

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE:

Grammatical Structures of Spanish-
Speaking Chilean Immigrant
Children in Quebec

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ABSTRACT

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This study investigated the maintenance of the native Spanish grammatical structures of a group of 30 immigrant Chilean children (ages 5;5 to 10;11) in the bilingual environment of Montreal. Three kinds of data were used to explore their Spanish proficiency: a) the Kernan/Blount test for the internalization of Spanish grammatical rules; b) the Bilingual Syntax Measure; and c) samples of the children's spontaneous speech production. In addition, a questionnaire designed for the parents was used to gather information about the children's socio-cultural background.

The older Chilean children (8-9-10) scored higher in seven of the ten categories of the test than the monolingual Mexican children of their age who were the subjects of the K/B study, and the younger children (5-6-7) scored lower in six of the ten categories of the test than their Mexican counterparts. The BSM results indicated that the syntactic maintenance of the children was at the "Proficient" Level for 90% of the subjects of this study. As for the spontaneous speech, only one child evidenced inhibition in the communication of ideas in Spanish.

Thus, the overall conclusion of this study, contrary to the concern expressed by the parents, is that the Chilean children have maintained high levels of proficiency in the grammatical structures of their native language.

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INTRODUCTION

The present study focusses on the Spanish grammatical structures of a group of 5 to 10-year-old Chilean immigrant children who have been living in Montreal for a period that ranges from nine months to over four years, and who are enrolled in the regular elementary English or French school systems in this city.

In September 1973, a military coup d'état in Chile caused a massive migration of a million Chileans to 53 different countries in the world. About 8,000 of these settled in Canada. Many came to Quebec where they have been living since then. Although they are making their living here, they are all set on returning to their country, and most of them plan to go back in the near future. Those who are parents are deeply concerned about their children's Spanish because they fear that a close contact with French and English will permanently damage their children's mother tongue, and that this will place them in a disadvantageous position relative to those who stayed in Chile.

In listening to these children speak, one may conclude that they have lexical problems; that is, they use French or English nouns, verbs and adjectives in their speech; however, it is difficult to determine how their Spanish syntax is being affected by the acquisition of a second, and even a third language.

The purpose of this research is to determine the level of development of these children's native syntactic structures, and to investigate the effects that the learning of a second language has on the syntactic development of their mother tongue. Therefore, this investigation will attempt to find answers to queries such as the following:

(1) Do the French and English languages spoken in the environment, the child's need to function in the new society, and the increasing influence of these two languages slow down or inhibit the development of the child's Spanish?, and (2) Will the Spanish of these children show what Gonzo and Saltarelli described in their study of emigrant languages:

As pidgin languages and in the inter-language systems of most second language learners, emigrant languages show a large borrowed lexicon, a reduction in native lexicon, a reduction in redundant code distinctions including such things as gender and number agreement, leveling of the paradigmatic and morphological systems, lack of markers of tense and aspect, reductions of sentence embeddings and nominalizations, etc. (1978: 7)

The research was carried out with 18 children who attend a Saturday morning school for Chilean children that has been organized by the Chilean Association of Montreal. In addition, the language of 12 other children belonging to Chilean communities in the Montreal area was investigated. The study concentrated on 5 to 10-year-olds (N:30). At these ages the children are being exposed systematically to the second language in schools, whereas younger children remain under the influence of their Spanish-speaking families.

The data were gathered by using free elicitation, that is by recording the children's spontaneous speech, and by controlled elicitation, using two highly structured interviews: The Kernan/Blount test (1966), aimed at investigating particular morphological problems, and the Bilingual Syntax Measure (Burt, Dulay and Hernandez, 1975).

Three questions were asked in this study with the objective of organizing the data and of clarifying a priori notions about the native language development of children who are experiencing the powerful influence of two dominant languages outside the family:

1) Will children who arrived in Canada at an older age maintain their native syntactic structures better than children who arrived at a younger age?

2) Will children who belong to big families (six members or more) maintain their Spanish syntactic structures with less difficulties than those who belong to smaller groups? and,

3) Is the intuitive assessment of the parents correct when they rate their children's grammatical proficiency as lower than that of monolingual Spanish-speaking children?

The above questions were fundamental in the construction of the questionnaire that was sent to the parents in order to gather information concerning the subjects of this study. The responses were important for the interpretation of results which is dealt with in Chapter 4.

The literature related to the acquisition of Spanish

syntactic structures is outlined in Chapter 1, where a brief review of the main issues is presented. In Chapter 2 the subjects are described and the procedures used for gathering and analyzing the data are explained. The group results and the individual results of the subjects are presented and analyzed in Chapter 3. A comparison is also made between the results obtained in the two tests that were administered to the children and their spontaneous speech. In Chapter 4, the questions posed above are answered in the interpretation of results. A summary and the conclusions of this study are presented in Chapter 5.

The goal of this research is to provide information which will be useful to those concerned with the area of language acquisition in general and the linguistic problems of the Chilean community children in particular.

Chapter 1

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Many investigations have been carried out in the U.S. concerning the acquisition of English as a first and as a second language. The field is being constantly revitalized with new insights provided by the areas of psychology and linguistics. However, when trying to investigate what is going on in relation to language acquisition research in other countries, one is surprised to discover that this activity has not extended to other places, including Spain and Latin America, where very few studies about the acquisition of Spanish as a first language have been conducted. In attempting to find reasons for this scarcity of studies, several plausible explanations can be tentatively offered: (1) Unlike those in the U.S., Latin American and Spanish linguists and psychologists are not working in the unified field of psycholinguistics. (2) Linguists in these countries have been greatly influenced by European linguists, and, as in the case of Chile, for example, most of the investigations are related to philology. (3) All the Latin American countries are underdeveloped, and the academic centers of study cannot afford the slightest reallocation of funds in their budgets for investigations such as the ones being carried out in the U.S. and Canada. All of these

drawbacks may account for the dearth of publications in the field.

There are six recent studies on Spanish language acquisition. Five are cross-sectional investigations; four were conducted in the U.S.; and all of them concentrate on grammatical structures in oral production. The subjects' ages range from one year, eight months to twelve years. Two of the studies used free elicitation to gather the data. In all, the syntactic structures of 1,556 children were examined. These investigations were conducted, in chronological order, by Kernan and Blount (1966); Gonzalez, a doctoral dissertation (1970); Brisk, also a doctoral dissertation (1972); Gili Gaya (1972); Burt, Dulay and Hernandez Chavez (1975); and Montes Giraldo (1976). A summary of the agreements and divergences of the studies, as researched by Margaret van Naerssen in her Order of Acquisition of Grammatical Structures for Spanish as a First Language, a chapter of her doctoral dissertation (in preparation), is presented at the end of this chapter.

Kernan and Blount studied the acquisition of Spanish morphology in a group of 92 5-to-12 year-old children belonging to the lower socio-economic class in Ciudad Guzman, Jalisco, Mexico. In The Acquisition of Spanish Grammar by Mexican Children (1966), they report the methodology they used and their results. Their study is based on a modification of Jean Berko's test (1958) to check for the internalization of English morphological rules in American

children. Berko states:

In this study we set out to discover what is learned by children exposed to English morphology. To test for morphological rules we use nonsense materials. We know that if the subject can supply the correct plural ending, for instance to a noun we have made up, he has internalized a working system of the plural allomorphs in English, and is able to generalize to new cases and select the right form. (p. 150)

Kernan and Blount tested the following Spanish grammatical rules: 1) formation of plurals; 2) formation of diminutives; 3) formation of the agentive; 4) formation of singular and plural possessives; 5) the addition of suffixes which indicate a place where something is made or sold; 6) the addition of suffixes which indicate a person who makes, sells, or is in charge of something; and 7) the formation of the third person future, 8) the preterite; 9) the imperfect; and 10) the present perfect tense in the third person indicative.

Each child was required to look at a picture which represented the linguistic frame being tested and to provide the answer that corresponded to that frame. Kernan and Blount gave the following example to illustrate how the test checks for the internalization of the past/preterite, which is one of the ten morphological categories investigated. "... a child was shown a picture of a stick man balanced on one foot and waving his arms and was told, "El hombre suecha. Lo hace hoy. Ayer lo hizo. Ayer el _____. (The man suecha -s. He does it today. Yesterday he did it. Yesterday he _____.)" (1966: 2).

The children's answers were corrected according to the responses given by 18 Mexican adults to the same test. The main purpose of their study was to investigate the possible correlation between chronological development and internalization of grammatical rules. Kernan and Blount state, "Although differences were not always significant between the age groups, there was a steady progression of correct answers from younger to older children" (1966: 7). They also compared the results of Berko's children, and they arrived at the conclusion that "In both Mexican Spanish and American English, boys and girls internalize grammatical rules at about the same age" (1966: 7).

The Kernan/Blount test was used with the Chilean children in this study in order to investigate the internalization of grammatical rules. In some categories of the test, the results were radically different from those obtained by Kernan and Blount. A comparative analysis of the Chilean and Mexican groups was made, and possible explanations for the differences will be presented in Chapter 3.

Gustavo Gonzalez's The Acquisition of Grammar by Native Spanish Speakers (1970) is a cross-sectional study of the development of Spanish grammatical patterns in the speech of 27 native Spanish-speaking children between the ages of two and five in Texas. He used free elicitation (conversation) to gather the data. The structures used by the children of his study progressed, with varying degrees of frequency, from 11 structures, at age 2;0, to 38 structures at age 4;6. Some

of the first constructions used by the children at age 2;0, were short and grammatically simple. They did not use subject pronouns and there was a preference for the present indicative forms, although they also exceptionally used the preterite and ser and estar (to be) correctly. He states that by age 2;6, however, his informants appeared to "possess the ability to express themselves in the three major time divisions: the present, the past and the future" (1978: 26), and that by age 3;3 they seemed to have acquired all of the basic syntactic Spanish structures.

According to his data, the children's verb tenses were acquired in the following order: the only tense acquired at 2;0 was the present indicative; at 2;6 they added the preterite indicative and present progressive. By 3;0 they added the present subjunctive, and at age 3;3 the periphrastic future. At 4;0 they incorporated the past progressive and the idiomatic andar progressive. Finally, the 4;6 year-old informants introduced the past perfect subjunctive.

In his conclusions, Gonzalez argues that children go on acquiring new patterns, but they may show deviations in their use of the earlier patterns. The most common kinds of deviations that he found were regularization of irregular forms and lack of subject-verb agreement when the subject follows the verb.

M. Estela Brisk's study The Spanish Syntax of the Pre-school Spanish-American: the Case of New Mexican Five-

year-old Children (1972) arrived at somewhat different results from Gonzalez'. She suggested that the Gonzalez' children's syntax seemed more advanced than that of her subjects. She focussed her investigation on the formation of simple, compound and complex sentences of seven five-year-old Mexican American Spanish-speaking children the year before they entered first grade. Free elicitation and controlled elicitation were used to gather the data.

Brisk selected two children from an urban community and five from a rural community. From the results of a questionnaire to find out the children's language background, she hypothesized that because rural children are in closer contact with Spanish-speaking adults, and less exposed to English, which is the dominant language, the rural children's performance in Spanish would be better than that of the urban children. Her results supported her hypothesis. She characterized her subjects' language in terms of interference features, dialectal features and developmental features. She identified two types of interference among these children: words and structures. She found that "In the speech of the children of this study English words had been transferred in two ways, either with the English phonological system or phonetically as well as morphologically adapted to Spanish" (1972: 87). She defined dialectal features as those which are peculiar to New Mexican Spanish, and developmental features as "those which are typical of the speech of a child still in the process of acquiring language" (1972: 86).

Brisk made the following tentative statements about the developmental features of her subjects:

- 1) Children used Estar when Ser should have been used.
- 2) They tended to regularize irregular verbs.
- 3) They used the third person verb form for the first.
- 4) They seldom used the present perfect tense.
- 5) The subjunctive had not yet been fully acquired.
- 6) They had problems with agreement transformations; and
- 7) They added or omitted elements required by syntax.

After comparing the children's structures to the Spanish structures analyzed by Stockwell, Bowen and Martin in The Grammatical Structures of Spanish and English (1965), Brisk arrived at the conclusion that 5-year-old children were still in the process of acquiring the syntax of Spanish. She concurs with Carol Chomsky's hypothesis that "children at age 5;0 have yet much to acquire of the syntax of their language" (1972: 114).

Samuel Gili Gaya used the data that were gathered by the Superior Council of Education in Puerto Rico aimed at determining the relative frequency of words in the different social environments of the island with the purpose of helping teachers in the elaboration of their materials, for his study Estudios de Lenguaje Infantil (1972). He did not deal with pronunciation, vocabulary and morphology, but only with syntax. In his own words, "We wish to investigate how the functional meanings of words are expressed in children's language" (1972: 33). He analyzed the Spanish of 50 children

between the ages of 4;0 and 7;0, by using data gathered by elementary school teachers who elicited oral reactions to 55 illustrations that were shown to each child.

The Bilingual Syntax Measure, (BSM) designed by M. Burt, H. Dulay and E. Hernandez was administered to 1,376 Spanish-speaking children living in urban and rural communities in different geographic regions of the U.S. Burt, Dulay and Hernandez suggest that by means of the BSM it may be possible to "elicit from the children a range of syntactic structures wide enough to discriminate among several levels of proficiency" (Technical Handbook, 1975: 10). They thus designate five levels of oral language proficiency, from Level 1, no proficiency at all, when the child neither understands nor speaks the language, to Level 5, which characterizes the native speaker of the language.

The children's proficiency in English and/or Spanish syntactic structures is measured by eliciting natural speech by means of a structured conversation which is based on the children's reactions to a series of pictures. The children answer questions about each of the pictures creating "obligatory occasions" for certain structures in their utterances. Their speech is analyzed, and each answer receives a numerical indicator according to how correctly the child forms the utterance he attempts. The sum total of these indicators is used to define the level of structural proficiency of the children.

