13) *Un libro ha letto la donna*
 a book have-3SG read-PP the woman
(e non un giornale).
 and not a newspaper
 ‘The woman has read a book (and not a newspaper)’

(14) **Con piacere ha letto il libro.*
 with pleasure have-3SG the woman read-PP the book
 ‘The woman has read the book with pleasure’

All in all, this means that in contrast to German, the subject constituent *never* appears in the position between V_{fin} and V_{inf} in Italian declarative main clauses.

To sum up so far, Italian and German word order and verb placement rules are quite different: While in Italian, no constituents with argument status are allowed in the field between V_{fin} and V_{inf}, all verbal arguments can, or even must, be realized between the [+finite] and the [-finite] verb form(s) in German. This also applies to non-obligatory constituents such as adverbs: In German, all types of adverbs can occur between V_{fin} and V_{inf}, while in Italian, only a limited number of adverbial elements can be used there. In other words, the Italian language system does not exhibit a verbal bracket, i.e. the distant positioning of the [+finite] and the [-finite] part(s) of the verb form. The described differences between German clause structure on the one hand, and in Italian clause structure on the other, can be ascribed primarily to the OV vs. VO status of the two languages involved, as well as to the presence vs. absence of the V2 constraint in these two languages.

The topological field model for the German clause

As mentioned above, the distant positioning of the [+finite] and [-finite] part(s) of compound verbs in German is usually called the *verbal bracket* or *sentence bracket* (from German *Satzklammer*) (e.g. Duden 2006: 874; Eisenberg 2006: 400; Helbig and Buscha 2001: 475). This well-established term originates from a traditional theory of German clause structure, the so-called *field theory* or *topological field model* (from German *Topologisches Feldermodell*) (e.g. Eisenberg 2006: 394f.; Sternefeld 2006: 286f.), which dates back to the work of Erdmann (1886), Drach (1937), and Boost (1955). In this model, the organization of German sentences is considered and described in terms of the surface

order of elements. The central idea is that of the existence of fixed syntactic fields in the German clause, which are characterized by the type and number of linguistic elements that are allowed to occur in that specific position. In the following, the assumed syntactic structure of the German clause, as well as the properties of the individual syntactic fields, will be considered in more detail:¹⁰

The topological field model assumes that there are two verbal positions for the German clause, namely the so-called *left sentence bracket* (left SB) and *right sentence bracket* (right SB). In the left sentence bracket, only one constituent is allowed to occur. In the case of a declarative main clause, this is the [+finite] verb form (see the examples in (15a) - (15d), (15g), below). The right sentence bracket position remains empty in structures with a simple verb form (cf. (15a)). However, in structures with a compound verb, the right SB is filled by the [-finite] part(s) of the verbal complex. Theoretically, it is possible for an unlimited number of [-finite] verbal elements to occur here. In the case of an introduced subordinate clause, the introducing element, e.g. the subjunction or the relative pronoun, is realized in the left SB position (remember that only one constituent is allowed here), and consequently, the [+finite] verb form of the clause, together with the [-finite] part(s), occupies the right SB (cf. (15e) and (15f)).

¹⁰ Note that there is no ‘standard version’ of the field model (Sternefeld 2006: 286). Instead, several variants of the traditional model are discussed in the German philological literature (e.g. Bech 1955/57; Engel 1977; Grewendorf et al. 1987; Haftka 1993; Heidolph et al. 1981; Höhle 1986). In the explanation given here, I largely follow the terminology and approaches employed by Askedal (1986), Duden (2006: 874f.), and Eisenberg (2006: 397f.).

(15)

	pre-field	left SB	middle field	right SB
a.	<i>Sarah</i> Sarah	<i>kauft</i> buy-3SG	<i>eine Pizza</i> a pizza	
b.	<i>Sarah</i> Sarah	<i>hat</i> have-3SG	<i>eine Pizza</i> a pizza	<i>gekauft</i> buy-PP
c.	<i>Sarah</i> Sarah	<i>hat</i> have-3SG	<i>heute in der Uni eine Pizza</i> today in the university a pizza	<i>gekauft</i> buy-PP
d.	<i>Eine Pizza</i> a pizza	<i>hat</i> have-3SG	<i>Sarah</i> Sarah	<i>gekauft</i> buy-PP
e.		<i>weil</i> because	<i>Sarah eine Pizza</i> Sarah a pizza	<i>kauft</i> buy-3SG
f.		<i>die</i> that	<i>Sarah</i> Sarah	<i>gekauft</i> buy-PP <i>hat</i> have-3SG
g.	<i>Sarah</i> Sarah	<i>hat</i> have-3SG		<i>geschlafen</i> sleep-PP

The left and the right sentence bracket divide the German clause into three syntactic fields, a so-called *pre-field*, which precedes the left SB, a *middle field*, between the left SB and the right SB, and a *post-field*, which follows the right SB.¹¹ Only one constituent can be realized in the pre-field; this is usually the subject constituent (cf. (15a) - (15c), (15g)). If a constituent other than the subject occurs in the pre-field, the subject of the clause is realized in the middle field (cf. (15d)). In contrast to the pre-field, the middle field can accommodate a (theoretically) unlimited number of constituents. For an illustration, see (15c). In fact, all the constituents in a German declarative main clause except the one in the pre-field and the verbal element(s) in the bracket position, are realized in the middle field. However, the middle field can also be empty, as, for example, in the case of constructions with an intransitive verb consisting of only a subject and a verbal predicate. In the case of a simple verb form, only the pre-field and the left SB would be filled, while in the case of a compound verb, the pre-field, the left SB and the right SB would be occupied. In the latter constellation, V_{fin} in the left SB and V_{inf} in the right SB would occur adjacent to each other, therefore, the existence of a verbal bracket in German is not immediately obvious from such patterns (cf. (15g), above).

When matching the topological field model to the GB framework's concept of X-bar syntax (cf. the German trees in Figure 2 - Figure 4, above), the left SB would correspond to the C° position and the pre-field to SpecCP. The right SB is then associated with V° and I°, and the middle field correlates with SpecIP, SpecVP, and the complement positions of the VP (and, specifically, with all projections instantiated in the VP/IP domain). This is illustrated in (16), below:

(16)	pre-field	left SB	middle field	right SB
	[_{CP} Sarah _j	[_C <i>will</i> _i	[_{IP} t _j [_{I'} [_{VP} <i>eine Pizza</i> [_V <i>essen</i>]]	t _i]]]]
	Sarah	want to-3SG	a pizza	eat-INF
	‘Sarah wants to eat a pizza’			

A reconsideration of the Italian tree structures in Figure 6 - Figure 8, above, as well as the examples given in (7) - (11), makes it evident that the Italian language system does not exhibit a sentence bracket and hence, the phenomenon of a middle field, in the way that German does. As explained above, in Italian, only a small number of certain adverbs

¹¹ Given that the post-field itself, as well as the syntactic phenomena related to this position, are not of relevance to the present study, this syntactic field will not be considered further here.

can occur in the position between the [+finite] verb in I° and the [-finite] verb in V°. Syntactically, this is realized by adjunction to the left of the head-initial Italian VP. In contrast, the availability of a syntactic position between V_{fin} and V_{inf} in German, is due to the combination of the head-final value of the German VP and the V2 constraint. This means that although the occurrence of linguistic material in the position between V_{fin} and V_{inf} cannot be completely ruled out in Italian, the syntactic properties underlying such representations in German and Italian are by no means comparable.

To sum up, Table 1, below, lists the relevant typological properties of German and Italian with respect to the word order and clause structure phenomena discussed in this subsection.

Property	German	Italian
Word order	SOV	SVO
V2	Yes	No
S-V inversion	obligatory	non-obligatory, rare, marked
Sentence bracket	Yes	No
Constituents allowed between V _{fin} and V _{inf}	all non-verbal constituents, both arguments and adjuncts	certain adverbial elements only, adjuncts only

Table 1: Relevant typological properties of German vs. Italian

1.1.2 German word order and clause structure from a learner’s perspective¹²

Despite the topological field model’s unquestionable usefulness as a descriptive instrument for German word order regularities, it is obvious that the field theory lacks explanatory force. For example, it fails to interpret the fact that the left SB is only open to [+finite] verb forms, while the right SB can accommodate both [-finite] and [+finite] verb forms. In other words, the topological field model does not deal with the specific rules underlying German verb placement or even with a potential relationship between the two verbal positions in the German clause in the way that, for example, derivational ap-

¹² Amongst other things, this subsection addresses the notion of L1 structural transfer in L2 acquisition. A more detailed discussion on this linguistic phenomenon will be provided in Subsection 2.1.5.

proaches to German syntax do. The field theory characteristically restricts itself to a surface-oriented view of German clause structure phenomena. Somewhat paradoxically, it is exactly this surface perspective, which could be perceived as a serious shortcoming from the syntactic theory perspective, that makes the field model appear quite appropriate when issues of language learning are involved. More precisely, the specific perspective adopted by the field theory seems able to give us an understanding of how learners, confronted with German input data in the form of more or less comprehensible surface strings, might experience German word order rules and verb placement regularities. In fact, learners of German will encounter verb forms in two distinct structural positions and, as will be explained below, it does not seem to be easy for the L2 learner to identify the relationship between the two verb positions and to discover that while one position is actually the underlying verb position, the other, the V2 slot, is a derived position. In the following, I will try to reconstruct how novice learners of German, especially those with a VO background, might perceive German word order rules when they are exposed to naturalistic German input data. A simple declarative main clause, such as that in (3a), repeated here as (17), below, will serve as a starting point.

- (17) *Sarah isst eine Pizza.*
 Sarah eat-3SG a pizza
 ‘Sarah eats a pizza’

The structure in (17) exhibits an SVO surface order. The underlying order of the clause is, as for every German clause, SOV. However, this fact is not evident when one considers the linear order of the linguistic elements as such – and this is what a (novice) second language learner can be expected to do in the first instance (e.g. Clahsen and Felser 2006; Meisel 1997). Given the SVO sequence in (17), it could equally be the case that the position in which the [+finite] verb *isst* occurs in (17), represents the *underlying* verb position in the German language system (as it is assumed, for example, within the historical framework of field theory (e.g. Drach 1937)). How is it possible to tell just from the input string provided, that the verb’s realization to the left of the object, is the result of a structural requirement applying to the German language system, namely the V2 constraint, and that it does not actually reflect the underlying word order? In fact, it cannot be inferred from the datum in (17), that German is an OV language. The structure of its SVO surface

representation could just as well have had its origin in an underlying VO order, as becomes evident from the corresponding Italian sentence in (18):

- (18) *Sara mangia una pizza.*
Sarah eat-3SG a pizza
'Sarah eats a pizza'

The fact that German is an OV language can only be inferred from structures in which a verbal element occurs in the clause-final slot, i.e. to the right of the object, as in (19).

- (19) *Sarah will eine Pizza essen.*
Sarah want to-3SG a pizza eat-INF
'Sarah wants to eat a pizza'

As a matter of fact, a second language learner will encounter both types of structures, (17) and (19), in the German target language input. This means that from a learner's perspective, the German input data are highly ambiguous regarding the underlying position of the lexical verb, and hence, also the underlying word order property of the German target language. There is, apparently, evidence for both an underlying VO order (cf. (17)) and an underlying OV order (cf. (19)) in the target system.

Recent typological approaches to German word order (e.g. Dryer 2013) classify German as a language with "both orders with neither order dominant" (compare the legend to the map presented in Dryer (2013)). While this categorization might well represent the reality of surface word order in contemporary spoken German, it cannot be deemed to be an adequate description from a syntactic point of view. As explicated in Subsection 1.1.1, above, the VO vs. OV feature can be considered distinctive and VO vs. OV languages differ significantly with respect to the syntactic architecture of the VP domain. These differences are a direct consequence of the headedness of the VP. For this reason, it seems necessary for an L2 learner to find out whether the VP of the language to be learned is head-initial or head-final, that is, whether the target system's underlying word order is VO or OV.

Given the described surface ambiguity of the German input data regarding basic word order, how do L2 learners cope with the task of identifying the underlying word

order of German? How do they analyze the available input data and what is their hypothesis about German's underlying word order? In order to answer these questions, corpus data from different L2 learner populations will be considered, specifically, from untutored adult learners, untutored child learners, and tutored adult learners of German as L2 (cf. (20), below). Note that the data in (20) all stem from learners whose L1 is a VO language.

(20) a. Untutored adult learners, ESF corpus (Perdue 1993a, b)

*ich **habe** schon **gemacht** die militär*
 I have-1SG already make-PP the military
 'I have already been in the army'
 (Marcello, L1 Italian)

b. Untutored adult learners, ZISA corpus (Clahsen et al. 1983)

*ich **habe** **warten** 3,4 stunden*
 I have-1SG wait-INF 3,4 hours
 'I have been waiting 3 to 4 hours'
 (Anton, L1 Spanish)

c. Untutored child learners (Haberzettl 2005: 115)

*Der **kann** nicht **kaufen** den Lutscher*
 this one can-3SG not buy-INF the lollypop
 'This one cannot buy the lollypop'
 (An, L1 Russian)

d. Tutored adult learners, data collected in the context of this thesis

*Wir **sind** **gewesen** in den Hotel*
 we be-1PL be-PP in the hotel
 'We stayed in a hotel'
 (Ferdinando N., L1 Italian)

- e. Tutored adult learners, data collected in the context of this thesis

Ich habe getroffen meine Freunde

I have-1SG meet-PP my friends

‘I have met my friends’

(Elena, L1 Italian)

- f. Tutored child / adolescent learners, DiGS corpus (Diehl et al. 2000)

Ich kann spielen Federball [...]

I can-1SG play-INF badminton

‘I can play badminton’

(Catherine, L1 French)

Remarkably, the utterances in (20) all exhibit the same target-deviant feature, namely a VO order resulting in a defective sentence bracket. Interestingly, in two of the utterances, (20a) and (20c), elements occur in the position between *V_{fin}* and *V_{inf}*, indicating the availability of a syntactic slot in the learner language, i.e. some kind of proto-middle field. However, it should be noted that in the case of (20a), the positioning of the adverb, German *schon* ‘already’, Italian *giá*, between *V_{fin}* and *V_{inf}* corresponds to the source language rules (cf. Subsection 1.1.1, in particular example (16), above). The pattern of the post-finite, but pre-infinite realization of the negator *nicht* ‘not’ in (20c) conforms to a frequently attested, universal strategy in the expression of sentential negation in (early) untutored learner language (e.g. Bardel 1999; Becker 2005; Bernini 2000). Thus, it is rather unlikely that (20a) and (20c) really are structures with a type of proto-middle field representing the beginning acquisition of target-like clause structure rules. Instead, it can be assumed that the utterances in (20) are basically constructed according to the L1 VO model. As will be explicated in Subsection 2.1.5, below, there is good reason to assume that learners do not automatically transfer the word order properties of their native language to the emerging interlanguage system, and that the transfer of the L1 order to the early L2 learner language, is triggered by *evidence* of the L1 word order in the L2 input. As discussed above, SVO surface patterns of the type shown in (17) provide such – eventually misleading – evidence. Therefore, the surface alternation of VO (cf. (17)) and OV (cf. (19)) in the German target language input, seems to be a hindrance to the L2 acquisition of German word order rules. Apparently, the existence of native-like VO orders in

the input impedes the learner's access to target-like OV structures (see Subsection 2.1.5 for a more detailed discussion of these aspects).

But how can we be sure that the learner utterances in (20), above, are really the result of L1 influence? It could well be that the respective structures are reflexes of a universal developmental stage in early L2 acquisition, as was argued, for example, by Clahsen and Muysken (1986) or by Pienemann (1998). Studies that investigated the L2 acquisition of German by both speakers of a VO language and speakers of an OV language (e.g. Habertzettl 2005; Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1996), can shed light on this issue. Additional evidence comes from Jansen et al. (1981) and van de Craats (2007), who studied the L2 acquisition of Dutch as a second language by native speakers of Moroccan (=VO) and Turkish (=OV). Just like German, Dutch is an OV language to which the V2 constraint applies, so that Dutch and German are largely comparable as far as the L2 development of word order properties is concerned.¹³ Accordingly, the studies showed that the learners whose native language was VO began the acquisition of German, respectively Dutch, with a VO hypothesis, while the learners whose L1 was OV began with an OV assumption. These findings support the so-called *Alternation Hypothesis* proposed by Jansen et al. (1981), which reads as follows:

“Assume that in a target language A there is an alternation between two surface structures, and that in source language B only one of these two surface structures occurs. Then speakers of source language B acquiring language A will overgeneralize in their interlanguage grammar the structure which corresponds most closely to the structure in their own language” (ibid.: 315).

Overall, the results of the above-cited studies contradict the assumption of a universal developmental sequence involving SVO orders, such as those in (20), as an early developmental stage in L2 acquisition. Instead, the word order properties of the early L2 interim system seem to be significantly influenced by the L1 word order, or, more precisely, by the *interaction* between L1 structural knowledge and the word order properties of the L2 input (cf. the *Alternation Hypothesis*).

¹³ The source languages of the learners investigated by Habertzettl (2005) were Russian (=VO) on the one hand, and Turkish (=OV) on the other, while Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996) considered the L2 development of speakers of Italian (=VO) and Spanish (=VO), in contrast to speakers of Turkish (=OV) and Korean (=OV).

As can be seen from the learner data in (20), above, overgeneralizing the L1 VO order can lead to the use of target-deviant clause structure patterns in early German L2 production. However, the negative effects of a learner's initial VO hypothesis on the L2 acquisition of German can extend far beyond such misperformances. In fact, the entire acquisition process can be severely hampered by incorrect assumptions about the underlying word order of the German target system. This was illustrated by Haberzettl (2005), who investigated the naturalistic acquisition of German by two Russian (=VO) children in comparison to two Turkish (=OV) children. What Haberzettl found was that the Russian children apparently interpreted the German input data in favor of an underlying VO order and consequently began the acquisition of German with a VO hypothesis. Not very surprisingly, the VO learner system collapses at some point during the acquisition process, since the German input data can no longer be accommodated. This means that learners have to revise and reconstruct their underlying learner grammar at a certain point, resulting in severe acquisition problems and a temporary stagnation of their developmental process as far as verb placement is concerned. As reported by Haberzettl (2005: 148), the Russian children showed considerable difficulties in acquiring V-end in subordinate clauses and in instantiating the position of the right sentence bracket, i.e. a position for [-finite] verbs or [-finite] parts of the verb, in their learner language.

In contrast to the Russian children, the Turkish children began the L2 acquisition of German with an OV hypothesis, as evidenced by early utterances of the type shown in (21a), below. In principle, this word order matches the basic word order property of the target language, so that a first hurdle seems to be overcome. However, sooner or later, learners discover that there is a second verbal position in German, specifically, a position in which properties of finiteness need to be expressed. In order to satisfy this (structural) requirement of the target language, learners insert a dummy verb, that is, a form of a semantically largely empty verb, such as a form of the copula verb *sein* 'to be', into their utterance. The dummy verb can be seen as a proto-finite element functioning as a structural precursor of the V2 finiteness position (e.g. Haberzettl 2003; van de Craats 2009), while the, usually [-finite], lexical verb carries the content information and is realized in the underlying clause-final base position (cf. (21b), below). Only in a next step do [+finite] forms of lexical verbs also occur in the V2 position (cf. (21c)). Finally, structures such as those in (21d), which exhibit a correctly realized sentence bracket with a separable particle verb, suggest that the fundamental syntactic properties of the two verbal positions

of the German declarative main clause haven't been acquired. The examples in (21) are from Haberzettl (2005: 88ff.).¹⁴

- (21) a. *Zwei Junge, ein Ball, die - Ball spielen* (Me, 11)
 two boys, one ball, this one ball play-INF
- b. *der Willi sch ist Schere schneiden* (Me, 15)
 the Willi be-3SG scissors cut-INF
- c. *Ich sehe eine Kind* (Me, 16)
 I see-1SG a child
- d. *Er macht Pullover an* (Me, 17)
 he make-3SG sweater on-PART

The developmental sequence presented in (21), above, can be interpreted in terms of a structure building approach. In a first step, the Turkish learners instantiate the base position of the German verb to the right of the object (21a). They then extend the L2 clause to the left and work out the V2 finiteness position (21b). In a last step, they seem to establish a relation between the two verbal slots in German, insofar that they are able to move the lexical verb, or the [+finite] part of it, out of its underlying, clause-final position (21c), (21d).

In terms of the topological field model, this means that the structure of the German clause is worked out from the right to the left (cf. Haberzettl 2006). For an illustration of this idea, see (22), below:

- | (22) | pre-field | left SB | middle field | right SB |
|------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| a. | Ein Hahn, die die | | | schlafen |
| b. | der Willi sch | ist | Schere | schneiden |
| c. | Ich | sehe | eine Kind | |
| d. | Er | macht | Pullover | an |

¹⁴ Note that no translation will be given for these examples, since this would involve an interpretation of what the learner actually intended to say.

As reported by Haberzettl (2005), the Turkish children in her study acquired German word order and clause structure properties comparatively easily and in a relatively short time span. In contrast, a less successful acquisition process was attested for the Russian children. Haberzettl (2005: 135f.) concluded that the differences observed between the Turkish children on the one hand, and the Russian children on the other, could most probably be attributed to the different initial word order hypotheses with which the child learners of German started, i.e. OV for the Turkish children as opposed to VO for the Russian children.

To summarize, the L2 learner's analysis of word order when presented with ambiguous German input data of the type shown in (17) and (19), above, seems to be strongly influenced by the word order property of his / her native language. While native speakers of an OV language (correctly) analyze the German target language input in favor of an underlying OV order, native speakers of a VO language seem to misinterpret it as having a basic VO order. Studies such as that by Haberzettl (2005) show that an initial OV hypothesis is a helpful starting point for a comparatively trouble-free acquisition of German clause structure, whereas an initial VO hypothesis seems to hamper the acquisition process.

Against the background of these findings, Haberzettl (2006) raises questions about the practical implications of her 2005 study. In view of the negative effects of beginning the L2 acquisition of German with a VO assumption, Haberzettl (2006) argues for the early introduction of OV patterns in German as a foreign / second language programs, especially those aimed at speakers of a VO language. The idea here is to demonstrate to the learner right from the beginning that as well as the V2 finiteness position to the left of the object, there is another verbal position in German to the right of the object and that the latter is, in fact, the *underlying* verb position in German. In order to find out how German word order and clause structure phenomena are dealt with in the praxis of GFL / GSL teaching, Haberzettl (2006) looked at the order of introduction and the input design used in the popular children's textbook *Das neue Deutschmobil*. Her analysis showed that in this textbook, (S)OV structures were introduced comparatively late and were quite scarce in the early textbook input, while SVO patterns clearly dominated the first seven chapters (Haberzettl 2006: 214f.). It can be assumed that these input conditions invite learners whose native language is VO, to interpret the German input data in favor of an underlying VO system, which, as explained above, will have a negative effect on the further development of the L2 learner syntax.

The results of Haberzettl's (2006) textbook analysis raise the question of whether German word order phenomena are generally introduced in GFL textbooks in the order found in *Das neue Deutschmobil*. In particular, it seems interesting to find out how German clause structure is dealt with in adult GFL courses. Bear in mind that, from the data in (20) and the discussion above, L1 word order transfer is a problem that can also be observed in adult learners. For this reason, the next section is dedicated to the question of how issues of basic German word order phenomena are presented and introduced in GFL courses which address adult foreign language learners of German.

1.2. Practical issues: German word order and clause structure in GFL textbooks

1.2.1 A textbook analysis – method and aim

Vogel and Börner (1999) begin the preface to their edited volume *Lehrwerke im Fremdsprachenunterricht* with the following passage:

“Lehrwerke des Fremdsprachenunterrichts haben vielerlei Funktionen und Eigenschaften. Sie sind für Lerner und Lehrer in den wichtigen ersten Lernjahren nach wie vor das **zentrale Leitmedium**. Sie legen Auswahl, Progression und Präsentation der Lernbereiche Sprache und Kultur fest. **Für den Lerner** bilden sie – neben dem Lehrer – die **Hauptinformationsquelle über die fremde Sprache** und Kultur. **Dem Lehrer** liefern sie **detaillierte Vorgaben** für die Gestaltung seines Unterrichts, **denen er gerne folgt**¹⁵” [emphasis added] (ibid.: V).

Neuner (1994) makes a quite similar point when he states:

“Das Lehrwerk bestimmt wie kein anderer Faktor das, was im Fremdsprachenunterricht geschieht” (ibid.: 8).

Statements such as these bring to mind the enormous influence that textbooks and textbook design seem to have on the teaching of foreign languages in institutional contexts

¹⁵ As mentioned in a footnote in Vogel and Börner (1999: V, footnote 1), Quetz (1976) found that 82% of class time in English as a foreign language classes in adult education was organized by means of the textbook.

(see also Kast and Neuner (1994) and Bimmel et al. (2003) for the role of textbooks in the foreign language classroom). In fact, almost every language course is accompanied, if not completely organized, by a textbook, a fact that is often taken for granted and allows both students and teacher to easily forget how closely they orientate to standards set by others, in this case, the authors of foreign language teaching materials. Given the leading role of textbooks in the foreign language classroom, if one wants to know how basic German word order phenomena are dealt with in the everyday praxis of teaching German to adult learners with various L1 backgrounds, it seems only logical to look at GFL textbooks and the grammar progression therein. For this reason and largely inspired by Haberzettl (2006), the decision was made to perform a textbook analysis in the context of the present investigation. Such an analysis not only promises to reveal what type of input patterns L2 learners of German are confronted with at what point in the curriculum, but it will also show what GFL learners are expected to be able to *learn* at a given point in time. To put it differently, a textbook analysis should reflect what experts in the field of GFL teaching and learning consider to be an appropriate introduction order for German word order phenomena, one that is cognitively manageable and learnable by novice adult learners of German as a foreign language.

1.2.2 Textbook sample

To compile a representative sample for the planned GFL textbook analysis, I prepared an informal questionnaire. This was sent to 20 adult education centers in Germany, as well as to 20 Goethe Institutes worldwide. The survey was conducted in June 2009 and asked the respective institution which GFL textbook(s) was / were currently being used in absolute beginners' courses. Based on the results of the survey, four popular, widely used GFL textbooks were chosen for the present analysis: *Berliner Platz (BP)*, *Schritte International (SI)*, *Tangram aktuell (Ta)*, and *studio d (sd)*.

From a methodological point of view, all four textbooks subscribe to the so-called communicative approach to foreign language teaching.¹⁶ Broadly speaking, this means that the textbooks try to present authentic texts and spoken language materials, the content

¹⁶ See, for example, the downloadable leaflets for *Berliner Platz* (http://www.klett-langenscheidt.de/Deutsch_als_Fremdsprache/Fuer_Erwachsene/Berliner_Platz_NEU/uebersicht/Konzeption_und_Aufbau/10099), and *Schritte International* (http://www.hueber.de/sixcms/media.php/36/sit_interview.pdf), as well as the information provided on the homepages of *Tangram aktuell* (http://www.hueber.de/seite/info_kursbuchteil_tana) and *studio d* (http://www.cornelsen.de/studio_d/reihe/1.c.2583362.de/konzept). All sites last accessed on 2002-17-13.

of which covers (basic) topics of everyday life in German-speaking countries and general issues of human life and experience (e.g. individual / family background, emotions, likes and dislikes, etc.). Grammar is usually taught inductively within the given communicative framework, which means that grammatical phenomena are generally not presented as an end in themselves, but are instead packaged in a communicatively appropriate context. The (abstract) grammar rules underlying these phenomena are typically presented after the context-based introduction, or they are designed to be “discovered” by the learners themselves by means of suitable exercises. The exercises as such are diversified and aim to practice the four classical language skills, i.e. listening and reading as perceptive skills on the one hand, and speaking and writing as productive skills on the other. As regards their potential target audiences, *Berliner Platz* is primarily designed for learners with a lower educational background and less experience in L2 learning, while *Schritte International* and *Tangram aktuell* aim to address adult learners of German worldwide, irrespective of their educational background. Lastly, *studio d*, is aimed at adults who primarily want to learn German for professional reasons.¹⁷

1.2.3 Procedure

The volume(s) designed for the attainment of level A1, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), was / were analyzed for each of the textbooks included in the sample. This included additional materials such as workbooks and audio-visual media. Language courses leading to level A1 usually comprise 80 to 200 contact hours, depending on factors such as educational prerequisites, previous language learning experience, and the overall socio-cultural background of their specific target groups. For example, university students who already have acquired at least one modern foreign language in the course of their A-levels, can be assumed to have mastered the A1 level after approximately 80 contact hours. In contrast, immigrant workers, in particular those who do not have much contact with native German speakers, are usually well served by up to 200 hours of instruction. As a compromise, the present analysis is

¹⁷ See http://www.klett-langenscheidt.de/Deutsch_als_Fremdsprache/Fuer_Erwachsene/Berliner_Platz/uebersicht/Konzeption_und_Aufbau/Berliner_Platz_Einstiegskurs/9164 for BP, http://books.google.de/books/about/Schritte_international_1.html?id=y7BawcochdgC&redir_esc=y for SI, <https://shop.hueber.de/de/reihen-und-lehrwerke/tangram-aktuell.html> for Ta, and Faistauer (2007: 239) for sd. All sites last accessed on 2002-17-13.

based on an assumed mean of 140 contact hours.¹⁸ This means that the different number of units in each of the four textbooks was converted into a schedule of 140 teaching hours, so that the chronology of the introduction of specific word order patterns was comparable for all of the textbooks investigated.

During the analysis, all the written language materials (e.g. reading texts, dialogues, exercises, task formulations, etc.) in both textbooks and workbooks, were assessed. Furthermore, all acoustic materials (e.g. listening texts, phonetic exercises, etc.) on accompanying CDs were also considered in the analysis. The learning material was divided into “input packages”, each corresponding to approximately five contact hours. A note was made of the types of input structures that occurred in each of these packages. In accordance with the present study’s focus on basic word order phenomena, the input structures were categorized according to the evidence they provided for a specific word order in German. That is, it was determined whether a structure exhibited a derived VO order, therefore suggesting that German might be VO, or whether it exhibited an OV order and therefore made evident that German is, in fact, an OV language.¹⁹ It should be mentioned that evidence which came from declarative clauses and evidence from interrogative clauses were both treated the same. This seemed reasonable, since, put simply, declarative and interrogative clauses only vary in respect to the relative position of the *subject* and the *verb* (since interrogative clauses require subject verb inversion); they do not vary with respect to the order of the *object* and the *verb*. Thus, the word order property

¹⁸ It should be noted that the concrete amount of contact hours actually seems to be of a secondary nature here. What appears to be more important, is the general *order* of introduction of relevant word order patterns.

¹⁹ Note that in the remainder of this chapter, as well as in the whole thesis, the syntactic termini ‘(S)VO’ and ‘(S)OV’ will be used to refer to a certain word order *type*, but not necessarily to a concrete constituent structure. Specifically, the terminus ‘(S)VO’ will be used to refer to both SVO/SVX structures, while the term ‘(S)OV’ will be used to subsume both SOV/SXV constructions, with ‘X’ being any type of adverbial or prepositional complement (cf. (ia), (ib), below). This terminological generalization seems legitimate since the syntactic conclusions that can be drawn by the learner from SVO/SVX constructions on the one hand, and SOV/SXV constructions on the other hand, are identical in each of these cases: Both SVO/SVX structures provide evidence of a (potentially) underlying VO system in the German target language, and both SOV/SXV patterns function as evidence in favor of a (potentially) underlying OV property in the German language system.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (i) | a. | S
Die Deutschen
the Germans
‘The Germans speak very loudly’ | V
sprechen
speak-3PL | X
sehr laut.
very loudly | |
| | b. | S
Ich
I
‘I want to study in Germany’ | möchte
would like to-1SG | X
in Deutschland
in Germany | V
studieren.
study-INF |

that is central to the present analysis, is identical in both clausal types. Furthermore, declarative clauses which exhibited subject-verb inversion, i.e. VS structures, were treated like declarative clauses with the unmarked SVO order, for the purpose of determining evidence for an underlying OV vs. VO word order in the target language. This procedure can be justified by the fact that although the object constituent is moved to the initial position in OVS structures, the position of the lexical verb itself remains unchanged. That is, the lexical verb occurs in the derived V2 position in both inverted and non-inverted simple verb clauses, while in both inverted and non-inverted compound verb clauses, the lexical verb occurs in the underlying clause-final verb position. Thus, as far as verb placement is concerned, both inverted and non-inverted structures deliver exactly the same evidence in each case. However, the phenomenon of subject verb inversion in declarative clauses will itself be included in the present analysis, in order to provide a more complete picture of the input design found in the four GFL textbooks investigated.

All in all, it was possible to distinguish six different input patterns for non-inverted clauses in the context of the present textbook analysis. Four of these six patterns present evidence for German's underlying OV order (cf. (23), below).²⁰ In detail, these patterns are: Bare infinitive constructions (O-V_{inf}) consisting of only an O/X constituent and a verbal infinitive (23a), particle verb constructions (S-V_{lexfin}-O-V_{part}), in which the [+finite] stem of the lexical verb occurs in the clause-second slot and the verbal particle itself is realized in the clause-final position (23b), and finally, patterns with modal verbs (S-V_{modfin}-O-V_{inf}) or auxiliaries (S-V_{auxfin}-O-V_{inf}), in which the [+finite] modal verb or auxiliary appears in the V2 finiteness position and the [-finite] lexical verb occurs in its underlying position to the right of the object (23c), (23d). The other two non-inverted patterns are structures with a VO surface order, which might be misleading for L2 learners by suggesting that German was a VO language (cf. (24)). First, there are structures with [+finite] lexical verbs occurring in a position to the left of the O/X constituent (S-V_{lexfin}-O), (24a). In addition, there are also [+finite] structures with the copula verb *sein* 'to be' (S-V_{copfin}-X), which might be interpreted in favor of an underlying VO order in German (24b).

²⁰ Note that this is true at least from a *syntactic* point of view. The question if and / or to what extent it can be assumed that L2 learners are able to *interpret* this syntactic evidence appropriately, will be discussed further below in this chapter.

(23) Input patterns providing evidence for an underlying OV order in German
(unmarked case, no subject verb inversion)

a. **O-Vinf: bare OV/XV patterns with lexical verbs**

a-I. *die Wohnung aufräumen*
the apartment up-clean-INF
'to clean up the apartment'
(SI, lesson 5)

a-II. *früh aufstehen*
early up-get-INF
'to get up early'
(SI, lesson 5)

b. **S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart: SOV patterns with particle verbs**

<i>Timo</i>	<i>räumt</i>	<i>die Wohnung</i>	<i>auf.</i>
Timo	clean-3SG	the apartment	up-PART

'Timo cleans up the apartment'
(SI, lesson 5)

c. **S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf: SOV patterns with modal verbs**

<i>Corinna</i>	<i>will</i>	<i>einen Tangokurs</i>	<i>machen.</i>
Corinna	want-3SG	a tango course	make-INF

'Corinna wants to take tango lessons'
(SI, lesson 7)

d. **S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf: SOV patterns with auxiliary verbs**

<i>Ich</i>	<i>habe</i>	<i>Linzer Torte</i>	<i>probiert.</i>
I	have-1SG	Linzer torte	try-PP

'I have tried Linzer torte'
(sd, lesson 9)

(24) Input patterns providing evidence for an underlying VO order in German
(unmarked case, no subject verb inversion)

a. **S-Vlexfin-O: SVO patterns with lexical verbs**

a-I. *Wir trinken Kaffee.*
we drink-1PL coffee
'We drink coffee'
(*sd*, lesson 1)

a-II. *Ich komme aus Finnland.*
I come-1SG from Finland
'I come from Finland'
(*SI*, lesson 1)

b. **S-Vcopfin-X: SVX patterns with copula verb**

b-I. *Ich bin Flugbegleiter.*
I be-1SG steward
'I am a steward'
(*Ta*, lesson 1)

b-II. *Der Kuli ist kaputt.*
the ballpoint pen be-3SG broken
'The ballpoint pen is broken'
(*BP*, lesson 3)

As well as these non-inverted patterns, five different inverted patterns could be found in the textbook input. Three of the inverted patterns provide evidence for German's OV word order property (cf. (25)), while two of them give grounds for assuming that German might have an underlying VO order (cf. (26)). As far as the OV orders are concerned, a distinction can be made between inverted structures with particle verbs (X-Vlexfin-S-(O)-Vpart), (25a), inverted structures with [+finite] modal verbs and [-finite] lexical verbs (X-Vmodfin-S-(O)-Vinf), (25b), and inverted structures with [+finite] auxiliaries and [-finite] lexical verbs (X-Vauxfin-S-(O)-Vinf), (25c). In the case of VO orders, there are inverted structures with [+finite] lexical verbs (X/O-Vlexfin-S-(O/X)), (26a) as well as

copula verb constructions in which an adverbial element occurs in initial position and the nominal subject constituent is realized after the verb (X-Vcopfin-S), (26b). Structures of the type shown in (26b), when checked against those in (24b), might suggest to the learner that the verb *always* occurs somewhere between its arguments in German. In any case, it seems almost impossible for L2 learners to infer that the underlying position of the verb in German is clause-final, from such patterns.

(25) Input patterns providing evidence for an underlying OV order in German (marked case, subject-verb inversion)

a. **X-Vlexfin-S-(O)-Vpart: inverted SOV patterns with particle verbs**

<i>Dann</i>	<i>schalte</i>	<i>ich</i>	<i>das Radio</i>	<i>ein.</i>
then	turn-1SG	I	the radio	on-PART

‘Then I turn on the radio’
(BP, lesson 4)

b. **X-Vmodfin-S-(O)-Vinf: inverted SOV patterns with modal verbs**

<i>Manchmal</i>	<i>müssen</i>	<i>wir</i>	<i>Überstunden</i>	<i>machen.</i>
sometimes	have to-1PL	we	overtime	make-INF

‘Sometimes we have to do overtime’
(BP, lesson 8)

c. **X-Vauxfin-S-(O)-Vinf: inverted SOV patterns with auxiliary verbs**

<i>Dort</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>mein Vater</i>	<i>gearbeitet.</i>
there	have-3SG	my father	work-PP

‘My father has worked there’
(SI, lesson 7)

(26) Input patterns providing evidence for an underlying VO order in German (marked case, subject verb inversion)

a. **X/O-Vlexfin-S-(O/X): inverted SVO patterns with lexical verbs**

a-I. *Am Montag hat Otto einen Termin in D.*
on Monday have-3SG Otto an appointment in D.
'On Monday Otto has an appointment in D.'
(*sd*, lesson 5)

a-II. *Töpfe finden Sie im Untergeschoss.*
pots find-2SG.FOR you in the basement
'Pots you can find in the basement'
(*Ta*, lesson 3)

b. **X-Vcopfin-S: inverted SVX patterns with copula verb**

Hier ist der Balkon.
here be-3SG the balcony
'Here is the balcony'
(*SI*, lesson 4)

The results of the textbook analysis will be presented in the following subsection. That is, a table will be presented for each of the four textbooks analyzed, listing when the different types of input patterns (cf. (23) - (26), above) are introduced in the level A1 textbook curriculum. These data then will reveal the overall introduction order chosen by these textbooks in the area of word order, i.e. it will become evident whether VO orders are introduced before OV patterns (as was the case in Haberzettl's (2006) analysis of a children's textbook), whether OV precedes VO, or whether some kind of mixed input is presented.

1.2.4 Results

Table 2, below, presents a first overview of the results of the GFL textbook analysis. The point in time at which the relevant, non-inverted VO vs. OV clausal patterns (cf. (23) and

(24), above) are explicitly²¹ introduced in the learning materials are shown for each of the textbooks.²²

Textbook Structure	Berliner Platz	Schritte International	Tangram aktuell	studio d
S-Vlexfin-O/ S-Vcopfin-X	h 1	h 1	h 1	h 1
S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart	h 41	h 41	h 96	h 61
S-Vmodfin-O- Vinf	h 91	h 71	h 71	h 81
S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	h 121	h 76	h 116	h 101

Table 2: Time of explicit introduction of SVO vs. SOV patterns in GFL textbooks

The data in Table 2 show that the teaching of German word order rules begins with the presentation of SVO/SVX patterns with [+finite] lexical verbs or the copula. In three of the four textbooks, namely *Berliner Platz*, *Schritte International*, and *studio d*, these patterns are followed by SOV structures with [+finite] separable particle verbs, [+finite] modal verbs are introduced later, and finally, [+finite] auxiliaries. Only in the case of *Tangram aktuell*, does the introduction of SOV patterns with modal verbs precede the introduction of particle verb constructions, while as in the other textbooks, SOV patterns with auxiliaries are presented last.

Before beginning a critical discussion of these introduction orders, the structural design of the target language input provided in the A1 level GFL books will be considered in more detail (cf. Tables 3 – 6, below). The findings for *Berliner Platz* are presented in Table 3, the results for *Schritte International* are given in Table 4, those for *Tangram aktuell* are presented in Table 5, and finally, those for *studio d* are shown in Table 6. For reasons of clarity, the 140 contact hours calculated for level A1 are divided into seven

²¹ The term ‘explicit’ here refers to the curricularly planned introduction of certain structures and / or grammatical features of the target language. Such an explicit introduction is usually characterized by a systematic presentation and explanation of the phenomenon in question, accompanied by and followed by actively practicing the relevant phenomenon. Thus, the term ‘explicit’ does not refer to the sporadic occurrence of a certain word order pattern in the textbook input, e.g. in a chunk-like manner, which is then not addressed in the teaching materials in greater detail.

²² Since non-inverted patterns are either introduced before or in parallel with inverted patterns in all of the textbooks, only non-inverted structures have been considered here.

time slots comprising 20 contact hours each. Furthermore, the tables are organized cumulatively, that is, only the *newly introduced* patterns are listed for each of the seven time slots.

As indicated above, the main purpose of Tables 3 - 6 is to give a detailed overview on the respective time points when the OV vs. VO input patterns exemplified in (23) - (26), above, are *explicitly* introduced in the four GFL textbooks. However, for the sake of completeness, the data tables also list so-called formulaic and sporadic occurrences of certain word order patterns in the four textbooks. The term *formulaic* (fm) here refers to linguistic expressions that occur in a specific communicative context, and serve a specific communicative function, for example, offering someone something to drink as in the example from *Berliner Platz*, workbook, lesson 2, below:

- (27) **Möchtest** *du* *etwas* **trinken?**
would like to-2SG you something drink-INF
'Would you like something to drink'

Apparently, in this case, it was not the textbook authors' intention to introduce sentence bracket constructions in interrogative clauses with the modal-like verb *möchten*. Instead, the presentation of this structure aimed to enable the learner to perform the speech act of offering someone something to drink. Such formulaic expressions are often presented without any further explanation in the first textbook units, that is, without their underlying structural regularities and grammatical rules being dealt with in more depth at the respective point in the curriculum.

The term *sporadic* (sp), as used in Tables 3 – 6, below, refers to structures that only occur in the context of a single exercise or text within one textbook unit. Usually, learners are expected to understand (the content information of) these structures, but they are not required to use them actively. As in the case of the formulaic expressions addressed above, the grammar rules underlying sporadically presented patterns are normally not addressed in more detail in the grammar section of the corresponding textbook units.

It should be pointed out that formulaic and sporadic occurrences of certain word order patterns are only listed for (S)OV patterns. This procedure seems appropriate, since SVO patterns are present in the textbook input from the first hour of instruction onward, while (S)OV structures are virtually absent from the first hours of the language course

and are then only introduced in steps (see also Table 2). For this reason, it seems particularly interesting to examine when and in what form, the very first instances of (S)OV patterns occur in the textbook input, whereas the surplus of SVO patterns from early on, makes a similar analysis dispensable.

In slight contrast to the cumulative overall design of the result tables, formulaic expressions and sporadically occurring structures of the (S)OV type, are documented separately for each 20h time slot in the table. This will be done until the relevant OV word order patterns underlying these formulaic expressions or sporadic occurrences, is explicitly introduced in the textbook input. Thereafter, such instances are no longer listed.

Contact hours	Basic word order/ Concrete pattern	Textbook example
1-20	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vlexfin-O/S-Vcopfin-X</i>	
	VO/ S-Vlexfin-X	<i>Sie kommt aus Tallinn.</i> she come-3SG from Tallinn 'She comes from Tallinn' (1.1, p.10)
	VO/ S-Vcopfin-X	<i>Mein Name ist Sans.</i> my name be-3SG Sans 'My name is Sans' (1.1, p.9)
	OV formulaic/ Vmodfin-S-O-Vinf	<i>Möchtest du etwas trinken?</i> would like to-2SG you something drink- INF 'Would you like something to drink' (1.2, p.156)

21-40	VO inverted/ X-Vcopfin-S	<i>Hier ist ein Drucker.</i> here be-3SG a printer 'Here is a printer' (1.3, p.27)
	OV formulaic/ O-Vmodfin-S-Vinf	<i>Was möchten Sie trinken?</i> what would like to-2SG.FOR you drink-INF 'What would you like to drink' (1.2, p.24)
	OV sporadic/ Vlexfin-S-O-Vpart	<i>Schreiben Sie die Namen auf.</i> write-IMP.SG.FOR you the names down-PART 'Write down the names' (1.2, p.23)
41-60	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart</i>	
	OV/ S-Vlexfin-X-Vpart	<i>Ich wache jeden Morgen um 6 auf.</i> I wake-1SG every morning at 6 up-PART 'I wake up at 6 o'clock every morning' (1.4, p.49)
	OV inverted/ X-Vlexfin-S-O-Vpart	<i>Dann schalte ich das Radio ein.</i> then turn-1SG I the radio on-PART 'Then I turn on the radio' (1.4, p.49)
	OV sporadic/ O-Vinf	<i>Zähne putzen</i> teeth brush-INF 'to brush one's teeth' (1.4, p.46)
	OV sporadic/ S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	<i>Ich bin ins Bad gelaufen.</i> I be-1SG into the bathroom walk-PP 'I walked into the bathroom' (1.4, p.47)
	OV sporadic, inverted/ X-Vauxfin-S-O-Vinf	<i>Um sechs Uhr habe ich den Schreibtisch aufgeräumt.</i> at six o'clock have-1SG I the desk up-clean-PP 'At six o'clock, I tidied up the desk' (1.4, p.46)

61-80	VO inverted/ O-Vlexfin-S	<i>Schweinebraten mag ich nicht.</i> roast pork like-1SG I not 'I don't like roast pork' (1.6, p.65)
	OV formulaic/ Vmodfin-S-O-Vinf	<i>Darf es etwas mehr sein?</i> may it a little more be-INF 'It's a bit over, is that okay' (1.5, p. 58)
	OV sporadic/ O-Vinf	<i>Den Backofen auf 200°C vorheizen.</i> the oven at 200°C preheat-INF 'Preheat the oven to 200°C' (1.5, p.57)
	OV sporadic/ S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf	<i>Du kannst Gemüse dazu machen.</i> you can-2SG vegetables with it make-INF 'You can serve vegetables with it' (1.5, p.57)
81-100	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf</i>	
	OV/ S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf	<i>Ich will viel Geld verdienen.</i> I want-1SG a lot of money earn-INF 'I want to earn a lot of money' (1.8, p.91)
	OV inverted/ X-Vmodfin-S-O-Vinf	<i>Dann muss ich immer das Handy dabei haben.</i> in that case have to-1SG I always the cellphone have-INF with me 'In that case, I always must have the cellphone with me' (1.8, p.88)
101-120	no new structures	
121-140	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf</i>	
	OV/ S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	<i>Ich habe Ihre Anzeige gelesen.</i> I have-1SG your advertisement read-PP 'I have read your advertisement' (1.10, p.120)
	OV inverted/ X-Vauxfin-S-Vinf	<i>Zuerst bin ich aufgestanden.</i> first of all be-1SG I up-get-PP 'First I got up' (1.11, p.130)

Table 3: Introduction order of VO vs. OV word order patterns in *Berliner Platz*, level A1

Contact hours	Basic word order/ Concrete pattern	Textbook example
1-20	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vlexfin-O/S-Vcopfin-X</i>	
	VO/ S-Vlexfin-O	<i>Sie sprechen aber gut Deutsch.</i> you speak-2SG.FOR but good German 'You speak German rather well' (1.1, p.15)
	VO/ S-Vcopfin-X	<i>Ich bin Silvia Kunz.</i> I be-1SG Silvia Kunz 'I am Silvia Kunz' (1.1, p.11)
	OV formulaic/ X-Vmodfin-S-Vinf	<i>Wo sind Sie geboren?</i> where be-2SG.FOR you bear-PP 'Where were you born' (1.2, p.23)
21-40	VO inverted/ X-Vcopfin-S	<i>Im Korb sind Kiwis.</i> in the basket be-3PL kiwis 'In the basket are kiwis' (1.3, p.31)
	OV formulaic/ Vmodfin-S-O-Vinf	<i>Kann ich Ihnen helfen?</i> can-1SG I you help-INF 'Can I help you' (1.3, p.32)
	OV sporadic/ O-Vinf	<i>Die Kartoffeln weich kochen, [. . .]</i> the potatoes tender boil-INF 'Boil the potatoes until tender, [. . .]' (1.3, p.37)
	OV sporadic/ S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf	<i>Sie möchten Kartoffelsalat machen.</i> you would like to-2SG.FOR potato salad make-INF 'You want to prepare potato salad' (1.3, p.36)
41-60	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart</i>	
	OV/ S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart	<i>Timo ruft Anton an.</i> Timo call-3SG Anton on-PART 'Timo calls Anton' (1.5, p.51)
	OV inverted/ X-Vlexfin-S-X- Vpart	<i>Am Abend kaufe ich noch ein [. . .].</i> in the evening buy-1SG I also in-PART 'In the evening, I do the grocery shopping' (1.5, p.53)

	VO inverted/ X-Vlexfin-S-O	<i>Am Morgen hört Robert Musik.</i> in the morning listen-to-3SG Robert music 'In the morning, Robert listens to music' (1.5, p.53)
	OV sporadic/ O-Vinf	<i>Pizza essen</i> pizza eat-INF 'to eat pizza' (1.5, p.53)
	OV sporadic/ S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf	<i>Sie möchten</i> you would like to-2SG.FOR <i>nur 70 bis 80 Euro bezahlen.</i> only 70 to 80 Euro pay-INF 'You only want to pay 70 to 80 Euro' (1.4, p.43)
	OV inverted, sporadic/ X-Vmodfin-S-X- Vinf	<i>Bis dahin möchte sie viel</i> until then would like to-3SG she a lot <i>machen.</i> do-INF 'She wants to do a lot before then' (1.5, p.56)
61-80	☞	<i>explicit introduction of S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf</i>
	☞	<i>explicit introduction of S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf</i>
	OV/ S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf	<i>Alex kann gut Fußball spielen.</i> Alex can-3SG good football play-INF 'Alex can play football very well' (1.7, p.70)
	OV/ S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	<i>Wir haben ein Diktat</i> we have-1PL a dictation exercise <i>geschrieben.</i> write-PP 'We did a dictation exercise' (1.7, p.72)
	OV inverted/ X-Vauxfin-S-O- Vinf	<i>Am Abend ist Corinna zu Anton</i> in the evening be-3SG Corinna to Anton <i>gekommen.</i> come-PP 'In the evening, Corinna visited Anton' (1.7, p.73)

81-100	OV inverted/ X-Vmodfin-S-O- Vinf	<i>Dann müssen wir eine Nummer ziehen.</i> then have to-1PL we a number take-INF 'Then we have to take a number' (1.9, p.22)
101-120	no new structures	
121-140	no new structures	

Table 4: Introduction order of VO vs. OV word order patterns in *Schritte International*, level A1

Contact hours	Basic word order/ Concrete pattern	Textbook example
1-20	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vlexfin-O/S-Vcopfin-X</i>	
	VO/ S-Vlexfin-X	<i>Ich heiße Beckmann.</i> I to be called-1SG Beckmann 'My name is Beckmann' (1.1, p.7)
	VO/ S-Vcopfin-X	<i>Ich bin Lehrerin.</i> I be-1SG teacher 'I am a teacher' (1.1, p.7)
21-40	VO inverted/ X-Vcopfin-S	<i>Da sind Bilder und eine Übung.</i> there be-3PL pictures and an exercise 'Here are pictures and an exercise' (1.2, p.23)
	OV formulaic/ X-Vmodfin-S-Vinf	<i>Wann und wo ist er geboren?</i> when and where be-3SG he bear-PP 'When and where was he born' (1.2, p.18)
	OV formulaic/ O-Vmodfin-S-X- Vinf	<i>Was darf's denn sein?</i> what may-3SG-it then be-INF 'What can I do for you' (1.2, p.26)
41-60	VO inverted/ O-Vlexfin-S-X	<i>Den finde ich langweilig.</i> this one find-1SG I boring 'I find this one boring' (1.3, p.33)
	OV sporadic/ O-Vinf	<i>Deutsch lernen</i> German learn-INF 'to learn German' (1.3, p.41)

	OV formulaic/ Vlexfin-S-X-Vpart	<i>Kommen Sie bitte mit.</i> come-IMP.SG.FOR you please with-PART 'Please come with me' (1.3, p.38)
	OV formulaic/ Vmodfin-S-O-Vinf	<i>Kann ich Ihnen helfen?</i> can-1SG I you help-INF 'Can I help you' (1.3, p.38)
61-80	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf</i>	
	OV/ S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf	<i>Sie kann den Menschen helfen.</i> she can-3SG the people help-INF 'She can help the people' (1.5, p.2)
	OV inverted/ X-Vmodfin-S-X- Vinf	<i>Da muss ich fast immer arbeiten.</i> there have to-1SG I almost always work-INF 'I nearly always have to work then' (1.5, p.14)
81-100	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart</i>	
	OV/ S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart	<i>Frau Jansen räumt die Küche auf.</i> Mrs. Jansen clean-3SG the kitchen up- PART 'Mrs. Jansen cleans up the kitchen' (1.6, p.22)
101-120	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf</i>	
	OV/ S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	<i>Sie hat eine neue Stelle gefunden.</i> she have-3SG a new position find-PP 'She has found a new position' (1.7, p.35)
	OV inverted/ X-Vauxfin-S-X- Vinf	<i>Irgendwie bin ich völlig falsch gefahren.</i> somehow be-1SG I completely wrong drive-PP 'Somehow, I got completely lost' (1.7, p.34)
121-140	no new structures	

Table 5: Introduction order of VO vs. OV word order patterns in *Tangram aktuell*, level A1

Contact hours	Basic word order/ Concrete pattern	Textbook example
1-20		<i>☞ explicit introduction of S-Vlexfin-O/S-Vcopfin-X</i>
	VO/ S-Vlexfin-X	<i>Wir wohnen in Berlin.</i> we live-1PL in Berlin 'We live in Berlin' (1.1, p.19)
	VO/ S-Vcopfin-X	<i>Sie ist Deutschlehrerin.</i> she be-3SG a German teacher 'She is a German teacher' (1.1, p.17)
	OV formulaic/ O-Vmodfin-S-Vinf	<i>Was möchtest du trinken?</i> what would like to-2SG you drink-INF 'What would you like to drink' (1.1, p.17)
	OV formulaic/ S-Vmodfin-X-Vinf	<i>Wir möchten bitte zahlen.</i> we would like to-1PL please pay-INF 'We would like to pay, please' (1.1, p.23)
21-40	VO inverted/ X-Vcopfin-S-X	<i>Gestern war ich in Hamburg.</i> yesterday be-1SG.PRET I in Hamburg 'I was in Hamburg yesterday' (1.3, p.46)
	VO inverted/ X-Vlexfin-S	<i>In dieser Region kooperieren Universitäten.</i> in this region cooperate-3PL universities 'Universities in this region cooperate' (1.3, p.51)
	OV formulaic/ Vmodfin-S-X-Vinf	<i>Können Sie das bitte buchstabieren?</i> can-2SG.FOR you this please spell-INF 'Can you spell that, please' (1.2, p.30)
	OV formulaic/ X-Vmodfin-S-Vinf	<i>so kann man fragen</i> like this can-3SG you-IMPS ask-INF 'you can ask like this' (1.3, p.45)

41-60	OV formulaic/ Vmodfin-S-O-Vinf	<i>Möchtet ihr etwas trinken?</i> would like to-2PL you something drink-INF 'Would you like something to drink' (1.4, p.69)
	OV sporadic/ S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	<i>Sie hat in Jena Germanistik und she have-3SG in Jena German philology and Anglistik studiert.</i> English study-PP 'She has studied German philology and English in Jena' (1.4, p.75)
61-80	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart</i>	
	OV/ S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart	<i>Ich rufe dich morgen an.</i> I call-1SG you tomorrow on-PART 'I will call you tomorrow' (1.5, p.90)
	OV inverted/ X-Vlexfin-S-X- Vpart	<i>Morgens stehe ich um sechs in the morning stand-1SG I at six auf.</i> up-PART 'In the morning, I get up at six o'clock' (1.5, p.84)
	OV formulaic/ Vmodfin-S-O-Vinf	<i>Kann ich einen Termin haben?</i> can-1SG I an appointment have-INF 'Can I make an appointment' (1.5, p.88)
	OV formulaic/ S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	<i>Ich habe den Termin verges- sen.</i> I have-1SG the appointment forget-PP 'I have forgotten the appointment' (1.5, p.89)
	OV formulaic/ S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf	<i>Können wir uns am ... um ... treffen?</i> can-1PL we us on ... at ... meet-INF 'Can we meet on ... at ...' (1.6, p.111)
	OV sporadic/ X-Vmodfin-S-Vinf	<i>Am Samstag muss ich arbeiten.</i> on Saturday have to-1SG I work-INF 'I have to work on Saturday' (1.5, p.84)

81-100	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf</i>	
	OV/ S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf	<i>Ich muss nie E-Mails schreiben.</i> I have to-1SG never e-mails write-INF 'I never have to write e-mails' (1.7, p.13)
	OV inverted/ X-Vmodfin-S-Vinf	<i>Um 6.15 Uhr muss Paula aufstehen.</i> at 6.15 o'clock have to-3SG Paula get up 'Paula has to get up at 6.15' (1.7, p.14)
	☞ <i>explicit introduction of S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf</i>	
101-120	OV/ S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	<i>Ich bin mit dem Rad gefahren.</i> I be-1SG with the bicycle drive-PP 'I went by bicycle' (1.9, p.57)
	OV inverted/ X-Vauxfin-S-X- Vinf	<i>Heute haben wir 71,5 km geschafft.</i> today have-1PL we 71,5 km make-PP 'We did 71.5 km today' (1.9, p.46)
121-140	no new structures	

Table 6: Introduction order of VO vs. OV word order patterns in *studio d*, level A1

A critical discussion of the results presented in Tables 3 - 6 follows in Subsection 1.2.5, below. The first part of Subsection 1.2.5 focuses on the concrete input structure(s) presented to the learners in the course of the A1 level, as well as on the evidence provided by these structures regarding the German's underlying OV word order. The second part deals with the overall order used to introduce clause structure patterns in the four GFL textbooks. Finally, the third part reflects more generally on the results of the textbook analysis and critically discusses the possible didactic reasons and motives behind the actual input design in GFL textbooks.

1.2.5 Critical discussion of the results

Aspects of input structure

The data in Tables 3 - 6 show that the textbook input during (at least) the first 40 hours of instruction, is clearly dominated by SVO patterns in all four textbooks. In *SI* and *Ta*, this VO dominance is absolute in the very initial phases of the language course, and it is

quasi-absolute in case of *BP* and *sd*.^{23,24} OV orders only occur infrequently in the textbook input in the subsequent hours (from 21h on). However, in none of the cases are the relevant structural patterns specifically practiced in exercises, nor are they referred to or formalized in any way in the grammar sections of the corresponding textbook units. In fact, the first instances of OV structures in the textbook input are introduced quite formulaic, as in the examples *Was möchtest du trinken?* ‘what – would like to-2SG – you – drink-INF?’ (*BP*), *Sie ist in Manchester geboren.* ‘she – be-3SG – in Manchester – bear-INF’ (*SI*), and *Wir möchten bitte zahlen.* ‘we – would like to-1PL – please – pay-INF’ (*sd*). OV patterns are also presented in expressions such as *Kann ich Ihnen helfen?* ‘can-1SG – I – you – help-INF?’ (*SI*) or *Was darf’s denn sein?* ‘what – may-3SG-it – then – be-INF?’ (*Ta*). In all the textbooks apart from *SI*, the verb *möchten* ‘would like to’ is introduced before the 41st hour of the GFL course, but with the exception of the aforementioned structures *Was möchtest du trinken?* ‘what – would like to-2SG – you – drink-INF?’ in *BP* and *Wir möchten bitte zahlen* ‘we – would like to-1PL – please – pay-INF’ in *sd*, *möchten* functions as the main verb in the clause and consequently occurs in SVO surface patterns. The most obvious evidence for German’s underlying OV property to be presented before hour 41, is provided by *SI* in the context of a recipe for making a potato

²³ Note that in both *BP* and *sd*, the first page of each of the individual textbook units specifies the learning objectives for the respective unit. This listing usually comprises OV constructions such as (iia) or (iib), or subordinate structures of the type (iiaa) or (iibb). However, the structural organization of such phrases cannot be supposed to be pedagogically intended. Furthermore, it is not clear whether attention is explicitly paid to these constructions in the language class and if so, it is doubtful that they are indeed understood and moreover analyzed in favor of an underlying OV order in German, by learners with as little L2 knowledge as can be expected at this point of instruction.

(ii)	a.	jemanden someone ‘to greet someone’	begrüßen greet-INF	(<i>BP</i> , lesson 1)
	b.	etwas im Café something in a coffeehouse ‘to order something in a coffeehouse’	bestellen order-INF	(<i>sd</i> , lesson 1)
(iii)	a.	sagen, woher man say-INF where from you-IMPS ‘to say where you come from’	kommt come-3SG	(<i>BP</i> , lesson 1)
	b.	fragen, wie es jemandem ask how it someone ‘to ask how someone is’	geht go-3SG	(<i>BP</i> , lesson 2)

²⁴ As can be seen from Tables 3 and 6, formulaic expressions such as *Was möchten Sie trinken?* ‘what – would like to-2SG.FOR – you – drink-INF?’ or *Wir möchten bitte zahlen.* ‘we – would like to-1PL – please – pay-INF’, which both evidence the existence of a clause-final verb position in German, are presented in both *BP* and *sd* before the 21st contact hour, more precisely, between the 11th and the 21st hour of instruction.

salad. Here, the single steps for preparing the dish are presented in the form of OV constructions, as exemplified in (28):

- (28) a. Die Kartoffeln weich **kochen**, [. . .]
the potatoes tender boil-INF
‘Boil the potatoes until tender, [. . .]’
- b. Den Salat eine Stunde **stehen lassen**.
the salad one hour stand-INF let-INF
‘Allow the salad to stand for one hour’

As is the case for all word order patterns apart from the predominantly presented SVO (surface) orders, constructions as those in (28) do not get integrated in the small grammar compendium presented at the end of each textbook unit.

To sum up, it can be said that evidence for the German OV word order property in the first phases of classroom acquisition is anything but ample. There is good reason to assume that there was a much higher frequency of OV patterns in the input in naturalistic acquisition settings, such as existed for the learners investigated by Haberzettl (2005), Jansen et al. (1981), Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996), and van de Craats (2007) (cf. Subsection 1.1.2, above). As a matter of fact, every structure containing a modal or a temporal auxiliary in German or Dutch, exhibits an OV order. However, this naturalistically provided counterevidence of an underlying VO order in German, did not prevent naturalistic L2 learners whose L1 was VO overgeneralizing the VO order in their early German / Dutch interlanguage system. (Bear in mind from the discussion of the studies in Subsection 1.1.2, above, that all the learners whose L1 was VO began with a VO hypothesis.) Given these findings, the input situation found in GFL textbooks does not seem at all appropriate for making the German OV property evident to novice L2 learners with a VO background. In fact, it can be assumed that the early dominance of SVO patterns in the textbook input explicitly encourages learners whose L1 is VO, to hypothesize that German is also VO.

So far, only the textbook input in the first 40 hours of instruction has been considered. How does the textbook input develop in subsequent phases? From hour 41 in *SI* and *BP* and hour 61 in *sd*, particle verb constructions containing separable particle verbs (cf.

(23b), (25a), above) are presented in the learning material. In each case, this new grammatical structure is practiced quite intensively in different exercises. Furthermore, the structure's syntactic peculiarities, i.e. the splitting of the lexical verb, the realization of the [+finite] part of it in second position, and the occurrence of the verbal particle at the end of the clause, are graphically illustrated in grammar schemes. For linguists, as well as for other (German) language experts, the appearance of a verbal particle in a certain structural position is usually evidence that this position is a slot in which the verb itself once occurred in a deep structure representation. Within the framework of generative grammar, this phenomenon is generally referred to as *stranding* (e.g. Wurmbrand 2000). However, it can be assumed that it is rather difficult for a learner to infer from the occurrence of a verbal particle in clause-final position that this structural slot is, actually, the base position of the lexical verb, in particular if lexical verbs hardly ever occurred in this position in the target language input provided so far. Furthermore, the identification of the clause-final position as the underlying verb position in German will presumably be hampered by the way the syntax of particle verbs is usually introduced in GFL classes. Normally, both textbooks and teachers explain to the learner that in German, the verb occurs in clause-second position and that the verbal particle “goes” to the end. Remarkably, such an explanation conflicts with the commonly accepted syntactic concept of verb raising, as well as with the fact that the clause-second slot is *not* a genuine verbal position in German (but the finiteness position, cf. Subsection 1.1.1). Finally, it should be noted that particle verbs are also quite complex from a semantic point of view, and that learners with comparatively little L2 competence will probably struggle with this semantic complexity. This means that aspects of syntax might be largely ignored in the first instance. This assumption is in accordance with observations made by Diehl et al. (2000: 81), who argued that particle verb constructions are treated as unanalyzed chunks in the early acquisition phases. Moreover, studies such as those by Ellis (1989) and Pienemann (1989), have shown that the phenomenon of the German sentence bracket, termed *Verb Separation* or *SEP* by Pienemann (1989) and *Particle* by Ellis (1989), is not mastered before (at least) 90 hours of instructed GFL learning. These findings suggest that GFL learners are not yet able to cognitively handle particle verb constructions at the time they are introduced in textbooks such as *BP*, *SI*, and *sd*.

At around the same time as particle verb constructions are presented to the learners, the phenomenon of subject-verb inversion in declarative main clauses with lexical verbs is explicitly introduced in *SI* and *BP* (cf. Table 3 and 4, above). On the one hand,

the comparatively early introduction of inverted structures can be considered beneficial, since it makes evident to the learner that a constituent other than the subject is allowed to occur before the [+finite] verb in German. Furthermore, inverted structures show the learner that *if* a constituent other than the subject occurs before the [+finite] verb, *then* the subject needs to be realized *after* the [+finite] verbal element. In other words, inverted structures are a means of exemplifying the V2 constraint to the L2 learner (see also Haberzettl (2006) for this line of reasoning). On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that phenomena of subject-verb inversion are acquired rather late in both tutored and untutored L2 acquisition of German (e.g. Clahsen et al. 1983; Diehl et al. 2000). In fact, subject-verb inversion had not yet been acquired by Tschirner's (1999) learners after 225 hours of instruction, and it is reported to have been almost acquired after 262 hours of instruction by Ellis' (1989) learners. With respect to the grammar progression found in the GFL textbooks, these findings imply that L2 learners of German might be overburdened if they are confronted with phenomena of subject-verb inversion after as little as 40 hours of instructed learning. In any case, learners should not be expected to really be able to master such patterns at this point in the acquisition process.

Apart from the introduction of particle verbs and inversion in *SI* and *BP* from the 40th hour onward, a slight increase in OV patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries could be found in the textbook input. In the case of *SI*, the modal-like verb *möchten* 'would like to' can be found in periphrastic constructions of the type *Sie möchten nur 70-80 Euro bezahlen*. 'they – would like to-3PL – only 70 to 80 Euro – pay-INF'. Notably, structures like this occur exclusively under the rubric *Zwischenspiel* 'interplay', a two-page section at the very end of each unit that deals with topics from everyday life using (quasi)-authentic language material. Interestingly, this section is placed *after* each textbook unit's small grammar compendium and the structures that occur in it are presented without any further metalinguistic or grammatical explanation.

In quite a similar way, OV structures are treated in *BP*. They are presented under the rubrics *Deutsch verstehen* 'understanding German' and *Strukturen verstehen* 'understanding structures', both sections which are placed at the end of each unit. Obviously, the text material presented here focuses explicitly on the development of *passive* L2 grammatical knowledge. In unit 4 of *BP*, learners are familiarized with the present perfect as a means of referring to the past in German. Consequently, OV patterns with [+finite] forms of auxiliaries in second position and [-finite] past participle forms of lexical verbs in final position occur here. In the *Deutsch verstehen* section of unit 5, the modal verbs *können*

‘can / to be able to’ and *müssen* ‘to have to / must’ are presented, both in periphrastic constructions exhibiting a sentence bracket and thus an OV order. Moreover, O-Vfin patterns, such as *Kartoffeln waschen, schälen, in dünne Scheiben schneiden* ‘potatoes – wash-INF, – peel-INF, – in thin slices – cut-INF’, can be found in the textbook input of lesson 5. These structures occur in the context of a cooking recipe, but they are not addressed in the grammar compendium for the corresponding textbook unit. Finally, the *Deutsch verstehen* section in unit 6 tries to provide an understanding of subordinate structures, in which [+finite] simple main verbs occur in clause-final position. The structures presented are explained a bit more in the *Strukturen verstehen* section but no detailed grammar schemes are provided. It should be reiterated that the *Deutsch verstehen* and *Strukturen verstehen* sections are only aimed at the development of comprehension skills. In none of the cases, are the phenomena presented intended to be used productively by the learners.

To sum up, the frequency with which OV patterns occur in the *BP* and *SI* textbook input increases slightly after 40 contact hours but overall, the evidence for the underlying OV order in German is still scarce. Instead, the vast majority of all the structures occurring in the textbook input exhibit a VO order. These input properties can be assumed to provide continuing support to an initial VO hypothesis in native speakers of a VO language. As far as native speakers with an OV background are concerned, the textbook input might give those learners the (wrong) impression that the word order of German is quite different from that of their native language, insofar as the lexical verb in German occurs almost exclusively in clause-second position. In any case, the predominant presentation of SVO patterns in the textbooks is almost certainly not beneficial for novice GFL learners.

As a next step in the grammar progression, SVOV structures with modal verbs are explicitly introduced in the GFL textbooks. This happens at about the 71st hour for *SI* and the 91st for *BP*. Structures with auxiliaries follow after a slight delay in the case of *SI* (from hour 76 onward), and they occur regularly from hour 121 onward in case of *BP*.²⁵ Supposedly, these S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf and S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf patterns are the first evidence of an underlying OV structure in the German target system that is really accessible

²⁵ Presumably, the introduction of modal verb constructions before auxiliary patterns in GFL classes is motivated by the fact that periphrastic constructions with modal verbs are morphologically less complex. As a matter of fact, when functioning as a modal auxiliary, modal verbs govern a verbal infinitive, while auxiliary verbs in, for example, present perfect constructions govern a past participle. Thus, the introduction of auxiliary patterns in the GFL class automatically necessitates instruction on how to form a past participle in German, which can be deemed more demanding for the learner.

to language learners. While in case of the particle verb constructions introduced earlier, it was only the verbal particle that occurred in a slot to the right of the object constituent, the lexical verb itself is now realized in the underlying, clause-final position. It can be assumed that an unfamiliar constellation such as this, attracts the learner's attention and could make him / her think about the grammatical rules underlying such structures, as well as about German clause structure as a whole. On a more subconscious level, that is, as far as processing is concerned, learners should not be able to process the new OV input patterns by using VO grammar. Ideally, this failure to analyze the target language input should eventually cause the learner system to be restructured in a target-like way. However, as shown by Haberzettl's (2005) investigation of two untutored Russian child learners, this restructuring process does not seem to be unproblematic and appears to seriously hamper the acquisition process as a whole. Thus, it would be preferable if textbooks were to provide early counterevidence to the eventually misleading assumption that German might be a VO language. Unfortunately, as is evident from the input analysis of *BP* and *SI*, this is not the case: Clearly interpretable evidence for German's underlying OV order is provided comparatively late, and the very frequent presentation of VO patterns in the first phases of instructed learning can be assumed to support an incorrect VO hypothesis for the German target system. This accounts in particular for those learners whose L1 is a VO language.

So far, the critical discussion of the input provided by GFL textbooks has been based primarily on the results for *BP* and *SI*. What about the other two textbooks analyzed, *Ta* and *sd*? As shown by the data in Table 2, as well as the more detailed listings in Tables 3 - 6, the overall input structure in *Ta* and *sd* is quite similar to that found in *SI* and *BP*. Some minor differences will be discussed in the following. As was mentioned above, both *Ta* and *sd* begin with the presentation of VO structures; OV patterns are scarce in the first 40 hours of instruction and almost only occur in the form of formulaic expressions. Like *BP* and *SI*, *Ta* and *sd* introduce inverted VO structures with lexical verbs at about the 41st hour of the language course, but unlike *SI* and *BP*, *Ta* and *sd* do not provide evidence for German's underlying OV word order at the same time. (Remember that in both *SI* and *BP*, particle verb constructions were introduced at about hour 41, which at least in a formal sense provided evidence for an OV order in German.) On the one hand, the strategy followed by *Ta* and *sd* gives the learner the chance to concentrate on just *one* syntactic phenomenon, namely that of subject-verb inversion and the closely related V2 constraint. On the other hand, the input in *Ta* and *sd* does not give learners any clue that German

might be an OV language, as is, at least formally, done by means of the particle verb patterns in *BP* and *SI*. However, it should be borne in mind from the discussion above, that learners will probably not yet be able to interpret these particle verb constructions appropriately, that is, they will not yet be able to infer that German is an OV language from these patterns. For this reason, it is difficult to say whether *BP* and *SI* do better than *Ta* and *sd*. It can definitely be said that none of the four textbooks investigated provide clearly interpretable evidence of an underlying OV order in German before the 61st hour of instruction. Admittedly, some OV patterns are presented in both *Ta* and *sd* between the 41st and 61st hours, in the form of formulaic expressions, such as ***Kann ich Ihnen helfen?*** ‘can-1SG – I – you – help-INF?’ in *Ta* or sporadic occurrences, such as *Sie hat in Jena Germanistik und Anglistik studiert* ‘she – have-3SG – in Jena – German philology and anglistics – study-PP’ in *sd*, but in the light of the general dominance of VO patterns, these rare occurrences cannot be considered sufficient to make German’s underlying OV property evident to the L2 learner. OV orders with separable particle verbs are introduced in *sd* from hour 61 onward. As already explained above, such patterns do not seem a suitable way of explicitly introducing the German OV word order property for the first time. With this in mind, it is interesting to see that *Ta*, in contrast to the other three GFL textbooks analyzed here, begins its introduction of OV orders in German by means of modal verb constructions involving a [+finite] modal verb and a [-finite] verbal infinitive, forming a sentence bracket. It can be assumed that such patterns offer interpretable evidence for the existence of a clause-final verb position in German. Having acquired this structural knowledge, it will probably be easier for the GFL learner to deal with particle verb constructions, which are presented approximately 20 hours later in *Ta*. Unfortunately, the first modal verb patterns are introduced comparatively late in *Ta*, that is, not before hour 71.

OV structures with auxiliaries are the last OV patterns to be explicitly introduced in both *Ta* and *sd*. This curricular decision conforms to that found in *SI* and *BP*.

To sum up, the input of all of the four textbooks analyzed is clearly dominated by VO patterns. Especially in the first 40-60 hours, evidence for German’s underlying OV word order property is scarce. Thereafter, constructions exhibiting OV orders are introduced in steps. Most of the textbooks start their presentation of OV orders with morphologically, semantically, and, last but not least, syntactically complex particle verb constructions, which can be assumed to be very difficult for beginning GFL learners to interpret. Modal verb patterns are introduced in a next step. Presumably, such patterns are the

first clearly interpretable evidence of an underlying OV order in German. Unfortunately, structures with modal verbs are introduced comparatively late, that is, shortly before or up to 20 hours after the halfway point in the A1 level course. The modal verb patterns are then followed by structures with auxiliaries, which should also be interpretable by beginning GFL learners as evidence in favor of an underlying OV order in German. However, it should be noted that the input provided in the first 40 - 60 hours of the language course explicitly invites learners, in particular those with a VO background, to assume that German might be a VO language. This misanalysis of the German input data is likely to result from the surplus of VO structures in the initial phases of the acquisition process.

A very similar structural design is used for the textbook input for the A1 level course in the adult GFL textbooks *Optimal*, *Themen aktuell*, and *Ja genau!* To the best of my knowledge, there is only one textbook in which structures exhibiting OV orders are explicitly introduced to the learner as early as the 40th hour of the language course. The name of this textbook is *Delfin*, and it uses modal verb patterns to begin its introduction of the underlying OV word order property of German.

Aspects of grammar progression and introduction orders

After a relatively detailed look at the structure of early input in GFL textbooks and the evidence that it might provide, the introduction order of German word order and clause structure phenomena will now be considered from a more general perspective.

As shown by the data in Tables 3 – 6, above, the introduction of German clause structure rules in GFL classes begins with the presentation of SVO patterns with [+finite] lexical verbs or the copula (cf. (29a), below). In most of the textbooks analyzed, the pattern in (29a) is followed by particle verb constructions (29b), structures with modal verbs (29c), and finally, structures with auxiliaries (29d).

- (29) a. *Sarah* *isst* *eine Pizza*
 Sarah eat-3SG a pizza
 ‘Sarah eats a pizza’
- b. *Sarah* *isst* *die Pizza* *auf*
 Sarah eat-3SG the pizza up-PART
 ‘Sarah finishes the pizza’

- c. *Sarah* *will* *eine Pizza* *essen*
 Sarah want-3SG a pizza eat-INF
 ‘Sarah wants to eat a pizza’
- d. *Sarah* *hat* *eine Pizza* *gegessen*
 Sarah have-3SG a pizza eat-PP
 ‘Sarah has eaten a pizza’

Within the framework of the topological field model, this means that German clause structure is elaborated from left to right in instructed L2 acquisition. Compare (30), below.

(30)	pre-field	left SB	middle field	right SB
I	Sarah	isst	eine Pizza	
II	Sarah	isst	die Pizza	auf
III	Sarah	will	eine Pizza	essen
IV	Sarah	hat	eine Pizza	gegessen

Evidence for the existence of the left sentence bracket in German is provided in the first step (30-I). Remember, from Subsection 1.1.1, above, that this position can be seen as the finiteness position. Syntactically, this is a *derived* position. In the following, the German clause structure is gradually extended to the right. The first element to occur in the right sentence bracket position is a verbal particle (30-II), followed by [-finite] forms of the lexical verb itself (30-III), (30-IV). Thus, the *underlying* verb position in German is worked out in steps. In one way, this didactic procedure is quite understandable. Presumably, SVO patterns with lexical verbs are considered to be simple, while compound verb structures appear more complex. In addition, it might seem easier for the learner to handle one verbal position than two. What the grammar progression in GFL textbooks largely ignores, is the fact that the verb position that is introduced second, i.e. the clause-final position, is the *underlying* verb position in German. In terms of generative syntax, this means that learners are presented with CP structures exhibiting [+finite] verb forms in a raised, i.e. derived, position, before they are confronted with structures reflecting the basic structural architecture of the German VP, in which the verb occurs in its phrase-final base position (see Subsection 1.1.1, above, in particular Figure 2 as compared to

Figure 3). Furthermore, the introduction order in (29) implies that the German syntactic tree is constructed in a *top-down* manner in classroom acquisition. This means that functional projections in their internal phrasal architecture are presented *before* lexical projections. More specifically, the functional verb position is worked out before clearly interpretable evidence for the lexical verb position in German has even been presented.

Almost intuitively, one would say that an introduction order like that in (29) does not seem to be appropriate. In fact, numerous empirical findings on the acquisition of German word order and clause structure in naturalistic settings contradict the grammar progression shown in (29). These findings will be presented in greater detail in Subsection 2.1.2 and Subsection 2.1.3 of this thesis. At this point, the main arguments will be briefly summarized.

Firstly, a number of studies on both L1 and L2 development suggest that functional categories and likewise, functional projections, are largely absent from early learner languages and emerge only gradually (e.g. Dimroth et al. 2003; Ingram and Thompson 1996; Jordens 2012; Klein and Perdue 1992). Within a generative framework, Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996) argued that naturalistic L2 learners of German begin with a VP-based grammar. Only after that, does a first functional projection emerge, which subsequently develops into a fully-fledged target-like IP. Finally, the learner system shows reflexes of an emerging CP projection. Crucially, the introduction order in (29) runs counter to the L2 development observed in naturalistic learners of German.

Secondly, as explicated in Subsection 1.1.2, above, successful untutored learners of German work out the structure of the German clause, specifically, the sentence bracket, from right to left (see, for example, Haberzettl (2005) and the discussion in Subsection 1.1.2, above, in particular (21) and (22)). This strategy is not taken into account in the sequence in (29), in which the position of the left sentence bracket is introduced *before* that of the right sentence bracket.

Finally, relevant studies on naturalistic L2 development show that the use of so-called *dummy verbs* or *dummy auxiliaries*, as well as modal verbs and auxiliary verbs, constitutes an important intermediate step in the acquisition of target-like German clause structure (see, again, Subsection 1.1.2, as well as Haberzettl (2005) and Kaltenbacher and Klages (2006) for the role of dummy verbs, and Becker (2005), Dimroth et al. (2003), and Klein and Perdue (1997) for the role of modal verbs and auxiliaries). In fact, Jordens and Dimroth (2006) argued that auxiliary verbs “serve as a bootstrap into the functional category system of the target language” (ibid: 186). Apparently, this triggering function

of modal verbs and auxiliaries is not used in instructed acquisition, or at least not from the beginning, since modal verbs and auxiliaries are introduced comparatively late. In any case, they occur *after* syntactically rather complex structures exhibiting inversion and the V2 phenomenon, that is, *after* the introduction of the relevant functional projections the acquisition of which they are assumed to trigger.

As mentioned above, these three central arguments against the introduction order in (29), will be addressed in more detail in Subsection 2.1.2 and Subsection 2.1.3, below.

