

L2 ACQUISITION OF THE ROMANIAN GRAMMATICAL GENDER BY TURKISH SPEAKERS

Case study

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Abstract

From a historical point of view, there are two types of gender which have been identified in language: natural gender and grammatical gender. Natural gender is a semantic system. According to Konishi (1993: 520) the nouns that stand for male animate beings are masculine, those that refer to female animate beings are feminine and the nouns that refer to inanimate entities are neuter.

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Introduction: an overview on the grammar of gender

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In this report we discuss L2 acquisition of the Romanian grammatical gender. The reason we chose to analyse gender is that Turkish does not have this category (Corbett 1991) and we want to see whether Turkish students have problems in learning the grammatical gender in Romanian. In the first part of the report we will provide an overview of the Romanian grammatical gender using it as a starting point in our analysis.

1. Romanian Grammatical Gender

From a morphological point of view, nouns are open-class items. The grammatical category of gender (There are many definitions of grammatical gender in the literature. Nichols (1992:135) defines grammatical gender as “an exhaustive classification of all nouns”, while Spencer (1999:36) claims that gender “isn’t a meaning-bearing inflectional category like Tense or Number, nor is it a purely formal inflectional category marking dependencies between words, such as agreement or the purely syntactic use of cases. On the other hand, it isn’t a derivational category either.” An interesting definition focusing on how gender manifests itself is provided by Aronoff (1994:61) who says that “gender is reliably detected not on the word that inherently carries the gender feature but rather on the lexemes that receive the feature by way of syntax. So although there are three genders in Latin, it is not

always possible to tell the gender of a given noun by inspection.”) can be defined at the most basic level as a system of noun classification “reflected in the behaviour of associated words” (Hockett, quoted in Corbett 1991:1). A language has the category of gender if grammatical forms with variable gender (e.g. adjectives, pronouns, numerals) regularly adopt forms to agree with grammatical forms of invariable gender, usually nouns (Fodor 1959:2). The core of the gender system in any language is the gender assignment system, a set of rules according to which nouns are allotted to various genders.

Before embarking on the discussion proper, that is grammatical gender in Romanian, we will give a brief overview of the category of gender in general, referring to other languages as well. A language may have two or more such classes or genders, or they can have no gender classes, as is the case of Turkish. Basically, there seem to be two major, sometimes competing systems for assigning gender in languages throughout the world. There are *semantic systems*, “where semantic factors are sufficient on their own to account for assignment” (Corbett 1991:8). Various features, for example [\pm animate], [\pm human], [\pm male], are used as the basis for gender assignment in such systems. Systems where masculine gender is attributed to male referents and feminine gender to females are often referred to as *natural gender systems* (Corbett 1991: 9). Thus in natural gender systems the biological sex of the referent matches grammar. Criteria for semantic gender assignment system are widespread; the general division is one between *human* and *non-human*, and humans are divided male and female in turn. However, the dividing line can also be animate-inanimate. Here we can give as an example English, as animals (particularly domestic animals) are usually masculine or feminine according to sex (Corbett 1991: 11-12).

There are also *formal systems*, where formal criteria are instrumental in

assigning nouns to various gender classes. Information about the form may in turn be of two types: word-structure, comprising *derivation and inflection* (morphological) and *sound-structure* (phonological) (cf. Corbett 1991: 37).

It should be pointed out that this distinction between semantic and formal gender assignment systems points to the traditional distinction between those languages where gender is grammatical and those where gender is natural. Roughly, grammatical gender is formal whilst natural gender is semantic. According to the Danish linguist, Otto Jespersen (1933), the following divisions of gender can be identified in Indo-European languages:

Nature	
Grammar	
(sex)	(gender)
male beings	
masculine words	
female beings	feminine
words	
sexless things	neuter
words	

The traditional distinction between natural (semantic) and grammatical gender (formal) contains certain problems. Most of the world's languages may use different combinations of these factors and may allow varying numbers of exceptions. The Indo-European languages generally combine the two, i.e. do not distinguish one from the other so that in French, for example, *la table* "the table" reflects feminine gender (purely grammatical) as does *la femme* "the woman" (combined natural and grammatical). Corbett (1991: 63) concludes that even in formal systems, in which the bulk of gender assignments rest on morphological and phonological factors, "gender always has a basis in semantics". To put it differently, noun classification often corresponds to biological distinctions of sex. Dahl (1999:101) states that there is a general

semantic-based principle for assigning gender to animate nouns. Thus, when conflicting rules apply, semantic considerations normally take precedence.

Languages which distinguish either type of gender usually also have an agreement system whereby adjectives modifying gendered nouns must have an ending which reflects the gender of the noun they modify. Verbs may also reflect the gender of their subject nouns and, sometimes, their object nouns as well. The most common genders are masculine and feminine but some languages, such as Romanian, have neuter as well.

