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RENATO AUGUSTO VORTMANN DE BARBA

NULL OBJECT IN PORTUGUESE AS AN ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE

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'(...) the patriotic Archbishop of Canterbury, found it advisable - " '

'Found what?' said the Duck.

'Found it,' the Mouse replied rather crossly: 'of course you know what "it" means.'

'I know what "it" means well enough, when I find a thing,' said the Duck: 'it's generally a frog or a worm. The question is, what did the archbishop find?'

(Lewis Carroll, Alice in Wonderland)

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ABSTRACT

Within the generative theory of principles and parameters (Chomsky, 1981), empty categories are entities used in syntactic analyses so that certain language structures do not violate universal principles (Mioto, 2007). Brazilian Portuguese (BP) makes use of several of these categories in different structures, and one of the structures allowed by the language is the phenomenon known as object drop, or phonetically null objects. In studies of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), the theory of Full Transfer / Full Access (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996) posits that the initial stage of the L2 is the final stage of the L1, but in finding structures that are not allowed by the L1 syntax, learners access the UG to reset parameters related to these structures. Considering BP is often learned after another additional language, hence being an L3, the Typological Primacy Model (TPM) proposed by Rothman (2010) claims that transfer will occur from the grammar of the language perceived as the most similar, even if transfer from another language would be more facilitative. The present study contains results of an acceptability judgment task with different structures in BP given to both Native speakers (n = 27) and BP learners (L1 Spanish, L2 English)(n = 15). It was expected that, because BP and Spanish are perceived as typologically closer, BP learners would transfer their knowledge from the L1 while evaluating the sentences in BP. The results show that Native speakers have different evaluations depending on the structure being tested, with null objects being preferred in Simple clauses, but no clear preference in structures with strong syntactic islands. The BP learners did not show any clear preference for null or overt objects in structures with strong syntactic islands, but showed preference for null objects in Simple clauses with [− definite] referents. Assuming FT/FA and the TPM, it seems that BP learners kept using the grammar from their L1 in evaluating some of the structures, while in other structures there seems to be some convergence on the target grammar, hinting at some level of access to UG.

Keywords: SLA; Object drop; Phonetically null object; Brazilian Portuguese.

RESUMO

Dentro da teoria gerativa dos princípios e parâmetros (Chomsky, 1981), categorias vazias são entidades utilizadas nas análises sintáticas para que certas estruturas linguísticas não violem princípios universais (Mioto, 2007). O português brasileiro (PB) faz uso de várias dessas categorias em diferentes estruturas, e uma das estruturas permitidas pela língua é o fenômeno conhecido como object drop, ou objeto foneticamente nulo. Em estudos de Aquisição de Segunda Língua (SLA, no original), a teoria de Transferência Total / Acesso Total (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996) postula que o estágio inicial do L2 é o estágio final do L1, mas ao encontrar estruturas que não são permitidas pela sintaxe da L1, os aprendizes acessam a GU para redefinir parâmetros relacionados às estruturas. Considerando que o PB é frequentemente aprendido após outra língua adicional, sendo assim uma L3, o Modelo da Supremacia Tipológica (TPM, no original) proposto por Rothman (2010) afirma que a transferência ocorrerá a partir da gramática da língua percebida como a mais semelhante, mesmo se a transferência de outra língua fosse mais facilitadora. O presente estudo aplicou uma tarefa de julgamento de aceitabilidade com diferentes estruturas em PB tanto para os falantes nativos (n = 27) quanto para os aprendizes de PB (L1 espanhol, L2 inglês) (n = 15) para poder comparar sua avaliação dessas estruturas. Esperava-se que, como PB e espanhol são percebidos como tipologicamente mais próximos, os aprendizes de PB transfeririam seus conhecimentos da L1 ao avaliar as frases em PB. Os resultados demonstram que os falantes nativos têm avaliações diferentes dependendo da estrutura que está sendo testada, com objetos nulos sendo preferidos em orações simples, mas nenhuma preferência clara em estruturas com ilhas sintáticas fortes. Os aprendizes de PB não demonstraram qualquer preferência por objetos nulos ou abertamente realizados em estruturas com ilhas sintáticas fortes, mas mostraram preferência por objetos nulos em orações simples com referentes [–definido]. Assumindo FT/FA e TPM, parece que os aprendizes de PB continuam utilizando a gramática de sua L1 na avaliação de algumas das estruturas, enquanto

que em outras estruturas parece haver alguma convergência na gramática alvo, o que sugere possível acesso à GU.

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INTRODUCTION

With the economic and cultural growth of Brazil, Brazilian Portuguese (BP) has become an increasingly pursued option in foreign language learning around the world. Furthermore, academic exchange programs have been offering opportunities to study in Brazilian universities to students from many different countries, with different first languages (L1) and who need to learn BP during their stay in the country. There is, therefore, a growing need for developing the research area dedicated to the use and processing of additional languages with a focus on BP.

In comparison to languages such as English, French or Spanish, there are still few studies about the processes students undergo during the acquisition of BP, independently of what their L1 is. It is interesting to observe that, while being a language that has shown an increase in the number of students in the past few years, according to the 2013 Modern Linguistic Association (MLA) report on languages studied in the United States (Goldberg, Looney & Lusin, 2015), it seems that many students who decide to study BP do so after having already studied another language. This means that the learning process may have influences not only from the L1, but other languages that have been acquired, making the acquisition process much more complex.

Throughout this study I follow the assumptions of Judd et al. (2001) in the usage of the term additional language, whenever talking about the learning of languages other than the first, regardless of type of contact, since as the authors put it:

> Students may actually be learning not a second but a third or fourth language. 'Additional' applies to all, except, of course, the first language learned. An additional language, moreover, may not be foreign since many people in their country may ordinarily speak it. The term 'foreign' can, moreover, suggest strange, exotic or, perhaps, alien—all undesirable connotations. Our choice of the term 'additional' underscores our belief that additional languages are not necessarily inferior nor superior nor a replacement for a student's first language (p. 6).

The terms L1, L2, and L3 will, nonetheless, be used to discuss theories of L3 acquisition in particular. That is because in order to discuss these theories it is necessary to make a

distinction between the languages in question and the order in which they were acquired. I develop this in the first chapter, where I discuss L3 acquisition theories.

Portuguese, as well as other Romance languages, fits into the category of languages with a positive instantiation of the Null Subject Parameter (NSP), which allows, among other properties, for the omission of pronouns in subject position when they can be recovered by the syntactic or semantic context. However, BP also allows another phenomenon, known as object drop, or phonetically null objects, in which an object, expected by the structure of the verb phrase, may be omitted without hindering communication.

Even though languages closely related to BP, such as Spanish and Italian, and some more distant, like Mandarin Chinese, also allow for the null object phenomenon in certain structures, its occurrence seems to be very common in BP, since the phenomenon may occur both in simple clauses as well as in sentences with syntactic islands, in addition to not showing the [− definite] restriction that some languages, such as Spanish, have. This variation between languages occurs because of the different ways the phenomenon is licensed in each language. This implies that there are several structures that BP learners have to be aware of during the acquisition process, whether their previously acquired languages allow for null objects, with or without restrictions, or not at all.

Therefore, the goal of the present research is to study the null object phenomenon and how learners from different proficiency levels deal with the syntactic differences between BP and their L1. That is, considering that learners acquiring BP may present some difficulties related to the NSP, the aim of the present study is to find out if the null object phenomenon might also be a source of issues during the BP acquisition process. It is, therefore, in the interest of the study to analyze how learners of BP as an additional language perceive the null object phenomenon, that is, if they accept its grammaticality or not.

Taking into consideration that the behavior of the NSP in BP differs from that of other languages (Molsing, 2010), and that, at least in comparison to Spanish and European Portuguese, the null object phenomenon occurs via different syntactic licensing (Farrell, 1990), the intention of this study is to evaluate the competence of learners of BP as an additional language in relation to the phenomenon. More specifically, the focus of the study is to investigate whether BP learners will demonstrate competence in the evaluation of the null object in all contexts that are allowed by BP syntax akin to that of native speakers.

The study has three main goals: (i) The first is to describe the phonetically null object phenomenon and how it is syntactically licensed in BP through a critical analysis of the literature about the phenomenon, as well as a brief description of the phenomenon in the other languages involved in the study; (ii) The second goal involves the administration of a questionnaire with an acceptability judgment task with correction to native speakers of BP, whose results show how productive the phenomenon is in BP and if the results are consistent with what is found in the literature; (iii) Finally, the most important goal is, through the use of the same questionnaire with learners of BP as an additional language living in Brazil, to identify how these students understand and deal with sentences in which there is a null object instead of an overtly expressed one and if the occurrence of the phenomenon may hinder communication in cases where BP learners do not recognize its grammaticality.

The task was modeled focusing on specific linguistic structures in order to test the acceptability or recognition of grammaticality of the structures by native speakers and learners of BP. The main goal of the experiment is to analyze specific linguistic knowledge that is not necessarily contemplated in the classroom.

This dissertation will be organized as follows: in the next chapter I discuss some theoretical concepts regarding the phenomenon and additional language studies (Chapter 1). In the subsequent chapter I explain the main experimental hypotheses of this study together with

the methodology in use (Chapter 2). Finally, I present and discuss the results in the last chapter

(Chapter 3). The questionnaires and terms of consent used with native and non-native speakers

of BP during this study are in the Appendices section.

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter, I review the concept of Universal Grammar and the Principles and Parameters framework. I also describe some relevant theories regarding the processes of acquiring additional languages. After that, I present some concepts about empty categories and I describe the null object phenomenon in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) as well as in the previously acquired languages of the participants of the study.

1.1 UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR

The theory of Universal Grammar (UG) proposed by Chomsky (1981), is that the language faculty is a component of the human mind, which carries all the underlying knowledge of language. This theory, also known as special nativism, posits that the task of language learning is unique, in that it is not shared with any other cognitive processes. UG brings all the innate knowledge of what languages can and cannot do, which means children already have a rich linguistic system upon which they build the grammar of any specific language, as long as there is sufficient input. In other words, when children are presented with the task of acquiring an L1, all they need to do is process the input received in order to develop the grammar of the language to which they are being exposed.

The theory focuses on the linguistic competence of speakers and is a way of answering the logical problem of language acquisition, or the poverty of stimulus argument, which questions how children can come up with and recognize the grammaticality of novel structures that they were never exposed to. UG is the initial state for L1 acquisition, which will be developed through input until it reaches its final state as a full grammar. Once children start developing the grammar of the language they are being exposed to, they are able to use the underlying rules to create sentences they had never heard before, which may sometimes lead to mistakes that could not have come from input, but only UG.

1.1.1 Principles and parameters

Chomsky (1981) defined UG as a set of Principles, which are properties that all natural languages follow, and Parameters, which can vary from language to language. According to this theory, the task of acquiring an L1 consists of analyzing the input and setting the parameters to the correct values according to the language. Since this knowledge is considered to be innate, children, while acquiring their L1, theoretically do not violate principles or set parameters to values not allowed by UG.

An example of a principle is that every phrase must have a head (e.g. a VP has a verb as head), but there are two possible parameter settings regarding head direction: it can be either head-final or head-initial. In this case, Portuguese and English are considered to be head-initial, since the head of the phrase normally comes before its complement. Other languages, like Japanese, may present the opposite configuration, being thus called head-final languages (Saville-Troike, 2006).

1.1.2 The null subject parameter

Another example of how the theory applies to natural languages is the Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky, 1982), or the principle that all clauses must have a subject. However, the Null Subject Parameter (NSP) states that some languages may present a phonetically unrealized subject (Chomsky, 1981). This means that, even though all languages must follow the principle of having a subject in all clauses, some languages do not need to overtly express it, but it is still realized in the underlying syntax in order to fulfill its functions in Theta Theory and Case Theory (Chomsky, 1981). An example are verbs used to talk about the weather, where English needs the expletive *it* (e.g. it rains), Portuguese leaves this position, apparently, empty (*ec* chove).