Summary and discussion of potential motives for existing input design and introduction orders

In the previous two subsections, the results of the analysis of four popular GFL textbooks have been discussed. In a nutshell, the outcomes of the discussion can be summarized as follows:

- (31) The introduction order of German word order and clause structure phenomena in GFL textbooks for beginning learners
- a. can be assumed to invite learners, in particular those with a VO background, to interpret the German input data in favor of an underlying VO order in German, and
 - b. runs counter to naturalistic acquisition sequences and more general successful acquisition strategies found in untutored L2 development.

Given the negative connotation of the conclusions presented in (31), above, one might wonder why the input structure and introduction orders in GFL textbooks are as they are. What motives and didactic decisions underlie the specific structural architecture of the textbook input? Why do textbook authors decide to use an introduction order that apparently conflicts with theoretical findings on second (and also first) language development?

According to Funk and Koenig (1991), there are three main criteria underlying decisions about the organization of grammar progression in (German as a) foreign language textbooks. These criteria, as summarized by Funk and Koenig (1991: 62), are given in (32), below.

- (32) a. The linguistic argument (*Das sprachsystematische Argument*)
 ➤ What procedure can be deduced from the language system itself?
- b. The didactic argument (*Das didaktische Argument*)
 ➤ What is easier? What is more difficult? What can be managed by the learner at this point in time?
- c. The pragmatic argument (*Das pragmatische Argument*)
 ➤ What seems reasonable, taking into account aspects of the learner's language use?

Assuming that in GFL textbooks, grammar progression in the field of word order is largely based on these three criteria, it should be possible to find concrete arguments *in favor of* the early, and initially exclusive, presentation of VO patterns in GFL classes on the one hand, and concrete arguments *against* the early introduction of OV structures on the other. These could explain why the textbook grammar progression is as it is. In order to organize the discussion in a more balanced way, the central question will be formulated as follows: According to the three criteria presented in (32), above, what patterns should be presented first in GFL classes, VO orders or OV orders?

As far as (32a) is concerned, the answer appears relatively easy. In view of the fact that both VO and OV orders can be encountered in spoken and written German, and that neither of the two orders is considered dominant (cf. Dryer 2013), it would appear appropriate to present *both* possible word order strings from the beginning onward in the classroom input. Moreover, since the OV order is the underlying order in German, enhancing input in favor of OV structures in initial acquisition phases, seems advisable. This procedure can be assumed to demonstrate this feature as a fundamental characteristic of the German target system.

Concerning criterion (32b), the issue becomes a bit more complicated. First, the denotative meanings of *easy* and *difficult* can generally be considered a subject for debate, in particular when language learning is involved. The question, “What can be managed by the learner at this point in time?” seems, at first glance, much more appropriate here. However, what the term *bewältigbar* ‘manageable’, as used in the German original (cf. Funk and Koenig 1991: 62) actually relates to, is not quite clear, and L2 researchers would probably hold varying opinions. It could be supposed that linguists such as Dimroth et al. (2003), Jordens (2012), Klein and Perdue (1992), and Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996), would argue that structures involving functional projections, in particular those

involving a CP as the highest projection of a German declarative clause, are difficult for beginning L2 learners to handle. This means that according to these researchers, SVO structures such as *Ich nehme einen Kaffee, bitte* ‘I – take-1SG – a coffee – please’, in which a [+finite] lexical verb occurs in the derived C° position, cannot be seen as the ideal starting point in GFL classes. Other linguists, for example, Pienemann (1998, 2005), would argue that L2 learners of German should begin with the canonical SVO order since it requires the lowest processing costs. In fact, a number of studies on both untutored (e.g. Clahsen et al. 1983) and tutored (e.g. Ballestracci 2006; Diehl et al. 2000; Pienemann 1989; Terrasi-Haufe 2004) L2 development of German, have shown that L2 learners really do begin the acquisition of German with SVO orders. However, it should be noted that all the learners investigated in these studies were native speakers of a VO language. Bear in mind, from the discussion of the Alternation Hypothesis (Jansen et al. 1981) in Subsection 1.1.2, above, that learners whose L1 is VO tend to overgeneralize VO orders in their early L2 interlanguage system, while learners with an OV background usually overgeneralize OV orders (provided that the target language input contains both these (surface) orders, as is the case with the German target language). These observations suggest that the early usage of SVO orders by L2 learners of German with a VO background might simply be the result of L1 structural transfer. In other words, SVO orders in early L2 German learner language should not be interpreted as resulting from the successful application of corresponding target-like syntactic rules, but should instead be seen as instances of L1 influence. With respect to the criterion in (32b), above, this means that SVO structures cannot be deemed *easy* and *manageable* for L2 learners in general, but they can initially be managed well by those learners whose L1 is VO. Ironically, the VO speakers’ obvious advantage can easily turn into a hindrance in later acquisition stages. Remember, from Habertzettl’s (2005) study discussed in Subsection 1.1.2, above, that the Russian children’s initial VO grammar eventually collapsed, requiring revision and restructuring, which entailed serious acquisition problems. These findings imply that the initial manageability of SVO structures, as reflected in L2 learner data, is only superficial. For the praxis of language teaching, this means that practicing SVO patterns early is not in fact, beneficial. Presumably, it would be more helpful for learners to be shown early enough that German is *not* a VO language, to prevent them from becoming confused later. For this reason, OV patterns should be presented and practiced in the L2 classroom from very early on, if necessary, in tandem with VO patterns.

A second remark concerning the criterion in (32b), above, relates to the historical roots of what it apparently considered to be easy or difficult for an L2 learner in the area of German word order and verb placement rules. As explicated by Funk and Koenig (1991: 63), L2 grammar curricula have historically originated from grammar books intended for mother tongue education. Mother tongue curricula, in turn, were largely based on Latin grammar books and the progression therein. In the historical framework of Latin school grammar, verbal paradigms were introduced in a fixed order. Initially, verbal paradigms involving simple verbs were presented, and paradigms involving compound verbs were dealt with after that. Presumably, the latter were considered to be more complex, simply because they involved two (or more) verb forms. This introduction order for verbal morphology was then adopted by (historical) GFL textbooks. In the area of word order, such a progression automatically entailed the treatment of VO orders before OV orders, since the former go hand in hand with simple verbs and the latter only occur in the context of compound verbs. The fact that the grammar progression in foreign language teaching curricula was originally based on Latin school grammar, is still quite obvious from textbooks which subscribe to the so-called grammar translation method of foreign language teaching. For example, in a widely known textbook of this era, namely *Deutsche Sprachlehre für Ausländer* (Schulz and Griesbach 1955), the synthetically constructed preterit (e.g. *ich ging / ich arbeitete* ‘I went / I worked’) is introduced before the analytic forms of the present perfect (e.g. *ich bin gegangen / ich habe gearbeitet* ‘I have gone / I have worked’). Apparently, the fact that one of these two German past tenses, the present perfect, is much more common and more frequently used, particularly in spoken language, did not play a role here.²⁶

When considering the grammar progression in modern GFL textbooks, one receives the impression that the traditionally rooted idea that compound verb forms are, per se, more complex than simple verb forms, is still a “leitmotif” for modern curriculum developers. As regards their communicative relevance, modal verb clauses or present perfect constructions do not seem to be less relevant than simple verb clauses. However, the latter form the starting point in GFL textbooks, consequently resulting in the early and moreover exclusive presentation of VO orders in the GFL classroom. The disadvantages

²⁶ Note that factors such as the communicative relevance of a certain grammatical phenomenon or a certain construction, play a central role in curriculum development in the so-called communicative approach to language teaching, which emerged in the 1970s. Nowadays, the present perfect is usually introduced before the preterit, at least with lexical verbs. The preterit of the copula verb *sein* ‘to be’ and of the verb *haben* ‘to have’ in its possessive meaning, are often introduced comparatively early, since preterit forms of these verbs are quite common in contemporary spoken (and written) German.

of such an introduction order have been discussed intensively above. Admittedly, there are two points that make modal verb patterns and present perfect constructions slightly more complex than simple verb patterns. For modal verb patterns, this concerns the semantics of the modal verb itself, i.e. the modality it brings into the construction. Given that not all languages by far have modal verbs, and that the meaning of modal verbs differs strikingly cross-linguistically, modal verbs can be a challenge for beginning GFL learners. However, there are at least two German modal verbs that are quite transparent semantically, i.e. the modal *wollen* ‘to want to’ and the modal *können* ‘can / to be able to’. Moreover, these two verbs express basic concepts of human existence and everyday life, namely volition in the case of *wollen* and having the ability / permission to do something in the case of *können*. It therefore seems legitimate to introduce either of these modal verbs in a semantically transparent context during the very first hours of instructed L2 learning without creating learning problems in the semantic domain. As far as word order is concerned, this means that nothing contradicts the use of modal verbs patterns to present OV orders early in the L2 German class.

As for the auxiliary construction, the formation of the past participle, which is a necessary requirement in an auxiliary, or to be more precise, present perfect, clause may be a potential learning problem. Interestingly, this problem is addressed in Funk and Koenig (1991: 65f.). Although the authors were in favor of the early introduction of the present perfect in beginning GFL classes, their motives are quite different from those of the present investigation. While in this study, the aim is to use present perfect clauses to present German’s underlying OV word order property to the L2 learner, Funk and Koenig argued from the perspective of language use. That is, they wanted to enable the learner to speak about things (in his / her personal life) that happened in the past, or simply to report what he / she has done yesterday evening. In order not to overburden the learner with the rules of German past participle formation, or with the comparatively high number of irregular forms, Funk and Koenig proposed initially introducing just a few past participle forms that were rather common and communicatively relevant. In this way, learners are given the chance to speak about past events in German at a very early stage of acquisition without overstraining their learning capacities. It should be pointed out that a positive side effect of this communicatively motivated, early introduction of the present perfect in GFL classes, is the presentation of OV word order patterns in the input.

Finally, there is an argument *against* the assumption that compound verb structures are generally complex. A number of studies (e.g. Becker 2005; Klein and Perdue

1992, 1997) have shown that untutored L2 learners use [+finite] forms of modal verbs and auxiliaries before using [+finite] forms of lexical verbs. In a functional framework, this observation is explained by the fact that L2 learners in the initial acquisition stages are not yet able to code lexical and grammatical information within one linguistic unit, in this case within one and the same verb. Specifically, they are not yet able to fuse the morpho-syntactic finiteness information encoded in an inflectional suffix, with the stem of a lexical verb carrying the content information, i.e. the action to which the verb refers. For this reason, untutored L2 learners initially use different linguistic units to encode the two distinct meaning components. A modal verb or an auxiliary, i.e. a semantically light verb, serves as the carrier of the finiteness information, while a lexical verb in a non-finite form functions as the carrier of the lexico-semantic information. This naturalistic language acquisition strategy will be addressed in more detail in Subsection 2.1.3, below. For the discussion in the present section, these findings imply that from an information structural perspective, [+finite] compound verb patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries can be considered to be less complex than [+finite] simple verb forms. This is an argument in favor of the early introduction of modal verb and auxiliary patterns in beginning GFL classes. This means that as far as information structural aspects are concerned, nothing contradicts the early presentation of OV structures with modal verbs and auxiliaries in the classroom input, while VO patterns involving [+finite] lexical simple verbs seem to be complex and it can be assumed that they are difficult for beginning L2 learners to handle.

The last criterion concerning didactic decisions about L2 classroom grammar progression, as given in (32c), addresses aspects of language use and the learner's communicative needs. This aspect is particularly characteristic of the communicative approach to language teaching, which is currently the most widely-used method in foreign language teaching, at least in German-speaking countries. What can be said from a communicative perspective, with respect to the presentation of VO vs. OV patterns in the early classroom input?

Basic declarative main clauses involving simple verbs are undoubtedly as useful and necessary for a beginning L2 learner, as modal verb constructions or present perfect clauses. In fact, such constructions are basic instruments of everyday communication and of use to the learner in both private and professional communication situations. Bear in mind, from the discussion above, that Funk and Koenig (1991: 65f.) even *suggested* introducing (some selected forms of) the present perfect earlier than actually planned in the

A1 curriculum, in order to satisfy the learners' communicative needs. With respect to word order, this means that as far as the aspect of language use is concerned, virtually nothing speaks against the early presentation of OV patterns in the form of modal verb or auxiliary constructions. Interestingly, modal verb clauses often seem more appropriate than the simple verb constructions of many of the speech acts that are introduced in the very first chapters of GFL textbooks. So, for example, when reporting on the languages the learner can speak (lesson 1 in *BP*, *SI*, and *Ta*; lesson 3 in *sd*) the classical *Ich spreche Englisch / Spanisch / ein bisschen Deutsch* 'I – speak-1SG – English / Spanish / a little bit of German' might as well be replaced by *Ich kann Englisch / Spanisch / ein bisschen Deutsch sprechen* 'I – can-1SG – English / Spanish / a little bit of German – speak-INF', and would also fit what is to be expressed better. In the same way, ordering food and drinks (lesson 2 in *BP* and *Ta*, lesson 6 in *SI*, lesson 1 in *sd*) is a speech act frequently involving the modal-like verb *möchten* in German, as in, for example, *Ich möchte einen Orangensaft trinken / ein Paar Frankfurter Würstchen essen*. 'I – would like to-1SG – an orange juice – drink-INF / a pair of frankfurters – eat-INF'. Such OV structures could be presented in the textbook input instead of VO patterns like *Ich trinke einen Orangensaft / Ich nehme ein Paar Frankfurter Würstchen*. 'I – drink-1SG – an orange juice / I – take-1SG – a pair of frankfurters'. However, GFL textbooks favor the latter and it seems that OV patterns are avoided *intentionally* because their introduction is scheduled for a later point in the A1 curriculum. This means that in this case, grammar progression does not seem to be guided by aspects of language use or the learner's communicative needs. Instead, it appears that a predetermined grammar progression governs the selection of the language material with which learners are equipped, respectively, that is presented to the learner. Needless to say, this grammar progression, i.e. the initial exclusion of OV patterns from the classroom input, does not seem beneficial for beginning GFL learners (and moreover deprives them of communicatively appropriate and useful structures).

Finally, there is a fourth criterion underlying decisions on grammar progression in L2 curricula which seems to be relevant here. This criterion, which was mentioned by Neuner (1995: 687f.), will be called the *argument of the language contrast*. As explained in Subsection 1.1.1, above, German is an OV language. This makes it fundamentally different from approximately half the languages in the world in terms of basic word order (cf. Dryer 2005, 2013). As was also mentioned in Subsection 1.1.1, above, German is a V2 language. Structurally, the OV word order in combination with the V2 constraint, results in the non-adjacent positioning of the [+finite] and the [-finite] part(s) of the verbal

complex, i.e. the phenomenon of the verbal bracket. From a typological perspective, the combination of the OV feature and V2, makes German rather special among the world's languages. With respect to the acquisition of German as a second language, this implies that there will be a *contrast* between the L1 and the L2 word order and clause structure rules for most novice GFL learners. Given this situation, what German word order constellation would be the best for beginning GFL instruction? VO or OV? As far as I can see, starting with VO orders has two major disadvantages. Firstly, it invites native speakers of a VO language to transfer the L1 word order to the L2 interim system, and secondly, it may give native speakers of an OV language the (wrong) impression that German word order is different to that of their native language. In contrast, beginning with OV orders, has three important advantages for GFL learners: First, it demonstrates to speakers of a VO language that German is not VO. Second, it makes it clear to speakers of an OV language that German shares the L1 word order, at least in part. Finally, given that OV clauses in German usually involve a [+finite] modal verb or auxiliary in second position, OV structures will demonstrate the existence of a second verbal position in German, which is, in fact, the *finiteness* position. Studies, such as Haberzettl (2005, 2006) for German and van de Craats (2009) and Verhagen (2009) for Dutch, suggest that especially learners with an OV background have problems acquiring the V2 position in the German, respectively Dutch, target language. Thus, as far as the criterion of the language contrast is concerned, there are clear arguments in favor of an early presentation of OV orders in beginning GFL classes, while VO orders cannot be assumed to be beneficial for the majority of potential GFL learners.

To sum up, none of the four didactic criteria discussed in this subsection make it a clear requirement for VO orders to be the first word order patterns to be introduced in beginning GFL classes. At the same time, there are no substantial counter-arguments to oppose the presentation of OV orders in the GFL class from the very first hour of instruction. All in all, the three criteria presented in (32), above, suggest that both VO and OV patterns should be presented from the beginning, since structures exhibiting these word order types are communicatively useful and essential. Furthermore, as far as the overall morphological and semantic complexity is concerned, one word order type does not appear to be significantly more difficult than the other. The final, fourth criterion, that of the language contrast, is a clear argument against the presentation of VO patterns in early phases of classroom acquisition. Instead, it would be preferable to present OV orders. It can be assumed that such an input design would prevent learners whose L1 is VO, from

wrongly analyzing the German input data in favor of an underlying VO order. At the same time, the occurrence of a [+finite] modal verb or auxiliary in the OV pattern, should identify the clause-second position as the finiteness position, i.e. the functional verb position, while the occurrence of the [-finite] lexical verb in the clause-final position identifies this slot as the lexical verb position (see also the discussion in Subsection 1.1.2, above). Implementing these two fundamental clause structure rules in teaching materials can be regarded as beneficial for speakers of VO and OV languages.

CHAPTER 2

FROM THEORY TO PRAXIS

2.1 Towards a theoretically based concept of teaching German word order in the L2 classroom

2.1.1 General introductory remarks

In Section 1.2 of Chapter 1, above, the results of a GFL textbook analysis were presented. The main finding was that structures exhibiting a VO (surface) order are introduced in beginning GFL classes before those that exhibit an OV (surface) order. The results have been critically discussed in the light of relevant findings on untutored and tutored language acquisition. It has been argued that in the area of word order and clause structure phenomena, the textbook grammar progression cannot be deemed appropriate, since the introduction order used runs counter to successful naturalistic acquisition strategies and can also be assumed to negatively support L1 transfer in native speakers of a VO language. A detailed linguistic discussion of the didactic criteria that underlie decisions on textbook grammar progression, found no arguments in favor of presenting only VO patterns in beginning GFL classes. Instead, there are good reasons for introducing both VO and OV patterns in the very initial phases of instructed acquisition, and in particular, the language contrast argument even supports a dominant presentation of OV orders in beginning GFL classes.

In the following subsections, the arguments for the early presentation of OV orders in GFL classrooms, while at the same time reducing VO orders, will be substantiated. For this, I will rely primarily on relevant findings and theories in the fields of first and untutored second language acquisition, in addition to presenting some arguments from other linguistic subfields. Central guidelines for a theoretically adequate order for introducing German word order phenomena in beginning GFL classes will be established on the basis of these arguments.

2.1.2 Arguments from child L1 and early child L2 acquisition

In one sense, an adult acquiring a second language is faced with a task that has already been successfully mastered by millions upon millions of people before him. The people I am thinking of here, are all the children who have acquired the L2 in question as their mother tongue. Given the obvious success of L1 acquisition in general, it seems advisable to look at the routes children take and the strategies they employ when learning German as their first language, in order to determine developmental strategies and triggering cues that could as well pave the L2 learner's way into the structural regularities of the German target system. Consequently, this subsection will review and discuss relevant findings from L1 and early child L2 acquisition research, with respect to their appropriateness for L2 word order teaching.

Located within a generative framework, there is an influential account of child L1 acquisition, which is referred to as the *Strong Continuity Hypothesis* (e.g. Weissenborn 1990, 1992) or the *Full Competence Hypothesis* (Poeppel and Wexler 1993). Broadly speaking, the scholars who advocate these approaches assume that the “standard analysis of adult German” is the best way to describe early child language data (Poeppel and Wexler 1993: 2). In other words, children as young as two years old are assumed to have the adult CP-IP-VP tree at their disposal and utterances such as *ich mach das nich* ‘I – make-3SG – this – not’ (Poeppel and Wexler 1993: 5), are interpreted as reflexes of target-like movement of the [+finite] verb to the V2 position, i.e. to the functional head position C°.

However, the concept of *Full Competence* or *Strong Continuity*, appears largely implausible to other researchers (e.g. Clahsen (1990), Felix (1984), Ingram and Thompson (1996) and Winkler (2009) for L1 German; Jordens (2002, 2012) for L1 Dutch; Guilfoyle and Noonan (1992) and Radford (1988) for L1 English, and Platzack (1990) for L1 Swedish). In fact, given Poeppel and Wexler's (1993) assumption that very young children are already equipped with the adult syntactic tree, one “may wonder what is left for children to learn” (Jordens 2002: 689). Crucially, the common basis for the approaches that do *not* support the idea of an early adult-like linguistic competence in L1 children, is the assumption of the initial absence, respectively underspecification, and / or only gradual emergence of functional categories and the corresponding functional projections in the child language. Based on a detailed analysis of Dutch child language diary data, Jor-

Jordens (2002) argued that structures exhibiting a [+finite] lexical verb form in an, apparently, structurally higher position, cannot be interpreted as instances of verb raising to a functional head position. Instead, the distribution of [+finite] vs. [-finite] verb forms in early Dutch child language is semantically motivated (Jordens 2002: 693ff.).

A very similar proposal regarding the early L1 development of German, was made by Ingram and Thompson (1996). The authors introduced the so-called *Modal Hypothesis*, according to which the occurrence of finite vs. nonfinite verb forms in child language, can be accounted for by the modality of the utterance: While structures with nonfinite verb forms are used to express a modal meaning, the meaning of structures exhibiting finite verb forms is nonmodal.

With reference to the lexico-semantically oriented approaches for Dutch L1 proposed by de Haan (1986) and Jordens (s.a.), Kaltenbacher (1990: 208ff., in particular page 219-222) argued that the distribution of [+finite] and [-finite] verb forms in German child language cannot be accounted for in terms of a transformational analysis, as proposed by generative theory. In other words, SVO surface patterns exhibiting a [+finite] verb form in second position in early German child language, cannot be analyzed as a derivate of an underlying SOV order (which would be an appropriate analysis for such a pattern in adult language). Instead, in parallel to the assumptions of de Haan (1986) and Jordens (s.a.), Kaltenbacher (1990) suggested that the child interprets [+finite] and [-finite] verb forms as elements of two distinct semantic subclasses (ibid: 211ff.). Apparently, at a very early age, children handle language at a purely semantic level and the distribution of certain grammatical forms of the adult language, e.g. [+finite] and [-finite] verb forms, is purely semantically constrained in the initial L1 grammar. Only with further development, do children discover the structural relationship between the clause-final and the clause-second verb position in German and start to organize their utterances according to the adult grammar.

All in all, the above-mentioned studies imply that children acquiring a Germanic OV language which exhibits the V2 phenomenon (e.g. German or Dutch) as their mother tongue, do not yet have available the target-like V2 position in their initial grammar. More precisely, they have not yet instantiated the respective functional projection which makes this position available. Likewise, functional verbs such as auxiliaries or modal verbs, are virtually absent in very early child language. According to Jordens (2008) and Winkler (2009), early utterances of German or Dutch children can best be described in terms of a single maximal projection of largely lexical character. This projection makes available a

lexical verb position, a position for the internal argument, and a position for the external argument. Evidence of the early availability of a lexical verb position in the child language is provided by the productive use of so-called root infinitives, utterances that consist of a minimum of a non-finite lexical verb and a second linguistic element, usually an argument of the verb (cf. (1), below). Remarkably, the non-finite lexical verb occurs almost exclusively in the phrase-final position. The strategy of phrase-final placement of the verb is particularly evident in three- or four-word utterances (cf. (1b) - (1g)).²⁷

- (1) a. *duchen* *essen* (Caroline, 1;11.03)
 cake eat-INF
- b. *ich tür* *aufmachen* (Caroline, 2;01.23)
 I door open-INF
- c. *ich ein kuchen papi schenken* (Caroline, 2;02.13)
 I a cake daddy give-INF
- d. *julia eis* *gebm* (Julia, 2;00.02)
 Julia ice cream give-INF
- e. *julia eis* *essen* (Julia, 2;00.02)
 Julia ice cream eat-INF
- f. *teddy sofa* *fahren* (1;08)
 teddy moped drive-INF
 ‘teddy drives the moped’
- g. *meike fenster* *gucken* (1;10)
 Meike window look-INF
 ‘Meike is looking out of the window’

²⁷ The examples in (1a) - (1c) stem from the Caroline corpus of the CHILDES database (MacWhinney, 2000), which was analyzed in the course of earlier work by the author of the present thesis, while (1d) and (1e) stem from Tracy (1991: 194 and 195, respectively, and (1f) and (1g) are taken from Mills (1985: 159), who cites Miller (1976). Note that a translation of the examples presented in this subsection is only provided if given by the author (e.g. in case of (1f) and (1g)). In all other cases, no translation is given since this would already involve a (syntactic) interpretation of the learners’ utterances.

In terms of generative syntax, the structures shown in (1), above, could be analyzed as head-final VP projections, in which the internal argument is the sister of the verbal head and the external argument occurs in the specifier position (see also Radford 1992) for a similar proposal for early child English).

Further evidence of the early availability of an utterance-final verbal slot in German child language comes from the placement of verbal particles. Quite often, young children produce utterances of the type shown in (2), below, in which a verbal particle is realized although the lexical verb stem itself is missing. Typically, the particle occurs in the phrase-final position, which suggests that the phrase-final slot is a verbal one in German child language. For an illustration, see the structures in (2), which are cited from Tracy (1991: 175 and 194, respectively):

- (2) a. *krümelmonster* *runter* (Julia, 1;10.07)
 cookie monster down-PART
- b. *mami* *türe auf* (Julia, 2;00.02)
 mommy door open-PART

As is evident from the examples in (1) and (2), above, children clearly prefer OV orders in their early utterances (see also Clahsen 1982: 60f.; Kaltenbacher 1990: 36, 208; Mills 1985: 158f.; Szagun 1996: 30). This fact should be borne in mind regarding the aim of establishing guidelines for early input structuring in L2 learning contexts.

As regards further development of the child language, there is a general consensus that the acquisition of the target-like morpho-syntax, hand in hand with the acquisition of the functional category system, happens quite quickly and effortlessly. In fact, German children have mastered the target language's most fundamental clause structure rules before the age of three. Specifically, this includes the acquisition of the V2 constraint, i.e. the realization of the [+finite] verb in C° in declarative main clauses, as well as the target-like clause-final placement of the [+finite] verb in subordinate structures in which the complementizer occurring in C° blocks movement of the [+finite] verb to C°. Children's mastery of the target-like functional category system is illustrated by the following utter-

ances which exhibit instances of object topicalization and adverb fronting involving target-like inversion (cf. (3a) and (3b)), wh-questions, and yes / no questions with inversion (cf. (3c) - (3e)), and subordination (cf. (3f) - (3h)).²⁸

- (3) a. *den hab ich gefun*
 this one have-1SG I find-PP
 (Julia, 2;06.05)
- b. *dann bellt der und zwickt der*
 then bark-3SG this one and nip-3SG this one
 (Caroline, 2;05.09)
- c. *wo is mein Lottchen*
 where be-3SG my Lottchen
 (Julia, 2;04.12)
- d. *wo komm die junge*
 where come-3SG the boy
 (Julia, 2;06.05)
- e. *kann ich den auch probieren*
 can-1SG I this one also try-INF
 (Caroline, 2;05.26)
- f. *weil die mutter reinkomm*
 because the mother in-come-3SG
 (Julia, 2;06.05)
- g. *... weil sonst putt geht*
 because otherwise broken go-3SG
 (Caroline, 2;03.22)

²⁸ Examples (3a), (3c), (3d), and (3f) are cited from Tracy (1991: 262, 242, 264, and 255, respectively), while (3b), (3e), (3g), and (3h) are taken from the above-mentioned Caroline corpus.

h. . . . weil ich groß **bin**
 because I tall be-1SG
 (Caroline, 2;03.02)

When comparing the structures in (1) and (2), on the one hand, with those in (3) on the other, one may wonder how children proceed from one stage to the other. How do they acquire the first functional projection and how do they manage to establish the initially lacking relationship between the utterance-final verbal slot and the utterance-second verbal slot? A number of relevant studies suggest that modal verbs and auxiliaries are an important intermediate step in this. Obviously, child L1 learners work out the German target clause's structure from right to left, that is, from the underlying clause-final verb position to the derived V2 position. As illustrated above, in this subsection, there is ample evidence of a phrase-final verb position in early German child language. This position corresponds to the right sentence bracket in the topological field model. Then the finiteness position, i.e. the left sentence bracket, is worked out in a next step. Interestingly, functional verbs, such as modal verbs and auxiliaries, are the first verb types to occur in a position left of the internal argument, that is, in the left sentence bracket in the child language. Moreover, the modal verb or auxiliary clearly reflects morphological finiteness, while the lexical verb, which is realized in the clause-final slot, occurs in a [-finite] form (cf. (4), below). This observation suggests that functional verbs serve to spell-out the finiteness information in early German child language, and act as structural precursors for the V2 position. It is only in later stages of acquisition that also [+finite] forms of lexical verbs occur in the V2 position. Apparently, at that point, children have discovered the structural relation between the clause-final and the clause-second position in German.

The use of auxiliaries and modal verbs as structural precursors of the V2 finiteness position, have been reported by, for example, Dimroth et al. (2003), Schulz et al. (2008), Tracy (1991), and Winkler (2009) for German L1, as well as by Dimroth et al. (2003), Jordens (2002), and Jordens and Dimroth (2006) for Dutch L1. Obviously, it can be said that auxiliary and modal verbs function as a “bootstrap into the functional category system of the target language” (Jordens and Dimroth 2006: 186). Representative examples are given in (4), below.²⁹ It should be pointed out that these structures were produced by

²⁹ Example (4a) stems from the Caroline corpus, (4b) and (4c) are taken from Dimroth et al. (2003: 82 and 86, respectively), and (4d) can be found in Tracy (1991: 222).

the children before clear reflexes of the adult-like functional category system could be attested in the child language.

- (4) a. *muss* *aba* *uhu* *anmaln*
 have-to-1SG but eagle owl on-paint-INF
 (Caroline, 2;01.14)
- b. *der* *will* *noch wagen* *haben*
 this one want-3SG another wagon have-INF
 (Valle, 1;11)
- c. *Lisa* *hat* *was* *malt*
 Lisa have-3SG something paint-PP
 (Lisa, 2;00)
- d. *hata* *gummi* *reingesteckt*
 have-3SG-he rubber insert-PP
 (Julia, 2;02.08)

The relevant findings on the L1 development of German word order and clause structure can be summarized as follows: In early child language, functional projections are largely absent. This means that early [+finite] verb forms in utterance-second position should not be interpreted as instances of the [+finite] verb being raised to the C° position. Instead, the distribution of [+finite] and [-finite] verbs in child language seems to be determined by semantic structure. In the very initial phases of acquisition, children predominantly use non-finite verb forms in phrase-final position. Verbal particles are also realized in the phrase-final slot. In a next step, children discover the position of the left sentence bracket, which is initially spelled out by means of modal verbs and auxiliaries. These verbal elements function as a precursor of the V2 finiteness position. A short time later, even before the age of three, German children seem to have acquired the target functional category system and, therefore, have mastered the German word order and clause structure rules.

Interestingly, the acquisition of a second language in early childhood, i.e. before the age of four, seems to resemble the L1 acquisition process. This applies particularly to the speed, as well as the success, of acquisition, at least in the area of clause structure.

Evidence for the *early L2 = L1 hypothesis* is provided by studies by Ahrenholz (2006), Rothweiler (2006), and Thoma and Tracy (2006). These authors investigated the naturalistic L2 acquisition in young children with diverse L1 backgrounds, who were exposed intensively to German input data before the ages of three or four. In fact, these children were found to be able to acquire fundamental clause structure patterns, such as OV, V2, and Vend (= verb-end) in subordinate clauses, quite rapidly and with little effort, sometimes in as little as six months (Thoma and Tracy 2006: 66ff.), or in eight to ten months (cf. Rothweiler 2006). The acquisition route taken by the early L2 children was largely identical to that found in the German L1 children: The clause-final verb position is established in a first step after which, the sentence bracket is worked out. Auxiliary forms function as a precursor here and eventually make the V2 position available. Finally, instances of subject-verb-inversion are attested in the children, as well as clause-final placement of [+finite] verbs in subordinate structures (cf. Thoma and Tracy 2006: 74).

Interestingly, the process of early L2 acquisition does not seem to be influenced by the learners' L1. As reported by Thoma and Tracy (2006: 75), children whose L1 is VO also show a clear preference for OV orders in their early two and multi-word utterances. This observation is in line with the preference for OV orders confirmed in L1 children and thus substantiates the assumption that constructions with [-finite] lexical verbs in utterance-final position constitute the starting point for the acquisition of German clause structure and verb placement phenomena.

Given the obvious success of both L1 and early naturalistic L2 acquisition, it seems worth considering whether and / or to what extent, the acquisition strategies used by the children could be applied to classroom acquisition contexts. For example, it seems advisable from both an acquisitional and a communicative perspective, to deliberately present simple OV/XV patterns in beginning GFL classes. This could be done, for instance, in the context of speaking about one's hobbies (*ins Kino gehen* 'to the cinema – go-INF', *Musik hören* 'music – listen to-INF', *Ski fahren* 'ski – drive-INF', *Gitarre spielen* 'guitar – play-INF') or about things that are considered to be typically German (*Bier trinken* 'beer – drink-INF', *Weißwurst essen* 'Bavarian veal sausage – eat-INF', *laut sprechen* 'loudly – speak-INF', *pünktlich sein* 'on time – be-INF'). These patterns clearly show the underlying OV order in German from the start of instruction, so that they can provide a syntactic basis for the subsequent elaboration of German clause structure, in steps, to the left, by means of [+finite] modal verbs and auxiliaries.

The following subsection is dedicated to the naturalistic L2 acquisition of German by older children and adults. In it, it will be shown that particularly for this learner population, the establishment of a functional verb position constitutes a crucial intermediate step toward a target-like system of clause-structure rules. It appears to be the turning point from a largely semantically oriented, to a more syntactically based, organization of the learner system. In this development, functional verbs, or so-called *light verbs*, that is, auxiliaries and modal verbs, but also the copula verb *sein* ‘to be’, will play a crucial role.

2.1.3 Arguments from later child and adult L2 acquisition

Of the functional approaches to second language acquisition, the so-called *Basic Variety Approach* (Klein and Perdue 1992, 1997) has gained considerable attention. It is the result of a European-wide research project on the untutored learning of a second language by adult immigrants which was funded by the European Search Foundation (ESF) (cf. Perdue 1993a, b). The central assumption of the *Basic Variety Approach* is that during the first phases of L2 acquisition, learners rely largely on general semantic and pragmatic principles of information structuring for the organization of their utterances, instead of the morpho-syntactic rules of the target language. Based on an analysis of an extensive corpus of longitudinal learner data (the ESF corpus), L2 learners were shown to proceed from a *Nominal Utterance Organization* (NUO) or *Pre-Basic Variety* (Pre-BV), through an *Infinite Utterance Organization* (IUO) or *Basic Variety* (BV), to a *Finite Utterance Organization* (FUO) or *Post-Basic Variety* (Post-BV) during the course of L2 acquisition. As this terminology suggests, there is a strong correlation between the presence (or absence) of verbs, particularly the presence (or absence) of reflexes of finiteness in the learner language, and the overall development of the learner system. In fact, both lexical and functional verbs are largely absent in the very first phases of naturalistic adult L2 acquisition. They are integrated into the learner language in steps in the course of the acquisition process. In (5), below, an overview is given of the chronological order in which different verb types are acquired together with the form in which these verb types occur in the learner language, i.e. [-finite] or [+finite].

- (5) I [+finite] copula
 [-finite] lexical verbs
- II [+finite] copula
 [+finite] auxiliaries
 [+finite] modal verbs
 [-finite] lexical verbs
- III [+finite] copula
 [+finite] auxiliaries
 [+finite] modal verbs
 [+finite] lexical verbs

As can be seen from the sequence in (5), above, [+finite] forms of light verbs are attested in untutored L2 learner language significantly earlier than [+finite] forms of lexical verbs. In particular, this observation applies to the copula verb *sein* ‘to be’, for which sporadic occurrences of the supposedly unanalyzed form *is*, 3SG in the target language, are attested in even the very early stages of acquisition (e.g. Becker 2005: 285). It is noteworthy that the copula verb in initial L2 learner varieties only occurs in forms that would be analyzed as [+finite] in the target language. This is a striking difference in comparison to the learners’ treatment of lexical verbs, which occur almost exclusively in a non-finite form (e.g. Klein and Perdue 1992, 1997). Furthermore, forms of the German copula verb appear consistently in a structurally higher position, i.e. in a slot to the left of the clause-final position, while the clause-final position itself is reserved for non-finite lexical verbs (see, for example, Becker 2005; Klein and Perdue 1992, 1997; Parodi 2000). These distributional properties, as well as the lack of tense and agreement marking on early copula forms, suggest that these elements function as rather abstract operators in early learner varieties. As argued by Becker (2005: 285ff.), early copula forms can be interpreted as the carrier of assertion (AST) in untutored L2 learner language. Thus, they serve one of the (at least) two semantic functions of finiteness (see Klein (1998, 2006) for the theoretical background and also Klein and Perdue (1992, 1997) for learner language analyses.) The insertion of an assertion operator into an utterance entails the establishment of a relation of validation between the topic (or external argument) and the predicate of an ut-

terance. This operation can be seen as fundamental in natural languages. Given the fundamental nature of assertion marking, it can be assumed that assertion marking elements should also be crucial for L2 classroom learners. For this reason, it seems advisable to present [+finite] forms of the copula as they typically occur in S-Vcopfin-X patterns from the very initial phases of instructed acquisition onward. Together with simple [-finite] OV patterns of the *Pizza essen* ‘pizza – eat-INF’, *ins Kino gehen* ‘to the cinema – go-INF’ type, such copula constructions could make clear to the learner that it is not the *verb* as such that occurs in second position in German; it is the *finiteness marking element* that must be realized in clause-second position.

As was the case with the copula verb *sein*, modal verbs and auxiliaries are also realized as apparently finite forms when they first occur in the L2 German learner language (e.g. Klein and Perdue 1992, 1997). At the same time, non-finite variants of these verb types are absent from the learner language. This observation provides evidence to support the assumption that not only the copula, but also auxiliaries and modal verbs, and thus light verbs in general, are used to express properties associated with the category of finiteness in early untutored learner language (see again, Becker (2005), Klein and Perdue (1992, 1997), and also Dimroth et al. (2003) for L2 German and L2 Dutch, and Jordens and Dimroth (2006) for L2 Dutch only). Thus, at first, untutored L2 learners seem to assign distinct linguistic functions to the subclass of light verbs on the one hand, and to the subclass of lexical verbs on the other: While the latter express only lexical, i.e. content, information, the former are reserved for the expression of grammatical information associated with the target language’s functional category system. Obviously, it is difficult for the learner to fuse lexical and grammatical information into just one linguistic unit, as is the case with [+finite] forms of lexical verbs in the target system. As an interim solution, L2 learners employ light verbs as structural operators to fulfill certain grammatical functions of the target language, though not always in a target-like way. It is only in later stages of acquisition that learners are able to use [+finite] lexical verbs to express these functions. This development, as well as the specific strategies used by the L2 learner in the step by step transition from a semantically and pragmatically oriented L2 system, to one that is more syntactically based, became particularly evident in Becker’s (2005) study. Becker investigated the data of Italian learners of L2 German in the ESF corpus (cf. Perdue 1993a, b). She focused on the development of the expression of negation as correlated with the acquisition of the properties of finiteness. Her findings can be summarized as follows:

In the first stage, negation is only used with non-finite forms of lexical verbs. The negator is consistently placed before the non-finite verb form (cf. (6-I), Becker 2005: 287). Furthermore, the presence of a small number of negated utterances containing a copula form has been confirmed in the learner language at this stage of development (cf. (6-II), Becker 2005: 288). Interestingly, in contrast to negated lexical verb patterns, the negator here *follows* the seemingly [+finite] form of the copula verb *sein* ‘to be’.

In a next step, [+finite] forms of auxiliaries and modal verbs occur in negated utterances. Again, the negator follows the [+finite] marked verb form while at the same time, preceding the [-finite] lexical verb (cf. (7a), (7b); Becker 2005: 293f.). In structures involving a lexical simple verb only, a negation strategy such as that shown in (6-I) is used. That is, the negator is placed in a position before the [-finite] lexical verb.

Remarkably, it is only in later stages of development, that also lexical verbs are marked for finiteness in negated contexts. As was the case with [+finite] forms of the copula, auxiliaries, and modal verbs in earlier acquisition stages, lexical verbs in their [+finite] form are now realized to the left of the negator (cf. (8a), (8b); Becker 2005: 297f.).

- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|--------------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (6-I) | a. | <i>mein vater</i> | | <u><i>nicht</i></u> | | <i>schlafen</i> | |
| | | my father | | not | | sleep-INF | |
| | b. | <i>ich</i> | | <u><i>nicht</i></u> | | <i>sprechen</i> | <i>deutsch gut</i> |
| | | I | | not | | speak-INF | German good |
| (6-II) | | <i>deutschland</i> | <i>is</i> | | <u><i>nich</i></u> | <i>patria</i> | |
| | | Germany | be-3SG | | not | fatherland | |
| (7) | a. | <i>er</i> | <i>hat</i> | | <u><i>nicht</i></u> | <i>die zug</i> | <i>gesehen</i> |
| | | he | have-3SG | | not | the train | see-PP |
| | b. | <i>du</i> | <i>kannst</i> | | <u><i>nicht</i></u> | <i>die ferien</i> | <i>haben</i> |
| | | you | can-2SG | | not | the holidays | have-INF |

- (8) a. *ich sage nicht deine name*
 I tell-1SG not your name
 ‘I will not mention your name (vis-à-vis a certain person)’
- b. *ich mache nicht auf*
 I make-1SG not on-PART
 ‘I do not switch on the television’

How can untutored L2 learners’ late mastery of target-like post-finite negation with lexical verbs be explained? Why do learners prefer pre-verbal negation with lexical verbs, but use post-verbal, more precisely, post-finite, negation with [+finite] light verbs?

In general terms, the usage of [+finite] light verbs in early untutored L2 acquisition can be seen as a simplification strategy employed by the learner on his / her way to achieving target-like syntax. There are two simplifying effects of light verb constructions such as those in (7), above. First, as was mentioned earlier in this subsection, the usage of [+finite] light verbs in combination with [-finite] lexical verbs, allows the learner to express grammatical information, specifically, finiteness features, separately from lexical information. It seems to be difficult for the learner to merge these two different meaning components into one and the same verbal element.

Furthermore, using [+finite] forms of light verbs enables the learner to express properties of finiteness in a structurally appropriate slot, without moving the lexical verb out of its underlying clause-final base position. This strategy not only circumvents the operation of syntactic movement, but also allows for a generally information structure based organization of L2 utterances. In particular, this concerns the expression of basic scope relations within the utterance. For an illustration, see the periphrastic constructions in (7a) and (7b), above. Here, the negator *precedes* the predicate with the [-finite] lexical verb form, that is, the constituent(s) to be negated. At the same time, the negator *follows* the [+finite] modal verb or auxiliary, that is, the constituent that is *not* to be negated, since it is the carrier of relevant finiteness information, e.g. assertion (AST). In this way, basic scope relations are directly expressed by the surface order of elements, which seems a quite simple and convenient way of utterance organization.³⁰ Note that this would not be

³⁰ Supporting evidence for the learner’s reliance on principles of information structure in early L2 utterance organization comes from Bardel (1999). Bardel investigated the naturalistic acquisition of Italian by a native speaker of Swedish, Karl. Swedish is a language with post-finite negation, while Italian exhibits pre-finite negation. In Karl’s initial Italian learner language, the negator usually occurred before (non-finite!)

possible in [+finite] lexical simple verb structures, in which the lexical verb needs to be realized in second position and consequently occurs outside the surface scope of sentential negation (compare (8a), above). Structures such as those in (8) are attested only later in L2 acquisition. Apparently, learner utterances are now to be interpreted both on a surface and a deep structure level. Basic scope relations are represented at the deep structure level. This means that they no longer need to be reflected in the surface ordering of elements.

To sum up, Becker's (2005) study provides further evidence for the assumption that German clause structure is worked out from right to left, that is, from the underlying lexical verb position to the derived functional verb position. In particular, Becker's data demonstrate the crucial role of auxiliaries and modal verbs in the L2 acquisition process.

While L1 and early L2 children have been shown to acquire the V2 position, i.e. the functional verb position in German, with comparatively little trouble, later L2 children and adults often have problems in developing this structural slot. Typically, the V2 position is established in steps; a process in which so-called dummy 'auxiliaries' play an important role. This has been shown by studies such as those by Habertzettl (2003, 2005) and Kaltenbacher and Klages (2006) for L2 German, and van den Craats (2009) and Verhagen (2009: 58ff.) for L2 Dutch. Dummy auxiliaries are used in the early stages of acquisition and typically occur in the second position of a structure exhibiting a nonfinite or infinite verb form at the end of the clause. A prime candidate for a dummy auxiliary is the 3rd person singular form of the copula verb *sein* 'to be' in German, i.e. *ist* or *is*, and *zijn* 'to be', i.e. *is*, in Dutch, respectively. See the following examples from Habertzettl (2005: 81 and 83, respectively) for L2 German (9) and from van de Craats (2009: 60) for L2 Dutch (10):

forms of lexical verbs, which in a sense conforms to the target language regularities. However, as soon as finite forms of the copula entered the learner language, Karl used a different negation strategy: He placed the negator *after* the copula form and thus produced target-deviant structures. This different treatment of the copula verb as opposed to lexical verbs, can probably be explained by the fact that Karl tried to move the finite copula form out of the *surface* scope of sentential negation. The fact that he thereby produced target-deviant structures implies that Karl's early utterance organization was largely determined by principles of information structure, rather than target-like syntactic rules.

- (9) a. *ein junge* ***ist*** *die fußball* ***spielen***
a boy be-3SG the footbal play-INF
- b. *die kinder* ***ist*** *so* ***gemacht***
the children be-3SG like this make-PART
- (10) *hij* ***is*** ***lopen***
he be-3SG walk-INF
‘He walks’

Why do learners use such constructions? Within a functional framework, it has been argued that the dummy verb *is* functions as an assertion marker in early learner language (Verhagen 2009: 60ff.). From a more formal perspective, dummy auxiliaries have been ascribed a primarily syntactic function. So, for example, van de Craats (2009) and van de Craats and van Hout (2010: 695) interpreted dummy auxiliaries as structural precursors of the V2 finiteness position, while Haberzettl (2003) saw them as an early spell-out of the left sentence bracket. Apparently, learners have realized from analyzing the target language input, that there are two verbal positions in the target language. One of these two positions is the clause-final slot, i.e. the position for non-finite or infinite lexical verbs. This position has already been established in the learner language (cf. the examples in (9) and (10), above). The second verbal position appears to be a structurally higher position in which formally different verbs occur, i.e. verbs that are inflected for person, number, tense or other verbal categories. What the learners are now aiming for is to realize these two verbal positions appropriately, both from a formal and from a functional perspective. However, at this stage of development, the learners are not yet able to morphologically mark properties of finiteness on a *lexical* verb and to move this [+finite] verb form to the target-like V2 position. Their developing L2 learner system does not (yet) allow for such operations. As an interim solution, learners employ forms of semantically light verbs, such as the copula, as early finiteness operators and place these elements in a syntactically appropriate slot. In this way, learners somehow satisfy the target system’s grammatical requirements, although not in a target-like way. With further maturation, the learner system also allows [+finite] lexical verbs to occur in the V2 position. Interestingly, in one learner observed by van de Craats (2009: 72f.), the frequency of *is*-patterns de-

creased as verbs in a structurally higher position increased. In the Turkish child investigated by Haberzettl (2003), dummy verb constructions completely disappeared at the end of the quite successful acquisition process. These observations emphasize the important role of light verbs and light verb constructions on the L2 learners' journey toward the target-like clause structure of OV/V2 languages, such as German or Dutch.

As well as forms of the copula verb *sein* 'to be', Kaltenbacher and Klages (2006) also found the verb form *macht*, 3SG of *machen* 'to make' (cf. (11a) and (11b), below) and forms of the modal verb *wollen* 'to want to' (11c), (11d) functioning as a place holder in the V2 position. It should be noted that the structures in (11c) and (11d), below, are used to expressed factuality rather than modal meaning (cf. Kaltenbacher and Klages, 2006: 84).

- (11) a. *das* *ist* *eine Roller* *fahren*
 this one be-3SG a scooter drive-INF
- b. *und der* *macht* *essen*
 and this one make-3SG eat-INF
- c. *er* *will* *mit Roller* *fahren*
 he want-3SG with scooter drive-INF
- d. *die* *wollen* *Seil* *springen*
 these ones want-3PL rope skip-INF

Target-deviant structures, such as those in (11), support the assumption outlined above: Apparently, the learners have discovered that the clause-second position is the slot for finiteness marking in the target language and they want to express properties of finiteness in this structural slot. However, at this developmental point, they are simply unable to do this by means of the lexical main verb of the clause. This insight can be deemed crucial as far as the teachability of German word order is concerned. Bear in mind from the results of the GFL textbook analysis in Subsection 1.2.4, above, that the L2 classroom input contains SVO structures with [+finite] lexical verbs in second position from the first hour of instruction onward. Apparently, it is assumed that classroom learners are able to handle

such patterns. This assumption seems rather grotesque, given that novice classroom learners cannot be expected to begin the acquisition process with different cognitive prerequisites than naturalistic L2 learners.

The findings that have been presented in this subsection so far, are largely based on corpus data analyses. Additional empirical evidence of light verbs' crucial role in the adult L2 acquisition process, comes from the studies conducted by Schimke (2009) and Verhagen (2009). Based on carefully conducted production and comprehension experiments, Verhagen (2009) showed that mastery of the auxiliary verb *hebben* 'to have' in the naturalistic L2 acquisition of Dutch, was a turning point in the learners' overall organization of their utterances. As proposed by relevant corpus-based studies, such as those cited above (e.g. Dimroth et al. 2003; Jordens and Dimroth 2006), the acquisition of auxiliaries involves the (beginning of the) establishment of the target-like functional category system in the learner language.

As far as the naturalistic L2 acquisition of German is concerned, the results reported by Schimke (2009) point in a similar direction. Schimke investigated the acquisition of semantic and syntactic properties of the finiteness category in Turkish learners of German and Turkish learners of French. Among other tasks, the participants in her study performed a film retelling task, a picture story retelling task, and a picture selection task. While the first two tasks tested the availability of auxiliaries in the learner language, the latter was used to gain insights into the learners' understanding of the meaning of finiteness. Based on the results of these three tasks, Schimke argued that the Turkish L2 learners of German who used auxiliaries, showed a more native-like interpretation of finiteness than those learners who did not use them (Schimke 2009: 134f.). Apparently, the meaning of finiteness becomes established with the acquisition of the auxiliary system.

So far, only functional approaches to the L2 acquisition of German word order and clause structure phenomena have been considered. What insights come from formal approaches to untutored L2 acquisition? A central and much debated issue within the generative framework is the question of whether the L2 learner has access to universal grammar (and if so, to what extent). A more detailed discussion of this question would extend far beyond the scope of the present thesis (but see White (2003) for a comprehensive and differentiated overview). Instead, the following paragraphs will focus on empirical findings that seem to be particularly relevant to the present study, namely findings about developmental sequences and acquisition strategies in untutored L2 acquisition that

could serve as guidelines for the teaching of German word order rules in classroom contexts.

In their (1996) paper, Vainikka and Young-Scholten proposed the so-called *Minimal Trees* hypothesis, a structure-building model for the development of L2 German clause structure. Based on an analysis of Italian (=VO), Spanish (=VO), Korean (=OV), and Turkish (=OV) learner data, the authors claimed that early L2 learner language is characterized by the projection of a bare VP, i.e. a single lexical projection only. Functional elements, such as modal verbs and auxiliaries, verbal agreement markers, or complementizers are largely absent from the learner system at the VP stage (Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1996: 16). Functional projections are also missing at first. The first functional projection to appear in the learner language is an underspecified IP-level projection, labeled FP (for functional projection). For an illustration, see the tree structure in Figure 1, below, which is adopted from Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996: 24).

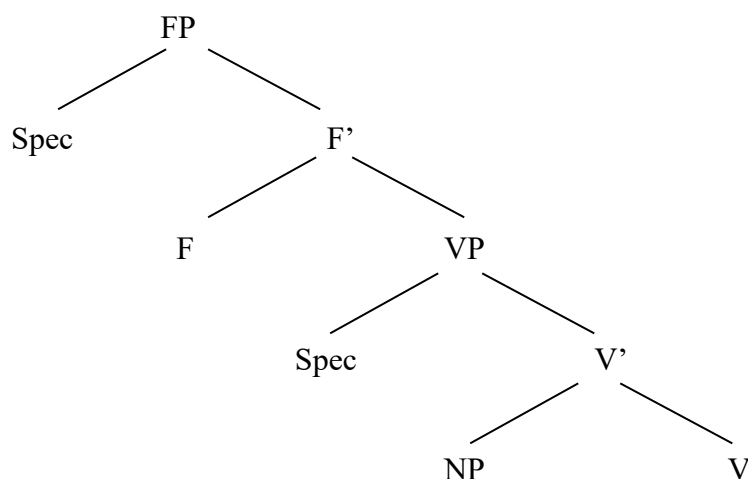


Figure 1: The structure of the FP in L2 German, as proposed by Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996)

The FP can host modal verbs and auxiliaries, which are base-generated in the phrase-initial head of the FP. The assumption of an FP structure as in Figure 1 accounts for the occurrence of (some first instances of) modal verbs and auxiliaries in a structurally higher position in the clause, as well as for optional verb raising in the learner language, while, at the same time, an agreement paradigm is largely missing (cf. Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1996: 20f.). With further development, modals and auxiliaries become common in the learner language and verb raising becomes frequent. The authors concluded that

the learner grammar is now characterized by a fully specified Agr projection (Figure 2, below, again adopted from Vanikka and Young-Scholten 1996: 24). Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996: 23) argued that the agreement marking on auxiliaries triggered the specification of the F node as the head-initial Agr node.

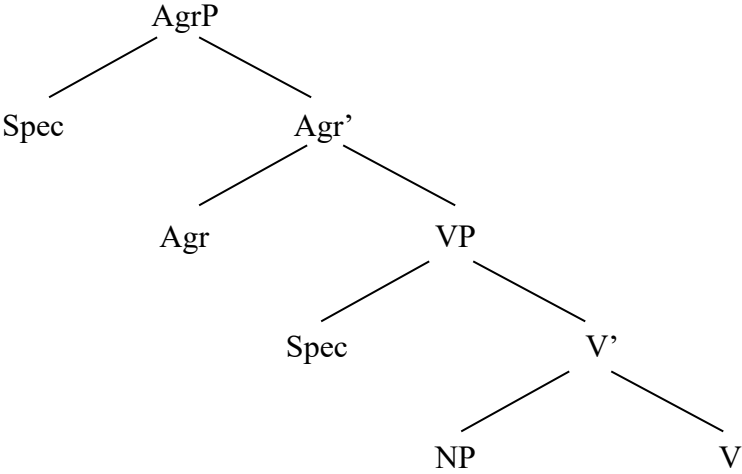


Figure 2: The structure of the AgrP in L2 German, as proposed by Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996)

The head-initial AgrP grammar appears to compete with an emerging head-initial CP grammar in the subsequent acquisition stage. However, there is little evidence for the availability of a CP projection in Vainikka and Young-Scholten’s data. The authors concluded that the learners studied were in the process of acquiring a CP (ibid: 23).

The importance of Vainikka and Young-Scholten’s findings for the present study lies in the fact that modal verbs and, in particular, auxiliaries are ascribed a pioneering role in the L2 acquisition process. Apparently, these verbs create a second verbal position in the learner language, specifically, a functional position serving as a structural equivalent to the V2 finiteness position in the learners’ interim system.

A second important study carried out within a generative framework was that of Parodi (2000), who re-examined the relationship between finiteness and verb placement in naturalistic L2 acquisition. More specifically, Parodi addressed the often observed phenomenon that the copula, modal verbs, and auxiliaries, i.e. what she terms *nonthematic verbs*, are not treated like lexical verbs, i.e. *thematic verbs*, in initial learner language. While the former occur almost exclusively in a morphologically finite form and in a raised position, the latter are usually realized as non-finite forms in a non-raised position. Using

data from Romance L2 learners of German, Parodi concluded that nonthematic verbs are interpreted as a spell-out of agreement features by the learner. As such, they get realized in a structurally higher position in the tree. In contrast, thematic verbs are not (yet) associated with grammatical features such as subject-verb agreement. Consequently, they predominantly occur in a [-AGR] form in a non-raised position. With further development, thematic verbs are also analyzed as the carrier of agreement features by the learner, so that they increasingly occur in a raised position (Parodi 2000: 375ff.).

All in all, Parodi's (2000) study provides further evidence for the assumption that light verbs, i.e. the copula verb, modal verbs, and auxiliaries, as opposed to lexical verbs, are easier for the L2 learner to handle in terms of the expression of properties of finiteness and the appropriate placement of these [+finite] elements within the clause.

2.1.4 Interim summary

As a result of the literature review on child L1, child L2 and adult L2 development, it was possible to identify six central strategies characterizing the naturalistic acquisition of German word order and clause structure rules. These are:

(12)

- a. early availability of the clause-final lexical verb position (right sentence bracket)
- b. late acquisition of the clause-second functional verb position (left sentence bracket)
- c. stepwise extension of German clause structure from the right to the left
- d. usage of [+finite] forms of light verbs before [+finite] forms of lexical verbs
- e. usage of [+finite] forms of the copula as early assertion marker
- f. light verbs as structural precursors in the V2 position / left sentence bracket
- g. late mastering of lexical verbs in the V2 position

Based on these naturalistic acquisition strategies, it is possible to formulate the following guidelines for a developmentally appropriate introduction order of German word order phenomena in beginning GFL classes:

(13)

- a. early introduction of OV patterns (right sentence bracket, lexical projections)
- b. late introduction of VO patterns (left sentence bracket, functional projections)
- c. early presentation of light verbs in SVOV patterns (extension of clause structure to the left, triggers for functional projections)
- d. early presentation of SVX patterns with the copula (prototype for functional verb position)

The guidelines in (13) correspond to the acquisition strategies listed in (12) in the following way: (13a) satisfies (12a) and (12c); (13b) takes into account (12b) - (12d) and (12f); (13c) meets the acquisition strategies (12c) - (12e), and finally, (13d) fulfils (12d) and (12e).

2.1.5 Arguments from L1 transfer

The notion of L1 transfer can be seen as a key concept in second language acquisition research. The idea that the learning of a second language is influenced by one's mother tongue, can be traced back to the year 1770 (cf. Walmsley 1982: 47, who refers to Basedow 1770). In the behavioristic era (e.g. Skinner 1957), the influence of the learner's L1 on a new second language to be learned was considered to be absolute. In fact, learners were supposed to begin the L2 acquisition process with the assumption that the L2 would function exactly the same as the L1. This means that they were supposed to adapt the L1 regularities wholesale to the emerging L2 system. Predictions about learning difficulties in the foreign language classroom were made on the basis of this theoretical assumption (cf. the *Contrastive Analysis* approach by Lado 1957). Thus, acquisition problems and errors were expected to occur in those areas in which the L1 and the L2 were different and no such problems or errors were expected in areas in which they were similar. However, teaching praxis soon showed that predictions based on a contrastive analysis of the L1 and the L2 in question, were not accurate. First, learners were found to produce errors that could not be explained as the result of negative transfer from the L1. Furthermore, positive transfer of L1 properties did not occur in areas where it was expected and, finally, the most striking finding was that learners produced structures that could not be found in *either* the L1 *or* the L2. These observations made researchers realize that learners obviously had their own, internalized rules and strategies for establishing a new language

grammar. This pathbreaking insight was captured by the so-called *Interlanguage Approach* (Selinker 1972), which represents a new, rather cognitively oriented, view of second language learning.

In the cognitive era, a much more active, even creative, role in the second language acquisition process was attributed to the learner. While, in behavioristic frameworks, L1 influence had been considered a source of irritation that needed to be overcome, it was now perceived to be a cognitively rooted production strategy and a “resource which the learner actively draws in interlanguage development” (cf. Diehl et al. 2000: 28 and footnote 14, respectively, who refer to Jordens 1988: 43 and Ellis 1994: 343). A similar understanding of L1 transfer and cross-linguistic influence is reflected in publications by Schachter (1983) and Sharwood Smith (1979).

As well as dealing with the function of L1 transfer in the L2 acquisition process, investigations into cross-linguistic influence in the late 1970s and early 1980s were intensively concerned with the overall nature of cross-linguistic influence and with the specific mechanisms underlying this cognitive strategy. See, for example, Gass (1979), Kellermann (1983), Rutherford (1983), Selinker (1983), and Zobl (1980) for more detailed discussions of these issues. Odlin (1989: 85ff.) provides an overview on studies explicitly dealing with transfer of word order phenomena in L2 learning. With respect to the present study, the so-called *Alternation Hypothesis* (Jansen et al., 1981), as well as the co-called *Transfer to Somewhere* principle (Andersen 1983) seem to be particularly relevant. The *Alternation Hypothesis* has already been introduced in Subsection 1.1.2 of this thesis, above. For the reader’s convenience, its concrete wording will be repeated here in (14):

(14) The *Alternation Hypothesis* (cf. Jansen et al. 1981: 315)

“Assume that in a target language A there is an alternation between two surface structures, and that in source language B only one of these two surface structures occurs. Then speakers of source language B acquiring language A will overgeneralize in their interlanguage grammar the structure which corresponds most closely to the structure in their own language.”

Supporting evidence for the *Alternation Hypothesis* comes from studies such as those by Haberzettl (2005), Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996), and van de Craats (2007). Based on naturalistic L2 acquisition data, the authors showed that learners whose L1 is VO, begin the L2 acquisition of German / Dutch with a VO hypothesis, while learners

whose L1 is OV, start with an initial OV assumption. A summary of the transfer phenomena observed in the above-mentioned studies' participants, including their source languages and the respective target language, is given in Table 1, below.

Study	L1	word order	L2	word order	L1 order in L2 input?	Initial order (dominant)	Transfer?
Haberzettl (2005)	Russian	SVO	German	SOV/SVO	yes	VO	yes
	Turkish	SOV			yes	OV	yes
Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996)	Spanish	SVO	German	SOV/SVO	yes	VO	yes
	Italian	SVO				VO	
	Turkish	SOV			yes	OV	yes
	Korean	SOV				OV	
Jansen et al. (1981)	Moroccan	SVO	Dutch	SOV/SVO	yes	VO	yes
	Turkish	SOV			yes	OV	yes
van de Craats (2007)	Moroccan	SVO	Dutch	SOV/SVO	yes	VO	yes
	Turkish	SOV			yes	OV	yes

Table 1: Details on studies supporting the *Alternation Hypothesis*

The results in Table 1, above, suggest that the initial state of L2 acquisition, specifically, the initial state of L2 word order acquisition, is indeed influenced by the word order of the learner's L1. But what particular role does the input play? Given that in the studies referred to in Table 1, the L1 order was present in the L2 input's surface structure, it is not entirely clear whether the initial L1 word order transfer occurred as a consequence of this surface structure evidence, or whether it can be assumed to be kind of default. What do learners do if the L1 word order is *not* contained in the L2 input? This question seems particularly relevant to the specific aim of the present chapter, that is, to formulate guidelines for the structuring of early input in beginning GFL classes designed to lead to a successful acquisition of German word order phenomena. Here, the above-mentioned *Transfer to Somewhere* principle (Andersen 1983: 178) comes into play; it reads as follows:

“A grammatical form or structure will occur consistently and to a significant extent in interlanguage as a result of transfer *if and only if* there already exists within the L2 input the potential for (mis-)generalization from the input to produce the same form or structure” [emphasis in original].

What the *Transfer to Somewhere* principle suggests is that the learners investigated by Habertzettl (2005), Jansen et al. (1981), Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996), and van de Craats (2007) overgeneralized the L1 word order property in their early L2 interlanguage grammar because the L2 input contained *positive evidence* in support of the L1 word order. This evidence then invited the learner “to produce the same form or structure”. Crucially, the *Transfer to Somewhere* principle implies that no such “(mis-)generalization” will occur if the L1 order is *not* contained in the L2 input. In other words, if learners succeed in analyzing (part of) the L2 input data by using their L1 grammar, they will establish an “L1 word order = L2 word order” hypothesis and therefore initially overgeneralize the L1 order in their L2 interlanguage system. If, however, learners do not succeed in analyzing (part of) the L2 input data with their L1 grammar, no such “L1 word order = L2 word order” hypothesis will be established and the L1 order will not be overgeneralized in the early L2 learner system. The latter assumption is confirmed by a number of studies on word order acquisition in L2 learning. The different studies investigated different source language – target language pairings. In none of the cases, was the source

language word order contained in (the input of) the target language. Details of the relevant studies are listed in Table 2.

Study	L1	word order	L2	word order	L1 order in L2 input?	Initial order (dominant)	Transfer?
Bell (1973)	Hindi	SOV	English	SVO	no	VO	no
Jackson (1981)	Punjabi	SOV	English	SVO	no	VO	no
Rutherford (1983)	Japanese	SOV	English	SVO	no	VO	no
	Arabic	VSO			no	SVO	no
Kawaguchi (2002)	English	SVO	Japanese	SOV	no	OV	no

Table 2: Details on studies providing evidence for the *Transfer to Somewhere* principle

It is easy to see from the data listed in Table 2 that the learners did not overgeneralize the L1 order in their emerging L2 interlanguage grammar in any of the cases. This is in clear contrast to what was observed in the studies listed in Table 1. As explicated above, the crucial difference between these studies is the presence vs. absence of the L1 word order in the L2 input data. Apparently, this parameter is the decisive factor for L1 based overgeneralizations of basic word order phenomena in the early L2 grammar. This insight is highly relevant for the praxis of L2 teaching. In particular, it implies that appropriate input control and input structuring in the foreign language classroom, might reduce the negative influence of L1 structural transfer on the L2 acquisition of basic word order. Before this issue is addressed in more detail, later in this subsection, a brief consideration will be given to the question of how the phenomenon of L1 transfer and cross-linguistic influence is approached from a generative perspective.

Within the generative framework, issues of L1 transfer have been discussed intensively in the context of the controversy about the L2 initial state in the mid and late 1990s. While scholars generally agreed that the initial state of L2 acquisition was influenced by L1 knowledge, their views on the concrete nature of this L1 influence differed (see, for example, Eubank 1996, Schwartz and Sprouse 1996, and Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1996). In particular, L2 acquisition researchers argued about the syntactic domains in which L1 structural transfer could occur. While Schwartz and Sprouse (1996; the *Full Transfer/Full Access (FT/FA) model*) claimed that both lexical and functional projections of the L1 were transferred to the L2 initial state, Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996; the *Minimal Trees* hypothesis) argued that only lexical projections, i.e. the VP, were transferred. What seems to be important for the present study, is that both the *FT/FA* and *Minimal Trees* postulate that learners transfer the headedness of the VP, that is, the L1 word order, to the initial L2 grammar. It is assumed that the restructuring of the initial grammar, specifically, resetting the headedness parameter according to the target-like value, is triggered by the L2 input data.

In a certain sense, the generative view of the phenomenon in L2 learning, especially the *FT/FA model*, is reminiscent of the behaviorist approach to transfer. Both schools seem to view L1 transfer as a “mechanical” process and attribute a rather passive role to the learner. It should be borne in mind, from the discussion above, that this is different to the cognitively oriented era of the *Interlanguage Approach*, in which L1 transfer was viewed as a creative activity on the part of the learner and as a particular problem

solving strategy in a second language context. What generative approaches to cross-linguistic influence seem to overlook (or what is not evident from their data) is that learners do not automatically transfer L1 structural knowledge to their initial L2 grammar. Instead, L1 structural transfer seems to be the result of the *interaction* between L1 structural knowledge and properties of the target language input, while it is the presence or absence of the L1 structure in the L2 input that seems to be the final, decisive factor for the appearance / non-appearance of L1 word order transfer in L2 learning (compare the findings listed in Table 1 and Table 2, above). With respect to the L2 initial state, this means that the concrete properties of the L1 grammar appear to be only *one* of the factors influencing the initial state. The L2's specific input properties are a second important factor; these input properties interact with the L1 knowledge from the *very initial phases* of L2 acquisition onward.

All in all, it can be said that L1 structural transfer is neither an automatic nor a random process. Instead, it can be seen as a (cognitive) strategy that is apparently constrained by “structural similarities and dissimilarities between L1 and the L2 target equivalent” (Jordens 2001: 51).

For the praxis of GFL teaching, the findings discussed in this subsection so far, imply that an early presentation of OV orders in the GFL classroom, together with the reduction / elimination of VO orders, should reduce or eliminate L1 word order transfer in native speakers of a VO language. Bear in mind, from Table 2, above, that the L1 word order is overgeneralized in the L2 interlanguage grammar, *if and only if*, the L2 input provides *positive evidence* of the L1 order's existence in the L2 system. This means that a lack of evidence for German VO orders should result in an absence of L1 structural transfer in native VO speakers acquiring German as L2. In other words, if learners are not given the opportunity to process the L2 input by using the L1 grammar, they won't be tempted to transfer the L1 regularities to their early L2 interlanguage.

In terms of the concrete input patterns to be provided in the GFL class, this means that simple OV sequences, such as *Freunde treffen* ‘friends – meet-INF’, *Fotos machen* ‘pictures – make-INF’ or small modal verb / auxiliary clauses, such as *Ich will ein Eis essen* ‘I – want to-1SG – an ice cream – eat-INF’, *Ich habe Hausaufgaben gemacht* ‘I – have-1SG – my homework – make-PP’, are prime candidates for the very first GFL lessons. In contrast, patterns such as *Ich esse ein Eis* ‘I – eat-1SG – an ice cream’, *Ich mache*

Hausaufgaben ‘I – make-1SG – my homework’, should be avoided during the initial acquisition phases. Note that this procedure is entirely compatible with the guidelines for a naturalistically based order for introducing German word order rules, as formulated in (13), above. In fact, (13a) and (13c) demand the early presentation of OV sequences, while (13b) calls for the late introduction of VO patterns. In other words, a naturalistically based order for introducing German word order phenomena can, at the same time, also be expected to counteract the negative influence of L1 structural transfer.³¹

In the following subsection, additional arguments from various linguistic disciplines, all of which support the early introduction of German OV orders in a foreign language learning context, will be presented.

2.1.6 Arguments from other linguistic disciplines

Arguments from linguistic typology and syntactic theory

There is a fundamental difference between VO languages on the one hand and OV languages on the other. This idea was established in linguistic typology by Greenberg (1963). According to Greenberg (1963), the VO vs. OV word order feature is strongly correlated with a number of the language in question’s other word order features. For example, the relative order of noun and genitive, the order of noun / noun phrase and adposition, and the order of the verb and manner adjectives (see also Dryer 1992).

Within generative syntax, the fundamental differences between VO and OV languages can be explained in terms of differences in the verb’s licensing direction. Specifically, the VO - OV contrast can be seen as the result of the interaction between a universally constrained merging system and the licensing direction of the language in question’s verbal head (e.g. Haider 2005). This interaction involves differently structured VP projections which, in their internal architecture, largely determine a given language’s overall clause structure properties and word placement rules (see also Haider 2010a, 2010b). Considering these correlations of the basic word order to the overall syntactic shape of a language, it seems advisable to familiarize foreign language learners with the underlying word order of the language they are about to learn right from the very beginning. The best

³¹ Note that the early introduction of OV orders in the GFL classroom input is also compatible with generative approaches to transfer in L2 word order acquisition (e.g. Schwartz and Sprouse 1996; Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1996). Given that restructuring of the learner grammar, i.e. parameter resetting, is assumed to be triggered by the input, the provision of OV enriched input should positively support (re)setting of the L2 German head parameter according to the target-like value.

way to do this seems to be to provide clearly interpretable input, which in the case of German, are OV patterns.

Finally, there seem to be reasons for assuming that “OV is more basic than VO” (Haider 2000). Based on empirical evidence, Haider defends the claim that head-final structures, i.e., OV orders, cannot be analyzed as a derivative of a VO order, and that, moreover, “head-final structures are principally less complex than head initial structures” (Haider 2000: 45). This implies that, at least from a theoretical perspective, basic OV orders and the lexical and functional projections they involve seem to be easier to acquire than VO orders and the corresponding syntactic projections.

Arguments from general considerations on language processing / reading comprehension

It is generally assumed that discontinuous units of speech, i.e. elements that belong together but do not occur together, such as the verbal elements of a German sentence bracket, are difficult to process in speech perception. This insight was formulated by Slobin (1973), who stated:

“[. . .] interruption or rearrangement of linguistic units places a strain on sentence processing – both in production and in reception” (Slobin 1973: 199, cited by Haberzettl 2005: 66f.).

Interestingly, the results of an L2 reading study conducted by Kaiser et al. (2010) suggest that discontinuous units of speech are not more difficult to comprehend per se than continuous units. In their study, Kaiser et al. investigated how the German sentence bracket construction was read and comprehended by native speakers of French or Italian who were learning German as their third or fourth foreign language. Both French and Italian are VO languages that do not have the sentence bracket phenomenon, that is, the [+finite] and [-finite] part(s) of a compound verb construction usually occur adjacent to each other. In the course of the study, the participants were presented with reading texts about imaginary animals. These texts were either written in the present tense and therefore, did not exhibit discontinuous verbal elements, or in the present perfect tense, with a [+finite] auxiliary and a [-finite] past participle forming a discontinuous unit. The results showed that there was no significant difference in the understanding of structures with or without discontinuous elements. Remarkably, this observation applied not only to advanced and intermediate learners, but also to beginners. The authors concluded that the continuous

vs. discontinuous realization of the verbal element(s) in a clause, is *not* the decisive factor for a learner's successful understanding of a written German clause. Instead, other factors, such as the overall complexity of a given structure, the number of potential agent candidates in a clause, or the learner's ability to interpret prepositions and temporal adverbs, seem to have a greater impact on the successful comprehension of a given target language structure.

As far as the present study is concerned, Kaiser et al.'s (2010) findings support the idea of introducing SVOV patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries early in GFL classes. At least as far as reading comprehension is concerned, such patterns seem to be quite manageable for beginning L2 learners.

A second argument for the early introduction of OV patterns in GFL classes comes from more general considerations on foreign language processing. In fact, it can be assumed that it is necessary for speakers of a non-OV language to change their listening habits when acquiring German as L2 (e.g. Fabricius-Hansen 2010). For example, a speaker of an SVO language expects the information carried by the verbal element(s) of the clause to be directly after the subject of the clause. However, this expectation will only be fulfilled in a German simple verb structure. In the case of a German compound verb pattern, the L2 learner has to wait until the end of the clause before he / she can integrate the meaning of the lexical verb into the overall meaning of the sentence. In other words, the L2 learner has the task of anticipating an expected meaning of the [-finite] part(s) of the verb form in clause-final position, as early as possible in the listening process (cf. Fabricius-Hansen 2010: 225f.). Speakers of a non-OV language are not familiar with this procedure. Furthermore, L2 learners of German are also confronted with an alternation of VO and OV orders in the German target language input. For VO speakers, this means that they will be able to process part of the German input data with an L1-based strategy. However, they have to acquire a new strategy for the other part. This fact should be made clear to L2 learners from the very beginning of acquisition, in order to prevent them relying solely on L1-based processing strategies. For this reason, OV orders should be presented early in GFL classes. As suggested at other points in this thesis, above, this can be done by using simple OV patterns in the form of *Fußball spielen* 'to play football', *einen Film sehen* 'to watch a movie', *Essen kochen* 'to prepare food', etc. Such sequences will familiarize the learner with the fact that, in German, the content information of the lexical verb is often to be found phrase-final. Discontinuous patterns

with modal verbs or auxiliaries can be introduced in a subsequent step. For an illustration, see (15), below:

(15) A: *Was wollen wir heute machen?*
 what want-1PL we today do-INF
 ‘What do we want to do today?’
Fußball spielen, ins Kino gehen,
 football play-INF to the cinema go-INF
 playing football, going to the cinema,
in die Disko gehen, Essen kochen . . . ?
 in the disco go-INF meal cook-INF
 going to the disco, preparing a meal . . . ’

B: *Essen kochen! Ich will heute Essen kochen.*
 meal cook-INF I want-1SG today meal cook-INF
 ‘Preparing a meal! I want to prepare a meal today.’
Wir haben gestern Fußball gespielt.
 we have-1PL yesterday football play-PP
 We have played football yesterday’

Note that this procedure can also be considered beneficial for speakers of an OV language not characterized by the V2 phenomenon. On the one hand, patterns such as those in (15) will demonstrate to these learners that German satisfies their L1 listening habits to the extent that, in the default case, the content information of the lexical verb can be found in clause-final position. On the other hand, the structures with modal verbs or an auxiliary in clause-second position in (15), above, will show them that verbal elements can also occur in the clause-second position in German. This means that the learners have to change their L1 processing habits and adapt them to the requirements of the OV/V2 target system. The beneficial effect of SVOV patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries here is that they demonstrate to the learners that the L2 grammar requires only a *partial* change to their L1 listening habits. In contrast, the presentation of SVO patterns with [+finite] lexical verbs, would have suggested that they have to change their processing habits *completely*.

All in all, the findings presented in this paragraph are in favor of an early introduction of OV orders in beginning GFL classes, together with SVOV orders in which light verbs such as modals or auxiliaries occur in second position. The guidelines presented in (13), above, show that this is exactly the aim of a naturalistically based syllabus for the introduction of German word order in GFL classes.

Arguments from aspects of intonation

A last point to be discussed with respect to the early presentation of OV patterns in beginning GFL classes, are aspects of intonation. This issue is addressed in more detail by Haberzettl (2005: 64ff.), who drew upon the perceptual salience of a lexical verb occurring in clause-final position in a German clause. Based on a review of relevant intonation studies, Haberzettl argued that there was good reason to assume that in a German main clause, a [-finite] lexical verb in clause-final position is quite salient to L2 learners. In fact, in the case of a compound verb structure, the element in clause-second position, i.e. a [+finite] auxiliary or modal verb, is usually not accented, while the [-finite] lexical verb in final position either carries the main accent of the clause itself (cf. (16)), or the accent is carried by the constituent directly left-adjacent to the verb (cf. (17)). Both examples (16) and (17) are taken from Haberzettl (2005: 65).

- (16) a. *Peter hat seit Stunden geSCHLAFen.*
 Peter have-3SG since hours sleep-PP
 ‘Peter has slept for hours’
- b. *Peter muss jetzt langsam AUFstehen.*
 Peter have to-3SG now slowly up-get-INF
 ‘Peter should get up soon’
- (17) *Peter hat gestern einen BRIEF geschrieben.*
 Peter have-3SG yesterday a letter write-PP
 ‘Peter has written a letter yesterday’

A final argument comes from more general considerations on sentence intonation. Note that depending on the sentence type and / or the utterance’s intended message, the end of

the clause is typically marked by a rising, falling, or maintained intonation. This fact supports a general perceptual salience of the element in clause-final position, regardless of whether it is verbal or non-verbal.

All in all, it can be assumed that a lexical verb occurring in the final position of a German main clause is perceptually salient. This salience is a helpful precondition for the identification of this position as a verbal slot in the German target language.

2.1.7 Summary

The aim of this section was to formulate guidelines for a theoretically appropriate introduction of German word order rules in beginning GFL classes. A range of arguments from the areas of language acquisition research and general linguistics have been presented and discussed for this purpose. Subsection 2.1.2 and Subsection 2.1.3 dealt with acquisition strategies found in L1 and naturalistic child and adult L2 acquisition, Subsection 2.1.5 considered the mechanisms of L1 transfer, and Subsection 2.1.6 concentrated on arguments from syntactic theory, language processing, and intonation. In sum, the findings presented in these subsections all point in a similar direction. They support the early introduction of OV orders, the late introduction of VO patterns, and the presentation of [+finite] light verbs in second position, as triggers for the establishment of a functional verb position in the learner grammar. Early OV / late VO introduction satisfies the observation that naturalistic learners of German proceed from a lexically based system characterized by OV orders, to a functional system exhibiting both OV and VO orders. An initial absence of VO orders in GFL classes provides unambiguous and thus clearly interpretable input which is representative of German's underlying word order property. At the same time, a lack of VO orders should prevent learners with a VO mother tongue from making misleading overgeneralizations of the L1 word order in the L2 interim system. Light verb patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries serve both to present OV orders and to demonstrate the V2 position as the finiteness position in German. Light verb patterns with the copula serve to demonstrate only the V2 finiteness position. Finally, the early presentation of OV patterns is supported by findings from the fields of comparative syntax, sentence processing, and sentence intonation. This means that the guidelines that were presented as an interim summary in (13), above, can be seen as the basis for formulating the final guidelines for structuring early input in GFL classes. For the final version of the guidelines, see (18), below:

(18)

- a. dominant presentation of OV orders in the initial phases of acquisition
- b. rigorous reduction of VO orders in the initial phases of acquisition
- c. early presentation of light verbs in SVOV patterns
- d. early presentation of the copula in SVX patterns

For the actual teaching practice, these principles for early input structuring will be translated into a concrete syllabus and appropriate teaching materials. Moreover, so that the effectiveness of this syllabus can be tested in a real classroom situation, another syllabus must also be developed, reflecting the commonly used order for introducing German word order phenomena. The effectiveness of both these syllabi will be compared in the course of the planned classroom study. The construction of the two syllabi and their corresponding teaching materials will be addressed in detail in the following section.

2.2 Preparing the classroom study: Syllabus development and teaching materials

2.2.1 Structuring linguistic input: Linguistic and didactic motives

The present subsection and that which follows it, are dedicated to the development of two syllabi for absolute beginning learners of German as a foreign language. One syllabus will be designed according to the guidelines presented in (18), above, (the *naturalistic syllabus*), and the other will be designed according to the introduction order of German word order phenomena commonly used in GFL classes (the *traditional syllabus*). Ideally, the two syllabi should differ only in respect of the order in which German word order rules are introduced, all other content and learning subjects should be identical. This seems necessary to ensure comparability of the learning outcomes achieved with the two syllabi. As will be explained in Subsection 2.2.2, below, absolute congruency of all teaching and learning content (apart from word order) could only be realized for the first half of the two syllabi. Thereafter, it was simply impossible to convey the same content when forced to use different word orders and only selected verb classes. Before beginning a more detailed discussion of these issues, I will present an overview of both the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus.

