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Multiple Grammars and Knowledge of Constraints on Quotative Inversion in L1 German-L2 English

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Multiple Grammars and Knowledge of Constraints on Quotative Inversion in L1 German-L2 English

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This paper examines knowledge of constraints on quotative inversion in L2 English in order to test predictions of Multiple Grammars Theory (Roeper 2016). Upper-intermediate proficiency L1 German-speaking learners of L2 English and native English speakers completed a grammaticality judgement task which tested acceptability of quotative inversion with transitive, ditransitive and particle verbs. Learners had similar patterns of judgements as native speakers, except for cases of inversion with particle verbs. On inversion with particle verbs, learners had indeterminate judgements and did not distinguish clearly between inversion with and without pied-piping of the particle. However, against expectation learners did not show evidence of accepting verb second structures. The results are discussed in terms of lexical restrictions on (sub)grammars and potential L1 influence in the form of application of selectional constraints from German to the equivalent English particle verbs.

1. Introduction

Performance in a second language (L2) is notoriously variable. A second language speaker may produce target and non-target forms of the same structure within a single sentence. Such variability in performance and, to the extent that it reflects variable underlying knowledge, is a challenge for accounts of second language acquisition based on notions of parameter resetting. Recent theorising in generative acquisition research has suggested that variability or optionality during the course of acquisition can be modelled as competition between distinct grammatical options (see Yang 2003). However, this line of thinking has not yet been fully incorporated into SLA work. Roeper (2016; Amaral & Roeper 2014a) has outlined the Multiple Grammars proposal as a complement to Yang's (2003) Variational Learning. The 'Multiple Grammars' (or 'competing grammars') model seeks to provide a formal way

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of analysing optionality in L2 competence and performance. While the proposal has been the subject of theoretical discussion (see also Amaral & Roeper 2014b), it has not as yet been specifically tested.

This paper explores a competing grammars approach to SLA by testing one aspect of the predictions laid out by Roeper (2016), namely the knowledge of constraints on quotative inversion (QI) of L1 German learners of L2 English. Roeper (2016: 3) suggests that "diverse V2 [verb second]" in English and German is a potential testing ground for the predictions of multiple grammars, and in particular, that the behaviour of particle verbs in apparent V2 contexts in L1 German-L2 English will shed light on the nature of the grammatical competence underlying L2 performance (2016: 6).

The paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 outlines Multiple Grammars theory and some consequences of this model for the acquisition of constraints on QI in L1 German-L2 English. Section 3 summarises the syntactic analysis of QI and derives predictions for the grammaticality judgement task outlined in Section 4. The results are presented in Section 5 before Section 6 rounds off the paper with a general discussion.

2. Transfer, UG and Multiple Grammars

A Full Transfer/Full Access model (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996) is now more or less widely accepted as the most appropriate account of the roles of transfer and Universal Grammar (UG) in second language acquisition. The assumption is that L2 learners transfer their native language syntactic representation at the initial state of L2 acquisition. L1 syntactic properties are then restructured in response to L2 input. That is, where the current syntactic representation cannot license parses of L2 input, the grammar will be restructured within the parametric space allowed by UG in order to be able to accommodate L2 input. For example, a German speaker learning English will initially have a V2/OV representation, but patterns in the English input (e.g. XP-Subj-V, Subj-aux-V-O, etc.) will be unparsable by such a representation and motivate parameter resetting in such a way as to be able to license V3/VO parses.

However, empirical evidence for wholesale, consistent resetting of major parametric properties is thin and L1 transfer may persist even after parameters appear to have been reset. A range of different approaches may be adopted to account for such variability (e.g. the Interpretability Hypothesis, Tsimpli & Dimitrakopoulou 2007; Feature Reassembly, Lardiere 2009; etc.). A further way of accounting for the optionality inherent in L2 development is to adopt insights from a family of models that one might call "competing grammars accounts". The foundation of such approaches, especially with respect to periods of diachronic change, is that evidence for mutually incompatible grammars exists simultaneously in a speech community (see Kroch 2001 on diachronic change and Aboh 2015 for recent application to creole genesis).

This insight can be extended to the competence of individual speakers. Where an individual speaker's performance includes evidence of mutually incompatible parametric

options, the conclusion is that that individual's competence can be characterised as composed of different, competing grammatical representations. Yang's (2003) model of Variational Learning has adapted this approach as a way to model children's developing knowledge of syntax. Variational Learning takes a quantificational approach to parameter setting, using insights from competition in evolutionary biology. Thus, variability in linguistic performance can be modelled as the result of differences in the relative distribution or 'strength' of grammatical options in the 'population' of competing grammars which underlie an individual's linguistic competence. A range of grammars are available from UG at the initial state of acquisition, and the fitness of these grammars is calculated as a function of how successfully they can assign representations to the input.