Modern English has semantic gender. Gender information is included in the lexical information of certain words (e.g. *man/he* – masculine; *woman/she* – feminine; *stick/it* – neuter). The system of anaphoric pronominal reference by personal pronouns (*he, she, it*), possessives (*his/her* pencil), reflexive pronouns (*himself/herself*) also encode gender information.

Criniceanu (2007:66) notes that other languages like Romanian, French or German have grammatical gender. These languages (i.e. which have grammatical gender) do not observe gender classification of nouns regarding the sex distinction animate (male-female) versus inanimate (neuter). According to GLR (2005) (*Gramatica Limbii Române (Romanian Grammar)* edited by the Romanian Academy and the Institute of Linguistics "Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti".) the nouns in Romanian represent about 50% of the Romanian words. Traditionally, in Romanian the nouns can be categorised into three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter, therefore Romanian has grammatical gender (formal system).

It is important to mention that the form of the article indicates the class to which a noun belongs, as illustrated below.

Masculine nouns are those which take:
 a) the Indefinite Article (Nom., Acc. sg.)
 UN

- b) the Definite Article (Nom., Acc. pl.) -I
(4) **un** copac/ copacii

Feminine nouns are those which take:

- a) the Indefinite Article (Nom., Acc. sg) O
b) the Definite Article (Nom., Acc. pl) –LE
(5) **O** floare/ florile

Neuter nouns are those which take:

- a) the Indefinite Article (Nom., Acc. sg)
UN
b) the Definite Article (Nom., Acc. pl) –LE
(6) **un** tren/ trenurile

According to GLR (2005: 66) the nouns which denote animals, whose grammatical gender is given by natural gender, can be divided into:

- a) nouns which form pairs: the masculine-feminine forms, based on sex differentiation;
b) nouns which have only one gender, according to certain semantic features regarding the sex of the referent.

We will now focus on the first category, i.e. nouns which form pairs: the masculine-feminine forms, based on sex differentiation. Here we have two major categories:

1) different words, as in the case of animate personal nouns: *b rbat* “man”/ *femeie* “woman”; *b iat* “boy”/ *fat* “girl”, etc, or non-personal: *coco* “rooster”/ *g in* “hen”; *berbec* “ram”/ *oaie* “ewe”; *porc* “boar”/ *scroaf* “sow”, etc.

2) words which have the same root, but differ when you add the suffix, as presented in Table 4 below:

Derivational words with different suffixes: **-el/-ic** : nepo **el**/nepo **ic** ; vi **el**/vi **ic** .

We will now turn our attention to the second category of nouns discussed above, i.e. nouns which have only one gender according to certain semantic features regarding the sex of the referent. In this category we have two types of nouns:

1) nouns which are exclusively masculine, referring to people with different jobs which are exclusively masculine (or they

were in a certain age): *amiral* “admiral”, *marinar* “sailor”, *pap* “pope”, *pop* “priest”, *soldat* “soldier”, etc., or denoting a person in music, such as *tenor* “tenor”, *bariton* “baritone”, *bas* “bass”. These are personal masculine nouns which are morphologically unmarked for gender.

2) nouns which are exclusively feminine, referring to people with different jobs which are exclusively feminine: *casnic* “housewife”, *moa* “midwife”, etc., or referring to a person who can only be a woman: *gravid* “pregnant”, *sopran* “soprano”, etc., and animals: *clo c* “clock hen”, *matc* “queen bee” and they are morphologically unmarked for gender.

According to Quirk et al. (1987) in addition to the masculine and feminine denotation, with certain nouns there is a special dual gender denotation and here we have three groups of nouns. Dual gender is the label used by Quirk et al. (1987) but they are also known as *epicene nouns*, as they are referred to in GLR (2005:67-68). The discussion of epicene nouns below is based on GLR (2005: 68):

a) epicene nouns labelled masculine: *p rinte* “parent”, *rector* “rector”, *decan* “dean”, etc;

b) epicene nouns labelled feminine: *persoan* “person”, *rud* “relative”, *victim* “victim”;

c) epicene nouns labeled as neuter: *star*, *vip*, etc.

d) names of non-personal animate nouns of both sexes considered masculine, representing: names of wild animals: *hipopotam* “hippopotamus”, *mistre* “boar”, *jder* “fisher”, etc., names of birds: *pesc ru* “seagull”, *oim* “falcon”, *vulture* “eagle”, etc., names of fish: *crap* “carp”, *p str v* “trout”, *somn* “catfish”, etc., names of insects: *licurici* “firefly”, *p ianjen* “spider”, *purice* “louse”, etc.

e) names of non-personal animate nouns of both sexes considered feminine, representing: names of animals: *balen* “whale”, *c mil* “camel”, *nev stuic* “weasel”, *vidr* “otter”, etc., names of birds: *ciocârlie* “skylark”, *privighetoare*

“nightingale”, *vrabie* “sparrow”, etc., names of fish: *mrean* “suckerfish”, *tiuc* “pike”, etc., names of insects: *albin* “bee”, *furnic* “ant”, *molie* “moth”, *viespe* “wasp”.

f) names of non-personal animate nouns of both sexes considered as neuter: *animal* “animal”, *macrou* “mackerel”.