The naturalistic syllabus

Bear in mind, from the GFL textbook analysis as presented in Section 1.2, above, that the following verb types / classes are introduced in GFL classes during the A1 level course: The copula verb, lexical verbs, lexical particle verbs, modal verbs, and auxiliaries. These verb types / classes must now be integrated into the naturalistic syllabus. Considering the guidelines in (18), above, it seems sensible to introduce German verb placement rules in six successive steps, with each of which corresponding to a specific acquisition strategy found in successful naturalistic learners of German. Furthermore, each of the six introductory steps is designed to achieve a particular grammar-didactic goal. For an overview of the naturalistic syllabus, see Table 3, below.

Step	Input pattern	Didactic intention / Acquisition strategy	Example ³²
1	O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X	- demonstration of underlying OV order - establishment of a clause-final verb position - copula as early finiteness marker	a. <i>Pizza</i> <u>essen</u> pizza eat-INF b. <i>ins Kino</i> <u>gehen</u> to the cinema go-INF c. <i>Ich</i> <u>bin</u> <i>Steffi.</i> I be-1SG Steffi
2	X-Vcopinf S-Vcopfin-X	- further evidence for underlying OV order - demonstration of the existence of a second verb position (= finiteness position)	d-1. <u>sein</u> on time be-INF d-2. <i>Ich</i> <u>bin</u> <i>pünktlich.</i> I be-1SG on time e-1. <u>sein</u> lively be-INF e-2. <i>Italiener</i> <u>sind</u> <i>lebhaft.</i> Italians be-3PL lively
3	S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf (I) with <i>wollen, möchten</i> (II) with <i>können, müssen</i> (III) with all modal verbs	- extension of German clause structure to the left, establishment of the sentence bracket - demonstration of the clause-second slot as the functional verb position - demonstration of the clause-final slot as the lexical verb position	f. <i>Ich</i> <u>will</u> <i>eine Pizza</i> <u>essen.</u> I want to-1SG a pizza eat-INF g. <i>Ich</i> <u>muss</u> I have to-1SG <i>um 8.30 Uhr</i> <u>aufstehen.</u> at 8.30 a.m. up-get-INF

³² This column presents either single exemplarily structures or a sequence of structural patterns that can be used for the introduction / grammatical explanation of the respective phenomenon.

Step	Input pattern	Didactic intention / Acquisition strategy	Example
4	S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	- stabilization of the structural knowledge explicated in line 3, above	h. <i>Ich <u>habe</u> eine Pizza <u>gegessen</u>.</i> I have-1SG a pizza eat-PP i. <i>Ich <u>bin</u></i> I be-1SG <i>um 8.30 Uhr <u>aufgestanden</u>.</i> at 8.30 a.m. up-get-PP
5	S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart	- demonstration of the relation between clause-final and clause-second verb position - clause-final slot = [-finite] position - clause-second slot = [+finite] position	j-1. <i>Ich <u>will</u> die Pizza <u>aufessen</u>.</i> I want to-1SG the pizza up-eat-INF j-2. <i>Ich <u>esse</u> die Pizza <u>auf</u>.</i> I eat-1SG the pizza up-PART k-1. <i>Ich <u>bin</u></i> I be-1SG <i>um 8.30 Uhr <u>aufgestanden</u>.</i> at 8.30 a.m. up-get-PP k-2. <i>Ich <u>stehe</u> um 8.30 Uhr <u>auf</u>.</i> I get-1SG at 8.30 a.m. up-PART
6	S-Vlexfin-O	- further demonstration of (the nature of) the relation between V° and V2 - V2 position = functional / finiteness position = derivated position - V2 position = position of [+finite] lexical verb in simple verb patterns	l-1. <i>Pizza <u>essen</u></i> pizza eat-INF l-2. <i>Ich <u>will</u> eine Pizza <u>essen</u>.</i> I want to-1SG a pizza eat-INF l-3. <i>Ich <u>will</u> die Pizza <u>aufessen</u>.</i> I want to-1SG the pizza up-eat-INF l-4. <i>Ich <u>esse</u> die Pizza <u>auf</u>.</i> I eat-1SG the pizza up-PART l-5. <i>Ich <u>esse</u> die Pizza.</i> I eat-1SG the pizza

Table 3: Overview of introduction order, input patterns, and didactic motivation for the naturalistic syllabus

It can be seen from the overview in Table 3, that evidence of German's underlying OV word order is provided in the naturalistic syllabus from the first hour onward. This is achieved by the presentation of bare infinitive structures with lexical verbs (step1) and with the copula (step 2). At the same time, the existence of a finiteness position is demonstrated by means of [+finite] copula structures (steps 1 and 2). Subsequently, the sentence bracket is worked out from right to left, in three successive steps (steps 3-5). The structural relationship between the clause-final and the clause-second verb position is made evident in the last of these three steps, step 5. This relationship, as well as the V2 position as such, is consolidated in the sixth step.

In the following, three aspects of the concrete internal organization of the naturalistic syllabus will be discussed in more detail. These are first, the treatment of [+finite] and [-finite] structures with the copula, second, the order in which different modal verbs are introduced, and third, the introduction of the SVOV structure with modals before that of the SVOV with auxiliaries, and before the SVOV with particle verbs.

Treatment of [+finite] and [-finite] forms of the copula As explained in Subsection 2.1.3, above, forms of the copula verb *sein* ('to be') serve as very early finiteness markers, more precisely, assertion markers, in untutored German learner language. SVX patterns with [+finite] forms of the copula are presented from the very beginning of the GFL class to enable instructed L2 learners to realize the basic function of assertion marking. Immediately thereafter, XV patterns with a [-finite] copula will be introduced. This is to show the learner that the position between the subject and the X constituent is only the position of the [+finite] form of the (copula) verb, while the [-finite] form appears clause-final.

Apart from these linguistic arguments, there are two practical reasons for the early introduction of [+finite] copula patterns in the naturalistic curriculum. First, copula constructions are absolutely essential for early L2 (classroom) communication (*Mein Name ist XY*. 'my name – be-3SG – XY', *Ich bin YZ Jahre alt*. 'I – be-1SG – YZ years old', *Meine Heimatstadt ist AB*. 'my hometown – be-3SG – AB', *Das sind meine Freunde*. 'these – be-3PL – my friends'). For this reason, beginning learners should be equipped with such structures. Furthermore, the usage of S-Vcopfin-X patterns was necessary so that the guidelines for early input structuring, as presented in (18), above, could be translated into a concrete GFL syllabus. Bear in mind that guideline (18b) aims for a clear reduction in SVO patterns with lexical verbs in the classroom input. In order to satisfy this requirement, it was necessary to replace potential S-Vlexfin-O patterns with copula

verb constructions with the same communicative function. So, for example, instead of using SVlexfinX structures such as *Ich heiÙe XY*. ‘I – be called-1SG – XY’ and *Ich studiere YZ*. ‘I – study-1SG – YZ’, the naturalistic syllabus uses SVcopfinX patterns such as *Mein Name ist XY*. ‘my name – be-3SG – XY’ and *Mein Studienfach ist YZ*. ‘my field of study – be-3SG – YZ’.

Introduction of the modal-like verb möchten ‘to would like to’ and the modal verbs wollen ‘to want to’, können ‘to be able to / can’ and müssen ‘to have to / must’ before the modal verbs dürfen ‘to be allowed to / may’ and sollen ‘to be supposed to / shall’

The introduction of *wollen*, *möchten*, *können* and *müssen* before *dürfen* and *sollen* is semantically motivated. In fact, the first four modal verbs mentioned seem to be more transparent semantically and thus easier for GFL learners with different language backgrounds to master. This observation is primarily based on practical experience, both personal and that of other GFL teachers (personal conversations at the Goethe Institute Bangkok, Thailand, February 2008 – May 2008, and at the University of Pavia, Pavia, Italy, September 2009).

Introduction of SVOV with modals, before SVOV with auxiliaries, and before SVOV with particle verbs The presentation of SVOV structures with modal verbs before SVOV structures with auxiliaries is morphologically motivated in the first instance. As was mentioned in Subsection 1.2.5, above (cf. footnote 24), modal verbs govern a verbal infinitive, while (past tense) auxiliaries govern a past participle. The production of a past participle is assumed to be more difficult for the L2 learner than the use of the infinitive form. For this reason, modal verb patterns are introduced before auxiliary patterns in the naturalistic syllabus.

As far as separable particle verbs are concerned, these verbs are quite complex from both a semantic and a morpho-syntactic point of view. Many verbal particles in German are like prepositions in form but their meaning is often different. Compare, for example, the preposition *an* (‘on / at’) with the particle *an* as in *ankommen* (‘on-come’ = ‘to arrive’) or the preposition *auf* (‘on’) with the particle *auf* as in *aufstehen* (‘on-stand’ = ‘to get up’). The semantic modification that occurs with the addition of a verbal particle to a verbal stem, usually serves an aspectual function and is thus rather abstract. Furthermore, adding the same verbal particle to different verbal stems often results in a different type of semantic modification (e.g. *ein-schalt-en* ‘on-switch’ = ‘to switch on’, vs. *ein-*

kauf-en ‘on-buy’ = ‘to do the shopping’, or *vor-geh-en* ‘ahead-go’ = ‘to go ahead’ vs. *vor-komm-en* ‘ahead-come’ = ‘to occur / happen’). All these aspects make particle verbs quite difficult for (beginning) GFL learners to handle.

As regards the morpho-syntax, particle verbs need to be split up when used in a simple verb clause, so that the verbal particle is placed at the end, while the [+finite] base verb occurs in second position. These morpho-syntactic operations are quite complex and presumably difficult for beginning L2 learners to master (see also the discussion in Sub-section 1.2.5, above).

So far, the arguments presented contradict the inclusion of particle verbs in the naturalistic syllabus. There are, however, two arguments in favor of presenting particle verb constructions in a naturalistic language class. First, GFL textbooks usually introduce particle verbs during the (first half of the) A1 level, and the naturalistic syllabus aims to include all the phenomena presented in the GFL textbooks (but presented in a different order). Second, particle verbs are useful for early L2 communication. For example, they are often needed when discussing day-to-day routines (*aufstehen* ‘to get up’, *anziehen* ‘to dress’, *losgehen* ‘to leave’, *abfahren* ‘to leave / depart’, *ankommen* ‘to arrive’, *einkaufen* ‘to do the shopping’, *anrufen* ‘to call’). For this reason, particle verb constructions form part of the naturalistic syllabus. In terms of word order, they represent OV orders but due to their overall linguistic complexity, SVOV patterns with particle verbs are only introduced after learners have become familiar with SVOV patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries.

The traditional syllabus

As was mentioned above, the traditional syllabus largely simulates the order of introducing German word order phenomena commonly used in GFL classes. Given that OV orders in the form of bare infinitives (*Pizza essen* ‘pizza – eat-INF’) or XV orders with [-finite] forms of the copula (*pünktlich sein* ‘on time – be-INF’) are not usually explicitly introduced in GFL textbooks, the traditional syllabus only consists of four introductory steps. Table 4, below, provides an overview of the traditional syllabus. As was the case for the naturalistic syllabus, this table lists the characteristic input patterns for each of the introductory steps, as well as giving examples for illustration. The column ‘Didactic intention / Acquisition strategy’ specifies the didactic intentions that I *assume* GFL textbook authors had when developing a grammar progression of that type.

Step	Input pattern	Didactic intention / Acquisition strategy	Example
1	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vcopfin-X	- introduction of the canonical (= SVO) word order in German declarative main clauses - verb = second position	a. <i>Ich heie Jutta Wagner.</i> I be called-1SG Jutta Wagner b. <i>Ich bin Sekretrin.</i> I be-1SG a secretary
2	S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart	- introduction of the sentence bracket as a basic German word order pattern - introduction of the clause-final (verb) position	c. <i>Ich stehe um 8.30 Uhr auf.</i> I get-1SG at 8.30 a.m. up-PART d. <i>Ich schalte das Radio ein.</i> I switch-1SG the radio on-PART
3	S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf	- further evidence for the German sentence bracket - finite verb = second position, infinitive = end position	e. <i>Ich muss um 8.30 Uhr aufstehen.</i> I have to-1SG at 8.30 a.m. up-get-INF f. <i>Ich kann gut Tango tanzen.</i> I can-1SG good tango dance-INF
4	S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf	- further evidence for the German sentence bracket - finite verb = second position, past participle = end position	g. <i>Ich bin um 8.30 Uhr aufgestanden.</i> I be-1SG at 8.30 a.m. up-get-PP h. <i>Ich habe eine Tasche gekauft.</i> I have-1SG a bag buy-PP

Table 4: Overview of introduction order, input patterns, and didactic motivation for the traditional syllabus

For the actual classroom study, the two syllabi presented in Tables 3 and 4, above, were translated into concrete schedules. The courses to be held in the context of the present study were each planned to have 60 contact hours. This matches the number of lessons in which the relevant clause structure patterns are usually introduced in beginning GFL classes that cater to people with an average to high educational level and who have previous language learning experience, e.g. students or other people who have successfully completed secondary school. Given that the participants envisaged for the classroom study were Italian university students, a curriculum of 60 contact hours seemed appropriate.³³

Table 5, below, summarizes the schedule for the introduction of German word order properties in the naturalistic and the traditional language class. It indicates which input patterns will be dealt with at what time (in number of hours) in the two curricula and to which acquisition steps, as listed in Table 3 and Table 4, above, these input patterns relate. (Note that Table 5 is organized cumulatively, that is, it only lists *newly* introduced patterns and not *all* structures. So, for example, at the point when modal verbs are introduced, previously introduced SVX structures with the copula might well also be present in the classroom input.)

³³ Note that less well-educated learners without any previous language learning experience, often need 200 hours or more to pass the A1 level. This fact was taken into account in the textbook analysis in Section 1.2 of this thesis, which was based on a mean of 140 hours of instruction. However, a 60-hour syllabus seemed reasonable for the participants in the present study. Moreover, the syllabus did not intend to completely cover the A1 level. In particular, issues of case inflection or dual prepositions and topics such as “Route directions” or “Seeing the doctor” were not included in the curricula developed here.

Naturalistic syllabus		Contact hour	Traditional syllabus	
Step	Input pattern(s)		Input pattern(s)	Step
1, 2	O-Vinf with lexical verbs	1-5	S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs	1
	X-Vinf with copula <i>sein</i>		S-Vfin-X with copula <i>sein</i>	
	S-Vfin-X with copula <i>sein</i>			
3	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with <i>wollen</i> and <i>möchten</i>	6-24	S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs	2
	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with <i>können</i> and <i>müssen</i>	25-33	S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs	
	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with all modal verbs	34-40	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with particle verbs	
4	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with auxiliaries <i>haben</i> and <i>sein</i>	41-50	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with all modal verbs	3
5, 6	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with particle verbs	51-60	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with auxiliaries <i>haben</i> and <i>sein</i>	4
	S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs			

Table 5: Overview of introduction orders and input patterns in the 60-hour schedule for the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus

In the next subsection, Subsection 2.2.2, the concrete design and the contents of the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus will be considered in more detail. An exemplary selection of teaching materials will then be presented in Subsection 2.2.3.

2.2.2 The naturalistic syllabus and the traditional syllabus in detail

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the aim of the present study was to develop a theoretically founded concept for teaching German word order rules that could be adopted directly into GFL teaching praxis. For this reason, the syllabi and the teaching materials needed to be as “normal” and “realistic” as possible. This applied particularly to the topics to be addressed in class, the design of the exercises and other activities to be performed by the learners, and the way in which grammar was presented. Ideally, apart from the specifically structured input, there should be no significant difference between the two syllabi developed for the purpose of the present investigation and those usually employed in an A1 level GFL class. To realize this, popular representative A1 level GFL textbooks were used as examples, and the teaching materials, exercises, grammar explanations, etc. were designed accordingly.

The topics to be dealt with in the language class covered basic aspects of everyday social, personal, and professional life, such as eating and drinking, family and family life, hobbies and leisure time activities, shopping and prices, accommodation and lodging, working and studying, weather and climate, friendship and love. These topics were then addressed in texts and exercises that exhibited the word order patterns that were “allowed” for that point in the naturalistic or the traditional language syllabus. The table in Appendix B gives a detailed chronological overview of the contents of the individual teaching units for the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus.

Bear in mind from Subsection 2.2.1, above, that ideally, the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus should only differ with respect to the order in which word order phenomena were introduced, while the overall teaching content should be identical. At first glance, it might seem almost impossible to package one and the same content into utterances using a completely different word order. However, a look at the relevant teaching materials provided in Subsection 2.2.3, below, as well as in Appendix C, shows that this is actually possible and that the topics, vocabulary, and grammatical phenomena addressed are, apart from word order phenomena, of course, virtually identical in both the

naturalistic and the traditional language course, at least until the 34th hour of instruction.³⁴ Thereafter, it became increasingly difficult to present the same texts / contents to the learners and to “simply” replace VO structures with OV patterns. The main reason was the learners’ increasing L2 competence, which required longer and more complex texts and exercises in both the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus. For this reason, from contact hour 35 onward, the topics dealt with in individual lessons were sometimes different in the two language classes. However, in most cases, the relevant teaching materials were just presented in a different chronological order in the naturalistic and in the traditional language class, so that by the end of the 60-hour course, the learners in both classes had been presented with the same teaching content overall. A good example here is the topic of expressing prohibitions, permissions, and duties, which went hand in hand with the introduction of the modal verbs *sollen* (‘to be supposed to / shall’), *müssen* (‘to have to / must’), and *dürfen* (‘to be allowed to / may’). This teaching unit was presented in hour 35 of the naturalistic syllabus, but in hours 47/48 of the traditional one (cf. Appendix B).

There was a particular focus on word order properties at certain points in the 60-hour syllabus, both in the teaching materials and in the language class. The overview table in Appendix B indicates the lessons in which explicit explanations of word order phenomena were provided by the teacher. As can be seen from the table, the emphasis on word order phenomena was particularly strong in the first ten hours of the language course. Note that this procedure largely resembles the treatment of word order rules in commonly used GFL textbooks. In them, verb placement rules for declarative main clauses with simple verbs, as well as for *wh*- and *yes / no*-questions, are usually introduced in the first two units of the textbook, i.e. within the first 14 hours of the language class (based on a curriculum for averagely experienced language learners) (see, for example, the first two units of the textbooks analyzed in the context of the present study, i.e. *Berliner Platz 1*, *Schritte International 1*, *Tangram aktuell 1*, and *studio d A1*). Presumably, the textbook authors’ aim is to present relevant word order rules of the German target language right from the beginning of instruction. This was done in the same way

³⁴ Note that there are some differences between the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus with respect to the introduction of verbal inflection. These differences are a direct result of the order in which different verb classes (e.g. lexical verbs, modal verbs, and auxiliaries) are introduced according to the overall guidelines for input structuring in these two syllabi. For example, the traditional syllabus introduces the present tense paradigm first with lexical verbs, and only later with modal verbs and auxiliaries. By contrast, the naturalistic syllabus first presents the present tense paradigm with modal verbs, then with auxiliaries, and finally with lexical verbs.

in the naturalistic and in the traditional syllabus: While in the naturalistic syllabus, the focus was on German's underlying OV order, the traditional syllabus focused on VO patterns. It should be noted that in the course of the language class, grammar rules were never presented in isolation or out of context. Instead, relevant word order patterns and structures were always introduced embedded in authentic or quasi-authentic texts and were only explicitly addressed later in the language class.^{35,36}

After the particularly strong focus on word order phenomena during the first ten contact hours, word order rules were addressed explicitly approximately once a week (i.e. approximately every six contact hours) between hour 10 and hour 60 of both the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus (cf. Appendix B).

German word order rules were used implicitly in the classroom input in the lessons that were not explicitly dedicated to word order phenomena. This practice aimed to stimulate the interaction between explicit and implicit linguistic knowledge in the L2 learner, as the interrelation of these two knowledge types is a characteristic feature of instructed L2 learning (e.g. Ellis et al. 2009). While learners can be assumed to build up their own hypotheses about the structure of the target language when confronted with target language input, explicit grammatical explanation will help them to maintain and consolidate or, if necessary, to revise their hypotheses about the target language grammar.

After this more detailed discussion of the internal organization of the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus, the last step in the preparation of the classroom study, that is, the development of concrete teaching materials, will now be addressed.

2.2.3 Teaching materials (selection)

This subsection aims to give the reader an impression of the teaching materials developed for the purpose of the present study. To this end, four illustrative examples will be presented. A much larger selection of the relevant teaching materials can be found in Appendix C. Broadly speaking, the selection includes two categories of teaching materials. The first category constitutes materials that differ systematically regarding the concrete word

³⁵ Note that this procedure is largely in line with the currently very popular communicative approach to language teaching (e.g. Neuner and Hunfeld 1993). Here, grammar and grammar teaching are perceived as a means to an end. More precisely, it is seen as serving the overall aim of developing a firm communicative competence in the foreign language. This implies that grammar should never be taught as an end in itself and grammatical phenomena should never be presented outside a communicatively relevant context.

³⁶ More detailed information on the nature of grammar instruction, as well as examples of the concrete wording of explanations given by the teacher, will be provided in Section 3.2, below, which deals with details of the classroom study procedure.

order patterns used in texts, exercises, worksheets, etc. depending on the specific requirements of the naturalistic vs. the traditional curriculum. Lessons involving such materials are marked with one asterisk ‘*’ The second category contains materials that sporadically use SVO structures with lexical verbs but are nevertheless used in the naturalistic language course.³⁷ Lessons of that type are marked with two asterisks ‘**’. The four teaching material examples presented in this subsection all belong to the first category. Teaching materials that do not differ either with respect to the concrete word order patterns, or contain sporadic VO patterns, are not included in the selection of teaching materials presented in this thesis.

The teaching materials presented in this subsection are listed in chronological order. The following information will be given for each of the lessons included in the list:

In the header:

- the lesson number, followed by the type of materials presented (keyword: “different input patterns” or keyword: “sporadic S-Vlexfin-O patterns”)
- the topic(s) dealt with in the respective lesson

Following the header:

- if applicable: brief information about the organization of the teaching unit, e.g. activities to be performed by the learners, use of the worksheet, etc. (headword: “Comment”). However, since the focus of the present research is not on methodological issues of course material design and / or teaching structure, a few remarks appear appropriate.
- headline “a. Naturalistic syllabus” or “b. Traditional syllabus”, followed by the specification of the concrete acquisition step within the naturalistic vs. traditional curriculum (cf. Tables 3 - 5 in Subsection 2.2.1) (headword: “Acquisition step”).

In the following, four illustrative examples of teaching materials will be presented. The first is a task on cultural differences between Italians and Germans, the second shows the

³⁷ Note that it was sometimes necessary to include VO patterns with lexical verbs in the naturalistic language course in order to make the texts sound more natural and authentic. In any case, usage of VO patterns was kept to an absolute minimum.

preparation and performance of an interactive exercise, the third is a recapitulatory grammar task, and the fourth is a small narrative text. All these materials belong to the category “different input patterns”, which means that they differ systematically regarding the usage of OV vs. VO word orders, while the overall content of the texts / exercises is largely identical.

(19) Lesson 4*: different input patterns³⁸

Topic(s): typical German – typical Italian

a. Naturalistic syllabus

- Acquisition step: 1: O-Vlexinf, S-Vcopfin-X (exercise “Teil 1”)
 2: X-Vcopinf, S-Vcopfin-X (exercise “Teil 2”)

Typisch deutsch – typisch italienisch

Teil 1

Bier trinken – Wein trinken – Kaffee trinken – Gefühle zeigen – Eisbein essen – Fußball-
WM gewinnen – Ferrari fahren – BMW fahren – Müll trennen – die Regierung beschimp-
fen – an die Ostsee / Nordsee fahren – Trüffel essen – Auto waschen – das Leben genießen
– Schiedsrichter bestechen – die Mutter lieben – Nudeln essen

Was ist – für dich – typisch deutsch? Was ist – für dich – typisch italienisch?

Beispiele:

1. *Bier trinken ist typisch deutsch.*
2. *Ferrari fahren ist typisch italienisch.*

Nun du!

3. _____
 4. _____
 - 5.
 - 6.
- etc.

³⁸ The author of the present thesis is aware that not all the lexical material presented in this lesson belongs to the level A1core vocabulary. However, in order to really grasp the cultural and everyday reality in the countries involved and to make the exercise more enjoyable and motivating for the learners, some more sophisticated lexical items were included in this task. Of course, the items used here can be varied and / or adapted by teachers according to the specific abilities, needs, and prerequisites of the respective learner group.

Teil 2

lebhaft sein – übergenau sein – fortschrittlich sein – laut sein – pünktlich sein

Wie sind die Deutschen? Wie sind die Italiener?

1. *Die Deutschen sind lebhaft.*

Nun du!

2. _____

3. _____

etc.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O, S-Vcopfin-X

Typisch deutsch – typisch italienisch

1. Die Deutschen trinken Bier.
2. Die Deutschen trinken Wein.
3. Die Italiener sind pünktlich.
4. Die Italiener trinken Kaffee.
5. Die Italiener sind lebhaft.
6. Die Deutschen zeigen Gefühle.
7. Die Deutschen essen Eisbein.
8. Die Deutschen gewinnen die Fußball-WM.
9. Die Italiener fahren Ferrari.
10. Die Deutschen fahren BMW.
11. Die Deutschen trennen Müll.
12. Die Italiener sind fortschrittlich.
13. Die Deutschen beschimpfen die Regierung.
14. Die Italiener fahren an die Nordsee / Ostsee.
15. Die Italiener essen Trüffel.
16. Die Italiener waschen ihr Auto.
17. Die Italiener genießen das Leben.
18. Die Deutschen sind laut.
19. Die Deutschen bestechen Schiedsrichter.
20. Die Italiener lieben ihre Mutter.
21. Die Deutschen essen Nudeln.
22. Die Deutschen sind übergenau.

Was ist Deine Meinung?

- **Ja, das stimmt. Das ist typisch deutsch / italienisch.**
- **Nein, das stimmt nicht. Das ist nicht typisch deutsch / italienisch.**
- **Ich weiß nicht. Das ist typisch deutsch, aber auch typisch italienisch.**

(20) Lesson 25*: different input patterns

Topic(s): individual skills, likes and dislikes

Comment:

- preparation: the learners inform the teacher in advance (in Italian) of an activity they are particularly good at (naturalistic syllabus) / they particularly like doing (traditional syllabus)
- the teacher prepares a list (in German) of the activities named by the learners, using the SVOV pattern *Ich kann gut (O) Vlexinfin* in the naturalistic syllabus (introduction of the modal verb *können*), but the SVO pattern *Ich Vlexin gern (O)* in the traditional syllabus
- the teacher presents the list in class
- the learners perform a classroom stroll,³⁹ see dialogues below

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

List of items presented (based on the activities specified by the learners):

1. Ich kann gut fotografieren.
2. Ich kann gut und schnell schwimmen.
3. Ich kann gut Zeit totschlagen.
4. Ich kann gut Französisch sprechen.
5. Ich kann gut Partys organisieren.
6. Ich kann gut Schlittschuh laufen.
7. Ich kann gut “Cipolle alla paprika” machen.
8. Ich kann gut Tennis spielen.
9. Ich kann gut Desserts machen.
10. Ich kann gut Gitarre spielen.

³⁹ The term *classroom stroll* refers to a certain type of exercise that can be used in the foreign language classroom. During a classroom stroll, learners walk around in the classroom and have to perform a certain communicative task, or solve a certain problem, by means of communicating with varying partners of their choice. Usually, the classroom stroll method is employed for practicing a newly introduced structure / conversational pattern that can be varied according to the individual facts / opinion of each learner. Typical tasks for a classroom stroll at A1 level are, for example, speaking about one’s hobbies, favorite food and drinks, favorite holiday destinations, or exchanging telephone numbers, email addresses, etc.

11. Ich kann gut Fußball spielen.
12. Ich kann gut Pasta kochen.
13. Ich kann gut Blut abnehmen.
14. Ich kann gut Klavier spielen.
15. Ich kann gut Kuchen backen.
16. Ich kann ziemlich gut kochen.
17. Ich kann gut am Computer arbeiten.
18. Ich kann gut Latein übersetzen.
19. Ich kann gut Bauchtanz tanzen.
20. Ich kann gut Porträts zeichnen.
21. Ich kann gut Haare schneiden.

Dialogue to be performed during classroom stroll:

A: Hallo!

B: Hi!

A: Ich kann gut Kannst du auch gut ... ?

B: Ja, ich kann auch gut / Nein, ich kann nicht gut

A: Okay, und was kannst du (noch) gut?

B: Ich kann gut Kannst du auch gut ... ?

A: Ja, ich kann auch gut / Nein, ich kann nicht gut

B: Okay, interessant. Na dann, bis später.

A: Ja, bis später. Tschüss.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

List of items presented (based on the activities specified by the learners):

1. Ich sehe gern Filme.
2. Ich spiele gern Elektrogitarre.
3. Ich höre gern Musik beim Laufen.
4. Ich lese gern Bücher.
5. Ich spiele gern mit meinem Kater.
6. Ich mache gern Sport.
7. Ich wandere gern inmitten der Natur.
8. Ich fahre gern mit Freunden Auto.
9. Ich schreibe gern Gedichte.
10. Ich schwimme gern.
11. Ich laufe gern.
12. Ich male gern expressionistische Bilder.
13. Ich tanze gern.
14. Ich gehe gern ins Kino.
15. Ich koche gern Fischgerichte.
16. Ich mache gern Reisen.
17. Ich laufe gern Ski.
18. Ich gehe gern in Ausstellungen.

Dialogue to be performed during classroom stroll:

A: Hallo!

B: Hi!

A: Ich ... gern (...). ... du auch gern (...)?

B: Ja, ich ... auch gern (...). / Nein, ich ... nicht gern (...).

A: Okay, und was machst du (noch) gern?

A: Ich ... gern (...). ... du auch gern (...)?

B: Ja, ich ... auch gern (...). / Nein, ich ... nicht gern (...).

B: Okay, interessant. Na dann, bis später.

A: Ja, bis später. Tschüss.

(21) Lesson 29-1*: different input patterns

Topic(s): everyday activities

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf, illustration of OV order and V2

Personalpronomen und Modalverben

Eure Aufgabe: - Aussagen (.) oder Fragen (?) formulieren
- Personalpronomen verwenden

1. Sandra: ins Kino gehen wollen (.)

___ *Sie will ins Kino gehen* ___.

2. Sandra: ins Kino gehen wollen (?)

___ *Will sie ins Kino gehen* ___ ?

3. Robert: eine Bockwurst essen möchten (.)

4. Franziska: gut tanzen können (.)

5. Anna und Maria: Fotos machen können (?)

6. die Studenten: Ferien haben möchten (?)

7. die Sportler: viel trainieren müssen (.)

8. Stefan: ein Buch lesen müssen (?)

9. das Kind: schon laufen können (.)

10. das Kind: schon sprechen können (?)

11. die Eltern: das Kind suchen müssen (.)

12. die Mutter: das Abendessen kochen müssen (?)

13. der Vater: Fußball im Fernsehen sehen möchten (.)

14. die Kinder: mit den Eltern spielen wollen (.)

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

Personalpronomen und Verben

Bildet Sätze!

Verwendet Personalpronomen!

Schreibt Aussagen (.) oder Fragen (!)?

1. gehen – Sandra – ins Kino (.)

___ *Sie geht ins Kino* ____.

2. gehen – Sandra – ins Kino (?)

___ *Geht sie ins Kino* ____?

3. essen – Robert – eine Bockwurst (.)

4. tanzen – Franziska – gern (.)

5. machen – Anna und Maria – Fotos (?)

6. haben – die Studenten – Ferien (?)

7. trainieren – die Sportler – viel (.)

8. lesen – Stefan – ein Buch (?)

9. laufen – das Kind – schon (.)

10. sprechen – das Kind – schon (?)

11. suchen – die Eltern – das Kind (.)

12. spülen – die Mutter – die Teller (?)

13. sehen – der Vater – Fußball im Fernsehen (.)

14. spielen – die Kinder – mit dem Ball (.)

(22) Lesson 34*: different input patterns

Topic(s): daily routines / partnership

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

Ein ganz normaler Tag?

Drrrrrr – der Wecker! Es ist 8.30 Uhr. Stefano will nicht aufstehen. Er will noch weiter schlafen. Er ist noch sooooo müde! Aber er muss aufstehen. Er muss zur Uni fahren. Die Vorlesung ist um 10.15 Uhr. Und er darf nicht zu spät kommen! Wir sind ja hier in Deutschland . . .

In dem Vorlesungsraum ist es immer kalt. Stefano muss etwas Warmes anziehen. Jetzt schnell Kaffee kochen – hm, lecker! Und nun noch schnell die Hausaufgaben machen . . . mein Gott, sind die schwer! Nach 40 Minuten ist Stefano fertig. Super, das Frühstück muss heute ausfallen – schnell los zum Bus. Zum Glück ist der Bus pünktlich. Wir sind ja hier in Deutschland . . .

Plötzlich: ein Anruf. Um fünf nach zehn . . . wer kann das sein? Ah, es ist Sandra, Stefanos Freundin. Sie ist fröhlich und gutgelaunt: „Hey, guten Morgen, mein Schatz, wollen wir heute Abend ausgehen?“ Stefano ist überrascht: „Ausgehen? Heute Abend? Heute ist doch Mittwoch, da ist Fußball im Fernsehen, ich möchte lieber Fußball sehen.“ Nun ist Sandra überrascht: „Ja, schon klar, Fußball, aber heute ist doch ein besonderer Tag!“ „Ein besonderer Tag? Wieso? Heute ist ein ganz normaler Tag und . . .“ „Wie bitte?“ Oh, jetzt ist Sandra wütend . . . „Ein ganz normaler Tag? Ti prego, Stefano! Wir sind heute ein Jahr zusammen! Es ist unser Jubiläum . . .!“

Oh oh! Das ist jetzt ein Problem. Stefano muss eine Lösung finden. Was kann er machen? Grübel, grübel, grübel, grübel, grübel . . . genau! Das ist es: Er wird in den Delikatessenladen gehen und ganz lecker Essen einkaufen. Und Sekt! Und Wein! Und dann wird er das Abendessen machen! Das ist eine gute Idee . . . und Blumen, Blumen darf er nicht vergessen!

Nach dem Abendessen ist Stefanos Freundin superglücklich: „Du, wollen wir vielleicht noch ein bisschen fernsehen? Heute ist doch Fußball!“ . Jetzt ist Stefano superglücklich. Er darf Fußball sehen! Also doch ein ganz normaler Tag . . .

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 2: S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart

Ein ganz normaler Tag?

Drrrrrr . . . der Wecker klingselt. Es ist 8.30 Uhr. Stefano hat keine Lust zum Aufstehen. Er ist noch sooooo müde! Aber die Uni ruft. Die Vorlesung beginnt um 10.15. Pünktlich! Wir sind ja hier in Deutschland. Stefano steht lustlos auf.

In dem Vorlesungsraum ist es immer kalt. Stefano zieht einen warmen Pullover an. Er kocht schnell Kaffee – hm, lecker! Dann macht er noch schnell die Hausaufgaben . . . mein Gott, sind die schwer! Stefano braucht 40 Minuten für die Hausaufgaben. Na super, das Frühstück fällt heute aus! Schnell los zum Bus. Zum Glück ist der Bus pünktlich. Wir sind ja hier in Deutschland . . .

Um fünf nach zehn klingselt Stefanos Handy. Nanu, wer ist das? Ah, Sandra, seine Freundin, ruft ihn an. Sie ist fröhlich und hat gute Laune: „Hey, guten Morgen, mein Schatz, gehen wir heute Abend aus?“ Stefano ist überrascht: „Ausgehen? Heute Abend? Heute ist doch Mittwoch, da kommt Fußball im Fernsehen. Ich glaube, ich sehe lieber Fußball.“ Nun ist Sandra überrascht: „Ja ja, Fußball, ich weiß, aber heute ist doch ein besonderer Tag!“ „Ein besonderer Tag? Wieso? Heute ist ein ganz normaler Tag“, antwortet Stefano. „Wie bitte?“ fragt Sandra wütend. „Ein ganz normaler Tag? Ich bitte dich, Stefano! Wir sind heute ein Jahr zusammen! Wir haben Jubiläum . . .!“

Oh oh! Jetzt hat Stefano ein Problem. Was macht er nun? Er überlegt und überlegt und überlegt und überlegt . . . genau! Das ist es: Er geht in den Delikatessenladen und kauft ganz lecker Essen ein. Und Sekt! Und Wein! Und dann macht er das Abendessen! Das ist eine gute Idee . . . und Blumen, Blumen kauft er auch!

Nach dem Abendessen ist Stefanos Freundin superglücklich. „Du“, sagt sie, „was hältst du von einem bisschen Fernsehen? Heute ist doch Fußball!“ . Jetzt ist Stefano superglücklich. Es gibt Fußball! Er und seine Freundin sehen zusammen fern. „Also doch ein ganz normaler Tag“, denkt Stefano . . .

2.2.4 Summary and hypotheses

The aim of the present chapter was to formulate a theoretically founded concept for teaching German word order rules to absolute beginning learners of German as a foreign language. On that basis, the author designed a so-called naturalistic syllabus; a 60-hour schedule that is primarily based on developmental sequences and acquisition strategies found in naturalistic learners of German. Moreover, findings on mechanisms of L1 transfer were also taken into account in the development of this syllabus.

The core idea of the naturalistically based syllabus is to begin the teaching of German word order rules in beginning GFL classes by introducing the underlying, clause-final verb position in German as it is reflected, for example, in bare VP patterns. The German clause structure is then extended to the left by the introduction of functional verbs, such as modal verbs and auxiliaries. In this way, the V2 position is worked out and characterized as the functional verb position, specifically, the finiteness position, in German. Furthermore, the syntactic phenomenon of the sentence bracket is presented to the L2 learner. Finally, [+finite] lexical verbs also occur in the V2 slot. This shows the learner the relationship between the clause-final and the clause-second position and, again, qualifies the V2 position as the finiteness position. Thus, lexical verbs in clause-second position, that is, VO (surface) orders, are presented late. The assumption is that this reduces the negative influence of L1 word order transfer on the developing L2 learner grammar in the case of native speakers of a VO language.

As a counterpart to the naturalistic syllabus, the author also designed a so-called traditional syllabus, which largely imitates the order commonly used to introduce German word order phenomena in beginning GFL classes (compare the results of the textbook analysis presented in Subsection 1.2.4 of this thesis, as well as Tables 4 and 5, above). The development of a traditional syllabus was considered necessary to empirically test the effectiveness of a naturalistically based introduction order in comparison to the introduction order commonly used for German word order phenomena.

The introduction orders of grammatical phenomena planned in foreign language instruction curricula, can be seen as hypotheses about how the relevant phenomena can best be learned. This idea is reflected by Funk's (1999) paper with the programmatic title "Lehrwerkprogressionen als Lernprognosen – didaktische Planung zwischen Angebot und Nachfrage". A similar point of view was stated by Knapp (1979: 104), who formulated as follows:

“Grundsätzlich sind Ableitungen von Anordnungsentscheidungen [. . .] immer nur als Hypothesen über optimale Lernmöglichkeiten aufzufassen” (ibid.: 104).

And with a critical view to common practice, Knapp (1979) continues:

“Allerdings werden sie nur selten, z.B. bei POLITZER 1972, auch als Hypothesen formuliert und so gut wie nie empirisch auf ihre psycholinguistische Adäquatheit hin überprüft. Das jedoch ist eine unabdingbare Voraussetzung für ihre praktische Brauchbarkeit” (ibid.: 104, emphasis in original).

In the same vein, the naturalistic syllabus was developed as an empirically testable hypothesis on how German word order can best be learned in instructed acquisition contexts. In more general terms, the hypothesis established by the naturalistic syllabus proposed in Table 3 and Table 5, above, is the following:

Learners who follow the naturalistic syllabus will do better in mastering the OV order of German as well as the German sentence bracket construction, than learners who follow the traditional syllabus. At the same time, there will be no difference between naturalistic and traditional learners in mastering VO orders with lexical verbs.

Considering the envisaged classroom study, this main hypothesis can be divided into five sub-hypotheses:

1. Learners following the naturalistic syllabus will do better in acquiring the German OV word order, as reflected in bare VP patterns, for example, than learners following the traditional syllabus, after the same number of hours of exposure to (SV)OV patterns in the input.
2. Learners following the naturalistic syllabus will do better in mastering the German sentence bracket construction with modal verbs and auxiliaries, compared to learners following the traditional syllabus after the same number of hours of exposure to (SV)OV patterns in the input.
3. Evidence for SVOV orders with modal verbs in the input will entail correct usage of SVOV orders with auxiliaries, although auxiliary patterns have not yet been part of the input. This is because the classroom learners are able to process the

specifically structured input in favor of an underlying OV word order, which then becomes part of their emerging learner grammar.

4. The initial reduction of the frequency of SVO orders with lexical verbs in the naturalistic syllabus will not have a negative effect on the learners' successfully mastering such patterns. By the end of the study, there will be no significant difference between naturalistic and traditional learners in terms of the accuracy with which VO orders with lexical verbs are used. This is because, firstly, the input never contained counterevidence to VO orders with lexical verbs and secondly, VX patterns with the copula were presented from the beginning onward. Thus, the VX pattern of copula constructions can be transferred to structures with lexical verbs.
5. The naturalistic learners' advantage over traditional learners, i.e. the positive effect of providing structurally controlled input in the naturalistic language class, will be reflected in the learners' procedural, i.e. implicit, L2 knowledge.

To test these hypotheses, I conducted a classroom study with native speakers of Italian. The participants' learning progress was measured longitudinally using three different data elicitation instruments, namely a written word order test, an oral word order test, and an elicited imitation task (see Subsection 3.3.3 for details of these methods, the materials, and the procedure). Of these three instruments, the elicited imitation task in particular, but also the oral word order test, can be assumed to focus on the learners' procedural L2 knowledge.

The classroom study will be described in more detail in the following Chapters 3 - 5. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the introduction of the participants, the procedure, and the methods of data elicitation. Chapter 4 deals with the results, their interpretation, and the didactic conclusions that can be drawn. Finally, Chapter 5 contains recapitulatory considerations and a few concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 3

THE CLASSROOM STUDY – PART I:

Participants, procedure, and methods of data elicitation

3.1 Organizational issues and participants

Ideally, the classroom study of German as a foreign language, should have been conducted with native speakers of both SVO and SOV languages. However, in the case of learners with an SOV background, it would not have been possible to separate the effect of an early provision of OV patterns in the classroom input, from a potential L1 influence. Therefore, it was decided to conduct the study with only native speakers of an SVO language. Furthermore, the present investigation required a *foreign*, not a *second*, language learning context, in order to ensure that the target language input the learners received in the classroom was the *only* target language input they were exposed to during the course of the study. Two groups of learners were needed; one to follow the naturalistic syllabus (henceforth called the *naturalistic group* or the *test group*) and one to follow the traditional syllabus (henceforth called the *traditional group* or the *control group*). The study was conducted in collaboration with the University of Pavia, Italy and the University of Bergamo, Italy.^{40,41} The participants were recruited via advertisement on the universities' homepages. The two language courses held in the context of the present study were advertised as free German language courses forming part of an academic research project. The requirements for participating in one of the courses were:

1. no previous knowledge of German,
2. regular attendance at the course and willingness to participate in different written and oral tests (approximately one per week, usually integrated into a language lesson), and
3. no expertise in the academic fields of linguistics, languages or literature.

⁴⁰ I would like to thank Giuliano Bernini and Marina Chini for supporting the realization of this research project. My special thanks goes to Donatella Mazza for her hospitality and her unconditional help in everything related to this study.

⁴¹ The classroom study itself was conducted at the University of Pavia, while the different tests and data elicitation methods were piloted at both universities.

Applications could be made by e-mail. Students were asked to provide information about their L1 and L2 background and to specify their reasons for being interested in the language courses and / or briefly mention their motivation for learning German. 43, of the approximately 150, interested students were chosen to participate in the classroom study. The participants were selected according to the following criteria:

1. their L1 background (monolingual Italian),
2. their L2 background (no modern OV language as L2 and ideally, the same or a similar L2 background as all the other participants)⁴²,
3. their motivation to participate. The more motivated, the higher the chances of being accepted.

The 43 students were divided into two groups; a naturalistic group of 22 learners and a traditional group of 21 learners. In fact, 16-20 subjects per group had been envisaged but in order to compensate for potential no-shows, dropouts or irregular attendance, the courses were begun with a higher number of participants.

All the participants in the classroom study were students from the University of Pavia, aged 19 to 34. They were enrolled in different disciplines at the university (excluding linguistics, languages or literature). In accordance with the study requirements, none of the subjects had previous knowledge of German. They were all monolingual Italian (= SVO) and had English (= SVO) as their first L2. Some of the subjects had French (= SVO) or Spanish (= SVO) as their second L2. Furthermore, they had all had Latin classes in school. Latin has a free word order and shows a preference for OV (surface) structures. However, in contrast to German, Latin has no V2 phenomenon and no sentence bracket construction. In the declarative main clause, both the [+finite] and the [-finite] part(s) of the verbal complex occur clause-finally, that is, after the object. The [-finite] part(s) usually precede(s) the [+finite] part in the verbal cluster. This pattern can also be found in subordinate clauses in German, but not in declarative main clauses. Crucially, none of the participants had any knowledge of a modern SOV language, or of a language to which the V2 constraint applied. See Table D1 and Table D2 in Appendix D for details on each of the participants.

⁴² Note that a written word order test was used to trace potentially existing knowledge of German and / or German grammar in the prospective classroom study participants. For details, see Subsection 3.3.3.1, below.

As well as the two Italian foreign language learner groups, there was also a native German control group (n=10). This group performed the written and the oral word order test, that is, the ‘sentence puzzle test’ and the ‘activity naming task’. These tests will be introduced in Subsection 3.3.3.1 and Subsection 3.3.3.2, respectively, below.⁴³ The native control group participants were recruited at the Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany, via an online advertisement on the electronic bulletin board. All the participants were monolingual German speakers aged between 22 and 31 years (25.1 on average). Table D3 in Appendix D provides more detailed biographical information for each of these participants.

3.2 Procedure

The naturalistic and the traditional language course comprised 60 hours and lasted 10 weeks each (6 hours a week, divided into 3 weekly sessions with 2 contact hours). In most cases, data elicitation was integrated into these sessions. Instruction, as well as all other classroom communication between the teacher and the learners took place exclusively in the learners’ L1, that is, in Italian. This method is rather unusual for contemporary communicative approaches to foreign language teaching, although sometimes practiced at the A1 level; in this case it was absolutely necessary so that the German input the learners received could be controlled. Nevertheless, bilingual teaching during the first years of foreign language instruction is quite common in Italian primary and secondary schools, hence this method was well known and familiar to the learners.

The language courses were based on the teaching materials developed for the purpose of the present study. Materials were provided each day. In this way, the learners were not able to jump ahead to future lessons that might contain input patterns that they were not yet supposed to be confronted with. Before the beginning of the course, the participants had to sign an undertaking not to use any other materials or learning aids, such as textbooks, grammar books, phrase books, etc., apart from those handed out in class. However, they were allowed to take notes during lessons. This was considered necessary for them not to be overly restricted in using their individual learning strategies.

⁴³ Note that it seemed inappropriate to let the native control group perform the third test used in the context of the classroom study, i.e. the elicited imitation task. As will become clear from the more detailed explanations of this test, below, the task was explicitly designed for beginning L2 learners and would have appeared rather odd to native speakers of German. However, the elicited imitation task has been carefully piloted with L2 learners of German.

The teacher for both of the courses was the author of the present thesis. Of course, this procedure was not ideal, but it was practically impossible to recruit an autonomous language teacher for this study. On the other hand, it had the advantage that the researcher could carry out the classroom management herself.

The room used for the language courses was a spacious lecture hall at the University of Pavia. It was equipped with a computer, a beamer, an audio system, and a white board.

As regards the teaching method employed in the classroom study, the courses were largely based on the so-called communicative approach to foreign language teaching (see, for example, Neuner and Hunfeld 1993). Broadly speaking, this method involves a learner-centered procedure that respects and integrates the learners' specific interests and needs into the learning process. The topics dealt with in the language class usually reflect everyday life, as well as the cultural, social, and political reality of the target language country. The texts, conversations, and other materials presented in class, are as authentic as possible. Furthermore, the communicative approach prefers social forms, such as group or pair work, to teacher-centered teaching and focuses on the active use of the new language in authentic communicative situations. Grammar is usually not taught as an end in itself, but ideally is integrated into appropriate communicative contexts. This is how grammar in general, and word order rules in particular, were treated in the present study. Grammar rules were never introduced in isolation or as learning subjects in themselves. Instead, the rule or the relevant phenomenon was always presented embedded in a communicative or otherwise meaningful context. In a first step, learners had to work on the overall meaning of the (con)text in which the phenomenon occurred. In some cases, they had to perform other exercises, such as acting out a certain dialogue, answering questions related to the text / dialogue, or giving their opinions on certain issues dealt with in the materials. The grammatical phenomenon "hidden" in the text only became the focus after these other activities and it was then addressed explicitly in the language course. Typically, the explicit explanation of grammatical phenomena was done in an informal, quite narrative, way. (For an illustration, see (1) - (5), below.) The presentation of abstract or "arid" grammar rules was avoided as much as possible. However, it should be noted that linguistic terminology (usually Latin-based) was used in meta-linguistic classroom communication. This practice largely conforms to the Italian tradition of foreign language teaching and is usually appreciated by L2 classroom learners.

In order to illustrate the overall nature, as well as the concrete wording of the grammar explanations given in the classroom study, five representative examples of meta-linguistic information on German word order phenomena will be given in (1) - (5), below.⁴⁴ The examples are transcribed excerpts from the recordings that were made of each individual lesson in the classroom study using a digital voice recorder. There are three examples from the traditional language class and two examples from the naturalistic language class. The following information will be given for each fragment: the learner group and the lesson it stems from, the teaching material / target language text it refers to, and the word order phenomenon it deals with. For each example, an English summary of the explanation is given before the Italian transcript of the meta-linguistic explanation is presented.

- (1) Traditional group, lesson 7, dialogue *Was machst du heute Abend?*
'what – make-2SG – you – this evening?' (cf. (5b) in Appendix C)
→ verb placement in simple declarative main clauses and wh-questions

English summary of the meta-linguistic explanations

The structures in the dialogue are used to explain the verb placement rules in declarative main clauses and in wh-questions with simple verbs. As is the common practice in GFL textbooks, the clause-second position is introduced as the position of the *verb* (and not the *finite* verb) in both declarative clauses and wh-questions. Additional examples are given to illustrate the placement of the (finite) verb in the second position. Furthermore, the term *W-Frage* is introduced because it is often used in GFL textbooks.

Italian transcript

“Allora # questo dialogo é una, diciamo, fonte di grammatica # perché riflette tante cose interessante e importante sulla morfologia e sulla sintassi della lingua tedesca. Oggi, però, concentriamo sulla sintassi. # Come vedrete, il dialogo contiene due tipi diversi di una frase tedesca, cioè, # la frase declarative e la frase interrogative. In una frase declarative, come, per esempio *Ich gehe ins Kino* o *Ich lese ein Buch* il verbo si trova alla seconda posizione, hm. # Abbiamo anche . . . *Ich BIN Italiener* oppure per una donna *Ich BIN*

⁴⁴ Note that Italian is a foreign language for the teacher of the present study. This fact will definitely be reflected in the teacher's language use. For the learners, however, the teacher's non-native competence did not seem to constitute a problem. Instead, it often created a more open and relaxed learning atmosphere in class and seemed to diminish the learners' fear of making errors.

Italienerin, hm, e attenzione, queste parole *Italiener* e *Italienierin* sono sostantivi in tedesco, hm, non aggettivi come in italiano, hm. Va bene, poi abbiamo anche *Wir KOMMEN aus Italien* e # oppure *Ich trinke ein Bier*. Il verbo alla seconda posizione. # Va bene . . . Poi, la frase interrogative. In questo caso é una frase con un pronome interrogative, hm, *was* ‘che cosa’, hm, *WAS machst du heute Abend?* Questo tipo di una frase interrogative si chiama “W-Frage” in tedesco, perchè il pronome interrogative normalmente comincia con “w”. E “Frage”, voi conoscete, significa ‘domanda’, hm. Va bene, allora, in una W-Frage, il verbo viene realizzato anche alla seconda posizione, hm, per esempio # *Wer bist du?*, *Wie heißt du?*, oppure *Wo ist das Buch*, hm, ‘Dov’è il libro?’, oppure *Wann FAHREN wir nach Berlin?* ‘Quando andiamo a Berlino?’ Okay. Tutto chiaro? Domande?”

[The explanation follows a question concerning the meaning of the German interrogative wh-pronouns. No questions relating to verb placement rules were asked.]

(2) Naturalistic group, lesson 7, dialogue *Was willst du heute Abend machen?*

‘what – want to-2SG – you – this evening – make-INF?’

(cf. (5a) in Appendix C)

→ verb placement in declarative main clauses and wh-questions with modal auxiliary verbs

English summary of the meta-linguistic explanations

The structures in the dialogue are used to explain the verb placement rules in declarative main clauses and in wh-questions with modal auxiliary verbs. The teacher points out that German and Italian are different here. It is emphasized that only the [+finite] verb of the clause occurs in the second position, while verb forms that are [-finite] are placed at the end of the clause. This applies to both declarative main clauses and wh-questions. As is the case in the traditional language course (see (1), above), additional examples are given to illustrate the relevant verb placement rule. Furthermore, as with the traditional group, the term *W-Frage* is introduced.

Italian transcript

“Va bene # in questo dialogo, trovate due tipi diversi di una frase tedesca, hm. Abbiamo la frase declarative e un tipo di una frase interrogative. Come vedrete, la sintassi di una frase declarative in tedesco é diversa dalla sintassi di una frase italiana, giusto? # Allora, in una frase declarativa tedesca, é solo il verbo finito che viene realizzato alle seconda

posizione della frase. Il verbo infinito, però, si trova alla fine. Questo é molto importante per il tedesco, hm: Il verbo finito é sempre alla seconda posizione e il verbo infinito, il verbo lessicale in questo case, é sempre alla fine. Per esempio *Ich WILL ins Kino gehen*, *Ich WILL eine Pizza essen*, oppure *Er will*, hm *er will*, terza persona singolare, hm, *Er will ein Bier trinken*. Va bene? Tutto chiaro? # Perfetto.

Poi, # in una frase interrogativa, é lo stesso: *Was WILLST du heute Abend MACHEN?* Anche qui abbiamo il verbo finito, e solo questo, alle seconda posizione della frase, il verbo infinitivo, però, alla fine, hm. Altri esempi sono # *Wo* ‘dove’ *Wo WILLST du heute Abend ESSEN?*, *Warum WILLST du nach Berlin FAHREN?* ‘Perché vuoi andare a Berlino?’. Okay. Questo tipo di frase interrogative che viene introdotto con un pronome interrogative si chiama “W-Frage” in tedesco, perché normalmente il pronome interrogative comincia con un “w”. E “Frage” significa? Domanda, si. Perfetto. Allora, Fragen? Domande? Okay.”

(3) Naturalistic group, lesson 25, list of sentences with individual skills

(cf. (14a) in Appendix C)

→ SVOV orders with modal verbs in declarative main clauses and in *yes / no*-questions

English summary of the meta-linguistic explanations

As preparation for an interactive communicative task, the verb placement rules in declarative main clauses with modal auxiliary verbs, that were introduced in lesson 7 (see (2), above) are briefly repeated here. The teacher then invites the learners to produce a *yes / no*-question with a modal auxiliary verb (target structure: *Kannst du auch gut Französisch sprechen?* ‘can-2SG – you – also – good – French – speak-INF?’) on the basis of a declarative clause (*Ich kann gut Französisch sprechen* ‘I – can-1SG – good – French – speak-INF’). Since the structure of *yes / no*-questions is already familiar to the learners, its characteristic features, such as fronting of the [+finite] verb which involves subject-verb inversion, are not explicitly highlighted again.

Italian transcript

“[teacher writes example on whiteboard] Okay, per esempio *Ich kann gut Französisch sprechen*. # Come sempre, il verbo modale, il verbo finito, alla seconda posizione, poi tutto che vogliamo dire, e poi il verbo all’infinitivo, hm. E adesso, per fare una domanda

ad un'altra persona se anche lei può parlare francese, com'è la struttura? [students make their suggestions] Va bene, cominciamo con il verbo modale [teacher writes on whiteboard] *Kannst # du und dann? Poi?* [students make suggestions] *Kannst du gut Französisch sprech . . . Chi é?* [student who is late enters the room] Ah, XY. Hallo XY, hallo. Ehm, *Kannst du gut Französisch sprechen* va bene, ma, per “Io # posso e # ANCHE tu”? Questo “anche”? [some students answer] “auch”, e dove lo mettiamo? [students make proposals] *Kannst du # auch, e poi?* [students answer] *gut genau, Kannst du auch gut Französisch sprechen?* Con l'accento su questo “auch”, hm? *Ich kann gut Französisch sprechen. Kannst du AUCH gut Französisch sprechen?”*

- (4) Traditional group, lesson 34, text *Ein ganz normaler Tag?* ‘Just a normal day?’ (cf. (20b) in Appendix C)
- introduction of SVOV orders with particle verbs (first evidence of German sentence bracket)

English summary of the meta-linguistic explanations

Relevant structures in the text are used to explain the verb placement with particle verbs. First, the internal morphological structure of particle verbs is explained. Then, the teacher points out that the [+finite] part of a German verb occurs in the clause-second position, while the particle appears at the end of the clause. Finally, a further example is given.

Italian transcript

“Okay, in questo testo # ci sono alcuni verbi che si chiamano “trennbare Verben” [teacher writes the term on whiteboard]. Questo [teacher points to the word “trennbar” on the whiteboard] é un aggettivo. Il verbo é “trennen”, ‘dividere’, hm. Significa che questi verbi ehm hanno due parti, diciamo, hm, per esempio [teacher writes examples on whiteboard] *Stefano # steht # lustlos #* e poi abbiamo *auf*. L’infinitivo # é “aufstehen”, hm. All’infinitivo, questi verbi sono soltanto una parola. In tedesco, però, é solo il verbo finito, più preciso, la parte finita di un verbo che # sta alla seconda posizione. Per questo, la particella “auf” si mette alla fine della frase. # E poi abbiamo, per esempio, anche *Stefano zieht einen warmen Pullover an* [teacher writes example on the whiteboard]. Avete un’idea per la forma infinitiva? [students make suggestions] “Anziehen”, mettersi.”

(5) Traditional group, lesson 41, *before* text dealing with professions and professional life⁴⁵

(cf. (24b) in Appendix C)

→ introduction of SVOV patterns with modal verbs

English summary of the meta-linguistic explanations

For the reasons explained in footnote 45, below, the learners are invited to derive a clause with a modal auxiliary and a [-finite] verb form (target structure: *Ich will eine Pizza essen* ‘I – want to-1SG – a pizza – eat-INF’) from a clause with a lexical simple verb (*Ich esse eine Pizza* ‘I – eat-1SG – a pizza’). Different proposals are collected from the learners (*Ich will essen eine Pizza* ‘I – want to-1SG – eat-INF – a pizza’ vs. *Ich will eine Pizza essen* ‘I – want to-1SG – a pizza – eat-INF’) and they are asked what they think the correct German pattern would be. Some learners decide in favor of the target-like SVOV order and one learner justifies this decision by reference to SVOV patterns with particle verbs. The teacher then explains that this is quite right, and emphasizes that the [-finite] verb is always realized clause-finally in German. She points out that this constitutes a fundamental difference between German and Italian and repeats that, in German, it is only the [+finite] verb that occurs in clause-second position.

Italian transcript

“[teacher writes example on whiteboard] Okay. *Ich esse eine Pizza*. Una frase tedesca molto semplice, hm. Se adesso volete dire # oh no, # questa frase tedesca corrisponde a *Io mangio una pizza*. Se adesso volete dire “Io VOGLIO mangiare una pizza” . . . [students produce and speak the corresponding German sentence for themselves] # allora, cominciamo con “Ich”, e poi dopo il verbo modale per “volere” [students answer] “Ich will”, [teacher writes words on whiteboard, responding “gerne” non é un verbo” to a student who suggested using “gerne” in this clause] “Ich will”, poi? [students suggest their

⁴⁵ In contrast to the usual practice of providing grammatical explanation only *after* the contextually embedded introduction of the relevant pattern, in this case, SVOV patterns with modal verbs were addressed in the language class *before* the presentation of the corresponding text. The reason for this course of action was to find out (by means of teacher-learner interaction) whether the learners were able to infer clause-final placement of the [-finite] lexical verb in modal verb patterns from the previously introduced SVOV patterns with particle verbs. As will become evident from the Italian transcript, some learners *were*, in fact, able to deduce OV orders with modal verbs from OV orders with particle verbs, at least at a conscious level. Interestingly, however, this ability was not reflected in a written word order test completed after hour 40, that is, one hour before this teaching unit took place. In the word order test, all the learners used VO orders with both modal verbs and auxiliaries. For the concrete results of the written word order test mentioned here, see the *SP test 3* subsection in Subsection 4.2.3.4, below.

answers] Okay, abbiamo “Ich will essen eine Pizza”, e XY ha detto “Ich will eine Pizza essen”. Cosa pensate? Che cosa é giusto? “Ich will essen eine Pizza” oppure “Ich will eine Pizza essen”? [students make their suggestions] Il secondo? Perché? [student tries to give reasons, students and teacher laugh]. Sì, perché in tedesco é così, ma [student says: “É come come eh, *steh auf* eh . . .]. Eh sì, esatto é come questi verbi composti # e infatti, in italiano, la struttura é “Ich will essen eine Pizza”. In tedesco, però, il verbo infinito é sempre alla fine della frase. É una differenza fondamentale tra l’italiano ed il tedesco [now teacher writes correct example on whiteboard] *Ich will eine Pizza #essen. #* Soltanto il verbo finito é alla seconda posizione in tedesco, e tutto il resto del materiale verbale, diciamo, va alla fine. Per questo abbiamo anche queste strutture, come ha detto XY, con i verbi composti che sono separabile e la particella va alla fine. Per esempio, [teacher writes example on whiteboard] *Ich #esse #die Pizza #auf*. L’infinitivo é “aufessen”, hm come “finire”. *Ich esse die Pizza auf.*”

3.3 Data elicitation

3.3.1 General remarks

A particular challenge in the context of the present study, was selecting and / or developing appropriate instruments for data elicitation that were suitable for (absolute) beginning learners of German. Furthermore, the hypotheses formulated in Subsection 2.2.4, above, required tests for measuring implicit, procedural L2 knowledge within a longitudinal design. The overall aim of the data elicitation was to obtain a detailed and differentiated picture of the internalized classroom learner grammar’s development. On the one hand, classroom studies such as Ballestracci (2006), Diehl et al. (2000), Ellis (1989), Pienemann (1989), and Terrasi-Haufe (2004), suggest that learner grammars develop in a rather self-organized way that seems to be largely resistant to explicit teaching, at least in the area of (German) word order rules. However, on the other hand, there is reason to assume that classroom learner varieties do not completely elude external guidance not even in the syntactic domain. Bear in mind, from the discussion in Subsection 2.1.5, above, that L1 word order transfer in L2 learning seems to be the result of the interaction between L1 structural knowledge and properties of the L2 input. More precisely, L1 word order transfer may only occur if the L1 order appears in the (surface structure of the) L2 input data. This suggests that providing *structurally controlled input* instead of explicitly teaching

word order rules, might affect the L2 learner grammar's development. Thus, in order to prevent learners whose L1 is VO from making misleading overgeneralizations of the L1 word order in their early L2 interlanguage grammar, OV orders must be dominant in the early classroom input. Specific data elicitation instruments were needed to test this assumption, as well as the effectiveness of a naturalistically based curriculum.

Essay writing is a frequently used instrument for written data elicitation in longitudinal studies on the instructed acquisition of L2 German (e.g. Ballestracci 2006; Boss 2004; Diehl et al. 2000; Klein Gunnewiek 2000; Terrasi-Haufe 2004). However, our learners could not be expected to be able to write a longer essay after less than 60 hours of instruction. Furthermore, in the first phases of language acquisition in a classroom situation, the number of possible essay topics is very limited. Given that the essay needs to be on a topic that has been addressed during the course, it seems likely that the learners would use phrases they have learned by rote or constructions they remember from the lessons, rather than spontaneously produced utterances that provide evidence of the underlying learner system. Thus, even if the learners *had been* able to produce shorter or longer written texts, it can be assumed that these texts would have mainly mirrored rote-learned and explicit L2 knowledge.

Regarding the elicitation of oral L2 data, classical methods such as film-retelling, story-telling, role plays, or informal interviews, which are typically used in studies with untutored second language learners (e.g. Dimroth 2002; Perdue 1993a; Schimke 2009; Verhagen 2009), also appear to be problematic. Unlike untutored second language learners, such as working immigrants who have often spent a couple of months, if not years, in the target language country, tutored foreign language learners who have only had minimal exposure to the new language, cannot be assumed to have developed sufficient communicative competence to perform a more complex oral task in the L2. Naturalistic L2 learners are usually able to make themselves understood in a considerable range of communicatively challenging everyday life situations. For this, they often use a target-deviant, but nevertheless communicatively highly efficient linguistic repertoire, the so-called basic variety (cf. Klein and Perdue 1992, as well as Jordens 1997). However, this does not apply to foreign language learners in the very first phases of instructed language acquisition. Initially, these learners possess a linguistic repertoire that more or less entirely consists of the linguistic material that has been taught in the language class, and (pragmatic) knowledge of how to use it. Therefore, it seems unlikely that this repertoire would

already be sufficient for them to master oral tasks such as film-retelling, story-telling, role plays, or interviews.

Summarizing, it can be said that the classically used instruments for gathering L2 production data do not seem to be applicable in the context of the present study. The learners would either fail, or rely heavily on explicit or rote-learned linguistic knowledge. For this reason, it was necessary to develop other methods of data elicitation, i.e. methods suitable for L2 learners equipped with only minimal comprehension and production skills.

I initially constructed seven tests for the classroom study. These tests were piloted with the aim of selecting the instruments that would be suitable for the purpose.

In the following subsection, Subsection 3.3.2, a summary of the pilot study will be presented. This means that the seven pilot tests will be introduced briefly and evaluated in the light of their results. The data elicitation instruments that were eventually used in the course of the classroom study will then be presented in Subsection 3.3.3, together with the testing materials. Finally, I will outline the schedule for each of the individual tests in both the naturalistic and the traditional learner group (Subsection 3.3.3.4).

3.3.2 Piloting

The pilot study was conducted at the University of Bergamo, Italy, and the University of Pavia, Italy. At the time of testing, the participants from the University of Bergamo were enrolled in a preparatory language course for their envisaged study of German philology. All of them were absolute beginning learners of German. The language course was organized as an intensive program with five contact hours per day, for three weeks, including one Saturday; a total of 80 contact hours. The course was based on the GFL textbook *Optimal A1* (Schmidt et al. 2004).

In Pavia, the pilot study participants were students of Foreign Languages and Literatures in their first year of German studies. One group of students consisted of absolute beginners, and another group already had some prior knowledge of German as L2, which, however, did not go beyond level A1 of the CEFR. As set out in the study program, the learners in Pavia were instructed in German as a foreign language for 6 hours per week. In the language classes, the GFL textbook *Delfin* (Aufderstraße et al. 2002) was used.

Seven different data elicitation instruments, four written, three oral, were tested in the pilot study. Despite the above-mentioned concerns about the appropriateness of free

production tasks, these tasks were included in the pilot study, with the objective of proving or disproving my assumptions. For an overview of the pilot tests, see (6), below:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------------|-----------|
| (6) | a. | essay writing task | (written) |
| | b. | translation task | (written) |
| | c. | multiple choice test | (written) |
| | d. | sentence puzzle test | (written) |
| | e. | activity naming task | (oral) |
| | f. | elicited imitation task | (oral) |
| | g. | informal interview | (oral) |

Table 1, below, provides an overview of the pilot study's organization. It shows which test(s) was / were completed by which learner group and it specifies the language level / number of contact hours at the time at which the participants did the test.⁴⁶ The number of participants is also indicated for each of the individual tests.

⁴⁶ Note that the absolute beginners' level is referred to as *level A0* in the table.

No	Name of test	Learner group	Level/contact hours	Number of participants
6a	Essay writing task	Bergamo	A0/60	18
		Pavia	A0/60	22
6b	Translation task	Bergamo	A0/60	18
		Pavia	A0/35	10
6c	Multiple choice test	Bergamo	A0/60	18
6d	Sentence puzzle test	Pavia	A0/35	10
		Pavia	A1/40	14
6e	Activity naming task	Bergamo	A0/75	4
6f	Elicited imitation task	Bergamo	A0/75	4
		Pavia	A0/40	18
		Pavia	A1/40	14
		Pavia	A1/52	12
6g	Informal interview	Bergamo	A0/75	4

Table 1: Overview of pilot study on data elicitation instruments

Piloting took first place in Bergamo, where all tests listed in (6) were administered, except for the sentence puzzle test. Some of the tests were then piloted again with learners from Pavia. In most of cases, some variables were changed (e.g. the length of the stimuli items in the elicited imitation task, the number of contact hours participants had had before completing the translation task, or the formulation of the concept for the essay writing task), in order to obtain more detailed insights into the suitability of each of the individual tests. As can be inferred from the column “Level / contact hours” in Table 1, above, the written data elicitation took place before the oral data elicitation in Bergamo. All of the 18 learners completed the three written tests, and four learners from this group then participated in the oral data elicitation session. The written tests were administered in the following order: essay writing task – translation task – multiple choice test. The rationale behind this order was to make the learners’ written production as spontaneous as possible, while avoiding activation of explicit grammatical knowledge, as it definitely plays a role in the translation task and in the multiple choice test. In the oral data elicitation session, the learners performed the activity naming task first, followed by the elicited imitation task, and the informal interview. This order was chosen because the activity naming task was considered to be the easiest task and was supposed to give the participants a feeling of success before they confronted the more difficult elicited imitation task. The interview was conducted last, when the learners had become a bit more familiar with the experimental situation and with the interviewer.

In the subsequent paragraphs, each of the seven pilot tests will be introduced and discussed in more detail.

Essay writing task

In the essay writing task, learners were asked to tell about their daily routine, specifically, to report on one of the days in the previous week. They were instructed to locate their narrative in the past, which, in German, usually requires the use of the present perfect tense, in turn necessitating the use of sentence bracket constructions with auxiliaries. Furthermore, the topic “daily routine” is known to be a reliable trigger for the production of contexts for subject-verb inversion. This is because narratives of this kind usually involve temporal adverbs in the topic position, that is, in the first position of the clause. Consequently, the subject of the clause cannot occur in first position and must be placed *after* the verb occupying the clause-second slot. As explained in Subsection 1.2.5 of this thesis,

the phenomenon of subject-verb inversion is a tough learning problem in both the untutored and the tutored second language acquisition of German. In fact, inversion had not yet been acquired after 225 hours of instruction in the classroom learners investigated by Tschirner (1999), and it was mastered by only a very few of the learners investigated by Ellis (1989). As regards the acquisition of the sentence bracket construction, Pienemann (1989) reports 75% correct application of the sentence bracket after 90 and 102 hours, respectively, of instructed learning. Ellis' (1989) observations point in a similar direction. The results of all three of the classroom studies mentioned here are based on informal or pre-structured interviews, that is, on instruments that can be assumed to reflect procedural L2 knowledge. However, in contrast to Ellis', Pienemann's, and Tschirner's data, in the essays written by the Bergamo learners after only 60 hours of instruction, more than 90% of the instances of subject-verb inversion in obligatory contexts were correctly realized. Furthermore, the sentence bracket was applied correctly in almost 100% of obligatory cases. These surprisingly high correctness rates suggest that, in accordance with the concerns expressed above, written essays in the initial phases of instructed language learning really are based on rote-learned phrases and / or reflect the conscious use of the previously taught grammar rules. It should be noted that the topic of *daily routine* had been dealt with in the language class only three days before the essays were written (Bear in mind that the Bergamo course was an intensive course). However, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to find a topic for the learners to write about which had not yet been dealt with explicitly in the language class.

The essay writing test was administered a second time, this time to the learners in Pavia. The concrete task was redefined: Instead of asking the learners to report on one of the days in their previous week, they were invited to write about a day of their dreams. The rationale behind the topic modification was to stimulate a creative writing process in the learners so that they would concentrate on content issues, instead of letting them write a report on "normal", everyday activities that could easily be recited from the textbook or from their notes. In order to compensate for their possible lack of vocabulary knowledge, the learners were allowed to use a dictionary or to ask the teacher if they did now know a word. Interestingly, the correctness rates were significantly lower in these essays: Inversion was applied correctly in only 65% of obligatory contexts, and the sentence bracket was realized correctly in only 85% of cases. Presumably, the learners really had focused on the content of their texts instead of consciously paying attention to the grammatical

form of their utterances. The overall error rate was also higher in the Pavia group, presumably because the learners had tried to write about things, activities, and events that had not yet been addressed explicitly in the language class. Because they could not resort to textbook-like, preset target language constructions, they had to find formulations themselves, thus demonstrating their “real” L2 competences. However, since the correctness rates were still comparatively high in the domain of word order, it was unclear whether the essay writing task was appropriate for the purposes of the classroom study. In addition, there were also two other aspects that appeared problematic, in particular with respect to the study’s envisaged longitudinal design. First, the essay writing task required at least some basic writing skills. Hence it would have been more appropriate to use it in later phases of the 60-hour language courses. Furthermore, a range of topics would be needed for this test to be used more than just once. Therefore, although the essay writing task was not considered completely inappropriate as a data elicitation instrument, it was eventually ruled out.

Translation task

In the translation task, the learners had to translate Italian sentences into German. The German target sentences involved the syntactic phenomena of the sentence bracket, the post-finite placement of negation in structures with the copula, modal verbs, auxiliaries, and lexical verbs, and the placement of the adjective before the noun it applies to. In contrast to German, Italian does not have a sentence bracket, exhibits pre-finite negation, and only allows for Adj-NP orders under certain semantic conditions. Examples of the items used in the translation task are given in (7). The Italian source structures are presented together with their German equivalents.

- (7) a. Italian: Luigi **deve chiamare** suo padre.
 German: Luigi **muss** seinen Vater **anrufen**.
 Luigi have to-3SG his father call-INF
 ‘Luigi has to call his father’
- b. Italian: Maria **può preparare** un piatto tedesco.
 German: Maria **kann** ein deutsches Gericht **zubereiten**.
 Maria can-3SG a German dish prepare-INF
 ‘Maria can prepare a German dish’

- c. Italian: Carlo **non ha comprato** la macchina.
 German: Carlo **hat** das Auto **nicht gekauft**.
 Carlo have-3SG the car not buy-PP
 ‘Carlo has not bought the car’
- d. Italian: Francesca non mangia le carni **grasse**.
 German: Francesca isst kein **fettes** Fleisch.
 Francesca eat-3SG no fat meat
 ‘Francesca doesn’t eat fatty meat’

As was the case with the essay writing task, the correctness rates for this translation task were very high. Moreover, as was explained above, the sentence bracket construction is not usually mastered with less than 90 hours of instructed GFL learning. Thus, the high number of correctly applied bracket structures in the translation task may come as a surprise. Apparently, what the instrument of the translation task measured was the learner’s ability to apply the previously learned grammar rules correctly in the context of a translation exercise.

The translation task was also administered to the Pavia learners, in this case, after only 40 contact hours. The results were largely identical to those of the Bergamo learners. All in all, the translation task seemed to reflect *declarative* L2 knowledge, while what was actually of interest for the study, was *procedural* knowledge in the L2. Therefore, the translation task was removed from the list of potential data elicitation instruments in the classroom study.

Multiple choice test

The multiple choice test was particularly designed to test knowledge of the German sentence bracket construction. Each of the eight test items presented to the learners offered four possible word orders, from which the target-like word order had to be chosen. For an illustration, compare the examples in (8), below. In addition to the eight test items, eight filler items were also included in the task. The filler items focused on different grammatical phenomena, such as case marking in noun phrases (cf. (9a)) or subject-verb agreement and stem vowel change in irregular verbs (cf. (9b)).

- (8) a. Sabrina bekommt Besuch. Sie
 Sabrina get-3SG visitors she
 a) einen Kuchen gebacken hat.
 a cake bake-PP have-3SG
 b) einen Kuchen hat gebacken.
 a cake have-3SG bake-PP
 c) hat einen Kuchen gebacken.
 have-3SG a cake bake-PP
 d) hat gebacken einen Kuchen.
 have-3SG bake-PP a cake

‘Sabrina receives visitors. She has made a cake.’

- b. Anita ist drei Jahre alt. Sie
 Anita be-3SG three years old she
 a) kann malen schon eine Sonne.
 can-3SG draw-INF already a sun
 b) kann schon malen eine Sonne.
 can-3SG already draw-INF a sun
 c) schon eine Sonne malen kann.
 already a sun draw-INF can-3SG
 d) kann schon eine Sonne malen.
 can-3SG already a sun draw-INF

‘Anita is three years old. She can already draw a sun.’

- (9) a. Alessandra hat Hunger. Sie
 Alessandra have-3SG hunger she
- a) kauft einer Pizza.
 buy-3SG a-GEN/DAT.SG.FEM pizza
- b) kauft eine Pizza.
 buy-3SG a-NOM/ACC.SG.FEM pizza
- c) kauft einen Pizza.
 buy-3SG a-ACC.SG.MASC pizza
- d) kauft ein
 buy-3SG a-NOM.SG.MASC/NOM/ACC.SG.NEUT
 Pizza.
 pizza

‘Alessandra is hungry. She buys a pizza.’

- b. Die Mutter ist wütend: “Kinder,
 the mother be-3SG angry children
- a) isst bitte langsam!”
 eat-3SG please slow
- b) iss bitte langsam!”
 eat-IMP.SG.INFOR please slow
- c) ess bitte langsam!”
 *eat-IMP.SG.INFOR please slow
- d) esst bitte langsam!”
 eat-IMP.PL.INFOR please slow

‘The mother is angry: “Children, please eat slowly!”’

As was seen in the essay writing task and the translation task, the learners chose the correct answers for almost all the test and filler items. Thus, the multiple choice test also appeared to reflect mainly explicit grammatical L2 knowledge. Therefore, the multiple choice test was also removed from the list of potential data elicitation instruments.

Due to this rather unsatisfactory experience with the pilot tests, it was necessary to develop another instrument for written data elicitation. This instrument was supposed to be fit for use from the very first hours of instructed learning onward. In the following

subsection, the so-called sentence puzzle test will be presented. This test was finally used as a written word order test in the classroom study.

Sentence puzzle test

In the sentence puzzle test, the learners had to compose German sentences from a given group of German words or two-word constituents (e.g. article-noun combinations). Unlike other word order tests used in L2 studies (see, for example, Rast 2008, van de Craats 2007), in which the words to be used for sentence construction are usually presented separately for each clause, the present test offered the words / constituents in larger groups of 16-20 items each. The learners had to construct four *meaningful* German sentences from these items. They were asked to use all of the words, and to only use each word once. The rationale behind this design was to focus the learner's attention on the *meaning* of the sentences to be constructed, such that formal matters would play a less significant role. In other words, the learners should be prompted to concentrate on *lexico-semantic* issues, and pay less attention to *syntactic* aspects, such as word order. The ultimate aim was to obtain spontaneously produced data that allowed conclusions to be drawn about the internal organization of the underlying learner grammar. This idea appeared to work. The Pavia level A0 learners (35 contact hours) were rather creative and their data showed considerable inter- and intra-individual variation. They produced both target-like and target-deviant patterns as regards, for example, the German sentence bracket, clausal negation, or the relative order of adjective and noun. Remarkably, this was not the case with the translation task, which was given to the learners immediately after the sentence puzzle test. This was taken as an argument in favor of the appropriateness of the sentence puzzle test. These assumptions were confirmed by the results from a sentence puzzle test by the level A1 learners in Pavia. This sentence puzzle test was aimed at the production of subordinate-clause structures. Interestingly, the learners produced a considerable number of target-deviant structures and showed inter- and intra-individual variation regarding the placement of the [+finite] verb of the dependent clause. These results came as a surprise to the class's teacher, who was convinced that the learners would "know" that the [+finite] verb needed to be placed at the end in German subordinate clauses.

Given the results of these pilot studies, the sentence puzzle test was chosen as a data elicitation instrument in the classroom study. Apparently, it did not elicit learned knowledge. However, this was not irrefutable proof that it could be taken as an instrument

for measuring implicit L2 knowledge. In view of the fact that learners were given approximately 20 minutes to complete the task, they certainly had time to reflect consciously on the structures they were about to produce. Hence, the sentence puzzle test could still allow learners to invoke explicit L2 knowledge, and the extent to which the individual learners actually made use of this knowledge source, probably varied.

Activity naming task

The activity naming task aimed at eliciting object-verb combinations in the form of root infinitives as they often occur in elliptic speech:

- (10) A: *Und, was machen wir jetzt?*
and what make-1PL we now
'So, what are we going to do now?'
- B: *Na, Kaffee trinken und Kuchen essen, oder?*
well coffee drink-INF and cake eat-INF or
'Well, drinking coffee and having cake, or what?'

In this task, the learners were presented with pictures of one or more people who were engaged in a certain activity, such as playing football, reading a book, preparing a cake, etc. The learners saw these pictures one after the other and were instructed to name the activity performed by the person(s) in exactly two words. This naming task was assumed to trigger the usage of a verb and an object constituent (for further details on this task, see Subsection 3.3.3.2, below).

The activity naming test was performed by four of the Bergamo learners. All of them had used OV orders in sentence bracket constructions with modal verbs and auxiliaries correctly in the previously completed written tests, i.e. the essay writing task and the translation task. They had also passed the multiple choice test with 100% correct answers to the word order items. However, in the present test, only one learner used target-like OV orders with root infinitives, i.e. she produced structures like *Fußball spielen* 'football – play-INF', *Kuchen backen* 'cake – bake-INF', etc. Another learner used both target-like OV and target-deviant VO sequences, and a third learner produced only target-deviant VO patterns. Note that the VO order conforms to the L1 grammar. The fourth learner failed to produce two-word patterns in all of the cases, so that his data had to be discarded.