Chomsky (1981) states that one of the key concepts in the Principles & Parameters framework is that, once set to a specific value, the setting of a single parameter results in a cluster of settings involving apparently unrelated syntactic properties. For example, when the NSP is set, not only does it allow for the omission of a subject, but it also permits verb-subject inversion in some contexts, as well as *that*-trace.

Assuming the operation of UG, it is possible to study the acquisition of additional languages by examining how learners behave when the parameter setting of an additional language differs from that of their L1.

1.2 ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Second Language Acquisition (SLA), as the field is better known, is the area of linguistics concerned with the study of how languages other than the L1 are acquired. The field can be further divided depending on the perspective that is taken. Having assumed the generative perspective and frameworks such as Principles & Parameters (Chomsky (1981)), language will be viewed as a system of rules restricted by UG and its acquisition depends on the setting of parameters according to the grammar of the language being study.

1.2.1 Interlanguage

White (2003) cites many authors who, independently, proposed the concept of interlanguage (Adjémian (1976), Corder (1967), Nemser (1971) and Selinker (1972)) as a grammar in an intermediate stage, but still constrained by UG principles. The reasoning for this concept comes from the fact that the grammar of any additional language, no matter at what stage of proficiency, theoretically does not diverge from the possibilities that UG allows in natural languages, suggesting rule-governed behaviour at all times during the acquisition

process. The interlanguage starts based on the grammar of previously acquired languages and develops based on input, and should not diverge from the constraints imposed by UG.

This means that, during the course of this study, we expect to find different results regarding the acceptability of the null object phenomenon, but all possible outcomes should be restricted to possibilities that are allowed by UG, be it as a reflection of the L1 of the participants or any other setting present in natural languages.

1.2.2 Full Transfer / Full Access

In SLA studies, the theory of Full Transfer / Full Access (FT/FA), proposed by Schwartz & Sprouse (1996), provides an explanation for the process by which learners are able to acquire different syntactic structures. According to this theory, the initial state of the additional language is the final stage of the L1, but when coming across structures that are not permitted in the L1 syntax, learners access UG to reset parameters in a way that supports such structures in the interlanguage.

White (2003) mentions Haznedar (1997) as an example with a study of spontaneous oral productions of a Turkish child living in England. The two languages, Turkish and English, differ in the order of both lexical and functional elements: Turkish is head-final whereas English is head-initial. In the beginning of the study, the production of the child consisted categorically of sentences with Turkish order, even when the vocabulary in use was English, which demonstrated that the initial stage of the L2 grammar was a simple transfer of the L1 grammar. At the end of the study, the syntactic order in use was that of English, head-initial, which demonstrated that the child was able to successfully reset the parameter of the additional language, corroborating the predictions made by FT/FA theory.

It is important to note that Full Access does not entail native-like grammar/knowledge, but only restricts the interlanguage to UG. This means that the interlanguage, independently of

its stage of development, will theoretically follow principles and set parameters to values allowed by UG. Fossilization may still occur, rendering a grammar that is divergent from the grammar of native-speakers, even if the level of proficiency attained by the learner is high.

1.2.3 Third Language Acquisition

In the current state of the art, studies related to third language acquisition from a generative perspective are becoming more frequent since, as García Mayo & Rothman (2012) put it, "many researchers in second language acquisition (SLA) from all paradigms have conducted studies on L3 acquisition without, knowingly or unwittingly, labeling it as such". This happens, according to the authors, mainly because in places such as Canada and Europe, it is expected of people to learn additional languages as early as they enter school, meaning that participants usually have at least partial knowledge of more than one additional language.

Since the implicit knowledge of the L1 seems to have great influence on the acquisition of a second language (L2), different models have been proposed as to how both previously acquired languages influence the acquisition of a third one (L3). According to the Typological Primacy Model (TPM) proposed and developed by Rothman (2010, 2011, 2013, 2015), influence from previously acquired languages is conditioned by perceived similarities among the three grammars. Much like other Full Transfer theories, the TPM predicts that the transfer of either L1 or L2 is complete at an early stage of the L3. The syntactic properties of the language regarded as typologically closest constitute the initial state, even if that is not the most economical option. This means that, if one of the languages is perceived as being more structurally similar than the other, transfer will occur even if this means more work for the parser during the development of the interlanguage.

Rothman (2010) reports the results of an experiment on the acquisition of BP as an L3 by two groups who had either English or Spanish as their L1 and the other language as their L2.

The study examined word order restrictions on VS order in BP. Even though Spanish and BP are typologically closer, BP actually shares with English a preference for maintaining SV order in both declarative and interrogative sentences, while Spanish has both options for declarative sentences but only accepts the VS order in questions. As predicted by the TPM, BP learners transferred their knowledge of Spanish, either as their L1 or L2, to the judgment of L3 BP, corroborating the model, since Spanish is the typologically closer language to BP in the set.

1.3 EMPTY CATEGORIES

Empty categories are, simply put, elements used in syntactic analysis to keep some structures of the language from violating universal principles (Mioto et al., 2007). In order for null subject languages to adhere to Theta Theory and Case Theory, PRO and *pro* were proposed as a possible explanation (Chomsky, 1982). Both PRO and *pro* are [+ pronominal] empty categories, but *pro* must appear in Case positions while PRO is Caseless, or, as Jaeggli & Safir (1989) put it:

> One difference between PRO and *pro* that has been frequently been noted since Rizzi (1982) is that *pro* can be interpreted as free and specific whereas PRO almost never has this interpretation unless it is controlled by some other NP (p. 15).

In adding *pro* and PRO to the inventory of UG, together with other empty categories such as *traces* and *variables*, it is possible to see that the underlying structure of language has much more than meets the eye. This has led to the discussion about how these empty categories are used in different languages and to what extent, which will be addressed in the next section.

1.3.1 Distribution of empty pronouns

Huang (1984) discusses the distribution of empty pronouns based on the hot-cool division from McLuhan (1964). According to this division "a medium is "hot" if the communication process involves little or no audience participation, and "cool" if active audience participation

is required." This was adapted to languages by Ross (1982) and developed in Huang's paper, in that 'hot' languages are sentence-oriented while 'cool' languages are discourse-oriented.

According to this classification, English is a hot language since its pronouns cannot be omitted and information is only obtainable by what is overtly seen or heard. On the other hand, Chinese is a prototypical 'cool' language, since its pronouns are usually omissible and, thus, understanding a sentence requires some work from the reader or listener. Huang also proposes a 'medium-hot' type of language, with the example of Spanish, in which subject pronouns may be omitted, but object clitics may not.

The following examples, taken from Huang (1986) show the possible distribution of null pronouns, all of them ungrammatical in English, but that may be grammatical in different languages provided they appear in the appropriate contexts.

(1.1)   Did John see Bill yesterday?
    a) Yes, he saw him.
    b) *Yes, *ec* saw him.
    c) *Yes, he saw *ec*.
    d) *Yes, *ec* saw *ec*.
    e) *Yes, I guess (that) *ec* saw *ec*.
    f) *Yes, John said (that) *ec* saw *ec*.
        (Huang, 1986)

Huang (1986) argues that, along with Chinese, Portuguese can also be considered a 'cool' language, since all the sentences above would be rendered grammatical, setting it apart from other Romance languages such as Spanish and Italian in which some of the sentences would definitely be ungrammatical. Even though there have been further developments on the distribution of both null subjects and null objects across languages, the table below[1], based on descriptions by Huang (1986), shows the possibility of empty categories across the three types of languages discussed by the author.

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[1] It is important to note that not all the empty categories shown in the table refer to *pro* or PRO, but may be other empty categories, such as *traces* or *variables*.

	hot	medium	cold	
a)	✗	✓	✓	*ec* came
b)	✗	✗	✓	John saw *ec*
c)	✗	✗	✓	*ec* saw *ec*
d)	✗	✓	✓	John said that *ec* saw Bill
e)	✗	✗	✓	John said that Bill saw *ec*
f)	✓	✓	✓	John tried *ec* to come
g)	✗	✗	✗	*ec* to come

Table 1.1: Possibility of empty categories according to language type

1.4 PHONETICALLY NULL OBJECT

Similar to the NSP is the phenomenon in which some languages allow for the omission of the direct object in some contexts without hindering communication. This phenomenon, known as object drop, or phonetically null object, is the main focus of this study. Below I present a brief description of the phenomenon in the languages that appear in this study.

1.4.1 The phenomenon in Brazilian Portuguese

Since Huang (1984) discussed the distribution of empty categories, much research has been done about them. Rizzi (1986) brought this notion to Romance languages, more specifically Italian, discussing the null object phenomenon. Many studies were conducted subsequently regarding European Portuguese (Raposo, 1986), Spanish (Campos, 1986), and Brazilian Portuguese (Farrell, 1990). According to Farrell (1990), the *ec* in object position in BP should be regarded as *pro*, since it acts as a pronoun in most cases, which would be unexpected if it were a null operator or variable, and it cannot be PRO since it is case-marked. This means that BP allows for true null objects (*pro*) where the referent is established as a discourse topic (syntactically or pragmatically) and can be recovered even if reference to it is non-overt. It is interesting to note that, even though BP is closely related to Spanish and

European Portuguese (EP), it differs from the other two since, as posited by Rothman & Iverson (2013), the phenomenon in BP is explained as a *pro in situ*, which is a true null object (*pro*), whereas in Spanish and EP the phenomenon obtains via topic-operator movement.

Rothman & Iverson (2013) go on to explain that the contexts that allow the null object phenomenon in BP are Simple clauses, Adjunct islands, Complex-DP islands, and Subject-CP islands, no matter the definiteness of the referent. The table below, based on Rothman & Iverson's (2013) description of the phenomenon in BP, shows the possibilities of overt and null objects, depending on the [± definite] semantic feature.

	[+ definite]		[− definite]	
Clauses	overt	null	overt	null
Simple	#	ok	#	ok
Adjunct	ok	ok	#	ok
Complex-DP	ok	ok	#	ok
Subject-CP	ok	ok	#	ok

Table 1.2: Possibility of overt or null objects in Brazilian Portuguese

Examples of simple clauses, taken from Rothman & Iverson (2013), with a definite referent (1.2) and an indefinite referent (1.3) are shown below[2].

(1.2) - A Carmen trouxe o sorvete ao jantar?
    The Carmen 3P.brought.SG.PST the.DEF ice-cream to-the dinner?
    'Did Carmen bring ice-cream to the dinner?'
     - #Ela o trouxe, sim.
    She it.CLITIC 3P.brought.SG.PST, yes
    'Yes, she brought it.'
    - Ela trouxe, sim.
    She 3P.brought.SG.PST, yes
    'Yes, she brought it'

(1.3) - O Pablo serviu cerveja na festa?
    The Pablo 3P.served.SG.PST beer.INDEF in-the party?
    'Did Pablo serve beer at the party?'
    - #Ele a serviu, sim.

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[2] Throughout this thesis, the symbols '*' and '#' are used to characterize ungrammatical sentences and sentences with difficult reading for native speakers respectively.

He it.CLITIC 3P.served.SG.PST, yes
'Yes, he served it.'
- Ele serviu, sim.
He 3P.served.SG.PST, yes
'Yes, he served it.'
        (Rothman & Iverson, 2013)

Many authors have discussed the possibility of phonetically null objects in BP in relation to different semantic features. According to Cyrino (1994), the use of null objects is almost categorical if the referent is [− animate], regardless of the definiteness of the referent. Moreover, Schwenter & Silva (2002) argue that although there has been extensive debate regarding the syntactic context that allows the phenomenon, little has been said regarding the semantic-pragmatic questions and its restrictions over the phenomenon. Animacy and specificity features seem to be, according to Schwenter & Silva (2002), the most important in determining the possibility of a null object in spoken BP. Creus & Menuzzi (2004), on the other hand, propose that the [semantic gender] feature could alone be responsible for determining the use of a null object[3].

Discussion about the null object phenomenon is frequently accompanied by comparisons to VP ellipsis, since both may result in the same apparent surface structure, which often makes them hard to distinguish. However, since null objects are insensitive to islands in BP (Cyrino & Mattos, 2016), the examples taken here will be called null objects.

