Articles, Telicity, and Lexical Transfer

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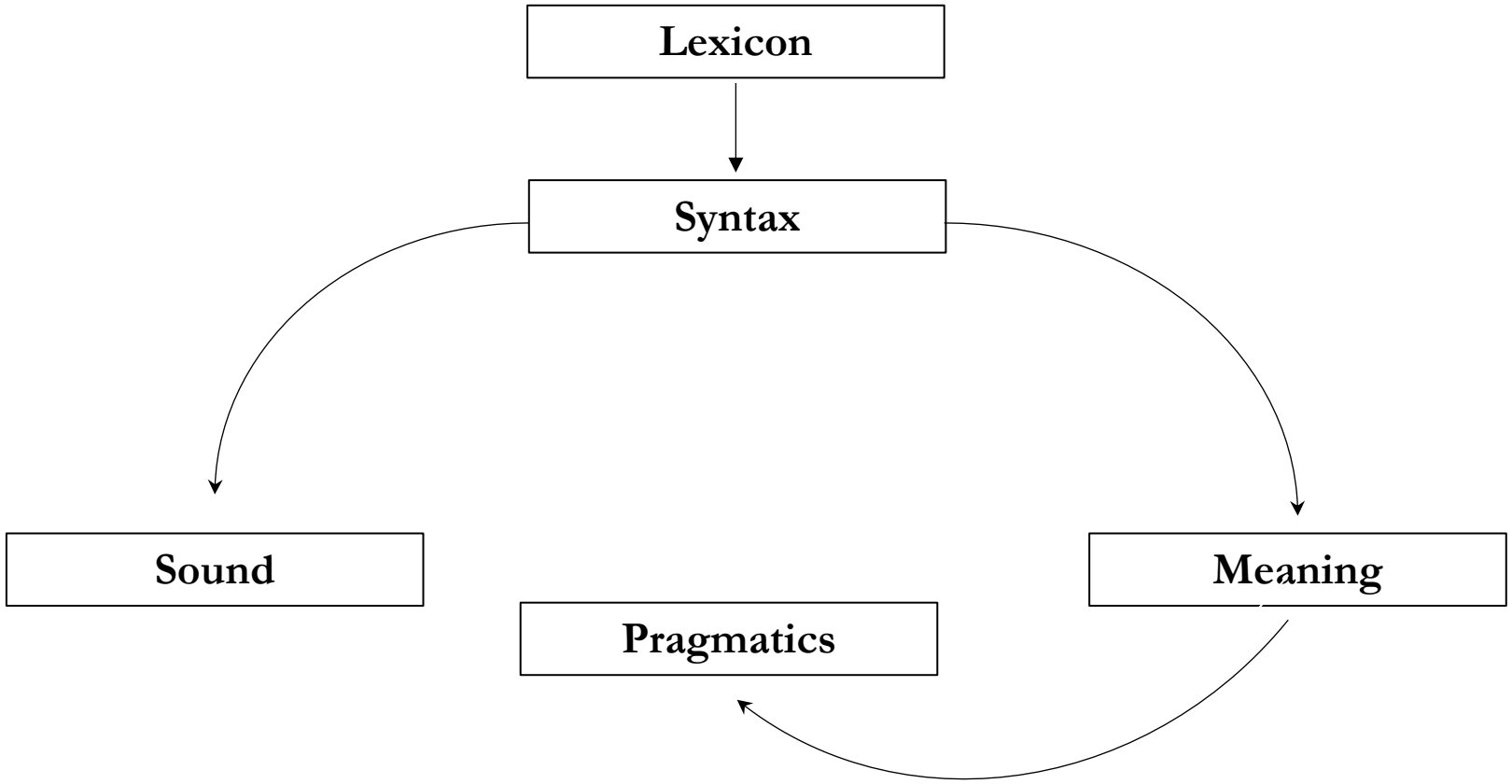