The results for the first three learners are quite interesting. Bear in mind that all of these learners had used sentence bracket constructions exhibiting OV orders correctly in both the essay writing task and the translation task. However, only one learner correctly applied the OV order in the activity naming task. Apparently, her L2 learner grammar was characterized by the target-like OV word order. As regards the other two learners, their interlanguage grammar still seemed to be influenced by their L1's word order. Interestingly, this result only occurred in the activity naming task.⁴⁷ This observation qualified the activity naming task as an effective data elicitation instrument to provide insight into the shape of the underlying learner grammar.

Elicited imitation task (EI)

The so-called elicited imitation task has its origin in the psycho-linguistically oriented L1 acquisition research of the early 1970s (e.g. Slobin and Welsh 1973). Shortly afterwards, it was also employed in L2 acquisition research, where it developed into an effective data elicitation instrument used for different purposes. See Winkler (2011: 529f.) for an overview and Schimke (2009: 95ff.) for a more detailed review of relevant EI studies.

In an elicited imitation task, learners are presented with sentences that are structurally controlled and manipulated with respect to certain grammatical phenomena.⁴⁸ In the pilot study, the stimulus sentences used in the EI exhibited sentence bracket constructions, clausal negation, or instances of subject-verb inversion. In this task, the learners had to first listen to a sentence and then, if possible, repeat it verbatim. However, due to the limited capacities of the developing L2 working memory, it is assumed that learners will not be able to remember the sentence word by word or to memorize its grammatical structure literally. This means that when they are trying to repeat the stimulus sentence, the learners will probably have to *reconstruct* it. In this reconstruction process, they have to rely on their *own L2 linguistic resources*. Hence, it is possible that learners will *change* certain structural features of the stimulus sentence when repeating it, meaning that the resulting structure can be assumed to represent the state of the underlying L2 learner grammar.

The elicited imitation task was piloted by learners from both Bergamo and Pavia (levels A0 and A1). The results showed that they did, in fact, actively reconstruct the sentences when trying to repeat them. Evidence of the reconstruction process came from

⁴⁷ Remember that the Bergamo learners did not perform the sentence puzzle test.

⁴⁸ For details on the design of an EI task, see Subsection 3.3.3.3, below.

changes in the lexical, the morphological, and the syntactic domain. So, for example, learners frequently substituted one lexical item with one that was semantically related (e.g. the noun *Opa* ‘grandpa’ was replaced by *Vater* ‘father’, *Zeitung* ‘newspaper’ by *Buch* ‘book’, or the verb *telefonieren* ‘to telephone’, by the verb *anrufen* ‘to call’). On the morphological level, the participants sometimes changed the definite article (e.g. *der Mann* ‘the-MASC man’ became *die Mann* ‘the-FEM man’ in the repetition), or omitted a case ending (e.g. the direct object *einen Rock* ‘a-ACC.SG.MASC skirt’ was repeated as *ein Rock* ‘a-Ø skirt’). In the syntactic domain, there were changes from target-like sentence bracket constructions to target-deviant patterns (e.g. *Die Frau will eine Tasche kaufen* ‘the woman – want-3SG – a bag – buy-INF’ was reproduced as *Die Frau will kaufen eine Tasche* ‘the woman – want-3SG – buy-INF – a bag’). The learners also reversed subject-verb inversion from time to time (e.g. *Am Montag geht die Oma in den Supermarkt* ‘on Monday – go-3SG – the grandma – to the supermarket’ was repeated as *Am Montag die Oma geht in den Supermarkt* ‘on Monday – the grandma – go-3SG – to the supermarket’). These and comparable changes to the original stimuli suggested that learners were really drawing on their own linguistic resources when responding to the stimuli, instead of just repeating them from memory. This means that the elicited imitation task appears to be an instrument for activating the use of procedural, i.e. implicit L2 knowledge (see also Erlam 2006). Hence, the EI task appeared to be an appropriate data elicitation instrument for the present classroom study.

Informal interview

The last oral data elicitation method to be tested in the pilot study was an informal interview. The interview aimed at eliciting sentence bracket constructions with modal verbs and auxiliaries. Therefore, the participants were asked questions that should oblige them to use modal verbs or auxiliaries in their answers. So, for example, after a short warm-up phase in which the learners talked about their personal background, they were asked whether they would like to study abroad and if so, where. In addition, they were asked whether they had to do a lot of work for their university studies and if so, what exactly they had to do. These contexts were supposed to trigger the use of modal verbs such as *müssen* ‘to have to / must’, *wollen* ‘to want to’, and *können* ‘to be able to / can’, as well as the modal-like verb *möchten* ‘to would like to’. Furthermore, the use of auxiliaries was activated by asking the learners where they had spent their last holiday and what exactly they had done there.

Although this task was quite demanding for the participants, they all mastered the interview quite well. In most cases, the learners produced a satisfactory number of contexts for sentence bracket constructions. Interestingly, all four participants applied the sentence bracket correctly in approximately 80% of all obligatory contexts, which can be considered a comparatively high correctness rate for only 75 hours of instructed learning (cf., for example, the results by Ellis (1989) and Pienemann (1989) as reported above in this subsection). A possible explanation might be that the pilot study participants were enrolled in an *intensive* GFL course at the time of the interview.⁴⁹ This means that in the days preceding the interview, the participants may not only have practiced relevant target structures a lot, but were very likely to have also received a lot of explicit instruction on German word order rules. These specific circumstances might have caused learners to resort to using explicit L2 knowledge when they were interviewed. This assumption is supported by the fact that instances of self-corrections were attested for all four learners. It suggests that they were monitoring their language production, as discussed in Krashen (1981).

In sum, the pilot study of the informal interview showed that this task was manageable for foreign language learners after only 75 hours of instruction. Therefore, it seems likely that the learners in the envisaged classroom study would also be able to complete a short interview at the end of the 60-hour course. For this reason, the informal interview method was kept in mind for possible use in the classroom study. However, for organizational reasons, it was eventually not possible to conduct informal interviews of this type.

To conclude, the pilot study provided the author with three instruments suitable for data elicitation in the classroom study: the sentence puzzle (SP) test, the activity naming (AN) task, and the elicited imitation (EI) task. While the AN task and the EI task can be assumed to focus primarily on the classroom learners' implicit L2 knowledge, the design of the SP test seems to activate both implicit and explicit L2 knowledge.

In the following subsections, the three methods of data elicitation used in the classroom study will be introduced to the reader in more detail. Each subsection first reports on the method, before introducing the materials, and finally, giving information about the concrete procedure.

⁴⁹ Note that the learners investigated by Ellis (1989) and Pienemann (1989) attended extensive GFL courses.

3.3.3 Data elicitation instruments used in the classroom study

3.3.3.1 Sentence puzzle test (SP test)

Method

The sentence puzzle test can be categorized as a written word order test. In it, as in other word order tests used in L2 research (e.g. Rast 2008; van de Craats 2007), the learners had the task of constructing target language sentences from a set of given target language words presented in an arbitrary order. However, the SP test differed from other word order tests in the following ways. Firstly, the words and constituents to be used were presented in larger groups, intended for the production of more than just one sentence. The rationale here was to focus the learners' attention primarily on semantic issues and, thus, to make their syntactic production more spontaneous. Secondly, the target language words and constituents were presented together with their literal Italian translation. The underlying intention was to enable the learners to complete the task without any knowledge of the target language, so that it could be performed before the first hour of instruction in German as a foreign language. As mentioned above, documenting the learners' linguistic development under the influence of controlled classroom input, was one of the major concerns of the present study. Therefore, it seemed necessary to identify 'stage zero' or the initial state of the classroom acquisition process. In other words, the aim was to capture the learners' idea of the structure of the new language before the first hour of exposure. To this end, the words and constituents for the sentence puzzle test were presented together with their Italian translation in the first SP test and, for reasons of consistency, this design was then maintained throughout the classroom study. Providing the Italian translations also guaranteed that all the learners understood the words and constituents to be used, so that the potential confounding variable of the learners' different vocabulary knowledge was eliminated.

Materials

In the first instance, the SP test aimed at eliciting potential sentence bracket constructions with modal verbs and auxiliaries, as well as structures with [+finite] lexical verbs or the [+finite] copula. Furthermore, it also served to elicit negated structures. The inclusion of the phenomenon of sentential negation can be motivated as follows. In formal approaches to language acquisition, the position of the negator relative to the [+finite] verb of the

clause, is often seen as an indicator for the presence vs. absence of verb raising in the learner language (e.g. Parodi 2000; Weissenborn 1990; Weissenborn et al. 1989). From the functional perspective, the treatment of sentential negation in early non-finite and finite learner utterances allows for conclusions to be drawn about the current developmental state of the underlying learner grammar. Specifically, the placement of the negator in finite and non-finite utterances should reflect whether the learner employs semantic principles of information structure to organize his / her utterances or whether his / her learner language is organized by principles of target-like syntax (cf. Becker 2005; Klein 1984: 107ff.; Perdue et al. 2002, as well as the discussion in Subsection 2.1.3, above). For this reason, data on the classroom learners' treatment of sentential negation promised to provide interesting insights into the internal organization of the underlying learner grammar, as well as into the development of the learner system over time.

Given the concrete objectives of the sentence puzzle test, each of the SP tests consisted of three sections, each containing 14-21 German words / constituents. The words / constituents were presented in alphabetical order and as mentioned above, were accompanied by their Italian translation. In all the SP tests, section 1 served to elicit negated and non-negated structures with the copula and with lexical verbs, section 2 focused on negated and non-negated structures with modal verbs, and section 3 was meant to elicit negated and non-negated patterns with auxiliaries. The individual sections of all the SP tests were designed according to the templates in (11) to (13), below. For the concrete materials, see Appendix E1.

As in the pilot study, the learners were asked to construct four meaningful German sentences from the sentence puzzle pieces presented in each section. Furthermore, they were instructed to use all of the words / constituents, and to use each word / constituent only once.

(11) Section 1: Structures with Vcopfin, Vlexfin

- obligatory:
- two [+finite] forms of the copula
 - two [+finite] forms of lexical verbs
 - four NPs to be used as subjects
 - four constituents to be used as internal argument (two predicative nominals, two object NPs or local complements)
 - two instances of the German sentential negator *nicht* ‘not’
- optional:
- adjectives
 - prepositions

(12) Section 2: Structures with Vmodfin and Vlexinf

- obligatory:
- four [+finite] forms of modal verbs
 - four [-finite] forms of lexical verbs
 - four NPs to be used as subjects
 - four constituents to be used as internal arguments (usually object NPs, also PPs)
 - two instances of the German sentential negator *nicht* ‘not’
- optional:
- adjectives / adverbs

(13) Section 3: Structures with Vauxfin and Vlexinf

- obligatory:
- four [+finite] forms of auxiliary verbs
 - four [-finite] forms of lexical verbs
 - four NPs to be used as subjects
 - four constituents to be used as internal arguments (two object NPs, two PPs / local complements)
 - two instances of the German sentential negator *nicht* ‘not’
- optional:
- adjectives / adverbs
 - prepositions

To summarize, the SP test allowed for the composition of types of target structures that could be grouped into four main categories, each with two sub-categories. These categories (Cat) and sub-categories (SubCat) are summarized in Table 2, below. An example of a possible target structure is given for each sub-category.

Cat	Verb type(s)	SubCat	+/-Neg	Example target structure
1	Vcopfin	1a	-Neg	Gianna ist Italienerin. Gianna be-3SG Italian 'Gianna is Italian'
		1b	+Neg	Gianna ist nicht Italienerin. Gianna be-3SG not Italian 'Gianna is not Italian'
2	Vlexfin	2a	-Neg	Antonio lernt Russisch. Antonio study-3SG Russian 'Antonio studies Russian'
		2b	+Neg	Antonio lernt nicht Russisch. Antonio study-3SG not Russian 'Antonio doesn't study Russian'
3	Vmodfin, Vlexinf	3a	-Neg	Der Junge will die Teller abwaschen. the boy want to-3SG the plates wash-INF 'The boy wants to wash the plates'
		3b	+Neg	Der Junge will nicht die Teller abwaschen. the boy want to-3SG not the plates wash-INF 'The boy doesn't want to wash the plates'
4	Vauxfin Vlexinf	4a	-Neg	Der Vater ist nach Österreich gefahren. the father be-3SG to Austria drive-PP 'The father has gone to Austria'
		4b	+Neg	Der Vater ist nicht nach Österreich gefahren. the father be-3SG not to Austria drive-PP 'The father hasn't gone to Austria'

Table 2: Categorization of possible target structures in the SP test

It is clear from the examples in Table 2, above, that both objects and adverbials can occur in the complement position of the single clauses. As a matter of fact, the copula verb *sein* ‘to be’, as well as the German perfect auxiliary *sein* ‘to be’, do not allow for a direct object. They govern a predicative noun or a predicative adjective (in the case of the copula verb) or they occur together with, for example, a local complement (in the case of both the copula verb and the perfect auxiliary). However, in terms of configuration, that is, in terms of word order properties, these differences seem to be of minor importance. What is relevant here is the fact that in OV languages such as German, the complement *precedes* the lexical verb, while in VO languages, it *follows* the lexical verb. Indeed, the results of all the SP tests showed that the kind of complement had no significant influence on the learners’ linguistic behavior in the SP test. For this reason, this variable will be largely ignored in the presentation and discussion of the results in Section 4.2, below.

The SP test was administered four times during the classroom study. SP test 1 was completed before the beginning of the language course, SP test 2 was taken after 18 contact hours, SP test 3 after 40 contact hours, and the final SP test, 4, after 50 contact hours. See also Table 5 at the end of Subsection 3.3.3.4, below, for the timing of testing in the classroom study. To avoid any habituation or learning effects, different materials were used for SP test 1-3 (cf. Appendix E1.1-E1.3). However, the same materials as for SP test 1 were used for SP test 4. The intention was to obtain directly comparable data. In this way, the L2 learners’ knowledge *after* 50 hours of exposure to structurally controlled input could be compared with their initial hypotheses *before* the first hour of exposure to target language input.

Procedure

SP tests 2-4 were completed by all the learners at the same time, in class at the end of the respective lessons. If an individual learner could not participate in a particular lesson, he / she was asked to return the completed SP test via e-mail before the next class in the language course. The participants were invited to rely on their intuitions. It was also pointed out that there was more than one possible solution. Due to these instructions, the sentences constructed in the SP test are assumed to reflect each of the learners’ individual L2 competence.

Unlike SP tests 2-4, each of the prospective participants completed SP test 1 in privacy before the first hour of instruction. It was sent to all the candidates as an e-mail attachment with the instruction that they should work through the task *alone* and *without*

using any *additional resources*, such as German grammar books or dictionaries. The participants were encouraged to simply follow their intuition when working on the task. The completed sentence puzzle test then had to be returned to the author of this thesis by e-mail.

It should be pointed out that the first SP test served two distinct functions. Primarily, it was used as an instrument to document the initial stage in the instructed acquisition of German verb placement rules. However, it was also a means of discovering any possible preexisting knowledge of German and / or German grammar. Interestingly, three candidates had conspicuously high correctness rates in the first SP test, in particular with respect to the usage of (SV)OV orders in structures with a compound verb form on the one hand, and (S)VO orders in structures with a simple verb on the other. Given the participants' L1 and L2 background, this linguistic behavior could not be the result of cross-linguistic influence. Instead, it seemed likely that they had had previous contact with the German target language. To find out, the three candidates were invited for a short interview in which they were asked about their previous experience with German. All the candidates admitted to having attended German classes in the past, although this was several years ago. Consequently, all three candidates were excluded from the envisaged classroom study.

The remaining 43 candidates were again asked, via e-mail, whether they had any previous knowledge of German. It seemed advisable to double-check this, although these participants showed a considerable number of target-deviant patterns and / or misspellings in their SP test 1.

3.3.3.2 Activity naming task (AN task)

Method

The activity naming task constitutes an oral word order test targeted at eliciting bare VP structures, that is, root infinitives consisting of only a verbal infinitive and an object constituent. For an illustration of the envisaged structures, see (14), below:

- (14) a. Fußball spielen / *spielen Fußball
 football play-INF play-INF football
 'to play football'

- b. Pizza essen / *essen Pizza
 pizza eat-INF eat-INF pizza
 'to eat pizza'

During this test, the learners were presented with pictures of people performing a transitive activity. The learners' task was to name the activity with exactly two words. (For the actual pictures and the expected answers, see the test materials in Appendix E2.) The participants were told that it was not important to mention *who* was performing the activity, but *what* was done. This was intended to guarantee that the learners actually mentioned the *object* and the verb when describing the activity, and did not include the *subject* and the verb in their two-word answers. This formulation of the task worked quite well in the pilot study.

In order to make the learners' production more spontaneous and to prevent them from developing a certain answer strategy or routine, the activity naming was not only subject to a time limit, but was also interrupted by having to name numbers.

Materials

The activity naming task consisted of ten target pictures, preceded by two warm-up pictures (for the target items, see Appendix E2.). Half of the pictures showed just one person, while the other half showed two or more people. The reason for this design was to make sure that learners who produced target-deviant word order patterns of the type shown in (15), below, actually intended to produce an infinite structure as shown in (16a), and not a [+finite] elliptic (S)VO pattern of the type shown in (16b). If learners, for whatever reasons, followed the latter strategy, then their answers for the pictures showing just one person should also exhibit overt marking for subject-verb agreement (cf. (17)). If this was not the case, i.e. if the learners produced target-deviant patterns, such as those in (15), as their answer to pictures with two or more people, but no single instance of structures such as in (17), as an answer to pictures with just one person, then the target-deviant patterns they produced were interpreted as infinite patterns of the type shown in (16a).

- (15) trinken Bier
 drink beer

- (16) a. trinken Bier
 drink-INF beer
 'to drink beer'
- b. ∅ trinken Bier
 3PL drink-3PL beer
 'they drink beer'
- (17) ∅ liest Buch
 3SG read-3SG book
 'he / she reads a book'

The same stimuli pictures were used in both AN task 1 and AN task 2. Given the relatively long time span of almost six weeks between the two AN tasks, no relevant learning or memorization effects could be suspected. However, the two-digit numbers that functioned as interrupters, were different for each of the AN tasks.

Procedure

The task was performed in a language learning laboratory (30 places). The pictures and the interrupters, i.e. the numbers, were displayed using a beamer. The concrete procedure was as follows. The learners were first shown a picture. They had three seconds time to name the activity shown in it. They were then shown a number. Again, they had three seconds time to name it. After the time limit of three seconds, the next picture was shown automatically, again followed by a number and so forth. The learners' answers were recorded with the technical equipment available in the laboratory, and the oral data obtained were transcribed afterward.

3.3.3.3 Elicited Imitation task (EI task)

Method

In a nutshell, the method of an elicited imitation is based on the following two, well-established findings:

1. The human ability to identify and memorize form and meaning of linguistic material is constrained by the (limited!) capacities of the working memory (e.g. Baddeley 2006). In particular, this observation applies to L2 speakers and learners when processing L2 input data (e.g. Indefrey 2006; McDonald 2006; Service et al. 2002).
2. The meaning of an utterance is remembered for longer than its concrete form (e.g. Sachs 1967).

In an elicited imitation task, the participants are asked to repeat acoustically presented sentences. In view of the natural limitations of the developing L2 working memory, it seems likely that an L2 learner will not be able to store, recall, and reproduce the *concrete linguistic structure* of the particular stimulus sentence with which he / she is presented. However, in an ideal case, the learner will be able to remember the *meaning* of the sentence. Thus, when the learner tries to repeat the stimulus, he / she must structurally re-encode the remembered meaning, relying on his / her own linguistic knowledge and resources in the L2. In other words, an L2 learner who is asked to repeat a target language sentence that is too long to be stored in short-term memory, will need to use his / her own L2 learner grammar to express its original meaning. Since the learner grammar will very probably be different to the target language grammar, it is likely that the learners will change the original structure of the stimulus. In short, what is intended by the EI data elicitation method, is to trigger a linguistic reconstruction process in the learner. The outcome of this reconstruction process then provides insight into the underlying learner grammar.

A delicate issue when designing an EI task for a particular learner population, is to determine the appropriate item length. If the items are too short or of low complexity, they will probably be memorized and imitated verbatim with the result that the reconstruction process cannot be observed. However, if the items are too long or too complex, the learners will not be able to decode their meaning and will consequently fail to repeat them. The following picture emerged from the pilot study. If the items were comparatively long and / or contained lexical material that had not often been presented in class, the subjects were unable to respond to the stimuli. Usually, they repeated the subject constituent or other linguistic material that they had understood, but only in the minority of cases could they reproduce the whole sentence. If, however, the target items were shorter and / or very common and simpler lexical elements were used, then the learners repeated

them easily without making any changes to their original structure. For this reason, it was decided to use interrupters in the elicited imitation task. That is, after hearing the target sentence, the learners were visually presented with a two-digit number. They had to name this number in the L2 before repeating the sentence. This method worked very well in the pilot study. Although the overall percentage of successful repetitions of the whole item decreased a bit, the learners' responses exhibited changes on the lexical, morphological, and syntactic level. This suggests that the participants were actively reconstructing the sentences instead of repeating them verbatim. In view of this result, the same design was applied in the classroom study tests. The lexical material used in the items was simple and familiar to the learners so that the participants were able to decode the meaning of the sentence they heard, but the fact that they had to name a number before replying to the stimulus, made it difficult or nearly impossible for them to remember its precise structure. Consequently, the target sentence had to be reconstructed. By using this procedure, the learners' responses are assumed to reflect the shape of the underlying learner grammar.

Items in an EI task are usually controlled for length and manipulated for certain grammatical phenomena. This was also the case in the present EI task. Considering the hypotheses that were going to be tested with this instrument (cf. Subsection 2.2.4, above), the target items were manipulated for verb placement. There was a particular focus on sentence bracket constructions with modal verbs and auxiliaries. As had been done in a number of other EI studies (e.g. Erlam 2006; Schimke 2009; Verhagen 2009), both grammatical and ungrammatical items were included in the EI task. Crucially, the ungrammatical items either represented a certain stage in L2 development, as reported in the relevant research literature, or they resembled structures that the learners had produced in previously completed sentence puzzle tests.⁵⁰ The rationale of presenting ungrammatical structures in the context of an EI task is to control whether learners will change the ungrammatical, target-deviant structure into a target-like grammatical pattern in the target language. Such a change, would be a strong argument in favor of the successful acquisition of the respective target pattern.

The actual materials used for the two EI tasks will be introduced in the following paragraphs.

⁵⁰ Note that learners had already completed two sentence puzzle tests before the EI task was administered for the first time.

Materials – General remarks

The elicited imitation task was administered twice in the course of the classroom study, once after 40 hours and again after 58 hours (see also Table 5, below). Given the relatively short time between these two tasks, different materials were used in EI task 1 and EI task 2. Furthermore, since only stimuli of an adequate length and / or complexity can be assumed to induce the intended linguistic reconstruction process, longer stimuli sentences were required in the second EI task.

Both EI task 1 and EI task 2 aimed at testing the correct vs. incorrect application of the German OV word order in sentence bracket constructions with a [+finite] light verb and a [-finite] lexical verb. In EI 1, only modal verb patterns were tested, while EI 2 included both modal verb and auxiliary constructions. As mentioned above, the EI test comprised both grammatical and ungrammatical stimuli, that is, the individual stimuli exhibited either a correctly realized sentence bracket, and thus an (SV)OV order, or the sentence bracket was missing so that a target-deviant (SV)VO order was used.⁵¹ (For examples, see the example stimuli for condition 1 and 2, respectively in Table 3 and Table 4, below.)

In EI task 1, these two main conditions (i.e. [+correct sentence bracket] vs. [-correct sentence bracket]) were combined with two other conditions, namely the target-like vs. target-deviant placement of the sentential negator *nicht* ‘not’. (For an illustration, see the examples for condition 3, as well as for condition 4 and 5 in Table 3, below.⁵²) As explicated in Subsection 3.3.3.1, above, on the sentence puzzle test, the treatment of sentential negation in the learner language might provide informative insights into the current state of development and the internal organization of the underlying learner grammar. For this reason, as in the case of the SP test discussed above, instances of sentential negation were included in EI task 1.

Regrettably, the negation conditions had to be abandoned in EI task 2. This was considered necessary because after EI 1, approximately one quarter of the participants reported that they found the task quite strenuous. Therefore, a decision was made to reduce the absolute number of items in EI task 2 and to only focus on the two sentence

⁵¹ Note that target-deviant (SV)VO orders are characteristic of early L2 German learner varieties, in particular for learner varieties of native speakers of a VO language (see also Subsection 1.1.2 of this thesis). Not very surprisingly, such patterns have also been produced in the sentence puzzle tests completed by the participants of the present study. For this reason, it seemed advisable to include stimuli exhibiting this target-deviant (SV)OV order in the EI task, in order to test how the participants treated these patterns in their imitation of the stimuli.

⁵² Note that all of these target-like and target-deviant patterns were produced by the participants of the present study in the sentence puzzle tests completed before the EI task.

bracket conditions. For further details on the materials used in the two EI tasks, see the following two paragraphs.

Materials – Elicited imitation task 1 (EI 1)

The EI task 1 consisted of 14 target stimuli, listed in Appendix E3.1, and 18 filler stimuli. There were also three warm-up sentences. Six of the target sentences and ten of the filler sentences were grammatical, while eight target sentences and eight filler sentences were ungrammatical. This resulted in an overall grammatical:ungrammatical ratio of 1:1 in this EI task. The three warm-up items were all grammatical.

All the items were five to six words long (average 5.7) and had eight to nine syllables (average 8.6).

All the target sentences were declarative third person singular present tense clauses involving designations of persons as subject NPs. All subject NPs were used twice. In the target stimuli, the position of the left sentence bracket was either filled by the third person singular form of the modal verb *wollen* ‘to want to’, i.e. *will*, or by the third person singular form of the modal verb *können* ‘to be able to / can’, i.e. *kann*. The element that should potentially occur in the right sentence bracket was an infinitival form of a lexical verb that was familiar to the learners from the language lessons. With the exception of the verb *spielen* ‘to play’, which occurred three times in the target stimuli, no lexical verb was used more than twice. Finally, the (potential) middle field constituent also consisted of a lexical item that had frequently been used in the classroom input. Each (potential) middle field constituent was used only once, in order to prevent the learners from memorizing and recalling certain object-verb or verb-object strings. As mentioned above, the EI stimuli had also been manipulated with respect to the presence or absence of sentential negation.

To summarize, the EI task had four non-negated target sentences with a correctly realized sentence bracket (condition 1 in Table 3, below) and four non-negated target sentences in which the sentence bracket was missing (condition 2 in Table 3). Furthermore, EI task 1 comprised two target structures with *both* a correctly realized sentence bracket *and* correct post-finite negation (condition 3 in Table 3) on the one hand, and four target structures that exhibited *neither* a correct sentence bracket *nor* the correct place-

ment of sentential negation on the other (conditions 4 and 5 in Table 3). The target conditions 4 and 5 differed with respect to the target-deviant pre-finite vs. the also target-deviant post-infinite occurrence of the sentential negator.⁵³

The filler sentences in EI task 1 were declarative, first or third person singular present tense clauses. They contained either an inflected form of the copula verb *sein* ‘to be’ or of a lexical verb. The grammatical phenomena involved in the filler stimuli were (violations of) subject-verb inversion (cf. (18), below), as well as target-like vs. target-deviant placement of the negator *nicht* ‘not’ in structures with simple predicates (cf. (19)).

- (18) a. Am Sonntag gehe ich zum Fußball.
on Sunday go-1SG I to football
‘On Sunday I go to football’
- b. *Am Freitag ich fahre nach München.
on Friday I drive-1SG to Munich
‘On Friday I go to Munich’
- (19) a. Die Touristin ist nicht am Bahnhof.
the tourist be-3SG not at the station
‘The tourist is not at the station’
- b. *Der Fotograf nicht ist in Deutschland.
the photographer not be-3SG in Germany
‘The photographer is not in Germany’
- c. Die Mutter trinkt nicht den Kaffee.
the mother drink-3SG not the coffee
‘The mother doesn’t drink the coffee’

⁵³ Note that the inclusion of other theoretically possible combinations of the four variables [+correct sentence bracket], [-correct sentence bracket], [+correct sentential negation], and [-correct sentential negation] would have resulted in more than five conditions and consequently in many more target items (and also many more filler items) for the present EI task. However, based on previous experience with the method of an EI task, it did not seem advisable to present more than 30-40 items to the participants. For this reason, it was decided that it was preferable to focus on the more “extreme” conditions, that is [+correct sentence bracket] and [+correct sentential negation] on the one hand, and [-correct sentence bracket] and [-correct sentential negation] on the other, and to see how the learners would react to these patterns.

- d. *Der Lehrer nicht geht zur Uni.
 the teacher not go-3SG to the university
 'The teacher doesn't go to the university'

A seemingly problematic issue with the target materials for EI task 1 was that at the time of testing, i.e. after 40 hours of instructed learning, the modal verbs *wollen* 'to want to' and *können* 'to be able to / can' had not been explicitly introduced in the traditional language class. That is, at the time the EI 1 was administered, the learners in the control group had not yet used the modal verb forms *will* 'to want to-3SG' and *kann* 'to be able to-3SG / can-3SG'. They were, however, familiar with these verb forms and with their meaning from the sentence puzzle tests 1 and 2, that is, they had *passive* knowledge of these modal verbs. In order to make sure that the control group learners were adequately prepared for the first EI task, the participants were told beforehand that the forms *will* 'to want-3SG' and *kann* 'to be able to-3SG / can-3SG', which were both known from the SP tests, would occur in the upcoming task. The verb forms were written on the white board and they were exemplified in structures with *wollen* 'to want' and *können* 'can' functioning as the *main verb* of the clause, thus not governing a verbal infinitive (cf. (20) and (21), below). The rationale for choosing such structures was to avoid presenting SVOV orders with modal verbs before they were introduced in this language class as part of the curriculum.

- (20) *Ich will ein Eis.*
 I want-1SG an ice cream
 'I want an ice cream'

- (21) *Ich kann ein bisschen Deutsch.*
 I can-1SG a little bit German
 'I can speak a little bit of German'

The two sentences in (20) and (21), as well as structural equivalents in which the object constituents were replaced, were practiced orally with the learners for some minutes so that the learners were prepared for the following EI task.

Materials – Elicited imitation task 2 (EI 2)

EI task 2 comprised eight target items (cf. Appendix E3.2) and ten filler items. Given that the participants were already familiar with the task as such, the number of warm-up sentences was reduced to two. As with EI 1, the grammatical:ungrammatical ratio for the 18 stimuli of EI task 2 was 1:1.

As mentioned above, the learners' increased L2 competence at the time of the second EI task, called for longer stimuli than those used in EI 1. Consequently, the items in EI 2 were composed of six to seven words (average 6.9) with ten to eleven syllables (average 10.3). Again, subject NPs referred to persons. They occurred no more than twice throughout the materials. In order to lengthen the test items, all the subject NPs were enriched with an adjective. Another option for increasing the item length would have been lexical enrichment of the middle field. However, the heavier the middle field, the more salient the sentence bracket construction, i.e. the SVOV order. This would have led to a contrast between the conditions for EI 1 and EI 2 which the author wanted to avoid.

In all the target stimuli, the position of the left sentence bracket was filled by either the third person singular form of a modal verb (*will* from *wollen* 'to want to' or *kann* from *können* 'to be able to / can') or by the third person singular form of the auxiliary verb *haben* 'to have', i.e. *hat*. Both modal verbs and auxiliaries occurred in a 1:1 ratio in both the grammatical and ungrammatical target stimuli. As was the case with EI 1, the element that should potentially occur in the right sentence bracket was a [-finite] lexical verb form, specifically, a verbal infinitive in the case of a modal verb pattern, and a past participle in the case of an auxiliary structure. The learners were very familiar with these verb forms from their language class. No lexical verb was used more than twice. As regards the (potential) middle field, all the lexical items in this position occurred only once and were well known to the learners from the language lessons. All in all, there were four target sentences exhibiting a correctly realized sentence bracket (condition 1 in Table 4, below) and four target items with no target-like sentence bracket (condition 2 in Table 4). A list of all the target stimuli can be found in Appendix E3.2.

As regards the filler stimuli, structures equivalent to those employed in EI 1 were used (cf. 18 and 19, above).

Condition number	Condition	Pattern	Example	Number of items
1	+ correct sentence bracket no sentential negation	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf	Der Junge kann Fußball spielen. the boy can-3SG football play-INF 'The boy can play football'	4
2	- correct sentence bracket no sentential negation	S-Vmodfin-Vlexinf-O	Der Student kann sprechen Spanisch. the student can-3SG speak-INF Spanish 'The student can speak Spanish'	4
3	+ correct sentence bracket + correct sentential negation	S-Vmodfin-Neg-O-Vinf	Der Vater will nicht Karten spielen. the father want to-3SG not cards play-INF 'The father doesn't want to play cards'	2
4	- correct sentence bracket - correct sentential negation	S-Neg-Vmodfin-Vlexinf-O	Das Mädchen nicht will trinken Wein. the girl not want to-3SG drink-INF wine 'The girl doesn't want to drink wine'	2
5	- correct sentence bracket - correct sentential negation	S-Vmodfin-Vlexinf-Neg-O	Der Opa will hören nicht Musik. the grandpa want to-3SG listen-INF not music 'The grandpa doesn't want to listen to music'	2

Table 3: Overview on conditions of elicited imitation task 1

Condition number	Condition	Pattern	Example	Number of items
1	+ correct sentence bracket no sentential negation	S-Vmodfin/auxfin-O-Vlexinf	Der alte Opa hat Karten gespielt. the old grandpa have-3SG cards play-PP 'The old grandpa has played cards'	4
2	- correct sentence bracket no sentential negation	S-Vmodfin/auxfin-Vlexinf-O	Der kleine Junge will essen the little boy want to-3SG eat-INF ein Steak. a steak 'The little boy wants to eat a steak'	4

Table 4: Overview on conditions of elicited imitation task 2

Procedure

The stimuli for the two EI tasks were prerecorded by a native speaker. The sentences were read in a natural way, but slowly and clearly articulated. All the items were randomized before the EI was administered.

The EI task was conducted in a language learning laboratory (30 places), in which the learners heard the stimuli through headphones and gave their response using their individual microphones. The responses were recorded by using technical equipment available in the laboratory and transcribed afterward.

Interrupters, in form of two-digit numbers, were used throughout the task. The procedure was as follows: First, the learners were presented with the stimulus sentence, then, they were shown a two-digit number that was projected onto a whiteboard by a beamer. The learners then had 12 seconds time to *first* name the number and *then* to imitate the stimulus. After these 12 seconds, the next stimulus was presented automatically. The rationale behind this procedure, i.e. the use of interrupters and a fixed time limit, was to make the learners' production as spontaneous as possible and to prevent them reflecting metalinguistically on the structures they were presented with.

3.3.3.4 Summary and overview on the timing of data elicitation in the classroom study

As mentioned in the previous subsections, the sentence puzzle test was administered four times during the study; the activity naming task and the elicited imitation task were each administered twice. Table 5, below, provides an overview on how the testing was integrated into the 60-hour syllabus of the naturalistic and the traditional language class, respectively.

It should be pointed out that the actual schedule for the data collection was worked out giving due consideration to the hypotheses presented in Subsection 2.2.4 of this thesis, which are repeated here below:

1. Learners following the naturalistic syllabus will do better in acquiring the German OV word order, as reflected in bare VP patterns, for example, than learners following the traditional syllabus, after the same number of hours of exposure to (SV)OV patterns in the input.

2. Learners following the naturalistic syllabus will do better in mastering the German sentence bracket construction with modal verbs and auxiliaries, compared to learners following the traditional syllabus after the same number of hours of exposure to (SV)OV patterns in the input.
3. Evidence for SVOV orders with modal verbs in the input will entail correct usage of SVOV orders with auxiliaries, although auxiliary patterns have not yet been part of the input. This is because the classroom learners are able to process the specifically structured input in favor of an underlying OV word order, which then becomes part of their emerging learner grammar.
4. The initial reduction of the frequency of SVO orders with lexical verbs in the naturalistic syllabus will not have a negative effect on the learners' successfully mastering such patterns. By the end of the study, there will be no significant difference between naturalistic and traditional learners in terms of the accuracy with which VO orders with lexical verbs are used. This is because, firstly, the input never contained counterevidence to VO orders with lexical verbs and secondly, VX patterns with the copula were presented from the beginning onward. Thus, the VX pattern of copula constructions can be transferred to structures with lexical verbs.
5. The naturalistic learners' advantage over traditional learners, i.e. the positive effect of providing structurally controlled input in the naturalistic language class, will be reflected in the learners' procedural, i.e. implicit, L2 knowledge.

The overall longitudinal design of the data collection allows for the detailed documentation of the learners' and learner groups' linguistic development over time and makes it possible to compare the two learner groups at *different* points in time after they have been exposed to certain types of input pattern. In particular, while such a cross-chronological comparison is a requirement for hypotheses 1 and 2, hypothesis 3 can also only be tested within a longitudinal design. Furthermore, the three different instruments used for data elicitation all focused on different L2 knowledge bases. While the AN task and the EI task were primarily to measure procedural, i.e. implicit L2 knowledge, the SP test was assumed to also reflect explicit knowledge of the L2 grammar. Given these differences, performing two different tests, i.e. the SP test and the EI task, at the same point in time, could reveal whether certain structural regularities of the target language that seemed to be part of the L2 learners' explicit knowledge, were also part of their implicit knowledge.

Note that hypothesis 5 explicitly required the testing of implicit L2 knowledge. In sum, the combination of a *longitudinal* design with *different* data elicitation instruments focusing on *different* L2 knowledge bases, allows for an overall fine-grained and differentiated picture of the learners' linguistic development.

After this description of the data collection methods, procedure, and organization, the next chapter will address the results and their interpretation.

Naturalistic course: Input patterns and tests performed	Hour	Traditional course: Input patterns and tests performed
SENTENCE PUZZLE TEST 1		
O-Vinf with lexical verbs, X-Vinf with copula <i>sein</i> ‘to be’	1-5	S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs
S-Vfin-X with copula <i>sein</i> ‘to be’		S-Vfin-X with copula <i>sein</i> ‘to be’
S-Vfin-O-Vinf with <i>wollen</i> ‘to want to’/ <i>möchten</i> ‘to would like to’	6-18	S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs
SENTENCE PUZZLE TEST 2 (after 16h OV input in test group)		
S-Vfin-O-Vinf with <i>wollen</i> ‘to want to’/ <i>möchten</i> ‘to would like to’	18-24	S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs
ACTIVITY NAMING TASK 1 (after 22h OV input in test group)		
S-Vfin-O-Vinf with <i>können</i> ‘to be able to/can’/ <i>müssen</i> ‘to have to/must’	25-33	S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs
S-Vfin-O-Vinf with all modal verbs	34-40	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with particle verbs
SENTENCE PUZZLE TEST 3, ELICITED IMITATION TASK 1		
S-Vfin-O-Vinf with auxiliaries <i>haben</i> ‘to have’ and <i>sein</i> ‘to be’	41-50	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with all modal verbs
SENTENCE PUZZLE TEST 4 (after 16h OV input in control group)		
S-Vfin-O-Vinf with particle verbs, S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs	51-58	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with auxiliaries <i>haben</i> ‘to have’ and <i>sein</i> ‘to be’
ACTIVITY NAMING TASK 2, ELICITED IMITATION TASK 2 (after 24h OV input in control group)		
S-Vfin-O-Vinf with particle verbs, S-Vfin-O with lexical verbs	58-60	S-Vfin-O-Vinf with auxiliaries <i>haben</i> ‘to have’ and <i>sein</i> ‘to be’

Table 5: Overview schedule for data elicitation in the naturalistic and in the traditional language course

CHAPTER 4

THE CLASSROOM STUDY – PART II:

Results and interpretation

4.1 General remarks on the organization of this chapter

The results of the classroom study, that is, the learning outcomes measured in the naturalistic and in the traditional learner group, will be reported in detail in this chapter. The results of each of the three different data elicitation instruments used in the study, the sentence puzzle test, the activity naming task, and the elicited imitation task, will be presented in separate sections (Sections 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4, respectively). Each section will begin with a few general introductory remarks, followed by information on the coding and scoring procedures. Thereafter, the results for all subtests will be presented and discussed. One or more interim summaries will be provided for each of the three sections, bringing together important insights and conclusions to be drawn from the data so far. The chapter closes with an overall summary of the results (Section 4.5) and the didactic implications (Section 4.6).

For the analysis, interpretation, and discussion of all the data, both the test group and the control group were divided into two subgroups, the so-called ‘core group’ and ‘extended group’. The core group of each of the two groups, comprised all those learners who had been present for at least 56 hours out of the 60-hour curriculum and who had completed all eight subtests. The extended group included all the other learners (including core group learners) who had attended the language course at least twice a week (= 4 hours).⁵⁴ Data from the subjects who did not fulfill these attendance requirements were not included in the analysis. Table D1 and Table D2 in Appendix D indicate whether each of the learners belong to the core group or the extended group of their language class. Furthermore, the tables in the Appendix show which subtests the individual learners completed in the course of the classroom study. For both the test group and the control group, the core group comprised eight learners. For the extended group sizes for the single subtests, see Table 1, below:

⁵⁴ Note that if learners were unable to attend individual lessons in the course, all the teaching materials used in class were sent to them as an email attachment. In the body of the email, the learners were politely invited to work through the materials. In some cases, the participants were asked to send in additional exercises, in particular, if the lessons they had missed were explicitly dedicated to word order phenomena. This ensured that despite their physical absence, learners took note of and dealt with the input patterns provided in class.

Test	SP 1	SP 2	SP 3	SP 4	AN 1	AN 2	EI 1	EI 2
Group	0h	18h	40h	50h	24h	58h	40h	58h
Test group	n=22	n=22	n=21	n=13	n=22	n=8	n=15	n=8
Control group	n=21	n=17	n=14	n=9	n=21	n=9	n=10	n=9

Table 1: Extended group sizes for each subtest in the test group and in the control group (SP = sentence puzzle test, AN = activity naming task, EI = elicited imitation task)

4.2 Sentence puzzle test

4.2.1 General remarks

As mentioned in Subsection 3.3.3.1, above, the sentence puzzle test was designed to elicit potential sentence bracket constructions with modal verbs and auxiliaries, as well as eliciting potential SVO/X patterns with the copula and with lexical verbs. Additionally, negated structures with all of these four different verb types were collected, since the use of sentential negation in learner language has been shown to provide interesting insights into the overall shape of the underlying L2 interim system (e.g. Becker 2005; Dietrich and Grommes 1998; Parodi 2000; Perdue et al. 2002). Given the present study's focus on the acquisition of basic word order phenomena, specifically, on the mastery of the underlying OV order in German, the analysis and discussion of the SP test data will be primarily targeted at word order phenomena. However, since the negation data actually provided interesting and informative insights into the classroom learners' linguistic development, the results of the negation conditions in SP test 1-4 will also be discussed in some detail. However, it should be noted that a complete analysis of the negation data would clearly exceed the scope of the present investigation. Instead, the negation data will be treated as an additional source of evidence, as an extra "window" into the current state of the learner system's development.

The SP test data will be analyzed by means of both descriptive and inferential statistics. With respect to the latter, a t-test will be the instrument applied. The analysis of the data will be conducted on both the between-group level (unpaired t-test; comparison of the test group and control group's results for the same SP subtest) and on the within-subject level (paired t-test; comparison of the same learner population's results in different SP subtests). Since a paired t-test, per definition, requires the same population at a certain time point x and a successive time point $(x+1)$, a comparison on the within-

subject level, i.e. the analysis of a learner group's development over time, can only be made for the core groups of each of the two experimental groups.

As outlined in Subsection 3.3.3.1, above, the materials in the individual SP sub-tests (systematically) varied with respect to the syntactic status of the constituents that could be used as complement in the puzzle sentences (object vs. non-object status of the complement). Given that no significant influence from the type of complement on the learners' linguistic behavior could be proved for any of the four conditions in the four sentence puzzle tests, this variable will not be considered in the analysis and interpretation of the SP test data.

A final remark in this subsection relates to terminological issues. As was the case in Subsection 1.2.3 of this thesis (see, in particular, footnote 19), the terms (S)VO and (S)OV, as well as specifications such as SVVO and SVOV, are used to refer to any VX or XV pattern, respectively, regardless of the syntactic status of the X-constituent. That is, notations like VO and OV, are seen to represent the general word order properties of an utterance, specifically, whether the verb precedes or follows lexical constituents other than the external argument rather than actually specifying the concrete syntactic realization of these lexical constituents.

4.2.2 Coding and scoring

After all the sentences produced by the learners in the SP test had been stored in a data base, all the structures were coded for the type of the [+finite] verb of the clause (i.e. modal verb, auxiliary, copula, lexical verb). Furthermore, structures were also coded for word order, that is, a note was made of the position of the [+finite] verb (in structures with a simple verb) or of both the [+finite] and the [-finite] verb (in structures with a compound verb), relative to the subject and the object/X-constituent.

Three different verb placement patterns could be distinguished in the modal verb and in the auxiliary condition, as illustrated by the learner examples in (1a) - (1c), below. Note that only the patterns in (1b) are grammatical in the target language.

(1) Verb placement patterns in the mod and in the aux condition

a. SVVO (= SVfinVinfO)

- I Das Mädchen **darf** **gehen** ins Kino (STE, SP 1)⁵⁵
the girl be allowed to-3SG go-INF to the cinema
'The girl is allowed to go to the cinema'
- II Der Vater **hat** **gegessen** den Apfel (IVA, SP 1)
the father have-3SG eat-PP the apple
'The father has eaten the apple.'

b. SVOV (= SVfinOVinf)

- I Der Mann **darf** den Film **sehen** (LAU, SP 4)
the man be allowed to-3SG the film see-INF
'The man is allowed to see the film'
- II Der Vater **ist** ins Theater **gefahren** (SIM, SP 4)
the father be-3SG to the theatre drive-PP
'The father has gone to the theatre'

c. SOVV/OSVV (= SOVinfVfin/OSVinfVfin)

- I die Frau den Film **sehen** **will** (RIC, SP 1)
the woman the film see-INF want to-3SG
'The woman wants to see the film'
- II ein handy die tochet (=die Tochter) **gekauft** **hat** (STA, SP 1)
a cell phone the daughter buy-PP have-3SG
'The daughter has bought a cell phone'

For the lexical verb and the copula condition, two main verb placement patterns could be distinguished (cf. (2a) and (2b), below), with only pattern (2b) representing the target-like word order:

⁵⁵ The specifications in the brackets refer to the participant who produced the structure (cf. Table D1 and Table D2 in Appendix D for details on each of the participants) and to the SP subtest which is the source of the datum.

(2) Verb placement patterns in the lex and in the cop condition

a. SOV/OSV (= SOV_{fin}/OSV_{fin})

- I In Italien nicht Deutschland Gianni **lebt** (STA, SP 1)
in Italy not Germany Gianni live-3SG
'Gianni lives in Italy, not in Germany'
- II Paul ein Name deutscher **ist** (RIC, SP 1)
Paul a name German be-3SG
'Paul is a German name'

b. SVO (= SV_{fin}O)

- I Paula **lebt** in Deutschland (CHI, SP 1)
Paula live-3SG in Germany
'Paula lives in Germany'
- II Gianna **ist** Italienerin (CHI, SP 1)
Gianna be-3SG Italian
'Gianna is Italian'

In addition to coding for word order, all the structures that exhibited sentential negation were also coded for the position of the negator relative to the [+finite] and, if applicable, the [-finite] verb form of the clause.

Three different negation patterns could be distinguished for the modal verb and auxiliary condition, namely pre-finite negation, post-finite negation, and post-infinite negation (cf. (3a) - (3c), below). For the copula and the lexical verb condition, two distinct patterns could be attested in the learner data (pre-finite negation and post-finite negation, cf. (4a) and (4b), below). Note that although the word order in structures such as (3b-II) and (4b-II) is ungrammatical in the target language, these patterns nonetheless represent instances of target-like, post-finite negation. For this reason, they fall into the same category as the grammatical structures in (3b-I) and (4b-I).

(3) Negation patterns in the mod and in the aux condition

a. pre-finite negation: NegVV (= SNegVfinVinfO, SNegVfinOVinf)

I Die Frau **nicht** will abwaschen die Teller (MAR, SP 1)
the woman not want to-3SG wash-INF the plates
'The woman doesn't want to wash the plates'

II Die Mutter **nicht** hat die Küche geputzt (CAR, SP 3)
the mother not have-3SG the kitchen clean-PP
'The mother hasn't cleaned the kitchen'

b. post-finite negation: VNegV (= SVfinNegOVinf, SVfinNegVinfO)

I Der Junge darf **nicht** ins Kino gehen (LAU, SP4)
the boy be allowed to-3SG not to the cinema go-INF
'The boy is not allowed to go to the cinema'

II die Mutter ist **nicht** gegangen ins Theater (LAR, SP 1)
the mother be-3SG not go-PP to the theatre
'The mother hasn't gone to the theatre'

c. post-infinite negation: VVNeg (= SVfinVinfNegO, SVfinVinfONeg)

I Die Mutter will schreiben Gedichte **nicht** (SIM, SP 3)
the mother want to-3SG write-INF poems not
'The mother doesn't want to write poems'

II Heike kann spielen **nicht** Fussbal (CHI, SP 3)
Heike can-3SG play-INF not soccer
'Heike cannot play soccer'

(4) Negation patterns in the lex and in the cop condition

a. pre-finite negation: NegV (= SNegVfinO, SNegOVfin, OSNegVfin)

- I Paula **nicht** lebt in Italien (FRI, SP 1)
Paula not live-3SG in Italy
'Paula doesn't live in Italy'
- II Gianna **nicht** aus Deutschland kommt (RIC, SP 1)
Gianna not from Germany come-3SG
'Gianna doesn't come from Germany'
- III Italienerin Paula **nicht** ist (STE, SP 1)
Italian Paula not be-3SG
'Paula is not Italian'

b. post-finite negation: VNeg (= SVfinNegO, SVfinONeg)

- I Hans und Maria studieren **nicht** Pharmazie (CHI, SP 3)
Hans and Maria study-3PL not pharmacy
'Hans and Maria don't study pharmacy'
- II Antonio ist Russe **nicht** (SIM, SP 3)
Antonio be-3SG Russian not
'Antonio is not Russian'

Incomplete sentences, that is, structures in which either the subject, the [+finite] verb, the [-finite] verb, the internal argument / complement, or more than one of these elements were missing, were excluded from the word order analysis.

As far as the negation data analysis is concerned, the realization of the subject, the [+finite] verb, the negator, and, in the modal verb and auxiliary conditions, the [-finite] verb, was considered sufficient for including the utterance in the analysis.

Structures that appeared to be pragmatically marked and / or wrong in terms of content, but which were syntactically complete and semantically transparent, were retained for analysis. Examples of these are *Der Junge darf nicht die Teller abwaschen* 'The boy – be allowed to-3SG – not – the plates – wash-INF' or *Gianna ist ein deutscher Name* 'Gianna – be-3SG – a German name'.

4.2.3 Results and interpretation

4.2.3.1 Native control group

Before the sentence puzzle test was used in the classroom study, SP subtest 1 (cf. Appendix E1.1) was administered to a native control group (n=10; for details, see Section 3.1, above, as well as Table D3 in Appendix D). All of the sentences produced by the native speakers exhibited the target-like German word order, that is, structures involving a simple verb (lexical verb and copula condition) were constructed with an SVO order and those that involved a compound verb (modal verb and auxiliary condition), were constructed with an SVOV order. Furthermore, all the negated structures exhibited target-like post-finite (but pre-infinitive) placement of the negator. With respect to all other linguistic features, including orthographical aspects, the sentences produced by the native control group were 100% correct German sentences.

4.2.3.2 Experimental groups – Outline of the presentation of the results

Given the length and relative complexity of the following subsections on the SP test results, a brief outline of their overall structure and content will be provided.

The present subsection will be followed by a first overview of the main outcomes of sentence puzzle tests 1 - 4 (Subsection 4.2.3.3). Thereafter, the results for each of the four SP subtests will be presented and analyzed in-depth in four separate paragraphs in Subsection 4.2.3.4. This also includes a discussion of the data in the light of the differently structured input provided to the learners in the test group and in the control group. There will be a subsequent subsection, Subsection 4.2.3.5, comparing the test group's results for SP test 2 with those of the control group for SP test 4 (since at the respective times of testing, both learner groups had been exposed to a comparable number of contact hours offering evidence for OV orders in German). After a comprehensive interim summary, closer consideration will be given to four learners who began the classroom acquisition of German with an OV hypothesis, though lacking the V2 phenomenon (Subsection 4.2.3.6). In the last subsection, Subsection 4.2.3.7, the data from both the test group and the control group will be considered from a longitudinal perspective. Given that this subsection takes up and brings together the main developmental steps that have been worked

out and discussed in the previous subsections, it functions as a subsection concluding the presentation and discussion of the SP test data.

4.2.3.3 SP test 1 - SP test 4 – Anticipatory summary of the main outcomes

In the domain of word order, the overwhelming majority of both the test and control group learners began the classroom acquisition of German with a VO hypothesis (see (5a)-(5d)) which seems to be due to cross-linguistic influence.

- (5) a. das Mädchen will kaufen einen roten Rock
 the girl want to-3SG buy-INF a red skirt
 ‘The girl wants to buy a red skirt’ (LAR, tg⁵⁶, SP 1)
- b. der Mann will kaufen einen Rock roten
 the man want to-3SG buy-INF a skirt red
 ‘The man wants to buy a red skirt’ (SIM, cg, SP 1)
- c. Paul kommt aus Deutschland
 Paul come-3SG from Germany
 ‘Paul comes from Germany’ (ALM, tg, SP1)
- d. Paula lebt in Deutschland
 Paula live-3SG in Germany
 ‘Paula lives in Germany’ (CHI, cg, SP1)

In the test group, this target-deviant initial hypothesis appears to have been replaced by a target-like OV hypothesis after only 18 hours of instructed learning (see (6a)). Supposedly, this reorganization of the learner system can be seen as the result of the counterevidence presented by the OV and SVOV patterns used in the German input in the classroom.⁵⁷ Apparently, this learner group had no problem with the acquisition of SVO orders with the copula and with lexical verbs (see (6b), (6c)).

⁵⁶ “tg” stands for “test group”, while “cg” stands for “control group”.

⁵⁷ Note that throughout the classroom study, the presentation of certain word order patterns in the *input* always involved the *output* of the respective patterns by the learners in the course of different exercises and activities practiced in class.

- (6) a. das Kind will den Apfel essen
the child want to-3SG the apple eat-INF
‘The child wants to eat the apple’ (LAR, tg, SP2)
- b. Thomas ist Lehrer
Thomas be-3SG teacher
‘Thomas is teacher’ (CAR, tg, SP2)
- c. Der Lehrer wohnt in Spanien
the teacher live-3SG in Spain
‘The teacher lives in Spain’ (ILA, tg, SP2)

By the end of the course, the test group learners had successfully mastered both OV orders in structures with a compound verb (see (7a), (7b)), and VO orders in structures involving a simple verb (see (7c), (7d)).

- (7) a. Das Mädchen will einen roten Rock kaufen
the girl want to-3SG a red skirt buy-INF
‘The girl wants to buy a red skirt’ (CEC, tg, SP4)
- b. Der Tochter ist ins Theater gegangen
the daughter be-3SG to the theatre go-PP
‘The daughter has gone to the theatre’ (ARI, tg, SP4)
- c. Paul ist ein deutscher Name
Paul be-3SG a German name
‘Paul is a German name’ (NIC, tg, SP4)
- d. Paul lebt in Italien
Paul live-3SG in Italy
‘Paul lives in Italy’ (CEC, tg, SP4)

In contrast to the test group learners, the control group learners retained their initial VO hypothesis for the German target system until at least the 41st hour of instruction (see (8)).

- (8) a. Heike kann spielen Fußball
 Heike can-3SG play-INF soccer
 ‘Heike can play soccer’ (SIM, cg, SP3)
- b. Das Mädchen hat geputzt die Küche
 the girl have-3SG clean-PP the kitchen
 ‘The girl has cleaned the kitchen’ (CHI, cg, SP3)

After that time, some of the control group learners seem to have abandoned their target-deviant VO assumption (see (9a), (9b)), but VO orders are still the dominant pattern in structures with a compound verb (see (9c), (9d)) in the overall production of this learner group.

- (9) a. Der Junge will die Teller abwaschen
 the boy want to-3SG the plates wash-INF
 ‘The boy wants to wash the plates’ (SIM, cg, SP4)
- b. Der Vater ist nicht ins Theater gefahren
 the father be-3SG not to the theatre drive-PP
 ‘The father hasn’t gone to the theatre’ (CHI, cg, SP4)
- c. Das Mädchen will kaufen einen roten Rock
 the girl want to-3SG buy-INF a red skirt
 ‘The girl wants to buy a red skirt’ (RIC, cg, SP4)
- d. Der Sohn hat gekauft ein Handy
 the son have-3SG buy-PP a cell phone
 ‘The son has bought a cell phone’ (STE, cg, SP4)

Not very surprisingly, the control group learners mastered SVO orders with the copula and with lexical verbs easily. By the end of the course, these learners seemed to have

acquired VO orders with simple verbs (see (10a), (10b)), whereas OV orders in structures with compound verbs had not yet been mastered (see (9c), (9d)).

- (10) a. Paula ist Italienerin
 Paula be-3SG Italian
 ‘Paula is Italian’ (STE, cg, SP4)
- b. Paula lebt in Italien
 Paula live-3SG in Italy
 ‘Paula lives in Italy’ (RIC, cg, SP4)

As far as sentential negation is concerned, most of the learners in both experimental groups began with a, presumably, L1 based assumption. That is, they clearly preferred target-deviant pre-finite negation (see (11a) - (11d)).

- (11) a. Die Frau nicht darf sehen den Film
 the woman not be allowed to-3SG see-INF the film
 ‘The woman is not allowed to see the film’ (ALM, tg SP1)
- b. Der Junge nicht will sehen den Film
 the boy not want to-3SG see-INF the film
 ‘The boy doesn’t want to see the film’ (STE, cg, SP1)
- c. Gianni nicht lebt in Deutschland
 Gianni not live-3SG in Germany
 ‘Gianni doesn’t live in Germany’ (IVA, tg, SP 1)
- d. Paul nicht kommt aus Italien
 Paul not come-3SG from Italy
 ‘Paul doesn’t come from Italy’ (CHI, cg, SP1)

However, some learners made use of a post-finite negation strategy. This resulted in the production of target-like VNeg(V) patterns, even before the first hour of exposure to target German input (see (12a)-(12d)).

- (12) a. der Junge darf nicht abwaschen die Teller
the boy be allowed to-3SG not wash-INF the plates
‘The boy is not allowed to wash the plates’ (LAR, tg, SP1)
- b. der Junge will nicht gehen ins Kino
the boy want to-3SG not go-INF to the cinema
‘The boy doesn’t want to go to the cinema’ (RAF, cg, SP1)
- c. Paul kommt nicht aus Deutschland
Paul come-3SG not from Germany
‘Paul doesn’t come from Germany’ (ELP, tg, SP1)
- d. Gianna lebt nicht in Italien
Gianna live-3SG not in Italy
‘Gianna doesn’t live in Italy’ (RAF, cg, SP1)

After the language course had begun, the test group learners used predominantly target-like post-finite negation (see (13a)), while the control group learners chose a target-deviant post-infinite negation strategy (see (13b)).

- (13) a. Das Kind will nicht Deutsch sprechen
the child want to-3SG not German speak-INF
‘The child doesn’t want to speak German’ (CRI, tg, SP2)
- b. Das Kind kann sprechen nicht Deutsch
the child can-3SG speak-INF not German
‘The child cannot speak German’ (SIM, cg, SP2)

By the end of the study, the test group learners used almost 100% correct post-finite negation with all four verb types (see (14a) - (14d)). Interestingly, at the end of the language class, the control group learners also showed relatively high correctness rates for negation in all four types of structure (see (15a) - (15d)).

- (14) a. Die Frau will nicht die Teller abwaschen
the woman want to-3SG not the plates wash-INF
‘The woman doesn’t want to wash the plates’ (ILA, tg, SP4)
- b. der Sohn ist nicht nach Österreich gefahren
the son be-3SG not to Austria drive-PP
‘The son hasn’t gone to Austria’ (CRI, tg, SP4)
- c. Paula ist nicht Italienerin
Paula be-3SG not Italian
‘Paula is not Italian’ (NIC, tg, SP4)
- d. Gianni kommt nicht aus Deutschland
Gianni come-3SG not from Germany
‘Gianni doesn’t come from Germany’ (CEC, tg, SP4)
- (15) a. Die Frau will nicht die Teller abwaschen
the woman want to-3SG not the plates wash-INF
‘The woman doesn’t want to wash the plates’ (STE, cg, SP4)
- b. Die Tochter hat nicht den Apfel gegessen
the daughter have-3SG not the apple eat-PP
‘The daughter hasn’t eaten the apple’ (SIM, cg, SP4)
- c. Paula ist nicht Italienerin
Paula be-3SG not Italian
‘Paula is not Italian’ (CHI, cg, SP4)
- d. Paul kommt nicht aus Deutschland
Gianni come-3SG not from Germany
‘Gianni doesn’t come from Germany’ (RIC, cg, SP4)

4.2.3.4 SP test 1 - SP test 4 – The results in detail

SP test 1 – 0 hours of instruction

For the test group (n=22), a total number of 254 sentences were included in the analysis of SP test 1 (83 with mod, 85 with aux, 43 with cop, and 43 with lex), while 12 answers had to be discarded (five with mod, three with aux, one with cop, and one with lex). The reason for excluding these 12 answers was that at least one relevant constituent was missing, i.e. one or more of the following elements: The [+finite] verb, the [-finite] verb, the subject, the constituent in internal argument position. For the control group (n=21), 235 sentences could be included in the analysis of SP 1 (75 with mod, 78 with aux, 41 with cop, and 41 with lex), while a total of 17 structures had to be discarded (nine with mod, six with aux, one with cop, and one with lex), for the same reasons of partial incompleteness mentioned for the test group, above.

The results of SP test 1 are presented in Table 2 and Table 3, below. Table 2 shows the results for the extended and the core test group, and Table 3 summarizes the results for the extended and the core control group.

Group Word order Verb type	Test group – extended (n=22)		Test group – core (n=8)	
	SOVV/ SOV ⁵⁸	SVVO/ SVO	SOVV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	9.6% (8/83)	90.4% (75/83)	13.3% (4/30)	86.7% (26/30)
Auxiliary verbs	9.4% (8/85)	90.6% (77/85)	12.5% (4/32)	87.5% (28/32)
Lexical verbs	9.3% (4/43)	90.7% (39/43)	12.5% (2/16)	87.5% (14/16)
Copula verb	9.3% (4/43)	90.7% (39/43)	12.5% (2/16)	87.5% (14/16)

Table 2: Word order results SP test 1. Test group: extended and core group, 0 hours of instruction

⁵⁸ Note that there were also some rare instances of OSVV/OSV patterns as exemplified in (22c-II) and (23a-I), above, which have been included in this category. The main criterion here was the realization of V right to O.

Group	Control group – extended (n=21)		Control group – core (n=8)	
	SOVV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO	SOVV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	9.3% (7/75)	90.7% (68/75)	13.8% (4/29)	86.2% (25/29)
Auxiliary verbs	10.2% (8/78)	89.8% (70/78)	13.3% (4/30)	86.7% (26/30)
Lexical verbs	7.3% (3/41)	92.7% (38/41)	12.5% (2/16)	87.5% (14/16)
Copula verb	9.5% (4/42)	90.5% (38/42)	12.5% (2/16)	87.5% (14/16)

Table 3: Word order results SP test 1. Control group: extended and core group, 0 hours of instruction

At the time of testing, all the subjects were absolute beginning learners of German as a foreign language who had never been exposed to German in any language learning context. Given these conditions, as well as the word order contrast between the source and the target language, it was no great surprise that none of the mod and aux sentences produced by the learners exhibited the target-like SVOV word order. Instead, the vast majority of the test sentences are constructed with an SVVO order. This observation applied to both the extended test group (90.4% SVVO orders with mod and 90.6% SVVO orders with aux) and the extended control group (90.7% SVVO orders with mod and 89.8% SVVO orders aux). There was no significant difference in the two learner groups' linguistic behavior, either for the mod condition ($t(40) = -0.098$, ns), or for the aux condition ($t(40) = -0.098$, ns). Furthermore, the data suggest that with respect to word order issues, modal verb and auxiliaries were treated the same by all of the learners. That is, the same word order was applied irrespective of whether the structure contained a modal verb or an auxiliary.

A closer look at the individual learners' behavior shows that the target-deviant SVVO patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries were produced by 20 test group and 19 control group learners. None of the participants showed structural variation here. Interestingly, this was exactly the same learner population who consistently applied an SVO

order to structures with the copula and with lexical verbs, eventually leading to the production of more than 90.0% target-like test sentences in both the cop and the lex condition in both learner groups. Again, no significant difference between the test group and the control group could be found, either in the cop condition ($t(41) = 0.048$, ns), or in the lex condition ($t(41) = 0.048$, ns).

How can the two learner groups' clear preference for VO orders with all four types of structure be explained? Given the participants' specific L1 and L2 background, it seems likely that the learners' linguistic behavior in all four verb conditions is the result of cross-linguistic influence. In fact, both the learners' L1 (Italian) and the modern L2(s) that they know (English, and in some cases French or Spanish), are VO languages. Therefore, the application of a VO grammar to German simple verb and compound verb sentences, should result in precisely the patterns that were found in the majority of test sentences in SP test 1, i.e. target-deviant SVVO orders lacking a sentence bracket in the case of compound verb forms, and target-like SVO orders in the case of simple verb forms. However, it should be noted that these SVO sentences with simple verbs, produced by the novice learners, do not necessarily need to conform to SVO sentences of the target system. This applies to both the deep structure and the surface structure representation of the relevant clauses. In particular, there is no reason to assume that the SVO surface orders in the learners' production are the result of them applying the V2 rule. Given that the V2 constraint is acquired comparatively late in both untutored and tutored L2 acquisition, it does not at all seem plausible that these learners had mastered it before their first hour of exposure to the target language. Instead, it may be assumed that the use of SVO orders with German simple verbs in SP test 1, was the result of applying L1 syntactic rules to the German learner system. Remember, from the tree structures in (9a) and in (9b) as presented in Subsection 1.1.1, above, that unlike in German, where the [+finite] verb of the clause raises to C° , the [+finite] verb form of the Italian clause raises to I° . Just like the German CP, the Italian IP is head-initial. In view of these L1 and L2 structural properties, it becomes clear that resorting to the L1 syntactic rules when producing German sentences, i.e. transferring the Italian tree structure and positioning the [+finite] German verb in I° , the subject in SpecIP, and the object in the argument position to the right of V° , directly results in seemingly correct German SVO sentences. Remarkably, the assumed transfer of the L1 syntactic tree to the German learner system, could also account for the production of target-deviant SVVO orders with compound verb forms in the first SP subtest. As explained in Subsection 1.1.1, above, the combination of the VO property

of Italian and the [+F] finiteness operator located under I^o, entails the adjacent realization of the [+finite] and the [-finite] part(s) of a compound verb to the left of the object. This is exactly the pattern of the preferred order in the mod and the aux condition of SP test 1.

So far, only those sentences of SP test 1 that exhibit a VO order have been considered. However, the data in Table 2 and Table 3, above, show that in both learner groups, a small number of test sentences in all four verb conditions were constructed with an OV order. Interestingly, these OV structures, which were used consistently by two test group learners and two control group learners, only conform to the word order rules of the German target language with respect to the placement of the [-finite] verb form, if there is one, in a position to the right of O. As far as the placement of the [+finite] verb form is concerned, it is also realized to the right of O, producing a clearly target-deviant structure (see (16a) - (16d)).

- (16) a. das Madchen einen roten Rock will kaufen
 the girl a red skirt want to-3SG buy-INF
 ‘The girl wants to buy a red skirt’ (RIC, cg, SP1)
- b. der Sohn ein Handy gekauft hat
 the son a cell phone buy-PP have-3SG
 ‘The son has bought a cell phone’ (DAN, tg, SP1)
- c. Paul ein Name deutscher ist
 Paul a name German be-3SG
 ‘Paul is a German name’ (RIC, cg, SP1)
- d. Gianni in Deutschland lebt
 Gianni in Germany live-3SG
 ‘Gianni lives in Germany’ (DAN, tg, SP 1)

In fact, these learners’ target-like positioning of the [-finite] verb form on the one hand, and the target-deviant placement of the [+finite] verb on the other, suggests that the mod, aux, lex, and cop structures are instances of an OV grammar, which, however, lacks the V2 constraint. In consequence, not only the [-finite], but also the [+finite] verb of the clause is realized clause-finally, resulting in target-deviant SOVV/OSVV and SOV/OSV

structures, respectively. A closer look at the participants' L2 backgrounds suggests that the relevant structures are composed on the basis of Latin grammar. Latin is a language with an essentially free word order but a preference for clause-final placement of verbs, both [+finite] and [-finite]. In other words, Latin shows a clear tendency toward OV orders, lacks the V2 phenomenon, and also allows the object to occur before the subject. Interestingly, as reported both by GFL teachers based in Italy and the subjects themselves, Italians tend to associate the German language with Latin. The reasons usually given for this are that both languages are known to have case, to be inflectionally rich, and, as a result of these two facts, to have a rather "complicated" grammar. This, admittedly fairly superficial, association of the two language systems might therefore have paved the way for cross-linguistic influence from Latin in the domain of word order.

When considering the core group results for both experimental groups, the same picture emerges as for the extended groups (cf. the data in Table 2 and Table 3, above). The participants in both the core test group and the core control group seemed to prefer a VO grammar for the German target system. In fact, in both experimental groups seven out of the eight core group learners consistently used VO orders with all four types of structure, while one learner in each group followed the presumably Latin-based OV strategy. As was the case for the extended groups, in neither of the four conditions could a significant difference in the linguistic behavior of the core test group and the core control group be found ($t(14) = 0,000$, ns, in the mod condition, $t(14) = 0,000$, ns, in the aux condition, $t(14) = 0,000$, ns, in the lex condition, and $t(14) = 0,000$, ns, in the cop condition).

To sum up so far, the word order results for SP test 1 suggest that at the initial stage of acquisition, all the participants in the classroom study seem to have had quite a clear idea of the German target system's word order rules. While an absolute number of 20 / 19 test / control group participants entered the GFL classroom with a VO hypothesis, two learners from each group chose a, most probably Latin-based, OV hypothesis. Remarkably, none of the subjects showed intra-individual variation in this respect. It will be interesting to see whether those learners who started the classroom acquisition process with an OV hypothesis could profit from this, basically correct, assumption about the target language word order under the specific input conditions of the traditional vs. naturalistic syllabus. This question will be addressed in more detail in Subsection 4.2.3.6, below.

As a next step in the present paragraph, the novice learners' treatment of German sentential negation will be considered. The results for the negation conditions of SP test 1 are presented in Table 4 and Table 5, below.⁵⁹

Group Neg pattern Verb type	Test group – extended (n=22)			Test group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	15.4% (6/39)	79.5% (31/39)	5.1% (2/39)	25.0% (4/16)	75.0% (12/16)	0.0% (0/16)
Auxiliary verbs	18.6% (8/43)	74.4% (29/43)	7.0% (3/43)	18.7% (3/16)	68.8% (11/16)	12.5% (2/16)
Lexical verbs	12.5% (2/16)	87.5% (14/16)	n.a.	16.7% (1/6)	83.3% (5/6)	n.a.
Copula verb	26.1% (6/23)	73.9% (17/23)	n.a.	33.3% (3/9)	66.7% (6/9)	n.a.

Table 4: Negation results SP test 1. Test group: extended and core group, 0 hours of instruction

⁵⁹ Remember from the general remarks in Subsection 4.2.1, above, that the negation data will be treated as an *additional* “window” into the current state of the learner grammar and the development of the learner language. For this reason, the negation data will not always be analyzed in as much detail as they could be; instead, they will only be discussed with respect to selected, relevant phenomena.

Group	Control group – extended (n=21)			Control group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	8.8% (3/34)	91.2% (31/34)	0.0% (0/34)	7.7% (1/13)	92.3% (12/13)	0.0% (0/13)
Auxiliary verbs	21.9% (7/32)	71.9% (23/32)	6.2% (2/32)	10.0% (1/10)	90.0% (9/10)	0.0% (0/10)
Lexical verbs	6.2% (1/16)	93.8% (15/16)	n.a.	0.0% (0/7)	100% (7/7)	n.a.
Copula verb	13.6% (3/22)	86.4% (19/22)	n.a.	0.0% (0/8)	100% (8/8)	n.a.

Table 5: Negation results SP test 1. Control group: extended and core group, 0 hours of instruction

The data show that in both learner groups, the majority of test sentences of all verb types were constructed with pre-finite negation. This pre-finite positioning of the sentential negator is ungrammatical in the target language but conforms to the L1 pattern (cf. (17), below) (and, incidentally, also to that of Latin).

- (17) a. *Sara non è tedesca.*
Sarah not be-3SG German
'Sarah is not German'
- b. *Sara non parla tedesco.*
Sarah not speak-3SG German
'Sarah doesn't speak German'
- c. *Sara non può parlare tedesco.*
Sarah not can-3SG speak-INF German
'Sarah cannot speak German'

Apparently, the phenomenon of cross-linguistic influence does not only operate in the domain of basic word order but also appears to be active in the domain of sentential negation. This would explain the extremely high number of pre-finite negated structures in SP test 1.

Apart from the NegVV/NegV pattern, there is another, though less frequent, negation strategy that could be consistently confirmed in all four structural conditions in the learner data, namely post-finite placement of the negator (for an illustration of this strategy, see (3b) and (4b), above). Interestingly, this pattern conforms to the target language rules, at least as regards the positioning of sentential negation. A closer look at the learners' linguistic background, as well as the existing findings on the L2 acquisition of sentential negation, shows that there seem to be two possible explanations for the present learners' linguistic performance. The first is based on the assumption of cross-linguistic influence, while the second takes into account more general strategies of utterance organization in early L2 acquisition. The first assumption will be addressed first.

Given that all the learners had English as an L2, and some of them also had knowledge of French, it might well be that they have transferred their knowledge of the grammar of sentential negation in these foreign languages to the, as yet, unknown German language system. Note that both English (18) and French (19) exhibit post-finite negation, and particularly in spoken French, there is a tendency to omit the pre-finite negation particle *ne* and to express sentential negation with only one element, *pas*, which occurs in post-finite position.⁶⁰

- (18) a. Sarah is not German.
- b. Sarah does not speak German.
- c. Sarah can not speak German.

⁶⁰ Note that in the Italian source language, negative elements can also occur in post-finite position. However, this only applies to negative adverbs (cf. (iv.a)) and reinforcing elements (cf. (iv.b)), while the sentential negator itself always occurs in pre-finite position.

- (iv) a. Non sono mai stata in India.
not be-1SG never be-PP in India
'I have never been to India'
- b. Non mi interessa mica questo libro.
Not me interest-3SG Neg this book
'This book doesn't interest me at all'

- (19) a. *Sarah (n) 'est pas allemande.*
 Sarah not-be-3SG Neg German
 'Sarah is not German'
- b. *Sarah (ne) parle pas allemand.*
 Sarah not speak-3SG Neg German
 'Sarah doesn't speak German'
- c. *Sarah (ne) peut pas parler allemand.*
 Sarah not can-3SG Neg speak-INF German
 'Sarah cannot speak German'

The knowledge of the patterns in (18) and (19) might therefore have prompted the learners to hypothesize that German might also have post-finite negation, which eventually lead to the production of VNegV structures with mod and aux and of VNeg structures with cop and lex.

The second possible explanation for the usage of post-finite negation in SP test 1 is that the learners followed a rather universal acquisition strategy. It is a well-established finding that in early untutored L2 acquisition, there is a clear tendency to place the negator *before* non-finite forms of lexical verbs but at the same time *after* early (proto)finite forms of the copula, modal verbs, and auxiliaries (see, for example, Bardel 1999; Becker 2005; Giuliano 2004; Perdue et al. 2002, as well as Subsection 2.1.3 of this thesis). Presumably, the learners' motive was to place the finiteness carrying element of the clause in a position outside the (surface) scope of sentential negation. For this reason, verb forms that were analyzed as [+finite] by the learners, were realized *before* the negator, resulting in post-finite negated patterns. Given these findings, it is likely that the VNegV and VNeg patterns that the participants produced before their first hour of exposure to the German target language, reflect exactly this information structure based organization of early negated utterances. This assumption is supported by the fact that in absolute numbers, VNegV and VNeg patterns occurred more often with light verbs, i.e. with mod, aux, and cop, than with lexical verbs in the SP test 1 data (cf. Table 4 and 5, above). Note that the prospective classroom learners' linguistic behavior conforms to that of untutored learners, who prefer to use post-verbal negation in structures with light verbs but pre-verbal negation in structures with lexical verbs. As mentioned above, the reason for the different

treatment of these two verbal subclasses of negated structures, lies in the different functions attributed to these verbs by the learners: While light verbs are seen as the carrier of finiteness information, lexical verbs are perceived as the carrier of content information. As a matter of fact, it is only the verbal content information, but not the finiteness information, that shall be affected by sentential negation. Consequently, the negator is realized *after* light verbs but *before* lexical verbs, in the learner language. Given that at the time when they completed SP test 1, the participants had not yet received any instruction in German as a foreign language, it is quite possible that they behaved in the same way as untutored learners and used the same or similar strategies for the internal organization of their negated SP test sentences.

Finally, a third negation strategy could be found in SP test 1, namely that of positioning the negator after both the [+finite] and the [-finite] verb (for an illustration, see the examples in (3c), above). In the present SP test, the VVNeg pattern only occurred marginally, and mainly with auxiliary verbs but this strategy was to play an important role in subsequent SP tests, in particular in the control group. As will be argued in the following paragraph on SP test 2, the VVNeg strategy can be seen as a “stopgap solution”: Having realized, or in case of SP test 1, *assumed* that pre-finite negation is ungrammatical in German, the learners needed to find another position for the negator. Due to the lack of an appropriate syntactic position between V_{fin} and V_{inf} in the learner language, which would be provided by an OV/IPV2 grammar but not by a VO grammar (cf. Subsection 1.1.1, above), the negator was then realized after both the [+finite] and the [-finite] part of the utterance. (For a more detailed discussion of the post-infinite negation strategy as a stopgap solution, see the following paragraphs of this subsection, as well as Section 4.4, below).

All in all, the results of SP test 1 showed that both learner groups in this study began the acquisition of German as a foreign language with quite similar ideas about the word order rules of the new language to be learned. Apparently, their hypotheses on the target language structure were the result of cross-linguistic influence and / or resort to more general strategies of early L2 utterance organization. It should be pointed out that for both the experimental groups, the common point of departure as reflected in the results of SP test 1, constitutes an important precondition for the intended comparison of these two learner groups' further linguistic development under the influence of differently structured classroom input.

SP test 2 – 18 hours of instruction

For SP test 2, a total number of 251 sentences entered the test group analysis (n=22) (86 with mod, 79 with aux, 44 with lex, and 42 with cop), while 13 structures had to be discarded (two with mod, nine with aux, and two with cop). 198 test sentences could be analyzed for the control group (n=17) (66 with mod, 67 with aux, 32 with lex, and 33 with cop), and six structures had to be excluded from the analysis (two with mod, one with aux, two with lex, and one with cop).

By the time of testing, i.e. the 18th contact hour, the following word order patterns had been explicitly introduced to the test group learners: SVcopX structures (hour 1), OV patterns (hour 2), and SVmodOV patterns (hour 6). This means that this learner group had been presented with evidence of German’s underlying OV word order property for 16 contact hours. In contrast, the control group had only been presented with SVcopX and SVlexO structures (starting with hour 1), which means that evidence for the OV order of German was lacking in this learner group.

The word order results for SP test 2 are presented in Table 6 and Table 7, below.

Group Word order Verb type	Test group – extended (n=22)		Test group – core (n=8)	
	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	94.2% (81/86)	5.8% (5/86)	100% (32/32)	0.0% (0/32)
Auxiliary verbs	77.2% (61/79)	22.8% (18/79)	77.4% (24/31)	22.6% (7/31)
Lexical verbs	6.8% (3/44)	93.2% (41/44)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)
Copula verb	0.0% (0/42)	100% (42/42)	0.0% (0/15)	100% (15/15)

Table 6: Word order results SP test 2. Test group: extended and core group, 18 hours of instruction

Group	Control group – extended (n=17)		Control group – core (n=8)	
	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	0.0% (0/66)	100% (66/66)	0.0% (0/31)	100% (31/31)
Auxiliary verbs	0.0% (0/67)	100% (67/67)	0.0% (0/32)	100% (32/32)
Lexical verbs	0.0% (0/32)	100% (32/32)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)
Copula verb	0.0% (0/33)	100% (33/33)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)

Table 7: Word order results SP test 2. Control group: extended and core group, 18 hours of instruction

The data in Table 6 show that in the test group, the vast majority of all the test sentences produced in SP test 2, in both the mod and the aux condition, exhibited a target-like SVOV order. This is a fundamental difference compared to the test group's results for SP test 1, which do not involve a single target-like instance of an SVOV pattern. In the mod condition, the core test group learners' use of correct SVOV orders was 100%. Note that in this case, a t-test cannot be applied because the standard error of the difference is 0. For the aux condition, a paired t-test showed that the change in the learners' linguistic behavior was highly significant ($t(7) = 6.063$, $p = 0.001$).⁶¹

The mod and aux results for the control group (cf. Table 7) are in clear contrast to those of the test group. In fact, none of the control group's modal verb or auxiliary sentences from SP test 2 exhibited the target-like SVOV order. The difference between the two learner groups was significant for the extended groups in the mod condition ($t(21.000) = 20.36$, $p < 0.001$ and in the aux condition $t(21.000) = 9.296$, $p < 0.001$), as well as for the core groups in the aux condition ($t(7.000) = 6.063$, $p = 0.001$ for the aux condition). For the mod condition, in which the core test group's correctness rate for SVOV orders was 100% but that of the core control group was 0.0%, t cannot be computed because the standard deviation of both groups is 0.

⁶¹ Remember that a paired t-test can only be applied to the core group data (and not to the extended group data), since only in case of the core groups the learner population at time n is identical to that at time n+x.