Although they denote animals, epicene nouns do not convey, but presuppose natural gender, including the possibility of semantic distinctions regarding gender.

2. L1 acquisition of gender

Since grammatical gender is not marked in Turkish, I did not find any study about L1 acquisition of gender in Turkish, so I am going to discuss this phenomenon in other languages. One of the earliest studies which tackled the acquisition of gender in L1 was carried out by Tucker et al (1968, 1977) who realized a landmark study of L1 French and phonological cues to gender. They analyzed the nouns found in the *Petit Larousse* and found that there is a systematic relationship between word ending and gender. In order to build up their arguments they tested native speakers of French and found that they assign gender to rare and nonce nouns (A noun invented for a particular occasion). They argue that the French process new or less familiar words from right-to-left, stopping when they find an ending which “becomes a coherent, meaningful unit from the standpoint of gender assignment” (Tucker 1977:64). Their analysis proposed that L1 acquisition of gender is rule-governed and dependent on sufficient linguistic input.

Grosjean et al (1994) tested French native speakers on two tasks, which were designed to test any potential facilitatory effects of gender during lexical access. The subjects were presented sentences like the ones above, some of them had gender-marked articles (7) and some of them did not (8).

(7) a. J’ai vu **un** joli cadeau samedi

I-have seen a.MASC nice.MASC present.MASC on Sunday

‘I saw a nice present on Sunday’

b. J’ai vu *une* jolie chapelle samedi

I-have seen a.FEM nice.FEM chapel.FEM on Sunday

‘I saw a nice chapel on Sunday’

(8) a. J’ai vu de jolis cadeaux samedi

I-have seen some nice.MASC presents.MASC on Sunday

‘I saw some nice presents on Sunday’

b. J’ai vu de jolies chapelles samedi

I-have seen some nice.FEM chapels.FEM on Sunday

‘I saw some nice chapels on Sunday’

The first task was to write down the word presented after *joli(e)(s)* and account for their answer(s). The second task consisted of indicating whether the word that came after *joli(e)(s)* was a word or not. They concluded that “the presence of a gender-marked article helped with the recognition of the following noun as seen in shorter reaction times, more confident responses and no errors” (Grosjean et al., 1994:23).

3. L2 acquisition of gender

There are a lot of studies which focus on the L2 acquisition of gender, and there is no study focusing of L2 acquisition of gender in Romanian. There is a study carried out by Sabourin and Haverkort (2000) which compared the on-line processing of grammatical gender in Dutch by native speakers and L1 German speakers, Guillelmon and Grosjean (2000) who discussed the acquisition of gender by L1 English speakers of L2 French. Another interesting study on L2 acquisition of gender focused on L1 Finnish speakers of L2 German (Irmen and Knoll 1999). Finnish is similar to Turkish regarding the lack of grammatical gender. Irmen and Knoll claim that Finnish learners experience difficulties with gender in L2 German.

Their subjects were university students with a good level of German, and the questionnaire contained a lexical decision task. The subjects were given sentences containing both a main and a subordinate clause. In the main clauses there were two nouns (subject and object) and the subordinate clauses contained a pronoun referring to the subject or the object from the main clause. The conclusion was that Finnish speakers appear to be able to learn to process semantic clues to gender like native speakers, but not syntactic gender.

In what follows we will focus on the acquisition of gender in Romanian (L2) by native Turkish speakers. Our main questions in this research are the following:

- Are Turkish students (L1) sensitive to the acquisition of grammatical gender in Romanian (L2) given that Turkish does not have grammatical gender? What problems do they face while acquiring gender (L2)? Some of the nouns included in the questionnaire are common, in that they occur frequently in conversation, while others are not. I wanted to see whether they have problems with one category or the other and notice the masculine or feminine forms that they choose. Some of the feminine forms are formed with the help of suffixes (derivational morphology) others by attaching an inflection (inflectional morphology). In what follows, I present the experiment and the results obtained.