The terminological distinction between null objects and VP-ellipsis, as well as the different semantic features proposed as responsible for determining the possibility of null objects, although extremely relevant for the development of the literature regarding null objects in BP were not considered for the creation of the task proposed since the present work was based on the assumptions made in Rothman & Iverson (2013)[4], in which definiteness was the only semantic feature under investigation.

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[3] Ayres (2016) pursues this on her thesis regarding the uses of null objects in spoken child language.
[4] I would like to thank professor Gabriel Othero for pointing out the risks of replicating a study without fully problematizing its assumptions. Some issues that warrant further study include how different semantic features

1.4.2 The phenomenon in Spanish

Still following the descriptions of Rothman & Iverson (2013), Spanish allows null objects, but through a very different process. Spanish dropped objects obtain via topic-operator movement since it is regarded as "the trace of operator OP that has moved in the syntax" (Campos (1986)).

The table below is based on the description of possible null objects in Spanish according to Rothman & Iverson (2013):

Clauses	[+ definite]		[− definite]	
	overt	null	overt	null
Simple	ok	*	#	ok
Adjunct	ok	*	ok	*
Complex-DP	ok	*	ok	*
Subject-CP	ok	*	ok	*

Table 1.3: Possibility of overt or null objects in Spanish.

1.4.3 The phenomenon in English

According to Cummins & Roberge (2004), it is possible to find null objects in some structures of English, such as in imperative sentences or as the object of infinitive verbs, but neither of the structures presented in the paper relates to the ones used to test the knowledge of the structure in BP. That is to say that, in the structures analyzed in this research, null objects would not be expected from speakers of English, since their grammar would deem such structures as ungrammatical.

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influence the acceptability of null objects in Brazilian Portuguese and the distinction between null objects and VP ellipsis structures. See Schwanke (2016) and Cyrino & Mattos (2016).

2. METHODS

In this chapter I outline the hypothesis for the study, after which I describe the instrument and the participants, as well as the procedures for data collecting.

2.1. HYPOTHESIS

With the results of the learners and native groups, it will be possible to analyze how the phenomenon of phonetically null objects in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) is dealt with according to the linguistic background of the participants. It is expected that the learner group will, depending on their previously acquired languages as well as their level of proficiency in BP, show differences in the way the sentences are analyzed. As for the native speaker group, it is expected that they accept sentences in which the phenomenon occurs, showing a behavior which reflects the configuration of the parameters that license the phenomenon in the language.

With the literature about the phenomenon and the results from the native speakers, the aim of the study is to identify how BP learners with different levels of proficiency deal with the structures that present the null object, that is, if the level of proficiency of the learners is a determining factor in the evaluation of acceptability of the structures with null objects. Considering the different answers given by learners in the correction of sentences deemed as not-acceptable, I hope to be able to evaluate other factors involved in the acquisition of the phenomenon, such as the influence of previously acquired languages, enabling a comprehension of the acquisition process of BP as an additional language.

With the results from the control group and the learners group, it will be possible to compare if the evaluation of learners is consistent with the intuition of native speakers in relation to the phenomenon, that is, if the learners behave similarly to native speakers when asked to judge the acceptability of the tested sentences. Considering the Typological Primacy Model (TPM) from Rothman (2010), if any of the learners' previously acquired languages

allows the phenomenon, it is expected that the learners will have no difficulty in accepting the sentences in BP. In cases where none of the learners' previously acquired languages allows null objects, it is expected that learners with a higher level of proficiency in BP will be able to recognize the acceptability of the sentences, while learners with a lower level of proficiency in BP will analyze the sentences according to the grammar of their L1 or other previously acquired languages, demonstrating preference for sentences with overtly expressed objects and rejecting sentences with null objects.

2.1.1 General hypothesis

It is expected that the results of the task applied to native speakers will confirm what is expected from the literature, showing that the phenomenon is accepted in most of the tested contexts and that sentences with an overt object are less accepted. Contrasting the results from the BP learners with those of native speakers, it will be possible to observe which structures are more problematic in the acquisition process of BP.

When considering a variety of L1s and other possible additional languages of BP learners, there are several possible outcomes, such as: (i) speakers whose previously acquired languages do not license the null object phenomenon in any context and who have a lower level of proficiency in Portuguese as an additional language will reject sentences in which it occurs, possibly showing preference for sentences with an overt object, evaluating them as more acceptable than sentences with a null object; (ii) speakers with a low proficiency level in BP as an additional language but who have acquired any language that licenses the phenomenon, albeit in fewer contexts than BP, will possibly evaluate the sentences that would be allowed in the grammar of their previously acquired languages as more acceptable and the others as less acceptable; (iii) speakers with a higher level of proficiency and whose languages do not license the phenomenon may converge to the grammar of BP, demonstrating access to UG, accepting

sentences in which the phenomenon occurs and rejecting sentences considered not acceptable by natives; (iv) speakers whose previously acquired languages licenses the phenomenon and have a high level of proficiency in BP as an additional language should demonstrate a better grasp of the phenomenon, transferring only cases which are similar in both grammars and converging to the grammar of BP in other cases through access to the UG.

Learners with higher proficiency in BP, regardless of linguistic background, may demonstrate awareness of the possibility of null objects in certain contexts. In this case, it will be interesting to see the answers to the sentences that the control group evaluated as unacceptable. If these sentences are also considered unacceptable by the BP learners, it may be evidence of convergence to the target language through access to UG. On the other hand, if these sentences are considered acceptable, it will demonstrate that the learners still use the grammar transferred from their previously acquired languages to evaluate the sentences.

In short, it is of interest to this study to examine whether the results obtained from the acceptability judgment test will be consistent with the assumptions raised by the literature mentioned in the previous chapter. It is expected that, through the analysis of the results it will be possible to find evidence supporting FT/FA theory. In other words, that there is transfer from the L1 or other previously acquired languages but also a resetting of parameters in the acquisition of the phenomenon.

So, if both syntax and the semantic-pragmatic interaction seem to be implicated in the phenomenon, differences in the syntax of previously acquired languages of BP learners (if it allows the null object or not) and, in the case where it is permitted, semantic-pragmatic restrictions may present differing degrees of influence in the process of BP acquisition. It may be possible that learners acquire the syntax of the phenomenon, independently of their level of proficiency, but do not fully grasp its semantic-pragmatic usage until they attain a higher level of proficiency.

2.2 INSTRUMENT

To test the knowledge of native speakers and learners regarding the phenomenon, an online questionnaire using the Qualtrics platform[5] was devised based on Iverson & Rothman (2011) and Rothman & Iverson (2013), who in turn based their instrument on Bruhn de Garavito & Guijarro-Fuentes (2002). In the task, participants should read pairs of question and answer and evaluate the acceptability of the answer by choosing from a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (totally unacceptable) to 5 (totally acceptable).

These studies were selected precisely because they test the knowledge about the null object phenomenon in native speakers of BP as their control group. More specifically, Rothman & Iverson (2013)[6], who analyzed the knowledge of BP native speakers in relation to the phenomenon in Spanish as an additional language, testing the transference of knowledge from one language to the other during the acquisition process.

In the task, multiple dialogs are presented, in which the answer contains different contexts that allow for the null object in BP. The participants then judge the sentences according to their knowledge of the language and, whenever they deem a sentence unacceptable, it is possible to correct the sentence.

The contexts utilized for the questionnaire are of simple clauses, complex-DP islands, subject-CP islands and adjunct islands. Moreover, each context varies according to objects whose referents present the semantic feature [± definite] as well as the presence or absence of a phonetically realized object[7]. The animacy feature was controlled to be always negative, since when the referent in question is inanimate, it almost categorically results in null objects in

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[5] The platform can be accessed at https://www.qualtrics.com/
[6] I am much indebted to professor Iverson who conceded the original questionnaire for the purpose of this study.
[7] In the task, following Rothman & Iverson (2013), the phonetically realized objects were all clitics, although spoken BP frequently

spontaneous speech[8]. Below there are some examples of the different context with the possible variations mentioned above.

(2.1) Simple clauses
    - O Pedro trouxe os presentes para o irmão?   (definite referent)
    The Pedro 3P.brought.SG.PST the.PL.DEF gifts for the brother?
    'Did Pedro bring the gifts to his brother?'
    - Sim, os trouxe.   (overt object clitic)
    Yes, them.CLITIC 3P.brought.SG.PST
    'Yes, he brought them.'

(2.2) Adjunct island
    - A Rosa serviu cerveja na festa?   (indefinite referent)
    The Rosa 3P.served.SG.PST beer in-the party?
    'Did Rosa serve beer at the party?'
    - Sim, ouvi o rumor de que serviu.   (null object)
    Yes, 1P.heard.SG.PST the rumor that 3P.served.SG.PST
    'Yes, I heard the rumour that she did.'

(2.3) Complex-DP island
    - Quem trouxe a cerveja?   (definite referent)
    Who 3P.brought.SG.PST the beer?
    'Who brought the beer?'
    - Não conheço a mulher que trouxe.   (null object)
    Not 1P.know.SG.PRS the woman who 3P.brough.SG.PST
    'I don't know the woman who brought it.

(2.4) Subject-CP island
    - O Carlos mandou chocolates?   (indefinite referent)
    The Carlos 3P.sent.SG.PST chocolate-PL?
    'Did Carlos send chocolate?'
    - Que os mandou é o que dizem.   (overt object clitic)
    That them.CLITIC 3P.sent.SG.PST is the what 3P.said.PL.PST
    'That he sent it is what they say.'

Each syntactic context was tested with sixteen sentences, with four overt objects with a definite referent, four with an indefinite referent, four null objects with a definite referent and four with an indefinite referent for each context. Together with the test sentences, there were sixteen distractor sentences, all with intransitive verbs and that are grammatically correct.

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[8] Even though third person clitics are often shunned in spoken Brazilian Portuguese, both native and non-native speakers who had some formal education are familiar with them, which should not affect the results from the task at hand.

The acceptability judgment task with correction contains sentences that present the phenomenon in different contexts with the intention of (i) identifying possible differences of acceptability in natives and BP learners and (ii) finding out how participants correct the sentences that they deem not-acceptable. These contexts were chosen for testing since these structures may evoke different evaluations from the participants.

Together with the acceptability judgment task, two other questionnaires were also applied. The first one focusing on personal information about the participants regarding their linguistic background such as their L1 and previously acquired languages. The second one is a proficiency test, which was given only to the BP learners, for the purpose of dividing the participants into separate groups, according to their level of proficiency, which helped in the ultimate analysis of the results.

Both tests, together with a model of the consent forms, are found in the appendices of this study and were applied only after the approval of the Ethics Committee from the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS).

2.3 PARTICIPANTS

2.3.1 Native speakers group

The native group consists of 27 native Brazilians, living in Brazil, ranging from the ages of 22 to 77 (mean age of 36.3), 21 female and 6 male, all with high school degrees or more, who have BP as their L1. Most participants (25) mentioned having some knowledge of English, as well as other languages such as Spanish (13), French (6) and Italian (2), other languages such as Russian and Mandarin were only mentioned once. Knowledge of other languages was disregarded for the purpose of the study since it is expected that, because BP is the mother tongue of the participants, influence from other languages should not hinder their understanding or acceptability of the structures being tested.

2.3.2 BP learners group

The group of BP learners who answered the questionnaire was small, but varied. The questionnaire was sent to students in different parts of the country through contact with universities such as the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG), the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), the research group Veredas da Linguagem from the Centro Universitário UNIVATES, as well as a private language school focused on teaching Brazilian Portuguese, Bem Brasil and the Luiza Pabst school.

The total number of participants who answered the questionnaire was 36, most of them speakers of L1 Spanish (28). The other participants had varying L1s, such as English, German and Swedish (each with one participant), Japanese (2) and French (3). The Spanish L1 group was subdivided according to their knowledge of additional languages. Fifteen of the participants mentioned having English as an additional language, while ten mentioned, apart from English, having knowledge of languages such as Catalan, Finnish, French, Galician, German, Italian and Japanese. Three participants answered that they did not have knowledge of any additional language.