Given that the main difference in the two learner groups' instructional treatment was the presence vs. absence of specific word order patterns (OV vs. VO) in the classroom input, it seems likely that the differences found between the two learner groups in the mod and the aux condition of SP test 2, can be attributed to precisely those word order differences in the classroom input. As far as the test group is concerned, OV orders were presented from hour 2 onward. Apparently, this evidence of German's underlying OV word order caused most of the learners to abandon their initial VO hypothesis about German and to replace it with an OV hypothesis. Furthermore, the two test group learners who chose SOVV orders in SP test 1, were now also using correct SVOV patterns. The details of the extended test group learners' behavior were as follows: 20 out of the 22 participants used target-like SVOV orders in the mod condition exclusively, only one learner used target-deviant SVVO structures, and another learner showed variation between these two word order patterns. Interestingly, the majority of the extended test group learners successfully transferred their knowledge of how to construct modal verb sentences in German to German auxiliary structures. In fact, 16 test group participants used correct SVOV orders with auxiliaries although such patterns had never been presented in the classroom input. Only four of the test group learners used target-deviant SVVO orders in the aux condition of SP test 2, while two learners employed a mixture of SVOV and SVVO patterns.

All eight learners in the core group of the test group, used SVOV orders with modal verbs. Five of them successfully transferred this target-like word order to structures with auxiliaries, while one learner used target-deviant SVVO patterns. The remaining two participants showed variation between SVOV and SVVO structures.

As far as the control group is concerned, the input patterns presented to their class were quite different from those presented to the test group. Crucially, the control group's input did not contain OV orders. Instead, VO orders with *lex* and *cop* were presented. This means that this group were not given evidence of the underlying OV word order of German. Apparently, the structural properties of the classroom input they were given, encouraged the control group learners to retain their initial, target-deviant VO hypothesis. As a result, the only patterns used in both the mod and the aux condition of SP test 2, were SVVO orders lacking a target-like sentence bracket. Interestingly, also the two control group participants who had started the acquisition of German with an OV assumption, reflected by their usage of SOVV orders with mod and aux in SP test 1, now used SVVO patterns consistently. It is assumed that the presentation of only VO orders in the language

class, had suggested to these two learners that German might be a VO language. Consequently, they used SVVO orders in both modal verb and auxiliary structures in SP test 2, just like their classmates. All in all, the control group learners produced 100% target-deviant SVVO patterns in the mod, as well as in the aux, condition of SP test 2 (cf. Table 7, above). The fact that this target-deviant word order was applied indiscriminately to both modal verb and auxiliary sentences, suggests that the usage of target-like SVOV orders with auxiliaries by most of the test group learners, could actually be traced back to the presentation of SVOV patterns with modal verbs in the classroom input. If a different linguistic knowledge source was responsible for the test group learners' production of SVOV orders with auxiliary verbs, then target-like SVOV patterns with auxiliaries should also have been found in the control group learners' production.

In the copula condition, both the test and control group learners used 100% target-like SVO orders. This means that those learners (20 in the test group and 19 in the control group) who had already used target-like SVO orders with lexical verbs in SP test 1, must have maintained their initial assumption. The rest of the participants, i.e. the two test group learners and two control group learners who had chosen an SOV/OSV order with the copula in SP test 1, seem to have revised and adapted their assumptions in accordance with the target language rules. It can be assumed, for both learner groups, that the maintenance / adoption of the VO hypothesis for cop was the result of SVO patterns with the copula being presented in the classroom input. Bear in mind, from Subsection 2.2.1, in particular, Table 11, above, that copula patterns were presented in both language classes from the beginning of instruction onward. The copula was treated in the same way in both experimental groups. This fact may account for the two learner groups' equally high correctness rates in the cop condition of SP test 2.

In the lexical verb condition, the control group learners use 100% correct SVO orders (cf. Table 7, above). Given that SVO patterns with lexical verbs were presented from hour 1 of the traditional syllabus onward, these learners' linguistic behavior is hardly surprising. Apparently, the presentation of SVlexO orders with lexical verbs in the classroom input, encouraged the learners to maintain their initial VO hypothesis for the German target system. (Remember that SVO with lexical verbs was also the dominant pattern in SP test 1.) The two control group learners who had started with an OV hypothesis, reflected by their usage of SOV/OSV orders in SP test 1, had abandoned their initial hypothesis and also used target-like SVO orders. Presumably, this change in the learners'

linguistic behavior can be attributed to the fact that the classroom input provided evidence against their SOV/OSV assumption for lexical verbs.

In the test group (extended group), 93.2% of all lexical verb sentences in SP test 2 were constructed with a correct SVO order (cf. Table 6, above). Given that SVO patterns with [+finite] lexical verbs were not, or only very marginally, cf. Appendix B and C, contained in the classroom input, the learners' linguistic performance was quite surprising. Apparently, the simple fact that the input did not provide *counterevidence* to their initial VO hypothesis for structures with [+finite] lexical verbs, was enough for the majority of the test group learners to retain this initial assumption. However, in the case of structures with [-finite] lexical verbs, that is, in the case of auxiliary and modal verb patterns, the learners had revised their initial VO assumption because the OV input with [-finite] lexical verbs provided counterevidence to the correctness of this hypothesis. The test group's retention of the VO hypothesis for structures with lexical verbs might have been supported by the presentation of SVO orders with the copula in the classroom input. Such structures qualify the clause-second position as a position in which a [+finite] verb could occur, while [-finite] verbs have, as evidenced by simple OV patterns and SVOV structures with mod, to be realized clause-finally.

As can be seen from Table 6, above, 6.8% of all lexical verb sentences in SP test 2 (that is, 3 out of a total of 44 sentences) were constructed with a target-deviant SOV order. A closer look at the individual learner data shows that one of the learners who had chosen to use OV orders with lexical verbs in SP test 1, had also used this pattern in SP test 2. In contrast, a second learner who had consistently used target-like SVO orders with lexical verbs in SP test 1, produced only one target-like SVO pattern in SP test 2, while the other test sentence with a [+finite] lexical verb exhibited a target-deviant SOV structure. Presumably, the clause-final occurrence of a [-finite] lexical verb in OV/SVOV patterns had caused this learner to overgeneralize that word order pattern in structures with [+finite] lexical simple verbs. In fact, this individual case can be seen as an example of a negative consequence of the initially (almost) exclusive presentation of OV orders in the naturalistic language class. However, the slight difference in accuracy between the test group on the one hand (93.2% correct SVO orders) and the control group on the other hand (100% correct SVO orders) in the lex condition of SP test 2 is not statistically significant ($t(21.000) = -1.368$, ns).

In the core group of the test group, all the lexical verb sentences produced in SP test 2 exhibited the target-like SVO order (cf. Table 6). The one core group learner who

had begun the classroom acquisition process with an OV hypothesis, reflected by the usage of OV orders with all verb types, now used correct SVO orders with lexical verbs. It can be assumed that the presentation of VO orders with [+finite] forms of the copula, together with the provision of OV orders with [-finite] lexical verbs, made evident to the learner that only [-finite], and not [+finite], verb forms occur clause-finally in German. Consequently, he used target-like SVO orders with [+finite] lexical verbs in SP test 2.

After this discussion of the word order results, the negation data from SP test 2 will now be considered. Before the time of testing, i.e. the 18th contact hour, negated structures with the copula had occurred relatively frequently in the classroom input for both experimental groups (see, for example, (9) and (11) in Appendix C). In the control group, there were a few instances of negated patterns with lexical verbs (see, for example, (4b) and (9), footnote 85, in Appendix C) while two negated structures with modal verbs had been presented in the test group (cf. (6a) and (9) in Appendix C). It should be pointed out that the phenomenon of German sentential negation had not been explicitly introduced to either of the two learner groups. For this reason, it is interesting to see how the learners dealt with German sentential negation at this point of development. The negation results for the test group and the control group are listed in Table 8 and Table 9, below.

Group Neg pattern Verb type	Test group – extended (n=22)			Test group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	90.9% (40/44)	9.1% (4/44)	0.0% (0/44)	87.5% (14/16)	12.5% (2/16)	0.0% (0/16)
Auxiliary verbs	78.4% (29/37)	10.8% (4/37)	10.8% (4/37)	85.7% (12/14)	14.3% (2/14)	0.0% (0/14)
Lexical verbs	72.7% (8/11)	27.3% (3/11)	n.a.	75.0% (3/4)	25.0% (1/4)	n.a.
Copula verb	96.8% (30/31)	3.2% (1/31)	n.a.	91.7% (11/12)	8.3% (1/12)	n.a.

Table 8: Negation results SP test 2. Test group: extended and core group, 18 hours of instruction

Group Neg pattern Verb type	Control group – extended (n=17)			Control group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	39.4% (13/33)	6.1% (2/33)	54.5% (18/33)	46.7% (7/15)	13.3% (2/15)	40.0% (6/15)
Auxiliary verbs	36.4% (12/33)	9.1% (3/33)	54.5% (18/33)	40.0% (6/15)	6.7% (1/15)	53.3% (8/15)
Lexical verbs	66.7% (10/15)	33.3% (5/15)	n.a.	50.0% (4/8)	50.0% (4/8)	n.a.
Copula verb	94.7% (18/19)	5.3% (1/19)	n.a.	88.9% (8/9)	11.1% (1/9)	n.a.

Table 9: Negation results SP test 2. Control group: extended and core group, 18 hours of instruction

The data in Table 8 and Table 9 show that in contrast to SP test 1, the vast majority of test sentences did *not* exhibit the L1-like NegV(V) pattern, indicating that most of the learners had given up their initial pre-finite negation strategy. This was true for both experimental groups. To be precise, only three test group learners and four control group learners used NegV(V) patterns with one or more verb type(s). The interesting question now is what negation strategy was chosen by the rest of the learners in each of the two groups.

In the test group, the predominant pattern in all four verb conditions of SP test 2 was target-like post-finite negation, both in the extended group and in the core group. In comparison to SP test 1, there was a significant difference in the mod condition ($t(7) = -3.416$, $p < 0.05$), and in the aux condition ($t(6) = -5.284$, $p < 0.01$). In the cop condition, the change in the learners' structural preferences was not significant on the group level [20] ($t(6) = -2.121$, ns), although it was quite obvious in the individual learner data. In the lexical verb condition, the percentage of correctly negated utterances was clearly higher in SP test 2 than SP test 1 but due to the overall small sample size and the fact that only two core group learners used negation with lexical verbs in both SP test 1 and SP test 2, no statistically significant results could be obtained.

As regards the mod and the cop condition, the change in the test group learners' linguistic behavior can be seen as a direct reaction to the input patterns presented in class. As mentioned above, VNeg patterns with the copula were used quite frequently in the language class, but VNegV patterns with mod were also presented and used in the lessons. In the first instance, these patterns show the learners that German does not have pre-finite negation and that the negator has to be placed *after* the [+finite] verb. Secondly, the negated modal verb patterns clearly show that sentential negation in German is post-finite but pre-infinitive. Finally, SVOV orders in general, whether negated or non-negated, can be seen as an important source of information when trying to determine the correct position of the sentential negator in L2 German. In fact, only SVOV orderings demonstrate the existence of the syntactic position of a middle field in German, that is, the existence of a position between V_{fin} and V_{inf}. As a matter of fact, knowing that this position is available is a necessary prerequisite for the post-finite but pre-infinitive, realization of the sentential negator in German. As SVOV orders with modal verbs had been introduced in hour 6 of the naturalistic language class, the test group learners were equipped with knowledge of the middle field slot's existence in German. Consequently, those learners who had already favored post-finite negation in SP test 1, were able to maintain their VNegV strategy in SP test 2, and the majority of the learners who had used pre-finite negation in the first SP test, adapted their linguistic behavior in accordance with the evidence provided by the target language input. Overall, this amounts to 90.9% correctly negated structures in the mod condition and 96.8% correctly negated structures in the cop condition of SP test 2 (cf. Table 8, above). Interestingly, the VNeg(V) strategy was also applied to 78.4% of all structures with auxiliaries and to 72.7% of all structures with lexical verbs. (Remember from Table 5 in Subsection 3.3.3.4, above, that such patterns, neither negated nor non-negated, had not yet been presented in the test group classroom input at the time of completing SP test 2.)

It becomes evident from Table 8, above, that in addition to pre-finite and post-finite negation, a third strategy was used in 10.8% of all negated auxiliary sentences produced by the extended test group, namely that of post-infinitive negation. The usage of this, theoretically possible, pattern might be explained by the fact that the classroom input did not provide counterevidence to VVNeg orders with auxiliaries in German.

A final remark in the discussion of the test group negation data relates to the usage of sentential negation in structures with the copula, in comparison to structures with lexical verbs. Bear in mind, from the introduction of the method and the concrete design of

the SP test in Subsection 3.3.3.1, above, that there was a combined cop / lex section in each of the four SP subtests. This means that as regards the usage of sentential negation, the learners were free to decide whether they wanted to insert the two negators provided into the combined cop / lex section, into the copula, or into the lexical verb clauses. Interestingly, the negator was used in combination with the [+finite] copula verb much more often than with [+finite] lexical verbs. In the extended group, 21 out of the 22 learners produced a total of 31 instances of sentential negation with cop, but only 10 learners produced negated utterances with lex, 11 in total. In the core group, all eight learners produced a total of 14 negated structures with cop, while three learners produced four negated sentences with lex.

There are two possible explanations for the test group learners' behavior. On the one hand, their performance might reflect a certain avoidance strategy. Given that, at the time of testing, structures with [+finite] lexical verbs had not yet been introduced in the test group language class, it might well be that learners, either intentionally or unintentionally, avoided using a negator in these unfamiliar lexical verb patterns. Instead, they preferred to insert the negators in structures with the copula, which were familiar to them from the classroom input. On the other hand, the preference for using sentential negation in copula sentences might reflect the learners' reliance on principles of information structure in the organization of their early utterances. Remember from the discussion of Becker's (2005) and Parodi's (2000) findings in Subsection 2.1.3, above, that untutored L2 learners first use light verbs, i.e. the copula verb, auxiliaries, and modal verbs, in [+finite] negated clauses, and only later combine [+finite] lexical verbs with sentential negation. As argued by Becker (2005), learners interpret light verbs as the carrier of the assertion operator AST. For this reason, it is comparatively easy for the beginning untutored L2 learner to determine the position of the operator AST in relation to another operator, namely NEG, however, it is rather difficult to integrate NEG into structures with [+finite] lexical verbs, which carry both grammatical (including assertion) and lexical information. As regards the classroom learners in this study, it may well be that just like untutored L2 learners, they also rely on more general information structural knowledge in the organization of their utterances. As a result, they prefer to use sentential negation in combination with the [+finite] copula verb, since [+finite] copula verb structures are more transparent information structurally than [+finite] structures with lexical verbs.

The control group negation data will now be considered. As was the case with the test group, the overwhelming majority of the test sentences produced by the control group

learners in SP test 2 no longer exhibited target-deviant, pre-finite negation. Table 9, above, shows that only 6.1% of all sentences with *mod*, 9.1% of all sentences with *aux*, 33.3% of all sentences with *lex*, and 5.3% of all sentences with *cop*, were constructed with pre-finite negation. This change in the learners' linguistic behavior can be attributed to the fact that the classroom input provided counterevidence to the initial preference for a pre-finite negation strategy. However, in contrast to the test group in which the target-deviant NegV(V) patterns were mainly replaced with target-like VNeg(V) orders in all four verb conditions, the control group data show that in the *mod* and *aux* condition of SP test 2, target-deviant VVNeg orders were the new, predominantly used, negation pattern. All in all, target-deviant patterns, whether VVNeg or NegVV, characteristically dominated negated structures in both the *mod* and the *aux* condition, in both the extended and the core control group. This is significantly different from the test group, in which the majority of test sentences exhibited the target-like VNegV order in the *mod* condition ($t(24.861) = 3.951, p = 0.001$, extended groups), as well as in the *aux* condition ($t(34) = 2.703, p < 0.05$, extended groups). How can the control group learners' linguistic behavior be explained? Regarding the NegVV strategy, the usage of this pattern seems to indicate that mechanisms of cross-linguistic borrowing are still at work in the domain of sentential negation in some of the learners' interim grammar. Remember that this was also the case for a small number of test group learners. The rest of the learners have obviously inferred, from the input, that German does not have pre-finite negation. The strategy of using the target-deviant VVNeg order seems to be the result of the learners' assumption about the underlying word order of the target system. As reflected by the word order data for SP test 2, the control group learners seem to have assumed that German has an underlying VO order. Given that a VO grammar does not usually provide a syntactic field like the German middle field, learners who favor a VO hypothesis and consequently, perceive the V_{fin}V_{inf} complex to be a fixed syntactic unit, simply do not have a position between V_{fin} and V_{inf} available into which they could place the negator. Consequently, the sentential negator is realized *after* both the [+finite] and the [-finite] verb and is positioned either before the object (SVVNegO), or absolutely clause-finally (SVVONeg). Note that in the German target language, instances of clause final realization of the sentential negator can be found in both structures with intransitive and transitive verbs, given that the respective clause involves only a simple verb. For an illustration, see (20), below:

- (20) a. Das Mädchen schläft nicht.
 the girl sleep-3SG not
 ‘The girl doesn’t sleep’
- b. Ich lese dieses Buch nicht.
 I read-1SG this book not
 ‘I don’t read this book’

Patterns such as those in (20), which were contained in the classroom input to some extent, might have given the learners the impression that German featured clause-final sentential negation. This may then have caused the learners to also place the negator in the clause-final position in structures with modal verbs and auxiliaries, resulting in VVNeg patterns.

Finally, the control group learners’ usage of target-deviant SVVNegO patterns might be the result of overgeneralizing the post-verbal occurrence of the negator in structures with [+finite] lexical verbs (e.g. . . . , *aber wir wohnen nicht zusammen*. ‘. . . but – we – live-1PL – not – together’, cf. (9), footnote 12, in Appendix C) to structures with [-finite] lexical verbs. Such an overgeneralization should then entail production of target-deviant SVVNegO orders with modal verbs and auxiliaries (cf., for example, (3c-II), above, *Heike kann spielen nicht Fussbal*. ‘Heike – can-3SG – play-INF – not – soccer’).

Remarkably, no such problems with the placement of sentential negation could be observed in the test group. Here, the SVOV input provides an appropriate syntactic position for the realization of sentential negation and makes evident exactly where the negator must be placed. It did not seem to be a problem for the test group learners to split up the V_{fin}V_{inf} complex and position linguistic material, including the negator, in between V_{fin} and V_{inf}. In other words, the test group learners seem to have the German middle field available, resulting from the establishment of the position of the right sentence bracket on the one hand, and the left sentence bracket on the other, in the learner language. As a result, the test group learners did not need to resort to alternative, target-deviant negation strategies and, in contrast to the control group, VVNeg patterns occurred only rarely in the test group data. Furthermore, such patterns were restricted to structures with auxiliaries, a pattern type that had not yet been presented in the classroom input.

However, it should be noted that despite the control group’s general preference for target-deviant negation patterns in SP test 2, a considerable number of test sentences

with modal verbs and auxiliaries did exhibit the correct VNegV order.⁶² As can be seen from Table 9, above, this was the case for 39.4% of all mod sentences and 36.4% of all aux sentences produced by the extended control group. The correctness rates were slightly higher in the core group (46.7% correct VNegV sentences with mod, and 40.0% with aux). These results came as a surprise, given that the control group classroom input did not contain negated patterns with modal verbs or auxiliaries. There are two possible explanations for this learners' linguistic performance. First, it is possible that the learners have inferred, from SVNegX structures with the copula and SVNegO/X patterns with lexical verbs, that German features post-finite negation. Consequently, they also used post-finite negation in structures with modal verbs and auxiliaries. However, two of the control group learners who chose target-like post-finite negation with mod and aux, used target-deviant pre-finite negation with lexical verbs. This observation constitutes an argument against the assumption that post-finite negation with mod and aux might have been inferred from post-finite negation with lex and cop. At the same time, the fact that the two control group learners used target-deviant NegV patterns with lex, *despite* the *presence* of target-like [+finite] VlexNeg patterns in the input, together with the fact that they used correct VNegV orders with mod and aux *despite* the *absence* of such patterns in the input, directly leads to the second possible explanation for the usage of post-finite negated structures with mod and aux in the control group. As was argued in the SP test 1 section, above, the learners' use of post-finite negation with modal verbs and auxiliaries might reflect them resorting to more general principles of basic utterance organization. Bear in mind, from the discussion in Subsection 2.1.3, above, that light verbs, i.e. the copula, auxiliaries, and modal verbs, all of which occur exclusively as [+finite] forms in early untutored learner language, tend to be moved out of the scope of sentential negation. This results in apparently target-like VfinNeg(Vinf) patterns. However, at the same time, untutored learners favor pre-verbal negation with lexical verbs. A closer look at the control group data shows that pre-finite negation with lexical verbs occurred relatively frequently: 33.3% of all the sentences produced in the extended group and 50.0% of the sentences produced in the core group, exhibited target-deviant pre-finite negation. Pre-finite negated sentences were considerably less frequent in the copula condition (5.3% in

⁶² Remember from Subsection 4.2.2, above, in particular example (3), that the negation data were only coded with respect to the relative position of the [+finite] verb, the [-finite] verb, and the negator, while other word order properties were largely ignored. This means that VNegV orders include both SVNegOV patterns and SVNegVO patterns. It should be pointed out that in the case of the control group learners' negation data for SP test 2, all the target-like post-finite negated utterances with mod and aux exhibited a target-deviant VO word order.

the extended group and 11.1% in the core group). These numbers suggest that principles of early utterance organization, like those that can be found in naturalistic L2 acquisition, are, at least partially, also present in instructed acquisition. Consequently, the control group learners' usage of correct post-finite negation with modal verbs and auxiliaries might be the result of them employing precisely these naturalistically based principles: The [+finite] light verb, i.e. the modal verb or the auxiliary, is realized before the negator, which, in turn, occurs before the [-finite] lexical verb. Remember that the L2 learner's central intention here is to express basic scope relations directly in the surface structure of the utterance. However, virtually coincidentally, this utterance organization has the side effect of producing target-like placement of the negator in structures with modal verbs and auxiliaries. Crucially, such correctly negated mod and aux patterns could also be found in almost half of the control group learners. In other words, it seems likely that it was actually *implicit* linguistic knowledge of utterance organization that caused some of the control group learners to produce target-like VNegV patterns in SP test 2, even before such patterns had been presented and dealt with in class. Preferably, implicit linguistic knowledge of that type should be considered and used in the context of foreign language teaching, a fact which seems to be taken into account by the naturalistic but not the traditional, curriculum.

Interim summary I

All in all, the results of the two SP tests presented so far, suggest that, initially, the learners' hypotheses about the structure of the German target language are largely determined by mechanisms of cross-linguistic influence. After exposure to target language input, the maintenance or revision of the initial hypotheses, as well as the overall development of the learner grammar, appears to be crucially dependent on the specific input structure(s) presented to the learners in the language class. In the test group, the OV input presented in class offered counterevidence to the initially favored VO hypothesis. Consequently, the participants revised and adapted their assumptions about the target language system, reflected by the production of target-like SVOV patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries. In contrast, no such counterevidence to a potentially underlying VO order in German was presented to the control group. As a result, the control group learners maintained their initial VO hypothesis and used target-deviant SVVO orders with both modal verbs and auxiliaries.

Interestingly, the test group learners' performance in the lex condition was not negatively affected by the lack of [+finite] SVlexO patterns and the almost exclusive presentation of OV orders with [-finite] lexical verbs in the classroom input. Presumably, this was because the input did not provide counterevidence to the correctness of SVO orders with [+finite] lexical verbs in German. It only showed that [-finite] lexical verbs had to be placed to the right of the object in the German target language.

Finally, the negation data for SP test 1 and SP test 2 suggest that basic, information structure based, strategies of early utterance organization, such as can be found in naturalistic L2 acquisition, also play a role in the instructed acquisition of German.

SP test 3 – 40 hours of instruction

For SP test 3 (n=21 in the test group, n=14 in the control group), it was possible to analyze 252 test group sentences (84 with mod, 83 with aux, 42 with lex, and 42 cop) and 168 control group sentences (56 with mod, 56 with aux, 28 with lex, and 28 with cop), while only one structure had to be excluded from the analysis (an aux sentence produced by a test group learner).

As regards the input situation in the test group, the structures presented in class before SP test 3 (i.e. up to hour 40) were largely identical to those that had been presented prior to SP test 2. That is, at the time they completed sentence puzzle test 3, the learners had been provided with OV patterns, with SVO patterns with the copula, and with SVOV structures with modal verbs.

In the control group, the input situation for SP test 3 was different to that of SP test 2. At the time of completing SP test 2, the control group learners had only been presented with SVO patterns with the copula and with lexical verbs. In the 34th contact hour, however, SVOV patterns with particle verbs were introduced in class, meaning that the control group learners were presented with evidence for the underlying OV word order of German for the first time. The interesting question is whether the learners were able to interpret the SVOV particle verb constructions in favor of an underlying OV order in German. If so, they should now use SVOV orders in both the mod and the aux condition in SP test 3.

The test group and the control group results for SP test 3 are presented in Table 10 and Table 11, respectively.

Group Word order Verb type	Test group – extended (n=21)		Test group – core (n=8)	
	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	90.5% (76/84)	9.5% (8/84)	93.8% (30/32)	6.2% (2/32)
Auxiliary verbs	67.5% (56/83)	32.5% (27/83)	81.3% (26/32)	18.7% (6/32)
Lexical verbs	19.1% (8/42)	80.1% (34/42)	12.5% (2/16)	87.5% (14/16)
Copula verb	0.0% (0/42)	100% (42/42)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)

Table 10: Word order results SP test 3. Test group: extended and core group, 40 hours of instruction

Group Word order Verb type	Control group – extended (n=14)		Control group – core (n=8)	
	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	0.0% (0/56)	100% (56/56)	0.0% (0/32)	100% (32/32)
Auxiliary verbs	0.0% (0/56)	100% (56/56)	0.0% (0/32)	100% (32/32)
Lexical verbs	0.0% (0/28)	100% (28/28)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)
Copula verb	0.0% (0/28)	100% (28/28)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)

Table 11: Word order results SP test 3. Control group: extended and core group, 40 hours of instruction

A first look at the data in Table 10 and Table 11 shows that the results of SP test 3 were relatively similar to those of SP test 2. As far as the test group is concerned, this was what would have been expected because the input situation was the same for both tests and up to this point, the input has appeared to be an influential factor in the learners' linguistic

development in the domain of word order. However, for the control group, the different input situation for SP test 3, as compared to SP test 2, could have led to different results, at least in the mod and the aux condition of both the tests. The test group data will be discussed first, followed by a closer consideration of the control group results.

In the mod condition, the test group data show a slight decrease in accuracy in SP test 3, compared to SP test 2 (94.2% correct SVOV orders in SP test 2 vs. 90.5% correct SVOV orders in SP test 3 in the extended group, and 100% correct SVOV vs. 93.8% correct SVOV in the core group). However, this difference is not statistically significant ($t(7) = 1.000$, ns). As far as the individual learners' linguistic behavior is concerned, 18 out of 21 extended test group learners used target-like SVOV orders, one learner used target-deviant SVVO patterns, and two other learners showed variation between SVOV and SVVO orders. In the core group, seven out of eight learners used SVOV, while one learner varied between SVOV and SVVO. (All the core group learners had used target-like SVOV orders in SP test 2. In the extended group, one learner used SVVO orders, and another learner showed variation between SVOV and SVVO.)

In the aux condition, there was also a slight decrease in the correct application of the OV order in the extended test group (77.2% SVOV in SP test 2 vs. 67.5% SVOV in SP test 3). In the core group, the results were slightly better in SP test 3 than in SP test 2 (81.3% vs. 77.4%), although this difference was not statistically significant ($t(7) = -0.314$, ns). On the individual learner level, the distributions in SP test 3 were as follows: In the extended group, 13/21 learners SVOV, 5/21 learners SVVO, and 3/21 learners SVOV/SVVO (SP test 2: 16/22 learners SVOV, 4/22 learners SVVO, 2/22 learners SVOV/SVVO). In the core group, 6/8 learners SVOV, 1/8 learners SVVO, and 1/8 learners SVOV/SVVO (SP test 2: 5/8 learners SVOV, 1/8 learners SVVO, 2/8 learners SVOV/SVVO). All in all, the core group learners slightly outperformed the extended group learners in the mod condition and in particular, in the aux condition. This might be due to the fact that the core group learners attended the lessons more frequently than those in the extended group. They therefore received more OV input and practiced the OV patterns more intensively. Consequently, their learner grammar developed increasingly in the direction of a target-like OV grammar, while in the extended group, the target-deviant VO feature was still slightly more dominant in the learner system.

An interesting development in the test group was reflected in the results for the lexical verb condition. While in SP test 2, 93.2% / 100% of all test sentences with lexical verbs were constructed with the target-like SVO order in the extended / core group, only

81.0% / 87.5% of all such test sentences exhibited the correct SVO order in the extended / core group in SP test 3.⁶³ The rest of the test sentences are constructed with a target-deviant SOV order in which the [+finite] lexical verb occurs clause-finally. Obviously, the almost exclusive presentation of OV and SVOV patterns with [-finite] lexical verbs in clause-final position had invited some of the test group learners to overgeneralize the OV order with [-finite] lexical verbs to structures with [+finite] lexical verbs. Given the subjects' L2 backgrounds, more precisely, their knowledge of Latin, it might well be that this overgeneralization was supported by the Latin OV grammar. Note, however, that the learners who used SOV orders with lexical verbs in SP test 3, are not those who used them in SP test 1.

Taking a comparative look at the test group data in Table 10, on the one hand, and the control group data in Table 11 on the other, it is obvious that the target-deviant overgeneralization of OV orders with [-finite] lexical verbs to structures with [+finite] lexical verbs which can be observed in some of the test group learners, seems to be the only negative effect of the test group input on the test group participants' linguistic development, as compared to that of the control group participants. In fact, the control group participants who were provided with SVO patterns with lexical verbs from the beginning of instruction onward, outperformed the test group participants in the lexical verb condition of SP test 3, by producing 100% correct SVO structures with lexical verbs (see also the data in Table 10 and 11, above). The difference in accuracy between the two experimental groups is significant for the extended groups ($t(20.000) = -2.169, p < 0.05$), but not for the core groups ($t(7.000) = -1.000, ns$). However, the test group clearly seems to have benefited from the input provided in class in all other respects. In both the modal verb and the auxiliary condition, the test group learners performed significantly better than the control group learners regarding the application of the correct SVOV word order ($t(20.000) = 16.203, p < 0.001$ for the mod condition, extended groups, $t(20.000) = 7.117, p < 0.001$ for the aux condition, extended groups, $t(7.000) = 15.000, p < 0.001$ for the mod condition, core groups, and $t(7.000) = 6.177, p < 0.001$ for the aux condition, core groups). In the copula condition, 100% correct application of the target-like SVO order could be observed for both the test and the control group.

Leaving aside the negative effect of the overgeneralization of V-end with [-finite] verb forms to V-end with [+finite] verb forms, as observed in the lex condition for some

⁶³ Again, this difference on the within-subject level is not significant ($t(7) = 1.000, ns$), but the tendency that shows up in the data appears to be worth discussing from a qualitative perspective here.

of the test group learners, this phenomenon of overgeneralization mirrors an aspect that is central to the present study, namely the impact of the specific structure of the classroom input on the learners' linguistic development. Specifically, the overgeneralized use of SOV orders with [+finite] lexical verbs suggests that the learners *really* work on the input patterns they are provided with and adopt them as an evidential source from which hypotheses on the target language structure can be deduced. Apparently, the learners are able to analyze the (SV)OV patterns provided in the language class, correctly, in favor of a clause-final verb position in German, that is, in favor of a head-final German VP. Bear in mind that this is precisely the intention behind the structural makeup of the naturalistic syllabus. The only problematic aspect seems to be that at this point in their development, some of the learners who are following the naturalistic syllabus have not yet realized that the clause-final verbal slot only hosts [-finite] verb forms and that [+finite] verb forms have to be realized in a structurally higher position in German. However, those learners have discovered the *underlying* verb position and this is what seems to be crucial for the further acquisition of the target language syntax. As can be seen from the SP test 4 results presented in Table 14, below, the overgeneralized use of SOV patterns with [+finite] lexical verbs appears to have been a temporary problem which was apparently resolved by the time SP test 4 was completed, that is, after 50 hours of instructed learning.

A last point to be addressed in the discussion of the SP test 3 word order results concerns the control group learners' performance in the mod and in the aux condition. As is evident from the data in Table 11, above, both the extended and core group learners used 100% incorrect SVOV orders here. Remember from the text above, that SVOV patterns with particle verbs were introduced in the 34th hour of the traditional syllabus language class. However, the learners were obviously unable to interpret these structures in favor of an underlying OV order in German. Otherwise, they would have used SVOV orders with modal verbs and / or auxiliaries in SP test 3, which was not the case. Interestingly, these outcomes seem to confirm the assumption proposed in Subsection 1.2.5 of this thesis, which expressed doubt that beginning GFL learners were really able to interpret SVOV patterns with particle verbs as evidence of an underlying OV order in the target system. All in all, the control group word order results from SP test 3 suggest that the learners were still following a VO assumption for the German target language.

The negation data for SP test 3 will be considered in the next step. The results for the four negation conditions are presented in Table 12 and Table 13, below.

Group Neg pattern Verb type	Test group – extended (n=21)			Test group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	94.7% (36/38)	5.3% (2/38)	0.0% (0/38)	100% (14/14)	0.0% (0/14)	0.0% (0/14)
Auxiliary verbs	66.7% (26/39)	17.9% (7/39)	15.4% (6/39)	75.0% (12/16)	25.0% (4/16)	0.0% (0/16)
Lexical verbs	55.0% (11/20)	45.0% (9/20)	n.a.	28.6% (2/7)	71.4% (5/7)	n.a.
Copula verb	77.3% (17/22)	22.7% (5/22)	n.a.	55.6% (5/9)	44.4% (4/9)	n.a.

Table 12: Negation results SP test 3. Test group: extended and core group, 40 hours of instruction

Group Neg pattern Verb type	Control group – extended (n=14)			Control group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	39.3% (11/28)	0.0% (0/28)	60.7% (17/28)	50.0% (8/16)	0.0% (0/16)	50.0% (8/16)
Auxiliary verbs	30.8% (8/26)	0.0% (0/26)	69.2% (18/26)	35.7% (5/14)	0.0% (0/14)	65.3% (9/14)
Lexical verbs	100% (10/10)	0.0% (0/10)	n.a.	100% (6/6)	0.0% (0/6)	n.a.
Copula verb	100% (18/18)	0.0% (0/18)	n.a.	100% (10/10)	0.0% (0/10)	n.a.

Table 13: Negation results SP test 3. Control group: extended and core group, 40 hours of instruction

For the test group, the data in Table 12 reflect a slight to moderate decrease in the correct application of the German VNeg rule in all verb conditions, with the exception of the

modal verb condition. This observation applies to both the extended group and the core group.⁶⁴ In the aux and the lex condition, these results could be explained by the lack of respective target structures in the input. It can be assumed that in SP test 2, which followed the first presentation of evidence for both OV and post-finite negation in German, the test group learners actively transferred this new knowledge of the target grammar to structures with verb types that did not occur in the input. Specifically, it could be supposed that the presentation of SVOV patterns with modal verbs, and of post-finite negated structures with mod and cop, prompted the test group learners to also use OV orders and post-finite negation with auxiliaries, as well as also applying VNeg orders to structures with lexical verbs. In SP test 3, this mechanism of transferring newly acquired knowledge to structures with verb types that did not occur in the input, appears to be somewhat weaker, presumably because it has not (yet!) been supported by positive evidence from the target language input. This assumption would also explain why the test group learners performed better in the mod condition of SP test 3, than in SP test 2: While SVOV patterns with mod, both negated and non-negated, had always been present in the classroom input, this was not the case for negated and non-negated SVOV orders with aux or for SVO orders with lex. Therefore, the initially used strategy of employing negation patterns which were familiar from the L1 seems to have regained its influence on the L2 learner grammar. Eventually, this learners' resort to L1-based negation strategies results in the more frequent production of target-deviant NegV(V) patterns in the aux and in the lex condition of SP test 3, than in SP test 2. In addition, the learners also turned to the VVNeg strategy, which was used in 15.4% of all test sentences with auxiliaries by the extended test group.

So far, the decrease in accuracy in the negation conditions has been attributed primarily to the lack of the respective target patterns in the classroom input. However, this explanation cannot be used in the case of the copula condition, since negated structures with the copula occurred frequently in the classroom input from the beginning of instruction onward. The employment of target-deviant NegV patterns in 22.7% of all negated copula sentences in the extended test group thus came as a surprise. Moreover, the fact that the core group data are less target-like than the extended group data, for both the cop and the lex condition was also unexpected (for the concrete numbers, see Table 12,

⁶⁴ Note that due to small sample sizes and / or variable composition of the groups in the different verb conditions of SP test 2 and SP test 3, statistical tests cannot be applied. However, distinct tendencies can be observed in the learner data which should be discussed.

above). In many other respects, the core group scored better than the extended group in the three SP tests discussed so far. How can the core group's usage of target-deviant negation patterns in SP test 3 be explained? The core group learner data also showed a considerable amount of inter- and intra-individual variation, to a greater extent than occurred in any of the other SP tests. Given these observations, as well as the fact that in SP test 4, the core group participants of the test group used correct post-finite negation in 100% of their sentences for all four verb conditions (cf. Table 16, below), it seems likely that this learner group's SP test 3 data reflect an ongoing reorganization of the internalized learner system. In other words, it can be assumed that at the time of completing SP test 3, the core group learners of the test group were in a transitional stage in their acquisition process. In such a stage, the interim grammar is quite vulnerable and open to diverse (structural) options. The transitional flexibility of the underlying learner grammar would explain both the occurrence of target-deviant patterns in the learner language, in general, and the phenomena of inter- and intra-individual variation in particular.

In the following paragraphs, the negation data of the control group will be discussed.

In both the lexical verb and the copula condition, the control group learners use of correct VNeg patterns was 100% (cf. Table 13, above). They therefore performed significantly better than the test group learners in the lex condition ($t(17.000) = -3.289$, $p < 0.01$, extended groups) and in the cop condition ($t(18.000) = -2.191$, $p < 0.05$, extended groups). The control group's very high correctness rates for both lex and cop can probably be attributed to the constant presentation of VNeg patterns with these two verb types in their classroom input. However, it should be noted that despite the control group learners' correct usage of German post-finite sentential negation with cop and lex, these structures should not be interpreted as evidence for them having mastered German post-finite negation generally. If the learners had actually acquired the target-like syntactic rules for the expression of German sentential negation, then the negator should occur *consistently* in post-finite position for *all* verb types, that is, also with modal verbs and auxiliaries. This, however, was not the case. As shown in Table 13, above, only 39.3% / 50.0% of all modal verb structures in the extended / core group, and only 30.8% / 35.7% of all auxiliary clauses in the extended / core group exhibited the target-like VNegV pattern. These observations are an argument against the assumption that the control group learners have successfully mastered post-finite German sentential negation.

From a qualitative perspective, the control group negation data in the mod and the aux condition of SP test 3 are quite similar to those of SP test 2. Two central negation strategies can be found in the learner data, namely post-finite negation and post-infinite negation, with the latter type being the preferred choice (cf. Table 13, above). A little used negation strategy from SP test 2, pre-finite negation, could no longer be found in the SP test 3 data. Presumably, the lack of evidence for pre-finite negation in German, and, moreover, provision of counterevidence to a potential NegV order, in the form of VNeg structures with cop and lex in the classroom input, prompted the control group learners to abandon the L1-like pre-finite negation strategy completely.

As argued in the SP test 1 and, in particular, the SP test 2 subsection, above, the control group learners' usage of a certain number of apparently target-like VNegV patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries, can most probably be attributed to the employment of semantically based principles of early L2 utterance organization. Given that light verbs, including modal verbs and auxiliaries, are interpreted as the carrier of the finiteness information by beginning L2 learners (e.g. Becker 2005; Klein 2006), the learners show a tendency to place the [+finite] light verb *before* the negator with the intention of moving the finiteness carrying element out of the *surface* scope of the negation operator. At the same time, the learners seek to include the [-finite] lexical verb, interpreted as the carrier of verbal content information, in the domain that is affected by sentential negation. For this reason, they place the negator *before* the [-finite] lexical verb, a strategy that finally results in target-like post-finite, but pre-infinite, realization of the negator (see, for example, Becker 2005).

The assumption that the classroom learners' early utterance organization is influenced by more general principles of information structuring is supported by an observation that has already been discussed in the context of the SP test 2 data. Apparently, sentential negation is used more often and by more learners in the cop than the lex condition: Of the 28 negators available in the combined cop / lex section of SP test 3, Neg was inserted into a structure with a lexical verb only ten times (by ten different learners), while sentential negation occurred 18 times in structures with a copula (produced by 14 learners). This means that only 35.7% (10/28) of all the sentences with a lexical verb that were produced in SP test 3, contain a negator, while structures with a copula verb are negated in 64.3% (18/28) of the cases (cf. the data in Table 11 and 13, above). This difference might indicate that sentential negation was easier for the classroom learners to handle when combined with light verbs, in that case the copula. In a negated copula structure,

the syntactically target-like post-finite position of the negator coincides with the information structurally appropriate slot for the expression of sentential negation: Given that the finiteness information itself is not to be negated, the negator is realized *after* the finiteness carrying element (see, again, Becker 2005). Hence, the scope relations are directly expressed in the surface order of elements. However, in the case of a lexical verb structure, it is the verb's lexical content information that will be affected by sentential negation. From an information structural perspective, this means that the negator would need to be placed *before* the [+finite] lexical verb, however, this seems to conflict with the syntactic rules of the target language. Presumably, it is a result of this conflict, that the acquisition of post-finite negation with lexical verbs constitutes a challenge for untutored L2 learners of German (e.g. Becker 2005; Parodi 2000). To return to the control group learners and their linguistic behavior in the negated cop and lex condition, they seem to partly avoid this challenge by inserting the majority of the 28 negators that they were supposed to use in the sentence puzzle test, into structures with a copula and the minority into structures with lexical verbs.

A last point to be addressed in this subsection relates to the control group's usage of target-deviant VVNeg patterns. This post-infinite negation strategy was the preferred option in both the mod and the aux condition of SP test 3 (cf. Table 13, above). As already explained in the discussion of the SP test 2 negation data, above, the VVNeg strategy seems to result from the learners' assumption that German might be a VO language. Consequently, their interim grammar does not provide an appropriate syntactic slot in between V_{fin} and V_{inf} into which the sentential negator could be placed. Therefore, it was positioned after both the finite and the infinite verb form in the majority of the SP test 3 mod and aux sentences.

To summarize, a comparison of the control group negation data and the test group negation data in the mod and in the aux condition reveals that the test group learners had a clear advantage over the control group learners with respect to the correct application of German post-finite sentential negation. The difference between the two experimental groups was significant in both the mod condition ($t(17.257) = 3.946, p = 0.001$, extended groups), and the aux condition ($t(31) = 2.128, p < 0.05$, extended groups). These results support the conclusion that the initial presentation of exclusively SVO patterns in the classroom input, as was the case in the control group language class, not only leads to the

establishment and subsequent maintenance of a target-deviant VO hypothesis for the German target system, but moreover, results in wrong assumptions about the syntax of German sentential negation with modal verbs and auxiliaries.

SP test 4 – 50 hours of instructions

For SP test 4, all the sentences produced by the test group and control group learners could enter the final analysis. This means that a total number of 156 test sentences were analyzed for the test group (n=13), (52 with mod, 52 with aux, 26 with lex, and 26 with cop). In the case of the control group (n=9), 108 sentences were included in the analysis (36 with mod, 36 with aux, 18 with lex, and 18 with cop).

As regards the input situation, both the test group and the control group had been presented with new word order patterns during the time between SP test 3 and SP test 4. In the test group, SVOV patterns with auxiliaries occurred in the classroom input for the first time. Again, these structures provided evidence for German's underlying OV order, as well as for the existence of a second, structurally higher, verbal position which is reserved for the atomic [+finite] verbal element of the clause. Overall, at this point, OV patterns had been present in the test group classroom input for 48 hours. In the control group, SVOV structures with modal verbs had recently been introduced in the class. Following the introduction of SVOV orders with particle verbs, at hour 34 of the language class, these SVOV patterns with modal verbs can be assumed to provide the participants of the traditional language course with the first *interpretable* evidence of an underlying OV order in the German target system. A look at the overview table, presented in Subsection 3.3.3.4, above, Table 5, shows that at the time of completing SP test 4, the control group learners had been presented with evidence for the underlying OV order in German for 16 contact hours. This is the same number of contact hours with OV evidence, that the test group had had at the time of completing SP test 2.

The word order results for SP test 4 are presented in Table 14 and 15, below.

Group Word order Verb type	Test group – extended (n=13)		Test group – core (n=8)	
	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	100% (52/52)	0.0% (0/52)	100% (32/32)	0.0% (0/32)
Auxiliary verbs	100% (52/52)	0.0% (0/52)	100% (32/32)	0.0% (0/32)
Lexical verbs	0.0% (0/26)	100% (26/26)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)
Copula verb	0.0% (0/26)	100% (26/26)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)

Table 14: Word order results SP test 4. Test group: extended and core group, 50 hours of instruction

Group Word order Verb type	Control group – extended (n=9)		Control group – core (n=8)	
	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	47.2% (17/36)	52.8% (19/36)	53.1% (17/32)	46.9% (15/32)
Auxiliary verbs	30.6% (11/36)	69.4% (25/36)	34.4% (11/32)	65.6% (21/32)
Lexical verbs	0.0% (0/18)	100% (18/18)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)
Copula verb	0.0% (0/18)	100% (18/18)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)

Table 15: Word order results SP test 4. Control group: extended and core group, 50 hours of instruction

The data in Table 14 show that the test group learners use of correct word orders was 100% in all four verb conditions. Obviously, the renewed presentation of evidence for German's OV word order property, as well as the demonstration that finiteness and thus,

the [+finite] verb of the clause, whether it is a lexical verb or a light verb, must be expressed in clause-second position, have finally triggered the reorganization of the learner system in accordance with the target-like values. Numerically, the most obvious improvement in the test group learners' performance in SP test 4, as compared to SP test 3, can be found in the auxiliary condition (cf. Table 10 and Table 14, above).⁶⁵ This observation underlines the crucial role of the (concrete) input patterns presented to the classroom learners in the course of acquisition. As can be seen from the word order data in Table 2, 6, and 10, above, the test group learners' usage of correct SVOV orders with auxiliary verbs had never been 100%, until the explicit introduction of SVOV structures with auxiliaries in the language class. There is no doubt that the comparatively high correctness rates in the aux conditions of SP test 2 and SP test 3, suggest that the test group learners were effectively transferring the SVOV orders with modal verbs that occurred in the classroom input to structures with auxiliaries, but they had never attained 100% accuracy. In other words, until SVOV patterns with auxiliary verbs were explicitly introduced, the target-deviant SVVO order was still the preferred word order pattern for some of the test group learners.

In addition to the crucial role played by the concrete input patterns in the learners' linguistic development, the SP test 4 data demonstrate that the test group learners were cognitively ready to integrate SVOV orders with auxiliary verbs into their learner grammar. This aspect seems to be important in the context of the teachability of German word order rules (e.g. Pienemann 1989, 1998).

Interestingly, the test group learners not only used 100% correct word orders with verb types and word order patterns that had occurred in the classroom input (i.e. with modal verb, auxiliaries, and the copula), but also with lexical verbs. At this point, SVO orders with lexical verbs had not been explicitly introduced in the test group language class. Bear in mind from the discussion of the SP test 1 and the SP test 2 data, above, that the test group learners' correct usage of SVO orders with lexical verbs was attributed to a (positive) effect of cross-linguistic influence. Furthermore, it was assumed that because the target language input simply did not provide *counterevidence* to the correctness of SVO orders with lexical verbs in German, most of the test group learners retained their

⁶⁵ Note that due to the relatively small sample size, a statistical comparison of the SP test 3 and SP test 4 test group data does not yield significant results for any of the four verb conditions. However, it should become clear from the data that, from a qualitative perspective, there is an important difference between the outcomes of the two SP tests: While in SP test 3, some of the test group learners were still using target-deviant word order patterns in the mod, the aux and the lex condition, this was no longer the case with SP test 4. Here, *all* the learners used target-like word order patterns in *all* the verb conditions.

initial assumptions. After a minor decrease in accuracy in SP test 3 (compare the discussion in the SP test 3 subsection, above), the test group participants used 100% correct SVO orders with lexical verbs in SP test 4, *without* having been exposed to such patterns in the classroom input. Obviously, their familiarity with SVO orders from their L1 and other L2s, together with evidence from the input that [+finite] verbs must be realized *left* of the object position in German, was a sufficient condition for learners whose L1 was VO to master the German SVO order with [+finite] lexical verbs. Remarkably, this was different in the aux condition, where 100% accuracy was only reached after both the explicit presentation and the practice of SVOV orders with auxiliaries in the language class. This observation implies the following: If a specific target structure (e.g. SVO with [+finite] lexical verbs) is familiar to the L2 learner from his / her L1 and / or other L2s, then the foreign language classroom input does not necessarily need to contain the respective target pattern, nor does the pattern need to be practiced in class for it to be mastered by the learner. However, if a specific target pattern (e.g. SVOV with auxiliaries) is *not* familiar from the L1 and / or other L2s, the respective pattern needs to be introduced and practiced in the foreign language class for it to be successfully mastered. This implication might appear trivial at first glance but it has been largely ignored by GFL textbook curricula for native SVO speakers. The native-like SVO patterns are dealt with early on, in the first half of the A1 level, while the unfamiliar SVOV structures are only introduced and practiced later (for details, see Section 1.2 of this thesis). As the results of the present study suggest, this order of introduction is rather counter-productive for native speakers of a VO language.

I will now look at the word order results for the control group.

Bear in mind, from the introductory paragraphs of the present subsection on SP test 4, that the control group learners were presented with SVOV orders with modal verbs for the first time between SP test 3 and SP test 4. Consequently, it could be expected that the control group learners would now abandon their initial VO assumption for the German target system and would begin to use target-like SVOV orders. The data in Table 15, above, show that this was actually the case: While in SP test 3 none of the test sentences with modal verbs or auxiliaries had exhibited the target-like SVOV order, 47.2% / 53.1% of all modal verb sentences and 30.6% / 34.4% of all auxiliary sentences constructed by the extended control group / core control group, now showed the correct SVOV order. This difference in the learners' performance in SP test 4, in comparison to SP test 3, was significant in the mod condition ($t(7) = -3.188, p < 0.05$), but not in the aux condition

($t(7) = -2.308$, ns). Apparently, the presentation of SVOV patterns with modal verbs in the classroom input caused a successful reorganization of the L2 interim grammar in some of the control group learners. In fact, three of the control group participants now used SVOV order with modal verbs consistently. Two other learners showed intra-individual variation and used both the newly introduced SVOV order and the target-deviant SVVO pattern they had previously employed. However, the rest of the learners, that is, four in the extended group and three in the core group, still used target-deviant SVVO orders in all of their modal verb utterances. On the item level, this means that 52.8% / 46.9% of all modal verb clauses produced by the extended group / core group still exhibited the target-deviant SVVO order (see also Table 15, above). These results suggest that the control group participants' L2 learner grammar was still very much subject to cross-linguistic influence.

As was the case with the test group, some of the control group learners transferred their knowledge of SVOV orders with modal verbs to structures with auxiliaries, which resulted in the production of 30.6% / 34.4% correct test sentences in the extended group / core group.

The control group learners used 100% correct SVO orders for the cop and the lex condition of SP test 4. Therefore, the results here are identical to those of SP test 2 and SP test 3. This means that the introduction of SVOV orders with modal verbs, in which a – though [-finite] – lexical verb occurs in clause-final position, did not have a negative effect on the learners' handling of SVO orders with [+finite] lexical verbs. Bear in mind, from the discussion of the SP test 3 test group data, that some learners had incorrectly overgeneralized the clause-final realization of [-finite] lexical verbs and had consequently used target-deviant SOV orders with [+finite] lexical verbs. However, this was not the case in the control group. Presumably as a consequence of the presentation of SVO orders with lexical verbs from the beginning of instruction onward, the SVO pattern seems to be firmly anchored in the learner grammar and the control group participants are therefore not prone to overgeneralizations of that type.

All in all, a comparison of the SP test 4 control group data with that of the test group, shows that while both learner groups had the same final accuracy rates in the lex and the cop condition, the control group learners clearly performed worse than the test group learners in the mod and in the aux condition after 50 hours of instructed learning of German. However, these results are not much of a surprise, if one takes into account that the control group learners had only been exposed to OV input for 16 contact hours at

the time of completing SP test 4, while the test group learners had been familiar with OV patterns for 48 contact hours. For this reason, it seems much more appropriate to compare the control group results for SP test 4 with the test group results for SP test 2, since at the times of the respective tests, both learner groups had had the same amount of exposure to OV input, namely 16 contact hours. This comparison will be made in the following subsection. However, the negation data for SP test 4 shall be discussed briefly at this point. Particularly, in the case of the control group, the data will also be re-addressed in the following subsection, that is, in the context of comparing the SP test 2 test group data with the SP test 4 control group data.

The results for the negation conditions of SP test 4 are summarized in Table 16 and Table 17, below.

Group Neg pattern Verb type	Test group – extended (n=13)			Test group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	92.3% (24/26)	7.7% (2/26)	0.0% (0/26)	100% (16/16)	0.0% (0/16)	0.0% (0/16)
Auxiliary verbs	100% (26/26)	0.0% (0/26)	0.0% (0/26)	100% (16/16)	0.0% (0/16)	0.0% (0/16)
Lexical verbs	91.7% (11/12)	8.3% (1/12)	n.a.	100% (8/8)	0.0% (0/8)	n.a.
Copula verb	100% (12/12)	0.0% (0/12)	n.a.	100% (6/6)	0.0% (0/6)	n.a.

Table 16: Negation results SP test 4. Test group: extended and core group, 50 hours of instruction

Group Neg pattern Verb type	Control group – extended (n=9)			Control group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	94.4% (17/18)	0.0% (0/18)	5.6% (1/18)	93.8% (15/16)	0.0% (0/16)	6.2% (1/16)
Auxiliary verbs	83.3% (15/18)	0.0% (0/18)	16.7% (3/18)	81.3% (13/16)	0.0% (0/16)	18.7% (3/16)
Lexical verbs	71.4% (5/7)	28.6% (2/7)	n.a.	83.3% (5/6)	16.7% (1/6)	n.a.
Copula verb	100% (11/11)	0.0% (0/11)	n.a.	100% (10/10)	0.0 (0/10)	n.a.

Table 17: Negation results SP test 4. Control group: extended and core group, 50 hours of instruction

For the test group, the SP test 4 negation data shown in Table 16, above, reflect a clear improvement in the learners' performance in the aux, the lex, and the cop condition, in comparison to their achievements in SP test 3 (cf. Table 12, above). In the core group, all the sentences for all four verb conditions were constructed according to the target-like VNeg(V) pattern. In the extended group, the learners achieved 100% correct answers for the aux and for the cop condition, while the accuracy rates for the mod and the lex condition were over 90%. All in all, this means that in both the word order and the negation conditions of SP test 4, the test group learners almost exclusively used the target-like patterns. Apparently, not only have the test group participants mastered the German sentence bracket construction with modal verbs and auxiliaries, and SVO orders with lexical verbs and the copula, they have also learned to cope with German post-finite sentential negation. These results support the assumption discussed in the SP test 3 subsection, above, namely that both the production of target-deviant negation patterns and the variation on the inter- and intra-individual level, that could be observed in the test group learners in SP test 3, were reflexes of an ongoing reorganization of the underlying learner grammar. Obviously, this process of reorganization has now been completed, resulting in a target-like learner grammar as far as the domains of basic word order and sentential negation are concerned. A look at the SP test 1 data, in Table 2 and Table 4, shows that

the test group learners have achieved a lot in 50 hours of instructed learning. This is particularly true for the mod and the aux condition, in which none of the sentences produced by the learners in SP test 1 exhibited the target-like SVOV order, as well as for the four negation conditions, for which the novice learners clearly preferred the target-deviant, pre-finite negation strategy. As illustrated by the data in Table 14 and 16, target-deviant patterns were very rarely produced by the test group learners in SP test 4, both in the word order and in the negation conditions.

For the control group, the negation data in Table 17 and Table 13, above, show that the learners performed significantly better in the mod and in the aux condition of SP test 4, than in SP test 3 ($t(7) = -2.497$, $p < 0.05$ for the mod condition and $t(6) = -2.521$, $p < 0.05$ for the aux condition). It is very likely that the presentation of evidence for the existence of a syntactic middle field in German, in general, as well as the provision of negated SVOV structures with modal verbs in particular, invited a considerable number of control group learners to abandon their target-deviant, post-infinite negation strategy. As a result, 94.4% / 93.8% of all negated modal verb sentences produced by the extended / core control group and 83.3% / 81.3% of all negated auxiliary verb clauses produced by the extended / core control group, were constructed with the target-like VNegV order. Pre-finite negation was not used in any of the mod or aux sentences, and the previously preferred target-deviant, post-infinite negation strategy only occurred in a few cases (cf. the data in Table 17, above).

In the cop condition, the control group learners use of correct VNeg patterns was 100%, which had already been the case in SP test 3.

Interestingly, the accuracy rates for the lex condition were only 71.4% in the extended group and 83.3% in the core group, although the learners had already used correct VNeg patterns with lexical verbs with 100% accuracy in SP test 3. This tendency, as well as other phenomena related to the control group's negation data for SP test 4, will be addressed in more detail in the following subsection.

4.2.3.5 SP test 2 (test group) vs. SP test 4 (control group) – after 16 hours of evidence for OV orders

As mentioned in the previous subsection, a comparison of the test group data for SP test 2 with the control group data for SP test 4, appears very appropriate since at the time of completing the respective tests, both learner groups had been exposed to OV input for 16

contact hours. The actual input situation for the two experimental groups was as follows: At the time of taking SP test 2, the test group learners had been provided with simple OV patterns in the form of bare VPs (e.g. *Pizza essen* ‘pizza – eat-INF’, *Kaffee trinken* ‘coffee – drink-INF’) and with SVOV structures with modal verbs (e.g. *Ich will ein Buch lesen* ‘I – want to-1SG – a book – read-INF’, *Ich möchte in XY studieren* ‘I – would like to-1SG – in XY – study-INF’). The OV patterns were introduced in hour 2 of the language class, and the SVOV structures with modal verbs in hour 6. In the control group, evidence for German’s underlying OV order was first presented in SVOV structures with particle verbs (e.g. *Stefano zieht einen warmen Pullover an* ‘Stefano – put-3SG – a warm sweater – on-PART’) in the 34th hour of the language class, followed by the presentation of SVOV modal verb patterns (e.g. *Ich muss Kollegen bei Computerproblemen helfen* ‘I – have to-1SG – colleagues –with computer problems – help-INF’) in hour 41.

For the readers’ convenience, the results of the two relevant SP tests, which were presented in Table 6 and 8 (SP test 2, test group) and in Table 15 and 17 (SP test 4, control group), above, will be provided here again in Table 18 - 21. In addition, figures will be used to illustrate the number of target-like realized test sentences in each of the four verb conditions in a given learner group (test group vs. control group, each divided into extended and core groups). The word order results will be presented and discussed first (see Table 18 and 19, and Figure 1 - 4). Thereafter, the negation data will be presented and discussed (see Table 20 and 21, and Figure 5 - 8).

Group Word order Verb type	Test group – extended (n=22)		Test group – core (n=8)	
	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	94.2% (81/86)	5.8% (5/86)	100% (32/32)	0.0% (0/32)
Auxiliary verbs	77.2% (61/79)	22.8% (18/79)	77.4% (24/31)	22.6% (7/31)
Lexical verbs	6.8% (3/44)	93.2% (41/44)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)
Copula verb	0.0% (0/42)	100% (42/42)	0.0% (0/15)	100% (15/15)

Table 18: Word order results SP test 2. Test group: extended and core group, after 16 hours of OV input

Group Word order Verb type	Control group – extended (n=9)		Control group – core (n=8)	
	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO	SVOV/ SOV	SVVO/ SVO
Modal verbs	47.2% (17/36)	52.8% (19/36)	53.1% (17/32)	46.9% (15/32)
Auxiliary verbs	30.6% (11/36)	69.4% (25/36)	34.4% (11/32)	65.6% (21/32)
Lexical verbs	0.0% (0/18)	100% (18/18)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)
Copula verb	0.0% (0/18)	100% (18/18)	0.0% (0/16)	100% (16/16)

Table 19: Word order results SP test 4. Control group: extended and core group, after 16 hours of OV input

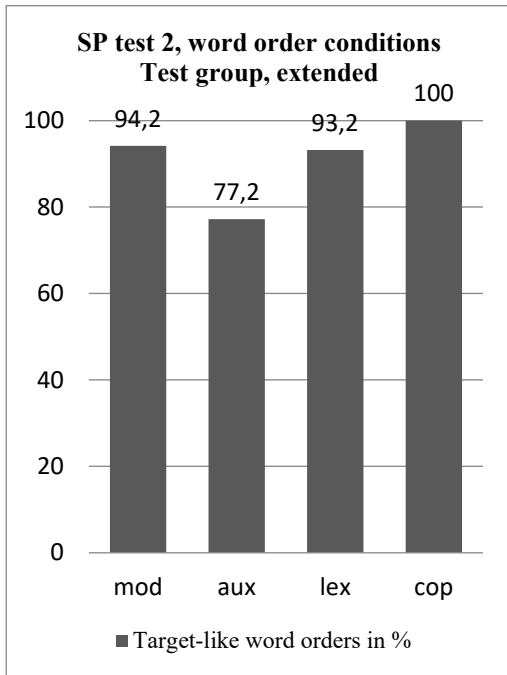


Figure 1: Target-like word order in % in SP test 2. Test group, extended

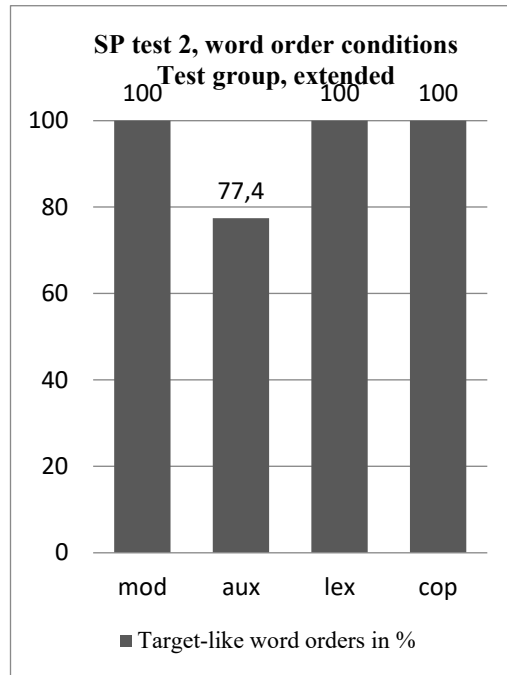


Figure 2: Target-like word order in % in SP test 2. Test group, core

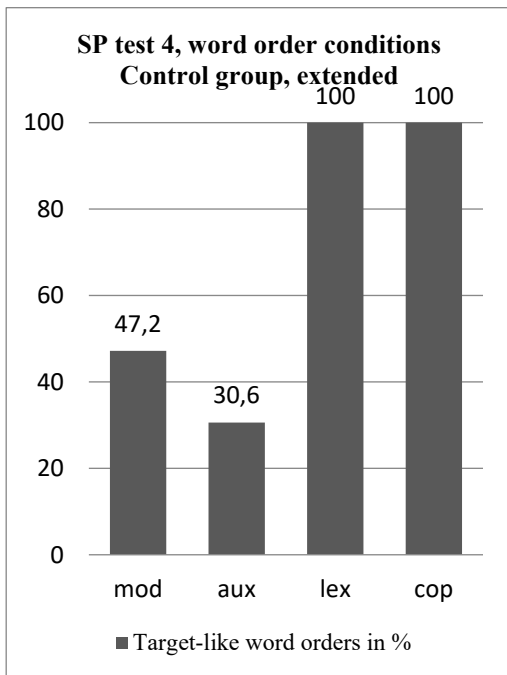


Figure 3: Target-like word order in % in SP test 4. Control group, extended

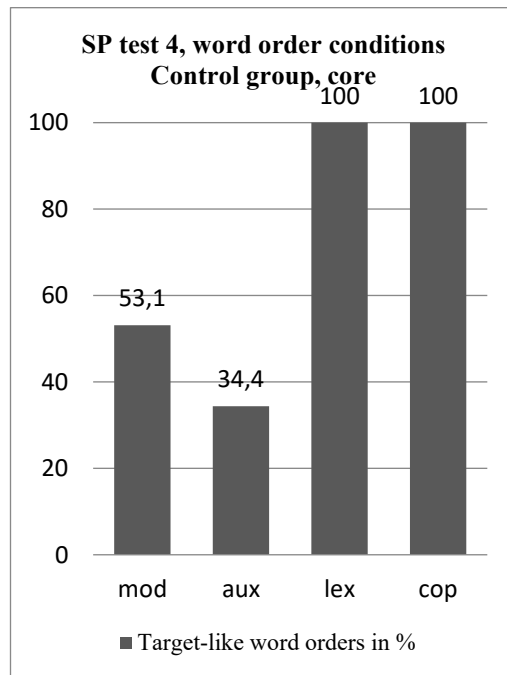


Figure 4: Target-like word order in % in SP test 4. Control group, core

A comparison of the word order data presented in Table 18 and 19 and in the Figures 1 – 4, above, shows that after the same number of contact hours in which evidence for OV orders in German was provided, the test group learners performed noticeably better than the control group learners in both the mod and the aux condition. This difference in the learners' performance was significant for both the extended groups and the core groups ($t(9.402) = 2.854$, $p < 0.05$, mod condition, extended groups, $t(7.000) = 2.813$, $p < 0.05$, mod condition, core groups, $t(29) = 3.025$, $p < 0.01$, aux condition, extended groups, $t(14) = 2.222$, $p < 0.05$, aux condition, core groups). Given that the two experimental groups began the acquisition of German with largely similar assumptions about the word order properties of the target system (cf. the SP test 1 subsection, above), the differences observed in the two experimental groups' linguistic behavior can most probably be attributed to differences in the specific design of the two different syllabi followed by the learner groups. Two aspects appear relevant to the author: First, the relative point in time when OV patterns were first presented in the language class (hour 2 in the naturalistic syllabus vs. hour 34 in the traditional syllabus) and second, the actual target language patterns that were used to present the evidence for an underlying OV order in German (bare VP structures and SVOV patterns with mod in the naturalistic syllabus vs. SVOV patterns with particle verbs and SVOV patterns with mod in the traditional syllabus). As to the first point, the control group's relatively poor performance compared to the test group, suggests that the late presentation of OV patterns in the classroom input is unfavorable for beginning GFL learners whose native language is VO. Apparently, the earlier OV patterns are presented in the classroom input, the easier it is for them to be integrated into the emerging L2 grammar. Or, to put it the other way round, the longer the learners, for whatever reason, assume that German might be a VO language, the less successful the required reorganization of the underlying learner system seems to be when the input does provide counterevidence to the previously held VO assumption. In the SP test data, these difficulties in revising and restructuring the learner system are reflected in the control group learners' usage of target-deviant SVVO orders with mod and aux. These learners' performance leads to the conclusion that the underlying learner system is still characterized, at least to some extent, by a VO grammar.

As regards the second point, it can be assumed that SVOV structures with particle verbs are not an appropriate linguistic means for introducing the underlying OV word order in German in beginning GFL classes. Evidently, none of the control group learners was able to infer that German is an OV language from the presentation of SVOV orders

with particle verbs. If the learners had been able to analyze the SVOV particle verb patterns in favor of an underlying OV order in German, then they would have used SVOV orders with modal verbs and / or auxiliaries, following the presentation of particle verb structures in the classroom input. However, this was not the case. As was discussed in the SP test 3 subsection in Subsection 4.2.3.4, above, the control group learners used 100% target-deviant SVVO orders with both mod and aux, after SVOV particle verb structures had been introduced in the foreign language class (cf. Table 11, above). Obviously, SVOV particle verb structures do not promote the acquisition of the German OV word order property. Apparently, the respective patterns cannot be syntactically interpreted by beginning GFL learners.

As regards the interpretability of SVOV patterns with modal verbs, these structures seem to be very accessible for beginning GFL learners. This is suggested by the fact that firstly, the learners in both experimental groups used (a certain number of) target-like SVOV patterns with modal verbs after such patterns had been introduced in the language class and secondly, the learners in both experimental groups transferred the newly acquired SVOV order with modal verbs to structures with auxiliaries. A comparison of the SP test 2 test group data and the SP test 4 control group data, in the mod and the aux condition, reveals an interesting fact: While the late introduction of SVOV orders in the control group language class seems to have a negative effect on the learners' overall mastery of OV orders in German, their ability to transfer SVOV orders with modal verbs to structures with auxiliaries does not seem to be affected negatively by the late introduction of evidence for German's underlying OV order. Numerically, 18 out of the 21 (= 85.7%) test group learners who used OV orders with modal verbs in SP test 2, also used OV orders with auxiliaries. In the control group, four out of the five learners (= 80.0%) who produced OV orders in the mod condition of SP test 4, used OV patterns in the aux condition as well.⁶⁶ Apparently, this mechanism of generalization constitutes a more general strategy used by (instructed) L2 learners of German. Once a certain word order pattern has been acquired, it can be transferred to other, unknown, structures that can be assumed to function in a syntactically similar way.

In the lex condition, the control group learners seem to have had a slight advantage over the test group learners, at least as far as the extended group results are concerned. While the extended control group learners use of correct SVO orders with lexical verbs

⁶⁶ Note that in neither of the two groups, did learners use OV with auxiliaries but not with modal verbs.

in SP test 4 was 100%, the extended test group learners produced only 93.2% correct test sentences in the lex condition of SP test 2. However, this difference in the learners' performance was not statistically significant ($t(29) = -0.866$, ns). As regards the core groups, 100% correct test sentences could be confirmed for both the control group and the test group. These results show that despite the substantial reduction in SVO structures with lexical verbs in the test group input, the participants had no difficulty producing these patterns in a target-like manner. As already mentioned in the SP test 2 and the SP test 4 subsections, above, this can probably be attributed to the fact that the test group input did not provide counterevidence to the correctness of SVO orders with lexical verbs. Consequently, the learners maintained their initial VO hypothesis for structures with this verb type. Furthermore, SVO orders with the copula, such as those contained in the test group input from the beginning of instruction onward, can be assumed to support the strategy of cross-linguistic borrowing in the lex condition. Firstly, SVcopfinX patterns show the learner that SVO orders could be grammatical in German (namely, in the case of [+finite] simple verb clauses). Secondly, as far as more general aspects of word order typology are concerned, SVcopfinX structures make it clear to the learner that Italian and German are not completely different with respect to the (surface) order of S, V, and O, and that at least in copula structures, both languages seem to behave the same.

Finally, the test group and control group learners in both the extended and the core groups, performed equally well in the cop condition, and consistently produced target-like SVO patterns with [+finite] forms of the copula. These 100% accuracy rates can primarily be assumed to be the result of the respective target patterns' presentation in the classroom input. Furthermore, cross-linguistic borrowing could also be responsible for the learners' error-free performance in the copula condition of both the word order tests in question here.

All in all, it can be concluded that the test group learners seemed to benefit from the naturalistically based introduction order of German word order phenomena. In fact, after the same number of hours of exposure to OV evidence in the classroom input, they clearly outperformed the control group learners with respect to the correct application of the German OV word order in the context of sentence bracket constructions with modal verbs and auxiliaries. These results suggest that German's underlying OV word order property should be made evident to beginning GFL learners as early as possible in order to promote successful acquisition. In addition, the OV evidence provided in the foreign language class needs to be syntactically *interpretable* by learners.

In a next step, the negation data for the test group and the control group after 16 hours of evidence of an underlying OV order in the target system will be discussed. The negation results are summarized in Table 20 and 21 and Figure 5 - 8, below.

Group Neg pattern Verb type	Test group – extended (n=22)			Test group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	90.9% (40/44)	9.1% (4/44)	0.0% (0/44)	87.5% (14/16)	12.5% (2/16)	0.0% (0/16)
Auxiliary verbs	78.4% (29/37)	10.8% (4/37)	10.8% (4/37)	85.7% (12/14)	14.3% (2/14)	0.0% (0/14)
Lexical verbs	72.7% (8/11)	27.3% (3/11)	n.a.	75.0% (3/4)	25.0% (1/4)	n.a.
Copula verb	96.8% (30/31)	3.2% (1/31)	n.a.	91.7% (11/12)	8.3% (1/12)	n.a.

Table 20: Negation results SP test 2. Test group: extended and core group, after 16 hours of OV input

Group Neg pattern Verb type	Control group – extended (n=9)			Control group – core (n=8)		
	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg	VNegV/ VNeg	NegVV/ NegV	VVNeg
Modal verbs	94.4% (17/18)	0.0% (0/18)	5.6% (1/18)	93.8% (15/16)	0.0% (0/16)	6.2% (1/16)
Auxiliary verbs	83.3% (15/18)	0.0% (0/18)	16.7% (3/18)	81.3% (13/16)	0.0% (0/16)	18.7% (3/16)
Lexical verbs	71.4% (5/7)	28.6% (2/7)	n.a.	83.3% (5/6)	16.7% (1/6)	n.a.
Copula verb	100% (11/11)	0.0% (0/11)	n.a.	100% (10/10)	0.0% (0/10)	n.a.

Table 21: Negation results SP test 4. Control group: extended and core group, after 16 hours of OV input

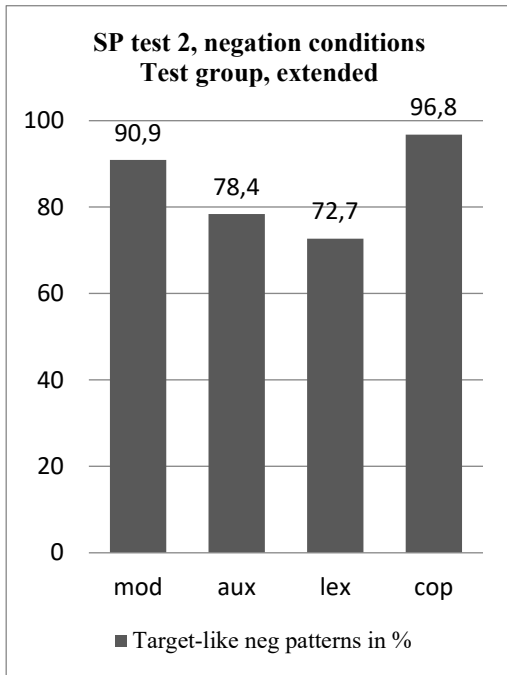


Figure 5: Target-like Neg patterns in % in SP test 2. Test group, extended

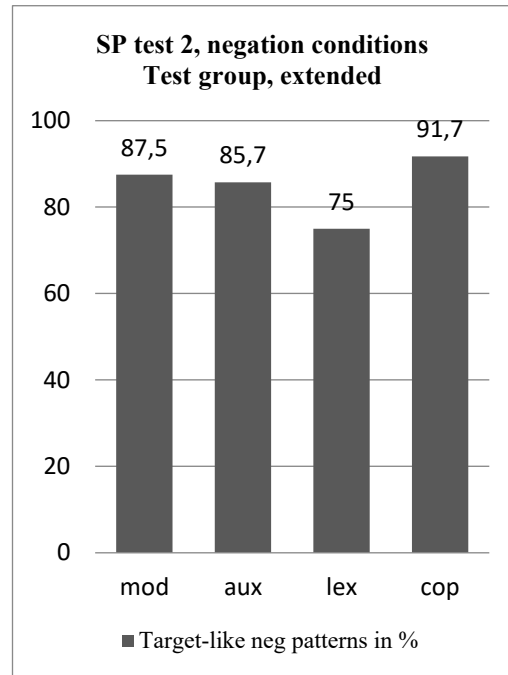


Figure 6: Target-like Neg patterns in % in SP test 2. Test group, core

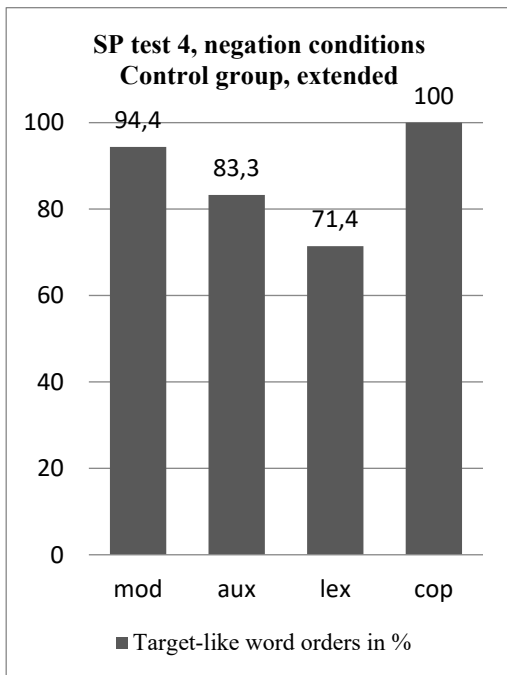


Figure 7: Target-like Neg patterns in % in SP test 4. Control group, extended

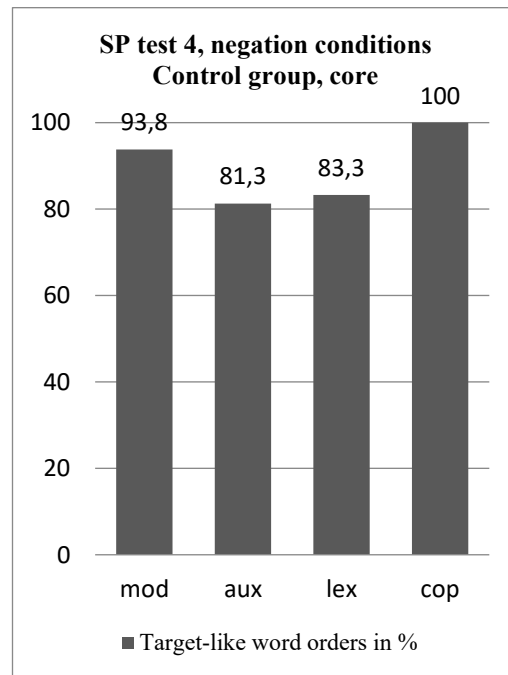


Figure 8: Target-like Neg patterns in % in SP test 4. Control group, core

The data in Table 20 and 21, above, and in Figure 5-8, above, show that the test group learners and the control group learners performed very similarly in the negation conditions of the two relevant SP tests. A significant difference between the test group and the control group learners' performance could not be found in any of the four verb conditions ($t(29) = -0.337$, ns, mod condition, extended groups; $t(14) = -0.447$, ns, mod condition, core groups, $t(26) = -0.271$, ns, aux condition, extended groups, $t(13) = 0.230$, ns, aux condition, core groups, $t(28) = -0.648$, ns, cop condition, extended groups, $t(6.000) = -1.000$, ns, cop condition core groups, $t(15) = -0.060$, ns, lex condition, extended groups, $t(7) = -0.509$, ns, lex condition core groups). These results are quite surprising, given that the comparison of the word order results showed that the control group learners were at a clear disadvantage in comparison to the test group learners in both the mod and the aux condition. However, no such disadvantage to the control group learners could be found in the negation conditions. This observation suggests that word order phenomena, on the one hand, and phenomena of sentential negation, on the other, constitute two distinct domains in the instructed acquisition of German, with the former being much more robust.⁶⁷ Why is it that the control group learners prefer to place the sentential negator in the position between the [+finite] modal verb or auxiliary and the [-finite] lexical verb, while at the same time failing to realize the object constituent in exactly the same syntactic slot (i.e. in between V_{fin} and V_{inf}) in approximately half of all the mod and aux sentences in SP test 4? Remember from the discussion of the control group's SP test 2 and SP test 3 negation data, above, that the control group learners had already produced a considerable number of target-like, post-finite negated test sentences with modal verbs and auxiliaries in SP tests 2 and 3 (for the concrete numbers, see Table 9 and Table 13, above). In the course of the discussion of these data, it was argued that, in this case, the learners were following a more general principle of early L2 utterance organization, namely the expression of relevant scope relations directly in the surface structure of the utterance. Consequently, the finiteness carrying element of the utterance, i.e. the [+finite] modal verb or auxiliary, is moved out of the scope of sentential negation. This semantically based negation strategy resulted in the production of post-finite, but

⁶⁷ Bear in mind, from several remarks in other subsections of this thesis, that the robustness and autonomous nature of L2 word order development in both the tutored and the untutored acquisition of German, has already been demonstrated by studies such as Clahsen et al. (1983), Diehl et al. (2000), Ellis (1989), Piene-mann (1989), or Terrasi-Haufe (2004). The observation that the domain of L2 word order is quite robust is therefore, not new. However, what is new is the direct comparison of the learners' development in the domain of word order, on the one hand, and the domain of sentential negation, on the other, as well as a discussion of potential motives for the learners' different handling of these two, apparently distinct, domains.

pre-infinite negated utterances with [+finite] modal verbs and auxiliaries and [-finite] lexical verbs, even *before* negated mod and aux patterns had been presented in the classroom input. The introduction of negated patterns with modal verbs then involved a significant increase in target-like VNegV patterns in the control group learners' mod and aux sentences in SP test 4, as compared to SP test 3 ($t(7) = -2.497$, $p < 0.05$ in the mod condition, $t(6) = -2.521$, $p < 0.05$ the aux condition). This learners' performance can be explained as follows: Firstly, those learners who had already favored target-like post-finite negation in SP test 3, for semantic reasons, had now received explicit evidence that the VNegV patterns conformed to the syntactic rules of the target language. Consequently, the post-finite negation strategy was maintained and successfully applied to the SP test 4 mod and aux sentences. Secondly, those learners who had used target-deviant post-infinite negation in SP test 3, had now received evidence that their VVNeg hypothesis was, in fact, wrong. At the same time, (negated) SVOV modal verb patterns had demonstrated to the learners that there was a syntactic position between V_{fin} and V_{inf} in German in which linguistic material such as sentential negation, could be realized. Apparently, this observation invited a number of control group learners to abandon their post-infinite negation strategy and to use post-finite negation, a pattern which is not only syntactically possible in German, but much more appropriate than a VVNeg pattern in terms of information structure. For this reason, the target-like VNegV order became the preferred negation strategy in both the mod and the aux condition of the control group's SP test 4. At the same time, however, the majority of control group learners had trouble placing the object constituent in the syntactic field between V_{fin} and V_{inf}. That is, although they used post-finite negation, they did not succeed in applying the target-like SVOV order to structures with modal verbs and auxiliaries. The reason for this learners' linguistic behavior may be that in contrast to the case of sentential negation, the realization of the object constituent between V_{fin} and V_{inf} does not have any information structural advantage. Instead, the opposite seems to be the case. The learners have to split up the verbal complex, i.e. they have to separate two elements that semantically belong together. Such an operation even contradicts basic principles of information structure based structure-based utterance organization.