In Chapter One in the BSM Technical Handbook, the authors state the reasons why they decided to devise their test for the measurement of syntax:

Syntax was chosen as the measure of proficiency because it is more stable across idiolects and dialects than vocabulary, pronunciation, or the functional uses of language... From the levels of English and/or Spanish proficiency determined by the BSM, inferences can be made about a child's language dominance, the level of second language acquisition, and the degree of maintenance or loss of the first language. (p. 13)

The latter aspect was the most relevant to the present study, and the BSM was used to investigate maintenance or loss of basic Spanish structures among the Chilean children in the Montreal environment. The results will be presented and discussed in Chapter 3.

In his article El Sistema, la Norma y el Aprendizaje de la Lengua (1976), Montes Giraldo attempted to characterize the concepts of system and norm, and the relationships that four children (ages 1;8 to 5;8) established with these concepts in their acquisition of Spanish. Through some examples, Montes shows that children assimilated the most fundamental oppositions in the system, and progressively perfected the structures of these oppositions. After this had been achieved, the children adjusted their language to the norm, progressing from broad generalizations to specifics. Montes' study basically concentrated on observations of some errors in children's speech.

Van Naerssen organized, analyzed, and compared the data gathered by these six studies. She reported that the six

agreed that the earliest structures acquired are the following: present indicative, present progressive, copula ser, preterite, periphrastic future, simple imperative-negative command, the verb ir + gerund, andar + gerund, and past progressive. She remarked that, probably because it was assumed to be learned very early, the plural morpheme for nouns with its two allomorphs -s and -es was only briefly discussed in the six studies.

There were no divergences in the studies about the latest acquired constructions: inflected future, conditional and past perfect subjunctive. The seven-year olds all seemed to be in the process of acquiring them. The disagreements were in relation to the establishment of the present and past subjunctive, and to the acquisition of relative clauses.

There was inconclusive evidence for the order of acquisition of the past imperfect. Gonzalez and Gili Gaya placed its acquisition between 3;3 and 4;0, while in the Kernan/Blount study, children in the 5-7 age range scored only 60% correct answers in the ar verbs, and in the er, ir verbs they scored a much lower 47% and 33% correct answers. The past imperfect is an important aspect in the present study; its results among the Chilean children will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Van Naerssen ends her analysis of these six studies by stating that much more research has to be done in the field of Spanish language acquisition.

Chapter 2

SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURES

Description of the Subjects

In order to characterize the social and linguistic background of the subjects of the study, a questionnaire was prepared and sent to the children's families (See Appendix 1). As previously noted, the present study examines the Spanish syntactic structures of 30 children, 19 boys and 11 girls whose ages range from 5;6 to 10;11. Fifty six percent of these children had had some schooling in Chile, from six months to four years, while the remaining 43% had no schooling there.

A breakdown of the children's schooling in Chile appears below:

No schooling:	43%
6 months to 2 years:	27%
3 years:	23%
4 years:	7%

Educationally, the parents may be divided into two groups: those with a university education and those with from six years (elementary school) to twelve years (high school) of formal education. On the father's side, 50% have university education, while 50% have from six to a maximum of twelve years of schooling. On the mother's side, 33% have a university education, while 66% have from six to a maximum of

twelve years of schooling.

In all, children from 19 families were included in the research. In 26% of the cases, the families consist of four members, parents and two children. Family groups of five members are formed either by the parents and three children, or by the parents, two children and the grandmother. These are 30% of the sample. In 43% of the cases, the families consist of six to nine members.

One child of the sample arrived in 1972, but the majority of the children arrived in Montreal between 1974 and 1976. Two children came in 1977, and in 1978, six children of the sample arrived. In all, 73% of the subjects have been living in Montreal for a period of over three years, while 27% have been living in the city of Montreal for less than two years.

Eighty percent of the children live in neighborhoods where there are other Chilean families. In only 20% of the cases, the families live in relative isolation from their ethnic group.

All the children, with one exception, are attending school in Montreal. Eighty percent of the children have been attending school between one and four years. Thirteen percent have been attending for less than one year. One child has been attending school for five years. Most of the children attended a classe d'accueil in a French school. Through these special classes the Quebec government streams the children of immigrants into the francophone educational system.

Sixty three percent of the children attend French schools; 23% attend schools where French and English are spoken, and only 10% of the children attend English schools.

When the children come home from school, either their parents, older siblings, or their grandmothers look after them in 83% of the cases.

The great majority of the children (90%) speak only Spanish with their parents. The language that the children speak the most outside the school, according to their parents, is Spanish (77%), while other parents say that their children speak both French and Spanish (17%). Only one child speaks mostly English outside the school. Parents report that their children speak only Spanish with their siblings in 50% of the cases. Others (43%) report that their children speak French and Spanish. One child speaks English and Spanish, and one child speaks only English with his siblings.

When the children play with other Chilean children they use only Spanish (60%), or Spanish and French (40%). One of the parents remarks that the Chilean children speak French when they play hockey or baseball, but whenever they play soccer, which is a very popular sport in Chile, they speak only Spanish. This confirms the observation of many researchers in bilingual environments, including Burt, Dalay and Hernandez who remark that, "Subject matter experienced principally in the second language may be difficult to discuss in the native language. Even among bilinguals, one

language may seem to be more appropriate than the other in certain contexts" (1975: 13).

Forty seven percent of the children speak French with Canadian neighbor children; 40% speak Spanish and French with Chilean neighbor children. Ten percent of the children live in English-speaking areas of the city, and they speak English with Canadian neighbor children, while one child speaks both French and English with them.

According to their parents, the children watch T.V. between one and two hours daily in 60% of the cases. In 23% of the cases the children watch between two and four hours daily. Ten percent of the children prefer to watch T.V. only on Saturday mornings. Only two of the children watch very little or no T.V. at all. Most children don't have specific language preferences when watching T.V. In 80% of the cases, the parents say that the children watch both French and English programs alike. Sixteen percent of the children watch only French programs, while one child sees only English programs. Their favorite T.V. programs are Goldorak, Bobino, Passepartout, Le petit castor and L'homme nucléaire, in French, while in English they prefer Bugs Bunny.

Most of the children can read Spanish (67%); 23% cannot. The remaining families report that the children are in the process of learning. Of the children who can read Spanish, 50% learned to read in Chile, while the remaining 50% learned in Canada. The children who can read Spanish, generally read Chilean comic magazines, story books and

abridged novels for young readers. In French they read comics. Some of them read books and magazines both in French and in English.

Most of the parents report that they tell stories, or read books to their children in Spanish; such is the case with 77% of the subjects. Sixteen percent of the parents report that they do not, while 7% of the parents say they do it very seldom.

In 97% of the cases these Chilean children participate in different kinds of activities with children of their own nationality. These activities center around sports, games, parties and cultural gatherings.

When the parents compare their children's vocabulary to that of the children of their age who live in Chile, they rate it (on a five-point scale: excellent, very good, good, fair and poor) as very good (10%); good (50%); fair (37%); and poor (3%). They are more hesitant when they rate their children's grammar: good (20%); fair (63%); and poor (13%). One parent did not answer.

Procedures for Data Collection

Controlled elicitation and free elicitation were used in order to gather the linguistic data on the subjects. As has been previously mentioned, the Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM), and the Kernan/Blount (K/B) test, which have been used with Spanish-speaking children, were administered to the 30 Chilean children for controlled elicitation. The former has been used in Spanish communities in the U.S. with the purpose

of determining the Spanish proficiency level of the children. The latter was used with a group of Mexican children in order to test their acquisition of Spanish morphology (see Appendix 3).

The present research was carried out with 18 children who, on Saturdays from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M., attend a school organized by the Chilean Association of Montreal. The children were tested, and their parents answered the questionnaire. In addition, a sample of nine children from the St. Henri community, and three children from the South Shore were also included, thus increasing the number of subjects to 30.

The children in the Saturday school became very well acquainted with the interviewer who attended and observed their classes and activities for four consecutive Saturdays in March. In April, the K/B test and the BSM were administered to these children. For this purpose, a small room was available where it was possible to carry out the interviews without interruptions. There were some problems because the children's attendance was somewhat irregular; nonetheless, the tests were administered to these 18 children. They responded with great interest and enthusiasm to the BSM. The K/B test was interesting for the older group, but it was hard to administer to the younger children because they seemed to get bored very quickly.

The St. Henri Chilean community rents a small house where it frequently meets to organize community work. This house was made available to the interviewer in order to test

the nine children selected in this neighborhood. The children from the South Shore had to be interviewed in a private house.

Kernan/Blount Test

For the administration of the K/B test it was assumed that because the great majority of the Chilean children in this research (25 of 30) have been attending school in Montreal for over a year, they would have been exposed to some kind of formal testing situation. This was in contrast to the Mexican children from whom, according to Kernan and Blount, it was very difficult to elicit answers as they did not seem to be used to being tested. Therefore, the authors used a real noun or verb before testing each of the grammatical categories. As Kernan and Blount explain:

for example, before he was tested on the formation of plurals, each child was shown a picture of first one cat, and then two, and was told, "Este es un gato. Ahora hay otro. Hay dos de ellos. Hay dos. . . ." This is a departure from Berko's procedure which was necessitated by the children's difficulty in understanding the task at hand. (1966: 3)

Since the Chilean sample was expected to be better acquainted with tests than the Mexican group, the 18 children who attended the Saturday school were originally given the K/B test without real words. But the test results with these children were a failure in the first administration as will be shown, so it had to be administered a second time to this group.

For reasons that will also be explained later, the K/B test was also administered to fifteen Chilean adults, and

to seven recently arrived Chilean children.

Bilingual Syntax Measure

Burt, Dulay and Hernandez constructed the items of the BSM with the purpose of eliciting what the authors considered "natural" speech from children in English and/or Spanish, in order to determine their syntactic proficiency. The BSM can be used to measure language performance at a given point in time and in a particular context. The questions on the test are meant to elicit 16 syntactic structures in Spanish: 1) word order; 2) progressive-ando; 3) auxiliary estar; 4) copula ser; 5) copula estar; 6) present indicative; 7) infinitive; 8) adjective gender; 9) possessive de; 10) indirect object pronoun; 11) conjunction que; 12) reflexive se; 13) article; 14) present subjunctive; 15) direct object pronoun; 16) past subjunctive (perfect). In all, children are asked 33 questions in the test, but only 18 are scored. On the basis of their research, Burt, Dulay and Hernandez concluded that these syntactic structures are mastered in approximately the order of the above list (See Appendix 2). On this basis, they developed a scheme for comparing children's syntactic "Level" because, as they stated:

the presence of higher-level structures in a child's speech implies the previous acquisition of lower-level structures and, conversely, the absence of some lower-level structures implies the absence of the upper level structures. (1975: 23)

Since the BSM has been used with Spanish-speaking children in different communities in the U.S. with the purpose of determining these children's degree of maintenance

of the structures of their mother tongue, it was decided to administer it to the Chilean children who are bilingual (and in some cases trilingual) in the context of the French and English speaking city of Montreal.

As has been previously stated, the analysis of the responses makes it possible to assign the children to five different levels, by means of the Syntax Acquisition Index, (SAI). This index, in Burt, Dulay and Hernandez's words, (1975: 357), "is based on the assumption that it is relatively easy to tell what structure the child offered within the context of the 'BSM conversation', even when part of it is absent or misformed."

Levels 1 and 2 "precede the production of meaningful speech"; for Level 3, the Survival Level, the children's SAI scores fall in the 45-84% range; for Level 4, the Intermediate Level, the children's SAI scores fall in the 85-94% range, while for Level 5, the Proficient Level, their scores fall in the 95-100%.

Spontaneous Speech

Since it was not possible to record the spontaneous speech of the 30 children, it was decided to tape the speech of children representative of each age group. Thus, one informant at each age (5 years, 6 years, etc.) was selected and recorded for a maximum of 20 minutes. In several cases two children were recorded together because the activity in which they were involved would eventually lead to a conversation between them. This activity consisted of asking

the subjects to build a paper farm, a zoo or an Indian village from a collection of children's books. These books require the children to punch out different figures, so no scissors or glue are needed. In some cases the children became so involved in what they were doing that they were silent, so the interviewer had to ask them questions about themselves, and about what they were doing. Very often it was necessary to answer their questions about how to carry out the setting up of the zoo or farm. Throughout, it was preferred to sacrifice efficiency to spontaneity.

On the last day of classes, the organizers of the school made a video tape with some of the older children. They were asked to talk about the school activities and about their friends in Chile. This topic was used with three of the eldest girls of the sample for spontaneous speech elicitation. Another child was asked to look at a story book, and to tell the story in his own words.

The data gathered from these recordings were compared to the results of the data obtained from the BSM and K/B tests.

Chapter 3

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Kernan/Blount Test

For the analysis of these results, the subjects were divided into two groups whose ages corresponded to two of the three groups of the Kernan/Blount subjects in order to make comparisons. When the test was first administered to the 18 Chilean children who attended the Saturday school, the results were very poor. The youngest group (5-6-7), which consisted of seven children, responded incorrectly to 17 of the 22 items of the test. They obtained 17% correct answers in four other items, and did well only in the two items of the possessive. The older group (8-9-10) responded incorrectly to the question in the agentive occupation category, and their results in all the other items were considerably lower than those of the Mexican children of their age, with the exception of the present perfect tense and the possessive items, in which the Chilean children did better.

It will be recalled that the first administration was carried out without using real words as practice items, whereas the second one used real words as practice items before the nonsense words were presented. When the test was readministered, showing the children a picture of a real object or action before testing each of the morphological categories, the results were better. Table 1 shows the

results for the two administrations.

