

Tense and Aspect in the Oral and Written Narratives of Two-Way Immersion Students

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1. Introduction

In the majority of United States two-way immersion (dual immersion) programs, Spanish-speaking and English-speaking children study in the same classrooms and receive content instruction in both Spanish and English. Spanish-speaking children benefit from two-way immersion because, as they learn English, they are integrated with native English-speaking peers throughout the school day. Additionally, two-way immersion allows these students to continue developing their Spanish proficiency. Likewise, English-speaking students in two-way immersion classrooms benefit from interaction with native Spanish-speaking peers, instead of having to rely on the teacher as the sole source of Spanish input (as they must do in “one-way” immersion classrooms, where all students are non-native Spanish speakers)¹. Two-way immersion seeks to promote bilingual development and positive cross-cultural attitudes by regarding language as a resource. This approach stands in contrast to most U.S. bilingual education programs that view minority languages as problems that interfere with English acquisition.

Research shows that two-way immersion students score higher than national norms on standardized achievement tests, and they score at “proficient” levels of Spanish on standardized language tests (Christian et. al. 1997; Lindholm-Leary 2001). However, to date there have been no direct analyses of two-way immersion students’ grammatical competence. In order to further explore the Spanish proficiency of such students, we administered a number of measures to a graduating class of 52 eighth graders at a two-way immersion school in Chicago, Illinois. This paper focuses on students’ grammatical performance, specifically their production of tense and aspect, in both oral and written narratives. Ours is one of the few tense/aspect studies that focus on child L2 learners, and to date is the only such study to examine child heritage Spanish speakers.

2. Tense and aspect in Spanish

The indicative past in Spanish has two forms, the preterite and imperfect, with the difference between them being one of aspect. Aspect, as defined by Comrie (1976), is the internal temporal structure of a situation, specifically whether it is bounded (looking at the verbal activity from outside as having a beginning and an end) or unbounded (looking at the verb activity from the inside, without specifying a beginning or an end to the activity). The preterite is bounded, or perfective aspect, while the imperfect is unbounded, or imperfective aspect. The selection of preterite or imperfect morphology, such as “comió” vs. “comía,” corresponds to a *grammatical* encoding of aspect. This is also referred to as *viewpoint* aspect (Smith 1997) because it depends on the perspective of the speaker.

In addition to being coded grammatically for aspect, every verb also has an inherent aspect, which is called its *lexical* aspect. Following Vendler (1967), there are two principal categories of lexical aspect, *dynamism* and *telicity*. All verbs are either stative or dynamic. *Stative* (Stat) verbs describe internal states as opposed to actions, such as *to know* and *to like*. *Dynamic* verbs, on the other hand, require energy in order to occur. Dynamic verbs can be divided into three types: *activities* (Act) are processes without an inherent endpoint, such as *to run*; *accomplishments* (Acc) are processes with an inherent endpoint, such as *to run a mile*; and *achievements* (Ach) are also processes with an inherent endpoint, but the process leading to that point is instantaneous, as in *to notice*. Another difference between accomplishments and achievements on one hand and activities and states on the other hand is one of *telicity*. Verbs that have an inherent endpoint, such as the accomplishment *to run a mile* and the achievement *to notice* are telic, while those verbs that can continue indefinitely, such as the activity *to run*, are atelic. These categories are summarized with examples in Table 1.

Table 1, Categories of Lexical Aspect

State	<i>know, be</i>	stative	atelic
Activity	<i>run, eat</i>		
Accomplishment	<i>run a mile, eat a cake</i>		telic
Achievement	<i>notice, sink</i>		

Use of tense and aspect is thought to be correlated with overall Spanish proficiency, because knowledge of aspectual distinctions in Spanish comprises knowledge of both morphosyntactic paradigms as well as the semantic interpretations associated with each form (Montrul 2002). In the following section, we briefly review the development of tense and aspect in L1, L2, and bilingual children, because all three groups are represented in this dual immersion class.

3. Tense and aspect in L1, L2, and bilingual acquisition

Research on tense and aspect development in Spanish L1 acquisition is relatively scarce. Villamil (1983) found 29% use of the imperfect between ages 2;0 and 3;2, yet Morales (1989) found only 11% imperfect use among children aged 3;0 to 4;9, and the imperfect as a temporal marker emerged from ages 5;0 to 6;0. Sebastian & Slobin (1994) found that the use of the imperfect was already proportional to the use of preterite among three-year-olds. Jacobsen (1986), however, argued that aspect is acquired before tense, based on findings that a Peruvian child between the ages of 2;2 and 3;5 first used the preterite with *ach* and *acc*, while *stat* and *act* predicates were used with gerund forms; the imperfect did not appear until a month later, and not productively until the child was close to three years of age.