This Variational Learning model for child language acquisition and historical change has not thus far been extended consistently to L2A (but see Rankin 2014 and Yang & Montrul 2016). The Multiple Grammars model (Amaral & Roeper 2014a; Roeper 2016) represents an attempt to apply the principlesof a competing grammars approach to L2A with greater formal precision. Thus, as Roeper (2016: 11) points out, "[t]he essential proposal is to formulate the grammars of L2 with sufficient technical precision that they predict what is ungrammatical in the manner of L1 research".To this end, Roeper suggests a range of potential linguistic properties which may be informative with respect to multiple grammars in L2. Given the current programmatic nature of Roeper's model, some issues remain rather fuzzy with respect to formulating specific research questions, for example the proficiency levels at which effects should be expected, the potential impact of any processing constraints, etc. We can, nonetheless, outline some broad predictions on the basis of Roeper's suggestions (and drawing on the linguistic properties of QI to be discussed below).

Roeper analyses quotative inversion in English as an instance of V2, i.e. head movement to C. He suggests that this form of movement in English QI must target the verb and the particle, with the result that particle verbs must be continuous in QI contexts, and *do*-support will be blocked, as in (1) and (2) (Roeper 2016: 4).

(1) "Nothing!" yelled out John.
(2) *"Nothing!" did John yell out.

Based on the Multiple Grammars idea that L1 sub-rules will be adopted for the L2 in contexts where the rule is compatible with the target language pattern, Roeper further suggests that German speakers should accept structures such as (2) in English. That is, they should apply the more generalised German V2 pattern to the restricted English V2 pattern. However, Roeper does not extend this thinking to a wider range of potential V2 effects. If L1 German-speaking learners of English represent QI as V2, it would be logical to assume that they will also find other non-target but V2-derived structures acceptable. In addition, his logic depends crucially on the assumption that English QI is a type of V2, syntactically similar to German. As outlined below, an arguably simpler assumption is to adopt Bruening's (2016) analysis that English QI is derived by phrasal movement and does not involve V2. By comparing these potential representations, it is possible to derive predictions for the L2

judgements. Before the hypotheses relevant for the present study are outlined, the precise analysis of QI is explored in the following section.

3. Quotative inversion in German and English

The syntactic analysis of QI, especially in English, is intricate and subject to disagreement concerning the details of the mechanism(s) which underlie the range of constraints on the construction (see Collins & Branigan 1997; Bruening 2016). In what follows, I will base the discussion in the main on uncontroversial distributional patterns in German and English and make a number of simplifying assumptions about their syntactic analysis. This allows the formulation of clearer research questions to be addressed by the study and means that the L2 learnability issue is not hostage to changing details of syntactic analysis. The important point that will emerge is that despite some apparent surface similarities, QI constructions in German and English may have different syntactic analyses.

In German, the V2 constraint gives rise to inversion of the subject and finite verb in all main clauses after fronted constituents. The properties of QI follow straightforwardly from this general constraint. A fronted direct quote will trigger inversion of finite verbs without optionality. Violation of the V2 constraint results in ungrammaticality, as is the case in any other main clause (3-6). The analysis is thus uncontroversial and is consistent with the established facts about German syntax; the quotation clause is fronted from the complement to Spec-CP, and the finite verb raises to C.

(3) „Das stimmt," sagte Anna.
that correct say.3ppst Anna
"That's right," said Anna.

(4) *„Das stimmt," Anna sagte.

(5) „Das stimmt," sagte Anna zu ihrem Bruder.
that correct say.3ppst Anna to her.dat brother

(6) *„Das stimmt," Anna sagte zu ihrem Bruder.

The distributional facts for English QI are well-established, even if the precise syntactic analysis remains open to discussion. The basic property of QI relates to optional inversion of verbs of saying or telling with direct quotation complements as in (8).[1]

(7) Anna said "That's right".

(8) a. "That's right," Anna said.
b. "That's right," said Anna.

[1] Discourse and register factors regulate the choice of inverted or non-inverted structures. Here, we are interested only in the syntactic properties associated with QI; see Sams (2009) for more on its distribution in discourse.

However, there are a range of distributional constraints on QI in English. For example, unlike in German, inversion of pronominal subjects is only marginally acceptable[2] (9-10) and inverted auxiliary verbs are ungrammatical (11-12).

(9) "That's right," she said
(10) *?"That's right," said she.
(11) "That's right," Anna was saying.
(12) *"That's right," was Anna saying.

More directly relevant to the following discussion and the research questions are the properties of QI with ditransitive and particle verbs. Inversion is only possible with ditransitive verbs in cases where the indirect object is realised as a PP (13). Otherwise, inversion results in ungrammaticality (14, see Collins & Branigan 1997 for more discussion of this transitivity constraint).

(13) a. "That's right," Anna said to her brother.
b. "That's right," said Anna to her brother.
(14) a. "That's right," Anna told her brother.
b. *"That's right," told Anna her brother.

