Original Paper

Middle Verbs and Their Acquisition

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Abstract

The ultimate goal of this paper is to provide an in-depth analysis of the L2 learners’ acquisition of middle constructions. One of the properties of middle constructions is that the subject of middle verbs must be a definite NP. Middle verbs can occur by revealing an intrinsic characteristic or property of the definite NP. In addition, middle verbs can only occur along with short adverbs such as well and easily. In this paper, we conduct a survey and evaluate the L2 learners’ responses to middle verbs. More specifically, we have examined how the L2 learners acquired the abstract constraint, the middle construction condition, the definite DP condition, and the adverb constraint. It is worth noting that 45% of the adult subjects acquired the definite condition, 32.5% of the L2 learners acquired the middle construction condition, 50% of the adult subjects acquired the abstract noun constraint, and 20% of the L2 learners acquired the adverb constraint. This in turn indicates that that the abstract noun constraint was first acquired by the adult subjects, followed by the definite DP condition, the middle construction condition, and the adverb constraint, in that order. With regard to middle verbs, it is significant to note that English are subject to the abstract noun constraint, the middle construction condition, the definite DP condition, and the adverb constraint, whereas Korean is not subject to the abstract noun constraint, the middle construction condition, and the definite DP condition. This in turn suggests that Korean is a superset language, compared to English. Thus, learning difficulty arises. Finally, this paper argues that unlike Chomsky’s UG hypothesis (Chomsky 1981, 1982, 2019a, 2019b), the L2 learners looked for similarities between L1 and L2 and thus relied on their L1.

Keywords

middle verb, middle construction, definite DP, middle construction condition, abstract noun, adverb, acquisition, universal grammar
1. Introduction

The main goal of this paper is to provide a detailed analysis of college students’ acquisition of middle constructions. We aim to examine how the Korean learners of English acquired middle verbs. One of the properties of middle verbs is that the subject of middle verbs must be a definite NP. Middle verbs can appear by revealing an intrinsic characteristic or property of the definite NP. In addition, middle verbs can only occur along with short adverbs such as well and easily. In this paper, we conduct a survey and evaluate the L2 learners’ responses. The organization of this paper is as follows. In section 2, we argue that the internal arguments of middle verbs must be a definite DP. We further argue that an intransitive verb can occur in the middle construction only when a definite DP has an event that is an intrinsic characteristic or property of the definite DP. Additionally, we show that short adverbs such as easily and well in the middle construction are necessary with restrictions on the use of agent adverbs. In section 4 and section 5, we examine how the L2 learners acquired the abstract constraint, the middle construction condition, the definite DP condition, and the adverb constraint. It is worthwhile noting that 45% of the adult subjects acquired the definite condition, 32.5% of the L2 learners acquired the middle construction condition, 50% of the adult subjects acquired the abstract noun constraint, and 20% of the L2 learners acquired the adverb constraint. This in turn indicates that that the abstract noun constraint was first acquired by the adult subjects, followed by the definite DP condition, the middle construction condition, and the adverb constraint, in that order. With respect to middle verbs, it is significant to note that English are subject to the abstract noun constraint, the middle construction condition, the definite DP condition, and the adverb constraint, whereas Korean is not subject to the abstract noun constraint, the middle construction condition, and the definite DP condition. This in turn suggests that Korean is a superset language, compared to English. Thus, learning difficulty arises. Finally, we contend that unlike Chomsky’s UG theory (Chomsky 1981, 1982, 2019a, 2019b), the L2 learners looked for similarities between L1 and L2 and thus relied on their L1.

2. An Overview of Middle Constructions

2.1 The Internal Arguments of Middle Verbs

Kang (2019) proposes the definite DP condition in which the subject of middle verbs must be a definite DP:

(1) Definite DP Condition:

“The internal arguments of middle verbs must be a definite DP”. “Definite DP: the NP, this NP, that NP, these NP, adjective NP, genitive NP, no NP, proper nouns, NP with semantic definiteness” (Kang, 2019, p. 35146)

The following sentences provide confirmation that the subject of middle verbs must be a definite DP:

(2) a. The glasses break easily.
   b. Mary photographs well.
c. His novel is selling like hot cakes.
d. Love letters write easily.
e. *Chickens are killing easily.