Research in L2 acquisition has generally focused on adults, either in classrooms or naturalistically. Working with children, Andersen (1986) proposed the *lexical aspect hypothesis* based on findings that aspectual marking is connected with the inherent lexical aspect of the verb: the preterite first emerges with *Ach* verbs, then is seen with *Acc*, next with *Act*, and finally with *Stat*. The imperfect emerges first with *Stat*, next with *Act*, then with *Acc* and finally with *Ach*². However, Salaberry (2000) found that the appearance of past tense marking of beginning adult Spanish L2 learners was independent of the inherent lexical category of verbal predicates, but that the effect of lexical aspect becomes stronger for intermediate-level learners.

It is important to note that the lexical aspect hypothesis is based on data from natural SLA settings. Salaberry (2000) suggests that classroom learners will not necessarily follow the same developmental sequences, no matter how much free conversation takes place in the classroom, because “it is doubtful that the functional needs of true communicative interaction (i.e., natural settings) would be successfully recreated” in a “closed community of nonnative speakers meeting several times a week for academic purposes – no matter how authentic the academic environment is” (2000:69). Immersion classrooms, however, teach school subjects *through* the L2. Students are expected to direct all language to the teacher, both academic and social, in Spanish. In addition, two-way immersion classrooms contain native Spanish-speaking students. These classrooms may more closely approximate natural settings than instructed SLA contexts. Although empirical research is necessary to determine whether two-way immersion students are exposed to the distributional bias of aspectual oppositions present in native speakers’ discourse, such classrooms present an interesting domain for the study of verbal morphology.

Several relevant studies of L2 development have been conducted in one-way immersion contexts. Using oral interviews in a French immersion context, Harley & Swain (1978) found that students appeared to use one past tense per lexical verb, normally using the *passé composé* for actions (even in habitual and progressive contexts) and the *imparfait* for stative verbs. Harley (1987) found evidence that such errors persist even in grade 10. Spilka (1976), examining the oral production of twenty fifth- and sixth-grade French immersion students, found that “the overwhelming majority of errors in the later grades consist[ed] in using the imperfect instead of the perfect.” There have been no

detailed studies of L2 tense/aspect development in U.S. one-way or two-way immersion classrooms in the U.S.

Tense and aspect have been considered a prime candidate for simplification and erosion among bilinguals. Silva-Corvalán (1994) and Zentella (1997) both found simplification of tense/aspect among second and third generation Spanish speakers. Montrul (2002) found that Spanish-speaking bilinguals raised in the U.S. who had begun acquiring English before the age of seven, although they were almost equal to monolingual native Spanish speakers in the distribution of preterite and imperfect morphemes across lexical aspectual categories, evidenced incomplete acquisition through their erroneous production of stative verbs in the preterite (that is, they made errors of the type, *Le puso las galletas en una mesa mientras el lobo *estuvo debajo de las cobijas*, ‘She put the cookies on a table while the wolf *was [stative preterite] under the covers’). In addition, to a lesser degree, incomplete acquisition was evident among the bilinguals in achievement verbs in the imperfect (*Ella estaba arreglando todos los flores que ella *recogía durante su camino*, ‘She was arranging all the flowers that she *was gathering [achievement imperfect] during her walk’).

There are three kinds of students in the two-way immersion classroom studied in this article: Spanish L2 learners, English-dominant bilinguals who had Spanish as their chronological L1, and Spanish-dominant recent immigrants from Latin America. Previous research (Montrul 2002) suggests that the three groups will evidence similar distributions of preterite and imperfect morphemes across lexical aspectual categories, but that the Spanish L2 and the bilingual students will produce more errors with preterite Stat and imperfect Ach than will the recent arrival, Spanish-dominant students.

4. Methodology

In the school studied, the student population is 70.9% Latino, 14.6% European American, 12.7% African American, and 1.9% Asian/Pacific Islander or Native American. Of the Latino students, 35% are Limited English Proficient, while the rest are either bilingual in Spanish and English or are English monolingual. The school enrolls approximately 640 children each year in preschool through eighth grade classes.

From preschool through third grade, all students receive 80% of their instruction in Spanish; fourth through sixth grade is taught 60% in Spanish; and seventh and eighth grade are 50% in Spanish. These schools are similar to Canadian immersion environments because the language is taught through the medium of Spanish. There is little explicit instruction about Spanish itself. Therefore, these students are more like untutored than tutored learners, although they receive more language-focused tutoring than most individuals in naturalistic contexts.