With particle verbs of vocal expression (*call out*, *scream out*, *yell out*, etc.), inversion must involve both the verb and the particle. Subject-verb inversion with a stranded particle is ungrammatical (15). By contrast, in German all separable prefix verbs *must* involve a clause-final particle in line with general requirements of V2, see (16).

(15) a. "NO!" Anna called out.
b. "NO!" called out Anna.
c. *"NO!" called Anna out.
(16) a. „NEIN!" rief Anna aus.
b. *„NEIN!" rief aus Anna.

Collins and Branigan's (1997) seminal analysis of QI has been adopted in much subsequent work (see e.g. Suñer 2000; Matsos 2013). It assumes that English QI is derived by head-movement of the verb over a subject which remains in a low structural position in the VP, motivated by a [quote] feature on the verb and a quotative CP. The spirit of this analysis motivates Amaral and Roeper's (2014a: 6) and Roeper's (2016: 4) assumption that English QI is essentially a form of V2. Under this analysis, the syntactic mechanism and structure underlying QI are equivalent in relevant respects to German V2. In line with the Multiple

2 Judgements seem to vary on inverted pronouns, and this may be subject to dialect and register variation. At best, however, such structures tend to be evaluated as sounding archaic or overly formal (for more discussion, see Suñer 2000: 561-562).

Grammars perspective, it is then assumed that English has a V2 sub-rule in quotation contexts. Such an analysis has its attractions as it links the language-specific exceptional behaviour of English to a more general V2 grammar, and it thus fits well with Amaral and Roeper's (2014a: 6) general minimalist drive to "avoid complex rules". However, the analysis is not without its problems: Most importantly, it is not clear how this lexically-restricted V2 analysis could account for the full range of QI properties in English. For example, if a [quote] feature exceptionally licenses movement of main verbs in English, one would need to invoke some additional mechanisms to disallow movement of verbs over the subject in cases where the indirect object is a DP. In addition, it would still make QI a unique V2 structure and leaves open the question of why thematic V-to-C movement is licensed only in this particular structure and not in wh-questions, topicalisation or other potential V2 environments.

Such objections, as well as reanalysis of data from heavy-NP shift in inversion and new tests on QI, have led Bruening (2016) to challenge the head-movement/low-subject analysis. Simplifying greatly, the crucial aspect of Bruening's analysis for present purposes is the assumption that (a part of) the VP moves, rather than the verbal head. Under this phrasal-movement analysis, patterns of grammaticality with stranded elements are predicted to be the same in QI and VP fronting and VP ellipsis. Examples such as those in (17) (taken from Bruening 2016: 128) seem to indicate that this is indeed the case.

(17) a. "I'm a cross-dresser," Raymond put out there.
b. *"I'm a cross-dresser," put out Raymond there.
c. *"I'm a cross-dresser," put Raymond out there.
d. . . . and put it out there he did.
e. *. . . and put it out he did there.
f. *. . . and put it he did out there.

Thus, QI does not need to be considered syntactically exceptional, but rather derived by phrasal movement, a mechanism which is independently required to account for other properties of English syntax. This explains the observed distinction between PP and DP complements in transitive QI and the bar on particle stranding. The further details and relative merits of a head-movement versus a phrasal-movement analysis need not detain any more at this point. From an acquisition perspective, the relevant issue is that there are different potential representations of QI with different consequences for how learners should judge the acceptability of different QI structures.

In line with Roeper's predictions, it may be that L1 German-L2 English learners have multiple different subgrammars for English: V2 in contexts where such a representation would license input patterns and non-V2 for other structures. Alternatively, L2 learners may represent QI as phrasal movement as opposed to a form of V2. Thus, in order to test Roeper's Multiple Grammars prediction, it is necessary to establish whether L1 German speakers learning L2 English do indeed treat QI as a type of head-moved V2. The overarching research question addressed by the study outlined below is, therefore, whether patterns of

acceptability of QI indicate that learners have acquired constraints on this construction in English. This is tested on the basis of quotative inversion involving particle verbs and ditransitive verbs with DP objects. The specific predictions are as follows:

(i) if German speakers treat QI in English as a V2 construction, they will allow particle verbs to appear in QI in discontinuous order and they will allow transitive verbs with DP objects to invert;
(ii) if learners have acquired the phrasal movement property of English QI, discontinuous particle verbs and transitive verbs with DP object will each be equally unacceptable in QI contexts.

4. Study

4.1. Participants

An acceptability judgement task was completed by 25 L1 German learners of L2 English (21 F/ 4 M) who were studying in degree programmes in English and American Studies. Eight native English-speaking controls completed the task. As part of a separate study, the L2 group completed a pen-and-paper language background questionnaire and the LexTALE proficiency test (Lemhöfer & Boersma 2012). A summary of the biographical and proficiency data is provided in Table 1.