Because the group was so heterogeneous, it was subdivided to arrive at a group, considerably smaller, but that presented the same linguistic background. The group whose results were contrasted to that of the native speakers was thus composed of 15 Spanish L1 speakers, with English as an additional language, ranging from the ages of 20 to 47 (mean age of 26.4), 8 female and 7 male, all with high school degrees or more.

2.4 PROCEDURE

To better understand the phenomenon in BP, the task was applied to native speakers. In the task, there were multiple sentences with different contexts in which the phenomenon may

occur, in order to identify in which instances the omission of the object is acceptable according to the judgment of BP native speakers. Moreover, the sentences deemed unacceptable were expected to be corrected by the participants, indicating the interpretation for this judgment. An example of a test sentence can be seen below.

> \- Quem trouxe cerveja?
> \- Não conheço o rapaz que a trouxe.
>
> Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
> Correção (opcional):

The same task was applied to BP learners in different levels of proficiency and different linguistic backgrounds. The results from both groups were analyzed and contrasted using the software SPSS in order to observe differences in the evaluation of acceptability of the sentences, as well as possible corrections made to sentences deemed unacceptable. With the analysis of the results from both groups, it is expected that a discussion of the validity of TPM and FT/FA in learners of BP as an additional language is possible.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I start by presenting the results from the native speakers and the test group separately, which I contrast in the second part of the chapter. Finally, I discuss the repercussions of said results and comparisons for my hypotheses and the theory assumed.

3.1 RESULTS

The results[9] from the questionnaire were analyzed using the SPSS software, using a Linear Mixed Model with LSD adjustment. The results from the tests are presented below for each group and then compared and contrasted.

3.1.1 Native speakers

All the graphs presented below indicate the response averages from Brazilian Portuguese (BP) native speakers, with error bars at a 95% confidence interval. Considering rates above 4.000 as acceptable, it is possible to analyze which contexts were preferred by BP native speakers and which were not.

Figure 3.1 shows the average ratings for the Simple clauses. It can be seen that simple clauses with a [+ definite] referent with a dropped object had an average rating of 4.840, while overt objects had an average of 3.877, with significant differences (p = < .001). Simple clauses with a [− definite] referent and a dropped object had an average rating of 4.877, while the same context with overt objects had an average of 3.321, with significant differences (p = < .001).

These results show that native speakers have a preference for dropped objects in Simple clause contexts with both [+ definite] and [− definite] referents, which is what is expected according to the literature.

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[9] Due to the length of the questionnaire, I decided to eliminate the last block of questions for the analysis, since it may have caused fatigue in some BP learners. Some may have answered remaining questions randomly, while other did not answer them at all. This left 3 responses for each specific construction (e.g. three Simple clauses with a [+ definite] referent and a null object.) instead of four as originally planned.

Figure 3.1: Averages of Simple clauses by Native speakers (S+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; S+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; S–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; S–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects).

Figure 3.2 shows the average ratings for sentences with Adjunct islands. Adjunct island sentences with a [+ definite] referent with a dropped object had an average rating of 4.370, while overt objects had an average of 4.272, with p = 1.000. Meanwhile, adjunct island sentences with a [– definite] referent and a dropped object had an average rating of 3.741, while the same context with overt objects had an average of 3.778, with p = 1.000.

These results show that native speakers accept both dropped and overt objects in Adjunct island sentences with a [+ definite] referent, with no significant difference between them, while both types of objects were below the acceptability threshold when there is a [– definite] referent, which was not expected.

Figure 3.2: Averages of Adjunct island sentences by Native speakers (A+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; A+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; A–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; A–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects)

Figure 3.3 shows the average ratings for sentences with Complex-DP islands. Complex-DP island sentences with a [+ definite] referent with a dropped object had an average rating of 3.988, while overt objects had an average of 4.296, with p = 1.000. Complex-DP island sentences with a [– definite] referent and a dropped object had an average rating of 3.877, while the same context with overt objects had an average of 4.136, with p = 1.000.

These results seem to go against the literature, since dropped objects were dispreferred to overt objects in Complex-DP island sentences with both [+ definite] and [– definite] referents, albeit with no significant differences.
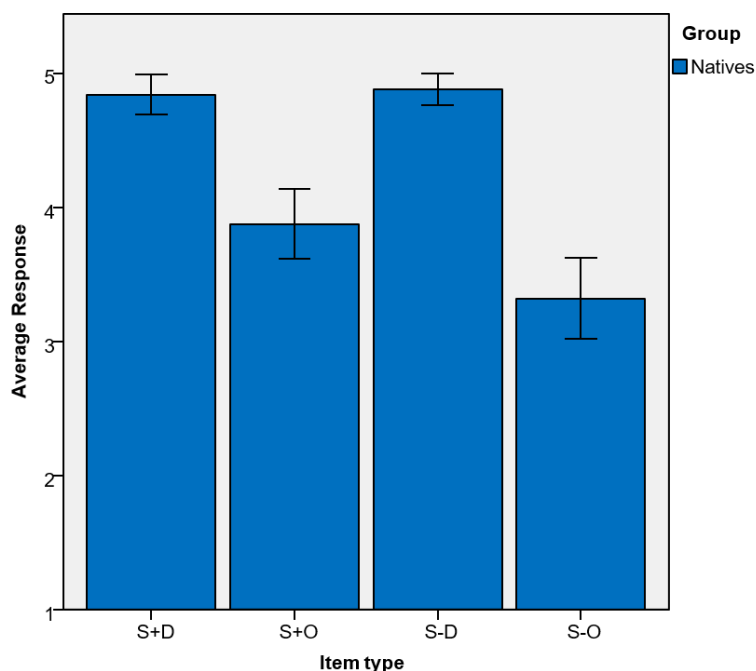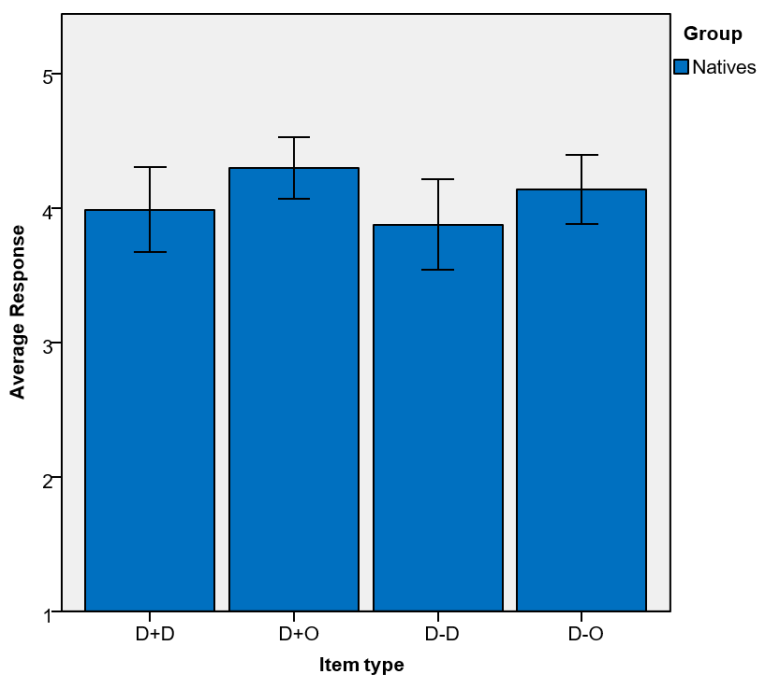
Figure 3.3: Averages of Complex-DP islands sentences by Native speakers (D+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; D+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; D–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; D–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects).

Figure 3.4 shows the average ratings for sentences with Subject-CP islands. Subject-CP island sentences with a [+ definite] referent with a dropped object had an average rating of 2.136, while overt objects had an average of 2.741, with p = 0.195. Subject-CP island sentences with a [– definite] referent and a dropped object had an average rating of 2.494, while the same context with overt objects had an average of 2.444, with p = 1.000.

These results show that all Subject-CP island sentences were considered not-acceptable by native speakers, regardless of referent and object.
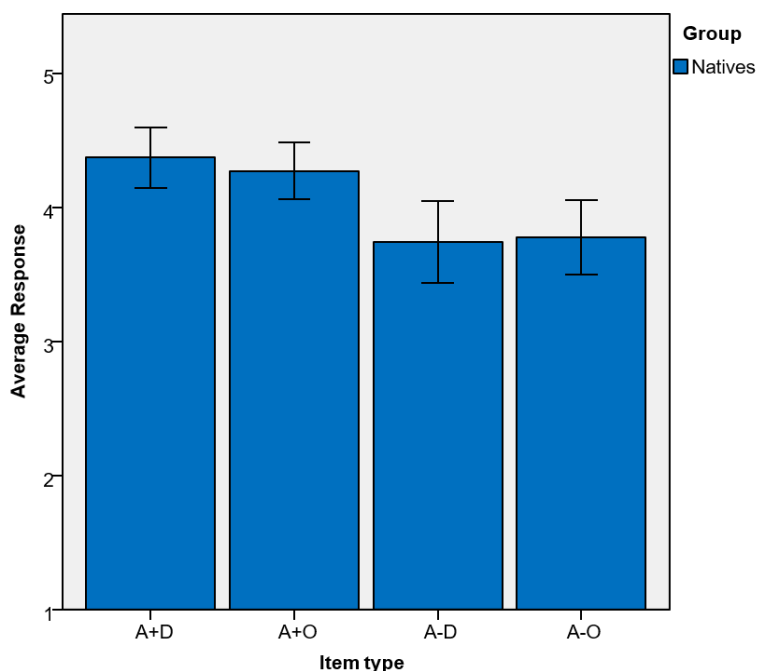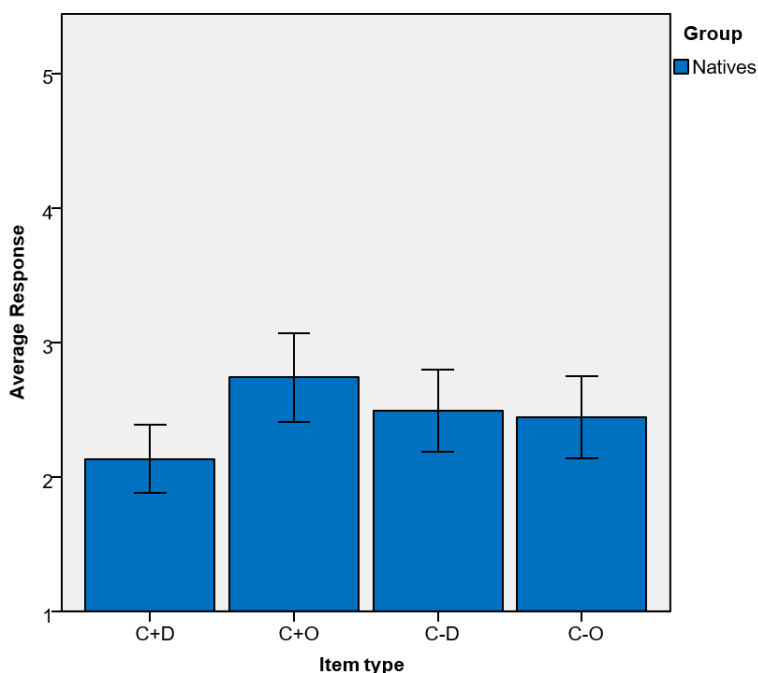
Figure 3.4: Averages of Subject-CP island sentences by Native speakers (D+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; D+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; D–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; D–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects).

The table below presents a summary of the averages described above for all contexts.

Average acceptability for each context by Native speakers

	[+ definite]		[– definite]	
	Null	*Overt*	*Null*	*Overt*
Simple clauses	4.840	3.877	4.877	3.321
Adjunct islands	4.370	4.272	3.741	3.788
Complex-DP islands	3.988	4.296	3.877	4.136
Subject-CP islands	2.136	2.741	2.494	2.444

Table 3.1: Average of acceptability for each context by Native speakers

From the table, it is clear the difference of acceptability of Simple clauses with null or overt objects, which both elicited significance $p = < 0.001$. The other structures, on the other

hand, present fewer differences between the use of null and overt objects. Probably the most striking results are the ones from Subject-CP island, which were all deemed not-acceptable.