Model of Grammar (Chomsky, 1995, 2000 *et seq.*)



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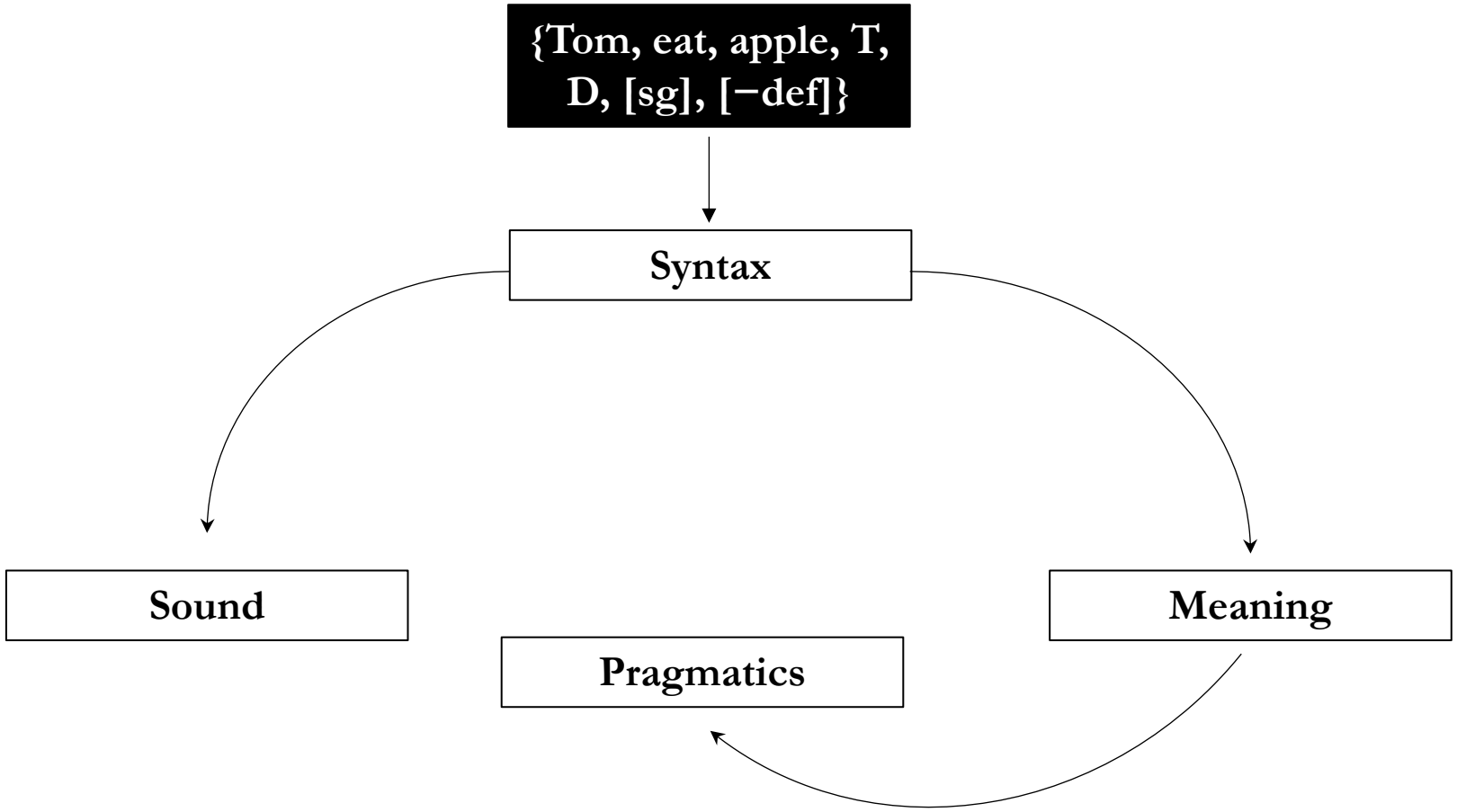