Table 1 Learners' bio and proficiency data

	Chronological Age (yrs)	**Age of Onset (yrs)**	**Length Instruction (yrs)**	**LexTALE Score**
M	22.5	8.2	14	86.8
Min	20	3	11	65
Max	28	12	22	98.75
SD	2.1	2.3	2.9	10.3

For the purposes of analysis, the L2 group was not further subdivided according to proficiency. The learners had all recently passed a proficiency exam testing reading and writing skills upper-intermediate to advanced proficiency. The average LexTALE scores of 86.8% are similarly place the learners at B2 to C1 on the Common European Reference Framework for language proficiency (see Lemhöfer & Boersma 2012 for discussion). The

online survey asked the native English speakers to confirm their native language was English and to provide their age (M=40.9, min 34, max 65).

4.2. Method and materials

The approach to acceptability judgement tasks outlined in Collins, Guitard and Wood (2009) was adapted for the purposes of the study. The task was set up in *Google Forms* and shared remotely with participants. Participation was voluntary. Instructions prior to the beginning of the task informed participants that they would see a series of sentences and they should evaluate them based on their natural reaction rather than any prescriptive rules or language instruction. Participants were advised to read the sentences naturally and to provide their first reaction without spending too much time thinking about their judgement.

The acceptability judgement task consisted of 48 sentences. Twenty-four were experimental items which tested knowledge of QI, the other 24 were distractor items, half of which were grammatical and half ungrammatical forms of infinitive and gerund structures (e.g. *The doctor recommended me to eat more fruit* / *The students kept interrupting the lecture*). The QI items targeted knowledge of transitive, ditransitive and particle verb distribution. Each construction was tested by 8 items. Half of the transitive and ditransitive items had subject-verb order and half were inverted. Likewise, half of particle-verb items had continuous verb-particle order, and half had discontinuous order. Examples of each type follow in (18).

(18)	"I don't lie," the politician claimed.	TRANSITIVE SUBJECT-VERB
	“That’s correct,” explained the professor.	TRANSITIVE QI
	"You are late," the teacher said to the student.	DIRANSITIVE SUBJECT-VERB
	"What happened?" asked the professor the student.	DIRANSITIVE QI
	“Help me!” called out the tourist.	PARTICLE CONTINUOUS
	"We won't go!" called the protestors out.	PARTICLE DISCONTINUOUS

All quotation verbs were in the simple past tense. Each particle verb appeared twice, once in continuous and once in discontinuous order. Similarly, each transitive verb appeared twice: once in subject-verb and once in QI order. The ditransitive verbs *say*, *tell* and *ask* were an exception; as PP complements of *say* are grammatical in QI, *say* appeared twice in an uninverted structure, *ask* and *tell* appeared three times each, once in a grammatical subject-verb order, and twice in ungrammatical QI. In order to control for any possible extraneous factors which may influence complexity and acceptability of subject-verb inversion, the quoted element was always between two and four syllables long. The subject was always a definite DP of between two and four syllables or a proper name.

Participants rated the acceptability of the sentences on the scale presented in (19) below, adapted from Collins, Guitard and Wood (2009). Any analysis of judgement data entails a range of tricky issues relating especially to statistical techniques, which it is beyond the scope of this paper to address (see Schütze & Sprouse 2014: 42 for discussion). I will confine

myself to brief comments on the use and analysis of this particular scale and observe that I follow Collins, Guitard and Wood's procedure. The key practical advantage is that the scale is easy to administer and permits remote data collection without detailed training on degrees of grammaticality. The categories also correspond to the standard grammatical/ungrammatical/marginal distinction used in theoretical literature (see Collins, Guitard & Wood 2009: 3).

(19) a. Sounds completely natural and I would use it. (3)
b. Sentence seems kind of odd, but I wouldn't be surprised to hear/read it. (2)
c. Sentence seems completely wrong and no one would use this sentence. (1)

The two main issues relating to the analysis are (i) scaling in the transformation of the data, and connected to this, (ii) the use of statistical tests on the transformed data. The numbers in parentheses in (19) indicate the transformed numerical values for the categories. The scaling issue relates to whether the equal numerical difference between 1 and 2 and 3 really reflect consistent equal differences in the categories. Collins, Guitard and Wood (2009: 4) cite Cowart (1997: 120) to point out that "where a particular contrast is numerically large compared with variability around the relevant means, any statistical problems deriving from a failure to achieve interval level measurement are not likely to be consequential". Statistical issues may also arise due to the use of parametric tests on such data as non-parametric tests would avoid the assumption that the difference between 1 and 2 is equal to that between 2 and 3. For exploratory purposes, I nevertheless here follow Collins, Guitard and Wood (2009) in computing standard ANOVAs and t-tests with the awareness that one needs to be careful in the interpretation of the results.

5. Results

The transformed numerical scores for the judgement categories were used as input for statistical testing. The results are presented for each type of structure in turn.