3.1.2 BP learners

All the graphs presented below indicate the response averages from BP learners, with error bars at a 95% confidence interval. Considering rates above 4.000 as acceptable, it is possible to analyze which contexts were preferred by BP learners and which were not.

Figure 3.5 shows the average ratings for Simple clauses. Simple clauses with a [+ definite] referent with a dropped object had an average rating of 4.400, while overt objects had an average of 4.244, with p = 1.000. Simple clauses with a [− definite] referent and a dropped object had an average rating of 4.622, while the same context with overt objects had an average of 3.533, with a significant difference of p = < .001.

These results show that BP learners do not have any preference of object in Simple clauses with a [+ definite] referent, contrary to the Spanish grammar. On the other hand, BP learners showed a preference for dropped objects in contexts with a [− definite] referent, with significant differences.

Figure 3.5: Averages of Simple clauses by BP learners (S+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; S+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; S–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; S–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects).

Figure 3.6 shows the average ratings for sentences with Adjunct islands. Adjunct island sentences with a [+ definite] referent with a dropped object showed an average rating of 3.467, while overt objects showed an average of 4.156, with p = 0.270. Adjunct island sentences with a [– definite] referent and a dropped object had an average rating of 3.644, while the same context with overt objects had an average of 3.844, with p = 1.000.

These results show that there is a preference for overt objects in Adjunct island contexts with a [+ definite] referent, which is unexpected considering the literature, while both types of objects are dispreferred in [– definite] contexts.

Figure 3.6: Averages of Adjunct island sentences by BP learners (A+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; A+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; A–D = [− definite] referent with dropped objects; A–O = [− definite] referent with overt objects)

Figure 3.7 shows the average ratings for sentences with Complex-DP islands. Complex-DP island sentences with a [+ definite] referent with a dropped object had an average rating of 3.244, while overt objects had an average of 3.622, with p = 1.000. Complex-DP island sentences with a [− definite] referent and a dropped object had an average rating of 3.333, while the same context with overt objects had an average of 3.467, with p = 1.000.

These results show that all Complex-DP island sentences were dispreferred by BP learners, regardless of referent and type of object.
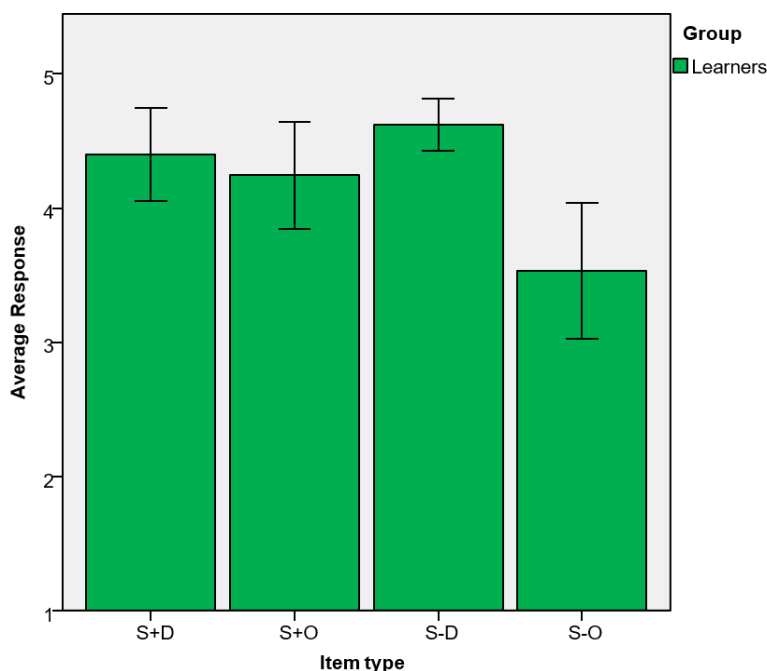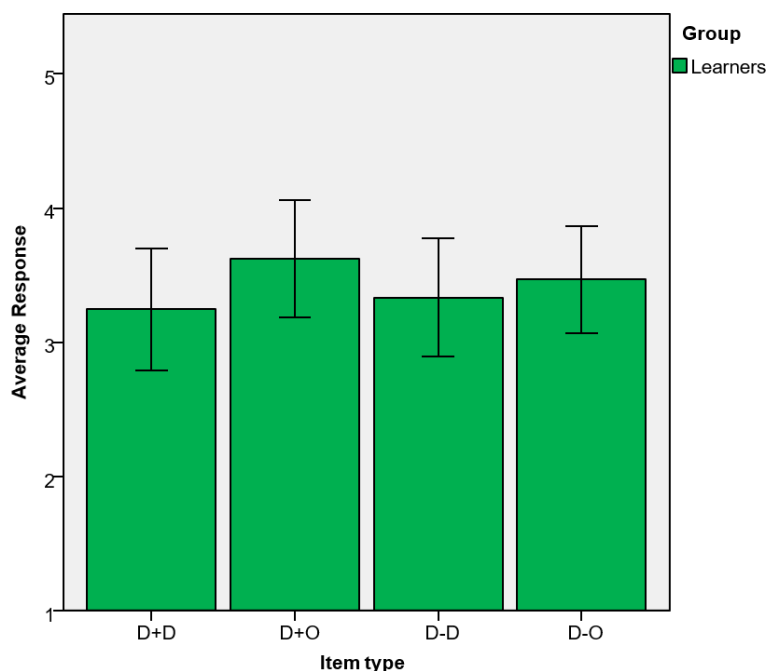
Figure 3.7: Averages of Complex-DP islands sentences by BP learners (D+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; D+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; D–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; D–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects).

Figure 3.8 shows the average ratings for sentences with Subject-CP islands. Subject-CP island sentences with a [+ definite] referent with a dropped object had an average rating of 2.689, while overt objects had an average of 3.200, with p = 1.000. Subject-CP island sentences with a [– definite] referent and a dropped object had an average rating of 3.089, while the same context with overt objects had an average of 2.822, with no significant difference p = 1.000.

These results show that all Subject-CP island sentences were dispreferred by BP learners, regardless of referent and type of object.
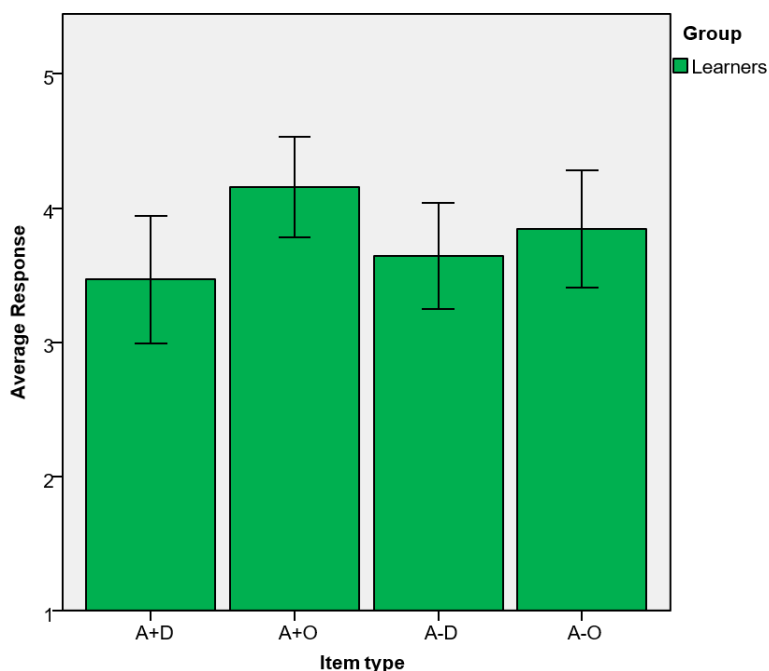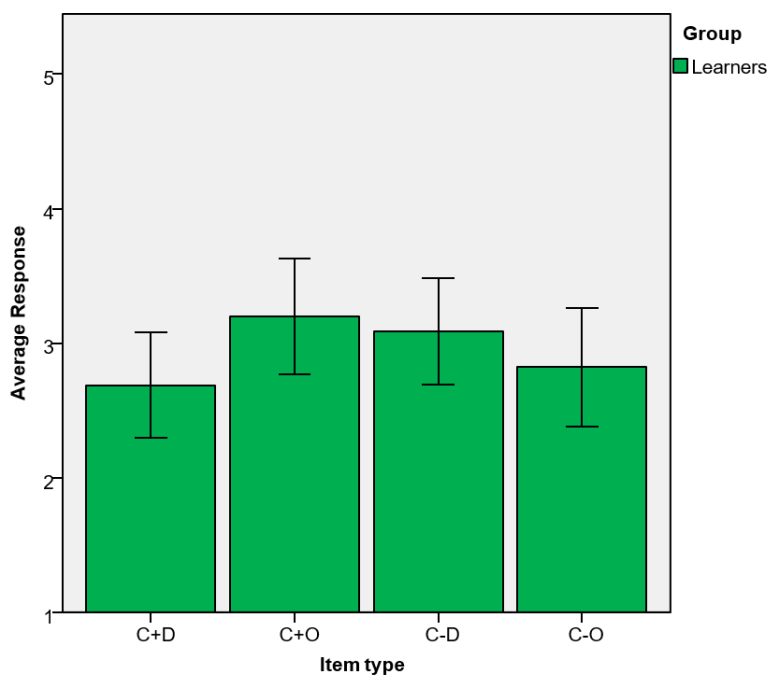
Figure 3.8: Averages of Subject-CP island sentences by BP learners (D+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; D+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; D–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; D–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects).

The table below presents a summary of the averages described above for all contexts.

Average acceptability for each context by learners

	[+ definite]		[– definite]	
	Null	*Overt*	*Null*	*Overt*
Simple clauses	4.400	4.244	4.622	3.533
Adjunct islands	3.467	4.156	3.644	3.844
Complex-DP islands	3.244	3.622	3.333	3.467
Subject-CP islands	2.689	3.200	3.089	2.822

Table 3.2: Average of acceptability for each context by BP learners.

The table presents a clear difference in the acceptability of Simple clauses sentences with a [– definite] referent, which had a significant difference of $p = < 0.001$. None of the other structures had significant differences, but most of the complex structures were deemed not-

acceptable by the BP learners, which may hint at their insecurity as non-native speakers of the language.

3.2 COMPARING AND CONTRASTING BP NATIVES AND BP LEARNERS

All the graphs presented in this section indicate the response averages from BP native speakers together with the average responses of BP learners, with error bars at a 95% confidence interval. A statistical analysis showed that there were no significant differences between groups ($F(1,40) = 0.440$, $p = 0.511$).

Table 3.3 presents the average ratings for Simple clauses with [+ definite] and [− definite] referents for both BP native speakers and BP learners.

	Simple clauses			
	[+ definite]		*[− definite]*	
	Null	*Overt*	*Null*	*Overt*
Native speakers	*4.840*	*3.877*	*4.877*	*3.321*
BP learners	*4.400*	*4.244*	*4.622*	*3.533*

Table 3.3: Average ratings for Simple clauses by both groups

Figure 3.9 shows the average ratings for Simple clauses presented above. None of the contexts had significant differences between groups. Simple clauses with a [+ definite] referent and a dropped object had $p = 0.105$. Simple clauses with a [+ definite] referent and an overt object had $p = 0.174$. Simple clauses with a [− definite] referent and a dropped object had significance $p = 0.347$. Simple clauses with a [− definite] referent and an overt object had $p = 0.432$.

Both groups showed a preference for null objects over overt objects, even though the averages of BP learners with a [+ definite] referent show little difference, probably due to influence from their L1.

Figure 3.9: Averages of Simple clauses by both groups (S+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; S+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; S–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; S–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects).