Table 2 presents information about the 52 participants, including the age at which they began learning Spanish and, in the case of Spanish L1 students, the age at which they began learning English. Except for the Spanish L1 students who began learning English and Spanish simultaneously in the home, all students began learning their L2 upon entering the dual immersion school. The majority of the Spanish L1 students began learning English in preschool or earlier. Most L2 students began learning Spanish in kindergarden or first grade, followed closely by those who began in preschool. The five students labeled “recent arrivals” had immigrated to the US at the beginning of 6th or 7th grade, only one to two years before this study. They were native Spanish speakers who received English as a Second Language support at school. There were not enough recent arrivals, nor enough students in each category of age of first exposure to the L2, to make statistical comparisons that included these groups and subgroups. Therefore, in this study we will compare statistically only students in the categories of “L1” and “L2”, but we will make comments about the performance of recent arrivals where appropriate. We chose to evaluate an entire graduating class rather than select equal numbers of students in each cell from different classes or from different schools.

Table 2, Student Participants

N=52	Age began learning Spanish (n)	Age began learning English (n)
Spanish L1 heritage speakers n=30	In home since birth	In home since birth (9)
		4 years old (14)
		5-6 years old (5)
		8-9 years old (2)
Spanish L2 n=17	4 years old (6)	In home since birth
	5-6 years old (8)	
	8-9 years old (3)	
Spanish L1, recent arrivals n=5	In home since birth	10-12 years old (5)

Several measures of students' oral and written Spanish proficiency were utilized, modeled on those used in Canadian immersion research (Allen et. al 1983). These are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3, Measures

	(A) Oral	(B) Written	(C) Multiple choice, sentence completion & translation
(1) Grammar	1. Story retelling from <i>Language Assessment Scale-Oral</i> 2. Interview questions following story retelling (3 questions)	1. Narrative story 2. Letter of persuasion to a landlord; letter from parent to child	1. Sentence completion (24 items) 2. Translations (13 items)
(2) Sociolinguistic competence	Role plays (6 situations)	Letter of persuasion to a landlord; letter from parent to child	Multiple choice (10 items)
(3) Reading	(n/a)	(n/a)	<i>Logramos</i> test
(4) Writing	(n/a)	Narrative story	(n/a)
(5) Speaking & listening proficiency	1. <i>Language Assessment Scale-Oral</i> 2. FLOSEM	(n/a)	<i>Language Assessment Scale-Oral</i>

Two measures were used to rate students' oral Spanish. These included the Spanish Language Assessment Scales-Oral (LAS-O), a standardized exam consisting of vocabulary identification, listening comprehension, and a story retelling. All portions of the LAS-O were graded by an independent consulting firm authorized by the publishers of the exam. We also used the Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix (FLOSEM), an upgraded version of the Student Oral Language Observation Matrix developed by the California Department of Education (Lindholm-Leary

2001). The FLOSEM assesses oral language proficiency in five domains: comprehension, fluency, vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. It is not a test, but rather a matrix that is filled out by individuals who have had extensive interaction with students in a number of contexts. For this study, FLOSEM ratings were completed by two people: a researcher who spent two days per week with the students, and the students' classroom Spanish teacher. Students' Spanish writing was evaluated using a rubric developed by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory (2002). Two researchers rated the written narratives independently and came to an agreement on a final score.

Results of these proficiency measures are presented in Table 4. We have included the scores of the Recent Arrival students for comparison, but these were not submitted to statistical analysis because there were only five such students.

Table 4, Students' Oral and Written Spanish Proficiency

	L1 mean (n=31)	L2 mean (n=16)	RA mean (n=5)
LAS-O, Total (Max = 100)	85.5 sd = 6.99	64.9* sd = 8.06	89.5
LAS-O, Story (Max = 5)	3.9 sd = 0.607	2.7* sd = 0.469	4.2
FLOSEM (Max = 6)	5.08 sd = 0.714	3.10* sd = 0.815	6.00
Writing (Max = 30)	24.9 sd = 3.27	17.5* sd = 5.0	26.0

*= p value < .001

The L1 students overall were significantly superior to the L2 students on all measures, despite the fact that several L2 students actually scored higher than L1 students on the FLOSEM and on the LAS story retelling. L1 students were not far behind the RAs, indicating that, overall, L1 Spanish-speakers raised in the U.S. and attending this two-way immersion school have maintained a good level of Spanish. One might wonder why the RAs did not score perfectly on the LAS and the writing measure. Most standardized measures are biased for overall academic ability; the only RA who got a 5 on the LAS story retelling came from a very educated home background. The scores on the FLOSEM represent basic interpersonal communication skills, where the RAs did achieve the highest possible score.