3.1. Experiment

3.1.1. Participants

We collected our data in two steps. The first step included six Turkish subjects (4 boys and 2 girls) who study at The International Computer High School in Bucharest. They are in the fifth grade and they are all Turkish native speakers who have been studying Romanian for 5-8 years now, the average being 6 and a half years. The table below contains relevant information about them.

It is clear from the table that they have been studying Romanian for some time now. Another important thing that needs to be said is that at The International Computer High School the teaching is done in Romanian.

3.1.2. Materials and procedure

3.1.2.1. Task

The students were given a questionnaire containing two tasks. The first task was to write the feminine form for the following nouns: *soldat* 'soldier', *avocat* 'lawyer', *ran* 'peasant', *lup* 'wolf', *tenor* 'tenor', *doctor* 'doctor', *elev* 'student', *pap* 'pope', *turc* 'Turkish', *rector* 'rector', *împărat* 'emperor', *măgar* 'donkey', *preot* 'priest', *marinar* 'sailor', *profesor* 'teacher', *parinte* 'parent'. We wanted to test the epicene nouns which are more difficult and the first task contained 16 nouns. Among the epicene nouns we included some distracters. It is important to mention that some students left certain spaces blank, as they did not know the feminine form for certain nouns.

3.1.3. Results

In order to provide an accurate description and interpretation of the answers given by the subject I will take the nouns we were interested in and write the feminine forms provided by subjects in a chart. This will make things easier to interpret.

What is interesting is that instead of providing the feminine counterpart more than 60% wrote the plural form 'solda i' although the task was explained to them three times. The form 'soldat' is also interesting as this reveals that they know something about forming the plural in Romanian (e.g. *elev* – *elevi*) which was also a noun in the list and everybody wrote the correct form.

The majority of the subjects provided the correct form, i.e. *ranca* but some of them wrote the plural form or another form "ran". Again, they know that some nouns form the feminine by attaching – at the end of the masculine form but they have problems with the nouns which do not form the plural this way. Interestingly,

they did know how to form the feminine counterpart of *lup*. Five of them wrote “*lupoaic*” and one of them wrote “*lupoaiçe*”, the feminine in the plural.

The next word in the test was “*tenor*”. In Romanian the feminine counterpart for *tenor* would be “*sopran*”. Surprisingly, in the test one student indicated the correct form. 30% wrote that the feminine counterpart is “*tenoare*” and 35% wrote “*tenori*”, which is the plural form. For the noun “*doctor*” the respondents gave four feminine forms in total: 17% wrote “*doctori*”, 17% wrote “*doctor*”, 50% wrote “*doctor*” and 17% wrote “*doctori*”. The feminine counterpart of “*doctor*” is more problematic. In spoken Romanian, many native speakers consider that the feminine of “*doctor*” is either “*doctori*” or “*doctor*”. 10 Romanian native speakers were also interviewed for this experiment and they received the same tasks. 80% of the Romanian native speakers identified as feminine for “*doctor*” the noun “*doctori*” and 20% left the space blank. It is interesting that nobody wrote “*doctor*” as this is another form used by Romanian speakers.

In Romanian the suffix “*-c*” is attached to certain nouns to form the feminine, as indicated above. The noun “*român*” (Romanian) was also included in the test. 50% of the respondents wrote that the feminine for “*român*” is “*român*” and 50% indicated “*românc*” as the feminine.

The noun “*pap*” does not have a feminine counterpart as this is a very important position in the Catholic Church. The Pope is the head of the Catholic Church, a position occupied exclusively by men. Interestingly, all the students indicated a different form. One student wrote “*papa*”, another one “*pap*”, another one “*pape*”, one left the space blank and the last one wrote “*papii*”. All the Romanian native speakers either left the space blank or wrote that there is no feminine word for “*pap*”.

Another way of forming the plural in English is by attaching the “*-oaic*”

suffix to the masculine form. A case in point is the noun “*turc*” (Turkish). The feminine form is “*turcoaic*”. 70% percent indicated the form “*turcoaic*” as the feminine, and 30% indicated the form “*turcaic*”. The next word on the list was “*rector*” which does not have a feminine counterpart. It is an epicene noun labelled as masculine. 30% indicated the noun “*rector*” as the feminine counterpart and 40% wrote “*rectoare*”. The rest left the space blank. The form “*rectoare*” is very interesting as they treated the noun “*rector*” like the noun “*director*”, and they attached the suffix “*-oare*”.

Only one student indicated the correct form, i.e. “*împreună*”. The percentages and the forms provided by the students are presented in graph 3.

When we devised this questionnaire, we took into account the problems that Turkish students might encounter in acquiring the Romanian grammatical gender. Because Turkish has no gender, the expectation was that they would have difficulties in acquiring the Romanian grammatical gender. Our expectations came true, as the results presented above show this.