Table 1
Percentage of Correct Responses for Each Category
in Two Different Administrations of the
Kernan/Blount Test
(18 children)

Category	<u>5-6-7 age group</u>		<u>8-9-10 age group</u>	
	1st Admin. (N=7)	2nd Admin.	1st Admin. (N=11)	2nd Admin.
Plurals	.05	.38	.58	.88
Diminutives	.0	.0	.41	.45
Agentive Active	.0	.14	.73	.82
Agentive Occupational	.0	.0	.0	.18
Place of Business	.0	.0	.18	.45
Future Tense	.10	.14	.64	.55
Present Perfect Tense	.0	.24	.58	.58
Past Tense Imperfect	.0	.0	.21	.24
Past Tense Preterite	.0	.10	.33	.33
Possessives	.80	100	100	100

The scores, however were still lower in some aspects than those of the Mexican children. On the basis of these results the K/B test with real word practice items was administered to the remaining subjects. Table 2 shows the percentage of correct answers for each category given by Kernan and Blount's Mexican subjects and the Chilean sample.

Table 2
 Percentage of Correct Responses for Each Category
 Given by Mexican Children and Chilean Children
 on the Kernan/Blount Test.

Category	5-6-7 age group		8-9-10 age group	
	Mexican (N=30)	Chilean (N=11)	Mexican (N=32)	Chilean (N=19)
Plurals	.80	.24	.80	.67
Diminutives	.48	.0	.76	.45
Agentive Active	.67	.36	.76	.84
Agentive Occupational	.40	.09	.54	.16
Place of Business	.43	.0	.72	.42
Future Tense	.30	.18	.44	.58
Present Perfect Tense	.40	.36	.57	.68
Past Imperfect	.48	.15	.54	.30
Past Preterite	.32	.24	.51	.40
Possessives	.95	100	100	100

The results of the Chilean children were examined first, and in the light of this analysis, a comparison with the results of the Mexican children was made in an attempt to offer an explanation for the differences.

There are important differences between the two Chilean age groups. In all of the items the older children fared better than the younger ones. The results

confirm Kernan and Blount's hypothesis that "the older a child is, the more likely the possibility that he has internalized a particular grammar rule" (1966: 6).

However, with the Chilean children, other factors should also be taken into consideration; that is, the results may also be related to the age in which they arrived in Canada, and to their lower degree of exposure to Spanish. If they arrived younger, their possibilities of having internalized the rules will be smaller because they have been less exposed to their mother tongue, and because of the pressures of the new environment; whereas if they arrived in Montreal at a later age, their exposure and experience with Spanish, and with Spanish test situations in Chile may have been greater than that of the younger group.

Some of the errors of the children had fairly straightforward explanations; however, there were a few for which no explanations were found. In the case of plurals the explanation for the low results might be attributed to dialectal reasons. Chilean Spanish is characterized by a lack of final -s. Rodolfo Oroz in La Lengua Castellana en Chile (1966: 101) states, "In Chile, -s at the end of a syllable is commonly semi-aspirated in cultivated speech, and totally aspirated in popular speech." The following are some of the examples he provides, "mas - mah, ma; tres - treh, tre; panes - paneh, pane."

A result which was not presented in isolation in Table 1 was the formation of the plural allomorph -es. Only

one child of the youngest group supplied it. This was done by the older group in 47% of the cases. This result confirms Berko and Kernan/Blount's findings with American and Mexican children respectively, regarding the late development of this allomorph as compared to -s. Also, as these authors observed in their subjects, the younger children's answers were the unaltered form of the singular; in other words, they just repeated the stem as if it were already in the plural. Consequently, it may be inferred that the younger children do not seem aware of the existence of final -s; only with age and after having learned to read do they notice the occurrence of this morpheme. This is further complicated in the case of the Chilean children because of the absence of "s" in their dialect.

In trying to find an explanation for the failure of the younger children in the production of the diminutive, however, the above reasoning about dialectal interference seemed to be contradicted, since this is one of the most typical characteristics of Chilean Spanish. This is what Oroz says about diminutives:

The lavish use of diminutives is one of the most outstanding features of the Chilean speech. This habit is characteristic of all social classes in their daily use of the language, but it is predominant among women, children and working-class people in general, and farmers in particular. (1966: 269)

Chileans use the affix -ito and -cito (the former is generally used with words that end in vowels, and the latter with words that end in consonants) with nouns, adjectives, past

participles, gerunds, adverbs and adverbial expressions. It does not occur with pronouns, with the exception of indefinite pronouns. Hence it is hard to understand what is operating here. The children are exposed to the diminutive in their daily contact with their relatives and friends; however, they did not produce it in the test.

The following conversation between two of the children of the older group is presented to illustrate the only plausible explanation that can be offered for the problem. It was taken from a recording of the children's spontaneous speech. The Kernan/Blount test had already been administered to them. L-(8;8) used the diminutive with no problems in the test, while V-(9;0) could not supply it, even though he tried very hard by giving compounds such as "*tifo minúsculo, *tifo chico, and *tifo enano" (dwarf). The conversation took place while the children were building a paper zoo, and the interviewer was talking with them,

Interviewer-: "Y éste qué es?"

L- "un leopardito"

Interviewer-: "Como se llaman los animales guaguitas (babies) de los animales grandes?"

L-: "un león, y la guaguita de un león es un leoncito; la guaguita de un leopardo, leopardito."

V-: "too (todo) con 'dito'"

Interviewer-: "Y como se llama la guaguita de un mono, V-?"

V-: (thinking)eh....

L-: (interrupting him) "un monito"

V-: "Noo!, no se llama monito!"

Interviewer-: "Claro que sí, pues"

V-: "Ah!"

This example shows that even though V- seemed to figure out a kind of rule for the diminutive, which from his observation is dito, he was not yet aware of the correct rule that governs it, nor could he apply it.

It is interesting to notice what happens to the American children whose age range is similar to the younger group of this research, in relation to this category. Berko says, "No child used a diminutive suffix, 52% of the children formed compounds like 'baby *wug, teeny *wug, and little *wug' (1958: 168). Such was also the case with the children of this investigation who were unable to produce the diminutive. They either provided compounds like "*feter pequeño, *feter chico, *feter chiquitito, *feter minúsculo and *feter enano", or they reversed the order of the adjective, thus producing "pequeño *feter" and "chico *tifo".

The results in the agentive occupational category are also strikingly low (Nine percent of correct answers for the younger group and 16% for the older group). A close examination of the children's errors shows that many of the subjects added the agentive suffix -dor, instead of the agentive occupational suffix -ero. This might be explained by the fact that in Chilean Spanish there are names of occupations which end in -dor and in -ero. Thus, a man who makes bread is called "panificador" or "panadero". Both

affixes are considered as being "highly productive" by Oroz (p. 235-245). Chilean adults frequently use both endings for indicating occupations. So, in a sense, the children's answers may be considered as correct, if measured by Chilean standards.

The place of business category yielded no correct answers in the younger group. The children did not seem to have internalized the rule of the -ería suffix. Some of them explained this word by stating its function: "tienda que vende pretas". In the older group, 42% of the children supplied correct answers in this category; however, their results were still much lower than the Mexican children's. The most plausible explanation for the differences seems to be in the environments of the children. While small cities like the Mexican Ciudad Guzman still have stores where specific products are made or sold, these places of business have been absorbed by large department stores and supermarkets in big urban centers like Santiago, Chile and Montreal, Canada. Therefore, Mexican children have possibilities of getting input from the environment for the development of this morphological category, while the children of this study lack it.

The future tense was another area in which the younger children had difficulties in the test. Their low results might be associated with the fact that the inflected future is not used in everyday speech. Being mostly used in written Spanish, it is taught in schools. Therefore, correct

use of this tense will be related to years of schooling. The better results of the older group would seem to support this possibility.

The results of the past imperfect tense were low for both groups (15% and 30%). A scrutiny of the data shows that the children's mistakes were quite varied. The younger children in general just repeated the stems given to them without adding any inflexions. Older children's errors fell into two different groups: a) supplying the preterite of the verb instead of the imperfect, and b) answering with an imperfect tense, but regularizing it to the -ar conjugation.

These results show that in many cases children failed to apply rules of extension to the nonsense verbal forms. The degree of complexity involved in the discrimination of preterite and imperfect past tense, as well as the more frequent use of the preterite over the imperfect in Spanish may be some of the reasons for the children's problems. As reported by Van Naerssen (1978: 20), "Gili Gaya (1972) found that the preterite ('preterito indefinido') was used more frequently among school age children than the imperfect... The preterite was the second most frequently used tense (after the present indicative)."

Even though the preterite is more frequently used in Spanish, in the present group the children's answers did not correspond to its frequency of occurrence. The youngest group got 24% of correct answers, a slight gain over the 15% of the imperfect category. The older group did better, but

the difference was not spectacular (30% to 40.3%).

As with other categories in general, the younger children's responses just repeated the stem of the nonsense word, especially in verbs which belonged to the -er/-ir inflexions. The highest correct responses were in the -ar preterite inflexions (56.6%). These correct forms seem to reflect, in this tense, the tendency in Spanish to model all new verb forms according to this inflexion.

According to Van Naerssen (1978: 20), a 60% score does not represent a strong acquisition percentage; on this basis the Chilean children's performance, as compared to the Mexican children's is very low with the exception of the agentive active and possessive categories. Is the Chilean children's syntactic development as measured by the K/B test being slowed down by restricted exposure to their native language or by the pressures of interaction in a wider variety of contexts with peers who speak the dominant languages?

Somehow the low results that the children obtained in this test did not seem to correspond to the reality of their speech. It was hypothesized that if their answers had been corrected according to Chilean adult standards, rather than Mexican adult standards, the Chilean children might have done better. This possibility had not even been considered at the outset of this investigation because on the surface the Mexican and Chilean dialects do not seem to be very different in the categories measured by the K/B test; however, in order to get more accurate results it was

decided to check how the Chilean adults responded to the items of the test. Thus, the test was administered to 15 Spanish-speaking Chilean adults from the same socio-economic background as the Chilean children.

Unlike what Kernan and Blount and Berko reported in their study for their Mexican adults and American adults, the Chilean adults did not agree unanimously in most of their answers. Table 3 shows the different responses of Mexican and Chilean adults. The number in parenthesis after each word corresponds to the number of adults who gave this particular response to the question.

The most outstanding differences between the 2 groups were, among others, item 3, (plural); item 7, (place of business); item 8, (agentive occupation); item 11, (past imperfect tense); and item 12, (past preterite tense). It should be noted that while the Mexican group seemed to be a homogeneous group living in a small city in Jalisco, the Chilean adult group, just as the Chilean children, come from different places in Chile; this fact may account for the variation in their responses.

The answers of the 30 Chilean children were corrected again, now taking the Chilean adult responses as the standard of correctness, since this is the kind of Spanish to which the Chilean children have been exposed. Just as Kernan and Blount did with their adult responses, "for items in which there was not complete agreement, each variant of the adult answer was considered to be correct" (1966: 5).

Table 4 shows the percentage of Mexican and Chilean children's correct answers for each category, but here a column with the correction of the items for the Chilean group according to Chilean adult standards has been added.

Table 3
Mexican and Chilean Adult Responses on
the Kernan/Blount Test

Category	Mexican (N=18)	Chilean (N=15)
Plural	1-tifas(18)	1-tifás(15)
Plural	2-fepas(18)	2-fepas(15)
Plural	3-fetores(18)	3-fetores(10); fetor(5)
Diminutive	4-fetorcito(15); fetorito(2); fetorocito(1)	4-fetorcito(14); fetito(1)
Diminutive	5-tifito(9); tifocito(6); tifonito(3)	5-tifito(10); tifocito(4); tificito(1)
Agentive Active	6-ticador(18)	6-ticador(13); tiquista(1); tiqueador(1)
Place of Business	7-pretería(18)	7-pretería(9); pretoría(2); pretera(1); pretaría(1); pretalería(1); pretadora(1)
Agentive Occup.	8-pretero(18)	8-pretero(5); pretador(4); pretedor(3); pretorista(1); pretor(1); pretista(1)
Future Tense	9-ticará(18)	9-ticará(14); tiquerá(1)
Pres. Perf. Tense	10-ticado(18)	10-ticado(14); ticarado(1)
Past Imperf. Tense	11-ticaba(18)	11-ticaba(8); ticó(6); tiqueó(1)
Past Pret. Tense	12-sostió(18)	12-sostió(7); sostiba(2); sostó(2); sostuvo(2); sostaba(1); sostía(1)

Table 3 (cont.)
 Mexican and Chilean Adult Responses on
 the Kernan/Blount Test

Category	Mexican (N=18)	Chilean (N=15)
Pres.Perf. Tense	13-sosteado(16); sostido (2)	13-sosteado(8); sostado(5); sostido(2)
Future Tense	14-sosteará(18)	14-sosteará(10); sostará(3); sostera(2)
Past Imperf. Tense	15-totiaba(18)	15-totiaba(4); toteó(7); totó(1); totía(2)
Future Tense	16-totiará(17); totirá(1)	16-totiará(9); toterá(4); totará(2)
Past Pret. Tense	17-totió(18)	17-totió(12); toto(1); toteaba(2)
Pres. Perf. Tense	18-suechado(18)	18-suechado(12); suechido(1); sochado(2)
Past Pret. Tense	19-suechó(18)	19-suechó(12); suechaba(2); sochó(1)
Past Imperf. Tense	20-suechaba(18)	20-suechaba(5); suechó(9); sochó(1)
Possessive	21-de la tifa(14) de ella(4)	21-de la tifa(15)
Possessive	22-de los tifos (11); de ellos(7).	22-de los tifos(14); suyos(1)

Table 4

Percentage of Mexican and Chilean Children's Correct Responses for Each Category on the Kernan/Blount Test using Two Standards of Correctness for the Chilean Group

Category	5-6-7 age group		8-9-10 age group	
	Mexican (N=30)	Chilean (N=11) Mexican Standard	Mexican (N=32) Mexican Standard	Chilean (N=19) Chilean Standard
Plurals	.80	.24 .48	.80	.67 .84
Diminutives	.48	.0 .0	.76	.45 .45
Agentive Active	.67	.36 .36	.76	.84 .84
Agentive Occup.	.40	.09 .45	.54	.16 .74
Place of business	.43	.0 .0	.72	.42 .58
Future Tense	.30	.18 .24	.44	.58 .86
Pres. Perf. Tense	.40	.36 .42	.57	.68 .84
Past Imperfect	.48	.15 .27	.54	.30 .70
Past Preterite	.32	.24 .33	.51	.40 .67
Possessives	.95	100 100	100	100 100

The analysis of these data shows the following results: a) there was no change in either of the two Chilean age groups in the areas of diminutives and agentive active; b) there was a greater improvement of results in the Chilean 8-9-10 age group than in the 5-6-7 age group, according to the Chilean standards of correctness. The older Chilean children did better than their Mexican counterparts in seven of the ten items of the test: plurals, agentive active, agentive occupational, future tense, present tense, past imperfect and past preterite. The younger group did slightly better than the Mexican children of their age in four of the ten items of the test: agentive occupational, present perfect tense, past preterite and possessives. Their results were better than their previous results in three categories: plural, agentive occupational and past imperfect; however, they were lower than the Mexican children's results in the same categories. Their results remained stable under both standards of correctness in the diminutive, agentive active and place of business categories. (In the Future category their results got better by 6%; however, they also remained lower than the Mexican children's results.)