To sum up, the control group learners' surprisingly high accuracy rates for negated mod and aux structures in SP test 4, seem to result from the fact that the syntactic rules for the expression of sentential negation in German comply with information structurally rooted principles of early L2 utterance organization. For this reason, it was much easier

for the control group learners to position a negation operator in the syntactic field between V_{fin} and V_{inf} than to place the object constituent in this position. This observation hints at the crucial role which sentential negation could play in the acquisition of the German OV word order and the sentence bracket construction. In fact, given that the negator seems to access the slot between V_{fin} and V_{inf} comparatively easily in early L2 learner language, it may well be that it functions as a trigger for the establishment of the syntactic middle field in L2 German learner grammar. Interestingly, no control group learners used target-like word order but did not use target-like negation. However, the opposite situation, that learners used target-like negation but not target-like word order, occurred quite often. This observation suggests that the sentential negator might play a pioneering role in the otherwise step-by-step establishment of the L2 German middle field. This assumption will be addressed again in the context of the elicited imitation task results, which will be discussed in Subsection 4.4.3 of this thesis. The elicited imitation task data suggest that there is indeed a relationship between the presence vs. absence of sentential negation, on the one hand, and the correct realization of the German OV word order in structures with modal verbs, on the other.

To summarize, the control group negation results for the mod and the aux condition demonstrate that early evidence for German's underlying OV order and the closely related phenomenon of the sentence bracket, is crucial in beginning GFL classes. Apparently, the presentation of the relevant target language patterns not only affects the L2 learners' development in the domain of word order, but also in other syntactic domains, e.g. that of sentential negation. Remember that it was only after SVOV patterns with modal verbs had been presented in the control group language class, that the majority of control group learners stopped using target-deviant negation patterns and started using post-finite negation instead. Given that, as mentioned above, there is some evidence that mastering post-finite negation might promote the establishment of a syntactic middle field in L2 German, presenting SVOV patterns in the classroom input seems to be doubly important. On the one hand, these patterns make evident the underlying OV word order property of German (which, however, cannot instantly be accommodated in the L2 learner system). On the other hand, they seem to trigger post-finite positioning of the sentential negator, which, in turn, seems to facilitate the usage of OV orders in early L2 German.

Finally, the control group learners' negation results for the lex condition will be discussed. It should be noted that the results are based on a comparatively small sample, so that the data do not support any hard conclusions. However, it is worth addressing

some tendencies that seem to be reflected in the SP test 4 negation data. As already explained above, the control group learners performed significantly better in the negated mod and aux condition of SP test 4 than in SP test 3. Interestingly, this is not the case for the lexical verb condition, for which a numerical decrease could be observed for the correct application of the VNeg rule: While in SP test 3, 100% of all the negated utterances with lexical verbs produced by the extended group exhibited target-like post-finite placement of the negator, only 71.4% of the negated test sentences were constructed with the correct VNeg order in SP test 4. The remaining negated structures exhibited pre-finite negation, i.e. a pattern that typically occurred in earlier acquisition stages (see, for example, the SP test 1 and SP test 2 negation data in Table 5 and Table 9, above). Bear in mind, from the discussion of the test group negation results for SP test 3, that a similar phenomenon could be observed here: Some of the test group learners incorrectly employed pre-finite negation with lexical verbs and with the copula in SP test 3, although they had already used the target-like VNeg pattern with these two verb types in SP test 2. In the case of the test group, these instances of backsliding, together with quite a strong variation at the inter- and intra-individual level, have been interpreted as reflecting an ongoing reorganization of the L2 interim system. Given that SVOV patterns with modal verbs were introduced in the control group language class between SP test 3 and SP test 4, resulting in a significant change in the learners' linguistic behavior in the mod and in the aux condition, it might well be that the decrease in accuracy with negated lexical verb sentences in SP test 4 is the result of a process of internal reorganization of the control group's learner grammar.

To sum up, the comparison of the SP test 2 test group results with the SP test 4 control group results has shown that after 16 contact hours with exposure to OV evidence, the test group learners performed significantly better than the control group learners in both the mod and the aux condition. No significant difference between the two experimental groups could be found regarding the lex and the cop condition. Interestingly, the two learner groups' behavior is very similar in the four negation conditions, whereby target-like VNeg(V) patterns are particularly favored in the mod and in the cop condition, while accuracy with aux and with lex is slightly lower. For the aux condition, this can be explained by the fact that no auxiliary structures, negated or non-negated, had been presented in either of the two experimental groups' classroom input when the relevant SP tests were taken. Note that this was different for negated mod and cop patterns, which were both part of the classroom input in both the test and the control group. As far as the

lex condition in the test group is concerned, it should be noted that the relevant target structures were not presented in the input until the 51st hour of instruction. This absence of German VNeg patterns might explain why 27.3% of all the negated lexical verb sentences produced by the extended test group exhibited target-deviant, pre-finite negation in SP test 2 (cf. Table 21, above). Furthermore, as discussed earlier, the usage of NegV patterns in structures with lexical simple verbs might reflect the classroom learners' employment of a semantically based negation strategy. Operators are placed directly before the elements that they affect. In the case of negated lexical verb structures, this strategy leads to the production of target-deviant NegV orders. Finally, as mentioned above, the control group learners' usage of target-deviant NegV patterns in SP test 4, might also result from an ongoing reorganization of the internalized learner grammar.

Interim summary II

The results of the SP tests 1 - 4 presented so far, as well a comparison of the SP test 2 results for the test group with the SP test 4 results for the control group, allow for the following conclusions:

1. Native speakers of a VO language generally begin the classroom acquisition of German with a VO hypothesis. The maintenance vs. revision and rejection of this target-deviant initial hypothesis is largely dependent on the specific word order patterns presented in the classroom input. Counterevidence to the initial assumption usually leads to revision and / or abandonment of the original hypothesis, while a lack of counterevidence results in maintenance of the initial word order hypothesis.
2. The earlier the evidence of an underlying OV order in German is presented in the GFL classroom input, the easier it seems to be for native speakers of a VO language to revise their initial VO hypothesis and to integrate the OV feature into their emerging interlanguage grammar. However, if evidence for German's OV word order property is provided late in the classroom acquisition process, it is difficult for learners to integrate this word order feature into their learner grammar, which is still characterized by a VO order.
3. The point at which OV patterns are introduced in the GFL curriculum does not affect the learners' ability to transfer OV orders evidenced by one verb type to syntactically similar structures with a different verb type. The point at which OV

evidence is presented only seems to affect the learners' overall ability to accommodate these target patterns in their interim system.

4. The OV patterns provided in class need to be capable of syntactic interpretation by the learners, in order to trigger the acquisition of German's underlying OV word order. That is, structures with [-finite] lexical verbs in a position to the right of the object must be presented in the classroom input. Introducing patterns with a [-finite] verbal particle at the end of the clause, does not appear to be sufficient.
5. As regards SVO structures with lexical verbs, these patterns do not necessarily need to be presented and dealt with in the GFL class in order for them to be mastered by native speakers of a VO language. Apparently, these structures' familiarity from the L1 and / or other L2s, as well as the occurrence of [+finite] light verbs in the V2 position, are sufficient conditions for attaining mastery of SVO structures with [+finite] lexical verbs in German.
6. The acquisition of German post-finite sentential negation appears to be less problematic than the acquisition of the underlying OV word order. The correct application of the German VNeg(V) rule seems to be facilitated by a more general strategy of early utterance organization, namely that of expressing scope relations directly in the surface structure of the utterance. This strategy results in the realization of Neg *after* [+finite] light verbs, and *before* [-finite] lexical verbs.
7. Although sentential negation appears to be acquired comparatively easily in instructed L2 German, it is still quite vulnerable. Variation and phenomena of backsliding can be observed, especially in phases when an internal reorganization of the learner system is taking place.
8. Phenomena of word order appear to be quite robust in instructed acquisition. This means that on the one hand, learners whose L1 is VO may have difficulty accommodating basic German word order properties in their emerging interlanguage system, in particular, if evidence for an underlying OV order in German is provided late. On the other hand, once the OV property has successfully been accommodated, as reflected by the correct usage of OV orders in production, it can be assumed to be a permanent feature of the internalized learner system. This assumption is based on the observation that learners show comparatively little variation and virtually no phenomena of backsliding in the domain of word order, while both variation and backsliding can be observed in the domain of sentential negation.

After this second interim summary, the next subsection will address the question whether an initial, presumably Latin-based, OV hypothesis for the German target system is helpful in the classroom acquisition process. Thereafter, a last subsection will provide a longitudinal view of the SP test data.

4.2.3.6 Excursus – Beginning the classroom acquisition of German with a (Latin based) OV hypothesis

As mentioned in the discussion of the SP test 1 data, above (see also Table 2 and 3), two learners in each of the two experimental groups began the classroom acquisition of German with an OV hypothesis. It was argued that this hypothesis probably originated in the learners' knowledge of Latin grammar. This assumption was based on the observation that all four learners not only placed the [-finite] lexical verb in the clause-final position, but also realized the [+finite] verb of the clause in this syntactic slot. In other words, the learners failed to apply the V2 constraint. The end result was the production of target-deviant SOVV and / or OSVV patterns with modal verbs and auxiliaries (see (21a) - (21d)) and SOV and / or OSV orders with the copula and with lexical verbs (see (21e) - (21h)).

- (21) a. Das Mädchen einen roten Rock will kaufen
 the girl a red skirt want to-3SG buy-INF
 'The girl wants to buy a red skirt' (FEB, tg, SP1)
- b. einen rock roten die frau will kaufen
 a skirt red the woman want to-3SG buy-INF
 'The woman wants to buy a red skirt' (STA, cg, SP1)
- c. der vater den apfel gegessen hat
 the father the apple eat-PP have-3SG
 'The father has eaten the apple' (DAN, tg, SP1)
- d. ein handy die tochet gekauft hat
 a cell phone the daughter buy-PP have-3SG
 'The daughter has bought a cell phone' (STA, cg, SP1)

- e. Paola Italienerin ist
 Paola Italian be-3SG
 ‘Paola is Italian’ (FEB, tg, SP1)
- f. Italienerin Paula nicht ist
 Italian Paula not be-3SG
 ‘Paula is not Italian’ (STA, cg, SP1)
- g. Gianni in Deutschland lebt
 Gianni in Germany live-3SG
 ‘Gianni lives in Germany’ (DAN, tg, SP1)
- h. In Italien nicht Deutschland Gianni lebt
 in Italy not Germany Gianni live-3SG
 ‘Gianni lives in Italy, not in Germany’ (STA, cg, SP1)

Given that the learners’ assumption about the underlying word order property of German was basically correct, it seemed worth investigating whether their initial word order hypothesis would benefit them in their subsequent acquisition of German as a foreign language. I will first review the data from the two test group learners and then discuss the data from the two control group learners.

Of the test group, one extended group learner (FEB) and one core group learner (DAN) entered the GFL classroom with an OV hypothesis. Both FEB and DAN used SOVV orders with mod and aux and SOV orders with cop and lex in SP test 1. Furthermore, they both used pre-finite negation in all four verb conditions, resulting in SONegVV and SONegV patterns, respectively (see (22a) - (22d)).

- (22) a. die frau die Teller nicht will abwaschen
 the woman the plates not want to-3SG clean-INF
 ‘The woman doesn’t want to clean the plates’ (DAN, tg, SP1)
- b. Der Vater ins Theter nicht ist gefahren
 the father to the theatre not be-3SG drive-PP
 ‘The father hasn’t gone to the theatre’ (FEB, tg, SP1)

SP test 3 suggests that his initial OV assumption eventually led to him successful mastering basic word order and negation patterns in German.⁶⁹

The linguistic development of the second test group learner who started with an OV hypothesis, DAN, is quite different to that of FEB. In SP test 2, DAN used correct SVO orders with both cop and lex, as well as target-like SVOV patterns with mod. In the aux condition, he applied target-deviant SVVO orders. As regards sentential negation, DAN used target-deviant pre-finite negation in all four verb conditions in SP test 2. DAN's data suggest that after being exposed to the target-language input, in particular after the introduction of V2 orders with cop and mod, he concluded that German did not function like Latin (which is, of course, only half the truth). At the same time, SVO patterns with the copula might have given DAN the (wrong) impression that the German verb placement rules were similar to the Italian ones. As a result, he used correct SVO patterns with lexical verbs, but incorrect SVVO structures with auxiliaries in SP test 2. In SP test 3, DAN performed as in SP test 2 for both the word order and the negation conditions (with the exception that in the mod condition, he did not use sentential negation at all). Remarkably, DAN only used target-like SVOV orders in the aux condition in SP test 4, i.e. after the introduction of SVOV patterns with aux. He then also employed target-like post-finite negation for the first time, in all four verb conditions. DAN's performance in SP test 2 and SP test 3 was relatively poor compared to that of the other core test group learners. In fact, he was the only core group learner to use *both* target-deviant SVVO orders with aux *and* target-deviant, pre-finite negation in all verb conditions until SP test 4.

Although it is not really clear whether there is a connection between DAN's comparatively poor performance in SP test 2 and 3 on the one hand, and his initial hypothesis about the German target language system on the other, it is worth theorizing about this issue. So, for example, DAN's problem may have been that his initial assumptions about German word order properties were only *partially* supported by the target language input. Specifically, the classroom input demonstrated that it was correct that [-finite] verbs had to be realized clause-finally in German, but that [+finite] verbs were apparently not allowed to be positioned in this clause-final slot. This might have been confusing for DAN, since until then, he did not know a language that seemed to function like an OV language

⁶⁹ Unfortunately, there is no SP test 4 data for FEB.

while exhibiting verb placement rules that were characteristic of a VO language. As reflected by DAN's SP test 1-3 data, he had first associated German with Latin (SP test 1), and thereafter with Italian (SP test 2 and 3). His acquisition task was to discover that German conformed to neither of those languages but instead, constituted a third type, that is, an OV language with the V2 property. As a matter of fact, this is what makes DAN different to the other core test group learners, who favored a VO assumption from the very beginning onward. Intuitively, it can be assumed that it is more difficult to revise two, potentially competing, hypotheses about the target language system than only to revise one. Given that DAN was faced with the former task, it was not surprising that most of the other test group learners outperformed him, both in the word order and in the negation conditions. Apparently, in DAN's individual case, the initial OV hypothesis was not very helpful for the classroom acquisition of German.

Interestingly, the impression that an initial, Latin based, OV hypothesis is not necessarily helpful for the instructed acquisition of German, was supported by data from the two control group learners. RIC, a core group learner, used SOV patterns with simple verbs and SOVV patterns with compound verbs in SP test 1. STA, an extended group learner, used OSV orders for cop and lex, and OSVV orders with mod and aux. They both followed a pre-finite negation strategy in the negation conditions. At the time of SP test 2, that is, after SVO patterns with cop and lex had been introduced in the control group language class, both RIC and STA seem to have abandoned their OV hypothesis. Instead, they now favored a VO assumption. This is suggested by the fact that both learners produced target-like SVO patterns with both cop and lex, and target-deviant SVVO structures with mod and aux. Given that the control group classroom input did not provide any support for an OV hypothesis for the target system, it is hardly surprising that RIC and STA rejected their initial assumptions. As regards sentential negation, the target-deviant, pre-finite, negation patterns used in SP test 1 were abandoned in favor of similarly target-deviant, post-infinite, negation patterns with mod and aux in SP test 2. As was pointed out in the discussion of the negation data in the SP test 2, many of the control group learners favored post-infinite negation (see also the data in Table 9, above). It was argued that this could be seen as the result of a lack of evidence for a syntactic slot between V_{fin} and V_{inf} in German. With further development, specifically, in SP test 3, RIC changed to target-like, post-finite negation with mod. In case of auxiliaries, he did not use negation at all. In contrast, STA, retained his post-infinite negation strategy with both mod and aux. In the word order conditions, both learners continued to use SVO with simple verbs

and SVVO with compound verbs in SP test 3, as did all the control group learners at this point of development. After SP test 3, when SVOV patterns with modal verbs had been presented, some of the learners correctly produced SVOV patterns with mod (47.2%) and aux (30.6%) (extended group results, see also Table 15, above; core-group results slightly better). However, RIC seems to have adhered to his VO assumption for the German target system, which is reflected by his consistent usage of target-deviant SVVO patterns with both modal verbs and auxiliaries in SP test 4. Apparently, RIC was unable to reactivate his initial OV hypothesis, even though it was now being supported by structural properties of the classroom input. It may be that RIC was confronted with a similar problem to DAN. That is, he had to handle two different hypotheses about the target system's underlying word order during the course of acquisition. After the initial rejection of his, partially target-like, OV hypothesis, he set up a VO assumption for German, which was again challenged by the newly introduced SVOV orders with modal verbs. These see-saw changes might have simply been (too) confusing for RIC, so that he stuck firmly to his second hypothesis. Also in the negation conditions, RIC retained the strategy used in SP test 3, that is, post-finite negation. In this case, however, it resulted in the usage of target-like VNegV patterns with both modal verbs and auxiliaries.

No SP test 4 data are available for STA.

To conclude, a closer consideration of the linguistic development of the four learners who entered the GFL classroom with a Latin based OV hypothesis shows that, contrary to what might be expected, this hypothesis does not seem to be particularly helpful in the acquisition of German word order properties. In fact, the opposite seems to be the case, as retarding effects could be observed in both RIC (word order with mod and aux) and DAN (word order with aux and negation with all verb types). These two learners' disadvantage can probably be attributed to the fact that firstly, they had to handle two different word order hypotheses in the course of acquisition, and secondly, both these hypotheses were only *partially* confirmed by the word order patterns presented in the classroom input. The only learner who seems to have mastered this situation was the test group learner FEB. His data suggest that after exposure to the target language input, he basically maintained his OV hypothesis, only gradually adapting it to the properties of the target system. This strategy is clearly different to that of his classmate, DAN, who completely replaced his partially correct OV hypothesis with a VO assumption. Interestingly, FEB's behavior seems similar to that of the Turkish children investigated by Habermann (2005) (see also the discussion in Subsection 1.1.2 of this thesis). The two Turkish

child L2 learners that she studied, began the untutored acquisition of German with an L1-based OV hypothesis and then gradually discovered the V2 property of the German target language. These observations show that it is absolutely essential to present GFL learners with OV orders from the beginning of instruction onward. The provision of OV evidence is the only thing that will allow learners to, first, instantiate the underlying, clause-final verb position and then gradually work out the clause-second position, which is reserved for [+finite] verb forms.

4.2.3.7 SP test 1 - SP test 4 – longitudinal perspective

This final subsection on the SP test results focusses on the two investigated learner groups' linguistic development over time. It therefore functions as a summarizing overview to highlight the crucial steps in the acquisition of basic word order properties of German under the specific input conditions pertaining in each of the two experimental groups. Figures 9 - 12, below, illustrate the test group learners' development in the word order and the negation conditions of SP test 1 - 4. Figures 13 - 16 summarize the control group's linguistic development. The figures are based on the percentage of target-like sentences produced in each condition of each individual SP subtest. Separate figures will be presented for the extended group and for the core group of each of the two experimental groups. I will start by discussing the test group's linguistic development before addressing that of the control group.

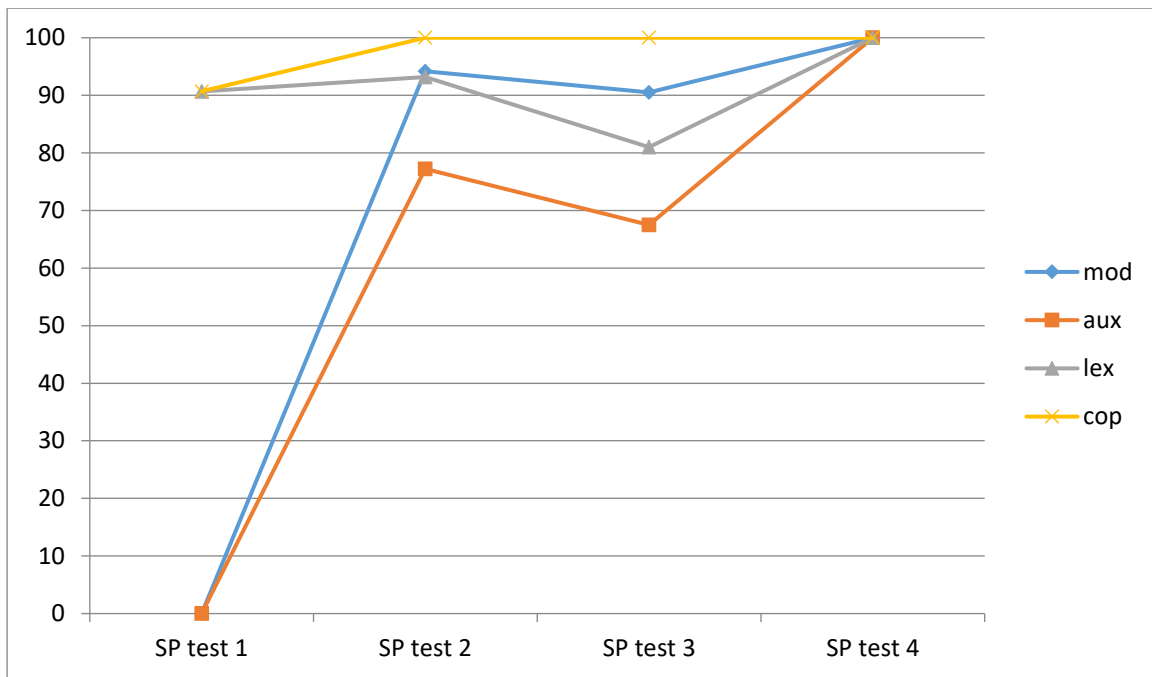


Figure 9: Development in the word order conditions. Test group: extended.
Target-like sentences in %

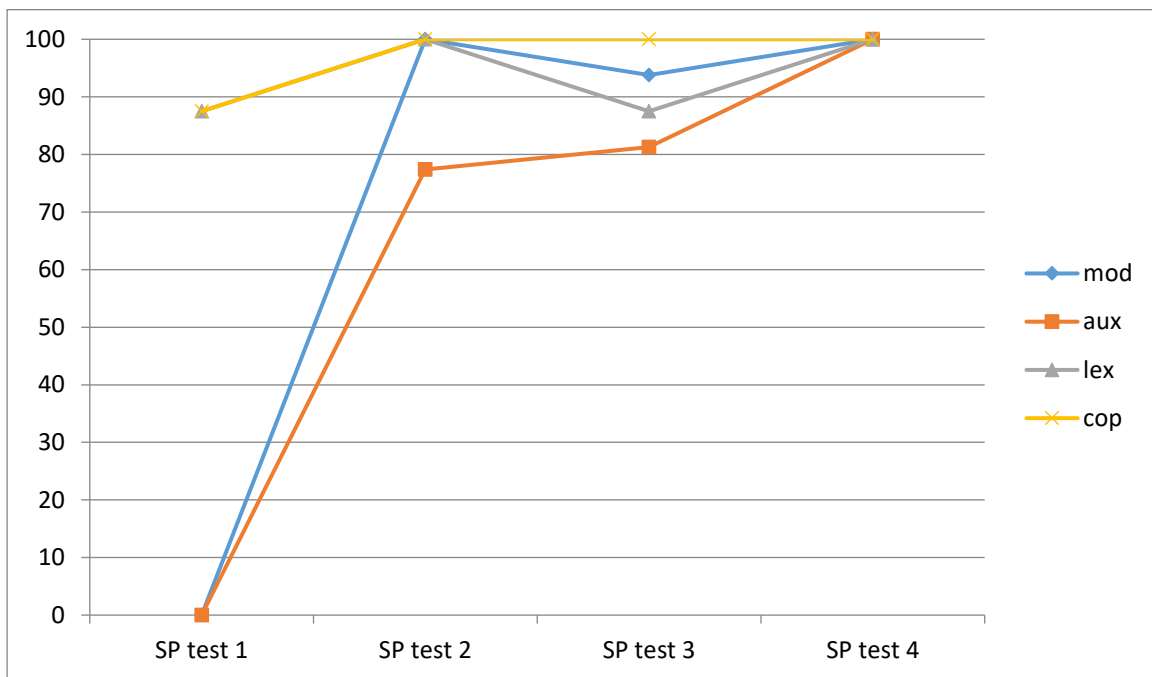


Figure 10: Development in the word order conditions. Test group, core.
Target-like sentences in %

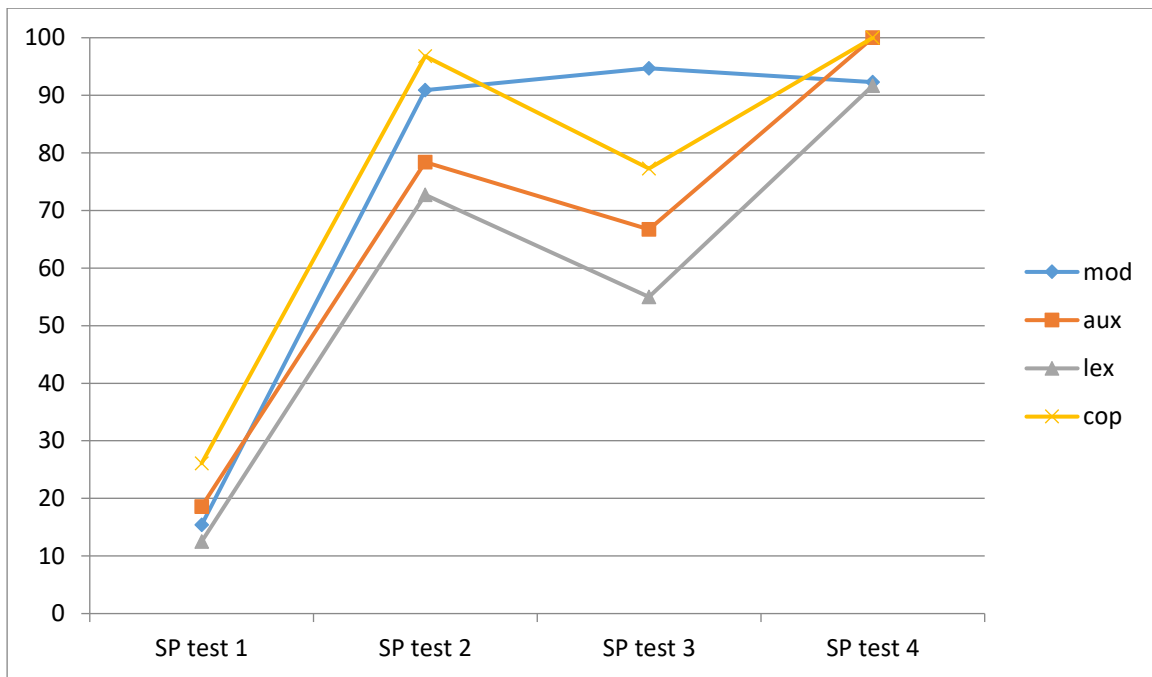


Figure 11: Development in the negation conditions. Test group: extended.
Target-like sentences in %

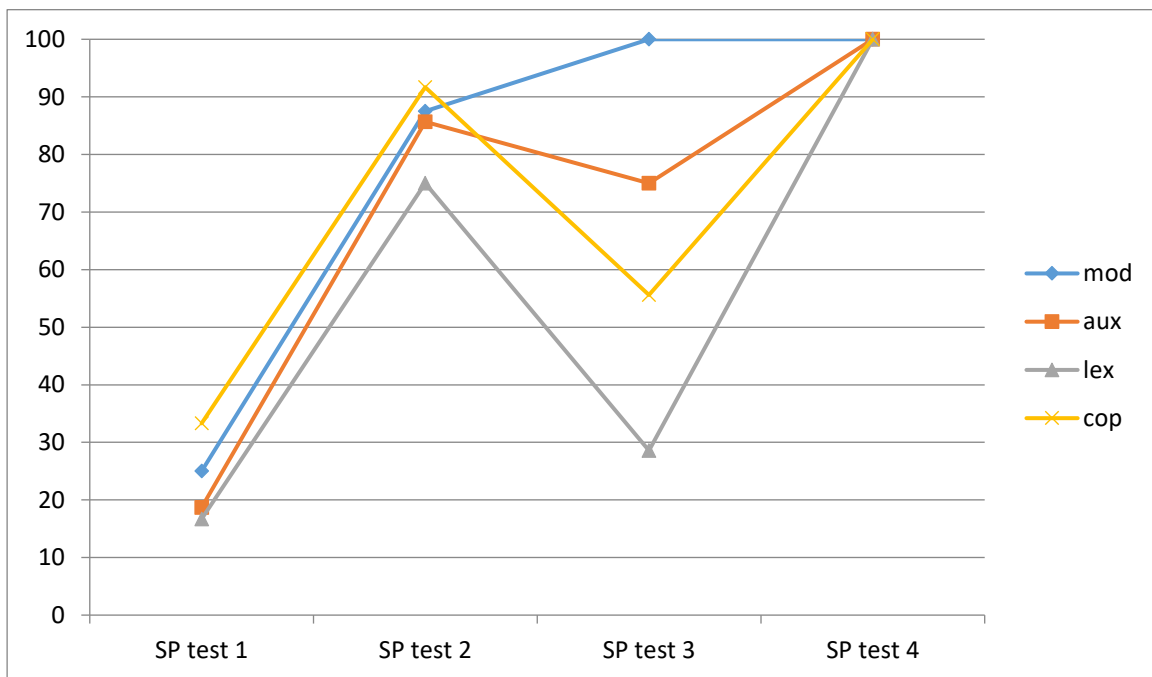


Figure 12: Development in the negation conditions. Test group: core
Target-like sentences in %

Regarding the test group's word order condition results, Figure 9 and Figure 10 show that with the exception of the mod and the aux condition in SP test 1, the test group learners produced a consistently high number of correct German test sentences in all four verb conditions of all four SP subtests. As argued in the discussion of the word order results from SP test 1 (cf. Subsection 4.2.3.4, above), the learners' performance at this point in time can be interpreted as the result of cross-linguistic influence. This means that *both* the usage of target-like orders with lex and cop *and* the employment of target-deviant word orders with mod and aux, are direct consequences of L1 and / or L2 word order transfer strategies. In SP test 2, the accuracy in both the mod and the aux condition increased significantly, which seems to be the result of the provision of SVOV patterns with modal verbs in the classroom input. Apparently, the learners could accommodate SVOV orders in their developing learner grammar at this quite early stage in the classroom acquisition process. All in all, the core group learners performed slightly better than the extended group learners in SP test 2. They achieved a 100% accuracy rate for test sentences in the mod, the cop, and the lex condition, while the extended group learners only achieved 100% accuracy in the cop condition. This implies that the more intensively the novice learners address the word order patterns presented in the input, the more successful the acquisition process seems to be.

For SP test 3, a minor decrease in accuracy could be observed in the mod, the aux, and the lex condition, in both the extended group and the core group. It is only in the cop condition that all test sentences exhibit the target-like SVO order. It can be assumed that the apparently successful acquisition of SVO orders with the copula was the combined result of SVO copula structures' inclusion in the classroom input, on the one hand, and the fact that SVO orders with the copula were familiar to the learners from their L1 and / or other L2s, on the other hand.

As explained in the SP test 3 subsection in Subsection 4.2.3.4, above, the decrease in accuracy in the lex condition can be attributed to the fact that some of the test group learners seemed to overgeneralize the OV order in structures with [-finite] lexical verbs to structures with [+finite] lexical verbs. This results in the production of target-deviant SOV patterns in the lex condition. This mechanism of overgeneralization could have been supported by another factor that seems to have determined the test group learners' linguistic performance at the time of SP test 3. Bear in mind, from the discussion of the SP test 3 negation data, above, that it was assumed that at the time of completing SP test 3, the test group learners' learner grammar was in the process of an internal reorganization.

In particular, this was reflected in the rather marked intra- and inter-individual variation in the negation conditions, which also included the production of a considerable number of target-deviant structures. None of these phenomena could still be observed in the SP test 4 data. Instead, the test group learners use 100% correct test sentences in all four verb conditions and also performed very accurately in the negation conditions (cf. Figure 9 - 12, above). This observation was taken as evidence that the learners' comparatively poor performance in the negation conditions of SP test 3 really was a reflection of the ongoing restructuring of the underlying learner grammar. Such a restructuring process is usually characterized by a temporary vulnerability of the learner system, resulting in instances of backsliding and the production of target-deviant patterns. It may well be that the test group's production of target-deviant SOV orders in the lex condition and the general slight decrease in accuracy in the word order conditions of SP test 3, in comparison to SP test 2, results from this temporary vulnerability of the L2 learner grammar. But how is it that sentential negation is more strongly affected by these temporary disturbances than word order? As already explained in Subsection 2.1.3, above, as well as in the discussion of the SP test negation data, the post-finite placement of the sentential negator in early L2 German learner language seems to be of a semantic nature. The negator can be classified as a semantic operator that can be inserted into different surface slots of the L2 utterance and is usually placed directly before those elements of the utterance that are affected by its negative force. In contrast to the predominantly semantic nature of sentential negation, basic word order phenomena seem to be of a syntactic nature. Unlike the negation particle, the [-finite] lexical verb does not have an operator function. It is a lexical element the position of which, relative to other elements of the utterance, seems to be determined by the basic word order of the underlying (learner) grammar. In other words, the [-finite] lexical verb seems to be more deeply anchored in the linguistic system as one of its most basic elements, in contrast to a negation particle that operates on the surface level and can be added to an utterance optionally, according to the L2 speakers' specific linguistic intention. I assume that this "volatility" of the negator in early learner language is the reason why the domain of sentential negation is more prone to structural variation in the delicate stages of the classroom acquisition process than the domain of word order. This assumption would explain why the test group learners showed more variation and instances of backsliding in the negation conditions than the word order conditions, during the reorganization of the learner system around the time of SP test 3. The restructuring of the learner system appears to have been completed by SP test 4. This is suggested by the fact

that both the extended and the core test group learners use of target-like word orders was 100% in all four verb conditions. As regards the aux condition, the test group learners used 100% correct SVOV orders for the first time. These learners' performance was probably the result of the introduction of SVOV structures with auxiliaries, in the 41st hour of the test group language class. The only earlier source of evidence for a potential SVOV order with auxiliaries in German were SVOV structures with modal verbs. As the comparatively high correctness rates in the aux condition of SP test 2 and 3 suggest, the test group learners had successfully transferred the SVOV order from structures with modal verbs to structures with auxiliaries. However, this strategy did not lead to their ultimate mastery of SVOV orders with auxiliary verbs. This observation supports a conclusion that has already been mentioned in the SP test 4 subsection, above, namely that in a foreign language class, it is necessary for a specific target structure that is not familiar to the learners from any language they already know (in this case, SVOV order with auxiliary verbs) to be introduced and practiced in order for it to be acquired. Remember that this was different in the case of SVO orders with lexical verbs. As explained above, although this pattern was *never* explicitly introduced in the test group language class, the learners used 100% correct SVO orders in the lex condition of SP test 4.

As regards the test group's development in the negation conditions of SP test 1 - 4 (cf. Figure 11 and 12, above), the percentage of test sentences that exhibit target-like post-finite negation in SP test 1 was relatively low in all four verb conditions. These results are not very surprising, given that the learners' L1 features pre-finite negation and that the strategy of cross-linguistic borrowing has been shown to be an influential factor in the learners' handling of German word order phenomena. In fact, the vast majority of all negated test sentences in SP test 1 exhibited the L1-like NegV(V) order. However, interestingly, at least 15% of all negated SP test 1 sentences were constructed with the target-like VNeg(V) order in almost all verb conditions. As argued in the SP test 1 subsection, above, these results can either be interpreted as the consequence of cross-linguistic influence (note that post-finite negation occurs in both English and French) or as the result of the learners' employment of more general, semantically based principles of early L2 utterance organization. In SP test 2, target-like post-finite negation became the predominantly used pattern in both the extended and the core group, in all four verb conditions. With the exception of the lex condition in the core group, the target-like VNeg(V) order remained the test group learners' favored negation strategy in all verb conditions of SP test 3 and SP test 4. The significant increase in the production of target-like negated

utterances in SP test 2 can probably be attributed to the presentation of post-finite negated cop and mod structures in the classroom input. The learners seem to have inferred from these patterns that the previously used NegV(V) pattern was ungrammatical in German mod and cop structures. Consequently, they used post-finite negation in the majority of the test sentences in the mod and the cop condition. Moreover, the VNeg(V) pattern was transferred to structures with auxiliaries and to structures with lexical verbs, resulting in the production of more than 70% correctly negated sentences in the aux and the lex condition of SP test 2. In SP test 3, there was a noticeable decrease in accuracy for all verb types except mod. It has been assumed that this drop in performance reflects an ongoing reorganization of the underlying learner system (see also the discussion of this phenomenon, above). At the time of completing SP test 4, the test group learners seemed to have successfully mastered the phenomenon of German post-finite sentential negation. As far as the extended group is concerned, this was reflected in the usage of 100% correctly negated structures with aux and cop, and the production of more than 90% target-like VNeg(V) patterns with mod and lex. The core group used target-like post-finite negation in 100% of all negated test sentences in all four verb conditions.

Finally, it should be noted that, with some exceptions, the test group learners generally performed more accurately with mod and cop than with aux and lex in SP test 2 - 4 (cf. Figure 11 and 12, above). For the aux condition, this can be explained by the fact that auxiliary structures with and without sentential negation, were not introduced in the test group language class until the 41st hour of instruction. Consequently, some of the test group learners resorted to other negation strategies and it was only after the introduction of negated aux patterns, that is, after SP test 3, that they used 100% target-like, post-finite negation with auxiliaries. A similar argument could be introduced here in respect of the lex condition, namely that the learners' less accurate performance in the lex condition of SP test 2, 3, and 4 is due to the lack of (negated and non-negated) lexical verb patterns in the test group classroom input. As a consequence, the pre-finite negation strategy that was familiar to the learners from their L1, was favored in a number of cases. Another possible explanation for the lower accuracy rates with lexical verbs could be the learners' employment of a semantically based negation strategy. This strategy basically involves the marking of the scope domain of the negation operator directly in the surface order of the individual utterance constituents. Given that in case of lexical verb structures, it is (at least) the semantic content of the lexical verb itself that needs to be negated, the negator

is placed *before* the lexical verb. This strategy finally resulted in the production of target-deviant, NegV patterns with [+finite] lexical verbs in some of the SP test sentences.

In the following, I will discuss the control group's linguistic development over time. The word order data for the extended group and the core group are summarized in Figure 13 and 14, respectively. The extended groups' and the core groups' development in the negation conditions is presented in Figure 15 and 16, respectively.

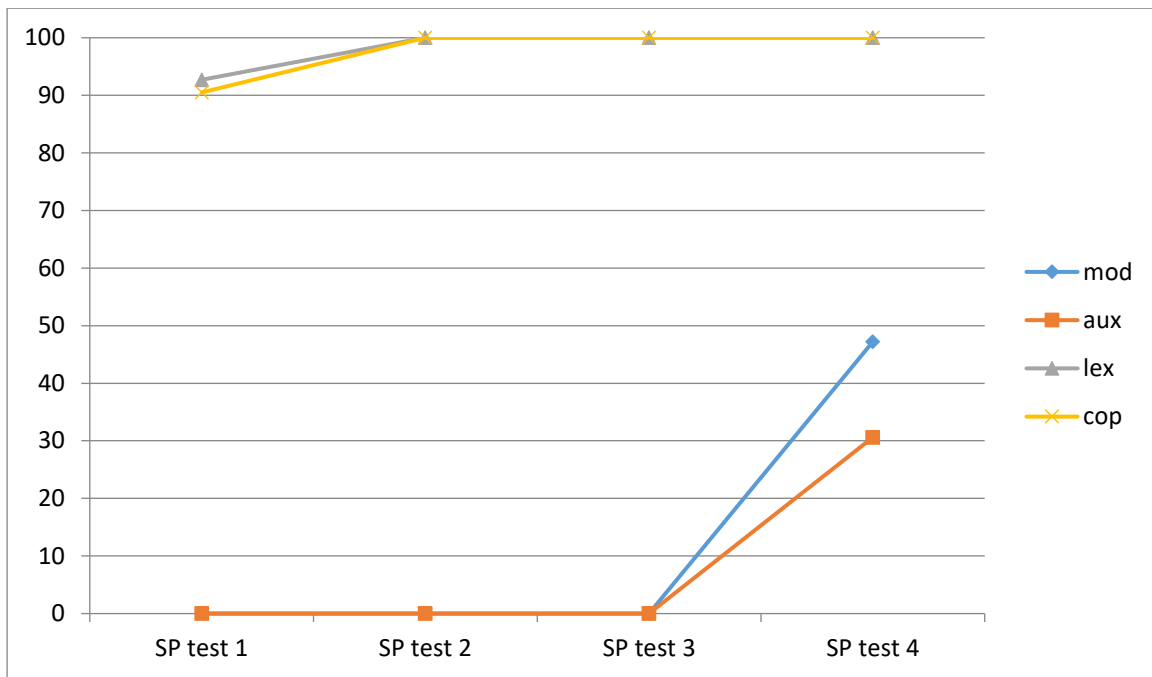


Figure 13: Development in the word order conditions. Control group: extended.
Target-like sentences in %

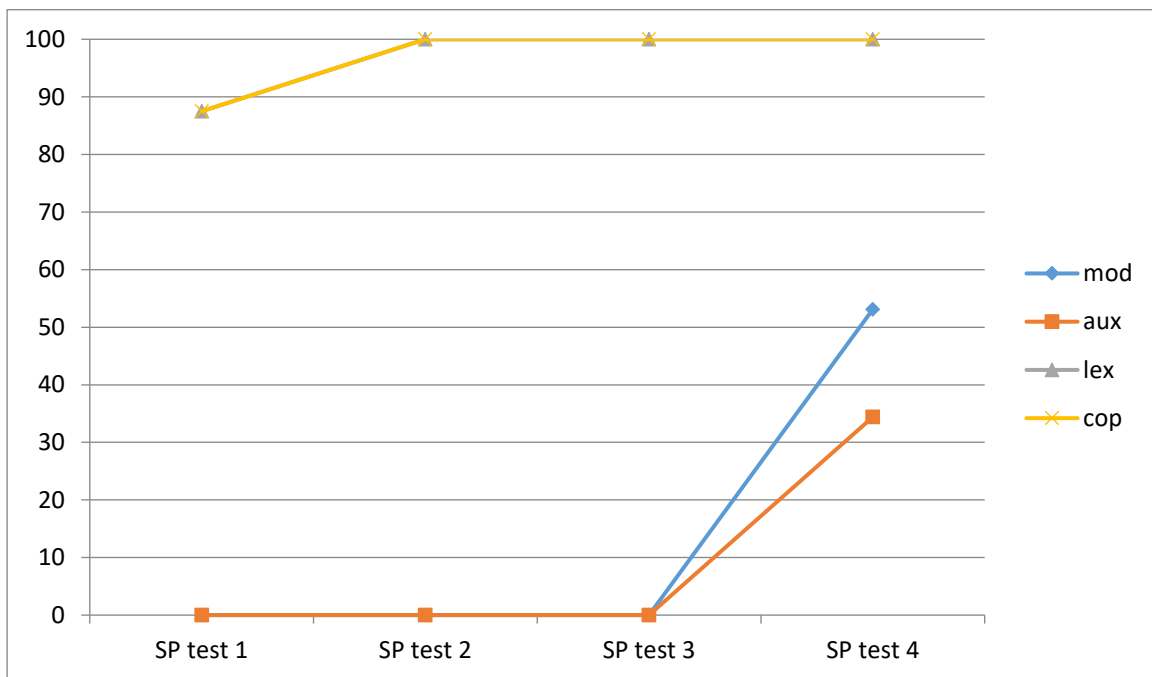


Figure 14: Development in the word order conditions. Control group: core.
Target-like sentences in %

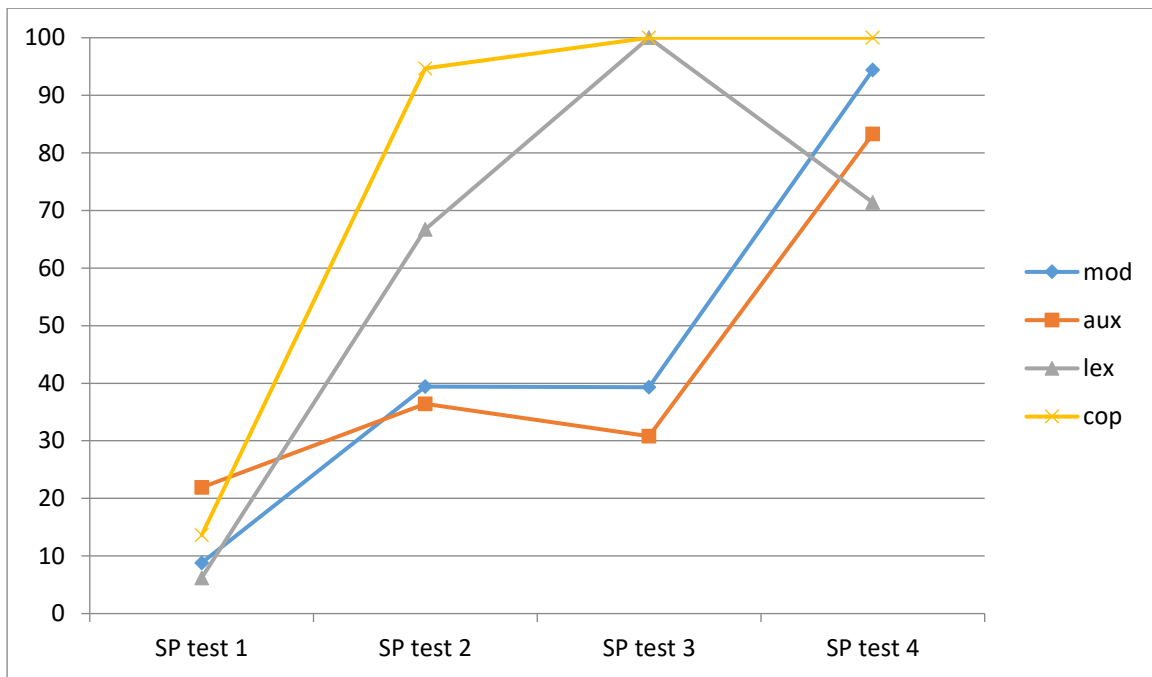


Figure 15: Development in the negation conditions. Control group: extended.
Target-like sentences in %

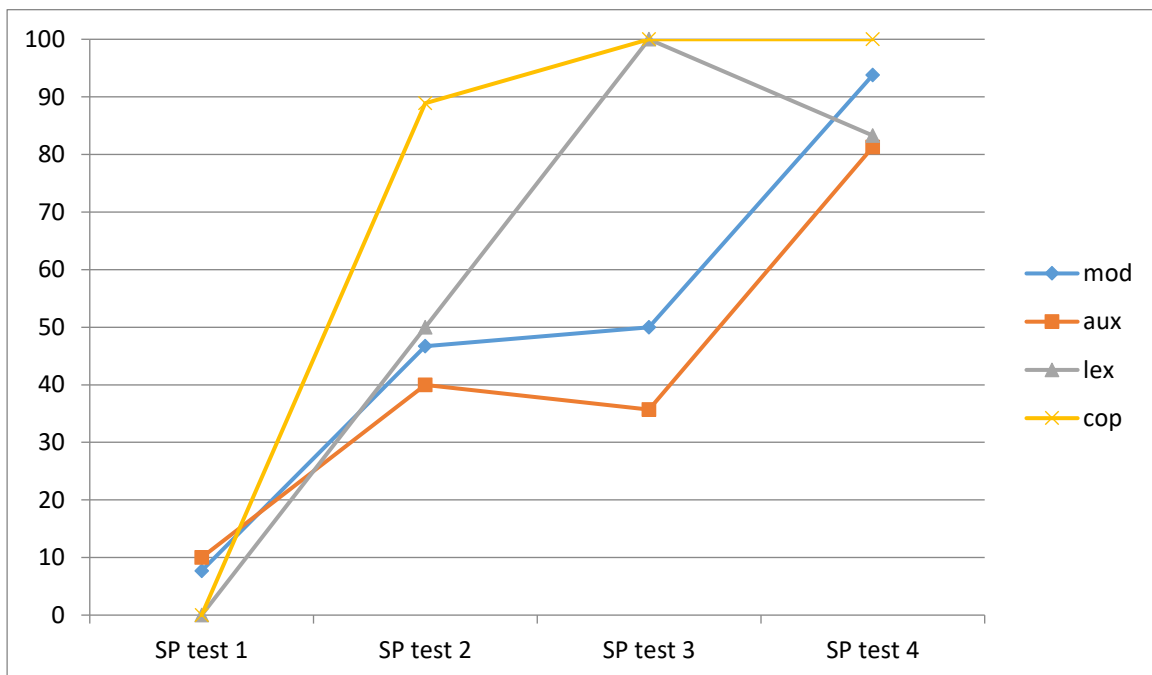


Figure 16: Development in the negation conditions. Control group: core
Target-like sentences in %

As can be seen from Figure 13 and 14, above, the control group learners consistently used a very high number of target-like SVO orders with both *lex* and *cop* in all four SP tests. In SP test 1, they produced at least 87.5% correct SVO orders, and in SP test 2 - 4, the accuracy rose to 100%. As was the case with the test group, the learners' high accuracy in the *lex* and the *cop* condition of SP test 1 can be attributed to the (positive) effect of cross-linguistic influence. As regards the usage of 100% correct word order patterns with *lex* and *cop* in SP test 2 - 4, these results can probably be seen as the consequence of SVO structures with the copula and with lexical verbs being provided in the classroom input from the first hour of instruction onward. Furthermore, SVO orders with both these verb types were familiar to the learners from their L1 and / or other L2s, a factor that can be assumed to facilitate the mastery of these word order patterns in the L2.

The control group learners did not use target-like SVOV patterns in the *mod* and the *aux* conditions until SP test 4. As argued above, in the case of SP test 1, this learners' performance also seems to result from cross-linguistic influence. While the vast majority of the test sentences exhibit a SVVO order that can be found in both the L1 and other VO languages known to the learners, some sentences seem to have been constructed according to Latin word order rules and exhibit either an SOVV or an OSVV order. Finally, this resulted in the production of 100% target-deviant *mod* and *aux* structures in SP test 1.

In SP test 2, all the control group learners used target-deviant SVVO orders with both modal verbs and auxiliaries (see also Table 7 and the discussion of the SP test 2 data in Subsection 4.2.3.4, above). This learners' performance seems to have been the combined result of firstly, mechanisms of L1 and / or L2 transfer and secondly, the structural composition of the GFL classroom input. Given that the control group learners were presented with exclusively SVO orders in the first 33 hours of the language class, there was simply no reason for them to assume that German might be an OV language. Instead, the striking similarities in surface structure between *cop* and *lex* structures in German, on the one hand, and *cop* and *lex* structure in VO languages, on the other hand, might have been an explicit invitation to the control group learners to assume that German was a VO language. This VO assumption seems to have been maintained for (at least) the first 40 hours of instructed learning, as reflected by the usage of 100% incorrect SVVO patterns with *mod* and *aux*, but 100% correct SVO orders with *lex* and *cop* in SP test 3 (see Figure 13 and 14, as well as Table 11, above). Remarkably, the control group learners only started to use target-like SVOV orders with modal verbs and auxiliaries in SP test 4, i.e. after 50 hours of instructed learning. This performance seems to be the result of the introduction

of SVOV structures with modal verbs in hour 41 of the control group language class. However, as illustrated by Figure 13 and 14, above, the accuracy rates were still comparatively low for both the extended and the core group. They ranged from 30.6% correct SVOV orders with auxiliaries in the extended group, to 53.1% target-like SVOV structures with modal verbs in the core group (see also Table 15, above). Apparently, the control group learners had problems accommodating the newly introduced SVOV orders into their L2 interim system, which until then appeared to have been clearly characterized by a VO word order.

In the negation conditions (cf. Figure 15 and 16, above), both the extended and the core control group started with a small number of correctly post-finite negated utterances in the mod and the aux condition of SP test 1. In addition, the extended group also produced some target-like, post-finite negated sentences in the lex and in the cop condition. In SP test 2, the number of target-like VNeg(V) patterns increased, in particular for the cop and for the lex condition, for which it peaked at 100% in SP test 3. With mod and aux, post-finite negation was used in at least 30% of all the test sentences produced by the control group learners in SP test 2 and SP test 3, but the accuracy rates did not pass the 50% mark (see also Table 9 and Table 13, above). At the time of SP test 4, the control group learners performed quite accurately in the negation condition with all four verb types. With the exception of the extended group in the lex condition, both the extended and the core group produced at least 80% target-like post-finite negated sentences in all four verb conditions.

As regards the control group learners' performance in the mod and the aux conditions of SP test 2 and 3, it has already been argued in the discussion of the relevant negation data, above, that the usage of target-like post-finite negation in 30.6% to 50.0% of the mod and aux test sentences, seemed to result from the employment of semantic principles of early L2 utterance organization. Given that VNegV patterns neither exist in the L1, nor had they been presented in the classroom input, it was assumed that the control group learners inserted the negator in the position between the [+finite] modal or auxiliary verb and the [-finite] lexical verb, because they wanted to express the relevant scope relations directly in the surface structure of the utterance. The assumption that semantic principles play a role in the classroom learners' organization of their early utterances is supported by the observation that both the extended and the core group learners produced a considerable number of target-deviant, pre-finite negated sentences with lex in SP test 2 (for the concrete numbers, see Table 9, above). This was quite surprising, given that

post-finite negated patterns with [+finite] lexical verbs had been presented in the classroom input. As explained in the discussion of the test group data, above, the positioning of the negator before the lexical verb in the learner language might result from the learners' intention to include the lexical verb's content information in the (surface) scope domain of sentential negation. While this strategy results in the production of target-deviant NegV patterns with [+finite] lexical verbs, exactly the same strategy leads to the usage of target-like NegV patterns with [-finite] lexical verbs. This means that *both* the usage of correct VNegV patterns in the mod and in the aux condition *and* the employment of target-deviant NegV patterns in the lex condition in SP test 2, can be explained by one and the same mechanism, namely the learners' resort to semantic principles in the organization of their early L2 negated utterances. This assumption is supported by the observation that pre-finite negation hardly ever occurs in structures with mod, aux or cop, that is, in structures with a [+finite] light verb in the control group's SP test 2 negation data (again, see Table 9, above, for the concrete results). Since [+finite] light verbs are interpreted as the carrier of the finiteness information by initial L2 learners (e.g. Becker 2005), pre-finite negation with light verbs is virtually ruled out in the context of a semantically based negation strategy. Interestingly, L1 knowledge of the syntax of sentential negation does not seem to be an influential factor at this stage of development. Instead, basic principles of information structure appear to dominate the learner language, together with the emerging target rules for sentential negation, as evidenced by the classroom input.

In SP test 3, the control group learners seem to have abandoned semantic negation with [+finite] lexical verbs and were using 100% post-finite negated patterns. This change in the learners' linguistic behavior can be seen as the result of the continuing presentation of post-finite negated structures with lexical verbs in the classroom input. As regards the mod and the aux condition, the presumably semantically based VNegV pattern was used in at least 30% of all the mod and aux structures produced by both the extended and the core group. At the same time, pre-finite negation with mod and aux no longer occurred (cf. Table 13, above).

As can be seen from Figure 15 and 16, above, at the time of SP test 4, there was a significant increase in the accuracy of negated mod and aux patterns for both the extended and the core group. On the one hand, this seems to result from the introduction of negated and non-negated SVOV orders with modal verbs in the 41st hour of the control group language class. On the other hand, it can be assumed that the learners' obvious resort to semantic principles of utterance organization was a considerable help in the acquisition

of German post-finite negation with mod and aux. As a matter of fact, both the target-like syntactic negation strategy, as well as the semantic negation strategy typically favored by language learners, resulted in target-like post-finite, but pre-infinite placement of the sentential negator in structures with modal verbs or auxiliaries.

In the cop condition, the learners used 100% correct VNeg patterns in SP test 4, as they had done in SP test 3. In the first instance, the mastery of target-like negation with cop can be assumed to result from the presentation of negated cop patterns in the classroom input from the beginning of instruction onward. In addition, post-finite negation with the copula also satisfies semantic principles of early L2 utterance organization.

In the lex condition of SP test 4, both the extended and the core groups' accuracy was lower than in SP test 3. As argued in the discussion of the control group's SP test 4 negation data, above, these instances of backsliding might indicate a (beginning) reorganization of the learner system.

To sum up, a longitudinal view of the SP test results shows that the test group learners mastered both SVOV orders with mod and aux, and SVO orders with cop and lex at a comparatively early stage in the classroom acquisition process. The learners' performance was most accurate for all four of the word order conditions at the time of the SP test 4. In contrast, the control group learners only performed accurately in the lex and in the cop word order conditions of SP test 2 - 4. They did not use target-like SVOV patterns in the mod and in the aux conditions until SP test 4, and even here their performance was comparatively poor. This observation suggests that in contrast to the test group learners, the control group learners had not mastered the underlying OV order of German after 50 hours of instructed learning.

Interim summary III

In addition to interim summary I and II, above, a longitudinal view of the SP test data allows the following conclusions:

1. The early introduction of evidence for German's underlying OV word order, combined with the quasi-elimination of SVO patterns with lexical verbs from the input, has a positive effect on and facilitates the acquisition of the German sentence bracket construction with modal verbs and auxiliaries by native speakers of a VO language. This is suggested by the test group learners' development in the modal

verb and auxiliary conditions of SP test 1 - 4. The negative impact of cross-linguistic influence on the emerging L2 learner system appears to have been considerably reduced after only 50 hours of instructed learning. At the same time, the test group learners mastered SVO patterns with lexical verbs, despite the absence of such patterns in the classroom input. The acquisition of SVO orders with lexical verbs may be facilitated by the familiarity of SVO surface orders from the L1 and / or other L2s they know.

2. An early dominance of SVO patterns with lexical verbs and a late introduction of evidence for an underlying OV word order in German seem to delay and hamper the acquisition of the German OV word order in sentence bracket constructions with modal verbs and auxiliaries by native speakers of an SVO language. In fact, the presentation of exclusively SVO patterns in the initial acquisition phases seems to reinforce the learners' initial assumption that German might be a VO language. This makes it difficult for the learners to revise their initial assumption when the input does provide counterevidence to an underlying VO order in German. As a consequence, the OV word order of German cannot be mastered within the first 50 hours of instructed learning. Evidence for this was found in the control group learners' performance in the modal verb and auxiliary conditions of SP test 1 - 4.
3. Target-like post-finite sentential negation in structures with modal verbs and auxiliaries is acquired relatively easily and effortlessly by beginning GFL learners. The comparatively late introduction of negated mod and aux patterns does not seem to have a negative influence on the mastery of such structures. This is suggested by the control group learners' accuracy in the relevant negation conditions of SP test 4. Apparently, the instructed acquisition of German post-finite sentential negation was facilitated by the L2 learners' employment of more general, largely semantically based principles of early utterance organization.

4.3 Activity naming task

4.3.1 General remarks

The activity naming (AN) task, which was introduced to the reader in Subsection 3.3.3.2, above, aims to elicit bare VP structures consisting of only a verb and an object constituent (see also the examples in (23), below). Such patterns promise to reflect whether the study participants' learner grammar is characterized by the target-like OV order or by the target-deviant VO order.

As was the case with the SP test data, the AN data will be analyzed using inferential statistics. An unpaired t-test will be used for the between-group comparison, while a paired t-test will be used for the within-subject comparison. Bear in mind that a fixed group of participants is required for a paired t-test to be performed, which is why the within-subject analysis can only be performed for the core groups of each of the two experimental groups.

4.3.2 Coding and scoring

After all the recordings had been transcribed, the structures were coded for the relative order of the object constituent and the verb, as well as for (potential) morphological markings on the verb. This was necessary to determine whether the verb forms used by the participants could be analyzed as infinitives or whether they should be categorized as inflected verb forms. In the former case, it could be assumed that the [-finite] verb form was actually part of a bare VP structure, while in the latter case, the [+finite] verb form was probably part of a more complex, clausal projection. However, it should be noted that all the verb forms produced by the classroom learners during the two AN tasks ended in *-en*, suggesting that the forms represented verbal infinitives. This means that all the learner utterances consisting of a verb and an object constituent could enter the final analysis of AN task 1 or AN task 2, respectively. Two different word order patterns could be distinguished, namely target-like OVinf orders, on the one hand (23a), and target-deviant VinfO orders, on the other (23b).

(23) Word order patterns in the activity naming task

a. OVinf

Musik **hören** (CEC, AN 2)

music listen-INF

‘to listen to music’

b. VinfO

horen Musik (STE, AN 2)

listen-INF music

‘to listen to music’

Utterances that consisted of only one word or more than two words, as well as two word utterances containing a (potential) subject, were excluded from the analysis. Furthermore, lexically unclear structures were discarded.

4.3.3 Results and interpretation

4.3.3.1 Native control group

The native control group (n=10) for the AN task was the same group that was used for the SP test. (For details about the participants in this group, see Section 3.1, above, as well as Table D3 in Appendix D.) The AN task was completed before the SP test. All the native speakers consistently produced two-word utterances consisting of a verb and an object, which were realized in the target-like OV order.

4.3.3.2 AN task 1 – after 24 hours of instruction

A total of 357 utterances were analyzed for activity naming task 1 (185 for the test group (n=22) and 172 for the control group (n=21)). 73 utterances had to be excluded from the analysis (35 in the test group, 38 in the control group). In 43 of these 73 cases, the participant did not reply to the stimulus picture. In 29 other cases, the learner utterance consisted of just one constituent (verb or object), and in one case, the verb and the subject (instead of the object) were named.

At the time of testing, i.e. the 24th hour of the language class, the test group learners had been presented with SVO structures with the copula, with simple OV patterns (e.g. *Kaffee trinken* ‘coffee – drink-INF’), and with SVOV patterns with modal verbs in their GFL class. By contrast, the control group learners had been provided with SVO patterns with lexical verbs and SVO structures with the copula.

The results for AN task 1 are presented in Table 22 (test group) and Table 23 (control group), below. The data in the tables show how many of the utterances produced in each of the relevant learner groups exhibited an OV order or a VO order.

Test group – extended (n=22)		Test group – core (n=8)	
OV order	VO order	OV order	VO order
90.8% (168/185)	9.2% (17/185)	100% (73/73)	0.0% (0/73)

Table 22: AN task 1 results. Test group: extended and core group

Control group – extended (n=21)		Control group – core (n=8)	
OV order	VO order	OV order	VO order
0.0% (0/172)	100% (172/172)	0.0% (0/69)	100% (69/69)

Table 23: AN task 1 results. Control group: extended and core group

The data show that the test group learners used a very high number of target-like OV orders in the AN task. In the extended group, 90.8% of all object-verb patterns exhibited the correct OV order. In the core group, all the structures featured the target-like OV word order. A look at the control group results in Table 23, above, shows that in contrast to the test group, none of the structures produced by the control group exhibited the correct OV order. This difference in the two experimental groups’ linguistic performance is significant ($t(21.000) = 14.491, p < 0.001$, extended groups). It should be noted that the test group learners did not show intra-individual variation in AN task 1. To be precise, 20 test group participants consistently used target-like OV orders, and two participants employed

only target-deviant VO orders. The test group's production of a very high number of correct OV orders in AN task 1 probably results from the presentation of (SV)OV word order patterns in the classroom input. However, given that both simple object-verb patterns and SVOV structures with modal verbs were presented in the test group language class, it is not clear whether the learners' correct responses in AN task 1 were imitations of the object-verb patterns or whether they had their source in SVOV patterns with modal verbs. It is presumed that *both* these input patterns were responsible for the test group learners' accurate performance in AN task 1. This issue will be addressed again in the context of the discussion of the control group's AN task 2 data in Subsection 4.3.3.4.

As regards the control group, it can be assumed that the exclusive presentation of SVO structures with lexical verbs or the copula in the classroom input gave the learners the impression that German might be a VO language. In fact, the target language input available to the learners *never* provided evidence against the correctness of VO orders in German. Consequently, the control group participants applied a VO order to *all* of their responses in AN task 1. Remember that the control group learners' VO hypothesis was also clearly reflected in the SP test results discussed in Subsection 4.2.3.4, above.

These control group results are quite alarming from the perspective of language pedagogy. It can be assumed that the learners' VO hypothesis about the target system in general, as well as their inability to use OV orders in simple object-verb patterns in particular, hampers the classroom acquisition process of OV structures in German.

4.3.3.3 AN task 2 – after 58 hours of instruction

A total of 161 utterances were included in the analysis for AN task 2 (80 for the test group (n=8) and 81 for the control group (n=9)). Nine responses had to be discarded (all nine from the control group) due to missing constituents or incomprehensible linguistic material.

At the time of completing AN task 2, i.e. after 58 hours of instructed GFL learning, both the experimental groups had been exposed to structures providing evidence of the underlying OV order of German. In case of the test group, simple object-verb patterns, SVOV structures with modal verbs, SVOV structures with auxiliaries and SVOV structures with particle verbs had been introduced, in that order, in the language class (for the actual time of introduction, see overview Table 5, Subsection 2.2.1, above). In the control group, evidence for the underlying OV order of German was first presented by means of

SVOV structures with particle verbs, followed by SVOV structures with modal verbs and SVOV structures with auxiliaries (again, see Table 5, Subsection 2.2.1, above, for the actual time of introduction).

The results for AN task 2 are presented in Table 24 and Table 25, below. Note that in the case of the test group, only the core group learners were able to participate in this task.

Test group – extended (n.a.)		Test group – core (n=8)	
OV order	VO order	OV order	VO order
n.a.	n.a.	100% (80/80)	0.0% (0/80)

Table 24: AN task 2 results. Test group: extended and core group

Control group – extended (n=9)		Control group – core (n=8)	
OV order	VO order	OV order	VO Order
33.3% (27/81)	66.7% (54/81)	33.8% (24/71)	66.2% (47/71)

Table 25: AN task 2 results. Control group: extended and core group

The data in Table 24, above, show that as in AN task 1, the core test group learners used 100% correct OV orders when producing bare VP patterns. This observation implies that the learners' L2 grammar was characterized by the target-like OV word order. Thus, the AN task 2 results support the conclusion that could be drawn from the analysis of the SP test 4 word order data. Bear in mind that the core test group learners used 100% correct SVOV orders with both modal verbs and auxiliaries in this test. Apparently, the test group learners had really mastered the underlying OV word order of German and could apply this feature successfully in the written production of sentence bracket structures and in the oral production of bare VP patterns. Furthermore, the test group learners' accurate performance in AN task 2 suggests that the explicit introduction of SVO orders with lex-

ical verbs in the 51st hour of the language course did not disturb the linguistic development of the learners in the domain of word order. Notwithstanding the occurrence of a lexical verb to the left of the object in these newly introduced SVO patterns, the test group learners consistently produced structures with the lexical verb occurring to the right of the object in AN task 2.

For the control group, the results in Table 25, above, show that after the introduction of SVOV structures in the language course, the learners had begun to use correct OV orders in bare VP patterns. While none of the utterances had exhibited the target-like OV order in AN task 1, this pattern was now used in one third of all the structures produced in AN task 2. A paired t-test showed that this change in the learners' linguistic behavior was significant ($t(7) = -2.420, p < 0.05$).

As regards the individual learners' performance, only one control group learner consistently applied the correct OV order to his German bare VP patterns, while four other learners varied between using either a target-like OV or a target-deviant VO order. The remaining four control group learners consistently produced target-deviant VO patterns. These AN task 2 results for the control group were completely in accordance with the word order results from SP test 4, and implied that the control group learners' L2 German interim system was still very much characterized by a VO word order.

A comparison of the test group and the control group's AN task 2 data shows that there was a significant difference between the two learner groups with respect to the correct realization of bare German VP structures ($t(7.000) = 4.956, p < 0.01$, core groups). However, in view of the fact that evidence for the underlying OV order of German was provided earlier in the test group than in the control group, the test group's more accurate performance in AN task 2 was hardly surprising. For this reason, I will now compare the test group's results for AN task 1 with those of the control group for AN task 2. At the respective times of testing, the two learner groups had both been presented with evidence for the OV word order of German for a comparable number of contact hours, namely 22 in the case of the test group and 24 in the case of the control group.

4.3.3.4 AN task 1 (test group) vs. AN task 2 (control group) – after 22, respectively 24, hours of evidence for OV orders

As already mentioned above, at the time of completing AN task 1, the test group learners had been presented with simple OV patterns and SVOV structures with modal verbs. In comparison, the control group learners had been provided with SVOV patterns with particle verbs, modal verbs, and auxiliaries before they completed AN task 2. All in all, the control group had been exposed to OV patterns for two hours longer than the test group (see also Table 5, Subsection 2.2.1, above, and Table 5, Subsection 3.3.3.4, above).

A look at the data in Table 22 and 25, above, shows that the percentage of target-like realized OV orders in bare VP structures after 22, respectively 24 hours of OV evidence, was much higher in the test group than the control group. This difference between the two experimental groups was significant for both the extended groups ($t(29) = 4.710$, $p < 0.001$) and the core groups ($t(7.000) = 4.956$, $p < 0.01$).

How can the test group's advantage over the control group be explained? Remember from the discussion of the SP test data in Subsection 4.2.3.4, above, that the control group learners seemed to retain a VO hypothesis for the German target system until at least the 40th hour of instruction. It was argued that this target-deviant VO hypothesis was the result of the lack of interpretable counterevidence to an underlying VO order in German. After SVOV structures with modal verbs were introduced in hour 41 of the control group language course, the learners had problems accommodating German's OV word order feature into their L2 interim grammar. This acquisition problem became evident in the word order results for SP test 4, in which the control group learners performed quite poorly in both the mod and the aux condition (cf. Table 15, above). The negative effect of the late introduction of SVOV orders in the control group, on the one hand, and the presentation of exclusively SVO orders on the other, also seems to be reflected in the control group learners' performance in the AN task. Given that the learners had assumed for quite a long time that German was a VO language, they then had problems switching the headedness of the L2 German VP. Consequently, they either failed to apply the correct OV word order to bare German VP structures or they variably use both OV and VO orders. In contrast, the test group learners applied the target-like OV order to bare VP structures quite successfully after 22 hours of OV evidence. As mentioned above, only two test group learners used target-deviant VO orders, while the rest of the learners employed correct OV orders. Apparently, the test group had benefited from the early introduction

of OV evidence in the language course. The target-like OV order appears to be quite firmly anchored in their L2 learner system.

Apart from the relative time at which the OV evidence was introduced in the GFL class, there is also another factor that might have promoted the test group learners' acquisition of the German OV word order, namely the actual OV input patterns that were provided in the language class. This applies particularly to the simple object-verb structures that were presented and practiced in the test group language course between the 2nd and the 5th hour. Note that OV orders in this form were never included in the control group classroom input.⁷⁰ It can be assumed that the treatment of these OV patterns in the test group considerably facilitated their mastery of the OV feature of the German VP. However, as the control group data suggests, the presentation of simple OV patterns in the classroom input does not seem to be absolutely essential for promoting the acquisition of German's OV word order. Bear in mind that the control group learners were presented with SVOV structures with particle verbs, modal verbs, and auxiliaries before completing AN task 2. In the AN task, five out of nine control group learners used OV patterns (though in most cases in variation with VO orders). This means that these learners must have inferred the German VP's headedness from the SVOV patterns presented in the classroom input. Interestingly, those learners who sometimes used target-like OV orders in AN task 2, were the same learners who had used target-like SVOV orders with modal verbs and, in some cases, also with auxiliaries, in SP test 4. In parallel, the four control group learners who consistently used target-deviant VO orders in AN task 2, produced exclusively target-deviant SVVO orders with both mod and aux in SP test 4. This implies that mastering SVOV orders with modal verbs is a prerequisite for the mastery of OV orders in bare VP structures, at least if the bare VP patterns are not explicitly introduced in the GFL class. Furthermore, the observation that all the learners who used SVOV orders with modal verbs in SP test 4, produced a certain number (at least four) of target-like OV patterns in AN task 2, suggests that the SVOV orders used in the mod condition of SP test 4 were not just rote-learned patterns that occurred in written production. Apparently, the learners were actually able to infer, from SVOV orders with modal verbs in the classroom input, that the head of the German VP is phrase-final. Otherwise, the respective

⁷⁰ The reason for the exclusion of simple OV patterns from the control group classroom input was the control group syllabus's orientation on commonly used syllabi for the introduction of German word order properties in beginning GFL classes. Recall from the results of the GFL textbook analysis presented and discussed in Subsection 1.2.4 and 1.2.5 of this thesis, that simple OV patterns occurred only marginally in popular GFL textbooks and were definitely not introduced explicitly and practiced in class.

participants would not have been able to produce verb-final object-verb structures in a spontaneous oral production test such as the AN task.

A last point to be addressed in this subsection relates to an issue that has been raised in the context of the discussion of the AN task 1 test group data in Subsection 4.3.3.2, above. Given that *both* simple OV patterns *and* SVOV orders with modal verbs had been presented in the test group classroom input before AN task 1, it is not clear from which of these two input patterns the learners had inferred the OV order of German as it became apparent in their bare VP structures. Finally, it was assumed that the test group learners' accuracy in AN task 1 was the result of being presented with and practicing both the simple OV patterns and the SVOV structures with modal verbs. In fact, the control group data for AN task 2, as discussed above, support this assumption. Given that the control group learners were able to infer OV orders in bare VP structures from SVOV orders with modal verbs in the classroom input, it can be assumed that SVOV orders with modal verbs were also an important source of evidence of a head-final VP in German for the test group learners.

To sum up, the test group learners clearly outperformed the control group learners with respect to the production of target-like, bare VP structures after approximately the same number of hours of exposure to OV evidence in the input. Presumably, this is due to both the early vs. late provision of evidence for an underlying OV order in German and to the presence vs. absence of simple OV patterns in / from the classroom input.

Interim summary IV

In addition to the conclusions presented in interim summary I to III, above, the results of the activity naming task suggest the following:

1. GFL learners seem to be able to infer the headedness of the German VP from the presentation of SVOV structures with modal verbs in the input. However, the presentation of simple object-verb patterns in the classroom input can be assumed to facilitate and promote the mastery of the German OV word order feature.
2. The late provision of counterevidence to a VO hypothesis in beginning GFL learners complicates the acquisition of the German OV word order feature. The resulting learning problems are not only apparent in the context of sentence bracket constructions with modal verb and auxiliaries, but also in utterances involving a bare VP.

4.4 Elicited imitation task

4.4.1 General remarks

As was the case with the sentence puzzle test, the elicited imitation (EI) task aimed to elicit (potential) sentence bracket constructions with modal verbs and auxiliaries. As explained when introducing the materials in Subsection 3.3.3.3, above, the target stimuli involved both grammatical and ungrammatical structures with an overall ratio of 1:1. Furthermore, the EI task 1 comprised stimuli that had been systematically manipulated for sentential negation (cf. also Appendix E3 for the full list of stimuli sentences in EI task 1 and EI task 2). The learners' task was to repeat the stimuli sentences verbatim, or, if they could not remember the exact wording of the sentence, to reproduce those parts that they could recall. In any event, they should try to communicate the *meaning* of the sentence they had heard.

An elicited imitation task is often considered to represent implicit linguistic knowledge (e.g. Erlam 2006). Although the EI design used in the present study differs slightly from that employed by Erlam (2006)⁷¹, the task can nevertheless be assumed to reflect the classroom learners' implicit, procedural L2 knowledge. Given that the participants were instructed to repeat the stimuli sentences *verbatim*, any potential changes to the original form of a stimulus must have occurred on a subconscious level. For this reason, the EI task constitutes an interesting correlate to the SP test, which to a certain extent seemed to allow for the learners' use of explicit grammatical knowledge (see also Section 3.3, above, in particular Subsection 3.3.2). In other words, the EI results promised to reflect whether a certain linguistic feature was actually part of the underlying learner grammar.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the analysis and interpretation of the present EI task results is based on only those responses that exhibited a *change* the original linguistic structure of the stimulus sentence. Responses in which the original linguistic structure of a stimulus was left unchanged were not taken as evidence, since it was not clear whether they originated from the L2 learner's own linguistic resources or were one-to-one repetitions of the original stimulus. (See, for example, Schimke (2009) and Verhagen (2009) for a quite similar approach to the analysis and interpretation of EI results.)

⁷¹ Instead of using numbers as distractors, Erlam (2006) had her subjects fill in a so-called 'Beliefs Questionnaire' (Erlam 2006: 474ff.). For each of the target sentences, the learners had to decide whether they 'agree' or do 'not agree' with the statement made in the sentence, or were 'not sure'. Furthermore, the participants in Erlam's study were told to repeat the sentences in 'correct English' (Erlam 2006: 477).

4.4.2 Coding and scoring

In the present EI task, the learners often changed the stimuli sentences' original structures when responding to them. These changes involved modifications at the lexical, morphological, or syntactic level. All these modifications suggested that the learners were actively reconstructing the stimuli sentences instead of simply memorizing and repeating them verbatim. For an illustration of such modifications, see (24) and (25), below:

- (24) Stimulus: Der Opa kann spielen nicht Gitarre.
the grandpa can-3SG play-INF not guitar
'The grandpa cannot play guitar'
- Response: Der Mutter kann nicht Gitarre spielen.
the mother can-3SG not guitar play-INF
'The mother cannot play guitar'
- (25) Stimulus: Der Polizist will den Film sehen.
the policeman want to-3SG the film see-INF
'The policeman wants to see the film'
- Response: Die Polizist will nicht Film sehen.
the policeman want to-3SG not film see-INF
'The policeman doesn't want to see the film'

After all the participants' responses had been digitized and transcribed, it was noted for each of them, whether there had been a change in the domain of word order. Specifically, a determination was made, whether the relative position of the [-finite] lexical verb and the object had been changed in the response, or whether their original order had been maintained. Furthermore, if the stimuli sentences exhibited sentential negation, it was determined whether there had been a shift in the position of the [+finite] and / or the [-finite] verb with respect to negation. That is, whether a target stimulus exhibiting pre-finite, post-finite, or post-infinite negation, respectively, had undergone a structural modification resulting in a different negation pattern, was noted.

Incomplete responses in which either the subject, the object, the verb(s), or more than one of these constituents had been omitted, were excluded from further analysis in

the word order conditions.⁷² The omission of the negator was considered to be acceptable in this case. In contrast, the omission of the negator in the negation conditions, led to the respective response being excluded from further analysis. Likewise, structures were discarded if the [+finite] and / or the [-finite] verb had been dropped. The omission of the subject or the object was accepted in the negation conditions.

If the learners responded to the stimulus more than once, or if they corrected themselves, only their last response was considered.

4.4.3 Results and interpretation

4.4.3.1 EI task 1 – after 40 hours of instruction

For the test group (n=15), a total of 161 utterances entered the final analysis for the word order conditions of EI task 1. 49 responses had to be discarded. For the control group (n=10), 70 responses could be analyzed, while a further 70 had to be excluded. In most cases, the reason for the exclusion was that one or more relevant constituents was omitted. In addition, sometimes the participants did not respond to the stimulus at all, or their response was a native language comment about the stimulus itself, e.g. “troppo difficile” ‘too difficult’ or “non mi ricordo questo” ‘I don’t remember this one’.

The EI task 1 was completed shortly after the SP test 3. The learners performed a speaking exercise between the two tests. Thematically, the exercise was unrelated to either the SP test or the EI task. As regards the input and the output structures, the speaking exercise involved only SVO patterns with the copula, that is, input patterns that had been treated in the same way in both the test group and the control group language course.

At the time of completing EI task 1, the input situation in the two experimental groups was exactly as it was for SP test 3. That is, the test group had received input with SVO structures with the copula, with bare OV patterns and with SVOV patterns with modal verbs. In the control group, SVO structures with the copula and with lexical verbs as well as SVOV patterns with particle verbs had been presented. Remember from the discussion of the SP test 3 results, above, that the control group’s word order data suggested that the learners’ L2 interim system was still largely characterized by a target-

⁷² The term *word order condition* in the context of the EI task, refers to conditions 1 - 4 in Table 3, Subsection 3.3.3.3, above. The term *negation condition* refers to conditions 3 and 4 in Table 3, Subsection 3.3.3.3, above.

deviant VO grammar. In contrast, the test group's results for SP test 3 allowed the conclusion that the learners' interim system had already developed in the direction of the target-like OV system. In the light of these findings, it could be assumed that the two learner groups would perform differently in the EI task. For the test group, it could be expected that the learners would make more changes in word order condition 2 and 4 than in word order condition 1 and 3 (cf. Table 3, Subsection 3.3.3.3, above). That is, it seemed likely that the learners would replace target-deviant SVVO orders with target-like SVOV orders more often than vice versa. In the case of the control group, quite the opposite could be expected, namely that the learners would change correct SVOV orders into incorrect SVVO patterns more often. Changes in the opposite direction could be assumed to occur less frequently.

The EI 1 results for the word order conditions are summarized in Table 26, below. It shows the number of changes that the learners made in one or the other direction, for both the test group and the control group. Note that due to the relatively small sample size for EI task 1 and EI task 2, as well as the comparatively small number of changes performed by the learners, the analysis and discussion of the EI task data will be based on only the extended group results.

Change Group	SVOV > SVVO	SVVO > SVOV
Test group (n=15)	0/72 (0.0%)	12/89 (13.5%)
Control group (n=10)	4/33 (12.1%)	0/37 (0.0%)

Table 26: Word order results EI task 1. Test group and control group: extended, 40 hours of instruction

The data in Table 26 show that both the experimental groups behaved as expected. While the test group learners changed target-deviant VO orders into target-like OV orders significantly more often than vice versa ($\chi^2(1) = 10.49, p < 0.01$), the control group learners did exactly the opposite. A Fisher's exact test showed that target-like OV orders were changed into target-deviant VO orders significantly more often than vice versa in the control group ($p < 0.05$). Examples of such word order changes are given in (26) for the test group and in (27) for the control group.