According to Sisson (2006: 10) an important question in L2 acquisition of gender is the effect of L1 transfer. This is important for our paper, as it can make predictions about the possible L2 end-state of speakers whose L1 has no grammatical gender, as in the case of L1 Turkish. Hawkins and Franceschina (2005) discuss the failed functional feature hypothesis (FFFH) according to which, adult learners are incapable of acquiring uninterpretable features in their L2 which are not used in their L1. This seems to apply also to children and students. The FFFH predicts that L1 speakers of a language like Romanian, which has grammatical gender, can successfully acquire grammatical gender in an L2 like Spanish. Without transfer from an L1 which has grammatical gender, L2 grammatical gender can never be acquired. So far, based on our analysis,

this seems to be true. Although our test subjects have been learning Romanian for 6 and a half years (this is the average), they still have problems in identifying the feminine or masculine counterpart of a noun.

Our prediction is that they will never be able to acquire the Romanian grammatical gender successfully. They will be able to form the masculine or feminine, in words like (elev – elev , student – student) where you only have to attach the suffix “- ”. Seven more nouns were included in the task. The most sticking example is the noun “m gar”. Nobody managed to provide the correct feminine noun. 60 % wrote that the feminine is “m gare”, 30 % wrote “m gar ” and 10% “m g roaic ”. We will not discuss the other nouns included in the task, but it is noteworthy that the Turkish learners did not provide the correct feminine form.

The second task on the questionnaire consisted in supplying the masculine form. Here, we focused again on epicene nouns, denoting animals. These are more problematic, and our expectation was that they will not be able to provide the correct form. We had a control group just like with the previous task. Ten Romanian native speakers were asked to provide the masculine form. The second task from the questionnaire contained ten feminine nouns. The nouns were: *broasc* ‘frog’, *vulpe* ,fox’, *sopran* ‘soprano’, *casnic* ‘housewife’, *gâsc* ‘goose’, *matc* ‘bee queen’, *clo c* ‘clock hen’, *curc* ‘turkey’, *tiuc* ‘pike’, *vidr* ‘otter’. We will write the feminine forms provided by the Turkish students in a table along with the percentages to make things easier and be able to compare them.

It seems that Turkish students encounter serious difficulties in acquiring the Romanian grammatical gender. With a very few exceptions, they were not able to provide the correct masculine forms of the nouns. Previous studies have examined gender production, comprehension and

processing in adult L2 learners, with the purpose of unravelling whether or not the abstract representation of a gender feature is learnable (Bruhn de Garavito and White 2002, Gruter 2011, Franceschina 2005, Montrul et al. 2008, Hawkins and Franceschina 2004). Based on our experiment we can conclude that because there is no L1 transfer Turkish students cannot acquire the Romanian grammatical gender because they do not have it in Turkish.

We administered the same questionnaire to students from the 8th grade. They have been studying Romanian longer than those from the 5th grade and we were interested in seeing whether longer exposure to Romanian would influence in any way the acquisition of the Romanian grammatical gender. The table below contains relevant information about the students from the 8th grade who took part in the experiment:

The students in the 8th grade have been studying Romanian for some time now, and some of them were even born in Romania. The average would be 11-12 years. In what follows we will present the results, followed by a discussion. We will list the results in a table, as it is easier to analyse the results and give the percentages. The results have been reduced to percentages as it makes comparison easier.

The results were quite surprising, give the high percentages. It seems that Turkish students can learn some feminine forms by heart. They admitted that it is complicated to follow the rules of forming the feminine, and they just learn the forms by heart. They hear Romanian native speakers using them, ask them what they mean, and then they start using them in speech as well. We can notice that the nouns which are not frequently used are problematic, as they do not know how to form the feminine and we give the forms above. There were many nouns for which they could not provide the feminine forms, so they left the space blank. It was also

revealed that when a noun ends in the consonant letter “r”, for example, they add the suffix “-i” to form the feminine (doctor - *doctori* ; m gar - *m g ri* ; marinar - *marin ri*). This is an indication of the fact that they also start to learn the rules, although they do not know that the same rule does not apply to all nouns which end in “r”, for example. Even in English the noun doctor does not have a feminine counterpart, as it is considered to be masculine. However, according to the British National Corpus, the form *doctress* exists in spoken English, just like the feminine for manager is *manageress* and from inspector is *inspectress*.

Another interesting case was “lup – lupoaic – vulpe”. Although only 25% indicated the noun “vulpe” (fox) as the feminine for “lup” (wolf), this shows that they have problems in learning the animals. After they finished the questionnaire, we asked the students who wrote “vulpe” as the feminine for “lup” and they said that they thought that they were the same thing and they seemed puzzled when we explained the difference between a wolf and a fox.