The correction of the Chilean children's responses according to the Chilean standard of correctness gave a different perspective on the results. The most suggestive data are related to the stability of results using both standards of correctness in the diminutives, agentive active and place of business categories in the younger group and in

the stability of results in the diminutives, agentive active and in the 15% improvement in the place of business category (which was still 14% lower than the Mexican results), in the older group. These results would seem to imply that the K/B test shows a delay in the abstraction of the rules that govern the morphology of these categories in the Chilean children as a whole. On the other hand, the lower results of the younger group in terms of the Chilean standard of correctness as compared to the Mexican children's performance in particular, would show a delay in their abstraction of rules of the morphology of the categories in the K/B test. This delay might be attributed to the children's restricted exposure to Spanish in the environment of Montreal, also to their arrival in this city at an early age and to their lack of schooling in Chile.

In order to check the above hypothesis, an effort was made to contact Chilean children who had only recently arrived in Montreal, and who had not been exposed to the Canadian school system yet. Seven children, four girls and three boys, with these characteristics were found through the Olivar Asselin COFI (Centre d'Orientation et Formation des Immigrants) in Montreal. This COFI is one of several that has been set up by the Quebec Provincial Government in order to help immigrants to learn French when they arrive in Canada. These children's ages ranged from 6;3 to 10;8; three fell in the 5-6-7 age group, and four fell in the 8-9-10 age group. They had all been living in Montréal for less than

3 months, but it was not possible to get information about their socio-economic background. In direct conversation with them, it was found that the four older ones had had four years of schooling in Chile, while the younger ones had had only one. They seemed to belong to a middle class socio-economic level, thus comparable to the children of this study.

While the parents attend the French language classes, together with immigrants of all nationalities, the COFI sends their children to a summer recreational center in the city, where all kinds of indoor and outdoor activities are organized for them by Quebecois teachers. The Chilean children were given the two versions (with real life and nonsense words) of the K/B test in a building where the indoor activities took place. As with the subject group of children, the older ones seemed eager to answer, while the younger ones became bored very quickly, and it was hard to keep them interested in the test. In their answers most of them just repeated the stem of the nonsense word.

Table 5 shows their results according to the Chilean standards of correctness, and also the results of the 30 subjects of this investigation.

These results seem to indicate that the lower scores of the younger Chilean children of this study may not be attributed to the above mentioned reasons of contact with other languages. They would seem to show instead that the children's failure in performing some of the linguistic

Table 5

Percentage of Correct Answers for Each Category of the K/B Test of Children
 Who Have Recently Arrived in Montreal, and the Subjects of this Investigation.

Category	5-6-7 age group		8-9-10 age group	
	Recently Arrived (N=3)	Subjects of this Investigation (N=11)	Recently Arrived (N=4)	Subjects of this Investigation (N=19)
Plurals	.33	.48	.83	.84
Diminutives	.0	.0	.25	.45
Agentive Active	.0	.36	.50	.84
Agentive Occup.	.0	.45	.50	.74
Place of Business	.0	.0	.25	.58
Future Tense	.0	.24	.67	.86
Pres. Perfect Tense	.0	.42	.83	.84
Past Imperfect	.0	.27	.67	.70
Past Preterite	.0	.33	.75	.67
Possessives	100	100	100	100

tasks of the K/B test may be associated with the younger children's metalinguistic development. In the light of the above results it would be possible to infer that the younger Chilean children, either in Chile or in Montreal, will have similar difficulties in the abstraction of morphological rules as applied to nonsense words.

It may be questioned here, however, why the Montreal subjects did better than the recently arrived Chilean children. It is difficult to advance an answer to this question; it would seem possible that the fact that the children of this study are bilingual would make them more aware of the way languages function than monolingual children, especially as they get older; nevertheless, in order to prove this it would be necessary to find a sample in Chile with the same characteristics of the children of this study so as to establish a more accurate comparison.

In comparing the results of the recently arrived children to those of the children of this study, it is interesting to notice that through the groups there is a coincidence of low results in the diminutive and in the place of business categories. These are apparently the most difficult tasks for them. It is hard to determine what principles operated in the formation of nonsense diminutives in the Chilean children which caused their results to be so much lower than the Mexican children's. When 6 of the 7 recently arrived children were tested for the elicitation of this category, they gave compound words for both the real

life words and the nonsense words: "avión chico", "fedor chico", "avión chiquitito" and "fedor pequeño", among others.

It would seem easier to account for the low results in the place of business category since these specific names, as previously stated, seem to be disappearing in big cities.

When a recently arrived girl was asked the item that deals with real life words of the K/B test in the place of business category: "Esta es una tienda que vende frutas. Como se llama una tienda que vende frutas?" ("This is a store that sells fruit. What do you call a store that sells fruit?") she simply replied: "Voy a un almacén o a un mercado a comprar fruta" ("I go to a store or to a market to buy fruit") and failed to extend the morphological rule that applies to the real-life word first, ("frutería") and to the nonsense word afterwards ("pretería").

Would the results in the K/B test imply that the Chilean children, as exemplified by these seven recently arrived children in Montreal, and by the 11 younger children of this study are developing more slowly in the abstraction of rules that govern the use of nonsense words in the diminutive and place of business categories than the Mexican children of their age? It does not seem likely. However, whatever reasons there might be, they would require in-depth research that goes beyond the scope of this study. One conclusion stands out quite clearly from the administration of this test: the different results obtained by the children show fairly consistently that Kernan and Blount's rather obvious

hypothesis that "there are possible correlations between advancement of years of age and progression in the acquisition of grammatical rules" (p. 6) holds for both Chilean samples.

) At this point, however, a question comes to mind: What meaning does this test have when Chilean adults of the same socio-economic background as the children, who speak their mother-tongue without any problems, fail to show evidence of extension of grammatical rules to nonsense words? Such was the case, for instance, of five of the 15 adults who, in one of the plural items provided the form "fedor" as a plural, instead of "fetores" which is the correct grammatical form; or in the place of business category in which 40% gave five different responses to which they applied rules which were not grammatically correct. Also, just like everybody else who has been given the test in this study, the Chilean adults did not distinguish between the -er and -ir pattern of conjugation in the different tenses tested by the test, and answered according to the -ar pattern of conjugation. The following are some possible explanations to account for both the children's and the adults' errors.

1) Kernan and Blount found for their subjects that "Verbs which are nonsense words, and are therefore new words in the Spanish lexicon, are given the inflexion which an -ar verb would receive" (p. 11). The same finding applies for the Chilean sample.

2) In Spanish, verbs which end in -e in the third person singular, present tense, indicative mood are -er, -ir

verbs. In the test, the subjects are presented with verbs which end in -e in six items in a row, but the verbs are -er, -ir verbs.

-er 12- El hombre *soste; 13- El hombre *soste; 14- El hombre *soste.

-ir 15- El hombre *tote; 16- El hombre *tote; 17- El hombre *tote.

The testees would have to be able to discriminate both kinds of conjugations in order to supply the correct answer, but since both conjugations are alike in the third person singular, and since there are no outside clues for guidance as to the kind of conjugations involved in the test items, except analogy with the real word examples, the answers are erroneous because of the ambiguity in the questions. Just like the Chilean children, the Chilean adults also tended to use the past preterite tense instead of the past imperfect tense in 58% of their answers in the items that tested the past imperfect.

If adults also answered incorrectly in some items of this test, what does the test prove in terms of the acquisition of Spanish grammatical structures? Does the fact that they were unable to generalize the linguistic principle to a nonsense word prove that they do not know the linguistic principle governs the use of that inflexion? It seems hardly possible. In his study A Comparison of the Results of a Revised Version of Berko's Test of Morphology with the Free Speech of Mentally Retarded Children, Dever

states that the results of his study lead to the following conclusions:

... although a child who inflects a nonsense syllable in the test situation is demonstrating his knowledge of the principles governing that inflection, a child who does not inflect the nonsense syllable or who inflects it wrongly is demonstrating nothing. That is, on the basis of their responses to the revised test, we can discover some of the principles governing the tested inflections, but we cannot tell what all of the retarded children know about these principles. It follows, then, that we cannot consider the revised version of Berko's test of morphology to be a diagnostic test of the included forms for the mentally retarded children. (1972: 176)

These conclusions seem to apply also to Chilean children and adults alike, since even though several of them failed to extend the morphological rules to the nonsense words, the children's free speech, as will be demonstrated below, showed evidence that the children did apply the principles with real words. What the K/B test showed for the present study was the Chilean children's performance in some very specific morphological tasks which did not reflect the children's linguistic knowledge in general.

Here Dever's words of caution about the use made of test results such as the ones obtained by the Chilean children in the K/B test, should be mentioned:

There are two reasons for this: [caution about possible uses to which the Berko test results can be put] (1) Since the paradigm has been found, in the present experiment, not to reflect the use of the tested morphological forms in the free speech of retarded children, the same could well be true of normal children; and (2) inflectional morphology is such a minor aspect of a grammar of English, that, even had the test proven to be a good indicator of the items tested in the present experiment, the statements about the use of grammar would be over-

stepping the limits of generalization possibilities (1972: 177).

Bilingual Syntax Measure

The administration of the BSM to the Chilean children was carried out without any difficulties. They enjoyed the pictures, and were eager to respond to the questions. Table 6 shows the results in terms of the children's proficiency levels.

Table 6
Proficiency Levels Obtained by the Chilean Children
Tested with the BSM.

	<u>Non-speaking levels</u>		<u>Survival</u>	<u>Intermediate</u>	<u>Proficient</u>
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
	-	-	(N:1)	(N:2)	(N:27)
	-	-	3%	7%	90%
Age	-	-	6;2	5;5-7;0	5;5-10;11
Range					

The syntactic problems of the children who were placed in Levels 3 and 4 will be discussed first, and the general problems of the children in Level 5 will be discussed afterwards.

The authors describe Level 3 - the Survival Level - as a stage in which children "comprehend some of the target language vocabulary and syntax, although they are not able to produce it" (1976: 20). The only child who fell in this Level, a 6;2-year-old child, has considerable problems in

Spanish. He was the only one who could not produce the correct possessive forms; when he was asked, "De qué casa es esta puerta?", ("Which house's door is this?") he did not understand the question, and he replied, "Es gorda" ("It is fat"). To the question "De quién es la comida que el perro se quiere comer?" ("Whose food does the dog want to eat?"), he answered "a él", (indicating the king), using a French structure. He also had difficulties with the copula ser: to question 7 "Por qué vive él en esta casa?" ("Why does he live in this house?"), he answered, "porque está flaco"; and to question 8, "Por qué vive él aquí?" ("Why does he live here?") he replied "Está gordo". His answers should have been "Es gordo" and "Es flaco", since in Spanish es is generally used to indicate a permanent state, while está is used to signal a transitory state. In his Estudios de Lenguaje Infantil, Gili Gaya states that "by age 4;0, every child knows how to build sentences with ser and estar" (1972: 53). Apart from the above mentioned structures, this child could not produce the infinitive, the indirect object pronoun, conjunction que, reflexive se, present subjunctive, direct object pronoun, and the past subjunctive (perfect). When he was unable to answer a question he said, "No sabe", instead of "No sé", thus using a regularization of an irregular form, which is characteristic of younger children. He used a French word once because he did not know its equivalent in Spanish ("chenille" for "gusano"). Therefore, and as the BSM indicates, his linguistic development seemed

to be very slow, as compared to the other children of the sample. This child arrived in Canada at age 2;0.

The two children who were placed in Level 4, the Intermediate level, were 5;5 and seven years old. The former had great fun with the test. He talked at length about what he saw, and he even invented his own stories about the pictures. Gili Gaya comments, "When a four-year-old child builds short sentences with the simple purpose of enunciating, narrating, or describing, he preferably uses the indicative present" (p. 103). Such was the case with this 5;5 year-old. He seemed so involved with the cartoons that he couldn't answer questions about the reality of what he was seeing, other than in the present tense. To the question, "Qué va a hacer ella con esto?" ("What is she going to do with this?"), he replied "Se lo dá a los niñitos y los niñitos se lo comen" ("She gives it to the baby birds, and the baby birds eat it.") Even though his answer was grammatically correct, the form of the question requires that the child use the periphrastic future + infinitive as an answer. He did not seem to understand the question "Qué quieren ellos que haga la mamá?" ("What do they want their mother to do?"), he just answered "culebras" ("snakes"), probably meaning "worms". To the question "Qué le está haciendo el hombre al piso?" ("What is the man doing to the floor?"), he answered, "El limpiándolo" ("He mopping it") failing to use the progressive auxiliary form. This error shows a slight delay in this structure, since Brisk found that by age five her New Mexican children

had fully acquired it (1972: 115). This Chilean 5-year-old produced the present subjunctive in one case, but he failed to produce it in another of his responses. He seemed to be in the process of acquiring it, confirming Burt, Dulay and Hernandez's observation that when a functor is not yet fully acquired, the child sometimes supplies it and sometimes not. He never used the past subjunctive (perfect).