5.1. Transitive QI

The findings for transitive QI provide a baseline and address the general question of whether or not subject-verb and verb-subject orders are equally acceptable without further discourse context. The mean acceptability of (un)inverted transitive verbs is illustrated in Fig. 1.

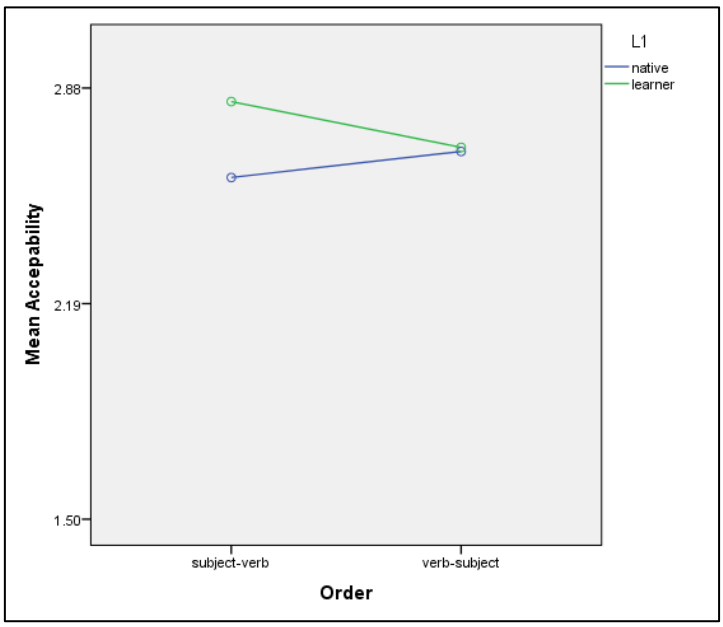

Figure 1 Acceptability of transitive verbs in inverted and uninverted order

The native speakers have a slight preference for the inverted order while the learners marginally prefer subject-verb order. These means were submitted to 2 (Order) by 2 (Group) repeated measures ANOVA. There was no significant effect of Group, $F(1, 31) = .18$, $p > .05$, and no significant interaction with Order $F(1, 31) = 2.36$, $p > .05$. Follow-up paired samples t-tests for each group showed that neither group had a significant preference for one order over the other. This indicates that transitive verbs are equally acceptable in subject-verb and in verb-subject order. Furthermore, both the native and learner groups know that inversion is an optional word order variant with transitive verbs of quotation.

5.2. Ditransitive QI

Acceptability rates of ditransitive verbs in QI will indicate whether learners represent QI as a head-movement V2 structure. If they do, it is expected that they would permit ditransitive verbs to appear with direct object DPs in VSO structures, in line with the patterns that head movement would derive. The mean acceptability of (un)inverted ditransitive verbs is presented in Fig 2.

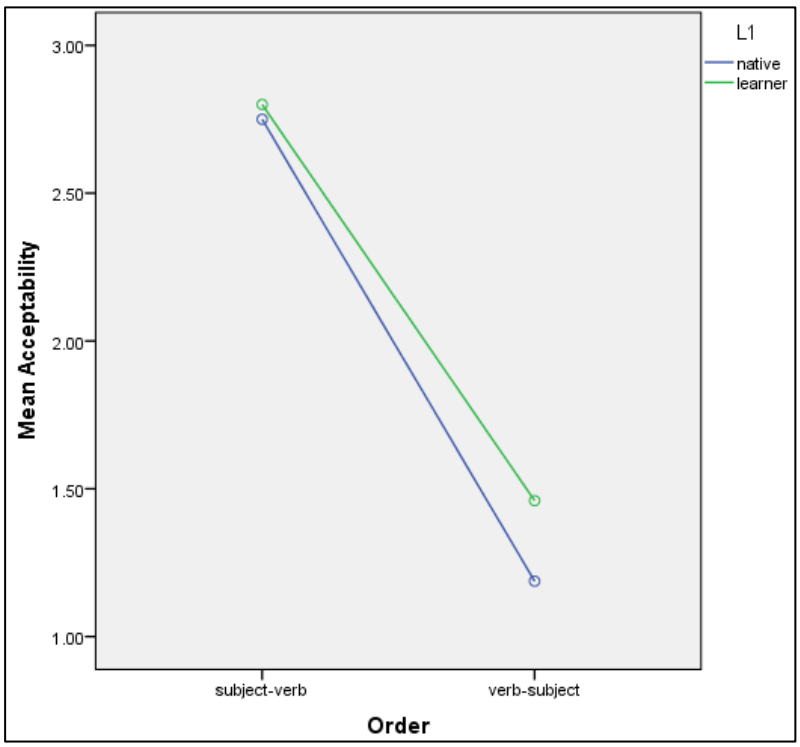

Figure 2 Acceptability of ditransitive verbs in inverted and uninverted order

Both the learners and the native speakers in effect categorically reject QI with ditransitive verbs; recall that a score of '1' indicates a judgement that 'the sentence is completely wrong'. The pattern of judgements is similar across the groups. This is reflected in the statistical measures. A 2 (Group) by 2 (Order) repeated measures ANOVA reveals a main effect of order, $F(1, 31) = 245.25$, $p < .01$; this means that overall, subject-verb order was judged to be significantly more acceptable than verb-subject order. However, there was no effect of Group and no interactions. Thus, we can conclude that L1 German learners of L2 English seem to know that ditransitive verbs cannot be inverted in QI contexts and thus do not rely on an L1-influenced V2 analysis of this structure in English.