We will now present the results obtained from the second task, where the 8th graders had to provide the masculine form:

Here, the results are a little surprising. Some students wrote another feminine word, which was sometimes related to the feminine word provided, sometimes not. “Albin ” (bee), “ra ” (duck), “g in ” (hen) are cases in point. Many students left the spaces blank and chose not write anything because they said that they do know the words but they do not know the masculine form. Some of them even said that certain nouns like “vidr , tiuc , clo c ” do not exist, and that they were invented to mislead them. It seems that when it comes to animals, they do have difficulties in learning the masculine and feminine nouns. Again they made the same mistake as in the first task, where they did not know the differences

between a wolf and a fox and they thought that they were the same, one being for masculine and the other for feminine.

4. Conclusion

The present report explored the difficulties that Turkish students encounter when learning the Romanian grammatical gender system.

The results showed that sensitivity to gender mismatches is influenced by the target system and by the lack of transfer from L1-Turkish to L2-Romanian. The Romanian L1 speakers had no problems whatsoever in completing the task successfully, but the Turkish students did not. Students were sensitive to nouns denoting animals, confused certain animals and invented masculine/feminine forms. Tsimpli (2003) showed that for Turkish learners of L2-Greek gender is also problematic and they are also sensitive to gender mismatches between the article and the noun.

Turkish students of L2-Romanian cannot learn the rules to form the masculine/feminine, as there are many exceptions to the rule but they learn certain forms by heart. It would be interesting to apply Tsimpli’s (2003) analysis to Romanian and see whether Turkish students are also sensitive to the gender mismatches between the article and the noun in L2-Romanian.

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FIGURES AND TABLES:

(1) MASCULINE:

	Indefinite Article	Definite Article
Singular	UN copac (verde) unui copac (verde)	copacul (frumos) copacului (frumos)
Plural	ni te copaci (frumo i) unor copaci (frumo i)	copacii (frumo i) copacilor (frumo i)

Table 1 (Source: Gu u Romalo et al. 1980: 123)

(2) FEMININE

	Indefinite Article	Definite Article
Singular	O fat (adorabil) unei fete (adorabile)	fata (adorabil) fetei (adorabile)
Plural	ni te fete (frumoase) unor fete (frumoase)	fetele (frumoase) fetelor (frumoase)

Table 2 (Source: Gu u Romalo et al. 1980: 123)

(3) NEUTER

	Indefinite Article	Definite Article
Singular	UN parc (frumos) unui parc (frumos)	parcul (frumos) parcului (frumos)
Plural	ni te parcuri (frumoase) unor parcuri (frumoase)	parcurile (frumoase) parcurilor (frumoase)

Table 3 (Source: Gu u Romalo et al. 1980: 123)

FEMININE

The suffix	Masculine Form	Feminine Form
-	avocat elev	avocat elev
-c	român ran	românc ranc
-eas	împ rat preot	împ r teas preoteas
-i	doctor m gar	doctori m g ri
-oaic	lup zmeu	lupoaic zmeoaic

Table 4 Root words and derivational words with motional suffixes

MASCULINE

The suffix	Feminine Form	Masculine Form
-an	curc gâsc	curcan gâscan
-oi	broasc vulpe	broscoi vulpoi

Table 5 Root words and derivational words with motional suffixes

NAME	AGE	SEX	No of years studying Romanian	Information about parents
Ahmet Bostan Semih	11,5	M	6 years	His parents are Turkish and at home they talk only in Turkish. He speaks Romanian outside and at school while he is communicating with his Romanian peers. His father is a businessman and his mother a housewife. His father knows Romanian and he is able to communicate in Romanian, but his mother hardly speaks Romanian.
Ata Kaya Gokhalp	11	M	5 years	His parents are Turkish and they talk only Turkish at home. He speaks Romanian outside and at school while he is communicating with his Romanian peers. His father is a manager and his mother housewife. Both of them speak what we could call – basic Romanian.
Aytekin Sultan	10	F	7 years	Her parents are Turkish and at home they talk only in Turkish. She speaks Romanian outside and at school with her Romanian peers. Her father is a businessman and her mother – a housewife. Their knowledge of Romanian is quite poor.
Celik Tugba	11	F	5 years	Her parents are Turkish and they talk only in Turkish at home. She speaks Romanian outside and at school while she is communicating with her Romanian peers. Her father is a businessman and her mother a housewife. They do not speak Romanian well.
Esat Dundar	10	M	6 years	His parents are Turkish and at home they talk only in Turkish. He speaks Romanian outside and at school while he is communicating with his Romanian peers. His father is a manager and her mother a

				housewife. They do not speak Romanian well.
Omer Guzel	11	M	8 years	His parents are Turkish and they talk only in Turkish at home. He speaks Romanian outside and at school while he is communicating with his Romanian peers. His father is a businessman and his mother is a housewife. They hardly speak Romanian.