For the present study of tense and aspect, we transcribed and analyzed the story retelling from the LAS-O (Table 3, Row 1, Column A1 and Row 1, Column B1). Students heard a tape-recorded story and then retold it in their own words. Although retelling a silent film (as used in Hasbún 1995 and Salaberry 2000) offers the advantage that students cannot be influenced by verbs they hear, many advanced students and native speakers often inadvertently bypass the purpose of such a study by using the simple present instead of the past tense to narrate the silent film (Salaberry 2000). The story that students heard in our study was in the past tense, and all but four students retold it in the past tense. Two of these four students had very high Spanish proficiency, and two were among the least proficient Spanish students in the group. It is possible that the distribution of past tense morphology found in the original story influenced students' retellings, which will be examined.

The entire story text appears in Appendix A with preterite and imperfect verbs labeled according to inherent lexical aspect. Table 5 displays the distribution of past tense morphemes in the story prompt.

Table 5, Morpheme distribution by lexical aspect in oral story prompt

	Imp	Pret
Stat	9 (69%)	0 (0%)
Act	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Acc	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Ach	3 (23%)	8 (100%)
Total	13 (100%)	8 (100%)
	13/21 = 62%	8/21 = 38%

The story was like most narratives in that the imperfect was used mostly for descriptions and background details, while the preterite moved the action forward. The story was somewhat unique in that there were three achievement verbs in the imperfect (*entraba, preguntaban, respondía*), accounting for 23% of the imperfect morphology. The majority of imperfect verbs were used for stative verbs, as would be expected.

For the written narrative, students were given a prompt and asked to finish the story. Only two students, both highly proficient in Spanish, completed the story in the present tense (these were not the same students that completed the oral story retelling in the present tense).

In both stories, each past tense verb was classified as preterite or imperfect and coded for its inherent lexical aspect (state, activity, accomplishment, or achievement). They were also marked as correct or incorrect uses of the preterite and imperfect. See Table 5 for a summary of these two measures and some examples of stative, accomplishment, activity, and achievement verbs that were produced by students in each one.

Table 6, Examples.

Oral narrative	Written narrative
Prompt: Story about a girl who worked in her garden and, after rejecting many suitors, agreed to marry Vicente. See Appendix A for full text. Students were asked to retell the story in their own words.	Prompt: “ <i>Era una tarde soleada de junio y en el balcón de la casa de los Sánchez dormía un gato tranquilamente. De repente, tres perros...</i> ” Students were asked to fill up 13 lines to complete the story.
<i>Le gustaba trabajar en su jardín</i> = stative <i>Plantaron juntos</i> = activity <i>Fui al jardín</i> = accomplishment <i>Se quitó la máscara</i> = achievement	<i>Porque los perros estaban sueltos</i> = stative <i>Los perros ladraban</i> = activity <i>Se subió en la cima de un árbol</i> = accomplishment <i>Salió el dueño</i> = achievement

According to the lexical aspect hypothesis (Shirai & Andersen 1995), we would expect the distribution of past tense morphemes to correlate with students’ overall proficiency. That is, the more proficient Spanish L1 students would evidence a spread of the preterite to stative verbs and of the imperfect to achievement verbs, while the less proficient Spanish L2 students would not. We would also expect the highest level of accuracy in the use of preterite and imperfect forms from the recent arrivals, followed by the heritage speakers and lastly the L2 learners (see Montrul forthcoming).

Some predicates required consideration of extralinguistic information to code them by lexical aspect (cf. Shirai & Anderen 1995:750). Some of the more difficult examples are displayed in Appendix B, along with the final coding decision and made for each one.

5. Findings

A total of 1,445 verb tokens were produced by the students in the oral and written narratives. The oral and written data will be analyzed separately.

5.1 Oral story retelling

The original story heard by the students was 261 words long. In their retellings, the L1 students produced an average of 167 words, L2 students averaged 138 words, and RA students averaged 166 words, so there were no major differences between L1 and L2 students on the length of the oral story retellings.

The students produced a total of 910 tokens on the oral retellings. Figures 1 and 2 show the frequency distribution of imperfect and preterite with each of the four kinds of predicates produced by the students. The percentage and number of tokens for this and all subsequent figures appear in Appendix C, following Salaberry's (2000:87) claim that reporting raw scores is necessary because low token counts can generate meaningless percentages.