5.3. Particle verbs

The patterns of acceptability of particle verbs in QI are as expected for the native speakers, and follow from the results for ditransitive verbs. Fig. 3 shows a similar pattern of degraded acceptability from the native speakers for discontinuous versus continuous placement as does Fig. 2 for inversion with ditransitive verbs. While the judgements for particle placement are not as categorical as for ditransitive QI, the pattern is still clear and accords with intuitions on particle placement discussed in the theoretical literature. By contrast, the learners do not appear to have a clear preference for continuous versus discontinuous particle placement. In fact, learners seem to have indeterminate preferences for particle placement in QI. Even continuous particle verbs are judged on average to be only marginally acceptable.

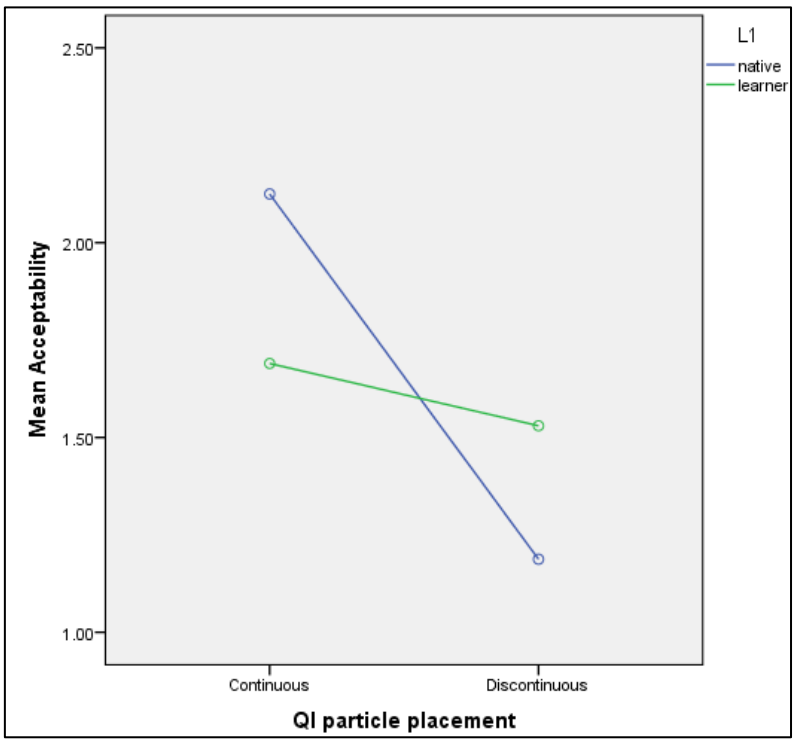

Figure 3 Acceptability of particle verbs in continuous and discontinuous order

A 2 (Group) by 2 (Particle Placement) ANOVA shows a significant main effect of particle placement: $F(1, 31) = 28.45$, $p > .01$. Overall, discontinuous particle verbs are judged to be significantly less acceptable in QI. However, a significant interaction with Group ($F(1, 31) = 14.30$, $p < .01$) shows that learners did not make the same distinction between continuous and discontinuous placement as did native speakers. Follow-up paired samples t-tests to explore within-group effects show that the difference in acceptability between continuous ($M = 1.69$, $SE = .11$) and discontinuous ($M = 1.53$, $SE = .10$) placement was not significant for the learners $t(24) = -1.67$, $p > .05$. The native speakers, however, judged discontinuous verb-particle order ($M = 1.19$, $SE = .13$) to be significantly less acceptable than continuous order ($M = 2.13$, $SE = .18$), $t(7) = -4.47$, $p < .01$.

5.4. Summary

To sum up, it seems that L1 German speakers with upper-intermediate to advanced L2 English proficiency know that quote verbs may in general be inverted in English. However, whether they represent this inversion as V2 head-movement is more difficult to answer. Neither of the predictions outlined above is clearly supported. The logic of the predictions assumes that acceptability judgements for the different structures should pattern together. If learners allow V2, they will accept inversion with ditransitive verbs and discontinuous particles. If they have a phrasal-movement analysis, they will reject inversion with ditransitive verbs and discontinuous particles. While learners seem able to successfully reject ungrammatical V2 with ditransitive verbs, they do not seem to be able to differentiate between continuous and discontinuous particle placement in QI. Such a finding is at least

superficially compatible with a multiple grammars model in the sense that knowledge in apparent V2 contexts is not consistent. However, there is no reason to assume that the learners' L1 representation including V2 is being drawn upon in the task. Learners do not have a preference for the discontinuous particle placement, which resembles German. Indeed, they do not seem to have determinate preferences for either order but appear to consider particle verbs to be only marginally acceptable in quotative inversion in either continuous or discontinuous order.