The seven year-old child in Level 4, did not understand the question "Qué quieren ellos que haga la mamá?" ("What do they want their mother to do?"), either, and he answered, "Quieren ir a volar" ("They want to fly"), concentrating only on the subject of the main clause, and disregarding the subject of the embedded sentence. This syntactic structure was answered wrongly by five children of the sample. It is a complex sentence which brings to mind Carol Chomsky's (1969) study of this kind of structure.

Chomsky reasons that when dealing with complex sentences like the above, children regard the first noun phrase as the doer of the action disregarding the second noun phrase, which indicates the action expressed by the infinitive verb. She provides the following example,

11) a. John wanted (Bill) to leave.

NP1 V NP2 inf. vb.

b. John wanted Bill to leave.

c. John wanted to leave.

In such sentences, the subject of the complement verb is NP2 when present, and in its absence, NP1. In (11 b) it is Bill who is to leave, and in (11 c), John" (1969: 10).

The Chilean child did not provide the correct answer to the question which would have been:

"Los pajaros quieren que su madre les traiga comida"

" The birds want (their mother) to bring them food"

NP1 V NP2 inf. vb.

but he just said,

"Los pajaros quieren volar"

"The birds want to fly"

By supplying to fly, he showed that he really did not understand the meaning of the question. He answered it as if it had been a simple sentence, and he paid no attention to the subject of the embedded sentence. Even though he failed to answer this question correctly, however, this child was also able to provide the correct answer to a similar question elsewhere in the BSM: "Qué quiere el perro que haga el rey?" ("What does the dog want the king to do?") he replied, "Que no se coma las cosas" ("(He wants him) not to eat the things"). This use of the present subjunctive suggests that he was in the process of acquiring it. He never produced the past subjunctive (perfect).

The examination of the group results shows that the syntactic structure with which these children have most problems is the past subjunctive (perfect), as would be predicted by the BSM hierarchical order of acquisition for Spanish. The test has two items that deal with this mood. In Question 16, "Si no se hubiese sacado los zapatos, qué les hubiera (habría) pasado a los zapatos?" ("If he hadn't

taken off his shoes, what would have happened to his shoes?"), 30% of the group responded incorrectly. Seventeen percent of the group as a whole answered using the simple conditional, "se le mojarían" ("They would get wet"), which is widely used by adults as answers to such questions. Fifty three percent of the group answered correctly. Question 24 tests the same syntactic structure, "Qué hubiera (habría) pasado si el perro no se hubiera comido la comida?" ("What would have happened if the dog hadn't eaten the food?"), but the conditional perfect is placed first. Here, 57% of the answers were wrong. Twenty seven percent of the group as a whole, again, answered using the simple conditional. Why the difference in results between these two questions? The reason seems to be that in question 16 they had concrete clues from the picture: they could see a barefoot man mopping the deck of a ship, while his shoes are close to him. However, question 24 is of a more abstract nature since the children had to make inferences about a situation for which there were no clues in the picture.

Comparison of the BSM and K/B Test Results

Originally, it had been planned to make comparisons between the Kernan/Blount test results and the BSM results. However, the two tests focus on two different groups of structures. While the former deals with discrete points of morphology elicited through tightly controlled test items, the latter concentrates on the production of 16 syntactic

structures in speech by means of a conversation which is structured but which permits speakers to answer in various ways. Thus some structures simply do not occur. The following list shows the aspects of morphology and syntax dealt with by the two tests.

<u>Kernan/Blount</u>	<u>BSM</u>
Plural	Word order
Diminutives	Progressive -ando -iendo
Agentive Active	Auxiliary <u>estar</u>
Place of Business	Copula <u>ser</u>
Agentive Occupation	Copula <u>estar</u>
Future Tense	Present Indicative
Present Perfect	Infinitive
Past Tense Preterite	Adjective Gender
Past Tense Imperfect	Indirect Object Pronoun
Possessives	Possessives
	Conjunction <u>que</u>
	Reflexive
	Article
	Present Subjunctive
	Direct Object Pronoun
	Past Subjunctive (perfect)

The only structure that both tests have in common is the possessive. In this category the Chilean children of the two age groups performed well on both tests.

The authors of the BSM had contemplated the idea of testing plural also, but, as they state in their Handbook, they decided to disregard it because they were aware of the dialectal differences: final -s is not pronounced in the speech of many Latin American and Spanish regions. Another aspect that could have been used for comparison is the preterite, but, "because of an error in scoring where regular and irregular preterite forms were combined, the data on the preterite could not be included in the analysis" (1975: 19).

Even though no specific comparisons can be made between the two tests, it seems important to comment on the differences in the younger children's results on both. One factor that may have caused the discrepancy in achievement in these instruments is the fact that while the K/B test calls for an abstract task in which most of the younger children did not seem to feel the need to communicate anything that was relevant to their experience, the BSM is related to a very meaningful context which motivated them to want to communicate their reactions to an attractive visual input. In a way, the experience of administering the K/B test was very similar to what Carol Chomsky encountered when she was conducting her study:

... The older ones enjoyed the task much more than the younger ones did. The younger ones reacted as if the whole thing was sort of pointless and a bit of an imposition... The task was simply less interesting to them, and this we interpreted as a result of the extent of their proficiency... The child (older one) is busy exercising a skill, and he sees a point to what he is doing. The younger

children viewed the task as purely arbitrary (1969: 110).

The children's results in the two tests lead to two different conclusions. On the one hand, the results in the K/B test (even when corrected according to Chilean standards) imply that the younger children's development in the abstraction of rules for plurals, diminutives, agentive active, place of business, past imperfect and future tense categories, and the older children's development in the abstraction of rules for the diminutive and place of business categories is slow, as compared to monolingual Spanish-speaking Mexican children. On the other hand, the level of maintenance of the syntactic structures that they have already acquired, as tested by the BSM, is proficient.

Throughout this study, the children's results in the K/B test have been presented as group averages on particular structures. In order to have a better idea of their individual results in the test it was decided to list their ages, and to set each child's K/B and BSM scores next to them.

Table 7 presents the individual results. It should be noted that the three children who have the lowest BSM ratings fall within the youngest ages of the group, which indicates that there is some relationship between age and success or failure in it. Nevertheless, two of the youngest children (5;6 and 6;6) obtained Level 5 scores. In the K/B test, the results are more directly related to age.

Table 7

Individual Results of the Subjects of this Study in
the BSM and Kernan/Blount Test.

<u>YOUNGER GROUP</u>				<u>OLDER GROUP</u>			
<u>AGE</u>	<u>SCORES</u>	<u>K/B TEST</u>	<u>BSM LEVELS</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SCORES</u>	<u>K/B TEST</u>	<u>BSM LEVELS</u>
(of possible 22)				(of possible 22)			
5;6	13		5	8;2	22		5
5;6	2		4	8;5	10		5
6;2	3		3	8;5	15		5
6;6	9		5	8;8	20		5
7;0	10		4	8;10	10		5
7;1	8		5	8;11	16		5
7;3	3		5	9;0	16		5
7;5	8		5	9;1	12		5
7;8	7		5	9;4	15		5
7;9	13		5	9;4	13		5
7;11	12		5	9;6	22		5
	average: 8			10;1	11		5
				10;2	16		5
				10;3	22		5
				10;3	22		5
				10;4	20		5
				10;6	20		5
				10;10	16		5
				10;11	21		5
					average: 16.8		

Spontaneous Speech Data

As previously stated, the spontaneous speech data were used to compare the children's linguistic performance with the results they obtained as a whole in the K/B test and in the BSM. Additional information about interference, a specific characteristic which appeared in some of the children's speech, is also presented in this section.

The speech of one or more informants at each age (5 years, 6 years, 7 years, etc) was recorded and analyzed. The spontaneous speech of the 5-6-7 age range was represented by one five-year-old, two six-year-olds and two seven-year-olds, while the 8-9-10 age range was represented by one eight-year-old, three nine-year-olds and four ten-year-old children.

It was possible to talk with some children longer than with others. In all, there were about 144 minutes of recordings of the children's spontaneous speech, and comparisons were made as far as possible to the children's results in the K/B test and in the BSM. The following language features tested by Kernan and Blount were produced by the children in their spontaneous speech: plural, diminutive, future, present perfect, imperfect and preterite. The comparison was made in order to judge how valid each test is in predicting what the children do with the language in spontaneous speech.

Comparison of K/B Test and Spontaneous Speech Data

Plurals. It was decided to examine what the children do with the -s and -es allomorphs that signal plural, in spite of the obvious difficulties involved in the task, since Chilean Spanish is characterized by a semi-aspirated final -h or by no final -s at all. After the recordings had been transcribed, they were checked for the plural. This examination confirmed the above observation: the children either provided a semi-aspirated h or did not supply any plural marker at all. Each noun, adjective and article with a plural referent was checked for presence or absence of the plural allomorphs, and a percentage of occurrence or non-occurrence of the plural morpheme was established for each child.

The K/B test results showed that in the 5-6-7 age range, 48% of the responses were correct, according to Chilean Spanish, in the plural category. Children in the subsample for whom spontaneous speech data were available scored 33% correct in this category. However, when these children spoke spontaneously, they supplied the plural morpheme (that is, the semi-aspirated h sound of Chilean Spanish) in 77% of the cases, and failed to provide it in 23% of the cases. These percentages do not include one six-year-old child who answered mostly with monosyllables throughout the interview. All of the sample children of this age range answered correctly one of the three items in the K/B test.

The older groups (8-9-10 age range) produced the

plural morpheme in 84% of the cases in the K/B test. For the subsample, 96% of the responses were correct. In their spontaneous speech, the group used the plural morpheme in 75% of the cases and in 25% of the cases they did not supply it.

Table 8 is a breakdown of the children's production of the plural morpheme.

What these results show is that even though the younger children did not seem to be able to deal with the items that would show their abstraction of the plural rule demanded by the K/B test, they did use a good number of plurals with their every day vocabulary. It should be mentioned here that the Chilean children's production of plural morphemes was much lower in the K/B test when they were scored according to the Mexican standards. Only one child of the younger group of children had correct answers in the 3 items. However, their results went up when the adult Chilean standard was applied. This standard was not always correct from a formal point of view, since five of the 15 adults answered "fedor" instead of the grammatically correct "fetores".

The results also show that the production of the plural morpheme is not related to chronological age. For instance, it can be observed that the oldest child of the group produced 77% of correct plural endings, while one of the two youngest children produced 73% of -s morphemes. How can the fact that the youngest and oldest children of the

Table 8

Percentage of Production of Nouns, Adjectives and Articles
With Plural Referents in Spontaneous Speech and Results
On the K/B Test.

Child	Age	<u>Spontaneous Speech</u>	
		Correct answers in the 3 plural items of the K/B Test.	Percentage of final semi-aspirated <u>h</u>
1	5;6	1	73.3
2	6;2	1	-
3	6;6	1	62.5
4	7;1	1	68.3
5	7;9	1	90.6
1	8;2	3	91.8
2	8;8	3	100.0
3	9;0	2	59.2
4	9;4 ^a (twins)	3	54.7
5	9;4	3	54.7
6	10;1	3	84.2
7	10;3 ^b	3	84.2
8	10;3	3	84.2
9	10;11	3	77.0

^a Because of the similarity of these twin's voices, it was not possible to distinguish them in the recording.

^b Since the recording of these 3 girls was brief, it was decided to count them as one in this category. All had three correct answers for the plural items on the K/B test.

group have such similar results be explained? Here, Oroz's observation about Chilean Spanish should be remembered: "In Chile, -s at the end of a syllable is commonly semi-aspirated in cultivated speech, and totally aspirated in popular speech." A check-up of the children's socio-cultural background showed that the youngest child's parents have 17 years of scholasticity each, while the oldest child's parents have six (mother) and 14 (father). It would seem that the youngest child's linguistic environment provides him with models and reinforcement for the use of the plural morpheme, while the oldest child's may not. On the other hand, the oldest child of this sample lives in the same community as the 9;0 year-old child and the two 9;4 year-old whose production of plural referent was also low. These children's parents have secondary education, with the exception of one of the fathers who has 15 years of schooling, but this community is basically made up of working-class immigrants.

An examination of the words for which the children did not provide the plural morpheme showed that most of them were those that ended in consonants. In Spanish, the plural morpheme for these words is -es. What the children did was to supply the -e ending, but they dropped the -s altogether. They said "mujére", "animale", "fácile", "flore", to mention only a few examples. These plurals are different from those with aspirated ending such as "patito^h", "lo^h", "arma^h", "pluma^h", etc, because the -e is always present and thus taken as a plural marker instead of the final aspirated -h sound.

Another pattern observed regarding the plural morpheme was that in a sentence or phrase in which there was plural agreement between article, noun and verb, the children dropped the plural morpheme in one or two parts of the sentence or phrase. For example, "lo^h otro indio", "lo^h ojo abierto", "lo que son salvaje". It was as if by the principle of least effort they did not see the need to signal pluralization in every word.

Diminutives. Thirty instances of diminutives in all occurred in the children's spontaneous speech. The oldest child used a diminutive only once. The other cases were concentrated in the speech of six of the 14 children. Gili Gaya observed for Puerto Rican Spanish that, "The abundance or dearth of diminutives varies from children to children; while some use them only sporadically, others use the diminutive forms in almost half of the nouns and adjectives. Such difference does not seem to be related to the rural or urban environment, but it is directly related to the domestic environment of each child..." (1972: 48). Seventy seven percent of the diminutives in the children's spontaneous speech were correctly produced by children who did not supply them in the K/B test.