Table 6. Information about the Turkish subjects from grade 5

NAME	AGE	SEX	No of years studying Romanian	Information about parents
Cifci Zekiye Nur	15	F	10 years	At home she speaks only Turkish. Her parents are Turkish and they do not speak Romanian well.
Cifci Kubra Nur	14	F	10 years	At home she speaks only Turkish. Her parents are Turkish and they don't speak Romanian well.
Inanc Yucebas	14	F	Born in Romania	She was born in Romania but speaks only Turkish at home. She started school when she was 7 years old and her parents speak Romanian quite well.
Mehmet Ali Yazici	14	M	6 years	He has been in Romania for 13 years but started learning Romanian 6 years ago. He speaks only Turkish at home as his parents do not speak Romanian well.
Unal Gorken	14	M	Born in Romania	He was born in Romania, his parents are Turkish and at home they talk only in Turkish as his parents do not speak Romanian well.
Angun Oyku	13	F	8 years	She has been living in Romania for 9 years. At home she talks to her parents only in Turkish as her parents do not speak Romanian well.
Zaza Ridvan	14	M	Born in Romania	His parents are Turkish and they do not speak Romanian well, so they speak only in Turkish at home.
Ilhan Diyar	14	M	Born in Romania	His parents are Turkish and they do not speak Romanian well, so they speak only in Turkish at home.

Table 7 The masculine forms provided by the Turkish students

FEMININE	MASCULINE FORMS PROVIDED BY THE TURKISH STUDENTS				
broasc	broasc 70%	broscu e 15%	broscoi 15 %		
Vulpe	vulpa 15%	vulpoi 15%	vulpoaice 15%	vulpe 15%	vulp 40%
sopran	sopran 35%	soprane 15%	tenor 15%	soprani 35%	
casnic	casnic 85 %	casnice 15 %			
gâsc	gâsc 35%	gâsc 35%	gâscan 15%	gâscoi 15%	
matc	matcu 15%	matc 15%	mat 15%	matcul 15%	matci 40%
clo c	clo cul 15%	clo cu 15%	clo c 15%	clo 40%	coco 15%
curc	curcan 55%	curcanul 15%	curc 15%	curce 15%	
tiuc	tiuc 40%	tiucul 15 %	tiucii 15%	tiuce 15%	- 15 %
vidr	vidrul 15%	vidrii 15%	vidr 15%	vidre 15%	- 40%

Table 8. Information about Turkish subjects in grade 8

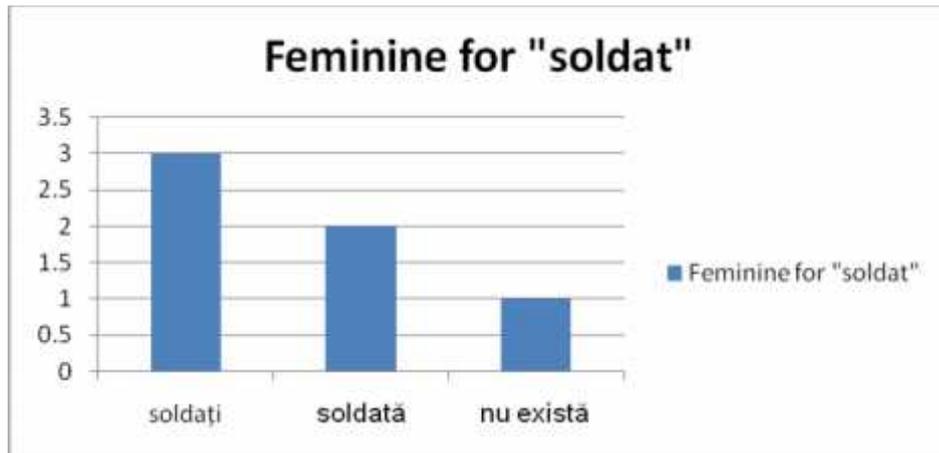
Masculine	Feminine forms provided by Turkish students from 8th grade			
soldat	soldat 100 %	-	-	-
avocat	avocat 70%	left the space blank 30%	-	-
ran	ranc 80%	left the space blank 20%	-	-
lup	lupoaic 75%	vulpe 25%	-	-
tenor	tenor 80%	Left the space blank 20%	-	-
doctor	doctori 100%	-	-	-
elev	elev 100%	-	-	-
român	românc 100%	-	-	-
pap	pap 100%	-	-	-
turc	turcoaic 80%	left the space blank 20%	-	-
rector	rector 80 %	rectori 20%	-	-
împ rat	împ rat 70 %	left the space blank 20%	împ r teas 10 %	-
m gar	m g ri	left the space	m gar	-