Table 3.4 presents the average ratings for Adjunct island sentences with [+ definite] and

[– definite] referents for both BP native speakers and BP learners.

| | *Adjunct islands* | | | |
| | *[+ definite]* | | *[– definite]* | |
	Null	*Overt*	*Null*	*Overt*
Native speakers	*4.370*	*4.272*	*3.741*	*3.778*
Learners	*3.467*	*4.156*	*3.644*	*3.844*

Table 3.4: Average ratings for Adjunct island sentences by both groups

Figure 3.10 shows the average ratings for Adjunct island sentences presented above. Adjunct island sentences with a [+ definite] referent and a dropped object was the only context which had a significant difference (p = 0.001). None of the other contexts had significant differences. Adjunct island sentences with a [+ definite] referent and an overt object had p =

0.668. Adjunct island sentences with a [– definite] referent and a dropped object had p = 0.722, while the same context with overt objects had p = 0.805.

There is a clear preference for dropped objects with a [+ definite] referent by the Native speakers, although not within the group, while BP learners preferred overt objects in the same context. Both groups present similar attitudes in relation to objects with a [– definite] referent.

Figure 3.10: Averages of Adjunct island sentences by both groups (A+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; A+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; A–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; A–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects)

Table 3.5 presents the average ratings for Complex-DP island sentences with [+ definite] and [– definite] referents for both BP native speakers and BP learners.

Complex-DP islands

	[+ definite]		*[– definite]*	
	Null	*Overt*	*Null*	*Overt*
Native speakers	*3.988*	*4.296*	*3.877*	*4.136*
Learners	*3.244*	*3.622*	*3.333*	*3.467*

Table 3.5: Average ratings for Complex-DP island sentences by both groups

Figure 3.11 shows the average ratings for Complex-DP island sentences presented above. All the contexts had significant differences between groups. Sentences with Complex-DP islands with a [+ definite] referent and a dropped object had a significance of p = 0.006, while the same context with an overt object had a significance of p = 0.013. Complex-DP islands with a [− definite] referent and a dropped object had a significance of p = 0.045, while the same context with an overt object had a significance of p = 0.014.

The averages of Complex-DP island sentences seem to point to something else in the process of acquisition. BP learners have lower averages of acceptability to all of the structures, which may hint at some difficulty with the structure itself, and not necessarily related to the usage of null or overt objects.
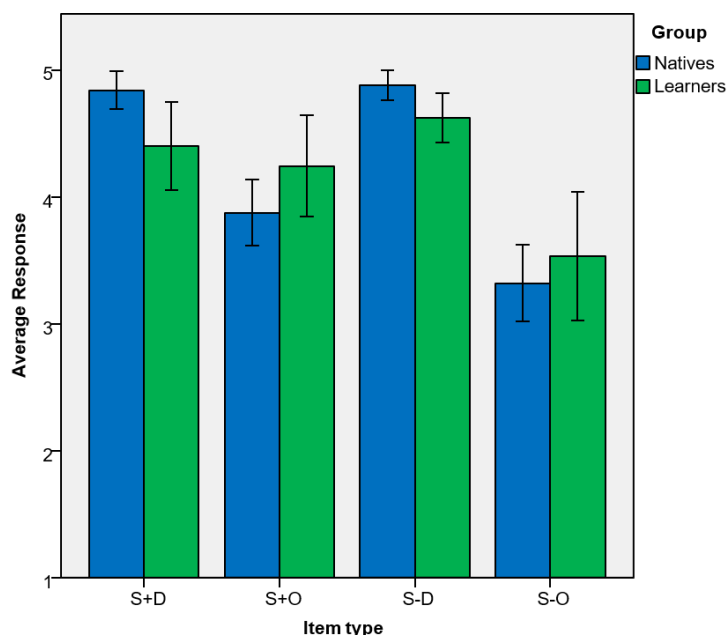

Figure 3.11: Averages of Complex-DP islands sentences by both groups (D+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; D+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; D–D = [− definite] referent with dropped objects; D–O = [− definite] referent with overt objects).

Table 3.6 presents the average ratings for Subject-CP island sentences with [+ definite] and [− definite] referents for both BP native speakers and BP learners.

	Subject-CP islands			
	[+ definite]		*[− definite]*	
	Null	*Overt*	*Null*	*Overt*
Native speakers	2.136	2.741	2.494	2.444
Learners	2.689	3.200	3.089	2.822

Table 3.6: Average ratings for Subject-CP island sentences by both groups

Figure 3.12 shows the average ratings for Subject-CP island sentences presented above. Only sentences with dropped objects had significant difference between groups. Subject-CP islands with a [+ definite] referent and a dropped object had a significance of $p = 0.042$, while the same context with an overt object had $p = 0.090$. Subject-CP islands with a [− definite] referent and a dropped object had significance $p = 0.028$, while the same context with an overt object had $p = 0.163$.

The last structure tested showed another interesting result, since both groups seemed to reject its sentences. Nevertheless, the BP learner group had higher averages, even presenting significant differences whenever there was a null object, regardless of the definiteness of the referent.
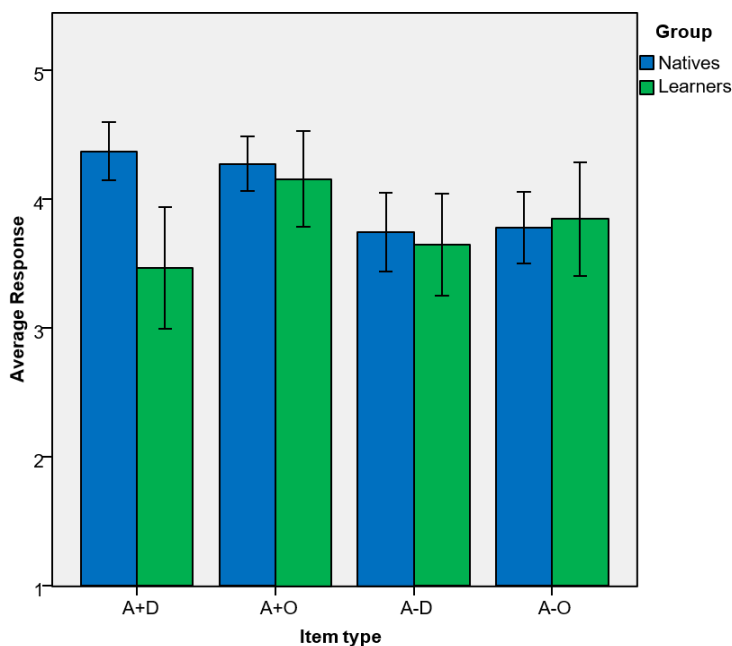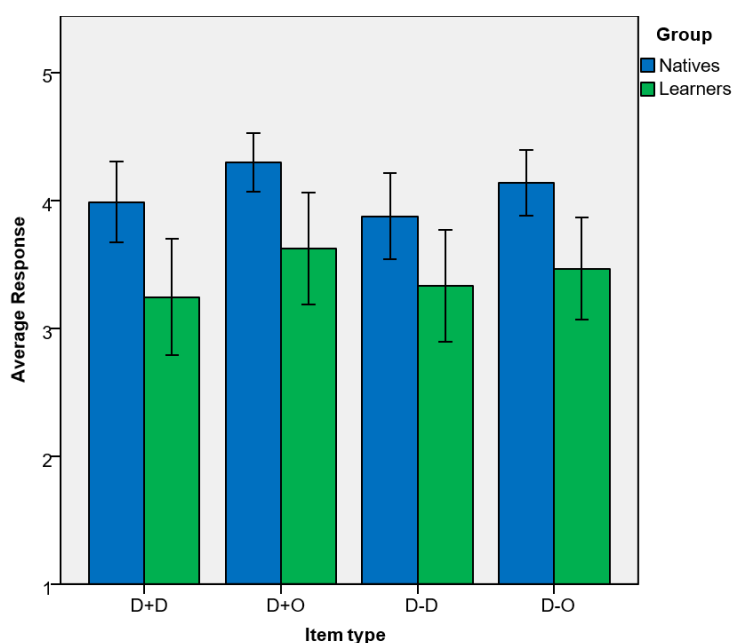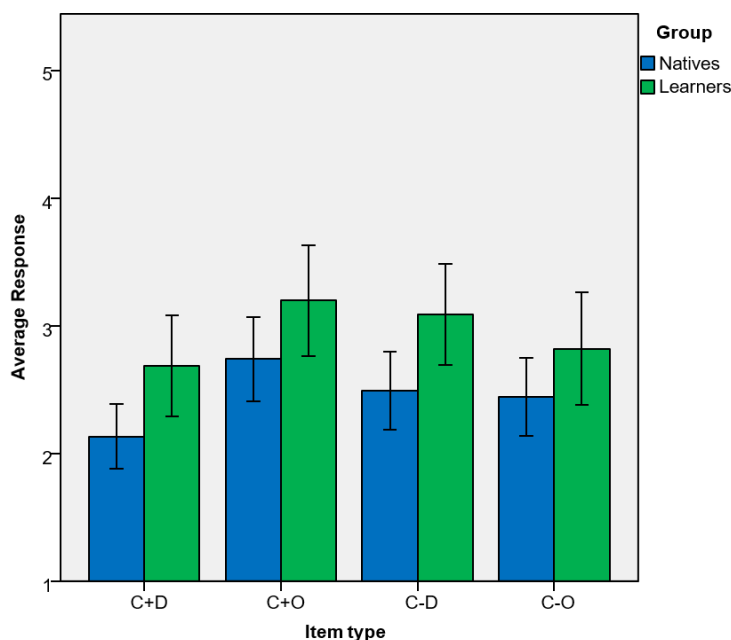
Figure 3.12: Averages of Subject-CP island sentences by both groups (D+D = [+ definite] referent with dropped objects; D+O = [+ definite] referent with overt objects; D–D = [– definite] referent with dropped objects; D–O = [– definite] referent with overt objects).

3.3 DISCUSSION

Even though there was variance in the responses given by participants, which is always expected in this kind of test, the results from the analysis, nevertheless, reveal an interesting picture of the acceptability of null objects in BP, be it from Native speakers or BP learners.

Overall the results from Native speakers corroborate the literature. Since both null and overt objects are possible, that is, neither is completely ungrammatical, the results were expected to show some variation. It is interesting, nevertheless, to see the difference from the results of Simple clauses as opposed to the results of contexts with strong islands as the former showed a stronger preference for null objects whereas the latter did not.

The Simple clauses context is probably the one that gives the best picture of the acceptability of null objects in BP. This is probably due to the fact that the sentences are clear and straightforward. Native speakers categorically accepted null objects and dispreferred overt objects in these sentences, as was expected from the descriptions of Rothman & Iverson (2013).

As for the strong island contexts, Adjunct island and Complex-DP island sentences both structures evoked similar responses, albeit with some small differences in relation to the preferences of Native speakers. It is interesting to note the result of Adjunct island sentences, in which they show a preference for sentences with a [+ definite] referent, regardless of the object, while sentences with a [− definite] referent seemed to be dispreferred. The acceptability of both null and overt objects was expected since, as mentioned before, both are grammatically correct in BP, but the fact that neither type of object was above the acceptability threshold was surprising, since this seems to hint at some effect of the definiteness feature, and not of the type of object in use as it was expected.

Complex-DP islands, on the other hand, had averages of acceptability which showed a preference for overt objects but with no significant difference from null objects, which although possible, goes slightly against the expected preference for null objects that is posed by the literature (Farrell, 1990), as was the case with the responses given in the sentences with Simple clauses.

Finally, Subject-CP island sentences presented the most notable result due to the lack of acceptability of these sentences, all having averages below 3.000, which probably represents that the structure as a whole is not natural for native speakers. This opens the question of the acceptability of the structure in BP, which asks for more thorough research.

Meanwhile the results from the BP learners showed judgments that were expected from the hypothesis. In Spanish, null objects are only possible in Simple clauses with a [− definite] referent, but it was expected that, because of the proximity of the two languages the answers would be similar to the ones from Native speakers.