6. Discussion and conclusions

I proceed by discussing firstly some potential methodological concerns in the design of the grammaticality judgement task and whether these might explain some of the patterns in the results. The next section also touches upon issue of avoidance of particle verbs, which has been discussed in literature on lexical acquisition. It is concluded that a general notion of avoidance cannot explain the results. Section 6.2 then exploits the idea of avoidance to a certain extent in a more refined analysis of lexical restrictions on L2 grammars to suggest that L1 influence might be at work in the licensing of direct quote complements with particle verbs.

6.1. Methodolgical issues and avoidance

Before analysing the results in greater detail, some methodological concerns should be addressed. Firstly, the sample is small and the native speaker control group in particular includes only 8 participants. One might, therefore, question whether the patterns would hold up with a larger sample. This can only truly be addressed by expanding the experiment to include more participants. Nevertheless, given the fact that the native-speaker results conform to what has been suggested in the theoretical literature, there is little immediate reason to assume that the patterns would be qualitatively different with a larger sample size.

A second question mark might relate to the nature of the judgement task. Following Collins, Guitard and Wood (2009), participants were required to judge sentences as: 'sounds completely natural and I would use it' / 'sentence seems kind of odd, but I wouldn't be surprised to hear/read it' / 'sentence seems completely wrong and no one would use this sentence'. One might speculate that there is a potential issue with the classification sentence 'seems kind of odd, but I wouldn't be surprised to hear/read it', specifically as it might be used differently by L2 speakers than by native speakers (and only the latter were tested by Collins, Guitard and Wood 2009). This response type aims to capture intermediate acceptability – there are sentences which might not be part of a respondent's individual grammar, but which nevertheless are used in a speech community and are understood by a respondent. L2 speakers may use this sort of classification in different ways; for example, an individual learner may use it to mean that the sentence is wrong but it may be uttered by other learners. They may thus still consider it an 'error' or 'ungrammatical'. Again, this

could only really be addressed by further study and methodological triangulation. But it does not call the pattern of results into question. If learners were generally more likely to choose the 'questionable' response type, then they would do so for both the particle verb and transitive verb constructions. The difference in acceptability between these thus remains unexplained by any methodological issue.

A final issue, more pertinent to the specific pattern of results, is the limited range of structures tested in the task. In particular, particle verbs always occurred in inverted orders in the task and placement of the particle was manipulated. In comparison, the transitive and intransitive verbs were presented in subject-verb and verb-subject orders. This manipulation was motivated in a principled way by the nature of the research questions and predictions derived from the syntactic structure. However, the fact that learners tend to dislike particle verbs in both of the presented orders invites an analysis based simply on avoidance.

Indeed, it might seem attractive to claim that the inherent semantic and morpho-syntactic complexity of particle verbs leads to learner avoidance and thus the observed tendency simply to reject particle verbs in QI across the board. However, work on vocabulary knowledge has tended to show that any avoidance effects are the result of proficiency and L1-related factors (see Dagut & Laufer 1985; Hulstijn & Marchena 1989; Laufer & Eliasson 1993). While it has been found that L1 Hebrew speakers tend to avoid using English phrasal verbs (Dagut & Laufer 1985), learners with Germanic L1s which also have phrasal and particle verb structures tend *not* to adopt avoidance strategies. Based on comparisons of phrasal verb usage in English between L1 Swedish and L1 Hebrew-speaking learners, Laufer and Eliasson (1993) suggest that the major contributing factor to avoidance is L1-L2 dissimilarity. L1 Swedish-speaking learners of English do not avoid phrasal verbs in general (unlike L1 Hebrew speakers), and they do not avoid semantically opaque phrasal verbs which have equivalents in Swedish. Applied to the present study, this line of thinking suggests that one cannot account for the rejection of particle verbs in QI simply as a result of avoidance of particle/phrasal verbs across the board.

Avoidance might, however, be at work in two other ways. Firstly, QI is always optional; it is never a syntactic requirement to invert after quotes. Learners may have a stronger preference for the standard SV order (as indicated perhaps by their judgement of transitive QI). Secondly, and more pertinent to the concerns of Multiple Grammars theory, it may be that lexical constraints on particle verbs induce the learners' indeterminate judgements. But, as outlined below, rather than being a general case of avoidance, L1 lexical properties serve to rule out direct quotation structures with particle verbs. Learners will thus have no choice but to 'avoid' determinate judgements of syntactic alternations if their grammar does not permit the structure.