	60%	blank 30%	10%	
preot	preoteas 90%	left the space blank 10%	-	-
pop	left the space blank 90%	pop 10%	-	-
marinar	marinar 20%	marin ri 10%	left the space blank 70%	-
profesor	profesoar 100%	-	-	-
p rinte	p rinte 80%	p rin i 20%	-	-

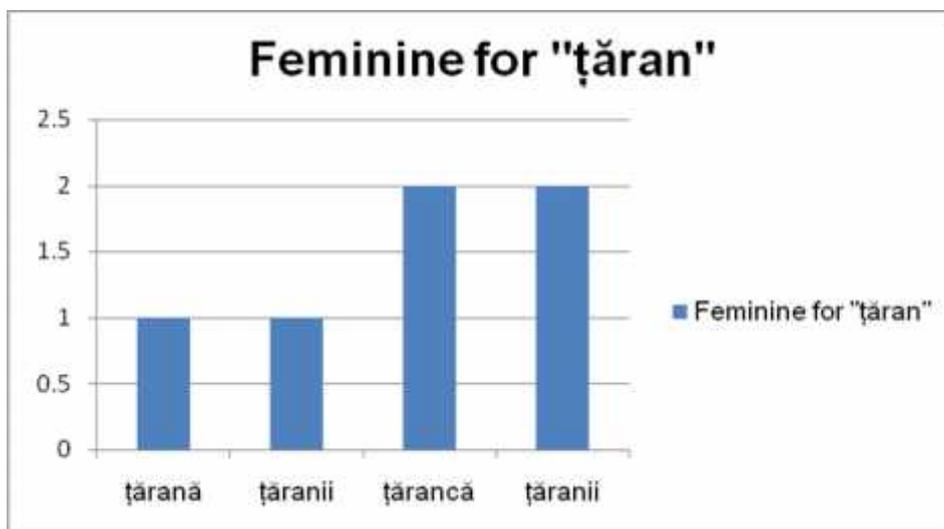
Table 9. *The feminine forms provided by Turkish students in grade 8*

Feminine	Masculine forms provided by Turkish students		
broasc	broscoi 80%	left the space blank 20%	-
vulpe	vulpe 60%	vulpoi 20%	vulp-lup 20%
sopran	sopran 75%	left the space blank 25%	-
casnic	casnic 80%	left the space blank 20%	-
gâsc	gâsc 50%	gâscoi 30%	ra 20%
matc	matc 50%	left the space blank 20%	albin 30%
clo c	coco 60%	left the space blank 20%	g in 20%
curc	curcan 40%	left the space blank 60%	-
tiuc	tiuc 20%	left the space blank 70%	tiuc 10%
vidr	left the space blank 80%	vidr 20%	-

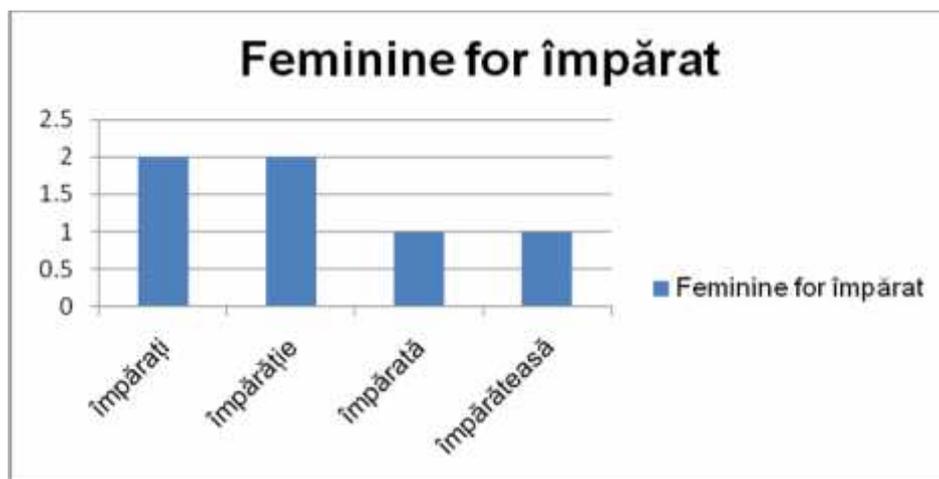
Table 10. *Masculine forms provided by Turkish students in the 8th grade*



Graph 1. *The feminine of 'soldat'*



Graph 2. *The feminine of " ran"*



Graph 3 *The feminine of "împ rat"*