- (26) a. Stimulus: Der Junge kann kochen Suppe.
the boy can-3SG cook-INF soup
‘The boy can prepare soup’
Response: Der Jungen kann Suppe kochen.
the boys can-3SG soup cook-INF
‘The boys can prepare soup’
- b. Stimulus: Der Opa will hören nicht Musik.
the grandpa want to-3SG listen-INF not music
‘The grandpa doesn’t want to listen to music’
Response: Der Opa will nicht Musik hören.
the grandpa want to-3SG not music listen-INF
‘The grandpa doesn’t want to listen to music’
- (27) a. Stimulus: Der Student kann Texte schreiben.
the student can-3SG texts write-INF
‘The student can write texts’
Response: Der Student kann geschrieben Texte.
the student can-3SG write-INF texts
‘The student can write texts’
- b. Stimulus: Der Junge kann Fußball spielen.
the boy can-3SG soccer play-INF
‘The boy can play soccer’
Response: Der Junge kannte spielen Fußball.
the boy can-?? play-INF soccer
‘The boy can(??) play soccer’

It should be noted that both the learner groups behaved very consistently in the EI task. The test group only made changes from VO to OV, and the control group only made changes from OV to VO. This leads to a significant difference between the two experimental groups, both with respect to the number of changes that were made from OV to VO ($p < 0.01$, Fisher’s exact test, two-tailed) and in the number of changes from VO to OV ($p < 0.05$, Fisher’s exact test, two-tailed). These outcomes suggest that the test group

and control group learners' implicit L2 knowledge was different in nature. The test group's clear preference for OV orders suggests that these learners were equipped with a target-like OV grammar. The bias toward VO orders in the control group means it can be assumed that the learner language was characterized by a target-deviant VO grammar.

In the following, I will present the results in the negation conditions of EI task 1. For the test group, it was possible to analyze 72 responses to negated stimuli, while 18 had to be excluded from the analysis. A total of 30 responses entered the final analysis for the control group, and 30 had to be discarded.

Bear in mind from the presentation of the SP test 3 results, above, that the test group learners showed a clear preference for target-like post-finite negation with both mod and aux. They used correct VNegV patterns in 94.7% of all negated modal verb structures and in 66.7% of all negated auxiliary sentences (cf. Table 12, above). In contrast, the control group learners used predominantly target-deviant post-infinite negation patterns, which were employed in 60.7% / 69.2% of all negated structures with modal verbs / auxiliaries (cf. Table 13, above). The rest of the negated mod and aux structures produced by the control group learners in SP test 3, exhibited target-like post-finite negation. It was argued that the control group's usage of VNegV patterns could be the result of a strategy based on semantic principles of early L2 utterance organization.

Given these findings so far, it will be interesting to see how the learners behave in the EI task. Will the test group learners perform just as well as they did in the SP test? Will the control group learners resort to their semantically based, negation strategy and use VNegV orders (despite the fact that such patterns have never been presented in the classroom input)? Or will they produce target-deviant VVNeg patterns instead, as they did in SP test 3? The negation results for EI task 1 are summarized in Table 27, below. It shows for each of the three different negation patterns presented in the EI task, i.e. pre-finite, post-finite, and post-infinite negation, how often the stimulus patterns were replaced by one of the other two possible negation patterns in the learners' responses.

Change	NegVV >	NegVV >	VNegV >	VNegV >	VVNeg >	VVNeg >
Group	VNegV	VVNeg	NegVV	VVNeg	NegVV	VNegV
Test group (n=15)	9/19 (47.4%)	0/19 (0.0%)	0/28 (0.0%)	0/28 (0.0%)	0/25 (0.0%)	13/25 (52.0%)
Control group (n=10)	2/6 (33.3%)	0/6 (0.0%)	0/11 (0.0%)	0/11 (0.0%)	0/13 (0.0%)	5/13 (38.5%)

Table 27: Negation results EI task 1. Test group and control group: extended, 40 hours of instruction

The data in Table 27 show that in both experimental groups, neither target-like nor target-deviant stimuli patterns were replaced by a target-deviant negation pattern. Instead, all the changes performed by the learners resulted in target-like VNegV patterns. This applies to both NegVV stimuli and VVNeg stimuli. To illustrate such changes, see (28) (test group) and (29) (control group), below:

- (28) a. Stimulus: Das Mädchen nicht kann backen Kuchen.
the girl not can-3SG bake-INF cake
‘The girl cannot bake a cake’
Response: Das Mädchen kann nicht backen ein Kuchen.
the girl can-3SG not bake-INF a cake
‘The girl cannot bake a cake’
- b. Stimulus: Der Opa will hören nicht Musik.
the grandpa want to-3SG listen to-INF not music
‘The grandpa doesn’t want to listen to music’
Response: Der Opa will nicht Musik hören.
the grandpa want to-3SG not music listen to-INF
‘The grandpa doesn’t want to listen to music’

- (29) a. Stimulus: Das Mädchen nicht will trinken Wein.
the girl not want to-3SG drink-INF wine
‘The girl doesn’t want to drink wine’
Response: Das Mädchen will nicht trinken Wein.
the girl want to-3SG not drink-INF wine
‘The girl doesn’t want to drink wine’
- b. Stimulus: Der Opa kann spielen nicht Gitarre.
the grandpa can-3SG play-INF not guitar
‘The grandpa cannot play guitar’
Response: Der Opa kann nicht spielen Gitarr.
the grandpa can-3SG not play-INF guitar
‘The grandpa cannot play guitar’

In both the test and the control group, changes from target-deviant NegVV and VVNeg patterns to target-like VNegV orders occurred significantly more often than changes in the other direction ($\chi^2(1) = 20.16$, $p < 0.001$ in the test group, and $p < 0.05$, Fisher’s exact test, two-tailed, in the control group). This implies that target-like post-finite negation was the preferred pattern in both the experimental groups. It should be noted that while there were significantly more changes from target-deviant to target-like patterns in the test group as compared to the control group in the word order conditions of EI task 1, no such significant difference between the two experimental groups could be found for the negation conditions ($\chi^2(1) = 0.925$, ns). This observation is in accordance with the conclusions that could be drawn from the results of the sentence puzzle test, in particular from the comparison of the test group’s results for SP test 2 with those of the control group for SP test 4. Remember that while there was a significant difference between the two learner groups with respect to the mastery of the German OV word order, no such difference could be confirmed regarding the mastery of German post-finite sentential negation.

Interestingly, the learners’ clear tendency to normalize incorrect instances of German sentential negation seems to be independent of the concrete stimulus pattern. There was no significant difference in the number of changes performed from NegVV to VNegV compared to the number of changes made from VVNeg to VNegV, for either the test group ($\chi^2(1) = 0.093$, ns), or the control group (ns at $p < 0.05$, Fisher’s exact test, two-

tailed). This means that both learner groups rejected pre-finite and post-infinite negation as possible negation patterns for the German target language, equally strongly. This observation was not very surprising for the test group, given that target-like post-finite negation was the preferred pattern in both the mod and the aux condition of SP test 3. Target-deviant NegVV and VVNeg orders were rarely used here. However, the control group's clear preference for VNegV patterns, and in particular the rejection of VVNeg orders in EI task 1, was rather unexpected. Remember that the control group learners had shown a clear preference for VVNeg orders over all other negation strategies in SP test 3. How can this discrepancy between the EI task 1 results and the SP test 3 data be explained? I assume that a key factor here is the different types of linguistic knowledge involved in the two different tasks, i.e. the fact that the EI task activates implicit linguistic knowledge while the SP test partially involves explicit linguistic knowledge. Given that the EI task procedure requires the participants to act spontaneously, the EI results can be taken as meaning that the control group learners "know" intuitively that German has post-finite sentential negation. Apparently, the participants just followed their linguistic intuitions and consequently placed the negator in the position between the [+finite] modal verb and the [-finite] lexical verb. The problematic point here seems to be that the control group learners' intuitive linguistic knowledge is not supported by the traditional syllabus. Instead of providing evidence for the existence of a syntactic middle field in German, the input structures which occur in the first 40 hours of instruction in the traditional syllabus give the learners the impression that German functions like a VO language. This implies that there is no position between V_{fin} and V_{inf} in which the sentential negator could be placed. Consequently, the learners search for other negation strategies. This, more or less explicit, search is reflected in the SP test 3 data. Given that the classroom input had provided counterevidence to the correctness of pre-finite negation in German, but not (yet) to that of post-infinite negation, the VVNeg patterns became the control group's favorite negation strategy in SP test 3. Apparently, the control group learners' explicit knowledge, i.e. the assumption that German functions like a VO language that does not allow for VNegV orders, largely prevailed against the naturalistically based negation strategy reflected by the learners' responses in the EI task. With a view to GFL teaching practice, these results are quite alarming. Given that, particularly in instructed foreign language learning, the L2 learners can be assumed to draw on their explicit knowledge of the L2 system, a syllabus which leads to misperformances such as those made by the control group in SP test 3, can hardly be considered to be beneficial.

A last point to be addressed in the context of the EI task 1 data relates to an issue that has already been discussed in the context of the SP test 4 negation data in Subsection 4.2.3.5, above. Here, it was assumed that the sentential negator in German might promote the establishment of a middle field slot in the syntactic structure of the utterance and therefore pave the way for the mastery of target-like OV orders in (potential) sentence bracket constructions with modal verbs and auxiliaries. Interestingly, the learners' treatment of sentential negation in the EI task in general, and of negated stimuli sentences in particular, suggest that there really is a positive relationship between the presence of a sentential negator and the usage of target-like OV orders. I will first consider the learners' treatment of sentential negation in general, specifically, the absolute number of times a negator was omitted or added in the learners' responses to the EI task 1 stimuli. Table 28 summarizes the results for all five target conditions (see also Table 3, Subsection 3.3.3.3, above, for the target conditions). The figures in Table 28 show the number of analyzable responses in each of the conditions in which a negator was omitted (- Neg) or added (+ Neg). Note that in the case of an addition, the negator was always realized in the target-like post-finite position. This phenomenon is illustrated in (30), below, for condition 1 and in (31), below, for condition 2. For the omission of a negator, see the example in (32) (condition 5).

Change Condition	+ Neg	- Neg
Condition 1	9/44 (20.5%)	n.a.
Condition 2	1/42 (2.4%)	n.a.
Condition 3	n.a.	0/28 (0.0%)
Condition 4	n.a.	1/21 (4.8%)
Condition 5	n.a.	1/26 (3.8%)

Table 28: Omissions and additions of a negator in EI task 1. Test group

- (30) Stimulus: Der Junge kann Fußball spielen.
the boy can-3SG soccer play-INF
‘The boy can play soccer’
- Response: Der Junge kann **nicht** Fußball spielen.
the boy can-3SG not soccer play-INF
‘The boy cannot play soccer’
- (31) Stimulus: Der Junge kann kochen Suppe.
the boy can-3SG cook-INF soup
‘The boy can prepare soup’
- Response: Der Junge kann **nicht** kochen Suppen.
the boy can-3SG not cook-INF soups
‘The boy cannot prepare soups’
- (32) Stimulus: Der Opa will hören **nicht** Musik.
the grandpa want to-3SG listen to-INF not music
‘The grandpa doesn’t want to listen to music’
- Response: Der Opa will hören den Musik.
the grandpa want-3SG listen to-INF the music
‘The grandpa wants to listen to music’

The data in Table 28, above, show that the test group learners added a negator to their responses in condition 1 significantly more often than was the case in condition 2 ($p < 0.05$, Fisher’s exact test, two-tailed). This means that the learners clearly prefer to insert a negator into a target-like SVOV structure in comparison to a target-deviant SVVO pattern. At the same time, the test group participants never omitted the negator in responses to target-like SVOV stimuli in condition 3, but they did so sporadically when responding to the target-deviant SVVO stimuli in condition 4 and 5. All in all, these observations allow the conclusion that the test group learners seemed to associate target-like SVOV orders with the presence of a sentential negator that was realized in the middle field slot. In addition, it seems to have been easier for the test group participants to respond to negated SVOV stimuli than to non-negated SVOV stimuli. This is suggested by the fact that the learners repeated 28 out of 30 stimulus sentences in condition 3 success-

fully but only 44 out of 60 stimulus sentences in condition 1. This difference in the learners' performance in condition 1 in comparison to condition 3 is significant ($\chi^2(1) = 5.0$, $p < 0.05$).

Supporting evidence for the assumption of a relationship between sentential negation, on the one hand, and the correct application, or even mastery, of the German OV word order with complex predicates, on the other, is provided by a closer look at the number of omissions and additions of sentential negation in the control group. Table 29, below, presents the summarized results for each of the 5 conditions.

Change Condition	+ Neg	- Neg
Condition 1	0/20 (0.0%)	n.a.
Condition 2	1/18 (5.6%)	n.a.
Condition 3	n.a.	2/13 (14.3%)
Condition 4	n.a.	2/5 (40.0%)
Condition 5	n.a.	3/14 (21.4%)

Table 29: Omissions and additions of a negator in EI task 1. Control group

The data in Table 29, above, show that in contrast to the test group learners, the control group learners *never* added a sentential negator to their responses in condition 1. As evidenced by a two-tailed Fisher's exact test, the two experimental groups performed significantly differently here ($p < 0.05$). Furthermore, again in contrast to the test group, the presence of a sentential negator in a target-like SVOV structure did not seem to have a positive effect on the control group learners' ability to respond to the respective stimuli sentences. This is shown by the fact that the learners replied to 20 of the 40 non-negated stimuli in condition 1, and to 13 of the 20 negated stimuli in condition 3. According to a chi-square test, there was no significant difference between the control group learners' performances in condition 1 and condition 3 ($\chi^2(1) = 1.212$, ns). Finally, in comparison

to the test group participants, the control group participants showed a tendency to omit the negator significantly more often in responses to the target-like negated SVOV patterns of condition 3 ($0.05 < p < 0.1$, Fisher's exact test, two-tailed). Hence, these observations suggest that there is a relationship between the use of German post-finite sentential negation and the availability of an OV grammar in the L2 learner system. While the test group learners, who seem to be equipped with an OV grammar, prefer the presence of sentential negation in their SVOV utterances, the control group learners show no such bias. Instead, their performance in condition 3, 4 and 5 suggests that they prefer the absence of a sentential negator in (potential) sentence bracket constructions in the German target language (see the data in Table 29, above).

In the following, I will discuss the assumed relationship between sentential negation and (the mastery of) target-like OV orders in German in more detail. Remember from the word order results for EI task 1, as presented in Table 26, above, that the test group learners normalized 12 target-deviant SVVO stimuli when responding to them in the course of the EI task. A closer consideration of these normalized stimuli shows that three of them belonged to condition 2, while nine belonged to conditions 4 and 5. This means that the test group learners normalized more negated stimuli (condition 4 and 5) than non-negated stimuli (condition 2). Furthermore, it should be noted that while the stimuli in condition 2 were only target-deviant in respect of word order, the stimuli in condition 4 and 5 were target-deviant with respect to *both* word order and sentential negation (see also Table 5, Subsection 3.3.3.4, above, and Appendix E3.1). Interestingly, a detailed analysis of the test group data in conditions 4 and 5 shows that the normalization of word order quite often goes hand in hand with the normalization of sentential negation. In fact, seven out of the nine negated stimuli in conditions 4 and 5 that were normalized for word order, were also normalized for sentential negation. For an illustration of such normalized responses, see (28b), above, as well as (33), below.

- (33) a. Stimulus: Der Opa kann spielen nicht Gitarre.
the grandpa can-3SG play-INF not guitar
'The grandpa cannot play guitar'
- Response: Der Mutter kann nicht Gitarre spielen.
the mother can-3SG not guitar play-INF
'The mother cannot play guitar'

- b. Stimulus: Der Opa will hören nicht Musik.
the grandpa want to-3SG listen to-INF not music
‘The grandpa doesn’t want to listen to music’
- Response: Der Opa will nicht Musik hören.
the grandpa want to-3SG not music listen to-INF
‘The grandpa doesn’t want to listen to music’

My assumption is that in cases such as those in (28b) and (33), above, the incorrect positioning of the negator in the original stimulus was the driving force for the normalization of *both* sentential negation *and* word order in the learners’ response. As can be seen from the data in Table 26 and 27, above, the test group learners normalized target-deviant negation patterns significantly more often than target-deviant word order patterns ($\chi^2(1) = 20.633$, $p < 0.001$). This applies to both NegVV patterns ($p < 0.01$, Fisher’s exact test, two-tailed) and VVNeg orders ($\chi^2(1) = 16.912$, $p < 0.001$). I assume that while responding to a stimulus in condition 4 or 5 the learners felt an urge to regularize the position of the negator and to place it in the slot directly after the [+finite] verb, rather than complying with the initial instruction to imitate the stimulus verbatim. As a consequence, the syntactic position of the middle field was opened up and filled with a first element. The establishment of the middle field slot then facilitated the target-like positioning of the object constituent to the left of the [-finite] verb. In other words, the correct placement of sentential negation opens up the German middle field and subsequently provides the learner with the option of switching the original target-deviant VO order into a target-like OV order in his / her response to the stimulus.

Interim summary V

To sum up so far, the outcomes of EI task 1 are very much in line with those of the SP test and the AN task. It was possible to show that the test group learners had successfully mastered both the German OV word order in structures with complex predicates and the phenomenon of German post-finite sentential negation. Once again, this implies that the early provision of evidence for the underlying OV order of German is beneficial for beginning GFL learners. In contrast, the control group results suggest that the initial presentation of exclusively SVO orders in the GFL class is disadvantageous.

In particular, the results of the EI task 1 allow the following conclusions:

1. The positive effect of the early introduction of OV evidence in the GFL class, accompanied by the reduced presentation of SVO orders with lexical verbs, is also reflected in the classroom learners' *implicit* L2 knowledge. In addition, the negative consequences of the initial presentation of exclusively SVO orders in the GFL classroom, i.e. the learners' assumption that German will be a VO language, is also reflected in the learners' *implicit* L2 knowledge.
2. Beginning GFL learners seem to be equipped with an intuitive knowledge of German post-finite sentential negation. However, this knowledge will be suppressed by a target-deviant VO learner grammar which does not seem to allow for the post-finite placement of the sentential negator.
3. There is reason to assume that German post-finite sentential negation promotes the mastery of the German OV word order in structures with a complex predicate.

4.4.3.2 EI task 2 – after 58 hours of instruction

As explained in Subsection 3.3.3.3, above, EI task 2 served to elicit non-negated modal verb and auxiliary structures. For practical reasons concerning the length of the EI task, the two negation conditions of EI task 1 were not included in EI task 2 (see also Table 3 and 4, Subsection 3.3.3.3, above).

Unfortunately, only eight test group learners and nine control group learners were able to participate in EI task 2, resulting in a relatively small number of analyzable responses for this EI task. Finally, a total of 74 responses entered the analysis (52 for the test group and 22 for the control group), while 62 responses had to be discarded (12 in the test group and 50 in the control group).

At the time of completing EI task 2, i.e. after 58 hours of instructed learning, both experimental groups had been presented with SVOV patterns with modal verbs, auxiliaries, and particle verbs, as well as with SVO orders with the copula and with lexical verbs. For the times at which the different word order patterns were introduced in the two language courses, see Table 5 in Subsection 3.3.3.4, above.

Remember from the discussion of the SP test 4 data and the AN task 2 results, that the test group learners seemed to have successfully mastered German's OV word order after 58 hours of GFL instruction. In contrast, the majority of the control group learners

still favored a VO hypothesis for the German target system and in only some of the learners was it possible to observe reflexes of an emerging target-like OV grammar. In the light of these findings, one could expect that in EI task 2, the test group learners would change target-deviant VO orders into target-like OV patterns more often than vice versa when responding to the stimuli. For the control group, it can be assumed that there would be changes in both directions, given that a certain number of target-like (SV)OV orders were produced by the control group learners in SP test 4 and in AN task 2.

The results of EI task 2 are presented in Table 30, below. As with EI task 1, the analysis and discussion of the EI task 2 data will only be based on extended group results. (Note that in the case of the test group, the extended group is the same as the core group.)

Change Group	SVOV > SVVO	SVVO > SVOV
Test group (n=8)	2/28 (7.1%)	8/24 (33.3%)
Control group (n=9)	3/11 (27.3%)	0/11 (0.0%)

Table 30: Word order results EI task 2. Test group and control group: extended, 58 hours of instruction

The data in Table 30 show that the test group learners behaved as predicted. There were significantly more changes from SVVO to SVOV than from SVOV to SVVO in their data ($p < 0.05$, Fishers' exact test, both one-tailed and two-tailed). For an illustration of such word order normalization, see the examples in (34), below.

- (34) a. Stimulus: Der kleine Junge will essen ein Steak.
the little boy want to-3SG eat-INF a steak
'The little boy wants to eat a steak'
- Response: Die kleine Junge will ein Steak essen.
the little boy want to-3SG a steak eat-INF
'The little boy wants to eat a steak'

- b. Stimulus: Die alte Oma hat gekocht das Essen.
the old grandma have-3SG cook-PP the meal
‘The old grandma has prepared the meal’
- Response: Die Oma hat die Essen gekocht gekochen.
the grandma have-3SG the meal cook-PP cook-PP
‘The grandma has prepared the meal’

These test group results suggest that the test group participants’ L2 learner system is clearly characterized by a target-like OV grammar.

The predictions for the control group were not confirmed by the data in Table 30, above. Contrary to what was expected, the control group learners only made changes from target-like SVOV, to target-deviant SVVO orders in their responses (compare (35), below). No changes in the opposite direction could be confirmed in this learner group.

- (35) a. Stimulus: Das kleine Mädchen will einen Rock haben.
the little girl want to-3SG a skirt have-INF
‘The little girl wants to have a skirt’
- Response: Das kleine Mädchen will kaufen einen Rock.
the little girl want to-3SG buy-INF a skirt
‘The little girl wants to buy a skirt’
- b. Stimulus: Die junge Frau hat ein Auto gekauft.
the young woman have-3SG a car buy-PP
‘The young woman has bought a car’
- Response: Die schunge Frau hatte gekauft ein Auto.
the young woman have-3SG buy-PP a car
‘The young woman had bought a car’

Statistically, however, the changes from SVOV to SVVO orders did not occur significantly more often than those from SVVO to SVOV in the control group (Fisher’s exact test, two-tailed). This result can be taken to mean that the control group learners did not have a clear preference for either of the word order patterns. Interestingly, this observation would be in accordance with the general variation between OV and VO patterns that could be found in this learner group at this developmental stage (see, in particular, the

- b. Stimulus: Die junge Frau hat ein Auto gekauft.
the young woman have-3SG a car buy-PP
‘The young woman has bought a car’
- Response: Die unne Frau hat gekauft ein Auto.
the young woman have-3SG buy-PP a car
‘The young woman has bought a car’

Interestingly, changes such as those in (36), could not be found in ALM’s answers in EI task 1. She also used OV orders consistently in SP test 4, as well as in AN task 1. What are the possible reasons for her linguistic behavior in EI task 2? Bear in mind from the presentation of the test group syllabus in Subsection 2.2.1, above, that until hour 50 of the language class, the test group learners had only been presented with structures in which the lexical verb occurred to the right of the object. Such patterns were not familiar to the learners from their L1 or any other modern L2 they knew. At hour 51, the first SVO patterns with lexical verbs were presented in the test group classroom input. In contrast to OV orders, these SVO patterns were very familiar to the learners from both their L1 and L2(s). It is assumed that the input of this structural property might have (re)activated the negative impact of cross-linguistic influence on ALM’s learner grammar. Consequently, she responded to originally target-like SVOV patterns with target-deviant SVVO patterns. As mentioned above, ALM was the only learner for whom these instances of backsliding could be observed. For all other test group learners, the sudden occurrence of (S)VO orders with lexical verbs in the target language input did not seem to create acquisition problems.

To summarize, the results of EI task 2 suggest that German’s OV word order property was quite firmly anchored in the test group learners’ L2 interim system. As regards the control group, the EI task 2 data allow the conclusion that the underlying OV word order of German has not yet been acquired.

4.5 Summary of the results

To sum up, the results of all the tests and subtests discussed in the present chapter largely confirmed the hypotheses formulated in Subsection 2.2.4 of this thesis. The results of the SP test, the AN task, and the EI task suggest that after 58 hours of instructed learning, the test group learners had successfully mastered the OV order in German. This achievement

clearly sets them apart from the control group learners, who do not seem to have acquired the German OV word order. In particular, a comparison of the test group's results for SP test 2 with the control group's results for SP test 4, has shown that after the same number of hours of exposure to (SV)OV patterns in the input, the test group learners are more successful than the control group learners in applying the sentence bracket construction with modal verbs and auxiliaries (cf. sub-hypothesis 2). Similarly, the test group learners did significantly better than the control group learners with respect to the usage of correct OV orders in bare VP patterns after the same number of hours of exposure to (SV)OV patterns in the classroom input (cf. sub-hypothesis 1). This is shown by a comparison of the test group's data for AN task 1 with the control group's data for AN task 2. Furthermore, the SP test 2 (test group) and SP test 4 (control group) data show that some of the learners in each of the two experimental groups were able to infer SVOV orders with auxiliaries from the presentation of SVOV orders with modal verbs in the classroom input. This means that some learners could apply correct SVOV orders to German auxiliary sentences before such patterns had even been introduced in the language course (cf. sub-hypothesis 3). Interestingly, the late introduction of SVO structures with lexical verbs in the test group had no negative effect on the mastery of these patterns. By the end of the language course, both the test group and the control group learners had successfully mastered German SVO orders with lexical verbs (cf. sub-hypothesis 4). This was reflected by the SP test 1 - 4 data. Finally, the results of EI task 1 and EI task 2 allow the conclusion that the test group learners' command of the German OV word order feature is part of their implicit L2 knowledge (cf. sub-hypothesis 5). This is suggested by the observation that the test group participants often responded to target-deviant SVVO stimuli with target-like SVOV structures in both EI task 1 and EI task 2. In contrast, the control group learners often changed correct SVOV orders into incorrect SVVO orders when responding to the EI stimuli. The control group participants' performance can be taken to mean that the underlying learner grammar is not yet characterized by the target-like OV order. Instead, their interim system seems to be open to both target-like OV and target-deviant VO patterns, with the latter dominating the learners' production in the SP tests and the AN tasks.

As noted above, the test group learners' advantage over the control group learners can almost certainly be attributed to differences in the specific design of the two syllabi used in the two learner groups. It seems that the following three features play a crucial role in this respect.

1. The early vs. late introduction of evidence for German as an OV language

As long as the classroom input does not provide evidence of the OV feature of German, GFL learners with a native VO language will assume that German is a VO language. It is only after the introduction of OV orders that revision of the target-deviant VO hypothesis takes place. Furthermore, the longer GFL learners adhere to a VO hypothesis for German, the more difficult it is for them to revise and restructure their L2 interim system according to the target-like OV value.

2. The presence vs. absence of SVO structures with lexical verbs

The occurrence of SVO orders with lexical verbs in the target language input can be assumed to invite VO speakers to think that German functions like a VO language. An initial absence of L1-like VO patterns, specifically, their systematic substitution with OV orders, seems to counteract the negative impact of cross-linguistic influence from the beginning.

3. The presence vs. absence of bare VP patterns

The presentation of simple OV patterns in the form of bare VP structures can be assumed to promote target-like head parameter setting for the German VP in the very early stages of acquisition. In contrast, comparatively complex structures, such as SVOV patterns with particle verbs, do not seem to be appropriate for the introduction of the German OV word order feature. Beginning GFL learners cannot interpret SVOV orders with particle verbs as evidence of an underlying OV order in German.

While the focus of the present study was on beginning GFL learners attaining mastery of the German OV word order in sentence bracket constructions and in bare VPs, the phenomenon of sentential negation has also been considered. Interestingly, the negation results in the SP tests and the EI task suggest that the mechanisms and acquisition strategies typically found in untutored L2 acquisition, are also at work in the classroom acquisition of German. Employing a primarily semantically based negation strategy seemed to facilitate the mastery of post-finite sentential negation in German, particularly for the control group learners. Furthermore, the EI data gave reason to assume that in L2 German, the sentential negator functions as a precursor for the syntactic middle field slot and thus promotes the mastery of SVOV orders in structures with complex predicates.

4.6 Didactic implications

Numerous studies on the acquisition of German in institutional settings have shown that certain core grammar phenomena, most prominently, word order and clause structure rules, are acquired in a fixed order that seems to be resistant to explicit teaching. In other words, irrespective of the concrete order in which word order rules were presented in the GFL class, the learners followed their own stepwise path to the acquisition of these rules (e.g. Ballestracci 2006; Diehl et al. 2000; Ellis 1989; Pienemann 1989; Terrasi-Haufe 2004). This observation led to the assumption that word order phenomena were not teachable, and that their acquisition was subject to more general cognitive mechanisms and strategies involved in language learning (see in particular Pienemann 1989, 1998).

These findings have been largely ignored by both experts in teaching German as a foreign language and GFL textbook authors. In fact, many GFL textbooks and also GFL teachers still try to teach specific word order phenomena that for reasons of cognitive development, students are not yet able to master (see also Section 1.2).

However, a more differentiated consideration of the findings on L2 word order acquisition suggests that the claim that word order phenomena are not teachable per se, is untenable. In particular, it should be considered that not only are the cognitive mechanisms guiding the acquisition of word order properties in a second language influenced by the learner's L1 but, more importantly, these cognitive mechanisms *and* the L1 knowledge also *mutually interact* with structural properties of the target language input (cf. Subsection 2.1.5). It is exactly this observation that was the starting point for the present study. Given that the available input in a foreign language class is limited and often structurally controlled, it can be assumed that the specific input structures provided in class have quite a strong influence on the acquisition of word order phenomena. Specifically, if the learners' L1 and the (assumed) interaction of L1 knowledge with properties of the input are considered, it should be possible to manipulate the acquisition of German word order rules by providing specifically structured input.

In order to test this assumption, two different syllabi were developed, one that respected and integrated relevant findings on the acquisition of German word order in naturalistic settings (the naturalistic syllabus), and one that largely resembled the order commonly used for introducing German word order phenomena in GFL classes (the traditional syllabus). Both syllabi were then deployed in the context of a classroom intervention study. Several tests have shown that the learners following the traditional syllabus

- had difficulties accommodating the OV property of German into their learner grammar when the input provided evidence that German was an OV language,
- showed a stronger preference for the familiar L1 VO order in structures with complex predicates than learners following the naturalistic syllabus,
- only partially succeeded in inferring the headedness of the German VP from the presentation of SVOV patterns with complex predicates.

Furthermore, in the domain of sentential negation, learners in the traditional group

- seemed to have *implicit* knowledge of German post-finite sentential negation in structures with complex predicates, but
- choose other, target-deviant negation patterns as soon as they start to rely on *explicit* L2 knowledge.

In sum, these observations imply that GFL instruction which follows the traditional syllabus, places native speakers of a VO language at a disadvantage concerning at least the following two points: First, it retards and complicates the mastery of German's OV word order and second, it seems to lead to incorrect assumptions concerning the syntax of German sentential negation. Crucially, these acquisition problems could not be observed in the learner group who followed the naturalistic syllabus. In the light of these findings, I would like to propose the following five guidelines for the effective teaching of German word order to native speakers of a VO language:

Guideline 1: Early presentation of evidence for the OV order of German

The results of the SP test show that before being exposed to target language input, the learners' assumptions about the target language's structure are largely affected by their L1 and / or L2 knowledge. Thereafter, the learners' hypotheses about the target system's word order are clearly determined by the structural properties of the classroom input. If the classroom input supports the initial VO hypothesis, the learners adhere to it. However, if the input patterns presented in class provide counterevidence to the initial VO assumption, then the learners abandon it and replace it with a target-like OV hypothesis. In fact, the latter process could be observed in both the naturalistic learner group (SP test 2) and

the traditional learner group (SP test 4). The crucial difference between the two experimental groups is that the naturalistic learners were significantly more successful in revising their initial hypothesis. This means that the earlier the revision of the initial word order hypothesis takes place, the easier and more successful the subsequent reorganization of the learner system will be. Apparently, the foreign language learners' emerging interim system is still quite plastic and malleable during the first few hours of instructed acquisition. Thereafter, the learner grammar appears more rigid and less sensitive to new input stimuli.

As regards how the OV property in German is taught, it seems advisable to make use of the learner grammar's initial plasticity and to present learners with OV word order patterns that are in contrast to their L1 and L2 habits from the very first hours of instruction onward. This proposal might contradict the more traditional view of first presenting learners with phenomena that they know from their L1 and then introducing linguistic phenomena that are unknown from the L1 system. However, the results of the present study suggest that while this principle might be relevant for other GFL curricula content, it does not seem to be applicable to the domain of word order. As evidenced by the results of the SP test in the traditional language class, the presentation of native-like SVO orders with lexical verbs led to the VO word order being overgeneralized in the L2 interlanguage system and delayed the mastery of the German OV word order. In contrast, the presentation of unfamiliar (SV)OV orders in the naturalistic learner group had a positive effect on the learners' linguistic development. It seemed to counteract VO overgeneralizations and finally resulted in the learner system being successfully reorganized in accordance with the target-like OV order. In sum, the naturalistic learner group was more successful in mastering German word order rules. These observations are clearly arguments in favor of the early introduction of OV evidence in GFL courses for native speakers of a VO language.

As well as illustrating the OV word order in German, SVOV patterns also demonstrate the existence of the so-called German sentence bracket and the syntactic middle field position that results from it. As suggested by the SP test data, the availability of the middle field slot in the learner language seems to be a necessary precondition for the usage of post-finite sentential negation in modal verb and auxiliary sentences. In the case of the traditional learner group, the lack of evidence for a middle field slot resulted in the predominant usage of target-deviant post-infinite negated structures with complex predicates in SP test 2 and SP test 3. This observation suggests that the early provision of

SVOV patterns in the GFL class is not only advantageous in the context of basic word order features but is also a necessary prerequisite for the mastery of other syntactic phenomena associated with the syntactic middle field in German, e.g. sentential negation.

Guideline 2: Reduction of SVO patterns with lexical verbs during the early acquisition phases

The results of the classroom study suggest that the presence of evidence for VO orders in German, in the form of SVO patterns with lexical verbs in the traditional language course, invited the learners to maintain their initial VO hypothesis for at least the first 40 hours of instruction. Remarkably, this was different in the naturalistic learner group, in which SVO patterns with lexical verbs did not occur until the 51st hour of instruction. As mentioned above, the majority of the naturalistic learners seemed to have abandoned their initial VO hypothesis at the time of completing SP test 2. At the same time, the late introduction of SVO structures with lexical verbs in the naturalistic language course did not have a negative effect on the naturalistic learner group's mastery of these patterns. The naturalistic group did not perform significantly worse than the traditional group in any of the SP tests. At the end of the course, both the traditional and the naturalistic learners used 100% correct SVO orders with lexical verbs in SP test 4. The naturalistic learner group's comparatively easy acquisition of SVO patterns with lexical verbs can be seen as a result of positive L1 influence.

All in all, these observations suggest that SVO patterns with lexical verbs should only rarely be presented in beginning GFL classes for native speakers of a VO language. In fact, they do not need to be introduced in class early to be mastered, however, *if* they are presented predominantly in the early classroom input, they will eventually hamper the acquisition of the German OV order.

Guideline 3: Presentation and practice of bare VP patterns during the initial phases and throughout the language course

As explained in detail in Subsection 4.3.3 of this thesis, it was necessary for the control group learners to analyze SVOV patterns with complex predicates to discover that the German VP is head-final. Although some of them did this quite successfully (see the results of AN task 2), it can be assumed that this was quite a complex task for beginning GFL learners. For this reason, it seems reasonable to introduce German's OV word order by using the patterns in which this word order feature is most evident, that is, in bare VP

structures. It seems that the naturalistic learner group benefitted from the presentation and practicing of bare VP patterns in the very first hours of the language class. This familiarity with OV orders could have facilitated their mastering (SV)OV patterns in more complex structures, such as modal verb or auxiliary sentences. The results of the SP test and the EI task indicated that the learners in the naturalistic group seemed to be equipped with both explicit and implicit knowledge of the (SV)OV order in German modal verb and auxiliary structures.

In addition, it should be noted that knowledge of the German VP's internal architecture is not only necessary for the acquisition of sentence bracket constructions but also for mastering subordinate structures in German. Given that V-end in subordinate clauses is acquired relatively late in the instructed acquisition of German (e.g. Diehl et al. 2000; Ellis 1989; Pienemann 1989; Terrasi-Haufe 2004), it might be advantageous for GFL learners to be presented with bare VP patterns not only in the first phases of the classroom acquisition process, but throughout the whole language course. Thereby, the learners would constantly be reminded that the German VP is head-final and not, as SVO orders with lexical verbs might suggest, head-initial.

OV orders in the form of bare VP structures occur in a number of text types in German, for example, in recipes and operating instructions. This allows the GFL teacher to integrate such patterns into his / her courses quite easily, whether they are catering to beginning or more advanced learners. Typical topics and contexts for the presentation and usage of bare VP patterns at the beginners' level are 'Hobbies', 'To-do lists for the next day', or 'I am a master at . . . lists'. See also the teaching materials presented in example (19) in Subsection 2.2.3, above, in this thesis, as well as Appendix C for ideas on integrating bare VP patterns into classroom exercises.

Guideline 4: Provision of interpretable OV input

The results of SP test 3 give reason to assume that the learners in the traditional group were unable to interpret SVOV structures with particle verbs (e.g. *Ich rufe meine Freundin an* 'I – call-1SG – my girlfriend – on-PART') as being evidence of an underlying OV order in German. This is suggested by the fact that none of the modal verb and auxiliary sentences produced by the learners in SP test 3 exhibited the target-like SVOV order. Given the syntactic and semantic opacity of SVOV patterns with particle verbs, the traditional learner group's misperformance is not much of a surprise. It seems simply impossible for a beginning GFL learner to infer that German is an OV language from the

clause-final occurrence of a verbal particle, in particular, if SVO structures are the only word order patterns that have been presented in class so far. What this observation implies is that GFL learners need to receive interpretable evidence for the underlying OV word order property of German to promote acquisition. As noted in the previous paragraph, bare VP patterns appear to be quite appropriate for demonstrating the OV order in German. However, the SP test data suggest that SVOV structures with modal verbs can also be analyzed as supporting an underlying OV order in German. This explains why a considerable number of learners in both experimental groups transferred OV orders with modal verbs to structures with auxiliaries. Hence, structures with an infinitive of a lexical verb in the utterance-final position can be used in beginning GFL classes as an appropriate way of introducing the German OV word order.

Guideline 5: Presentation of VNegV patterns as trigger for a middle field slot

As indicated in the discussion of the EI task results, the naturalistic learner group seemed to associate the German sentence bracket construction with modal verbs with the use of sentential negation. Furthermore, there was evidence to support the assumption that the sentential negator would function as a precursor of the syntactic middle field in L2 German and would therefore promote the mastery of target-like OV orders in structures with complex predicates. This triggering effect seems to originate in the employment of a semantically based negation strategy that is typically found in untutored L2 learners of German. Resorting to this strategy results in the negator being placed after the [+finite], but before the [-finite], verb. It should be noted that the employment of the semantic negation strategy was particularly obvious in the traditional learner group's EI task 1 data, and led to the production of target-like negated modal verb structures, before such patterns had even been introduced in the language course. In the light of these findings, I would recommend supporting this naturalistically based negation strategy in the classroom acquisition process and systematically presenting beginning GFL learners with VNegV patterns. Apparently, the sentential negator can break open the V_{fin}-V_{inf} complex and can therefore be assumed to promote the establishment of a middle field position in L2 German.

To sum up, the five guidelines presented above all support strategies found in the successful untutored acquisition of German. The presentation of OV patterns and SVOV structures before SVO orders with lexical verbs allows the learners to gradually extend

the structure of the German clause from the right to the left. The lexical projection of the VP can be instantiated first, with functional projections only being added later. It should be noted that a GFL syllabus that respects these five guidelines for structuring early input, makes the existence of *two* verbal positions in German evident from the very beginning. In particular, SVOV structures with complex predicates illustrate *both* the underlying clause-final lexical verb position *and* the derived functional verb position. Note that this would not be the case if the instruction of German as a foreign language were to start with the presentation of exclusively SVO patterns. These structures only provide evidence of the functional verb position in German, i.e. the derived position. However, how can a second language learner be expected to master the derived verb position if he / she doesn't know the underlying one? The availability of two verbal positions in the learner language, as well as knowledge of the syntactic nature of these two positions, are fundamental prerequisites for successfully mastering the structure of the German clause. For this reason, both verbal positions should be introduced in the very first phases of the instructed acquisition of German as a foreign language.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUDING REMARKS

5.1 The classroom study and L2 acquisition theory

Investigations into the L2 acquisition of German word order and clause structure phenomena in classroom settings date back to the late 1980s. Studies, such as Ellis (1989) and Pienemann (1989), suggest that the acquisition of German word order rules in instructed contexts follows a fixed developmental sequence with implicational character (cf. (1), below). Interestingly, this developmental sequence largely resembles the acquisition order observed in the untutored development of L2 German clause structure (Clahsen et al. 1983). According to these researchers, L2 learners of German begin with the canonical SVO word order (1-I). They employ an adverb preposing strategy in the second step (ADV, see (1-II)). The third step constitutes mastering the German sentence bracket (1-III). The phenomenon of inversion is acquired in a fourth step (INV, see (1-IV)) and verb-final structures (V-END, see (1-V)) are mastered last. The examples in (1), below, as well as the corresponding translations, are taken from Pienemann (2005: 30).

- (1) I Stage x = Canonical order
die kinder spielen mit ball
'the children play with the ball'
- II Stage $x+1$ = Adverb Preposing (ADV)
da kinder spielen
'there children play'
- III Stage $x+2$ = Verb Separation (SEP)
alle kinder muß die pause machen
'all children must the break have'
- IV Stage $x+3$ = Inversion (INV)
dann hat sie wieder die knoch gebringt
'then has she again the bone bringed'

V	Stage x+4 = Verb Final (V-END)				
	er sagt,	daß	er nach	haus	kommt
	'he says	that	he home		comes'

More recent studies, such as Ballestracci (2006), Boss (2004), Diehl et al. (2000), Lund (2004), and Terrasi-Haufe (2004), critically discussed the relative order of acquisition steps four and five in the sequence shown in (1), above. Some authors (e.g. Boss 2004; Tschirner 1996, 1999) argued that INV and V-END might even be acquired simultaneously. However, all the researchers agreed on the fact that in the vast majority of cases, explicit teaching of German word order rules did not result in the acquisition of those rules. Ellis (1989), for example, experimentally manipulated the relative order in which SEP, INV, and V-END were introduced and observed that the three phenomena were still acquired in the same implicational order illustrated in (1-III-V). These observations led to the more general conclusion that the acquisition of core grammar would elude external guidance. In other words, the teachability of word order phenomena appeared to be “constrained by what the learner [was] ready to acquire” (Pienemann 1989: 52).

As explained in more detail in the introductory part of this thesis, the participants investigated by Ballestracci (2006), Ellis (1989), and Pienemann (1984, 1989) usually mastered the German sentence bracket, i.e. SEP, after approximately 100 hours of instructed GFL learning. There are, however, two aspects regarding the methodological design of all the above-mentioned studies, which cast doubt on the generalizability of these findings. These concern, in particular, the speed and the success with which the SEP construction is mastered. The first problematic point is the learners' L1 background, which in all of the cases was VO. The second problematic aspect relates to the concrete input patterns provided in class. Crucially, it seems that in all of the classroom studies, instruction began with the presentation of SVO patterns, while SVOV structures were only introduced later. Given these input properties, as well as the investigated learners' VO background, it is no great surprise that it takes them some time to master target-like SVOV orders with complex predicates. How are the learners supposed to be able to work out that German is, in fact, an OV language if the input available to them suggests that it is VO? It can be assumed that just as in the case of the control group learners in the present study, the initial, exclusive presentation of SVO orders in the classroom input gave those learners the impression that German had the same underlying word order as their L1.

Consequently, they assigned an SVVO order to their early sentences with complex predicates and even after SVOV orders had been introduced in the language class, it took the learners some time to revise their initial VO assumption. This explains why the participants only seem to have acquired the SEP construction after approximately 100 hours of instructed learning.

Interestingly, the test group learners in the present study mastered the OV order / SEP construction of the German target language comparatively early and effortlessly. After only 18 hours of instructed learning, they clearly preferred SVOV orders to SVVO orders with both modal verbs and auxiliaries (cf. the SP test 2 results in Subsection 4.2.3.4, above). It has been argued that this learning success can probably be attributed to initially substituting SVO patterns with (SV)OV orders in the classroom input. The rationale for this input design was to prevent the learners from processing the L2 input by means of the L1 parser. It was assumed that the failure to apply the L1 processing strategies to the target language input, would require the learners to develop new, L2-specific, processing strategies that would form the basis of a target-like OV interlanguage grammar. As the results of the present classroom study suggest, this teaching strategy was quite successful.

In a more general sense, the outcome of this investigation implies that the speed and the success with which the German OV word order is acquired are largely determined by the learners' L1 knowledge interacting with structural properties of the classroom input. Matching of these two variables appropriately can possibly facilitate the acquisition of the German OV word order in declarative main clauses. In other words, if the classroom input takes into account the factors that seem to influence L2 word order development, word order phenomena appear to be potentially teachable.

With respect to influential L2 acquisition theories, e.g. *Processability Theory* (cf. Pienemann 1998), the results of the present study suggest that the developmental problem of instructed second language acquisition cannot be reduced to L2 processing capacities alone. Any theory on the instructed acquisition of German word order phenomena should consider the interaction between the learners' preexisting linguistic knowledge and the structural properties of the available target language input. It should be noted that particular consideration must be given to the input factor in theoretical approaches to L2 word order development in institutional settings, since the input patterns that are available in the very early phases of instructed acquisition, will probably differ from the patterns available in naturalistic learning contexts. In particular, it seems obvious that the early

classroom input will not provide the whole range of word order patterns occurring in the target language. As shown by the present study, this variable can have either positive or negative effects on the speed and success with which the underlying OV word order of German is mastered by beginning L2 learners.

To conclude, it can be said that if the L1 and the L2 exhibit similar surface orders, but differ with respect to their underlying word order, then eliminating L1-like surface patterns from the classroom input will reduce the L1 word order's negative influence on the emerging L2 interim system, and, therefore, will facilitate and speed up the mastery of the target system's underlying word order. In particular, this claim seems to be true for native speakers of the VO language Italian, who acquire German in a foreign language context.

5.2 The classroom study and L2 teaching practice

Although the discovery of the quite autonomous and largely self-organized nature of the L2 development of German clause structure might have been revealing for language acquisition researchers, these findings might have been perceived as equally discouraging by language teachers. What is the point of all the teaching effort if it does not result in acquisition? The insight that language learning is a largely *cognitive* process that is constrained by the *cognitive* possibilities of the language learner at a given time, undoubtedly demanded a fundamental change of thinking from both GFL practitioners and theorists. As the results of the textbook analysis presented in Section 1.2 of this thesis suggest, this rethinking process is apparently still in progress. At least, relevant findings on the acquisition of German word order phenomena are not taken into account as far as the design of the textbook grammar progression is concerned.

In 2003, the L2 acquisition researcher Bill VanPatten published a book entitled *From input to output. A teachers' guide to second language acquisition* (VanPatten 2003). In the context of a discussion of questions frequently asked by foreign language teachers, the author is very clear about what teaching *can* and *can't* do:

“What can't teaching do? It can't alter acquisition orders. It can't make learners skip developmental stages. It can't influence how the developing system creates a syntactic component. It can't make learners skip stages in the acquisition of output procedures. In short, it can't change any of the inherent processes in SLA” (VanPatten 2003: 88).

What teaching *can* do, however, and this is what VanPatten addresses in the subsequent paragraph (ibid.: 88), is to provide the learners with rich and *appropriately prepared* input. This is exactly what has been done in the context of the present classroom intervention study. In my opinion, the option of controlling input is one of the most important advantages of tutored over untutored acquisition. It allows teachers to present learners with structures that are cognitively manageable for them at a given stage and to provide them with certain key elements and stepping stones that have shown to be useful and to trigger acquisition in naturalistic language learning settings.

As pointed out by Gass (1997), no theory of second language acquisition would deny the crucial role of input in the L2 acquisition process:

“The concept of input is perhaps the single most important concept of second language acquisition. It is trivial to point out that no individual can learn a second language without input of some sort. In fact, no model of second language acquisition does not avail itself of input in trying to explain how learners create second language grammars” (ibid.: 1).

Looking at the realities of foreign language teaching today, it seems to me that teachers are often unaware of the huge potential there can be in careful input control. The present study has shown that the concrete structure of the target language input provided in the foreign language class, crucially shapes the emerging L2 learner grammar. From a methodological point of view, it might be argued that in the ideal case, foreign language instruction should take place in the *target* language. This means that it might be difficult for the teacher to completely avoid using certain word order patterns or highlighting and overusing others. However, it should be noted that, particularly at the beginner’s level, foreign language instruction often takes place in the source language, i.e. in the teacher and learners’ common L1. Such a practice would definitely make it possible to provide structurally controlled L2 input in the GFL class. Furthermore, foreign language classrooms are often characterized by code switching on the part of the teacher which could be exploited as a specific didactic strategy in the foreign language classroom: While instructions and explanations that would require the use of currently “forbidden” L2 patterns can be given in the source language, passages without these “forbidden” patterns are presented in the target language. At the same time, the passages that are presented in the target language can be intentionally enriched with structures that need to be highlighted at the respective developmental stage.

All in all, the present study has shown that it is possible to develop a GFL syllabus that is almost completely devoid of SVO patterns with lexical verbs in the first 50 hours of instruction and use it in practice. This means that providing beginning GFL learners with input data that *unambiguously* make it clear that German is an OV language, really seems to be possible. It should be noted that exactly this point is the innovative strength of the naturalistic syllabus. As a matter of fact, this syllabus not only manipulates and / or reverses introduction orders, in this case the order of introducing VO and OV patterns; instead, it is characterized by the *systematic replacement* of one surface word order pattern, i.e. SVO orders with lexical verbs, by another, i.e. (SV)OV patterns.

Finally, it should be pointed out that instruction according to the naturalistic syllabus does not skip developmental stages, in particular, it does not skip the SVO stage that constitutes stage one of the implicational developmental sequence in (1), above. As evidenced by the SP test 1 results, SVO orders seem to be a default, since the overwhelming majority of the prospective classroom learners investigated favored this constituent order. The SVO stage therefore constitutes the starting point for the learners in this study. This means that the naturalistic syllabus is a cognitively appropriate instrument for teaching the German OV word order.

5.3 Limitations

The aim of the present study was to investigate whether the OV word order of German, as reflected in bare VP patterns and in sentence bracket constructions, is acquired more successfully by L2 classroom learners if, contrary to the common practice, they are presented with unambiguous input data that make the underlying OV order of German evident from the beginning of instruction. To this end, two different syllabi were designed, the naturalistic syllabus and the traditional syllabus. As can be seen from Table 5 in Subsection 2.2.1 of this thesis, these two syllabi differ with respect to the concrete word order patterns that are presented in the language class at given points in time. That is, the input in the naturalistic and the traditional language class has been controlled with respect to the *quality* of the input patterns, but not with respect to their *quantity* or their *frequency*. Moreover, neither the qualitative nor quantitative aspects of the input the individual learners gave to each other in the course of everyday classroom interaction, have been taken into account. While such issues might well be considered in larger research projects which

also have the necessary technical equipment available (e.g. the VILLA project, see Dimroth et al. 2013), it was simply impossible to include these variables in the present one-person project.

As explained in Subsection 3.3.3 of this thesis, the learning outcomes in both the experimental groups were measured regularly using three different instruments. The last data were elicited after 58 hours of instructed learning using the AN task and the EI task. Post-tests with some of the learners had originally been planned, approximately 4 weeks after the end of the language courses. These post-tests would probably have provided interesting insights into the sustainability of the learning success. Unfortunately, the planned post-tests could not be conducted as some of the learners had already left for a German-speaking country as part of a study-abroad program, and others had continued to learn German in their home country, or were unavailable at the time when the tests needed to be completed.

A final limitation of the present investigation relates to the fact that no spontaneous production data were elicited. On the one hand, this was because eliciting spontaneous L2 speech requires a certain level of L2 competence in the learners, which, however, can hardly be attained in less than 60 hours of instruction. On the other hand, the informal interview that was to be conducted after the end of the language course (cf. also Subsection 3.3.2 of this thesis) could not be performed for organizational reasons. However, it should be noted that the specific design of the AN task and the EI task, which contained both time limits and interrupter tasks, were supposed to ensure a spontaneous linguistic reaction. In other words, both the AN task and the EI task can be assumed to primarily reflect the learners' *implicit* L2 knowledge and therefore the same knowledge resource the learners would mainly draw on for spontaneous L2 production.

5.4 Open issues

First, it might be interesting to replicate the study under much more controlled conditions. The VILLA project (see, for example, Dimroth et al. 2013) could serve as a model for this. In particular, full input control including type / token frequencies would allow for a more accurate interpretation of the learning outcomes and thus, the effectiveness of both the naturalistic and traditional syllabi. Ideally, the participants would be paid and their output / L2 competences documented / measured thoroughly by both personal microphones and appropriate tests that could also include neuro-linguistic methods.

A second point of interest concerns the investigated learners' L1. Given that it has been shown that the L2 development of word order is influenced by the learner's L1, it would be interesting to conduct the same study with native speakers of an OV language. My assumption is that instruction according to the naturalistic syllabus would also be beneficial for native OV speakers. First, the early presentation of (SV)OV orderings should show the learner that just as in the L1, the lexical verb occurs to the right of the object. Note that this crucial similarity between the source language and the target language would not be evident from commonly used GFL syllabi, since they do not include OV orders initially. Second, the occurrence of [+finite] light verbs in the utterance-second slot should demonstrate to the learner that there is a *second* position in which a verb can occur in German, and that this position is apparently reserved for [+finite] verbs. Given that the vast majority of OV languages are not V2 languages, it appears essential to demonstrate that properties of finiteness need to be expressed in clause-second position in German. In fact, studies such as Haberzettl (2005) have shown that while native OV speakers master German's OV order quite easily, they have problems acquiring the V2 finiteness position. It can be assumed that the naturalistic syllabus would be helpful here, since it not only introduces the two verbal positions in German from the beginning, but clearly characterizes the clause-second position as the *functional* verb position in German. This may facilitate acquisition of the syntactic operation of verb raising, as it is required particularly in structures with a lexical simple verb. However, whether instruction according to the naturalistic syllabus actually facilitates mastery of the V2 finiteness position, is an open empirical question.

A third issue that would be interesting to investigate is the role of the L2 background in the instructed acquisition of German word order rules according to the naturalistic syllabus. Would knowledge of a modern OV language facilitate the acquisition of the German OV order by native speakers of a VO language? If so, what does the concrete developmental path look like? Also, it might well be that L2 knowledge of a VO language would hamper the mastery of the German OV order by native speakers of an OV language. As evidenced by two exemplarily studies by Bardel and Falk (2007) and Falk and Bardel (2011), L2 syntactic knowledge can act as a filter and make the relevant L1 properties inaccessible in L3 acquisition (Bardel and Falk 2007: 480). If these findings are generalizable, one could assume that, for example, Dutch learners of German who have already acquired English, would show problems in mastering the German OV word order. In contrast, Dutch learners of German who do not have a VO language as L2 or who

acquire German as their first L2, should not have problems with the German OV word order. The outcomes of such investigations would not only be relevant to L2 acquisition theory but could also deliver valuable insights for the field of foreign language pedagogy.

Broadly speaking, the open issues that have been addressed in this section so far, all concern the question of the generalizability of the results of the present classroom study. In fact, the findings only appear to be generalizable to learners with the same L1 and L2 background as the present study's participants, i.e. to native speakers of a VO language who have at least one VO language as their L2 and who have no knowledge of any modern OV language. For this reason, it seems necessary to test the effectiveness of the naturalistic as opposed to the traditional syllabus with other learner populations with different L1 and / or L2 backgrounds. Only such studies will allow more detailed and differentiated conclusions to be drawn about the generalizability of this thesis's results.

A final issue that remains for further research concerns the teachability of German word order phenomena other than the OV order in declarative main clauses, e.g. the phenomena of inversion or V-end in subordinate clauses. A specific question that could be addressed here is whether the presentation and practice of bare VP patterns in the GFL class would facilitate the mastery of V-end (and therefore trigger the acquisition of the relationship between the utterance-final and the utterance-second position of the German clause). In a more general sense, the question of whether phenomena such as inversion or V-end are teachable, addresses the issue of whether the teachability of word order phenomena is restricted to the lexical domain or whether it also extends into the functional domain. Given that some constitutive components of second language acquisition, e.g. the strategy of L1 transfer, have been shown to affect only the lexical domain of the German clause (e.g. Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1996), it may well be that the teachability of word order phenomena is also restricted to the lexical domain.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Abbreviations

This appendix provides a list of the abbreviations used in the glosses of the linguistic examples as well as in the syntactic structures.

ACC	accusative
DAT	dative
FEM	feminine
FOR	formal
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IMPS	impersonal
INF	infinitive
INFOR	informal
MASC	masculine
Neg	negation / negator
NEG	negation as an abstract operator
NEUT	neuter
NOM	nominative
PAST	past
PL	plural
PP	past participle
PRET	preterit
SG	singular
Vaux / aux	auxiliary verb
Vauxfin	finite auxiliary verb
Vcop / cop	copula verb
Vcopfin	finite copula verb
Vfin	finite verb form
Vinf	infinite verb form
Vlex / lex	lexical verb
Vlexfin	finite lexical verb
Vlexinf	infinite lexical verb

Vmod / mod modal verb
Vmodfin finite modal verb
Vpart verbal particle

Appendix B: Syllabi

The following table provides an overview of the contents of the 60 hour syllabus for the naturalistic (= test group) and the traditional (= control group) language class, respectively. The table displays:

- first column: the number of the lesson⁷³, “1”, for example, stands for the first lesson, while “2-1” stands for the first half of the second lesson, “2-2” for the second half of the second lesson and so forth,
- second column: the topics and, if applicable, the grammatical phenomena dealt with in the lesson,
- third column: the text type / medium used in class as well as the social form(s)
- fourth and fifth column: the concrete input patterns presented in the two language classes,
- in horizontal lines: the points in time at which explicit explanations on word order phenomena were provided as well as the main content of these explanations.

As mentioned in Subsection 2.2.2 of this thesis, the overall teaching contents of the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus are largely similar. Therefore, it seems reasonable to present both syllabi within one and the same table. It is only after hour 34 that some lessons are different for the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus. These lessons are listed twice in the table. Units of the naturalistic syllabus are marked with “nat” in the column “Lesson” while units of the traditional syllabus are marked with “trad”. Moreover, “*” in the column “Lesson” means that the course materials used in this unit systematically differ with respect to word order patterns. Finally, “**” in the column “Lesson” means that the course materials used in this unit of the naturalistic syllabus sporadically contain SVO patterns with lexical verbs.

⁷³ Note that the number of the lesson equals to the number of the contact hour.

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
1**	greeting and salutation fields of study	sound file, dialogue (oral, written) poster with fields of study (written); pair work, plenum (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X sporadically: S-Vlexfin-O	S-Vcopfin-X sporadically: S-Vlexfin-O
2-1*	introducing oneself	worksheet, dialogue (written); pair work (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vlexfin-O
2-2*	leisure time activities	worksheet (written); group work (written, oral)	O-Vlexinf	S-Vlexfin-O
Short explicit explanation on word order phenomena			pointing out of OV order	verb in second position
3	the alphabet, German pronunciation	sound file (oral), map of Germany; plenum, group work (oral)	phonetic patterns only	phonetic patterns only
4*	typical German – typical Italian (cultural habits and other)	worksheet (written); plenum, individual (written, oral)	O-Vlexinf O-Vcopinf [O-Vlexinf/copinf] -copfinX ⁷⁴	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vcopfin-X
Short explicit explanation on word order phenomena			pointing out of OV or- der	verb in second position
5	numbers from 1-100	worksheet (written); plenum, pair work (oral)	numbers only	numbers only

⁷⁴ This pattern refers to structures such as [*Pizza essen*] *ist typisch italienisch*. or [*Pünktlich sein*] *ist typisch deutsch*.

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
6*/**	evening appointment ⇒ personal pronouns, verbal inflection	sound file, dialogue (written, oral) worksheet (written); plenum, individual (written)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf sporadically: S-Vlexfin-O	S-Vlexfin-O
7*/**	evening appointment	dialogue (oral); pair work (presentation in class), (oral)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf sporadically: S-Vlexfin-O	S-Vlexfin-O
Explicit explanation on word order phenomena			declaratives: Vinf = clause-final Vmodfin = 2nd position questions: Vinf = clause-final Vmodfin = 1st or 2nd position	declaratives: verb = 2nd position questions: verb = 1st or 2nd position
8	German food, favorite dishes ⇒ plural with nouns	ppt file, worksheet (written, oral); pair work (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X
9-1	German food ⇒ plural with nouns	ppt file (visual, written, oral); group work (oral, game)	articles and nouns only	articles and nouns only
9-2*	situations of everyday life ⇒ verbal inflection, subject-verb agreement	worksheet (written) constructed sentences (written); individual, plenum (written, oral)	S-Vcopfin-X S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf	S-Vcopfin-X S-Vlexfin-O

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
10-1	writing a postcard	worksheet (written); individual (written)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X
10-2*	studying in Germany, points of the compass	map of Germany, useful phrases (written); plenum (oral)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vcopfin-X
Explicit explanation on word order phenomena			Vinf = clause-final Vmodfin = 2nd position	verb = 2nd position
11	phone calls ⇒ <i>ein</i> 'a' vs. <i>kein</i> 'no'	sound file, dialogue (oral) answer sheet (written) individual, pair work, plenum (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X
12*	date of birth and star signs, character traits	ppt file, worksheet (written) classroom stroll ⁷⁵ (oral, written); plenum (oral, written)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X S-Vlexfin-O
13	weather and temperatures	sound file (oral) answer sheet (written); individual, plenum (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X

⁷⁵ The term *classroom stroll* refers to a certain type of exercise that can be used in the foreign language classroom. During a classroom stroll, learners freely walk around in the classroom and have to perform a certain communicative task or to solve a certain problem by means of communication with varying partners of their choice. Usually, the method of a classroom stroll is employed for practicing a newly introduced structure / conversational pattern that can be varied according to the individual facts/opinion of each learner. Typical tasks for a classroom stroll at the A1 level are, for example, speaking about one's hobbies, favorite food and drinks, favorite holiday destinations, or the exchange of telephone numbers, e-mail addresses, etc.

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
14**	living in Berlin (habitation)	ppt file, pictures (visual) report, worksheet (written); individual, pair work, plenum (written, oral)	S-Vcopfin-X sporadically: S-Vlexfin-O	S-Vcopfin-X sporadically: S-Vlexfin-O
15	possessive pronoun puzzle	game cards / sheets, ppt file (written); group work, plenum (written, oral)	nouns and pronouns only	nouns and pronouns only
16*	living in Berlin (flat hunting)	ppt file, worksheet (written) magazine adds (written); group work, plenum (oral)	O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vcopfin-X
Explicit explanation on word order phenomena			emphasis on OVorder, Vinf = phrase-final	emphasis on VO order (subject ellipses)
17*	writing a postcard (see lesson 10-1), corrections	worksheet (written); pair work, plenum (written, oral)	S-Vcopfin-X sporadically: S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf	S-Vcopfin-X sporadically: S-Vlexfin-O
18	living in Berlin (flat hunting – understanding adds)	worksheet (written), magazine adds (written); group work and game (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X
19	family and family members (age and other things) ⇒ possessive pronouns	sound file, dialogue (oral), answer sheet (written); individual, plenum (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
20	dining out in Berlin (snack stalls and restaurants, reading a German menu)	ppt file, pictures (visual) menu card (written); individual, plenum (oral)	no verbs contained in the input	no verbs contained in the input
21*/** 22*/**	dining out in Berlin (ordering) ⇒ accusative case	dialogue (oral, written) worksheet (written); pair work, plenum (written, oral)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf sporadically: S-Vlexfin-O S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vlexfin-O sporadically: S-Vcopfin-X
23	numbers from 100-1000, in the supermarket (weights and measurements)	sound file (oral) worksheet, answer sheet (written); individual, plenum (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X
24*	in the supermarket (prices), living costs in Germany	ppt file, sound file (visual, written, oral) answer sheet, worksheet (written); individual, pair work, plenum (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vlexfin-O sporadically: S-Vcopfin-X
25*	character traits, personal skills / likes and dislikes	worksheet (written); plenum, classroom stroll (oral)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vcopfin-X
Explicit explanation on word order phenomena			declaratives: Vinf = clause-final Vmodfin = 2nd position questions: Vinf = clause-final Vmodfin = 1st or 2nd position	declaratives: verb = 2nd position questions: verb = 1st or 2nd position

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
26*	cooking – homemade potato salad ⇒ plural with nouns	ppt file / worksheet, recipe (visual, written); individual, plenum (oral)	O-Vlexinf (subject ellip- ses)	Vlexfin-S-O (impera- tives)
27*	my favorite recipe ⇒ writing task	worksheet, recipe (written); pair work (written)	O-Vlexinf (subject ellip- ses)	Vlexfin-S-O (impera- tives)
28	houses, flats, and furniture	ppt file, picture cards (visual, written); group work (game), (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X
29-1*	everyday activities ⇒ question formation, negation	ppt file, worksheet (visual, written); individual, plenum (written, oral)	O-Vlexinf S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf	S-Vlexfin-O
Refreshing knowledge on word order phenomena (question formation only)			Vinf = clause-final Vmodfin = 1st or 2nd positon	verb = 1st or 2nd position
29-2/ 30	buying things (conversations and useful phrases)	worksheet, dialogue (written) paper goods, paper money; group work (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X, formulaic expressions, e.g. <i>Ich hätte gern . . .</i>	S-Vcopfin-X, formulaic expressions, e.g. <i>Ich hätte gern . . .</i>
31*	Who wants to do what? / Who does what? – Sentences without nouns ⇒ personal pronouns (NOM, ACC)	ppt file (visual, written); pair work (game), (written)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf	S-Vlexfin-O

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
32*	times of day	worksheet (written); individual, pair work, plenum (oral, written)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vcopfin-X
33	What time is it? In German, please!	ppt file, worksheet (written), time cards; plenum, classroom stroll (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X
34*	daily routines, partnership ⇒ modal verbs	worksheet, narrative report (written); individual, plenum (oral)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X O-Vlexinf sporadically: S-Vauxfin-O-Vlexinf (future tense)	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart S-Vcopfin-X
35* nat ⁷⁶	permissions, prohibitions, and du- ties situations of everyday life ⇒ modal verbs (semantics)	ppt file, legend (multiple choice), (visual, written) answer cards, worksheet (written); plenum (game), (oral)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf	n.a.
Refreshing knowledge on word order phenomena			Vmodfin = 2nd position Vinf = clause-final	n.a.

⁷⁶ Remember from the introductory part of this Appendix that after hour 34 some teaching units are thematically different for the naturalistic and the traditional syllabus. As mentioned, these teaching units are listed twice in the table. Units of the naturalistic syllabus are marked with “nat” in the column “Lesson” while units of the traditional syllabus are marked with “trad”.

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
35* trad	daily routines, partnership ⇒ particle verbs	worksheet, narrative report (written) answer sheet, worksheet (written); individual (quiz) individual, plenum (written, oral)	n.a.	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart S-Vcopfin-X
Explicit explanation on word order phenomena			n.a.	verb stem+fin = 2nd position particle: end⁷⁷
36*	holidays and vacation ⇒ ACC (indefinite article)	ppt file, worksheet (written); group work (game), (oral)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart
37/38* nat	holidays and vacation ⇒ modal verbs	ppt file, worksheet, report (written); individual, pair work, plenum (oral, written)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X	n.a.
37/38* trad	my day, daily routines ⇒ particle verbs	worksheet with text, self-report (written) ppt file (written); individual, plenum (written, oral)	n.a.	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart sporadically: S-Vcopfin-X

⁷⁷ Note that this wording largely conforms to the way SVOV orders with particle verbs, more precisely, sentence bracket constructions with particle verbs, are introduced in GFL courses and textbooks: The “verb” – not necessarily the *finite* verb as I presented the rule to the learners – occurs in position 2 and the particle “goes to the end”. In a sense, having in mind the overall introduction order of German word order rules in GFL textbooks, this explanation exhibits a certain inner logic: Given that the clause-second position is introduced as THE verb position to the GFL learner, the particle indeed “goes” to the end (instead of remaining in its underlying, clause-final base position while the [+finite] part of the verb form moves). Note that this way of explaining German clause structure rules is in stark contrast to linguistic theory and currently held assumptions on German syntax (cf. Section 2.1 of this thesis).

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
39/ 40	love and partnership	ppt file, worksheet, dialogue (visual, written); plenum, pair work (written, oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X
41*/ 42* nat	my day, daily routines ⇒ auxiliaries (present perfect)	worksheet with text, self-report (written) worksheet with blank table (written) ppt file (written); individual, plenum (written, oral)	S-Vauxfin-O-Vlexinf	n.a.
41*/ 42* trad	professions, professional life ⇒ modal verbs (inflection)	worksheet, report (written) worksheet (table with modal verbs), (written); individual, pair work, plenum (oral)	n.a.	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vlexfin-O S-Vcopfin-X S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart
43*/ 44* nat	family life and pets, day of my dreams (writing task) ⇒ auxiliaries (present perfect)	sound file, report (oral) ppt file, worksheet, report (written); individual, pair work, plenum (oral, written)	S-Vauxfin-O-Vlexinf instruction for writing task: Use present perfect!	n.a.

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
43*/ 44* trad	holidays and vacation holiday of my dreams (writing task) ⇒ modal verbs	ppt file, worksheet, report (written); individual, pair work, plenum (oral, written)	n.a.	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X instruction for writing task: Use modal verbs!
Explicit explanation on word order phenomena			Vmodfin/auxfin = 2nd position, Vinf = clause-final	
45	family life, daily routines ⇒ pronouns (NOM, DAT)	ppt file (written) answer cards (written); plenum, group work (game) (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vcopfin-X
46	holidays and customs ⇒ plural with nouns	ppt file, pictures (visual, written); group work, plenum (oral)	noun phrases S-Vcopfin-X	noun phrases S-Vcopfin-X
47*/ 48* nat	day of my dreams (discussion of texts written in lesson 43/44)	copies of the texts, narrative report (written); group work (written, oral)	S-Vauxfin-O-Vlexinf (learner texts)	n.a.
47*/ 48* trad	permissions, prohibitions, and duties; situations of everyday life ⇒ modal verbs (semantics)	ppt file, legend (multiple choice), (visual, written) answer cards, worksheet (written); plenum (game), (oral)	n.a.	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
49/50	my room, Where is my . . . ? ⇒ prepositions + DAT	worksheet, visualization (visual, written) worksheet, useful phrases (written); pair work, group work (oral)	S-Vcopfin-X prepositional phrases	S-Vcopfin-X prepositional phrases
51*/ 52*	my day, daily routines ⇒ particle verbs, lexical verbs (in- flection) (nat) ⇒ auxiliaries (present perfect) (trad)	worksheet, self-report (written) worksheet with blank table (written) ppt file (written); individual, plenum (written, oral)	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart sporadically: S-Vcopfin-X	S-Vauxfin-O-Vlexinf
Explicit explanation on word order phenomena			Vfin = 2nd position particle: clause-final	Vmodfin/auxfin = 2nd position Vinf = clause-final
53* nat	professions, professional life ⇒ particle verbs, lexical verbs (in- flection)	worksheet, report (written) answer sheet (written); individual, pair work, plenum (oral)	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vlexfin-O S-Vcopfin-X S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart	n.a.
53* trad	family life and pets ⇒ auxiliaries (present perfect)	sound file, report (oral) ppt file, worksheet, report (written); individual, pair work, plenum (oral, written)	n.a.	S-Vauxfin-O-Vlexinf

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
54-1*	day of my dreams holiday of my dreams (How good do you know your classmates?)	ppt file, worksheet (based on learner texts produced in lesson 43/44), (written) answer sheet (written); plenum (quiz), (oral, written)	S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart S-Vlexfin-O	S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf
54-2/ 55/56	day of nightmare – The piano teacher ⇒ prepositions	worksheet, small short story (written) worksheet with blank table, ppt file (writ- ten); individual, plenum (written, oral)	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf S-Vcopfin-X S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart
57	my room, my flat, my house – pic- ture description	pictures, worksheet with useful phrases (vis- ual, written); individual, pair work (written, oral)	S-Vlexfin-O	S-Vlexfin-O
58	likes and dislikes – private and professional life ⇒ particle verbs, stem vowel change verbs	worksheet, dialogue (written) worksheet, useful phrases (written); individual, pair work (written, oral)	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart	S-Vlexfin-O S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart

Lesson	Topic(s) / Theme(s)	Medium / Text type / Social form	Input naturalistic syllabus	Input traditional syllabus
59 ⁷⁸	football – Trapattoni’s famous speech “Ich habe fertig!”	video file, speech at news conference (visual, oral) worksheet (written); group work, plenum (error correction), (written, oral)	L2 learner variety of German, partially target-deviant	L2 learner variety of German, partially target-deviant
60	German dialects, with particular emphasis on Berlin dialect	sound files, worksheet, prose text (extract), poem (oral, written); pair work, plenum (written, oral)	various target language structures, incl. subordination	various target language structures, incl. subordination

⁷⁸ Note that the last two hours of the language course, i.e. lessons 59 and 60, were intended as kind of a farewell. All tests and data elicitations relevant to the present study had already been completed as with contact hour 58. For this reason, it seemed acceptable to present sub-standard speech or partially target-deviant learner varieties of German to the learners, as this was done in these last two lessons.

Appendix C: Selection of teaching materials

As explained in Subsection 2.2.3 of this thesis, this appendix contains two different types of teaching materials used in the naturalistic and the traditional language class, respectively. These are:

- materials that systematically differ with respect to the usage of OV vs. VO word orders. Lessons involving such materials are marked with “*”.
- materials that sporadically contain SVO patterns with lexical verbs but that nevertheless have been used in the naturalistic language course. Lessons involving such materials are marked with “**”.

Note that some of the teaching materials presented below belong to both categories. Lessons involving such materials are marked with both “*” and “**” in the form “*/**”. Teaching materials that neither differ with respect to the concrete word order patterns, nor contain sporadic VO patterns are not included in the selection of teaching materials presented here. For the sake of completeness, this appendix also includes materials that have exemplarily been presented in Subsection 2.2.3. The teaching materials are listed in chronological order. For each of the lessons included in the list, the following information will be given:⁷⁹

In the header:

- the lesson number, followed by the type of materials presented (keyword: “different input patterns” or keyword: “sporadic S-Vlexfin-O patterns”)
- the topic(s) dealt with in the respective lesson

Following the header:

- if applicable: brief information about the organization of the teaching unit, e.g. activities to be performed by the learners, use of the worksheet, etc. (headword: “Comment”). However, since the focus of the present research is not on methodological issues of course material design and / or teaching structure, a few remarks appear appropriate.

⁷⁹ Note that part of the following explanations can also be found in Subsection 2.2.3. For the convenience of the reader, it is repeated here.

- in case of “sporadic S-Vlexfin-O patterns”: brief motivation for inclusion of the respective S-Vlexfin-O pattern(s) in the input of the naturalistically oriented language course (headword: “Rationale”)
- in case of “different input patterns”: headline “a. Naturalistic syllabus” or “b. Traditional syllabus”, followed by the specification of the concrete acquisition step within the naturalistic vs. traditional curriculum (cf. Tables 9 - 11 in Subsection 2.2.1) (headword: “Acquisition step”)
- in case of both “sporadic S-Vlexfin-O patterns” and “different input patterns”: “Rationale”, “a. Naturalistic syllabus” or “b. Traditional syllabus”, and “Acquisition step” are listed

(1) Lesson 1:** sporadic S-Vlexfin-O patterns

Topic(s): greeting and salutation

Rationale:

- learners should not get the wrong impression that verbs like *heißen* or constructions like *kommen aus* would not exist in German or would not be used in these communicative contexts
- SVlexfinO patterns were presented and their *meaning* was explained, but they were then replaced by SVcopfinX patterns in the dialogues practiced by the learners (see materials for lesson 2-1, below)

Dialogues presented⁸⁰:

- a. A: Guten Tag. Mein Name ist Timo Arhonen.
B: Guten Tag. Freut mich. Ich heiße Jutta Wagner.
Woher kommen Sie, Herr Arhonen?
A: Aus Finnland, aus Helsinki.
- b. A: Hallo. Ich bin Timo. Und wer bist du?
B: Ich bin Oliver. Woher kommst du, Timo?
A: Aus Finnland.
- c. A: Guten Tag. Mein Name ist Andreas Zilinski.
B: Guten Tag, Herr . . . Entschuldigung, wie heißen Sie?
A: Andreas Zilinski.
B: Ah ja. Guten Tag, Herr Zilinski. Ich bin Monika Huber.
A: Guten Tag, Frau Huber.
- d. A: Das ist meine Kollegin Frau Huber.
B: Guten Tag, Frau Huber. Herzlich willkommen.
C: Vielen Dank. Und wer sind Sie?
B: Ich bin Silvia Kunz.

⁸⁰ Dialogues and sound files are taken from *Schritte International 1* (Niebisch et al. 2006).

(2) Lesson 2-1*: different input patterns

Topic(s): introducing oneself

Comment:

- dialogues were presented and then practiced and acted out by the learners with varying partners

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vcopfin-X

- A: Hallo, ich bin [Stefan]⁸¹. Wer bist du?
B: Ich bin [Gabriel].
A: Schön, Dich kennenzulernen, Gabriel. Bist du aus Pavia?
B: Nein, ich bin aus [Rom].
A: Ah, aus [Rom] . . . interessant. Und was ist dein Studienfach?
B: Mein Studienfach ist [Geschichte]. Und deins?
A: Mein Studienfach ist [Medizin].
B: Okay, dann bis später, [Stefan]. Tschüss!
A: Ja, bis später, Tschüss.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: SVlexfinO

- A: Hallo, ich heiße [Stefan]. Wie heißt du?
B: Ich heiße [Gabriel].
A: Freut mich, Gabriel. Kommst du aus Pavia?
B: Nein, ich komme aus [Rom].
A: Ah, aus [Rom] . . . interessant. Und was studierst du?
B: Ich studiere [Geschichte]. Und du?
A: Ich studiere [Medizin].
B: Okay, dann bis später, [Stefan]. Tschüss!
A: Ja, bis später, Tschüss.

⁸¹ Expressions in square brackets are to be varied according to the concrete individual facts.

(3) Lesson 2-2*: different input patterns

Topic(s): leisure time activities

Comment:

- same worksheet for both syllabi
- different tasks involving different word order patterns in naturalistic vs. traditional syllabus (see below)

Worksheet used:

SUBSTANTIVE

und

Verben

BUCH

trinken

PIZZA

BIER

KUCHEN

FUßBALL

schreiben

lesen

TEE

spielen

BRIEF

BROT

WEIN

KARTEN

TEXT

SAFT

essen

kochen

backen

ESSEN

GEMÜSE

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: O-Vlexinf

“Cosa facciamo stasera?”⁸²

1. Pizza essen
2. ?? trinken
3.
4.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: SVlexfinO

“Cosa facciamo stasera?”

1. Wir essen Pizza.
2. Wir trinken ??
3. Wir
4.

⁸² The question was formulated in Italian in order to avoid VO orders with lexical verbs in the naturalistic syllabus.

(4) Lesson 4*: different input patterns⁸³

Topic(s): typical German – typical Italian

a. Naturalistic syllabus

- Acquisition step: 1: O-Vlexinf, S-Vcopfin-X (exercise “Teil 1”)
2: X-Vcopinf, S-Vcopfin-X (exercise “Teil 2”)

Typisch deutsch – typisch italienisch

Teil 1

Bier trinken – Wein trinken – Kaffee trinken – Gefühle zeigen – Eisbein essen – Fußball-WM gewinnen – Ferrari fahren – BMW fahren – Müll trennen – die Regierung beschimpfen – an die Ostsee / Nordsee fahren – Trüffel essen – Auto waschen – das Leben genießen – Schiedsrichter bestechen – die Mutter lieben – Nudeln essen

Was ist – für dich – typisch deutsch? Was ist – für dich – typisch italienisch?

Beispiele:

1. *Bier trinken ist typisch deutsch.*
2. *Ferrari fahren ist typisch italienisch.*

Nun du!

3. _____
 4. _____
 - 5.
 - 6.
- etc.

⁸³ The author of the present thesis is aware of the fact that not all lexical material to be presented in this lesson belongs to the core vocabulary of level A1. However, in order to really grasp the cultural and everyday reality in the countries involved and in order to make the exercise more enjoyable and motivating for the learners, some more sophisticated lexical items were included in this task. Of course, the items used here can be varied and / or adapted by each teacher according to the specific abilities, needs, and prerequisites of the respective learner group.

Teil 2

lebhaft sein – übergenau sein – fortschrittlich sein – laut sein – pünktlich sein

Wie sind die Deutschen? Wie sind die Italiener?

1. *Die Deutschen sind lebhaft.*

Nun du!

2. _____

3. _____

etc.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O, S-Vcopfin-X

Typisch deutsch – typisch italienisch

1. Die Deutschen trinken Bier.
2. Die Deutschen trinken Wein.
3. Die Italiener sind pünktlich.
4. Die Italiener trinken Kaffee.
5. Die Italiener sind lebhaft.
6. Die Deutschen zeigen Gefühle.
7. Die Deutschen essen Eisbein.
8. Die Deutschen gewinnen die Fußball-WM.
9. Die Italiener fahren Ferrari.
10. Die Deutschen fahren BMW.
11. Die Deutschen trennen Müll.
12. Die Italiener sind fortschrittlich.
13. Die Deutschen beschimpfen die Regierung.
14. Die Italiener fahren an die Nordsee / Ostsee.
15. Die Italiener essen Trüffel.
16. Die Italiener waschen ihr Auto.
17. Die Italiener genießen das Leben.
18. Die Deutschen sind laut.
19. Die Deutschen bestechen Schiedsrichter.
20. Die Italiener lieben ihre Mutter.
21. Die Deutschen essen Nudeln.
22. Die Deutschen sind übergenau.