Figure 1, Distribution of preterite in oral task

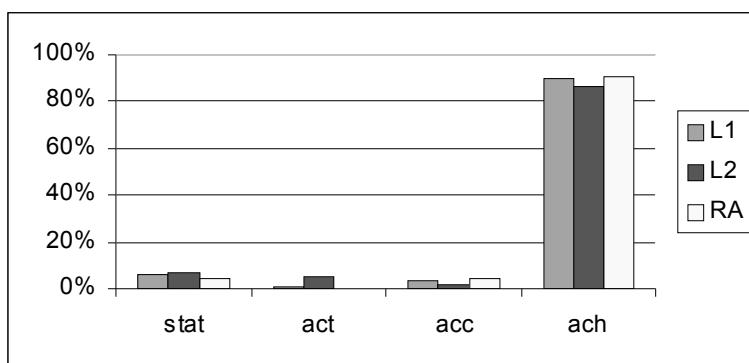
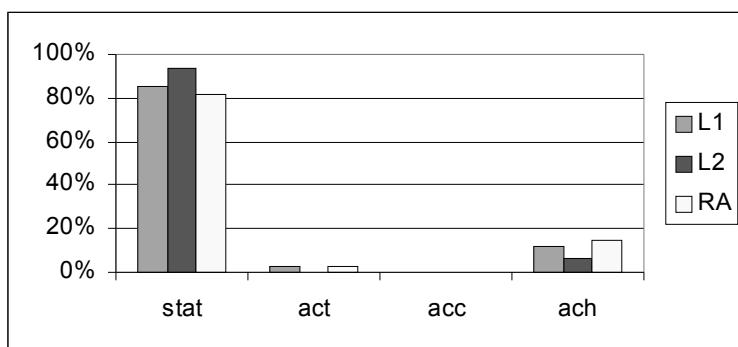


Figure 2, Distribution of imperfect in oral task



Overall, there were no notable differences among the three groups in terms of frequency of distribution. Thus, it appears that these L2 learners have approximated a native system when asked to narrate an oral story. As the raw data indicates (Appendix C), achievement verbs constituted 41.8% of all tokens, as would be expected in narratives (Bardovi-Harlig 2000). L2 students used slightly more stative imperfect and slightly less achievement imperfect than the other two groups.

5.2 *Written narratives*

On the written narrative, the L1 students produced an average of 71 words, L2 students averaged 62 words, and RA students also averaged 62 words. There were no major differences between L1 and L2 students on the length of the written stories. Unlike in Hasbún (1995), the written task did not generate longer narratives than the oral task, although students took more time for the written task (they had 10 minutes maximum for the written task; there was no time limit on the oral story retelling, but no student took more than 4 minutes to retell it).

There was a total of 535 tokens in the written narratives. Figures 3 and 4 display the frequency distribution of preterite and imperfect with each of the four kinds of predicates produced by the students on the written narratives.

Figure 3, Distribution of *preterite* in written task

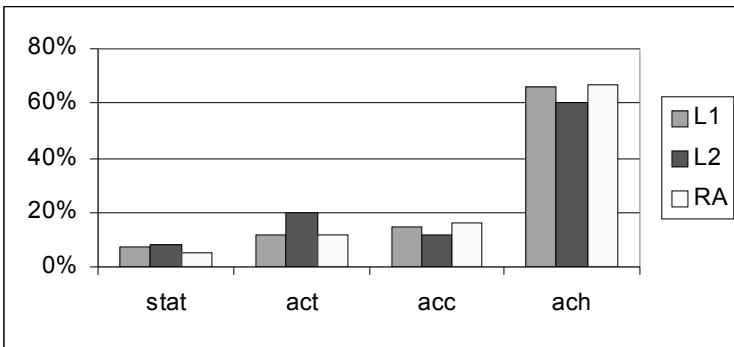
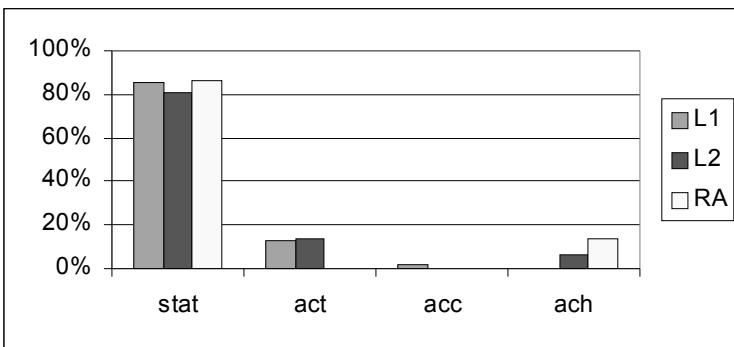


Figure 4, Distribution of *imperfect* in written task



Again, there were no notable differences among the three groups in terms of frequency of distribution. The preterite was overwhelming used with achievement verbs and the imperfect with stative verbs in both types of narratives. Thus, our hypothesis that L2 students would exhibit a different morpheme distribution than the bilingual students (who would, in turn, be different from the native speakers) was not sustained.