Future. Only one instance of inflected future appeared in the children's spontaneous speech, and it was restricted to the connotation of probability that this tense has in Spanish. Gili Gaya states, "It is surprising that the future of probability can be found with relative frequency in pre-

school children to denote a conjecture or hypothesis referred to the present: 'Será algo'; 'Por qué será que lleva zapatos el nene?'; 'Habrán como seis'" (1972: 59). "Esto como será?" ("I wonder how this is") was used by one child while he was trying to fit one of the pieces of a paper zoo into another. Whenever the children wanted to express futurity they used the periphrastic future ir + infinitive. There were 41 instances of this kind of future in the sample as a whole. The use of the periphrastic future in the children's speech is a reflection of the adult's speech since Chilean Spanish, the same as other Latin American dialects, uses it in everyday speech while it restricts the use of the inflected future to the written mode of discourse. Gili Gaya observes, "The frequency in the use of the (inflected) future grows with the degree of instruction" (1972: 117). This would explain the differences in results in the use of the future between the youngest and oldest group in the K/B test. While the youngest group had 24% correct answers, the oldest group had 86% right responses. The latter result is higher than the results of the Mexican children who fell in the same age range. The older Chilean group may have done better in this category than their Mexican counterpart because in their schools they may be experiencing a positive reinforcement from the French inflected future which is similar to that of Spanish. This would seem to be a plausible explanation because when the K/B test results of the children who are enrolled in the

English school system were examined, it was noticed that they supplied the ir a + inf. (be going to + Infinitive) future instead of the inflected one.

Present Perfect Tense. The group as a whole produced only 10 spontaneous sentences with this tense where it was required. The only problems observed here were the children's tendency to regularize the irregular past participle and, in one instance, to use the past participle without the auxiliary have, which was observed by Gili Gaya in four year-old children in Puerto Rico. Two different children made the regularization, "hemos escrito", instead of "hemos escrito", and "habían abrido" instead of "habían abierto". One child failed to supply the auxiliary have in, "no lo visto más", instead of "no lo he visto más". The development of this category seemed to be similar to that of the monolingual Mexican children.

Past Imperfect. One hundred and sixty two were correctly produced by the children in their spontaneous speech. They occurred when the children were asked to talk and tell stories about what they were doing. Since the past imperfect is the narrative tense par excellence in Spanish, the children were bound to produce it when they invented stories. Even though they produced the past imperfect without any problems in their spontaneous speech, they had difficulties in supplying it in the K/B test. It will be remembered that the results in this category in the K/B test were 27% correct for the younger children and 70% correct for

the older group.

Their errors consisted of the addition of wrong inflectional endings to the nonsense verb or, among the younger children, repetition of the nonsense verb. The children's scores were much lower when they were corrected according to Mexican standards. These results went up when the Chilean standard was applied, since the adults made the same error that most of the children made: they did not discriminate the differences in meaning between the two questions that elicited the preterite and the imperfect. The differences between these two tenses in Spanish should be mentioned here. "In the imperfect tenses, the attention of the speaker is focussed on the passage or continuity of the action, without being interested in the beginning or in the end of such action" (Esbozo de una Nueva Gramatica de la Lengua Española (1973: 462). On the other hand, the Preterite is used when the action has been completed in the past. The following are the questions that the K/B test asks for the elicitation of the imperfect and the preterite:

11- (Past Tense Imperfect) El hombre tica*. Lo hace todos los días. Todo el año pasado lo hacía. Todo el año pasado, él _____. (The man tica*-s. He does it every day. All the past year he did it. All the past year, he _____.)

12- (Past Tense Preterite) El hombre soste*. Lo hace hoy. Ayer lo hizo. Ayer él _____. (The man soste*-s. He does it today. Yesterday he did it. Yesterday he _____.)
(p. 4)

What seemed to happen when both children and adults answered these two questions was that they did not quite see the subtle differences between the two. However, why did the Mexican

children do better? One plausible explanation might be that they are more constantly exposed to it in their environment, which is not the case with the Chilean children because the Mexican dialect spoken in Jalisco, Mexico, makes clearer distinctions between these two forms of the past than the Chilean dialect. However, there are no objective studies to prove this. But, above all, Chilean children seemed to reflect the Chilean adults' lack of discrimination between the questions used to elicit these two tenses.

Past Preterite. There were 247 instances of correct production of this tense in the children's spontaneous speech. This profusion concurs with Gili Gaya's findings in the Puerto Rican dialect in which the preterite is the most frequent tense after the present tense. In his opinion, this tense almost totally absorbs both past tenses.

In the K/B test the most common error among the younger children in this tense, (as in the past imperfect), was the repetition of the nonsense stem verb. The older children's most common error was the attachment of wrong inflectional endings to the nonsense verb. The fact that there did not seem to exist a relationship between frequency of use and correctness of results in the K/B test is striking. The low results in both Chilean and Mexican children in the past preterite as well as in the imperfect seems to show that the abstraction of these two categories takes longer to develop than others such as the plural or the past perfect tense.

What may be inferred from the above analysis is that the K/B test and the spontaneous speech data show two different facets of the children's linguistic development. While they seemed to be using their mother tongue without great problems in the communication of their ideas in their spontaneous speech, the K/B test shows that when compared to monolingual children, the younger bilingual Chilean children seemed to be developing more slowly in the specific task of abstracting grammatical rules. The older children, on the other hand, seemed more advanced than their Mexican counterparts in abstracting rules in seven of the ten categories on the test.

Comparison of BSM and Spontaneous Speech Data

The administration of this test showed that 90% of the Chilean children fell in the Proficient Level; 6;6% fell in the Intermediate Level; and 3;3% fell in the Survival Level. The correction of the test disclosed that most of the children's difficulties were in the use of the past subjunctive (perfect). The only child from whom it was almost impossible to elicit complete sentences in his spontaneous speech was very accurately placed in the Survival Level by the BSM. The speech of the children who fell in the Intermediate Level was not recorded, but no major syntactic errors were noticed in their speech when they spoke spontaneously with the interviewer.

In order to verify the correspondence between the test results and the children's spontaneous speech, their

errors in the BSM and in their spontaneous speech were marked so as to establish a correspondence. There was no need to check for the past subjunctive (perfect) because it was never produced by the children when they talked spontaneously, even though they produced it in an average of 48% of the obligatory contexts of the BSM.

The child who fell in the Survival Level answered mostly by using monosyllables. The only sentences that he produced were very brief, "quiero un pato también" and "me gusta todo". He produced both "no sabe" and "no sé"; the former is the regularized form of "saber" in the first person singular, present tense indicative. He very frequently supplied the wrong indefinite article: instead of saying "una vaca", he said "un vaca". His pronunciation of un (an) seems to be influenced by French un (ɛ̃). In the BSM he could not answer one of the questions that elicited the possessive de él; instead he produced a él which appears to be based on a French structure. In his spontaneous speech he produced "una casa a perro", instead of "la casa del perro", thus confirming his errors in the test. Since he produced very few complete sentences in his spontaneous speech, it was not possible to check for other structures. Apart from the above child, only three of the 14 children whose spontaneous speech was recorded supplied wrong answers in three items of the BSM; however, when their spontaneous speech was checked in order to see whether they made these errors when speaking freely, none of their BSM errors appeared. So, not much more

use of the BSM results could be made. These seem only to confirm the fact that the great majority of the children do not have major syntactic problems that obstruct the communication of their ideas.

Interference

The children expressed their ideas and feelings without any problems in their spontaneous speech. There is, however, a peculiarity in some of the children's language which would be worth mentioning: at least 50% of them showed some evidence of interference, especially from French, in their free production. This feature appeared in the youngest group (5-6-7 age range) as well as in the oldest group (8-9-10 age range), but it tended to be infrequent in the 10 year-olds; only one child of this age used a borrowed word in his spontaneous speech.

Interference had the following characteristics in the children's free production:

a) A foreign lexical item was directly used in their Spanish in such phrases and sentences as,

- 1- El león, el rey de la jungle (L, 8;8)
- 2- Hay la jirafa, una cosa...l'autruche (V, 9;0)
- 3- Transportan... como cargo (L, 8;8)
- 4- Hay una roche aquí (V, 9;0)
- 5- El jefe de los cowboys salió del fort (R, 7;1)
- 6- A mí me gustan los perroquets (L, 8;8)
- 7- Un casse-tête... un rompecabeza (C, 6;6)

b) French structures or words were translated into

Spanish,

- 8- Son los animales libres (V, 9;0)
- 9- Unos gorros... más que si quieren los hacen (R, 7;1)
- 10- Unos vinos que la llamaban agua de vida (R, 7;1)
- 11- ...Igual como los hombres de cavernas (M.A., 7;9)
- 12- Los hombres de cavernas no viven todavía (Fco., 8;2)
- 13- Empecé por meter mi cara debajo del agua (Fco., 8;2)
- 14- Yo abrí mis ojos debajo del agua (Fco., 8;2)
- 15- Decía, "Cierra tus ojos y abre tu boca" (Fco., 8;27)
- 16- Puedo hacer una otra? (R., 7;1)
- 17- Qué tienes grandes orejas! (C., 5;6)
- 18- Qué tienes grandes ojos! (C., 5;6)
- 19- Y le dijo el lobo, "Es pa' mejor verte" (C., 6;6)

c) The foreign word was adjusted to the Spanish morphemic pattern,

- 20- Un trupo de corderos (A., 10;11)
- 21- ...al cortarlo nunca es bien rondo (J., 9;4)

The sentences in section b) above, reveal interference of French syntactic structures in the children's Spanish constructions. The most characteristic of these was the inversion of the position of the adjective, "qué tienes grandes ojos", instead of "qué ojos tan grandes tienes". This concurred with the observation of one of the parents who reported that her child usually says: "una grande casa", or "un grande lago", instead of "una casa grande" or "un lago grande". Also reported by a parent was the misplacement of the adverb in such sentences as: "no ha nada dicho", or "no

he jamás visto", instead of "no ha dicho nada" or "no he visto jamás". This happened once in the spontaneous speech of one child who said, "es pa' mejor verte" instead of "es para verte mejor". Apart from these examples, which might show a trend in the children's Spanish syntax, the other interference cases were lexical items from French.

Chapter 4

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

All of the data gathered about the children's socio-cultural background and test results are examined in this chapter in order to make inferences about the maintenance of their Spanish syntactic structures.

As stated in the Introduction, the present study was begun with three questions in mind. The three questions were fundamental in the construction of the questionnaire that was sent to the parents, and they were used as guidelines for the interpretation of the results. The results are discussed below in terms of these three questions.

Question One. Will children who arrived in Canada at an older age maintain their native syntactic structures better than children who arrived at a younger age? In order to answer this question, the age at arrival of each child was listed in hierarchical order from the youngest to the oldest. Then, each child's results in both the K/B test and in the BSM were set next to the age of arrival. (See Table 9).

The problem encountered in trying to answer this question was that the children who arrived at a younger age in Canada were also the youngest children of the sample in 1979 of the cases. Therefore, it was not possible to determine whether some of the younger children's low results were caused by the fact that their syntactic development was

Table 9
 Subjects' Age at Arrival, Years in Canada and
 Results in the K/B Test and BSM

Age at arrival	Years in Canada	Score on K/B Test (of 22)	BSM Level
1;4	4 *	13	5
2;2	4 *	3	3
2;4	7	20	5
2;10	5 *	12	5
2;11	5 *	13	5
2;11	4 *	9	5
3;1	4 *	10	4
3;3	3 *	9	5
3;11	4 *	7	5
4;0	4	22	5
4;2	5	16	5
4;4	4	10	5
4;4	4	15	5
4;7	5	10	5
4;11	1 *	2	4
5;2	4	16	5
5;5	4	12	5
5;8	5	20	5
5;9	5	16	5
6;0	5	22	5
6;4	3	22	5
6;8	4	20	5

Table 9 (Cont.)