Simple clauses with a [+ definite] referent were accepted regardless of the object. Sentences with a [− definite] and a null object had the highest average in the context, while overt objects had the lowest, with a significant difference between the results, which was

expected in both BP and Spanish. This suggests that there seems to be some kind of access to UG, according to FT/FA theories, since dropped objects were accepted in places they would be deemed ungrammatical in any of the previously acquired languages of BP learners.

Adjunct island sentences had results similar to what would be expected in Spanish. Although only sentences with a [+ definite] referent and overt object had an average higher than 4.000, its preference against null objects show some lingering of the Spanish grammar. The averages for sentences with a [− definite] referent were both below the acceptability threshold, with no significant difference between them, which was similar to the results from Native speakers, something that may be explained by some level of access to UG, since according to the TPM, sentences with null objects should have received a lower rating conforming to the L1.

All Complex-DP island sentences had averages lower than the acceptability threshold, with a small preference for overt objects regardless of the [± definite] feature of the referent, similar to what would be expected from the Spanish grammar. Even though there was no significance in the acceptability of the different types of object, this hints at some lingering effect from previously acquired languages, since only overt objects are grammatical in both Spanish and English, but which is expected to come from the L1 Spanish if the predictions made by TPM are correct and the transferred language is the one perceived as typologically closer.

Similarly to Native speakers, all Subject-CP island sentences had averages below 4.000, which deems them as not acceptable by BP learners. This result, however, indicates mixed preferences for null and overt objects: the former being preferred in sentences with [− definite] referents and the latter in sentences with a [+ definite] referent, but none of them with significant differences. This hints at a possible transfer of the L1 of the participants, in which overt objects would be necessary to have a grammatical sentence, although this only happened in contexts with a [+ definite] referent. It is interesting to mention that, in Rothman & Iverson (2013), the

same context also provided the lowest ratings by the participants in both groups who were tested in their knowledge of Spanish, which might indicate that the structure is not the most natural in either of the languages.

Although analyzing the results from the two groups separately can provide some interesting insights into the acceptability of null objects in BP by both Native speakers and BP learners, contrasting their results is particularly important to make any claims regarding the acquisition of BP as an additional language.

Starting with Simple clauses, it is clear that both groups have a similar judgement when there is a [− definite] referent in the sentence, showing a clear preference for null objects instead of overt objects. On the other hand, [+ definite] referents seem to present a mixed evaluation by BP learners, since overt objects are preferred in their native grammar, but null objects are preferred in the additional grammar. As mentioned before, the result of [+ definite] sentences might be hinting at some level of access to UG, since BP learners accepted null objects where the Spanish grammar does not allow them. At the same time, as expected by the TPM, they also have some lingering effects from their L1, since they still rated sentences with overt objects higher than Native speakers do.

The context with Adjunct island sentences has probably one of the most interesting results, since there is a significant difference in the evaluation from both groups regarding sentences with a [+ definite] referent and a null object. In this case, as expected from the literature, Native speakers accepted the sentences, while BP learners rejected them, since the sentence would be ungrammatical in their native grammar. The results from the [+ definite] referent with an overt object reiterate the preference of BP learners for overt objects, which is also accepted by Native speakers. The averages of sentences with [− definite] referents are very similar between the groups, with no clear preference for any type of object, regardless of the group. Similarly to Simple clauses, it seems like sentences with [+ definite] referents maintain

some lingering effects from the L1, since BP learners had a lower acceptance rate for null objects when compared to overt objects in this context. On the other hand, sentences that had [– definite] referents presented a similar evaluation from both groups, which, although below the acceptability threshold, shows that there is no preference between null or overt objects, which might hint at some access to UG as well.

Results from Complex-DP island sentences showed significant differences between the groups in their acceptability of the sentences. Native speakers had a higher average in all contexts, which is explained by the fact that all the possibilities are considered grammatical in BP. Meanwhile, BP learners regarded all contexts as not acceptable, which is explained, in the case of null objects, by the fact that these structures would be ungrammatical in their native grammar. This leaves the question as to why the sentences with overt objects were also considered not-acceptable by BP learners, which should be acceptable in their native grammar. Since both languages should accept overt objects, it seems that there is something else interfering with the judgment of the BP learners, since neither FT/FA nor TPM predicted these results.

Sentences with Subject-CP islands were not considered acceptable regardless of the group, but again with responses not totally predicted by the literature. Although null objects should be accepted by the Native speakers, the BP learners showed a significant difference in their acceptability, which can hint at a possible generalization of the acceptability of null objects in BP. Overt objects were also preferred by the BP learners, but not with a significant difference from the Native speakers group. The fact that both groups considered sentences with overt objects as not acceptable is nevertheless interesting due to the fact that in both grammars these sentences are grammatical and were expected to be considered acceptable. As mentioned before, this may hint to a possible problem with the structure as a whole, in the sense that it is

not considered a natural sentence for daily or academic communication in either BP or Spanish, regardless of the referent and object.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I discussed the acceptability of phonetically null objects in some structures of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) by both Native speakers and BP learners. This was done in order to continue the discussion of the acceptability of null objects in BP by Native speakers but also to focus on the importance of this structure in the learning of BP as an additional language. This adds to the data regarding the uses of other empty categories, such as null subjects, in BP, which continues to be developed.

Null objects are expected from the literature to be the default in BP, or at least the most acceptable, in all structures with [–animate] referents, regardless of their definiteness. However, only the results from Simple clauses illustrated this without question, where the preference for sentences with null objects instead of overt objects is clear. Sentences with strong island structures presented mixed results, like the lack of acceptability of all Subject-CP sentences, which may be developed in future studies.

The present study also contributes to studies of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), since it assumes the theory of Full Transfer / Full Access from Schwartz & Sprouse (1996) when interpreting the responses given by BP learners. Whenever BP learners behave in a way that is not expected from their previously acquired languages but instead show implicit knowledge of the language they are learning, this may hint at access to UG.

Considering BP is frequently learned only after the acquisition of another additional language, it was also possible to make use of the Typological Primacy Model from Rothman (2010) when developing the hypothesis for this particular study. It would be interesting to see in future studies how participants from different linguistic backgrounds would behave regarding the acceptability of the contexts tested here, which would enhance the discussion on the model as a whole.

Overall, I believe to have been able to contribute to the state of the art since my results can be taken as the starting point for future research regarding the use and acceptability of null objects in BP as an additional language.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Consent form for Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul

Prezado(a) participante:

      Como aluno(a) que frequenta disciplinas na Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, você está sendo convidado(a) a participar da pesquisa "O Objeto Nulo em português como língua adicional". O objetivo deste estudo é investigar os padrões de linguagem no português brasileiro (PB), através do estudo de testes de conhecimento linguístico, realizados por falantes nativos e não-nativos do PB. No presente recorte do estudo, objetiva-se verificar a consciência linguística em línguas adicionais dos aprendizes para fins de desenvolver e aprimorar materiais de avaliação de proficiência de português como língua adicional.

      Para este estudo, adotaremos os seguintes procedimentos: (i) aplicação de questionários e/ou testes de julgamento de aceitabilidade construídos com foco em estruturas linguísticas específicas; (ii) coleta dos resultados escritos; (iii) edição dos dados escritos para submissão às metodologias de análise contempladas; (iv) submissão dos dados escritos às metodologias de análise; (v) discussão técnica acerca da pertinência das metodologias empregadas a partir dos resultados obtidos.

      Para participar deste estudo você não terá nenhum custo, nem receberá qualquer vantagem financeira. Levando em consideração que em todas as pesquisas que envolvem seres humanos, existem riscos, neste caso os riscos possíveis são de ordem psicológica, como por exemplo, um possível incômodo ou cansaço sentido pelo participante em realizar os testes. Contudo, todas as providências serão tomadas para que qualquer tipo de desconforto seja evitado.

      Você será esclarecido(a) sobre o estudo em qualquer aspecto que desejar e estará livre para participar ou recusar-se a participar. Poderá retirar seu consentimento ou interromper a participação a qualquer momento. A sua participação é voluntária e a recusa em participar não acarretará qualquer penalidade ou modificação na forma em que é atendido pelo pesquisador.

Esta pesquisa é conduzida pelo mestrando em Linguística Renato Augusto Vortmann de Barba (telefone (51) 9322-0457), orientado pela professora colaboradora Dra. Karina Veronica Molsing, e tem como professora responsável a Dra. Cristina Becker Lopes Perna (telefone (51) 8488-4503), professora titular da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul – PUCRS, local onde se dará a coleta de dados. Seu endereço é Avenida Ipiranga, 6681, telefone: (51) 3320- 3676 (ramal 8287).

O pesquisador irá tratar a sua identidade com padrões profissionais de sigilo. Os resultados da pesquisa estarão à sua disposição quando finalizada. Seu nome ou o material que indique sua participação não será liberado sem a sua permissão. Você não será identificado em nenhuma publicação que possa resultar deste estudo. O participante assinará este termo de consentimento em duas vias, sendo que uma cópia fica com o mesmo e outra será arquivada pelo pesquisador responsável, no Departamento de Linguística do Programa de Pós-graduação em Letras (PPGL) na Faculdade de Letras da PUCRS.

                                                      Rubrica:

Eu, _____, portador do documento de Identidade _____ fui informado(a) dos objetivos do estudo "O Objeto Nulo em português como língua adicional", de maneira clara e detalhada e esclareci minhas dúvidas.

Sei que a qualquer momento poderei solicitar novas informações e modificar minha decisão de participar se assim o desejar.

Declaro que concordo em participar desse estudo. Recebi uma cópia deste termo de consentimento livre e esclarecido e me foi dada à oportunidade de ler e esclarecer as minhas dúvidas.

Porto Alegre, _____ de _____ de 2016.

Nome / Assinatura do participante   Data

Nome / Assinatura do pesquisador responsável   Data

Nome / Assinatura do pesquisador responsável   Data

Em caso de dúvidas com respeito aos aspectos éticos deste estudo, você poderá consultar:
• Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa
  Av. Ipiranga, 6690 – P.40 – Sala 505
  CEP: 90610-900 - Porto Alegre – RS
  Fone: 55 51 3320.3345
  Horário de Funcionamento: das 8h às 12h e das 13h30min às 17h
  Site: www.pucrs.br/propesq
  Email: cep@pucrs.br

• Profa. Dra. Karina Veronica Molsing (051) 3320-3676 ramal 8287
• Profa. Dra. Cristina Becker Lopes Perna (051) 8488-4503

Appendix 2: Questionnaire on personal information

Instruções: Responda as questões abaixo.

1. Idade: _____

2. Sexo: ( ) Masculino   ( ) Feminino

3. Grau de escolaridade:
       ( ) Fundamental ( ) Médio ( ) Graduação ( ) Pós-graduação

4. Qual a sua língua materna?

5. Que outros idiomas você fala? Coloque-os em ordem de aprendizado, descrevendo o grau de proficiência (básico, intermediário, avançado) e o tipo de contato (casa, escola, trabalho, lazer).

6.1. Com que idade você começou estudar português?_____

6.2. Há quantos anos você estuda português?_____

7. Você utiliza o português fora do seu contexto de sala de aula? ( ) SIM ( ) NÃO
Se sim, assinale as questões a seguir.

7.1. ( ) Trabalho
7.1.1. Em que atividades? ( ) responder emails ( ) falar ao telefone ( )
outros:_____

7.1.2. Com que freqüência? ( ) sempre ( ) freqüentemente ( ) às vezes ( ) raramente

7.2. ( ) Lazer
7.2.1. Em que atividades? ( ) internet ( ) televisão/cinema ( ) leitura de livros/revistas ( ) ouvir música ( ) outros:_____

7.2.2. Com que freqüência? ( ) sempre ( ) freqüentemente ( ) às vezes ( ) raramente

7.3. ( ) Outros: _____

Appendix 3: Questionnaire on proficiency

Este teste foi baseado no teste do proficiência retirado do site
http://www.transparent.com/learn-portuguese-brazilian/proficiency-test.html em 10 de março
de 2016.