One of the reasons why (2a) is grammatical is that the subject of the middle verb *break* is a definite NP (namely, the glasses) in accordance with the definite NP condition. Likewise, (2b) is grammatical since the subject of the middle verb *photograph* is *Mary*. In this example, the subject of *photograph* is the proper noun *Mary*, which is in accordance with the definite DP condition, hence the grammaticality of (2b). (2c) is grammatical since the subject of the middle verb *sell* is *his novel*. In this example, the subject *his novel* meets the definite DP condition. That is, the adjective NP *his novel* has the definiteness, which results in the grammaticality of (2c). When it comes to (2d), things are different. *Love letters* do not seem to carry the definiteness, but they are the subcategory of a letter, thus carrying the semantic definiteness, which results in the grammaticality of (2d). (2e) is ungrammatical since the subject of the middle verb *kill* (chickens) is not a definite DP, which leads to the ungrammaticality of (2e). Note, however, that the definite DP *these chickens* instead of *chickens* make (2e) grammatical, which meets the definite DP condition. We thus conclude that the subject of middle verbs must carry the definiteness.

2.2 The Middle Construction Condition

In the following, we aim to examine how a middle verb can occur in the middle construction. As a condition of middle construction formation, we adopt (3):

(3) Middle Construction Condition

“An intransitive verb can occur in the middle construction only when a definite DP has an event which is an intrinsic characteristic or property of the definite DP.”

(Kang, 2019, p. 35146)

In order to examine whether (3) works for middle constructions or not, let us consider the following sentence:

(4) The steak we ate yesterday cuts like butter.

In this example, the subject of the middle verb *cut* is *the steak*, which is a definite DP, thus meeting the definite DP condition. In addition, the definite DP *the steak* has the event of cutting like butter as its intrinsic characteristic or property, hence the grammaticality of (4). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the middle verb *cut* can occur in the middle construction.

Now let us observe the following sentence:

(5) The cats frighten easily.

The subject of the middle verb *frighten* is *the cats*, thus observing the definite DP condition. Additionally, the definite DP *the cats* have the event of frightening easily as their intrinsic characteristic or property, which leads to the grammaticality of (5). The reason why (5) is grammatical is that (5) meets the definite DP condition and the middle construction condition.
Now let us observe the following sentence:

(6) *The Eiffel Tower sees from my window.

In (6), the definite DP condition is satisfied since the subject of *see is the definite DP *the Eiffel Tower. In (6), the definite DP condition is satisfied, but (6) violates the middle construction condition. That is to say, the definite DP *the Eiffel Tower has the event of seeing from my window, which is not the intrinsic characteristic or property of *the Eiffel Tower, hence the ungrammaticality of (6). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that “an intransitive verb can appear in the middle construction only when a definite DP has an event which is an intrinsic characteristic or property of the definite DP” (Kang, 2019, p. 32548).

2.3 Adverbs

In what follows, we aim to show that short adverbs in the middle construction are necessary with restrictions on the use of adverbs. Bassac and Bouillon (2002) point out that as illustrated in (7), there are restrictions on the use of adverbs in the middle construction:

(7) a. Neutrogena rinses away completely.
   b. Neutrogena rinses away easily.
   c. Neutrogena rinses away well.
   d. *Neutrogena rinses away carefully.
   e. *Neutrogena rinses away professionally.
   f. *Neutrogena rinses away patiently.

(Bassac & Bouillon, 2002)

As indicated in (7), there are restrictions on the use of adverbs in the middle construction. More specifically, agent adverbs cannot occur in the middle construction. The following examples provide confirmation that there are restrictions on adverbs that modify agent subjects:

(8) a. *This little flashlight plugs in expertly.
   c. *Cotton irons cautiously.

(Kang, 2019)

An important question that naturally arises is “why do we need short adverbs in the middle construction?” Let us observe the following sentences:

(9) a. The car drives well.
   b. The car drives easily.

As indicated in (9a) and (9b), the middle verb *drive requires short adverbs such as well and easily. The reason why we need short adverbs such as well and easily is that these adverbs indicate the intrinsic characteristics or properties of subjects along with middle verbs. In (9), the short adverbs well and easily indicate intrinsic characteristics and properties of the definite DP *the car. This is why short
adverbs along with middle verbs in the middle construction are necessary. In addition, this fact backs up the claim that both (1) and (3) are necessary in the middle construction. We thus conclude that short adverbs such as *easily* and *well* in the middle construction are necessary with restrictions on agent adverbs.