Subjects' Age at Arrival, Years in Canada and
Results in the K/B Test and BSM

Age at arrival	Years in Canada	Score on K/B Test (of 22)	BSM Level
6;8	1 *	3	5
6;10	1 *	8	5
7;2	4	21	5
8;3	2	16	5
8;4	1	13	5
8;4	1	15	5
8;8	2	11	5
9;3	1	22	5

* Younger group

still in process, or because they had arrived in Canada at a younger age. An effort was made to try to establish a possible correlation between the children's age at arrival and their results in the K/B test, which discriminated more than the BSM, but the scores were scattered all over the diagram showing no specific direction (See Figure 1). Because of the questions raised regarding the validity of the K/B test, it was considered inappropriate to use the scores for a calculation of rank order correlations to answer this question. In spite of these drawbacks, a close examination of Table 9 shows some interesting facts; for instance, the child who has been living in Canada the longest (seven years),

Age at
arrival in
Canada

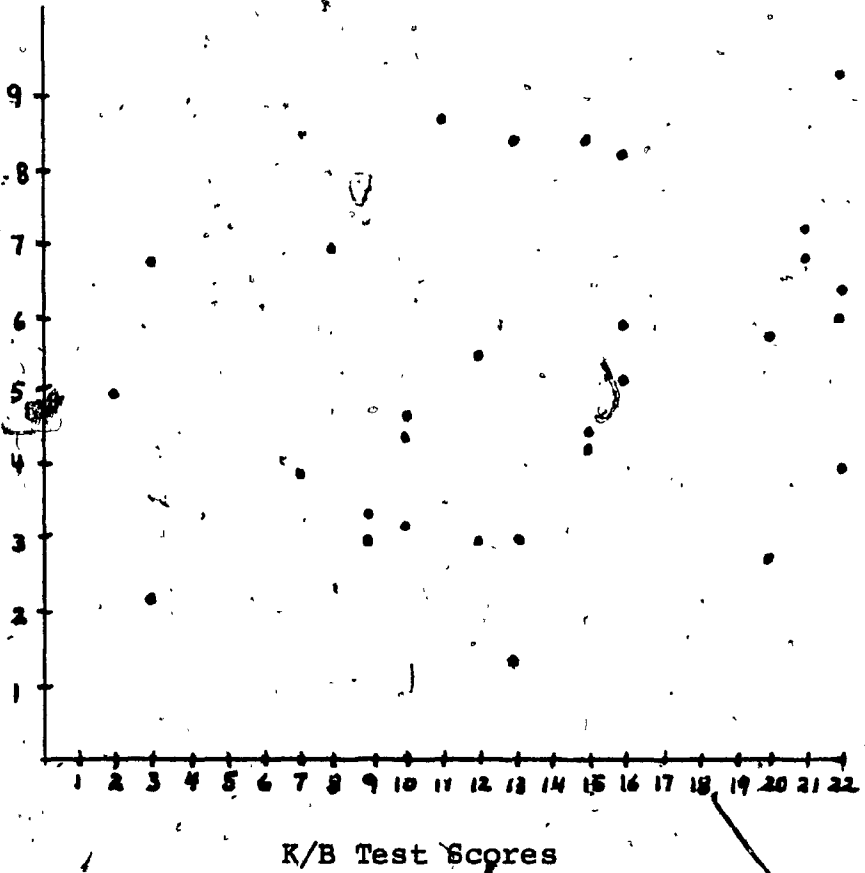


Figure 1

Scatter Diagram Showing Subjects' Age at Arrival
and K/B Test Scores

and who arrived in Montreal at age 2;4, had very high results in both tests (20 in the K/B test and Level 5 in the BSM). Also, the child who arrived in Canada at a youngest age (1;4), had a comparatively high result in the K/B test, in relation to children who arrived at a much later age as, for instance, the next to last child in the list, who arrived in Canada at age 8;8, and who scored 11 in the K/B test. Such was also the case of two children who fell in the younger group, and who arrived in Canada at ages 6;8 and 6;10 in 1978, but whose scores in the test were three and eight. On the other hand, the BSM test results were not very useful for the purpose of clarifying the question since the children's performance was almost uniformly good. The most precise information that it yielded for the purposes of this question was that the children who got the lowest results in it fell within the half of the sample who were youngest on arrival. Therefore, it was not possible to answer the above question from the data available. In this sample there is no relationship between younger or older age of arrival and maintenance or loss of the native syntactic structures. Age of arrival, length of residence and age at testing are all confounded. Other factors must also be considered. One such possible factor might be the one presented in the second question, the size of the child's family group.

Question Two. Will children who belong to big families (six members or more) maintain their Spanish syntactic structures better than those who belong to smaller

groups?

This question was based on the observation that children in big family groups tend to interact more among themselves than with neighbor peers. Thus, the child could be expected to have more contact with Spanish.

In order to answer the question, a list was made of the children and the number of members of their families, together with each child's scores in the K/B test were set next to each subject. Thirteen of the 30 children belonged to family groups of six members or more; 77% of these 13 children got scores of 11 or more (of a possible of 22) in the K/B test, while of the remaining 17, 53% got scores over 11 in the same test. These figures seemed to show that there was some relationship between the size of the family and K/B test results. Then, it was decided to find the mean score of the children who belonged to four-member families, five-member families, and so on. Results are shown in Table 10.

The results also implied that there was some relationship between family size and K/B scores. This did not hold for the two children of the family of ten members; however, because these two children belonged to the same family, and because they both fell in the youngest group, none of whom did well in the K/B test, they may not in fact be contradictory examples.

It should also be mentioned here, in support of the

Table 10

Relationship Between Size of Family Groups and Mean Scores
in the K/B Test

No of children	No of family members	Mean Score in the K/B Test
8	4 members	11.6
9	5 members	13.3
6	6 members	15.5
2	7 members	21.0
3	8 members	16.6
2	10 members	5.0

above relationship, that two of the three children who fell in the BSM Survival and Intermediate Levels, belonged to families of fewer than six members.

Question Three.

Is the intuitive assessment of the parents correct when they rate their children's grammatical proficiency as lower than that of monolingual Spanish-speaking children?

It should be remembered at this point that of the parents who answered Question 29 of the questionnaire, "How would you rate your child's Spanish as compared to the Spanish of children of their age in Chile" (Vocabulary - Grammar), 20% rated their children's grammar as good, 63% as

fair, and 13% as poor (One of the 30 parents did not answer the grammar section of this question). Even when they had a 5-point scale on which to evaluate their children, they grouped their answers in the three lower points on the scale. This estimate contrasted with their rating of the children's vocabulary for which they used four points of the scale, grouping their answers in good in 50% of the cases. When the parents' evaluations were compared to the children's results in the BSM and in the K/B test, it was found that more often than not the parents' estimates of their children's linguistic abilities were less favorable than the children's test results. In order to represent these results graphically, the following scale was designed for the K/B scores with a hypothetical correspondence to the parents' ratings.

<u>Parents' ratings</u>	<u>K/B Test Scores (in percentage)</u>
Poor	1-50
Fair	51-70
Good	71-80
Very Good	81-90
Excellent	91-100

The children's test scores placed 34% of them in the poor category, 24% in the fair category, 14% in the good category, and 28% in the excellent category. Figure 2 is a graphic representation of the parents' evaluation in percentages, and the percentage of subjects who were placed in the five categories according to their results in the K/B test.

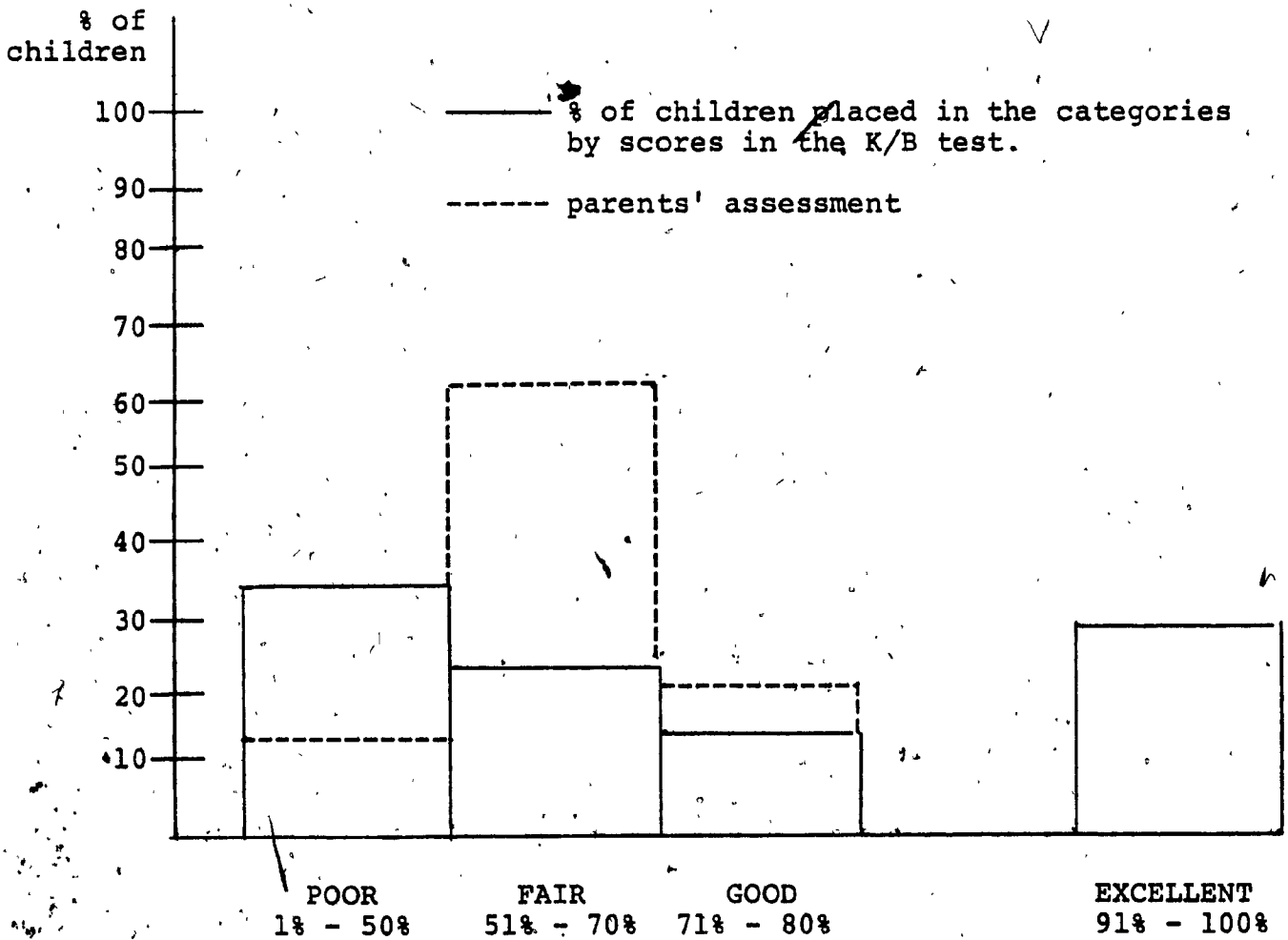


Figure 2
 Parents' assessment of Children's Grammar
 and Children's K/B Test Scores

The graph shows that more children than the parents expected fall in the poor category, according to their results in this test. There is a difference of 21% between what the parents expected and the children's scores. The difference is the biggest (39%), in fair, where most of the parents' judgments are crowded. The parents' expectations are 6% higher than the children's scores in the good category. None of the parents rated their children's grammar as very good and excellent; however, 28% of the children fall within the latter category in the test.

On the other hand, the children's results in the BSM grouped 90% of them in the highest level, thus contradicting the majority of the parents' judgments. Considering all of the above data, it may be concluded that there is no relationship between the children's grammatical proficiency and the parents' judgment of it.

The fact that many parents do not know exactly what is meant by grammar, may have produced these results. They may have included in this concept the children's Spanish phonology, spelling and their borrowed French lexicon rather than grammar. Also, the fact that in their Montreal schools, the children are not learning Spanish grammar as a discipline, the way other children in the Spanish-speaking world are, may have played a part in their evaluation.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to investigate the maintenance of the native Spanish grammatical structures in a group of 30 immigrant Chilean children in the bilingual environment of Montreal. The data to explore their Spanish proficiency were gathered by means of: a) a questionnaire designed for the parents so as to get information about the children's socio-cultural background; b) the Kernan/Blount test for the internalization of Spanish grammatical rules; c) the Bilingual Syntax Measure; and d) recordings of the children's spontaneous speech production. The results are summarized below.

a) The data drawn from the questionnaire sent to the parents were used with the purpose of answering three questions posed in the Introduction to this study. As for the first question, it was not possible to establish a relationship between the children's age of arrival in Canada and their scores in the K/B test because the children who arrived in Canada younger were also the younger ones when they took the test and their lower scores could be due to immaturity. Furthermore, some children who arrived very young were found to have the highest scores and some who were older at arrival had the lowest. In answer to the second question, there appeared to be a relationship between size of the family groups

and results in the K/B test. The answer to the third question was that the children's K/B test results and the BSM results contradicted the parents' opinion that their children's Spanish grammar was poorer than that of monolingual Chilean speakers.

b) The K/B test results showed higher scores than the Mexican subjects for the older children in seven of the ten categories and lower scores for the younger children of this study, as compared to the Mexican children in six of the ten categories. (See Table 4).

However, the poorer results of the younger group cannot be ascribed to the fact that they are learning a second language or to the pressures of the environment, since the scores of four of the seven recently arrived Chilean children tested with this instrument were even lower than those of the younger subjects of this study. It would seem that this test measures some elusive aspect of the younger children's metalinguistic development rather than their productive morphology. This was best exemplified in their failure to produce the diminutive, a problem which was also present in the responses given by the older children.

c) The BSM results indicated that the syntactic maintenance of the children was in the Proficiency Level for 90% of the subjects of this study. The two children who fell in the Intermediate Level and the child who fell in the Survival Level might represent cases of slower linguistic development, probably linked to chronological age since they

were among the five youngest in the group.

d) Spontaneous speech. With the exception of the child whose language corresponded to the BSM Survival Level, none of the children evidenced inhibitions in the communication of their ideas due to syntactic problems in their spontaneous speech.

In the Introduction to this study, it was noted that Gonzo and Saltarelli observed that native emigrant languages are characterized by a large borrowed lexicon and a reduction in native lexicon. These characteristics may be observed, particularly among the younger children of this study. They also point out that there is a reduction in redundant code distinctions in number agreement. This feature was also found in the children's spontaneous speech production of the plural; however, it would be difficult to determine whether this corresponds to a reduction of the code or to a Chilean dialect idiosyncrasy. Ten percent of the children showed a lack of understanding and failed to produce sentence embeddings as reported in the BSM analysis. This peculiarity has also been observed by the above authors in emigrant languages, but it is also a developmental characteristic of L₁ speakers. In their study, Gonzo and Saltarelli found a leveling of the morphological system, a feature which appeared to be present in the younger children's results in K/B test when they did not introduce any morphological changes in the test items. However, since most of the recently arrived Chilean children did the same, it had to be rejected as a

feature produced by the influence of the dominant languages. On the other hand, this leveling of the morphological system was not observed in the children's spontaneous speech. Other features that they mention in the study such as reduction in gender agreement, lack of markers of tense and aspect, and reductions of nominalizations were not found in these children's speech, with only one exception. Consequently, it can be said that the language of these children does not present, up to the time when this study was started, the characteristics of emigrant languages as described by Gonzo and Saltarelli. Therefore, taking all of the above data in consideration, some inferences can be stated as conclusions for this study.