Tables 7 and 8 show students' accuracy on both the oral and written measures. On the oral task, L1 students were only 69% accurate on the use of the preterite with stative verbs, and L2 students were even less accurate at 57%. On the written task, L1 students showed higher accuracy (95%) with preterite statives, while the L2 students were slightly less accurate at 78%. Errors in preterite statives were also found by Montrul (2002) among bilingual adults. In addition, L2 students showed erroneous usage with oral preterite activity verbs (80% correct), such as *Y eso era todo lo que hizo* (instead of

hacia). There were a total of three errors (oral and written) in achievement imperfect, all produced by L2 students (such as “*Era matado” and “*Se escondía debajo del árbol”).

Table 7, Percentage accuracy on oral task by predicate type

	L1		L2		RA	
	Pret	Imp	Pret	Imp	Pret	Imp
Stat	69% (9/13)	100% (301/301)	57% (4/7)	100% (125/125)	100% (2/2)	100% (50/50)
Act	100% (2/2)	100% (10/10)	80% (4/5)	--- (0/0)	--- (0/0)	100% (2/2)
Acc	86% (6/7)	100% (1/1)	100% (2/2)	--- (0/0)	100% (2/2)	--- (0/0)
Ach	100% (195/195)	100% (43/43)	99% (84/85)	88% (7/8)	100% (41/41)	100% (9/9)
Total	98% (212/217)	100% (355/355)	95% (94/99)	99% (132/133)	100% (45/45)	100% (61/61)

Table 8, Percentage accuracy on written task by predicate type

	L1		L2		RA	
	Pret	Imp	Pret	Imp	Pret	Imp
Stat	95% (18/19)	100% (47/47)	78% (7/9)	97% (28/29)	100% (2/2)	100% (6/6)
Act	100% (33/33)	100% (7/7)	100% (23/23)	80% (4/5)	100% (5/5)	--- (0/0)
Acc	100% (44/44)	0% (0/1)	100% (14/14)	--- (0/0)	100% (7/7)	--- (0/0)
Ach	100% (183/183)	--- (0/0)	100% (70/70)	0% (0/2)	100% (28/28)	100% (1/1)
Total	99.6% (278/279)	98.2% (54/55)	98.3% (114/116)	88.9% (32/36)	100% (42/42)	100% (7/7)

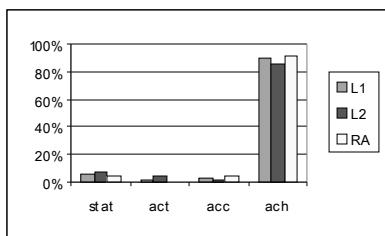
However, there were so few error tokens in our study that a percentage comparison is not very revealing. For example, Table 7 gives the impression that when L1 students used the preterite with stative verbs, they were accurate only 69% of the time. However, there were only four errors in total, and all of them were produced by one individual student (for example, **El árbol fue alto*). In addition, the L2 students appear to be incorrect with preterite statives 57% of the time, but two of the three errors were produced by one student. Similarly, we feel that no conclusions can be drawn in contexts where a 0% accuracy rate is due to one or two erroneous tokens (such as L1 accomplishment imperfect and L2 achievement imperfect on the written task). Overall, Tables 7 and 8 show very high percentages of accurate use (similarly to Montrul 2002 and Silva Corvalán 1994).

Given that stative verbs were relatively problematic for both L2 and bilingual students, we examined how many types were present in the stative tokens of the oral corpus. A total of 24 different stative verbs were used, the most frequent being *ser* (19%), *querer* (18%), *gustar* (14%), *haber* (11%) and *tener* (8%). This stands in contrast to the findings of Barvodi-Harlig & Bergström (1996) that 81% of all stative verbs in their corpus were *être* and *avoir*. This indicates that, although they may not always mark them correctly for tense and aspect, these dual immersion students have a wide range of stative verbs in their productive systems.

Figures 5 and 6 demonstrate more clearly the comparison between oral and written narratives. Overall, morpheme distributions on the two tasks were fairly similar. However, in the written narrative,

all students (except RAs in the oral imperfect) produced slightly more activity verbs than in the oral narrative in both the preterite and the imperfect. Students produced the widest distribution of morphemes across lexical verb class in the written narrative.