3. Methods

3.1 The Goals of Experiments

We aim to provide answers to five main questions. The main goal of this paper is to provide a detailed analysis of the L2 learners’ acquisition of middle constructions. We aim to answer the following main questions: Do the Korean learners of English have the knowledge of middle verbs? Does learning take place through transfer? Do the L2 learners have the knowledge of the definite NP condition, the middle construction condition, the abstract DP constraint, and the adverb constraint? Do the Korean learners of English reflect the acquisition order with respect to these conditions and constraints? What do they show with respect to markedness?

3.2 Subjects

Forty Korean EFL college students participated in our experiment. These subjects are undergraduate students who are attending my English grammar class (3 credits). We conducted our experiment by online chat of Zoom. We asked forty students whether eight Korean sentences and eight target English sentences are grammatical or not. We did not give the L2 learners feedback during our experiment.

4. Results

First, we included (10a) and (10b) in our experiment to evaluate the L2 learners’ general knowledge of middle verbs:

(10) a. Ku piano-nun swipke yencwutoynta.
   The piano-TOP easily play
   (The piano plays easily.)
 b. The piano plays easily.

In (10a) and (10b), in order to acquire middle verbs, the L2 learners must know that the internal argument of the so-called middle verb must be a definite DP. In addition, they must know that the definite DP *the piano* has the event of playing easily as its intrinsic characteristic or property. Furthermore, they must know that there are restrictions on adverbs in the middle construction. That is, agent adverbs cannot appear in the middle construction. The Korean adult subjects’ correct responses to (10a) were 32.5%, whereas their incorrect responses to (10a) were 67.5%. This in turn implies that nearly two thirds of the Korean learners of English did not acquire middle verbs. Interestingly, the L2 learners showed the similar pattern in (10b) corresponding to (10a). More specifically, the L2 learners’ correct responses to (10b) were 45%, whereas their incorrect responses were 55%. This implies that
more than half of the adult subjects did not acquire middle verbs. That the L2 learners’ incorrect responses were 55% suggests that more than half of the L2 learners did not acquire the definite DP condition and the middle construction condition. That the Korean learners of English showed the similar pattern in (10b) corresponding to (10a) suggests that the L2 learners’ acquisition may have taken place through positive transfer even though L1 and L2 are not identical. This in turn implies that our transfer hypothesis does not back up “Chomsky’s hypothesis that learners do not need to rely on their L1 (a zero transfer position)” (Ellis, 2015).

We included (11a) and (11b) in our experiment to assess the L2 learners’ general knowledge of the definite DP condition and the middle construction condition:

(11) a. Hankwuk catongchatul-un swipke wuncenitoynata.

   Korean cars-TOP easily drive

   (Korean cars drive easily.)

b. Korean cars handle easily.

The adult subjects’ correct responses to (11a) were 52.5%, whereas their incorrect responses to (11a) were 47.5%. On the other hand, their correct responses to (11b) were 40%, whereas their incorrect responses were 60%. This in turn suggests that more than half of the L2 learners of English did not acquire the definite DP condition and the middle construction condition. Again, there might be a transfer between (11a) and (11b) since nearly half of the L2 learners of English thought of (11a) and (11b) as grammatical. This implies that their learning may have happened through transfer. They may have looked for similarities between Korean middle verbs and English middle verbs. Thus, again, the Korean learners of English do not respect “Chomsky’s UG hypothesis that learners have complete access to Universal Grammar” (Ellis, 2015).

We included (12a) and (12b) to evaluate the abstract noun constraint that abstract nouns cannot be the subject of middle verbs:


   The sonata-TOP easily play

   (The sonata plays easily.)


As pointed out by Kang (2019), the abstract noun constraint can come from the definite DP condition in a broad sense since the subject of middle verbs must be a definite DP:

(13) Abstract Noun Constraint

   “An abstract noun cannot be the subject of a middle verb”.

   (Kang, 2019)

Now let us consider the following examples:

(14) a. The piano plays easily.