It would seem that the maintenance of the native Spanish grammatical structures is not directly related to the age at which a child arrived in Canada: a child who arrived at age 1;3 got the same score in the morphology test as a child who arrived at age 8;4.

The children of this study who belonged to bigger family groups seemed to maintain their Spanish grammatical structures better than children who belonged to smaller family groups.

The parents' complaint that their children are losing their grammar or that it is undeveloped does not apply to the majority of the children of this study. According to observations of spontaneous speech data and results in the BSM, the children have maintained their Spanish syntactic

structures, even though they are constantly in contact with the dominant languages through their peers, through the school system and through the direct or indirect influence of the mass media.

The main difficulties in trying to determine the maintenance of the children's grammatical structures in this study were due to the nature of the instruments used: while the K/B test appeared to be a poor indicator of the children's language productive abilities, the BSM did not seem to discriminate sufficiently among the children. If there had been more adequate instruments, flexible enough to accept dialectal differences but also restrictive enough to produce better discrimination in results, then the conclusions of this study would have been more categorical. It is obvious that there is a need to conduct more in-depth field studies to construct adequate instruments to measure the children's linguistic development. Another drawback for this study was the infeasibility of carrying out an investigation with a group in Chile with the same characteristics as the one used in this study; this would have permitted greater precision in determining syntactic level of maintenance or loss of the Chilean children living in Montreal.

After the data of this study were analyzed, it became clear that many questions could not be answered. For instance, were there qualitative characteristics of the interaction inside the different family groups which influence the child's language maintenance? To what extent were the

problems in the three children who fell in the lower stages of the BSM due to the acquisition of the second language or to individual developmental problems? How did socio-economic status affect language maintenance? A superficial appraisal seems to indicate that there is a correlation between maintenance or loss of the children's grammatical structures and higher and lower socio-economic levels respectively; however, the information provided by the questionnaire responses was not sufficiently precise to resolve this issue. Was the children's proficiency level in the second language an important factor in the development or maintenance of their mother tongue? These are all important questions which should be taken into consideration in future research.

The present study should be considered as an initial exploratory step into this complex area of bilingualism.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire for the Parents

Estimado apoderado:

A fin de determinar el nivel de desarrollo de las estructuras gramaticales en Español de su hijo o hija, y para precisar la influencia que están ejerciendo el Inglés o el Francés en la lengua de los niños, se está realizando un estudio con una muestra aproximada de 20 niños chilenos que están asistiendo a la escuela "Gabriela Mistral". Para obtener la mayor información posible sobre los antecedentes lingüísticos de su hijo o hija le rogamos encarecidamente responder el presente cuestionario y devolverlo a la escuela, por su intermedio, el próximo Sábado.

Los resultados y recomendaciones de la investigación serán dados a conocer próximamente.

Montreal, Abril, 1979.

11. Número de años que ha asistido a esa escuela.

12. Asistió el niño o niña a la escuela de acogida?
 sí _____ no _____
13. Quién cuida al niño o niña cuando regresa de la escuela?

14. Qué lengua usa el niño o niña más frecuentemente fuera de la escuela?

15. Lengua que se habla en la escuela a la que asiste su hijo o hija:
 Francés _____ Inglés _____
16. Lengua que habla el niño o niña con sus padres:
 Español _____ Francés _____ Inglés _____
17. Lengua que usa el niño o niña con chicos de su edad?
 con sus hermanos Español _____ Francés _____ Inglés _____
 con o tros niños Español _____ Francés _____ Inglés _____
 chilenos
 con niños vecinos Español _____ Francés _____ Inglés _____
18. Programas favoritos del niño o niña: (Televisión)
 1. Francés _____ Inglés _____
 2. Francés _____ Inglés _____
 3. Francés _____ Inglés _____
19. Ve sólo programas en Francés? sí _____ no _____
 Ve sólo programas en Inglés? sí _____ no _____
 Ve programas en ambas lenguas? sí _____ no _____

20. Aproximadamente, cuántas horas al día ve T.V. el niño o niña?

21. Lee en Español? sí _____ no _____

22. Aprendió él o ella a leer en Español en Canadá o en Chile?

23. Si aprendió a leer aquí, en qué lengua aprendió a hacerlo primero? en Español _____ en Inglés _____ en Francés _____

24. Si el o ella lee en Español, qué libros o revistas lee frecuentemente?

25. Le lee o cuenta Ud. cuentos en Español? sí _____ no _____

26. Libros o revistas que él niño o niña lee frecuentemente: en Francés en Inglés

27. Radio que se escucha en la casa:

28. Participa su hijo o hija en actividades con otros niños chilenos? sí _____ no _____ deportivas culturales juegos fiestas (cumpleaños, peñas)

29. Como calificaria Ud. el Espanol de su hijo o hija comparado con el Espanol de niños de su edad en Chile?

Vocabulario

Gramática

Excelente _____
muy Bueno _____
Bueno _____
Regular _____
Malo _____

Excelente _____
Muy Bueno _____
Bueno _____
Regular _____
Malo _____

Appendix 2

Hierarchical Ordering of Spanish Structures
for Spanish speaking Pupils*

* Source: Burt, Dulay, Hernandez-Ch.: 1975.

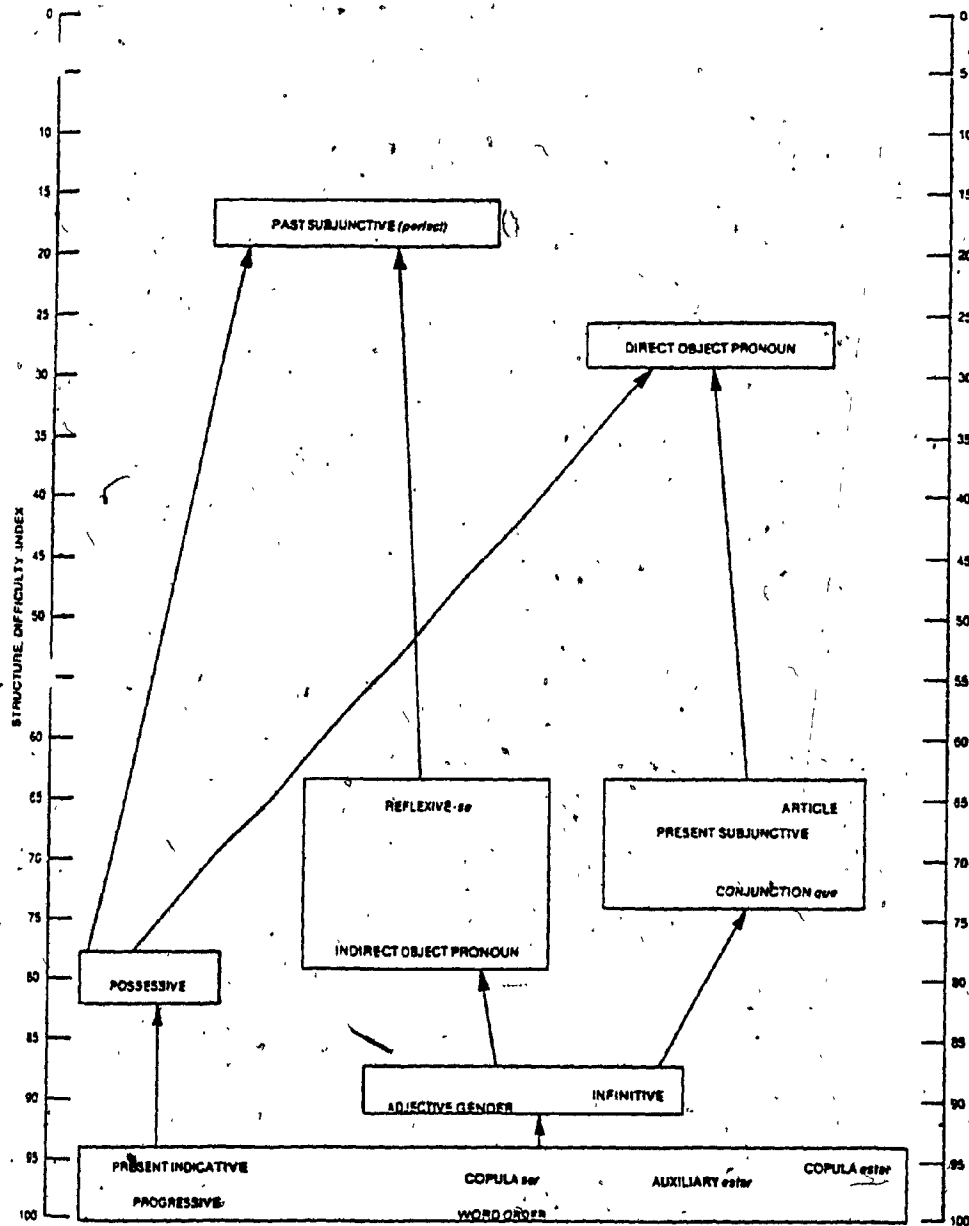


FIGURE 4. Hierarchical ordering of Spanish structures for Spanish speaking pupils

NOTE: The height of each structure in the hierarchy reflects its "difficulty" value, i.e., the percent of obligatory occasions for the structure on which children gave grammatical responses.

Appendix 3

Kernan and Blount Test

Source: Kernan, K. & Blount, B.G. The acquisition of Spanish grammar by Mexican children. Anthropological Linguistics, 1966, 89, 1-14.

The following is the complete test, in the order in which the items were presented, with the omission of the examples. Pronunciation is indicated by regular Spanish orthography. A statement of the grammatical rule being tested precedes each item. Each item is given in Spanish, as it was presented, and it is followed in parenthesis by an English translation.

1. (Plural) Esta es una tifa*. Ahora hay otra. Hay dos de ellas. Hay dos _____. (This is a tifa*. Now there is another one. There are two of them. There are two _____).
2. (Plural) Esta es una fepa*. Ahora hay otra. Hay dos de ellas. Hay dos _____. (This is a fepa*. Now there is another one. There are two of them. There are two _____).
3. (Plural) Este es un fetor*. Ahora hay otro. Hay dos de ellos. Hay dos _____. (This is a fetor*. Now there is another one. There are two of them. There are two _____).
4. (Diminutive) Este es un fetor* pequeño. ¿Cómo se llama un fetor* pequeño? (This is a small fetor*. What do you call a small fetor*?)
5. (Diminutive) Este es un tifo* pequeño. ¿Cómo se llama un tifo* pequeño? (This is a small tifo*. What do you call a small tifo*?)
6. (Agentive-active) Este es un hombre que sabe tica*. Está ticaado*. ¿Cómo se llama un hombre que tica*? (This is a man who knows how to tica*. He is tica*-ing. What do you call a man who tica*-s?)
7. (Place of business) Esta es una tienda que vende pretas*. ¿Cómo se llama una tienda que vende pretas*? (This is a store that sells pretas*. What do you call a store that sells pretas*?)
8. (Agentive-occupation) Este es un hombre que vende pretas*. ¿Cómo se llama un hombre que vende pretas*? (This is a man who sells pretas*. What do you call a man who sells pretas*?)
9. (Future Tense) El hombre tica*. Mañana lo hará. Mañana, él _____. (The man tica*-s. Tomorrow, he will do it. Tomorrow, he _____)
10. (Present Perfect Tense) El hombre tica*. Lo ha hecho muchas veces. Muchas veces, él ha _____. (The man tica*-s. He has done it many times. Many times, he has _____.)

11. (Past Tense-Imperfect) El hombre tica*. Lo hace todos los días. Todo el año pasado, lo hacía. Todo el año pasado, él _____. (The man tica*-s. He does it every day. All the past year he did it. All the past year, he _____.)
12. (Past Tense-Preterite) El hombre soste*. Lo hace hoy. Ayer, lo hizo. Ayer, él _____. (The man soste*-s. He does it today. Yesterday, he did it. Yesterday, he _____.)
13. (Present Perfect Tense) El hombre soste*. Lo ha hecho muchas veces. Muchas veces, él ha _____. (The man soste*-s. He has done it many times. Many times he has _____.)
14. (Future Tense) El hombre soste*. Mañana, lo hará. Mañana, él _____. (The man soste*-s. Tomorrow, he will do it. Tomorrow, he _____.)
15. (Past Tense-Imperfect) El hombre tote*. Lo hace todos los días. Todo el año pasado, lo hacía. Todo el año, él _____. (The man tote*-s. He does it every day. All the past year, he did it. All the past year, he _____.)
16. (Future Tense) El hombre tote*. Mañana, lo hará. Mañana, él _____. (The man tote*-s. Tomorrow he will do it. Tomorrow, he _____.)
17. (Past Tense-Preterite) El hombre tote*. Lo hace hoy. Ayer, lo hizo. Ayer él _____. (The man tote*-s. He does it today. Yesterday he did it. Yesterday, he _____.)
18. (Present Perfect Tense) El hombre suecha*. Lo ha hecho muchas veces. Muchas veces, él ha _____. (The man suecha*-s. He has done it many times. Many times, he has _____.)
19. (Past Tense-Preterite) El hombre suecha*. Lo hace hoy. Ayer lo hizo. Ayer él _____. (The man suecha*-s. Today he does it. Yesterday he did it. Yesterday, he _____.)
20. (Past Tense-Imperfect) El hombre suecha*. Lo hacía todos los días. Todo el año pasado, lo hacía. Todo el año pasado, él _____. (The man suecha*-s. He does it every day. All the past year, he did it. All the past year, he _____.)
21. (Possessive-singular) Esta es una tifa* ¿quién tiene una botella. ¿De quién es la botella? (This is a tifa* who has a bottle. Whose bottle is it?)
22. (Possessive-plural) Hay dos tifos*. Los dos tienen sombreros. ¿De quién son estos sombreros? (There are two tifos*. They both have hats. Whose hats are they?)