Was ist Deine Meinung?

- **Ja, das stimmt. Das ist typisch deutsch / italienisch.**
- **Nein, das stimmt nicht. Das ist nicht typisch deutsch / italienisch.**
- **Ich weiß nicht. Das ist typisch deutsch, aber auch typisch italienisch.**

- (5) **Lesson 6/7*/**:** **different input patterns, sporadic S-Vlexfin-O patterns**
Topic(s): **evening appointment**

Comment:

- presentation and practicing of the dialogue in lesson 6
- acting out the dialogue in lesson 7 (names of protagonists and activities (*ins Kino gehen, Buch lesen*) could be changed according to reality / the learner's preferences)
- explicit explanations on SVOV orders with modal verbs in the naturalistic language class and on SVO orders with lexical verbs in the traditional language class (at the end of the lesson)

Rationale:

- presentation of *Ich weiß noch nicht* and *Ich habe keine Lust* as rather formulaic expressions in German; make dialogue sound more natural and authentic

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

Was willst du heute Abend machen?

A: Hi Tobias!

B: Hallo Michael!

A: Na, was willst du heute Abend machen?

B: Ach, ich weiß noch nicht . . .

A: Ich will ins Kino gehen. Du auch? Los . . .

B: Ach, nee. Ich will lieber zu Hause bleiben. Ich will ein Buch lesen.

A: Echt?

B: Ja, echt. Ich habe keine Lust auf Kino.

A: Na gut, dann nicht. Viel Spaß!

B: Ja, danke, dir auch.

A: Danke, tschüss.

B: Tschüss.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

Was machst du heute Abend?

A: Hi Tobias!

B: Hallo Michael!

A: Na, was machst du heute Abend?

B: Ach, ich weiß noch nicht . . .

A: Ich gehe ins Kino. Du auch? Los . . .

B: Ach, nee. Ich bleibe lieber zu Hause. Ich lese ein Buch.

A: Echt?

B: Ja, echt. Ich habe keine Lust auf Kino.

A: Na gut, dann nicht. Viel Spaß!

B: Ja, danke, dir auch.

A: Danke, tschüss.

B: Tschüss.

(6) Lesson 9-2*: different input patterns

Topic(s): situations of everyday life

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

„wollen“ oder „sein“?

- Eure Aufgabe:**
- das richtige Personalpronomen
(ich-du-er-sie-es-wir-ihr-sie-Sie) ergänzen
und
 - das richtige Verb („wollen“ oder „sein“)
 - in der richtigen Form
(will-willst-will-wollen-wollt-wollen)
(bin-bist-ist-sind-seid-sind) ergänzen

1. Wollt ihr eine Pizza essen?
Nein, __ *wir* __ __ *wollen* __ lieber eine Brezel essen.
2. Sandra will einen Deutschkurs machen.
_____ Deutsch lernen.
3. Der Mann ist müde.
_____ schlafen.
4. Seid ihr Italiener?
Nein, _____ Spanier.
5. Martin und Katrin sind im Urlaub.
_____ Briefe schreiben.
6. Andrea ist Deutsche.
_____ nach Italien fahren.
7. Willst du eine Boulette essen?
Nein, die _____ nicht lecker. _____ ein Eisbein essen.
8. Wir wollen ins Kino gehen.
_____ mitkommen?

9. Bist du müde?
 _____ schlafen?
10. Simone ist eine deutsche Studentin.
 _____ ein Erasmusjahr machen.
11. Das Kind ist hungrig.
 _____ etwas essen.
12. Wollen wir zusammen ins Konzert gehen? –
 Nein _____ nach Hause gehen. _____ müde.
13. Mario und Stefano _____ italienische Studenten.
 _____ in der Schweiz studieren.
14. Klaus will nicht den Abwasch machen.
 _____ Musik hören.
15. Hi! Wir sind aus Portugal. Und ihr?
 Woher _____ ?

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O, S-Vcopfin-X

Personalpronomen und Konjugation der Verben

Aufgabe: Ergänzt - das richtige Personalpronomen
(ich-du-er-sie-es-wir-ihr-sie-Sie)
und
- das Verb in der richtigen Form
(lernen: lerne-lernst-lernt-lernen-lernt-lernen) → **regulär**
(essen: esse-isst-isst-essen-esst-essen) → **irregulär**
(schlafen: schlafe-schläfst-schläft-schlafen-schlaft-
schlafen → **irregulär**
(fahren: wie „schlafen“)

1. Esst ihr eine Pizza?
Nein, __ *wir* __ __ *essen* __ lieber eine Brezel.
2. Sandra macht einen Deutschkurs.
_____ (lernen) _____ Deutsch.
3. Der Mann ist müde.
_____ (schlafen) _____.
4. Seid ihr Italiener?
Nein, _____ (sein) _____ Spanier.
5. Martin und Katrin sind im Urlaub.
_____ (schreiben) _____ Briefe.
6. Andrea ist Deutsche.
_____ (fahren) _____ nach Italien
7. Isst du eine Boulette?
Nein, die (sein) _____ nicht lecker. _____ (essen) _____ ein Eisbein.
8. Wir gehen ins Kino.
Und was (machen) _____ _____ ?

9. Ich bin müde.
 _____ (schlafen)_____.
10. Simone ist eine deutsche Studentin.
 _____ (machen) _____ ein Erasmusjahr.
11. Das Kind ist hungrig.
 _____ (essen)_____ etwas.
12. Gehen wir zusammen ins Konzert?
 Nein _____ (gehen) _____ nach Hause. _____ (sein) _____ müde.
13. Mario und Stefano (sein)_____ italienische Studenten.
 _____ (studieren)_____ in der Schweiz.
14. Klaus hat keine Lust auf Abwasch.
 _____ (hören)_____ Musik.
15. Hi! Wir sind aus Portugal. Und ihr?
 Woher (sein)_____ _____?

(7) Lesson 10-2*:different input patterns

Topic(s): studying in Germany, points of the compass

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

Mein Traum: Ich möchte in _____XY_____ studieren.

Das ist im Norden / Osten / Süden / Westen von Deutschland.

XY ist eine schöne / große / wichtige / ??? Stadt.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

Mein Traum: Ich studiere in _____XY_____.

Das ist im Norden / Osten / Süden / Westen von Deutschland.

XY ist eine schöne / große / wichtige / ??? Stadt.

(8) Lesson 12*: different input patterns

Topic(s): date of birth and star signs

Comment:

- learners were equipped with a table containing the names of all their classmates and were invited to do a classroom stroll (for details on the activity of a classroom stroll, see footnote 3 in Appendix XY)

Table used in both syllabi:

No	Name	Sternzeichen	Geburtstag
1	Name 1		
2	Name 2		
3	Name 3		
4		
5		

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: no particular acquisition step, just avoidance of S-Vlexfin-O patterns

A: Hallo, wer bist du?

B: Ich bin

A: Wann ist Dein Sternzeichen,??

B: Mein Sternzeichen ist

A: Ah, okay, danke. / Ah, okay, interessant. Und wann genau ist dein Geburtstag?

B: Mein Geburtstag ist am Und jetzt zu dir. Wer bist Du?

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O, S-Vcopfin-X

A: Hallo, wie heißt du?

B: Ich heiße

A: Wann ist Dein Sternzeichen,?

B: Mein Sternzeichen ist

A: Ah, okay, danke. / Ah, okay, interessant. Und wann genau hast du Geburtstag?

B: Ich habe am Geburtstag. Und jetzt zu dir. Wie heißt du?

(9) Lesson 14:** sporadic S-Vlexfin-O patterns

Topic(s): living in Berlin

Rationale:

- usage of S-Vlexfin-O/X patterns with *haben* and *wohnen* in order to make the text sound more natural
- introduction of *es gibt* or, inverted, *gibt es* as useful formulaic expression; explained with reference to the English and Italian equivalents *there is* and *c'è*, respectively

Text presented:

Meine Wohnung in Berlin-Friedrichshain

Meine Wohnung ist total toll! Sie ist hell, warm und groß genug für eine Person. Sie hat 2 Zimmer, eine Küche, ein Bad und einen schönen Balkon.

Mein Wohnzimmer ist riesengroß. Mein Schlafzimmer ist nicht so groß, aber hier ist der Balkon. Den ganzen Tag gibt es dort Sonne (im Frühling und im Sommer). Mein kleines Paradies!! Meine Küche ist klein, aber sehr praktisch. Es gibt einen guten Herd, einen großen Kühlschrank und eine Spülmaschine. Abwaschen ist nervig! Mein Bad ist sehr modern. Das ist wichtig, ich bin eine Frau.

Mein Freund Andreas wohnt auch in Berlin-Friedrichshain. Wir sind seit 9 Jahren zusammen, aber wir wollen nicht zusammen wohnen⁸⁴. Seine Wohnung ist ganz in der Nähe, nur 7 Minuten zu Fuß oder 2 Minuten mit dem Fahrrad. Die Wohnung ist nicht so modern, aber Andreas ist zufrieden. Seine Miete ist sehr günstig, nur 330 Euro/Monat.

Unser Kiez ist sehr jung, es gibt viele Studenten. Und natürlich auch sehr viele Kneipen, Pizzerias, Thai-Bistros etc. Die Läden sind lange geöffnet, manchmal die ganze Nacht, und auch am Samstag und Sonntag. Das ist sehr praktisch. Unser Kiez ist echt schön, aber wir sind schon fast zu alt für dieses „Studentenleben“ . . .

⁸⁴ The S-Vmodfin-X-Vinf pattern *wir wollen nicht zusammen wohnen* was replaced by the S-Vlexfin-X structure *wir wohnen nicht zusammen* in the traditional syllabus.

(10) Lesson 16*: different input patterns

Topic(s): living in Berlin (flat hunting)

Comment:

- different headline for both ppt presentation and worksheet in the two syllabi

a. Naturalistic syllabus

- Acquisition step: no particular acquisition step, underlining of OV status of German

Zimmer gesucht!

Schönes Zimmer in Berlin gesucht!

b. Traditional syllabus

- Acquisition step: 1: (S)-Vlexfin-O

Suche Zimmer!

Suche schönes Zimmer in Berlin!

(11) Lesson 17*: different input patterns

Topic(s): Writing a postcard (corrections)

Comment:

- learners corrected pre-selected errors (orthographical, lexical, morphological, syntactical, pragmatic / stylistic ones) to be found in the postcards written in lesson 10-1

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: no particular acquisition step, structures presented are in line with overall guidelines on input structure

List of items to be corrected:

1. Liebe Grüße, . . .
2. Herzliche Grüße, . . .
3. Das Wetter ist nicht so gut, aber die Leute ist angenehm.
4. Ich bin München.
5. Hier ist . . . auf Pavia.
6. Ich bin gut. (im Sinne von: „Sto bene.“)
7. Die stadt ist toll.
8. Das Wetter ist nicht so Gut.
9. liebe Grüße, . . .
10. Heute ist Mittwoch und Ich will nach Frankfurt gehen.
11. Heute ist Montag und ich bin in Zürich. Er ist interessant, aber . . .
12. Das Wetter ist nicht so gut, die Leute sind freudlich.
13. Hallo Rebekka, Hier ist . . . auf Europareise.
14. Hier ist . . . auf Italiapareise.
15. Bratislava ist nein interessant.
16. Das Wetter is nich so gut, aber . . .
17. Das Stuttgart ist toll.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: no particular acquisition step, structures presented are in line with overall guidelines on input structure

List of items to be corrected:

1. Viele GrüÙe, . . .
2. Hier ist . . . auf erasmusjahr in Stuttgart.
3. Heute ist Dienstag und ich fahe in New York.
4. Ich bin München.
5. die Leute sind simpathish.
6. Ich bin gut. (im Sinne von: „Sto bene.“)
7. Hier ist . . . auf Pavia.
8. Das Wetter ist nicht gut, die Leute sind frundlich.
9. Hallo Steffi Winkler, . . .
10. Das Wetter ist nich so gut, die Leute ist interessant.
11. Morgen fahrst ich zu Hause, in Italien.
12. Mir gefällt die Leute.
13. Hier ist . . . auf Deutchreise.
14. Hier ist . . . auf Indiareise.
15. Bratislava ist nein interessant.
16. Das Stuttgart ist toll.

(12) Lesson 21/22*/:** **different input patterns, sporadic S-Vlexfin-O patterns**
Topic(s): **dining out in Berlin**

Comment:

The teaching unit serves the introduction of the accusative case with nouns.

Rationale:

For reasons of authenticity and in order to avoid monotony, the frequent use of S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf patterns in the text had to be counterbalanced by integration of some SVO structures. However, the concrete patterns to be presented have been chosen with care, and the choices can be motivated as follows:

- *möchten* as main verb in SVO patterns:
 modal-like *möchten* is familiar to the learners from S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf structures (in which [+finite] *möchten* has auxiliary status and is realized in second position while the [-finite] lexical *main verb* occurs in its clause-final base position) → usage of [+finite] *möchten* as a *main verb* in second position, should actually qualify this slot as the *finiteness* position
- constructions *Ich weiß noch [gar] nicht* and *es gibt / gibt es*:
 both patterns are familiar to the learners as formulaic expression from lesson 6 and 14, respectively → no new VO patterns need to be introduced
- expression *Ich hätte gern . . .* :
 introduction as a formulaic expression (politeness formula)

Apart from that, the expression *Was darf's sein?* is used in both syllabi. As regards the traditional syllabus, this structure might provide evidence for the underlying OV order of German, which at this point is actually not yet wanted. However, it seems rather unlikely that learners will interpret this expression in favor of an underlying OV order in German. Note that the [+finite] and the [-finite] verb occur adjacent to each other, so that this structure could as well be a surface derivate of a VO language. Most probably, learners will not be able to analyze the apostrophized “'s” as a (clitical) pronoun. Instead, they can be assumed to process the expression *Was darf's sein?* in a chunk-like manner, in particular because it will be explained in this way.

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

Besuch im Restaurant „Weinstein“

die Kellnerin: Hallo, guten Abend!

die Gäste: Guten Abend. Einen Tisch für zwei?

die Kellnerin: Ja, natürlich. Hier, bitte.

die Gäste: Dankeschön.

(genau 1 Minute und 53 Sekunden später)

der Mann: Äh, Entschuldigung . . . wir möchten dann bestellen.

die Kellnerin: Ja, gern, was darf's sein?

der Mann: Also . . . ja, ähm . . . also . . .

(Schweigen. Stille)

der Mann: Schatz, was möchtest du?

die Frau: Ich? Wieso ich? Ich weiß noch gar nicht . . .

die Kellnerin: Gut, kein Problem. Möchten Sie noch ein paar Minuten schauen?

der Mann: Äh, nein, nein, wir sind soweit . . .

die Kellnerin: Gut. Bitte?

die Frau: Ich möchte einen Weißwein trinken.

die Kellnerin: Gern. Welchen Weißwein?

die Frau: Ach so, ja, ähm . . . den Soave, bitte!

der Mann: Und ich möchte den Chianti, ein Glas Chianti bitte!

die Kellnerin: Okay, ein Glas Soave, ein Glas Chianti . . . zu essen?

der Mann: Ich hätte gern das Steak.

die Kellnerin: Hmh, und die Dame?

die Frau: Als Vorspeise möchte ich den Salat essen. Und als Hauptgang
den
Fisch bitte, die Dorade.

die Kellnerin: Gern!

der Mann: Oh, mit Vorspeise . . . ?

die Frau: Ja, mein Schatz.

der Mann: Gut, dann möchte ich auch eine Vorspeise haben. Was gibt es
denn?

die Kellnerin: Es gibt eine Kürbissuppe, eine Pilzsuppe, einen Schinkenteller, ei

. . .

der Mann: Halt! Die Kürbissuppe, bitte.

die Kellnerin: Alles klar, eine Kürbissuppe für Sie . . .

der Mann: Und äh, gibt es Brot dazu?

die Kellnerin: Ja, natürlich, es gibt Brot dazu.

der Mann: Gut, wunderbar . . . und dann noch eine Flasche Wasser, bitte.

die Kellnerin: Mit Kohlensäure oder ohne?

der Mann: Äh, ja, mit oder ohne?

die Frau: Mit, bitte.

der Mann: Mit.

die Kellnerin: Okay, vielen Dank!

(ca. 3 Minuten später)

die Kellnerin: So, hier ist der Soave für die Dame, der Chianti für den Herrn und Wasser für Sie beide. Zum Wohl!

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O, S-Vcopfin-X

Besuch im Restaurant „Weinstein“

- die Kellnerin:** Hallo, guten Abend!
- die Gäste:** Guten Abend. Haben Sie einen Tisch für zwei?
- die Kellnerin:** Ja, natürlich. Hier, bitte.
- die Gäste:** Dankeschön.
(genau 1 Minute und 53 Sekunden später)
- der Mann:** Äh, hallo, hallo Entschuldigung . . . wir sind soweit.
- die Kellnerin:** Ja, gern, was darf's sein?
- der Mann:** Also . . . ja, ähm . . . also . . .
(Schweigen. Stille)
- der Mann:** Schatz, fang du an!
- die Frau:** Ich? Wieso ich? Ich weiß noch gar nicht . . .
- die Kellnerin:** Gut, kein Problem. Schauen Sie doch noch ein paar Minuten.
- der Mann:** Äh, nein, nein, wir sind soweit . . .
- die Kellnerin:** Gut. Bitte?
- die Frau:** Ich trinke einen Weißwein.
- die Kellnerin:** Gern. Welchen Weißwein?
- die Frau:** Ach so, ja, ähm . . . den Soave, bitte!
- der Mann:** Und ich nehme den Chianti, ein Glas Chianti bitte!
- die Kellnerin:** Okay, ein Glas Soave, ein Glas Chianti . . . zu essen?
- der Mann:** Ich hätte gern das Steak.
- die Kellnerin:** Hmh, und die Dame?
- die Frau:** Als Vorspeise esse ich den Salat. Und als Hauptgang den Fisch
bitte, die Dorade.
- die Kellnerin:** Gern!
- der Mann:** Oh, du nimmst eine Vorspeise?
- die Frau:** Ja, mein Schatz.
- der Mann:** Gut, dann nehme ich auch eine Vorspeise. Was gibt es denn?

die Kellnerin: Es gibt eine Kürbissuppe, eine Pilzsuppe, einen Schinkenteller, ei

. . .

der Mann: Halt! Die Kürbissuppe, bitte.

die Kellnerin: Alles klar, eine Kürbissuppe für Sie . . .

der Mann: Und äh, gibt es Brot dazu?

die Kellnerin: Ja, natürlich, es gibt Brot dazu.

der Mann: Gut, wunderbar . . . und dann nehmen wir noch eine Flasche
Wasser, bitte.

die Kellnerin: Mit Kohlensäure oder ohne?

der Mann: Äh, ja, mit oder ohne?

die Frau: Mit, bitte.

der Mann: Mit.

die Kellnerin: Okay, vielen Dank!

(ca. 3 Minuten später)

die Kellnerin: So, hier ist der Soave für die Dame, der Chianti für den Herrn und
Wasser für Sie beide. Zum Wohl!

(13) Lesson 24*: different input patterns
Topic(s): in the supermarket (prices)

Comment:

- listening task with subsequent discussion

a. Naturalistic syllabus

- Acquisition step: no particular acquisition step, just avoidance of S-Vlexfin-O patterns

items with [+ finite] copula *sein*, e.g.

- (I) Der Preis für einen Liter frische Milch ist 79 Cent.
- (II) Der Preis für ein Kilo Nackensteak vom Schwein ist 7 Euro.
- (III) Der Preis für einen Liter Hauswein ist 3 Euro.
- (IV) Der Preis für 500 Gramm gute Spaghetti ist 1,50 Euro.

- **Das ist nicht
sehr teuer / billig.
echt**

- **In Italien ist das teurer / billiger.**

- **Der Preis für . . . ist zu hoch / zu niedrig.**

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

items with [+ finite] lexical verbs *kosten*, e.g.

- (I) Ein Liter frische Milch kostet 79 Cent.
- (II) Ein Kilo Nackensteak vom Schwein kostet 7 Euro.
- (III) Ein Liter Hauswein kostet 3 Euro.
- (IV) 500 Gramm gute Spaghetti kosten 1,50 Euro.

→ Das finde ich nicht
sehr teuer / billig.
echt

→ In Italien ist das teurer / billiger.

→ Den Preis für . . . finde ich zu hoch / zu niedrig.

(14) Lesson 25*: different input patterns

Topic(s): individual skills, likes and dislikes

Comment:

- preparation: the learners inform the teacher in advance (in Italian) of an activity they are particularly good at (naturalistic syllabus) / they particularly like doing (traditional syllabus)
- the teacher prepares a list (in German) of the activities named by the learners, using the SVOV pattern *Ich kann gut (O) Vlexinfin* in the naturalistic syllabus (introduction of the modal verb *können*), but the SVO pattern *Ich Vlexfin gern (O)* in the traditional syllabus
- the teacher presents the list in class
- the learners perform a classroom stroll,⁸⁵ see dialogues below

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

List of items presented (based on the activities specified by the learners):

1. Ich kann gut fotografieren.
2. Ich kann gut und schnell schwimmen.
3. Ich kann gut Zeit totschlagen.
4. Ich kann gut Französisch sprechen.
5. Ich kann gut Partys organisieren.
6. Ich kann gut Schlittschuh laufen.
7. Ich kann gut „Cipolle alla paprika“ machen.
8. Ich kann gut Tennis spielen.
9. Ich kann gut Desserts machen.
10. Ich kann gut Gitarre spielen.

⁸⁵ The term *classroom stroll* refers to a certain type of exercise that can be used in the foreign language classroom. During a classroom stroll, learners walk around in the classroom and have to perform a certain communicative task, or solve a certain problem, by means of communicating with varying partners of their choice. Usually, the classroom stroll method is employed for practicing a newly introduced structure / conversational pattern that can be varied according to the individual facts / opinion of each learner. Typical tasks for a classroom stroll at A1 level are, for example, speaking about one's hobbies, favorite food and drinks, favorite holiday destinations, or exchanging telephone numbers, email addresses, etc.

11. Ich kann gut Fußball spielen.
12. Ich kann gut Pasta kochen.
13. Ich kann gut Blut abnehmen.
14. Ich kann gut Klavier spielen.
15. Ich kann gut Kuchen backen.
16. Ich kann ziemlich gut kochen.
17. Ich kann gut am Computer arbeiten.
18. Ich kann gut Latein übersetzen.
19. Ich kann gut Bauchtanz tanzen.
20. Ich kann gut Porträts zeichnen.
21. Ich kann gut Haare schneiden.

Dialogue to be performed during classroom stroll:

A: Hallo!

B: Hi!

A: Ich kann gut Kannst du auch gut ... ?

B: Ja, ich kann auch gut / Nein, ich kann nicht gut

A: Okay, und was kannst du (noch) gut?

B: Ich kann gut Kannst du auch gut ... ?

A: Ja, ich kann auch gut / Nein, ich kann nicht gut

B: Okay, interessant. Na dann, bis später.

A: Ja, bis später. Tschüss.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

List of items presented (based on the activities specified by the learners):

1. Ich sehe gern Filme
2. Ich spiele gern Elektrogitarre.
3. Ich höre gern Musik beim Laufen.
4. Ich lese gern Bücher.
5. Ich spiele gern mit meinem Kater.
6. Ich mache gern Sport.
7. Ich wandere gern inmitten der Natur.
8. Ich fahre gern mit Freunden Auto.
9. Ich schreibe gern Gedichte.
10. Ich schwimme gern.
11. Ich laufe gern.
12. Ich male gern expressionistische Bilder.
13. Ich tanze gern.
14. Ich gehe gern ins Kino.
15. Ich koche gern Fischgerichte.
16. Ich mache gern Reisen.
17. Ich laufe gern Ski.
18. Ich gehe gern in Ausstellungen.

Dialogue to be performed during classroom stroll:

A: Hallo!

B: Hi!

A: Ich ... gern (...). ... du auch gern (...)?

B: Ja, ich ... auch gern (...). / Nein, ich ... nicht gern (...).

A: Okay, und was machst du (noch) gern?

A: Ich ... gern (...). ... du auch gern (...)?

B: Ja, ich ... auch gern (...). / Nein, ich ... nicht gern (...).

B: Okay, interessant. Na dann, bis später.

A: Ja, bis später. Tschüss.

(15) Lesson 26*: different input patterns

Topic(s): cooking – homemade potato salad

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: no particular acquisition step, illustration of OV status of German

Rezept für Kartoffelsalat . . . hmmm, lecker!

Zutaten:

1,5 kg Salatkartoffeln

1 Gurke

2 kleine Zwiebeln

4 EL Öl

4 EL Essig

1 EL Senf

Salz, Pfeffer

Die Kartoffeln weich kochen, kalt werden lassen, schälen und in Scheiben schneiden. Dann die Gurke in feine Scheiben schneiden und die Zwiebeln würfeln. Kartoffeln, Gurke und Zwiebeln zusammen mit den anderen Zutaten in einer Schüssel gut mischen. Den Salat eine Stunde stehen lassen. Dann noch einmal mischen und servieren.
Guten Appetit!

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

Rezept für Kartoffelsalat . . . hmmm, lecker!

Zutaten:

1,5 kg Salatkartoffeln

1 Gurke

2 kleine Zwiebeln

4 EL Öl

4 EL Essig

1 EL Senf

Salz, Pfeffer

Kochen Sie die Kartoffeln zunächst mit der Schale. Schälen Sie dann die erkalteten Kartoffeln und schneiden Sie sie in Scheiben. Schneiden Sie dann die Gurke in feine Scheiben und würfeln Sie die Zwiebeln. Mischen Sie nun Kartoffeln, Gurke und Zwiebeln zusammen mit den anderen Zutaten in einer Schüssel. Lassen Sie den Salat eine Stunde stehen. Mischen Sie dann noch einmal und servieren Sie. Guten Appetit!

(16) Lesson 27*: different input patterns

Topic(s): my favorite recipe

Comment:

- learners write down their favorite recipe using the potato salad recipe dealt with in lesson 26 (see (15), above) as a guideline
- learners work in pairs and then change their partners and discuss their different recipes

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: no particular acquisition step, illustration of OV status of German

same materials as in (15), above

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

same materials as in (15), above

(17) Lesson 29-1*: different input patterns

Topic(s): everyday activities

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: SV-modfin-O-Vinf, illustration of OV order and V2

Personalpronomen und Modalverben

Eure Aufgabe: - Aussagen (.) oder Fragen (?) formulieren
- Personalpronomen verwenden

1. Sandra: ins Kino gehen wollen (.)

___ *Sie will ins Kino gehen* ___.

2. Sandra: ins Kino gehen wollen (?)

___ *Will sie ins Kino gehen* ___?

3. Robert: eine Bockwurst essen möchten (.)

4. Franziska: gut tanzen können (.)

5. Anna und Maria: Fotos machen können (?)

6. die Studenten: Ferien haben möchten (?)

7. die Sportler: viel trainieren müssen (.)

8. Stefan: ein Buch lesen müssen (?)

9. das Kind: schon laufen können (.)

10. das Kind: schon sprechen können (?)

11. die Eltern: das Kind suchen müssen (.)

12. die Mutter: das Abendessen kochen müssen (?)

13. der Vater: Fußball im Fernsehen sehen möchten (.)

14. die Kinder: mit den Eltern spielen wollen (.)

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

Personalpronomen und Verben

Bildet Sätze!

Verwendet Personalpronomen!

Schreibt Aussagen (.) oder Fragen (!)?

1. gehen – Sandra – ins Kino (.)

___ Sie geht ins Kino ___.

2. gehen – Sandra – ins Kino (?)

___ Geht sie ins Kino ___?

3. essen – Robert – eine Bockwurst (.)

4. tanzen – Franziska – gern (.)

5. machen – Anna und Maria – Fotos (?)

6. haben – die Studenten – Ferien (?)

7. trainieren – die Sportler – viel (.)

8. lesen – Stefan – ein Buch (?)

9. laufen – das Kind – schon (.)

10. sprechen – das Kind – schon (?)

11. suchen – die Eltern – das Kind (.)

12. spülen – die Mutter – die Teller (?)

13. sehen – der Vater – Fußball im Fernsehen (.)

14. spielen – die Kinder – mit dem Ball (.)

(18) Lesson 31*: different input patterns

Topic(s): Who wants to do what? / Who does what?

Comment:

- learners were presented with sentences containing pronouns as nominal elements only
- learners were asked to replace the pronouns by appropriate nouns, using every noun only twice in the whole exercise

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

Example given:

1. Sie will ihn sehen.
Die Frau will den Mann sehen.
Die Studentin will den Film sehen.

Items presented:

2. Sie will ihn küssen.
3. Sie will es küssen.
4. Sie wollen es essen.
5. Er will ihn sehen.
6. Sie wollen ihn sehen.
7. Sie will sie (sg) kaufen.
8. Sie wollen sie (sg) kaufen.
9. Er will sie (pl) kaufen.
10. Will sie ihn küssen?
11. Will er sie (pl) haben?
12. Muss er sie (pl) suchen?

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O

Example given:

1. Sie sieht ihn.
Die Frau sieht den Mann.
Die Studentin sieht den Film.

Items presented:

2. Sie küsst ihn.
3. Sie küsst es.
4. Sie isst es.
5. Er sieht ihn.
6. Sie sieht ihn.
7. Sie kauft sie (sg).
8. Sie kaufen sie (sg).
9. Er kauft sie (pl).
10. Küsst sie ihn?
11. Hat er sie (pl)?
12. Sucht er sie (pl)?

(19) Lesson 32*: different input patterns

Topic(s): times of day

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

**Was ist typisch für euch oder für euer Leben
zu dieser Tageszeit?**

Beispiel:

am Morgen: Ich bin noch müüüüüde.
am Vormittag: Ich muss zur Uni gehen.
am Mittag: Ich will etwas essen.
am Nachmittag: Ich muss wieder in die Vorlesung gehen . . .
am Abend: Yippie! Ich kann meine Freunde sehen!
in der Nacht: Ich kann endlich schlafen und ich möchte träumen.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 1: S-Vlexfin-O, S-Vcopfin-X

Schreibt für jede Tageszeit einen für euch oder für euer Leben typischen Satz!

Beispiel:

am Morgen: Ich bin noch müüüüüde.
am Vormittag: Ich gehe zur Uni.
am Mittag: Ich esse etwas!
am Nachmittag: Ich gehe wieder in die Vorlesung . . .
am Abend: Yippie! Ich sehe meine Freunde!
in der Nacht: Ich schlafe endlich und ich träume.

(20) Lesson 34*: different input patterns

Topic(s): daily routines / partnership

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

Ein ganz normaler Tag?

Drrrrrr – der Wecker! Es ist 8.30 Uhr. Stefano will nicht aufstehen. Er will noch weiter schlafen. Er ist noch sooooo müde! Aber er muss aufstehen. Er muss zur Uni fahren. Die Vorlesung ist um 10.15 Uhr. Und er darf nicht zu spät kommen! Wir sind ja hier in Deutschland . . .

In dem Vorlesungsraum ist es immer kalt. Stefano muss etwas Warmes anziehen. Jetzt schnell Kaffee kochen – hm, lecker! Und nun noch schnell die Hausaufgaben machen . . . mein Gott, sind die schwer! Nach 40 Minuten ist Stefano fertig. Super, das Frühstück muss heute ausfallen – schnell los zum Bus. Zum Glück ist der Bus pünktlich. Wir sind ja hier in Deutschland . . .

Plötzlich: ein Anruf. Um fünf nach zehn . . . wer kann das sein? Ah, es ist Sandra, Stefanos Freundin. Sie ist fröhlich und gutgelaunt: „Hey, guten Morgen, mein Schatz, wollen wir heute Abend ausgehen?“ Stefano ist überrascht: „Ausgehen? Heute Abend? Heute ist doch Mittwoch, da ist Fußball im Fernsehen, ich möchte lieber Fußball sehen.“ Nun ist Sandra überrascht: „Ja, schon klar, Fußball, aber heute ist doch ein besonderer Tag!“ „Ein besonderer Tag? Wieso? Heute ist ein ganz normaler Tag und . . .“ „Wie bitte?“ Oh, jetzt ist Sandra wütend . . . „Ein ganz normaler Tag? Ti prego, Stefano! Wir sind heute ein Jahr zusammen! Es ist unser Jubiläum . . .!“

Oh oh! Das ist jetzt ein Problem. Stefano muss eine Lösung finden. Was kann er machen? Grübel, grübel, grübel, grübel, grübel . . . genau! Das ist es: Er wird in den Delikatessenladen gehen und ganz lecker Essen einkaufen. Und Sekt! Und Wein! Und dann wird er das Abendessen machen! Das ist eine gute Idee . . . und Blumen, Blumen darf er nicht vergessen!

Nach dem Abendessen ist Stefanos Freundin superglücklich: „Du, wollen wir vielleicht noch ein bisschen fernsehen? Heute ist doch Fußball!“ . Jetzt ist Stefano superglücklich. Er darf Fußball sehen! Also doch ein ganz normaler Tag . . .

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 2: S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart

Ein ganz normaler Tag?

Drrrrrr . . . der Wecker lingelt. Es ist 8.30 Uhr. Stefano hat keine Lust zum Aufstehen. Er ist noch sooooo müde! Aber die Uni ruft. Die Vorlesung beginnt um 10.15. Pünktlich! Wir sind ja hier in Deutschland. Stefano steht lustlos auf.

In dem Vorlesungsraum ist es immer kalt. Stefano zieht einen warmen Pullover an. Er kocht schnell Kaffee – hm, lecker! Dann macht er noch schnell die Hausaufgaben . . . mein Gott, sind die schwer! Stefano braucht 40 Minuten für die Hausaufgaben. Na super, das Frühstück fällt heute aus! Schnell los zum Bus. Zum Glück ist der Bus pünktlich. Wir sind ja hier in Deutschland . . .

Um fünf nach zehn lingelt Stefanos Handy. Nanu, wer ist das? Ah, Sandra, seine Freundin, ruft ihn an. Sie ist fröhlich und hat gute Laune: „Hey, guten Morgen, mein Schatz, gehen wir heute Abend aus?“ Stefano ist überrascht: „Ausgehen? Heute Abend? Heute ist doch Mittwoch, da kommt Fußball im Fernsehen. Ich glaube, ich sehe lieber Fußball.“ Nun ist Sandra überrascht: „Ja ja, Fußball, ich weiß, aber heute ist doch ein besonderer Tag!“ „Ein besonderer Tag? Wieso? Heute ist ein ganz normaler Tag“, antwortet Stefano. „Wie bitte?“ fragt Sandra wütend. „Ein ganz normaler Tag? Ich bitte dich, Stefano! Wir sind heute ein Jahr zusammen! Wir haben Jubiläum . . .!“

Oh oh! Jetzt hat Stefano ein Problem. Was macht er nun?? Er überlegt und überlegt und überlegt und überlegt . . . genau! Das ist es: Er geht in den Delikatessenladen und kauft ganz lecker Essen ein. Und Sekt! Und Wein! Und dann macht er das Abendessen! Das ist eine gute Idee . . . und Blumen, Blumen kauft er auch!

Nach dem Abendessen ist Stefanos Freundin superglücklich. „Du“, sagt sie, „was hältst du von einem bisschen Fernsehen? Heute ist doch Fußball!“. Jetzt ist Stefano superglücklich. Es gibt Fußball! Er und seine Freundin sehen zusammen fern. „Also doch ein ganz normaler Tag“, denkt Stefano . . .

(21) Lesson 35*: different input patterns

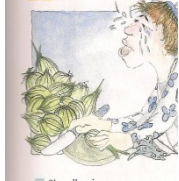



**Topic(s): prohibitions, permissions, and duties (naturalistic syllabus)
daily routines, partnership (traditional syllabus)**

a. Naturalistic syllabus





→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

Comment:

- learners saw pictures or short videos and had to decide which utterance matches best the picture / content of the video⁸⁶
- learners indicated their choice by showing an appropriate answer card
- discussion in plenum afterwards

1		<p>A Sie <u>will</u> <u>weinen</u>.</p> <p>B Sie <u>muss</u> <u>weinen</u>.</p> <p>C Sie <u>soll</u> <u>weinen</u>.</p> <p>D Sie <u>darf</u> <u>weinen</u>.</p>
2		<p>A Hier <u>kann</u> man nicht <u>rauchen</u>.</p> <p>B Hier <u>muss</u> man nicht <u>rauchen</u>.</p> <p>C Hier <u>darf</u> man nicht <u>rauchen</u>.</p> <p>D Hier <u>will</u> man nicht <u>rauchen</u>.</p>
3		<p>A Hier <u>kann</u> man Bungee Jumping <u>machen</u>.</p> <p>B Hier <u>soll</u> man Bungee Jumping <u>machen</u>.</p> <p>C Hier <u>muss</u> man Bungee Jumping <u>machen</u>.</p> <p>D Hier <u>darf</u> man Bungee Jumping <u>machen</u>.</p>
4		<p>A Hier <u>kann</u> man <u>anstehen</u>.</p> <p>B Hier <u>soll</u> man <u>anstehen</u>.</p> <p>C Hier <u>darf</u> man <u>anstehen</u>.</p> <p>D Hier <u>muss</u> man <u>anstehen</u>.</p>

⁸⁶ The idea for the task, as well as picture 1, 5, and 8 is adopted from the textbook *Delfin* (Aufderstraße et al. 2002b).

5		<p>A Sie <u>dürfen</u> bald <u>ertrinken</u>.</p> <p>B Sie <u>möchten</u> bald <u>ertrinken</u>.</p> <p>C Sie <u>können</u> bald <u>ertrinken</u>.</p> <p>D Sie <u>sollen</u> bald <u>ertrinken</u>.</p>
6		<p>A Hier <u>muss</u> man die Schuhe <u>ausziehen</u>.</p> <p>B Hier <u>darf</u> man die Schuhe <u>ausziehen</u>.</p> <p>C Hier <u>kann</u> man die Schuhe <u>ausziehen</u>.</p> <p>D Hier <u>will</u> man die Schuhe <u>ausziehen</u>.</p>
7		<p>A Hier <u>muss</u> man nicht <u>telefonieren</u>.</p> <p>B Hier <u>kann</u> man nicht <u>telefonieren</u>.</p> <p>C Hier <u>möchte</u> man nicht <u>telefonieren</u>.</p> <p>D Hier <u>darf</u> man nicht <u>telefonieren</u>.</p>
8		<p>A Er <u>muss</u> nicht <u>schießen</u>.</p> <p>B Er <u>soll</u> nicht <u>schießen</u>.</p> <p>C Er <u>will</u> nicht <u>schießen</u>.</p> <p>D Er <u>darf</u> nicht <u>schießen</u>.</p>
9	short video	<p>A Der Junge <u>möchte</u> Süßigkeiten <u>haben</u>.</p> <p>B Der Junge <u>darf</u> Süßigkeiten <u>haben</u>.</p> <p>C Der Junge <u>will</u> Süßigkeiten <u>haben</u>.</p> <p>D Der Junge <u>soll</u> Süßigkeiten <u>haben</u>.</p>
10	short video	<p>A Man <u>darf</u> Kondome <u>benutzen</u>.</p> <p>B Man <u>muss</u> Kondome <u>benutzen</u>.</p> <p>C Man <u>soll</u> Kondome <u>benutzen</u>.</p> <p>D Man <u>kann</u> Kondome <u>benutzen</u>.</p>

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 2: S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart

Comment:

- same text as in lesson 34 (see (20), text for traditional syllabus, above)
- learners collected all particle verb constructions of the text and entered them in the table under “1.”, below
- additional exercise (see “2.”, below)
- afterwards: quiz to the text (see “3.”, below)

Ein ganz normaler Tag? – Trennbare Verben

1. Tragt die Sätze mit trennbaren Verben in die Tabelle ein. Bestimmt den Infinitiv!

	Infinitiv	Vorfeld	Position 2	Mittelfeld	Ende
1	aufstehen	<i>Stefano</i>	<u><i>steht</i></u>	<i>lustlos</i>	<u><i>auf</i></u>
2					
3					

etc.

2. Bildet selbst Sätze mit trennbaren Verben!

- Verwendet:** einkaufen (1. Person Plural)
aufräumen (1. Person Singular)
abfahren (3. Person mask. Singular)
vorlesen (3. Person fem. Singular)
aufessen (3. Person neut. Singular)
mitkommen (3. Person Plural)
aufmachen (2. Person Singular)
anfangen (2. Person Plural)

	Infinitiv	Vorfeld	Position 2	Mittelfeld	Ende
1	einkaufen	<i>Mein Freund und ich</i>	<u>kaufen</u>	<i>heute im Super- markt</i>	<u>ein</u>
2					
3					

etc.

3. Quiz – Richtig oder falsch?

1. Um 10.15 Uhr ist ein Seminar in der Uni.
2. Die Vorlesungsräume in Deutschland sind immer warm.
3. Stefanos Hausaufgaben sind schwer.
4. Vor der Vorlesung ruft Stefanos Freundin an.
5. Stefano und seine Freundin telefonieren immer morgens.
6. Stefano und seine Freundin haben heute einjähriges Jubiläum.
7. Stefano lädt seine Freundin zum Essen ein.
8. Stefano kauft im Supermarkt ein.
9. Stefano kauft auch Blumen und ein schönes Buch.
10. Stefano bereitet mit Liebe das Abendessen vor.
11. Nach dem Abendessen sehen Stefano und Sandra fern.
12. Beide sind glücklich.

(22) Lesson 36*: different input patterns

Topic(s): holidays and vacation

Comment:

- learners were equipped with appropriate vocabulary
- using the phrases below, learners played the following game: first learner says the sentence and chooses a destination (XY) as well as a thing (AB) to take with, second learner repeats the complete sentence and adds a second thing (CD) to take with, third learner repeats complete sentence and adds a third thing (EF) to take with, etc.; when list of things is getting to long and cannot be remembered anymore, game starts anew

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

Ich will nach XY fahren und ich muss AB, CD, EF . . . mitnehmen.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 2: S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart

Ich fahre nach XY und ich nehme AB, CD, EF . . . mit.

- (23) Lesson 37/38*:** **different input patterns**
Topic(s): **holidays and vacation (naturalistic syllabus)**
 my day, daily routines (traditional syllabus)

Comment:

- texts used in the naturalistic syllabus here are presented in hour 43/44 of the traditional syllabus
- texts used in the traditional syllabus here are presented in hour 41/42 of the naturalistic syllabus (Note: Texts are written in the present tense for the traditional syllabus (involving S-Vlexfin-O, S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart patterns), but in the present perfect tense for hour 41/42 of the naturalistic syllabus (involving S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf patterns).
- texts of the traditional syllabus are written by other GFL learners; text have been corrected and structurally modified / adapted

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

1. Ich möchte nach Thailand fahren und ich möchte Strandurlaub machen. Strandurlaub ist total toll! Ich kann den ganzen Tag baden, lesen und in der Sonne liegen. Am Abend kann man spazieren gehen und man kann den Sonnenuntergang genießen.

Im Urlaub muss man sich um nichts kümmern. Man muss keine Hausaufgaben machen, nicht einkaufen, nicht abwaschen, nicht die Wohnung aufräumen. Man kann jeden Morgen lange schlafen, im Strandrestaurant frühstücken gehen und abends in der Open-Air-Disko tanzen.

Ich möchte in Thailand schnorcheln und viele bunte Fische sehen. Vielleicht möchte ich auch einen Tauchschein machen. Dann kann ich noch tiefer tauchen und noch viel interessantere Wassertiere sehen!

2. Ich möchte nach Tokio fahren und ich möchte Japan bereisen. Kultururlaub ist total toll! Man kann viele neue Dinge erleben, in Museen gehen, und neues Essen probieren. Am Wochenende kann man auf den Märkten einkaufen und man kann das wahre Leben kennenlernen.

Einen Kultururlaub muss man früh planen. Man muss eine Route festlegen, man muss einen Flug buchen, und man muss sich auch um die Unterkunft kümmern. Oft kann man sich auch vor Ort ein Hotel suchen, aber für die ersten Tage ist eine Reservierung besser. Ich möchte in Japan zum Sumo-Ringen gehen. Die Karten dafür sind sehr teuer. Man kann sie im Internet bestellen. Ich möchte das auf jeden Fall machen!

3. Ich möchte nach Südamerika fahren und ich möchte Wanderurlaub machen. Wanderurlaub ist total toll! Ich kann den ganzen Tag an der frischen Luft sein, die Natur bestaunen, und mich bewegen. Am Abend kann man ein Lagerfeuer machen, mit anderen Wanderern quatschen, und in der Nacht kann man in einer Hütte schlafen.

Für einen Wanderurlaub muss man gut ausgerüstet sein. Man muss die richtige Kleidung und die richtigen Schuhe haben und man muss immer Wasser und etwas zu essen bei sich haben. Man kann sich hier gut in Outdoor-Läden beraten lassen.

In Südamerika möchte ich auf einen über 3500 m hohen Berg steigen. Ich möchte mich einer Wandergruppe anschließen. Allein ist das vielleicht etwas gefährlich, aber mit anderen Leuten zusammen kann ich mir das sehr gut vorstellen!

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 2: S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart

Mein Tag - Tagesablauf

1. Studentin aus Bergamo nach 60 Stunden Intensivkurs

Am Montag stehe ich um 5.30 Uhr auf. Ich dusche. Dann frühstücke ich und ich esse Kekse. Danach fahre ich mit dem Bus nach Lecco und ich komme um 6.30 Uhr an. Später fahre ich mit dem Zug weiter nach Bergamo und ich gehe zu Fuß in die „Citta Alta“. Um 9.00 Uhr lerne ich Deutsch und um 12.30 Uhr gehe ich zur „Piazza Vecchia“. Ich esse ein Sandwich mit Schinken und ich trinke Wasser. Am Nachmittag lerne ich wieder Deutsch und um 16.15 fahre ich mit dem Zug nach Lecco. Ich komme um 17.30 zu Hause an. Ich esse mit meiner Mutter und meiner Schwester und ich telefoniere mit meinen Freunden. Dann mache ich meine Hausaufgaben und um 22.00 Uhr schlafe ich.

2. Studentin aus Pavia nach 5 Jahren Deutsch in der Schule und 30 Stunden Unterricht an der Uni Pavia (Nivea A1)

An diesem Morgen stehe ich um 7.15 Uhr auf. Um 8.00 Uhr fahre ich mit meiner Freundin nach Pavia in die Universität und studiere dort. Von 9 bis 11 Uhr studiere ich Linguistik und danach habe ich 2 Stunden frei. Ich kopiere und ich quatsche mit meinen Freunden. Um 12.30 esse ich in der Mensa. Dann lerne ich Deutsch. Um 17.00 Uhr komme ich zu Hause an und um 20.00 Uhr esse ich mit meiner Familie. Um 21.00 Uhr treffe ich meine Freunde. Wir hören Musik und wir spielen Computer.

3. Studentin aus Pavia nach 5 Jahren Deutsch in der Schule und 10 Stunden Unterricht an der Uni Pavia (Nivea A2)

Am Freitag bin ich hier in Pavia. Ich verbringe den ganzen Vormittag in der Universität und habe sehr viel Unterricht. Dann esse ich zu Hause Mittag und später kaufe ich zusammen mit einer Freundin von mir ein. Um 17.00 Uhr trinken wir einen Tee in einem schönen Cafe und dann gehen wir wieder nach Hause zurück. Um 20.00 Uhr fahre ich mit dem Zug nach Aosta (meine Geburtsstadt) und esse dann mit meinen Eltern zu Abend. Danach sehen wir einen guten Film. Um 23.30 Uhr schlafe ich schon.

4. Studentin aus Pavia nach 5 Jahren Deutsch in der Schule und 10 Stunden Unterricht an der Uni Pavia (Nivea A2)

Am Montag wache ich um 7.00 Uhr auf. Frühstück und dann los zur Uni! Der Morgen ist sehr voll und ich lerne viele neue Sachen. Um 13 Uhr ist die Müdigkeit nicht klein . . . ein Brötchen und eine Cola und wieder ab zur Uni! Um 16.00 Uhr endet meine Arbeit in der Uni und ich fahre nach Hause. Dann trinke ich meinen fünften oder sechsten Kaffee des Tages und ich mache meine Deutschhausaufgaben. Am Abend ruft mein Freund an und wir sprechen fast 2 Stunden miteinander. Um 22.00 Uhr gehe ich schon ins Bett.

- (24) Lesson 41/42*:** **different input patterns**
Topic(s): **my day, daily routines (naturalistic syllabus)**
 professions and professional life (traditional syllabus)

Comment (on naturalistic syllabus):

- structurally adapted version of texts used in hour 37/38 of the traditional syllabus (see (23), above)
- texts are written by other GFL learners; text have been corrected and structurally modified / adapted

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 4: S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf

Mein Tag - Tagesablauf

1. Studentin aus Bergamo nach 60 Stunden Intensivkurs

Am Montag bin ich um 5.30 Uhr aufgestanden. Ich habe geduscht. Dann habe ich gefrühstückt und Kekse gegessen. Danach bin ich mit dem Bus nach Lecco gefahren und ich bin um 6.30 Uhr angekommen. Später bin ich mit dem Zug nach Bergamo gefahren und ich bin zu Fuß nach „Citta Alta“ gegangen. Um 9.00 Uhr habe ich Deutsch gelernt und um 12.30 Uhr bin ich zur „Piazza Vecchia“ gegangen. Ich habe ein Sandwich mit Schinken gegessen und ich habe Wasser getrunken. Am Nachmittag habe ich Deutsch gelernt und um 16.15 bin ich mit dem Zug nach Lecco gefahren. Ich bin um 17.30 Uhr zu Hause angekommen. Ich habe mit meiner Mutter und meiner Schwester gegessen und ich habe mit meinen Freunden telefoniert. Dann habe ich meine Hausaufgaben gemacht und um 22.00 Uhr habe ich geschlafen.

2. Studentin aus Pavia nach 5 Jahren Deutsch in der Schule und 30 Stunden Unterricht an der Uni Pavia (Nivea A1)

Heute Morgen bin ich um 7.15 Uhr aufgestanden. Um 8.00 Uhr bin ich mit meiner Freundin in die Universität nach Pavia gefahren um zu studieren. Von 9 bis 11 Uhr habe ich Linguistik studiert und danach habe ich 2 Stunden frei gehabt. Ich habe kopiert und ich habe mit meinen Freunden gequatscht.

Um 12.30 habe ich in der Mensa gegessen. Dann habe ich Deutsch gelernt. Um 17.00 Uhr bin ich zu Hause angekommen und um 20.00 Uhr habe ich mit meiner Familie gegessen. Um 21.00 Uhr habe ich meine Freunde getroffen. Wir haben Musik gehört und Computer gespielt.

3. Studentin aus Pavia nach 5 Jahren Deutsch in der Schule und 10 Stunden Unterricht an der Uni Pavia (Nivea A2)

Am Freitag bin ich hier in Pavia gewesen. Ich habe den ganzen Vormittag in der Universität verbracht und sehr viel Unterricht gehabt. Dann habe ich zu Hause Mittag gegessen und habe später zusammen mit einer Freundin von mir eingekauft. Um 17.00 Uhr haben wir einen Tee in einem schönen Cafe getrunken und dann sind wir nach Hause zurück gegangen. Um 20.00 Uhr bin ich mit dem Zug nach Aosta (meine Geburtsstadt) gefahren und habe dann mit meinen Eltern zu Abend gegessen und einen guten Film gesehen. Um 23.30 Uhr habe ich schon geschlafen.

4. Studentin aus Pavia nach 5 Jahren Deutsch in der Schule und 10 Stunden Unterricht an der Uni Pavia (Nivea A2)

Am Montag bin ich um 7.00 Uhr aufgewacht. Frühstück und dann los zur Uni! Der Morgen ist sehr voll gewesen und ich habe viele neue Sachen gelernt. Um 13 Uhr ist die Müdigkeit nicht klein gewesen . . . ein Brötchen und eine Cola und wieder ab zur Uni! Um 16.00 Uhr hat meine Arbeit in der Uni geendet und ich bin nach Hause gefahren. Dann habe ich den fünften oder sechsten Kaffee des Tages getrunken und dann habe ich meine Deutschhausaufgaben gemacht. Am Abend hat mein Freund angerufen und wir haben fast 2 Stunden miteinander gesprachen. Um 22.00 Uhr bin ich schon ins Bett gegangen.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

Texts presented to the learners⁸⁷:

1. Ich bin Informatikerin. Ich arbeite seit zwei Jahren bei der Spedition Höhne. Ich schreibe Programme für die Firma und pflege die Homepage. Ich muss Kollegen bei Computerproblemen helfen und berate die Firma beim Kauf von Computern.

Die Arbeit ist interessant und macht Spaß. Ich kann selbstständig arbeiten. Wir haben im Büro Gleitzeit. Von 9 bis 3 Uhr müssen alle da sein. Man kann aber schon um 7 kommen und wir können bis 8 Uhr abends arbeiten. Manchmal habe ich am Wochenende Bereitschaftsdienst. Dann muss ich immer das Handy dabeihaben. Bei Computerproblemen muss ich sofort in die Firma. Das Gehalt ist nicht schlecht. Netto sind es etwa 1900 Euro im Monat.

2. Die Arbeit ist ganz o.k. Die Kollegen sind nett. Ich will viel unterwegs sein. Als Elektriker muss ich oft auf eine andere Baustelle. Das finde ich gut. Man kann immer neue Kollegen kennen lernen. Wir fangen morgens um sieben an und arbeiten bis vier. Im Sommer stehe ich gern früh auf, dann ist der Tag lang, aber im Winter ist es manchmal hart. Wir haben die 35-Stunden-Woche. Manchmal müssen wir Überstunden machen. Das Geld? Na ja, es geht: elf Euro Stundenlohn. Ich möchte in zwei Jahren die Meisterprüfung machen, dann verdiene ich auch mehr. In fünf Jahren will ich eine eigene Firma haben. Hoffentlich klappt es!

3. Den Job mache ich seit zwei Jahren. Eigentlich bin ich Verkäuferin. Jetzt putze ich Büros. Die Arbeit ist schwer und langweilig. Aber ich bin lieber „Raumpflegerin“ als arbeitslos. Mein Mann und ich arbeiten für eine Zeitarbeitsfirma. Die Bezahlung ist schlecht. Sieben Euro die Stunde. Die Arbeitszeit wechselt oft. Zurzeit arbeite ich von 16 Uhr bis 20 Uhr. Mein Mann will immer aus Deutschland weg. In Amerika, sagt er, da ist alles besser. Da hat jeder eine Chance. Aber in Amerika musst du auch Glück haben. Ich will hier bleiben und der Sohn und die Tochter auch. In der Weststadt gibt es bald einen neuen Supermarkt. Vielleicht kann ich da später arbeiten.

⁸⁷ The texts stem from the textbook *Berliner Platz 1* (Lemcke et al. 2005).

(25) Lesson 43 / 44*: different input patterns
Topic(s): family life and pets (naturalistic syllabus)
holidays and vacation (traditional syllabus)

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 4: S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf

Comment (on naturalistic syllabus)⁸⁸:

- learners listen to sound file
- learners decide which text goes best with the situation presented in the sound file
- other activities: learners write a short essay about the day of their dreams, using the present perfect, i.e. auxiliary constructions

Comment (on traditional syllabus):

- learners are presented with three texts on holidays
- learners write a short essay about the holiday of their dreams, using modal verbs

Guten Morgen, Hasso!

Welcher Text passt?

1. Heute Morgen um sieben hat der Wecker geklingelt. Dann ist der Hund ins Schlafzimmer gekommen und in unser Bett gesprungen. Ich bin noch müde gewesen. Mein Mann hat Hunger gehabt. Er ist aufgestanden und in die Küche gegangen. Dort hat er Brötchen gesucht, aber er hat keine gefunden. Deshalb ist unsere Tochter zum Bäcker gegangen und hat Brötchen gekauft. Dann haben wir alle zusammen gefrühstückt.

2. Heute Morgen um sieben ist der Hund ins Schlafzimmer gekommen. Er ist in unser Bett gesprungen. Unsere Tochter ist auch da gewesen. Sie hat Hunger gehabt. Dann ist Hasso weggegangen. Ich bin noch müde gewesen und bin im Bett geblieben. Mein Mann und unsere Tochter sind in die Küche gegangen und haben das Frühstück gemacht. Dann hat mein Mann die Brötchen gesucht. Aber die Brötchen hat Hasso gefressen.

⁸⁸ The exercise is adopted from the textbook *Delfin* (Aufderstraße et al. 2002b). The texts have been partially modified.

3. Heute Morgen um sieben ist unsere Tochter ins Schlafzimmer gekommen. Sie hat Hunger gehabt, aber mein Mann und ich sind noch müde gewesen. Wir sind im Bett geblieben. Da hat unsere Tochter den Hund geweckt und ist mit ihm in die Küche gegangen. Im Regal hat sie Brötchen gefunden. Dann hat sie mit Hasso gefrühstückt.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

same materials as used in hour 37/38 of the naturalistic syllabus (see (23), above)

- (26) Lesson 47/48*:** **different input patterns**
Topic(s): **day of my dreams (naturalistic syllabus)**
 permissions, prohibitions, and duties; situations of
 everyday life (traditional syllabus)

Comment (naturalistic syllabus):

- learners discuss and correct their texts *Mein Traumtag*, written in hour 43/44 and completed at home
- group work (three learners)
- in case of doubt, teacher could be consulted
- final correction of all texts by teacher afterwards

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 4: S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf

For reasons of limited space, only three of the texts written by the learners are quoted here. The texts are presented in their original first version, i.e. in the version they have been handed out to the learners at the beginning of lesson 47 before any corrections had been undertaken.

Text 1

Ich bin um 9 aufgewacht und meine Freund Andrea hat das Frühstück zu Bett gebracht. Ich habe halbe Stunde gebadet und ich bin in aller Ruhe angezogen. Ich bin mit meinen Freunde ein fotografich Ausstellung sehen. Um 13 habe ich in ein Gasthaus gegessen und an Stunden bin ich in einen Gartenanlagen gesessen. Am Nachmittag bin ich nach einem Plattesgeschäfte mit Andrea gegangen, dann bin ich in einen Buchladen gelblieben. Um 17 wir haben eine Schokolade getrunken, dann wir in eine Altkleidersammlung gegangen und ich habe zwei Kleider, einen Wintermantel und ein Paar Lederstiefel gekauft. Um 20 wir haben mit unsere Freunde und wir haben in ein spanisch Restaurant gegessen. Um 22.30 wir haben neusteren Film von Haneke sehen gegangen. Dann wir haben über den Film gespröchen wenn wir sind gerade nach Hause gegangen. Bevor schlafen ich habe eine Stunde gelesen.

Text 2

Mein Traumtag

Morgen bin ich, wann hat Sonne Licht quer Fenster eingetreten, aufgewacht. Sofort hat eine Freundin Frühstück gebracht mit Orange Saft und ein toast. Ich habe gegessen und aufgestanden. Ich habe geduscht mit heiß wasser. Ich habe elegant angezogen und ich bin Arbeit gefahren mit Fahrrad. Ich bin ein Forscher verändert. Am Mittag bin ich Haus gefahren und ich habe ein Beefsteak mit Kartoffeln gegessen. Ich bin Arbeit gefahren während ich habe ein Freund getroffen und ich habe Abendessen eingeladent. Nach Arbeit bin ich ins Ringschule gefahren und in Haus gefahren. Ich habe geduscht. Ich habe Abendessen gekocht weil ich habe Gast. Wir habe all Abend gesprachen.

Text 3

Heute Morgen ich bin um 11.00 Uhr aufgewacht. Dann habe ich meinen Aktienkurse gesehen. Von 12 bis 13 Uhr bin ich gelaufen und danach bin ich in meine Schwimmbad geschwommen. Um 14.00 Uhr habe ich Milsch mit Frühstücksflocken gegessen und danach habe ich meine Eichhörnche ernährt. Von 15 bis 18 Uhr ich habe studiert und gelesen. Am abend haben meinen Freunden bei meine Hause gekommen. In meine Terrasse wir haben Grill gegessen und viel Bier getrunken. Am 2.00 wir sind betrunken und glücklich geschlafen.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

same materials as used in hour 35 of the naturalistic syllabus (see (21), above)

(27) Lesson 51/52*: different input patterns

Topic(s): my day, daily routines

Comment:

- learners are confronted with texts they already know; however, the texts are written in different tenses, which results in different word order patterns
- naturalistic syllabus: formerly present perfect (= SVOV with auxiliaries), now present tense (SVOV with particle verbs and SVO with lexical verbs)
- traditional syllabus: formerly present tense (SVOV with particle verbs and SVO with lexical verbs), now present perfect (= SVOV with auxiliaries)

a. Naturalistic syllabus

- Acquisition step: 5: S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart
6: S-Vlexfin-O

same materials as used in hour 37/38 of the traditional syllabus (see (23), above)

b. Traditional syllabus

- Acquisition step: 4: S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf

same materials as used in hour 41/42 of the naturalistic syllabus (see (24), above)

(28) Lesson 53*: different input patterns

**Topic(s): professions and professional life (naturalistic syllabus)
family life & pets (traditional syllabus)**

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 5: S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart
6: S-Vlexfin-O

same materials as used in hour 41/42 of the traditional syllabus (see (24), above)

Antwortbogen⁸⁹

zu Text 1 – Richtig oder falsch?

- a. Sabine Schütz hilft den Kollegen bei Problemen.
- b. Der Chef gibt ihr immer ganz genaue Anweisungen.
- c. Bei der Firma Höhne arbeiten alle von 8 bis 17 Uhr.
- d. Sabine arbeitet nie am Wochenende.
- e. Sabine hilft beim Kauf von Computern.

Fragen zu Text 2 und 3

- a. Wie viel verdienen Alvaro und Maxi in der Stunde?
- b. Wie viele Stunden müssen sie in der Woche arbeiten?
- c. Von wann bis wann arbeiten sie jeden Tag?
- d. Ist Maxis Mann gern in Deutschland?
- e. Wo möchten Maxi und die Kinder leben und wo ihr Mann?

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 4: S-Vauxfin-O-Vinf

same materials as used in hour 43/44 of the naturalistic syllabus (see (25), above)

⁸⁹ Just like the corresponding texts, the items used in the answer sheet are taken from the textbook *Berliner Platz1* (Lemcke et al. 2005).

(29) Lesson 54-1*:different input patterns

Topic(s): **day of my dreams (naturalistic syllabus)**
 holiday of my dreams (traditional syllabus)
 (How good do you know your classmates?)

Comment:

- for each learner, teacher selects one statement made in the text *Mein Traumtag / Mein Traumurlaub* (to be written in class in hour 43/44 and finished at home)
- learners have to guess which statement comes from which classmate

a. Naturalistic syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 5: S-Vlexfin-O-Vpart
 6: S-Vlexfin-O

1. Ich stehe erst um 12 Uhr auf.
2. Ich schlafe schon um 22 Uhr ein.
3. Ich gehe zusammen mit meinen Freunden aus.
4. Ich gewinne eine Karatemeisterschaft.
5. Ich wandere stundenlang durch die Natur.
6. Ich grille mit Freunden auf meiner Terrasse.
7. Wir kaufen zusammen in einer Enoteca ein.
8. Ich sitze lange auf einer Bank im Garten.
9. Ich kaufe eine schöne Tasche.
10. Ich lese ein schönes Buch.
11. Ich sehe mir einen alten Film an.
12. Ich spiele 2 Stunden lang Computer.
13. Ich gehe in die Bibliothek.
14. Ich koche eine Paella.
15. Ich nehme meinen Hund in die Uni mit.
16. Ich fahre den ganzen Tag Ski.

b. Traditional syllabus

→ Acquisition step: 3: S-Vmodfin-O-Vinf

1. Ich möchte einen Schneemann bauen.
2. Ich kann stundenlang im Meer schwimmen.
3. Ich will mit Freunden eine große Party feiern.
4. Ich kann in Ruhe Computer programmieren.
5. Ich kann den ganzen Tag träumen.
6. Ich möchte im Grand Hotel übernachten.
7. Ich kann Fußball spielen.
8. Ich möchte viele Fotos machen.
9. Ich will meine Freundin in der Schweiz besuchen.
10. Ich möchte jeden Abend Fleisch grillen.
11. Wir können viel Bier trinken.
12. Ich möchte nach San Francisco fahren.
13. Ich möchte schöne Klamotten einkaufen.
14. Ich kann jeden Tag eine Stunde laufen.

Appendix D: Participants and participation in tests

The following tables show the main biographical information for the participants of the classroom study as well as for the native control group. For each participant, the sex, age, L2s, and the field of study are specified. Furthermore, it is indicated which tests have been completed and whether the participant belongs to the core group or to the extended group.

In these tables, ‘f’ stands for ‘feminine’ and ‘m’ for ‘masculine’. Furthermore, ‘En’ stands for ‘English’, ‘Fr’ for ‘French’, ‘Sp’ for ‘Spanish’, and ‘La’ for ‘Latin’. An ‘x’ indicates that the participant has passed the relevant test and ‘-’ means that the test was not completed. As to the groups, ‘C’ stands for ‘core’ and ‘E’ for ‘extended’.

Table D1: Information about the test group participants

Ppt	Acronym	Sex	Age	L2s	Field of study	SP1	SP2	SP3	SP4	AN1	AN2	EI1	EI2	Gr
01	ALM	f	21	En, La	Law	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
02	ARI	f	23	En, La	Medicine	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	E
03	CAR	m	24	En, Fr, La	Engineering	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	E
04	CEC	f	21	En, Fr, La	Biomedical sciences	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
05	CRI	f	25	En, La	Chemistry	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
06	DAN	m	23	En, Sp, La	Engineering	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
07	EDO	m	24	En, Sp, La	Law	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	E
08	ELP	f	22	En, La	Financial management	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	E
09	ELT	f	23	En, Fr, La	Business management	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	E
10	FEB	m	20	En, La	Financial management	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	E
11	FEN	m	21	En, La	European History	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	E
12	FRA	m	25	En, Fr, La	Law	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	E
13	GIA	m	19	En, Fr, La	Business management	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	E
14	ILA	f	26	En, Sp, La	Medicine	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	E
15	IVA	m	24	En, La	Pharmacy	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
16	LAR	f	25	En, La	Law	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
17	LOR	m	25	En, La	Psychology	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	E
18	LUC	f	22	En, Sp, La	Medicine	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	E
19	MAR	f	22	En, La	Philosophy	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	E
20	MIC	m	25	En, Fr, La	Medicine	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	E
21	NIC	m	22	En, Fr, La	Antiquity studies	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
22	PAT	f	28	En, La	History	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C

Table D2: Information about the control group participants

Ppt	Acronym	Sex	Age	L2s	Field of study	SP1	SP2	SP3	SP4	AN1	AN2	EI1	EI2	Gr
31	ALE	m	25	En, La	Law	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	E
32	ALF	m	26	En, La	Biomedical sciences	x	x	X	-	x	-	x	-	E
33	AFI	f	21	En, Fr, La	Financial management	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	E
34	CHI	f	22	En, Fr, La	Architecture	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
35	CLA	f	23	En, La	Business management	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
36	CLU	m	25	En, Fr, La	Law	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
37	ELE	f	23	En, Fr, La	Antiquity studies	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	E
38	FRI	m	21	En, La	Physics	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
39	LAU	f	21	En, Fr, La	Medicine	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
40	PAB	m	22	En, Sp, La	Biology	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	E
41	PAO	m	24	En, La	History	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	E
42	RAF	f	25	En, Fr, La	Medicine	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	E
43	RIC	m	20	En, La	Medicine	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C
44	RON	m	21	En, La	Law	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	E
45	SAR	f	23	En, Sp, La	Chemistry	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	E
46	SIM	m	31	En, La	Computer science	x	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	C
47	STA	m	22	En, Sp, La	Biology	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	E
48	STE	f	34	En, La	Chemistry	x	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	C
49	TAM	f	22	En, Sp, La	Philosophy	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	E
50	TOM	m	23	En, Fr, La	Business management	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	E
51	VIN	m	24	En, La	Engineering	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	E

Table D3: Information about the native German control group participants

Ppt	Acronym	Sex	Age	L2s	Field of study	SP test	AN task
100	AND	m	24	En, Fr	Mathematics	x	x
101	DOR	f	22	En, Fr, La	Medicine	x	x
102	FRA	f	27	En, Fr	Law	x	x
102	MAR	m	25	En, Fr	Mathematics	x	x
104	MAN	f	25	En, Fr, La	History	x	x
105	ROB	m	25	En, Fr	Mathematics	x	x
106	SAB	f	31	En, Fr, Sp	Biology	x	x
107	STI	f	23	En, Fr	Cultural studies	x	x
108	TIM	m	26	En, Fr, La	Medicine	x	x
109	ZAR	m	23	En, Fr	Mathematics	x	x

Appendix E: Test materials and items

E1 Sentence puzzle test

E1.1 Sentence puzzle test 1

Puzzle tedesco

1. Costruite, per favore, 4 frasi tedesche usando le seguenti parole! Usate tutte le parole e usate ogni parola soltanto una volta. Attenzione: Ci sono soluzioni varie. Ne scegliete una!

‘Please form 4 German sentences using the following words! Use all the words but use each word only once. Attention: There are different possible solutions. Just choose one!’

aus (*da*) ‘from’ – deutscher (*tedesco*) ‘German’ – Deutschland (*Germania*) ‘Germany’ – ein (*un*) ‘a’ – Gianna – Gianni – in (*in*) ‘in’ – ist (*è*) ‘is’ – ist (*è*) ‘is’ – Italien (*Italia*) ‘Italy’ – Italienerin (*italiana*) ‘Italian’ – kommt (*viene*) ‘comes’ – lebt (*vive*) ‘lives’ – Name (*nome*) ‘name’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – Paul – Paula

– empty space for solutions –

2. Costruite, per favore, 4 frasi tedesche usando le seguenti parole! Usate tutte le parole e usate ogni parola soltanto una volta. Attenzione: Ci sono soluzioni varie. Ne scegliete una!

‘Please form 4 German sentences using the following words! Use all the words but use each word only once. Attention: There are different possible solutions. Just choose one!’

abwaschen (*lavare*) ‘wash the dishes’ – darf (*può*) ‘is allowed to’ – darf (*può*) ‘is allowed to’ – das Mädchen (*la ragazza*) ‘the girl’ – den Film (*il film*) ‘the film’ – der Junge (*il ragazzo*) ‘the boy’ – der Mann (*l’uomo*) ‘the man’ – die Frau (*la donna*) ‘the woman’ – die Teller (*i piatti*) ‘the plates’ – einen (*una*) ‘a’ – gehen (*andare*) ‘go’ – ins Kino (*al cinema*) ‘to the cinema’ – kaufen (*comprare*) ‘buy’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – Rock (*gonna*) ‘skirt’ – roten (*rossa*) ‘red’ – sehen (*vedere*) ‘watch’ – will (*vuole*) ‘wants to’ – will (*voule*) ‘wants to’

– empty space for solutions –

3. Costruite, per favore, 4 frasi tedesche usando le seguenti parole! Usate tutte le parole e usate ogni parola soltanto una volta. Attenzione: Ci sono soluzioni varie. Ne scegliete una!

'Please form 4 German sentences using the following words! Use all the words but use each word only once. Attention: There are different possible solutions. Just choose one!'

der Sohn (*il figlio*) 'the son' – der Vater (*il padre*) 'the father' – den Apfel (*la mela*) 'the apple' – die Mutter (*la madre*) 'the mother' – die Tochter (*la figlia*) 'the daughter' – ein Handy (*un cellulare*) 'a cellphone' – gegangen (*andata*) 'gone' – gegessen (*mangiato*) 'eaten' – gefahren (*andato*) 'gone' – gekauft (*comprato*) 'bought' – hat (*ha*) 'has' – hat (*ha*) 'has' – ins Theater (*al teatro*) 'to the theater' – ist (*è*) 'is' – ist (*è*) 'is' – nach (*in*) 'to' – nicht (*non*) 'not' – nicht (*non*) 'not' – Österreich (*Austria*) 'Austria'

– empty space for solutions –

E1.2 Sentence puzzle test 2

Puzzle tedesco 2

Costruite, per favore, 12 frasi tedesche (4 per blocco) usando le seguenti parole!

Usate **tutte le parole** e usatele soltanto **una volta**.

(Attenzione: Ci sono soluzioni varie. Ne scegliete una!)

‘Please form 12 German sentences (4 per block) using the following words!

Use all the words but use each word only once.

(Attention: There are different possible solutions. Just choose one!)

Blocco 1 ‘block 1’

der Lehrer (l’insegnante) ‘the teacher’ – die Lehrerin (l’insegnante) ‘the teacher’ – ist (è) ‘is’ – ist (è) ‘is’ – lebt (*vive*) ‘lives’ – in (a) ‘in’ – in (in) ‘in’ – Lehrer (insegnante) ‘teacher’ – Mailand ‘Milan’ – Marina – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – Spanien (la Spagna) ‘Spain’ – Thomas – Verkäuferin (venditrice) ‘shop assistant’ – wohnt (abita) ‘lives’

– empty space for solutions –

Blocco 2 ‘block 2’

das Kind (il ragazzo / la ragazza) ‘the child’ – das Kind (il ragazzo / la ragazza) ‘the child’ – den Apfel (la mela) ‘the apple’ – Deutsch (tedesco) ‘German’ – die Studenten (gli studenti) ‘the students’ – die Tasche (la borsa) ‘the bag’ – essen (mangiare) ‘eat’ – fahren (andare) ‘go’ – ins Ausland (all’estero) ‘abroad’ – kann (può) ‘can’ – können (possono) ‘can’ – Maria – nicht (non) ‘not’ – nicht (non) ‘not’ – parlare (sprechen) ‘speak’ – schwere (pesante) ‘heavy’ – tragen (portare) ‘carry’ – will (*vuole*) ‘want’ – will (*voule*) ‘want’

– empty space for solutions –

Blocco 3 ‘block 3’

Amerika ‘America’ – der Student (lo studente) ‘the student’ – der Lehrer (l’insegnante) ‘the teacher’ – den Text (il testo) ‘the text’ – die Familie (la famiglia) ‘the family’ – die Studentin (la studentessa) ‘the student’ – Essen (il cibo) ‘food’ – gelesen (letto) ‘read’ – gefahren (*andato*) ‘gone’ – gekauft (comprato) ‘bought’ – gekommen (venuto) ‘come’ – leckeres (delizioso) ‘delicious’ – hat (*ha*) ‘has’ – hat (*ha*) ‘has’ – ist (*è*) ‘is’ – ist (*è*) ‘is’ – nach (*in*) ‘to’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – pünktlich (puntuale) ‘on time’ – zum Unterricht (alla lezione) ‘to the lesson’

– empty space for solutions –

E1.3 Sentence puzzle test 3

Puzzle tedesco 3

Costruite, per favore, 12 frasi tedesche (4 per blocco) usando le seguenti parole!

Usate **tutte le parole** e usatele soltanto **una volta**.

(Attenzione: Ci sono soluzioni varie. Ne scegliete una!)

‘Please form 12 German sentences (4 per block) using the following words!

Use all the words but use each word only once.

(Attention: There are different possible solutions. Just choose one!)

Blocco 1 ‘block 1’

Antonio – Antonio – ist (è) ‘is’ – lernt (*apprende*) ‘studies’ – Hans und Maria – Hans und Maria – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – Pharmazie (*farmacia*) ‘pharmacy’ – Russe (*russo*) ‘Russian’ – russisch (*russo*) ‘Russian’ – sind (*sono*) ‘are’ – Studenten (*studenti*) ‘students’ – studieren (*studiano*) ‘study’

– empty space for solutions –

Blocco 2 ‘block 2’

das Mädchen (*la ragazza*) ‘the girl’ – die Eltern (*i genitori*) ‘the parents’ – die Großeltern (*i nonni*) ‘the grandparents’ – die Küche (*la cucina*) ‘the kitchen’ – die Mutter (*la madre*) ‘the mother’ – einen Tee (*un tè*) ‘a tea’ – Fußball (*calcio*) ‘football’ – Gedichte (*poesie*) ‘poems’ – gut (*bene*) ‘good’ – kann (*può*) ‘can’ – können (*possono*) ‘can’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – putzen (*pulire*) ‘clean’ – schreiben (*scrivere*) ‘write’ – spielen (*giocare*) ‘play’ – trinken (*bere*) ‘drink’ – warmen (*caldo*) ‘warm’ – will (*voule*) ‘want’ – wollen (*vogliono*) ‘want’

– empty space for solutions –

Blocco 3 ‘block 3’

angekommen (*arrivato*) ‘arrived’ – auf die Erde (*a terra*) ‘onto the ground’ – das Eis (*il gelato*) ‘the ice cream’ – der Zug (*il treno*) ‘the train’ – den Zug (*il treno*) ‘the train’ – die Oma (*la nonna*) ‘the grandma’ – die Touristen (*le turiste*) ‘the tourists’ – einen Spaziergang (*una passeggiata*) ‘a walk’ – gefallen (*caduto*) ‘fallen’ – gemacht (*fatto*) ‘made’ – haben (*hanno*) ‘have’ – hat (*ha*) ‘has’ – ist (*è*) ‘is’ – ist (*è*) ‘is’ – lang (*lunga*) ‘long’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – nicht (*non*) ‘not’ – pünktlich (*puntuale*) ‘on time’ – verpasst (*perso*) ‘misses’

– empty space for solutions –

E1.4 Sentence puzzle test 4

Puzzle tedesco 4

Costruite, per favore, 12 frasi tedesche (4 per blocco) usando le seguenti parole!

Usate **tutte le parole** e usatele soltanto **una volta**.

(Attenzione: Ci sono soluzioni varie. Ne scegliete una!)






‘Please form 12 German sentences (4 per block) using the following words!






Use all the words but use each word only once.

(Attention: There are different possible solutions. Just choose one!)

As explicated in Subsection 3.3.3.1 of this thesis, the items of sentence puzzle test 4 were identical to those of sentence puzzle test 1. Thus, for the items of each block, see Appendix E1.1, paragraph 1.-3.

E2 Activity naming task 1 and 2

No	Stimulus picture	Expected answers	
1		Auto car fahren drive-INF (fährt drive-3SG	fahren drive-INF Auto car Auto) car
2		Fußball football spielen play-INF (spielen play-3PL	spielen play-INF Fußball football Fußball) football
3		Essen food kochen prepare-INF (kochen prepare-3PL	kochen prepare-INF Essen food Essen) food
4		Buch book lesen read-INF (liest read-3SG	lesen read-INF Buch book Buch) book
5		Bier beer trinken drink-INF (trinken drink-3PL	trinken drink-INF Bier beer Bier) beer

No	Stimulus picture	Expected answers	
6		Karten cards spielen play-INF (spielen play-3PL	spielen play-INF Karten cards (Karten) cards
7		Kuchen cake backen bake-INF (backt bake-3SG	backen bake-INF Kuchen cake (Kuchen) cake
8		Pizza pizza essen eat-INF (essen eat-3PL	essen eat-INF Pizza pizza (Pizza) pizza
9		Musik music hören listen-INF (hört listen-3SG	hören listen-INF Musik music (Musik) music
10		Brief letter schreiben write-INF (schreibt write-3SG	schreiben write-INF Brief letter (Brief) letter

E3 Elicited imitation task

E3.1 Elicited imitation task 1

Condition 1: S-Vmodfin-O-Vlexinf

1	Die Frau	will	eine Pizza	essen.
	the woman	want-3SG	a pizza	eat-INF
2	Der Polizist	will	den Film	sehen.
	the policeman	want-3SG	the film	watch-INF
3	Der Junge	kann	Fußball	spielen.
	the boy	can-3SG	football	play-INF
4	Der Student	kann	Texte	schreiben.
	the student	can-3SG	texts	write-INF

Condition 2: S-Vmodfin-Vlexinf-O

5	Die Frau	will	kaufen	eine Tasche.
	the woman	want-3SG	buy-INF	a bag
6	Der Polizist	will	lesen	ein Buch.
	the policeman	want-3SG	read-INF	a book
7	Der Junge	kann	kochen	Suppe.
	the boy	can-3SG	cook-INF	soup
8	Der Student	kann	sprechen	Spanisch.
	the student	can-3SG	speak	Spanish

Condition 3: S-Vmodfin-Neg-O-Vinf

9	Der Vater	will	nicht	Karten	spielen.
	the father	want-3SG	not	cards	play-INF
10	Der Vater	kann	nicht	Russisch	sprechen.
	the father	can-3SG	not	Russian	speak-INF

Condition 4: S-Neg-Vmodfin-Vlexinf-O

11	Das Mädchen	nicht	will	trinken	Wein.
	the girl	not	want-3SG	drink-INF	wine
12	Das Mädchen	nicht	kann	backen	Kuchen.
	the girl	not	can-3SG	bake-INF	cake

Condition 5: S-Vmodfin-Vlexinf-Neg-O

13	Der Opa	will	hören	nicht	Musik.
	the grandpa	want-3SG	listen-INF	not	music
14	Der Opa	kann	spielen	nicht	Gitarre.
	the grandpa	can-3SG	play-INF	not	guitar

E3.2 Elicited imitation task 2

Condition 1: S-Vmodfin/auxfin-O-Vlexinf

1	Das kleine Mädchen	will	einen Rock	haben.
	the little girl	want-3SG	a skirt	have-INF
2	Die schöne Frau	kann	gut Auto	fahren.
	the beautiful woman	can-3SG	good car	drive-INF
3	Der alte Opa	hat	Karten	gespielt.
	the old grandpa	have-3SG	cards	play-PP
4	Die junge Frau	hat	ein Eis	gekauft.
	the young woman	have-3SG	an ice cream	buy-PP

Condition 2: S-Vmodfin/auxfin-Vlexinf-O

5	Der kleine Junge	will	essen	ein Steak.
	the little boy	want-3SG	eat-INF	a steak
6	Die junge Frau	will	schreiben	einen Brief.
	the young woman	want-3SG	write-INF	a letter
7	Die alte Oma	hat	gekocht	das Essen.
	the old grandma	have-3SG	cook-PP	the food
8	Der schöne Mann	hat	geküsst	eine Frau.
	the beautiful man	have-3SG	kiss-PP	a woman