Instruções: Responda as questões abaixo de acordo com as instruções indicadas. Leia
atentamente as frases antes de responder, cada pergunta contém apenas uma resposta correta.

Selecione a melhor alternativa para completar a frase:
1- Eu estou _____ português.
   A estudar
   B estudo
   C estudando
   D estuda

2- O livro é _____ professor.
   A numa
   B pelo
   C no
   D do

3- Nós temos dois carros _____.
   A azuis
   B verde
   C grande
   D branco

4- Nós _____ estudantes de português.
   A sou
   B somos
   C estamos
   D é

5- O que você _____ comer?
   A vou
   B vai
   C vamos
   D vão

6- Eles querem _____ o Rio de Janeiro.
   A conhecer
   B poder
   C trazer
   D dar

7- Eu duvido que ele não_____ do Brasil.
   A gosta
   B goste
   C esteja
   D estude

8- A casa fica perto da cidade? Não, fica _____.
   A dentro
   B embaixo
   C em frente
   D longe

9- Você conhece alguém que _____ falar portugês.
   A fale
   B tenha
   C saiba
   D sabe

10- _____ no papel o seu nome e endereço.
   A Escrever
   B Escreve
   C Escrevo
   D Escreva

Selecione a palavra sublinhada que esteja incorreta na frase:
1- Estes apartamentos são <u>maior</u> <u>do</u> <u>que</u> <u>aquelas</u> casas.
   A maior
   B do
   C que
   D aquelas

2- <u>No</u> meu curso de português preciso mais <u>neste</u> dicionário do <u>que</u> <u>daquele</u>.
   A No
   B neste
   C que
   D daquele

3- O médico <u>acha</u> <u>se</u> <u>o</u> homem <u>que</u> está doente está mentindo.
   A acha
   B se
   C o
   D que

4- <u>Que</u> <u>dos</u> <u>dois</u> alunos <u>de</u> português você conhece?
   A Que
   B dos
   C dois
   D de

5- Eu <u>quero</u> que você <u>fala</u> com o professor sobre o trabalho que <u>estamos</u> <u>fazendo</u>.
   A quero
   B fala
   C estamos
   D fazendo

6- Eles <u>estava</u> <u>caminhando</u> para o teatro quando <u>começou</u> a <u>chover</u>.
   A estava
   B caminhando
   C começou
   D chover

7- <u>Eu</u> <u>tenho</u> <u>umas</u> amiga <u>dos</u> Estados Unidos.
   A Eu
   B tenho
   C umas
   D dos

8- Eles <u>vão</u> <u>comprar</u> um carro quando <u>receber</u> o dinheiro que <u>emprestaram</u>.
   A vão
   B comprar
   C receber
   D emprestaram

9- Eles <u>teria</u> <u>gostado</u> da festa mas não <u>puderam</u> <u>vir</u>.
   A teria
   B gostado
   C puderam
   D vir

10- Você <u>pode</u> <u>trazer</u> o livro <u>se</u> eu <u>precisarem</u> dele?
   A pode
   B trazer
   C se
   D precisarem

Selecione a melhor resposta para completar a frase:
1- O gato está _____.
   A velha
   B grande
   C gorda
   D preta

2- Nós _____ muito no carnaval.
   A dançará
   B dançaremos
   C dancei
   D dança

3- Ela se esqueceu _____ comprar arroz.
   A a
   B em
   C o
   D de

4- Ele queria que alguém lhe _____ uma explicação.
   A desse
   B dissessem
   C dessem
   D tivessemos

5- Eu terei acabado o trabalho _____ sábado.
   A já
   B até
   C normalmente
   D felizmente

6- Ainda _____ lembro das praias do Brasil.
   A se
   B nós
   C me
   D nos

7- Os _____ são estudiosos?
   A aluno
   B aluna
   C estudantes
   D alunas

8- Tenho _____ coisas no carro.
   A algum
   B algumas
   C alguma
   D alguns

9- Você gosta do _____ apartamento?
   A nosso
   B dele
   C nossa
   D minha

10- Eu gastarei um _____ na festa.
    A bastante
    B muito
    C dinheiro
    D dinheirão

Appendix 4: Research task

Instruções: Por favor, leia cada pergunta/resposta com cuidado e indique, numa escala de 1 a 5, o quão natural as respostas/frases lhe parecem, conforme os exemplos abaixo. Não compare cada frase às outras, julgue a naturalidade de cada frase individualmente.

Exemplos

-Você sabe se Miguel vendeu sua casa?
-Vendeu, mas ninguém comprou.

1 (Me parece totalmente não-aceitável, sem dúvida alguma)
2 (Me parece não-aceitável, mas não tenho 100% de certeza)
3 (Não tenho certeza)
4 (Me parece aceitável, mas não tenho 100% de certeza)
5 (Me parece totalmente aceitável, sem dúvida alguma)
-Você sabe se Miguel vendia sua casa?
-Vendia, mas ninguém comprou.

1 (Me parece totalmente não-aceitável, sem dúvida alguma)
2 (Me parece não-aceitável, mas não tenho 100% de certeza)
3 (Não tenho certeza)
4 (Me parece aceitável, mas não tenho 100% de certeza)
5 (Me parece totalmente aceitável, sem dúvida alguma)

Pode começar!

1. - Quem trouxe cerveja?
   - Não conheço o rapaz que a trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

2. - Quem recebeu o prêmio?
   - Não conheço a pessoa que o recebeu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

3. - A Carmem trouxe o vinho para a festa?
   - Que trouxe, é o que ouvi.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

4. - O César já dormiu?
   - Sim, dormiu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

5.   - O Carlos recebeu as cartas de seus pais?
         - Que as recebeu, é verdade.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

6.   - O José pediu dinheiro no banco?
         - Que pediu, é evidente.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

7.   - O Henrique recebeu os presentes?
         - Sim, estava muito contente porque recebeu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

8.   - O Pedro trouxe presentes para as crianças?
         - Sim, os trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

9.   - O João chegou ontem?
         - Sim, chegou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

10.   - O Carlos mandou chocolates?
         - Que os mandou, é o que dizem.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

11.   - O Carlos trouxe bebidas para a festa?
         - Sim, todos ficamos bêbados porque as trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

12.   - A Alice serviu frango na festa?
         - Sim, todos engordamos porque serviu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

13.   - O João mandou as cartas?
         - Sim, ouvi o rumor de que mandou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

14.   - Quem trouxe presentes?
        - Não conheço o homem que os trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

15.   - A Clara mandou chocolates?
        - Que mandou, é o que dizem.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

16.   - O Samuel saiu ontem?
        - Sim, saiu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

17.   - O Carlos serviu o frango?
        - Sim, serviu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

18.   - A Carmem trouxe cerveja para a festa?
        - Que trouxe, é o que ouvi.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

19.   - O Gustavo serviu peixe?
        - Sim, todos ficamos doentes porque o serviu cru.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

20.   - A Luiza trouxe a receita?
        - Sim, trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

21.   - Quem encontrou dinheiro?
        - Não conheço a rapaz que encontrou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

22.   - O Carlos já comeu?
        - Sim, comeu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

23.   - Quem trouxe cerveja?
       - Não conheço o garoto que trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

24.   - A Antônia serviu vinho na festa?
       - Que o serviu, é o que dizem.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

25.   - Os bebês dormiram ontem?
       - Sim, dormiram.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

26.   - A Clara mandou as cartas?
       - Que mandou, é o que dizem.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

27.   - O Pablo serviu cerveja na festa?
       - Sim, serviu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

28.   - A Alice recebeu notícias?
       - Sim, recebeu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

29.   - A Lúcia comprou saias novas?
       - Que comprou, é óbvio.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

30.   - A Luiza caiu?
       - Sim, caiu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

31.   - Quem encontrou o dinheiro na rua?
       - Não conheço a menina que encontrou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

32.   - A Carla mandou cartões postais?
      - Sim, soubemos de suas férias porque mandou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

33.   - A Lúcia comprou presentes para as crianças?
      - Sim, comprou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

34.   - Quem encontrou dinheiro?
      - Não conheço a pessoa que o encontrou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

35.   - Os amigos do Mateus já sairam?
      - Sim, sairam.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

36.   - O Pedro comprou ingressos para o filme?
      - Sim, pudemos ver o filme porque os comprou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

37.   - A Lúcia mandou as cartas?
      - Sim, as mandou ontem.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

38.   - A Joana serviu torta na festa?
      - Sim, todos engordamos porque a serviu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

39.   - A Susana encontrou dinheiro?
      - Sim, encontrou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

40.   - As crianças comeram?
      - Sim, comeram.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

41.   - A Luiza trouxe cerveja?
        - Sim, a trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

42.   - O João encontrou o dinheiro na rua?
        - Que o encontrou, é o que dizem.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

43.   - O Gustavo serviu o peixe na janta?
        - Sim, todos ficamos doentes porque o serviu cru.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

44.   - A Cecília serviu a bebida na festa?
        - Que serviu, é o que dizem.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

45.   - Os pais do Pedro já chegaram?
        - Sim, chegaram.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

46.   - O Pepe recebeu notícias de seus pais?
        - Que as recebeu, é verdade.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

47.   - Quem recebeu notícias hoje?
        - Não conhecemos a estudante que recebeu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

48.   - A Maria comprou os presentes?
        - Sim, comprou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

49.   - O Carlos comprou pão?
        - Sim, o comprou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

50.   - As crianças sonham muito?
      - Sim, sonham.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

51.   - A Lúcia comprou os livros novos?
      - Que os comprou, é óbvio.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

52.   - Os meninos correram ontem?
      - Sim, correram.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

53.   - A Sandra comprou a casa?
      - Sim, recebi a notícia de que a comprou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

54.   - A Ana comprou os vestidos novos?
      - Que comprou, é óbvio.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

55.   - Quem trouxe a cerveja?
      - Não conheço o rapaz que a trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

56.   - Quem mandou postais sem assinar?
      - Não conheço o estudante que mandou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

57.   - A Joana recebeu os presentes?
      - Sim, estava muito contente porque os recebeu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

58.   - Quem mandou os postais sem assinar?
      - Não conheço a pessoa que mandou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

59.   - As crianças já dormiram?
       - Sim, dormiram.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

60.   - A Sandra comprou a casa?
       - Sim, recebi a notícia de que comprou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

61.   - O João pediu a informação que precisava?
       - Sim, a pediu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

62.   - Quem trouxe os presentes?
       - Não conheço o jovem que os trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

63.   - A Luiza dormiu ontem?
       - Sim, ela dormiu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

64.   - A Alice serviu o frango na festa?
       - Sim, todos engordamos porque serviu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

65.   - Quem serviu as bolachas?
       - Não conhecemos a mulher que as serviu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

66.   - A Ana trouxe a cerveja para a festa?
       - Que a trouxe, é o que ouvi.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

67.   - O Henrique recebeu notícias?
       - Sim, as recebeu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

68.   - Quem serviu as bolachas?
        - Não conhecemos a mulher que serviu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

69.   - A Cecília serviu a torta na festa?
        - Que a serviu é o que dizem.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

70.   - As crianças cairam?
        - Sim, cairam.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

71.   - O Pedro trouxe os presentes para o irmão?
        - Sim, os trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

72.   - Quem recebeu notícias hoje?
        - Não conhecemos o estudante que recebeu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

73.   - A Juliana sonha sempre?
        - Sim, sonha.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

74.   - Quem trouxe a cerveja?
        - Não conheço a mulher que trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

75.   - A Rosa serviu cerveja na festa?
        - Sim, ouvi o rumor de que serviu.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

76.   - O João mandou as cartas?
        - Sim, ouvi o rumor de que as mandou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

77.   - A Mariana comprou o dicionário?
        - Sim, o comprou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

78.   - O Henrique encontrou as chaves?
        - Sim, encontrou.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

79.   - A Carla trouxe bebidas para a festa?
        - Sim, todos ficamos bêbados porque trouxe.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):

80.   - As crianças correram para a escola?
        - Sim, correram.

Totalmente não-aceitável | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totalmente aceitável
Correção (opcional):