The reason why (14a) is grammatical is that (14a) meets the definite DP condition. In addition, (14a) does not violate the abstract noun constraint since the subject of the middle verb *play* is *the piano*, which is not an abstract noun. Another reason why (14a) is grammatical is that the definite DP *the piano* has the event of playing easily, which is the intrinsic characteristic or property of *the piano*. However, (14b) is ungrammatical since it violates the abstract noun constraint that “an abstract noun cannot be the subject of a middle verb” (Kang, 2019). Interestingly, 39 adult subjects thought of (12a) as grammatical, whereas 20 adult subjects thought of (12b) as grammatical. More specifically, the L2 learners’ correct responses to (12b) were 50%, whereas their incorrect responses to (12b) were 50%. This in turn suggests that half of the Korean learners of English acquired the abstract noun constraint. It is important to note that in the Korean sentence (12a), the abstract noun *sonata* allows the middle verb *yencwuhata* “play”. On the other hand, in the English sentence (12b), the abstract noun *sonata* does not allow the middle verb *play*, which in turn indicates that Korean is a superset language, as compared to English. Interestingly, the same applies to (15a) and (15b):

   The issue TOP easily discuss
   (That issue discusses easily.)
   b. *That issue discusses easily.

(15b) is ungrammatical since it violates the abstract noun constraint. However, the Korean sentence corresponding to (15b) is grammatical in spite of violating the abstract noun constraint, thus resulting in a superset language. Interestingly, the L2 learners’ correct responses to (15a) were 85%, whereas their incorrect responses to (15a) were 15%. On the other hand, their correct responses to (15b) were 2.5%, whereas their incorrect responses to (15b) were 97.5%. This in turn suggests that 97.5% of the L2 learners did not acquire the abstract noun constraint. This may have happened due to transfer. That is, the Korean learners of English thought of (15b) that is ungrammatical as grammatical since the Korean sentence corresponding to (15b) is grammatical. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the abstract noun constraint works for English, but it does not work for Korean.

We included (16a/b) and (17a/b) to evaluate the L2 learners’ knowledge of the middle construction condition:

(16) a. I pyeng-un swipke kkaycinta.
   This bottle TOP easily break
   (This bottle breaks easily.)
   b. This bottle breaks easily.

(17) a. I tali-nun swipke ciecinta.
   This bridge easily build
   (This bridge builds easily.)
   b. *This bridge builds easily.
The reason why (16a) is grammatical is that the subject of the middle verb *break* is a definite DP and that the definite DP has the event of being broken easily, which the intrinsic characteristic or property of *this bottle*, thus satisfying two conditions (the definite DP condition and the middle construction condition. Likewise, (16b) is grammatical since (16b) meets the two conditions. More than anything else, the subject of the middle verb *break* has the event of being broken easily, hence the grammaticality of (16b). When it comes to (17a), it is grammatical even though it violates the middle construction condition. More specifically, *i-tali* “this bridge” has the event of building easily, which is not the intrinsic characteristic or property of *i-tali* “this bridge”. Simply put, (17a) is grammatical, despite the fact that (17a) violates the middle construction condition. On the other hand, (17b) is ungrammatical since it violates the middle construction condition. That is, the definite DP *this bridge* has the event of building easily, which is not the intrinsic characteristic or property of *this bridge*, thus resulting in the ungrammaticality of (17b). Interestingly, the L2 learners’ correct responses to (16b) were 70%, whereas their incorrect responses to (16b) were 30%. On the other hand, the adult subjects’ correct responses to (17b) were 32.5%, whereas their incorrect responses to (17b) were 67.5%. The reason why the L2 learners showed the different responses to (16b) and (17b) may be that in (16b), a property of *this bottle* is the cause of the event of being broken, whereas a property of this bridge is not the cause of the event of building easily. In this respect, (17b) is more marked than (16b). One of many hypotheses relating to markedness is that “learners acquire less marked structures before more marked ones” (Ellis, 2015). Thus, the L2 learners may have acquired less marked structures (16b) before more marked structures (17b). Again, the reason why (17a) is grammatical, despite the fact that it violates the middle construction condition may be that Korean is a superset language, compared to English. Ellis (2015) maintains that “where L1 and L2 are identical, learning can happen easily through positive transfer, but they are different, learning difficulty arises” (Ellis, 2015). Thus, the reason why the L2 learners’ incorrect responses to (17b) were 67.5% may be that L1 and L2 are not identical. Note that the L2 learners’ incorrect responses to (17a) were 45%.