Figure 5, Preterite
Oral



Written

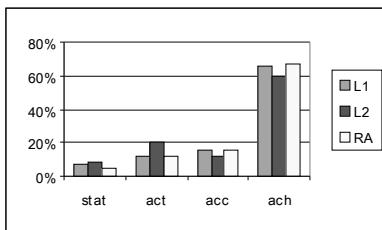
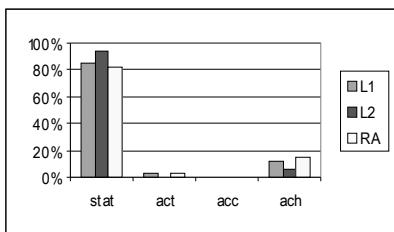
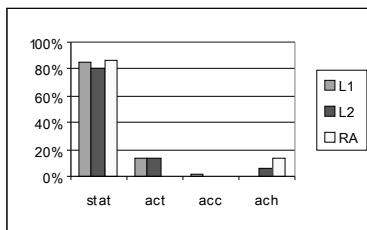


Figure 6, Imperfect
Oral



Written



There were few notable differences between the oral and written task, which was also found by Barvodi-Harlig (1995). Since the oral story prompt contained three achievement verbs in the imperfect, we wondered whether there would be greater use of imperfect achievement verbs in the oral story retelling. Figure 6 shows that L2 and recent arrival students used approximately the same number of imperfect achievement verbs in the oral and written tasks, while the L1 students used none in the written but several in the oral. These results are inconclusive as to the possible influence of the prompt on the retelling. However, students produced preterite statives, activities, and accomplishments in their retellings even though there were none in the prompt, indicating that the retelling was somewhat independent from the prompt.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

All three types of students, bilingual Spanish L1, Spanish L2, and recent arrival native speakers, produced similar distributions of preterite and imperfect by aspectual category. Therefore, in our data there was no correlation between morpheme distribution and Spanish proficiency, which may constitute further evidence against the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis. However, the three groups of students were differentiated by accuracy, with higher levels of Spanish proficiency resulting in more accurate production of preterite and imperfect.

For the Spanish L2 students, who were the most inaccurate in tense/aspect production, we may conclude that the tense/aspect system is not completely acquired by the time they graduate from a dual immersion program, although it is fairly advanced. In order to determine whether the bilingual students' systems display incomplete acquisition or attrition, longitudinal studies beginning with younger students are necessary (cf. Silva-Corvalán 2003). As Montrul (2002) claims, "attrition of a primary language forces us to look deeper into the role of input in L1 acquisition, both the kind of input and the frequency required to maintain language skills" (p. 41). Dual immersion is considered the program type that uses the greatest quantity of Spanish input than any other elementary school program. How well students in dual immersion, both L1 and L2, produce tense and aspect may reflect

the quality of input they receive and, ultimately, how well these schools contribute to Spanish heritage maintenance and Spanish L2 acquisition.

Results of this study indicate that dual immersion students, both L1 and L2, would benefit from more assistance in acquiring tense and aspect. In a study on one-way immersion, Harley & Swain (1984) proposed that problematic L2 features may not be salient or frequent enough in the classroom talk of immersion teachers, and that teachers may not be providing enough feedback about students' errors. However, Krashen (1982) claimed that input alone was enough, and that grammar teaching would not improve acquisition. Harley (1989), setting out to test Krashen's hypothesis and based on findings that French immersion students were not mastering the functions and uses of the *passé composé* and the *imparfait*, designed an eight-week bank of materials focusing on these two forms and their uses. The experimental students performed significantly better than the control students on two out of three measures, but three months later there were no differences between the groups. Harley (1989) suggested that teachers use a functional approach to grammar at a younger age, in grades 3 and 4. In addition, a study on two-way immersion classroom use in fifth grade (Potowski 2004) showed that the Spanish teacher used Spanish nearly 100% of the time, but students used Spanish just 56% overall – 82% with the teacher and 32% with peers. Problems in acquiring tense and aspect, therefore, may be due in part to a lack of output (Swain 1985).

Two-way immersion classrooms provide an interesting context in which to explore longitudinally issues of both L2 acquisition and L1 development or attrition. Further research can examine how temporal reference develops over time and what factors account for the development from one stage to another. Additionally, similarly to Montrul (2002), we should examine whether the age of onset of bilingualism of dual immersion students affects their production of tense and aspect, as well as employ interpretation tasks in addition to production tasks to tap into young students' linguistic systems.

Notes

¹ As of 2003, there were at least 270 two-way immersion programs in the United States and 94% of them taught Spanish. There were at least 125 one-way immersion programs (Center for Applied Linguistics).

² Another approach to the L2 acquisition of tense/aspect is the discourse hypothesis (Shirai & Andersen 1995; Bardovi-Harlig 1995), which states that discursive-pragmatic factors determine the acquisition of L2 aspect. The frequency and saliency of morphology is also thought to influence past tense development (Klein et. al. 1995). It has also been suggested that the preterite is the default tense while the imperfect is acquired later and mapped to atelic activities and states (Liskin-Gasparro 2000).

Appendix A

Oral story text, "La jardinera," with verbs identified for inherent lexical aspect

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Había^[stat] una vez una joven que se llamaba^[stat] María Elena. El único placer del que disfrutaba^[stat] esta muchacha era^[stat] trabajar en su jardín. Todos los días se le veía^[act] plantando y sembrando y cuando entraba^[ach] a su jardín parecía^[stat] olvidarse de todos los demás.