6.2. QI and lexically-restricted grammars

If we return, then, to a (lexical-)syntactic account, the results are unsurprising. We have already seen that consistent clustering of parametric properties tends not to be found in L2 studies. In line with a competing grammars model, the results could be interpreted to show

that resetting of syntactic properties is not consistent. Learners have reset V2 and adopted a phrasal movement analysis of QI with ditransitive verbs but this does not extend to particle verbs. But this leaves us with an explanatory puzzle: if learners do not generally avoid usage of particle verbs, what is it prevents learners extending a target phrasal movement analysis to them? Roeper (2016: 3-5) foreshadows the potential issue and suggests that what is needed is a "more refined interpretation of the interaction of V2 and separable particle verbs" (Roeper 2016: 4). Amaral and Roeper's (2014a) discussion of lexically-restricted grammars with respect to QI also provides the outline of a potential analysis.

Amaral and Roeper (2014a: 4) invoke the general idea that grammars may be lexically specific. That is, any global grammatical rule will permit "subregularities" or "idiosyncratic constructions that are for the most part lexically triggered" (Amaral & Roeper 2014a: 4). Applied to quotation constructions in English, they propose that QI is syntactically the same as the global V2 rule in German, but that movement is lexically restricted in English. A diacritic attached to verbs of quotation permits only this lexical class to undergo V2 movement. As discussed above, one can question whether QI really involves a form of head-movement. But whatever the syntactic analysis, it remains true that only a specific class of verbs are permissible in QI structures. Complemented by analysis of patterns in L1 German, this idea that grammatical regularities are lexically-restricted provides useful lens through which to view learners' inclination to reject particle verbs in quotation constructions.

Recall that particle verbs in the experiment always occurred in inverted orders with the manipulation only of particle placement, i.e. the verb and particle inverted together or the verb inverted alone. The fact that learners did not like either of these orders may indicate that, in the learners' grammars, these particle verbs are not members of the class of quotation verbs and thus do not permit any form of inversion.

Evidence from the behaviour of such verbs in German suggests that properties of the L1 lexicon may constrain L2 knowledge. The addition of a particle to a verb of vocal expression in German appears to have more extensive semantic and syntactic consequences than in English. For example, the difference between (20a) and (b) is related to the degree of intensity of the screaming. By contrast, while (21a) is fine in German, native speakers do not readily accept (21b). The verb *ausschreien* means more naturally either 'to proclaim something' (perhaps somewhat archaically), or it is used reflexively with an idiomatic meaning best translated as 'to scream oneself hoarse / to scream one's heart out'.

(20) a. "Help!" screamed the victim
b. "Help!" screamed out the victim.

(21) a. „Hilfe!" schrie das Opfer.
b. *?„Hilfe!" schrie das Opfer aus.

So it seems that, in German, the equivalent to English particle verbs of vocal expression are often semantically incompatible with direct quotation constructions. Following the assumptions of Full Transfer that the learner's L1 grammar (and lexicon) determine the nature of the L2 initial state, L1 German learners will presumably initially assume that

particle verbs cannot select direct quote complements. Because direct quotation structures in general are relatively rare in the input, and because direct quotation with particle verbs is particularly rare, even advanced learners will likely not have encountered evidence that would motivate restructuring the lexicon to allow particle verbs such as *scream out* to take direct quote complements. It would therefore be unsurprising that learners do not have a preference either way for continuous or discontinuous particle placement in QI as their grammar may not be able to license a direct quote complement of the verb to start with.

6.3. Conclusion

To return finally to the Multiple Grammars idea that was the inspiration for the research. The results, and the analysis above, are very much in the spirit of a competing grammars perspective, even if the details are not necessarily precisely as predicted by Roeper. Roeper (2016: 11) proposes that we should seek to "formulate the grammars of L2 with sufficient technical precision that they predict what is ungrammatical". In the case of L1 German-L2 English learners, intermediate to advanced proficiency learners do not seem to have a V2 representation of quotative inversion as they can robustly reject inversion with ditransitives. However, the L1 lexicon may act as a constraint on knowledge of L2 syntax to the extent that knowledge of particle placement in apparently V2 contexts remains indeterminate, which may be explained on the basis of the ungrammaticality of similar structures in German (interacting with properties of the target language input). Thus, in line with Multiple Grammars' assumptions, L2 syntactic knowledge may be lexically restricted. The role of L1 lexical preferences and how these might impinge upon L2 syntax and the development of syntactic knowledge are likely to be factors which would need to be controlled for in further studies. In any case, it seems that there are indeed different types of knowledge for different QI structures in L1 German-L2 English. Further research may furnish insights on the nature of any competing grammatical representations and the relative contributions of different areas of linguistic knowledge during the course of L2 acquisition.

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