We included (18a) and (18b) to assess the L2 learners’ knowledge of the definite DP condition.

(18) a. Talk-tul-un swipkesalsayngi toynta
   Chickens-TOP easily kill-NOM be
   (Chickens are killing easily.)

b. *Chickens are killing easily.

English is subject to the definite DP condition, whereas Korean is not. More specifically, in Korean, the subject of middle verbs need not be a definite DP. Thus, (18a) is grammatical, despite the fact that the subject of *kill* is not a definite DP. Conversely, English requires the definite DP condition that the subject of a middle verb must be a definite DP. As the status of (18b) suggests, it is ungrammatical since the subject of the middle verb *kill* is not a definite DP. Note, however, that the use of *these chickens* instead of *chickens* makes (18b) grammatical, as illustrated in (19):
These chickens are killing easily.
(Park, 2009)

Interestingly, the L2 learners’ correct responses to (18a) were 80%, whereas their incorrect responses to (18a) were 20%. On the other hand, their correct responses to (18b) were 45%, whereas their incorrect responses to (18b) were 55%. This in turn indicates that 45% of the L2 learners acquired the knowledge of the definite DP condition. Again, it is worth pointing out that Korean is not subject to the definite DP condition, hence a superset language, compared to English. More importantly, the results from the L2 leaners’ responses suggest that the Korean learners of English do not entertain “the UG hypothesis (Chomsky, 1981, 1986, 2019a, 2019b) that learners have complete access to Universal Grammar” (Ellis, 2015). In fact, the adult subjects showed different responses to (18a) and (18b). That is to say, their correct responses to (18a) were 80%, but their correct responses to (18b) were 45%, which in turn implies that the L2 learners did not complete access to Universal Grammar.

Finally, we included (20a) and (20b) to evaluate the L2 learners’ knowledge of the adverb constraint:
(20) a. *Cekpotocwu ellwuk-un cosimsulepkey ssiskyecinta.
   red wine spot-TOP carefully wash out
   (Red wine spots wash out carefully.)

As observed earlier, there are restrictions on the use of adverbs in the middle construction. More specifically, agent adverbs cannot appear in the middle construction. The reason why (20a) and (20b) are ungrammatical is that the agent adverb carefully appears in the middle construction. Interestingly, the L2 learners’ correct responses to (20a) were 72.5%, whereas their incorrect responses to (20a) were 27.5%. On the other hand, their correct responses to (20b) were 20%, whereas their incorrect responses to (20b) were 80%. This in turn indicates that one fourths of the adult subjects acquired the adverb constraint. It is worth noting that both Korean and English are subject to the adverb constraint. Again, the results from the Korean learners of English do not back up the UG theory. As observed earlier, the adult subjects’ correct responses to (20a) were 72.5%, whereas their correct responses to (20b) were 20%.

5. Discussion
In what follows, our discussion centers on defining some characteristics of the L2 learners’ acquisition of middle constructions. Let us consider the following sentences:
(21) a. Ku sonata-nun swipke yencwutoynta.
   The sonata-TOP easily play
   (The sonata plays easily.)
(22) a. I tali-nun swipke ciecinta.
    This bridge easily build
    (This bridge builds easily.)
    b. *This bridge builds easily.

(23) a. Talk-tul-un swipke salsayngi toynta
    Chickens-TOP easily kill-NOM be
    (Chickens are killing easily.)
    b. *Chickens are killing easily.

    Red wine spot-TOP carefully wash out
    (Red wine spots wash out carefully.)
    b. *Red wine spots wash out carefully.)

As indicated in (21), (22), (23), and (24), English are subject to the abstract noun constraint, the middle construction condition, the definite DP condition, and the adverb constraint. On the other hand, Korean is subject to the adverb constraint, but it is not subject to the abstract noun constraint, the middle construction condition, and the definite DP condition. This in turn indicates that Korean is a superset language, compared to English. Thus, learning difficulty arises since L1 and L2 are not identical. Ellis (2025) points out that “where L1 and L2 are identical, learning can take place through positive transfer of the native language pattern, but where they are different, learning difficulty arises and errors resulting from negative transfer are likely to occur” (Ellis, 2015).