A sus amigas les extrañaba^[stat] que no tuviera novio y que nunca hablara de casarse. "Pobrecita María Elena. Siempre estás con la cara sucia y tu ropa manchada. Nunca tienes tiempo para divertirme. ¿Quién querrá casarse contigo?" le preguntaban^[ach].

"Eso a mi no me importa," les respondía^[ach] María Elena. "Estoy muy contenta y me encanta trabajar con las plantas."

En efecto, había^[stat] muchos jóvenes que querían^[stat] casarse con ella, pero María Elena a todos les dijo^[ach] que no. Y, desilusionados, se marcharon^[ach]. Todos menos uno, el que se llamaba^[stat] Vicente.

Un día, Vicente regresó^[ach] al jardín de la joven, disfrazado como una anciana y le dijo^[ach], “María Elena, debes casarte con Vicente. Es muy guapo y fuerte y te quiere mucho. Además, es inteligente y un buen jardinero.” Y ella le contestó^[ach], “Tiene usted razón, abuelita. Vicente es inteligente y guapo y parece saber mucho sobre las plantas y las flores. Pero es solo un hombre.” “¿Solo un hombre?” dijo^[ach] la vieja. “Los hombres y las mujeres se necesitan, igual que tus plantas necesitan del sol,” dijo^[ach], quitándose el disfraz. “Igual que Vicente necesita de ti, María Elena.”

“Muy bien, Vicente,” dijo^[ach] la muchacha, riéndose y abrazándolo con cariño. “Me has convencido. Me casaré contigo, pero solamente si me ayudas a plantar. “Con todo gusto, mi amor.”

Appendix B

Difficult to code and uncoded predicates

Difficult to code:

1. The following predicates were coded as achievements because “X will VP in Y time” has only one interpretation as “X will VP after Y time” (Shirai & Andersen 1995).

- a. *Llevé al perro al doctor / Lo llevaron al Animal Shelter.*
- b. *Salvaron/rescataron al gato.*
- c. *Se disfrazó / Se quitó el disfraz.* In this story the disguise consisted of a simple mask.
- d. *A todos les dijo que no.*

2. The following predicates were coded as activities because they pass the test, “If you stop in the middle of Ving, have you done the act of V?” (Shirai & Andersen 1995).

- a. *Asaltaron/atacaron al gato.*
- b. *Subió el árbol.* However, *Subió arriba del árbol* = accomplishment.

Not coded/counted:

Periphrastic constructions: *Iba a casarse*

Protasis/apodosis: *Dijo que se casaba con él si le ayudaba a plantar.*

Double verbs: *Se fue subiendo.*

Appendix C

Number of tokens

Distribution of *preterite* in oral task

	stat	act	acc	ach	total
L1	13 (6.0%)	2 (.9%)	7 (3.2%)	195 (89.9%)	217 (100%)
L2	7 (7.1%)	5 (5.1%)	2 (2.0%)	85 (85.9%)	99 (100%)
RA	2 (4.4%)	0 (0%)	2 (4.4%)	41 (91.1%)	45 (100%)
Total	22 (6.1%)	7 (1.9%)	11 (3.0%)	321 (88.9%)	361 (100%)

Distribution of *imperfect* in oral task

	stat	act	acc	ach	Total
L1	301 (84.8%)	10 (2.8%)	1 (.3%)	43 (12.1%)	355 (100%)
L2	125 (94.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (6.0%)	133 (100%)
RA	50 (82.0%)	2 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	9 (14.8%)	61 (100%)
Total	476 (86.7%)	12 (2.2%)	1 (.2%)	60 (10.9%)	549 (100%)

Distribution of *preterite* in written task

	stat	act	acc	ach	Total
L1	19 (6.8%)	33 (11.8%)	44 (15.8%)	183 (65.6%)	279 (100%)
L2	9 (7.6%)	23 (19.8%)	14 (12.1%)	70 (60.3%)	116 (100%)
RA	2 (4.8%)	5 (11.9%)	7 (16.7%)	28 (66.7%)	42 (100%)
Total	30 (6.9%)	61 (14.0%)	65 (14.9%)	281 (64.3%)	437 (100%)

Distribution of *imperfect* in written task

	stat	act	acc	ach	Total
L1	47 (85.5%)	7 (12.7%)	1 (1.8%)	0 (0%)	55 (100%)
L2	29 (80.1%)	4 (11.1%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.6%)	35 (100%)
RA	6 (85.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (14.3%)	7 (100%)
Total	82 (83.7%)	12 (12.2%)	1 (1.0%)	3 (3.1%)	98 (100%)

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