Now let us observe the following examples, repeated here:

(25) a. Talk-tul-un swipke salsayngi toynta
    Chickens-TOP easily kill-NOM be
    (Chickens are killing easily.)
    b. *Chickens are killing easily.

    Red wine spot-TOP carefully wash out
    (Red wine spots wash out carefully.)
    b. *Red wine spots wash out carefully.)

As observed earlier, the L2 learners’ correct responses to (25a) were 80%, whereas their correct responses to (25b) were 45%. There is a big difference between Korean and English with respect to the L2 learners’ responses. The same applies to (26a) and (26b). The L2 learners’ correct responses to (26a) were 72.5%, whereas their correct responses to (26b) were 20%. From this, it is clear that the Korean learners of English do not respect “the UG theory that learners have complete access to Universal Grammar” (Ellis, 2015). According to Chomsky’s UG theory (Chomsky, 1981, 1982, 2019a, 2019b), “learners have complete access to Universal Grammar and thus do not need to rely on their L1 (a zero
transfer position)” (Ellis, 2015). However, the results from the L2 learners suggest that learners look for similarities between L1 and L2 and thus rely on their L1.

As observed earlier, 45% of the adult subjects acquired the definite condition, 32.5% of the L2 learners acquired the middle construction condition, 50% of the adult subjects acquired the abstract noun constraint, and 20% of the L2 learners acquired the adverb constraint. The following graph shows the order of the adult subjects’ acquisition of middle constructions.

![Figure 1. Order of the Adult Subjects’ Acquisition of Middle Constructions](image)

a. The adverb constraint
b. The middle construction condition
c. The definite DP condition
d. The abstract noun constraint

This graph in turn implies that the abstract noun constraint was first acquired by the adult subjects, followed by the definite DP condition, the middle construction condition, and the adverb constraint, in that order.

6. Conclusion

To sum up, we have provided a detailed analysis of the L2 learners’ acquisition of middle constructions. In section 2, we have argued that the internal arguments of middle verbs must be a definite DP. We have further argued that an intransitive verb can occur in the middle construction only when a definite DP has an event that is an intrinsic characteristic or property of the definite DP. Additionally, we have shown that short adverbs such as *easily* and *well* in the middle construction are necessary with restrictions on the use of agent adverbs. In section 4 and section 5, we have examined how the L2 learners acquired the abstract constraint, the middle construction condition, the definite DP condition, and the adverb constraint. It is worth noting that 45% of the adult subjects acquired the definite condition, 32.5% of the L2 learners acquired the middle construction condition, 50% of the adult subjects acquired the abstract noun constraint, and 20% of the L2 learners acquired the adverb constraint. This in turn implies that that the abstract noun constraint was first acquired by the adult
subjects, followed by the definite DP condition, the middle construction condition, and the adverb constraint, in that order. With respect to middle verbs, it is noteworthy that English are subject to the abstract noun constraint, the middle construction condition, the definite DP condition, and the adverb constraint, whereas Korean is not subject to the abstract noun constraint, the middle construction condition, and the definite DP condition. This in turn indicates that Korean is a superset language, compared to English. Thus, learning difficulty arises. Finally, we have maintained that unlike Chomsky’s UG theory (Chomsky, 1981, 1982, 2019a, 2019b), the L2 learners looked for similarities between L1 and L2 and thus relied on their L1.

References


Appendix

A Survey

Write whether the following Korean and English sentences are grammatical or not.

1. a. Ku piano-nun swipke yenwutoynta.
   (The piano plays easily.)
   b. The piano plays easily.

2. a. Hankwuk catongchatul-un swipke wuncenitoynta.
   (Korean cars handle easily.)
   b. Korean cars handle easily.
   (The sonata plays easily.)
   b. The sonata plays easily.
   (That issue discusses easily.)
   b. That issue discusses easily.
5. a. I pyeng-un swipke kkaycinta.
   (This bottle breaks easily.)
   b. This bottle breaks easily.
   (This bridge builds easily.)
   b. This bridge builds easily.
7. a. Talk-tul-un swipke salsayngi toynta.
   (Chickens are killing easily.)
   b. Chickens are killing easily.
8. a. Cekpotocwu ellwuk-un cosimsulepkey ssiskyecinta.
   (Red wine spots wash out carefully.)
   b. Red wine spots wash out carefully.