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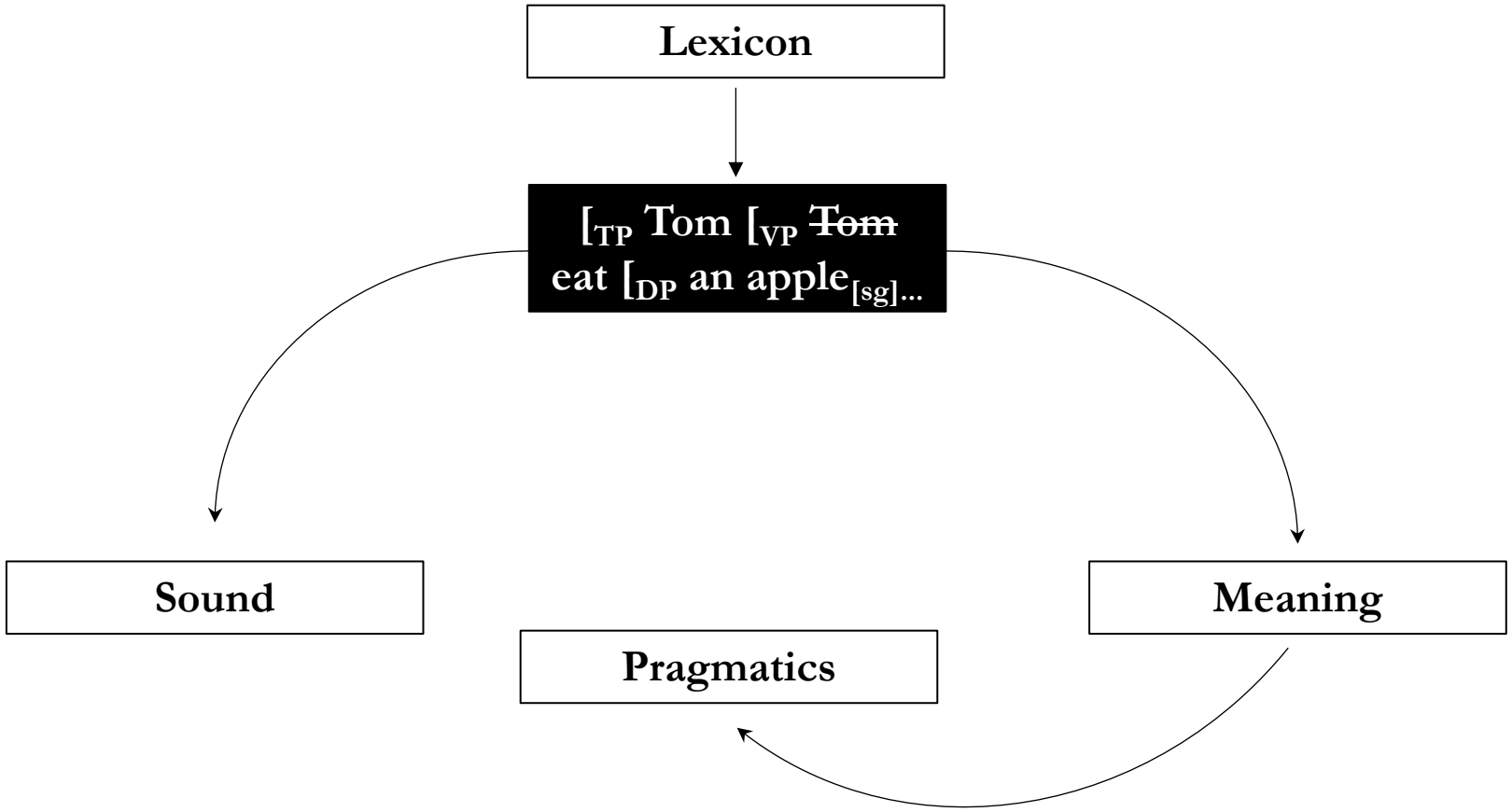

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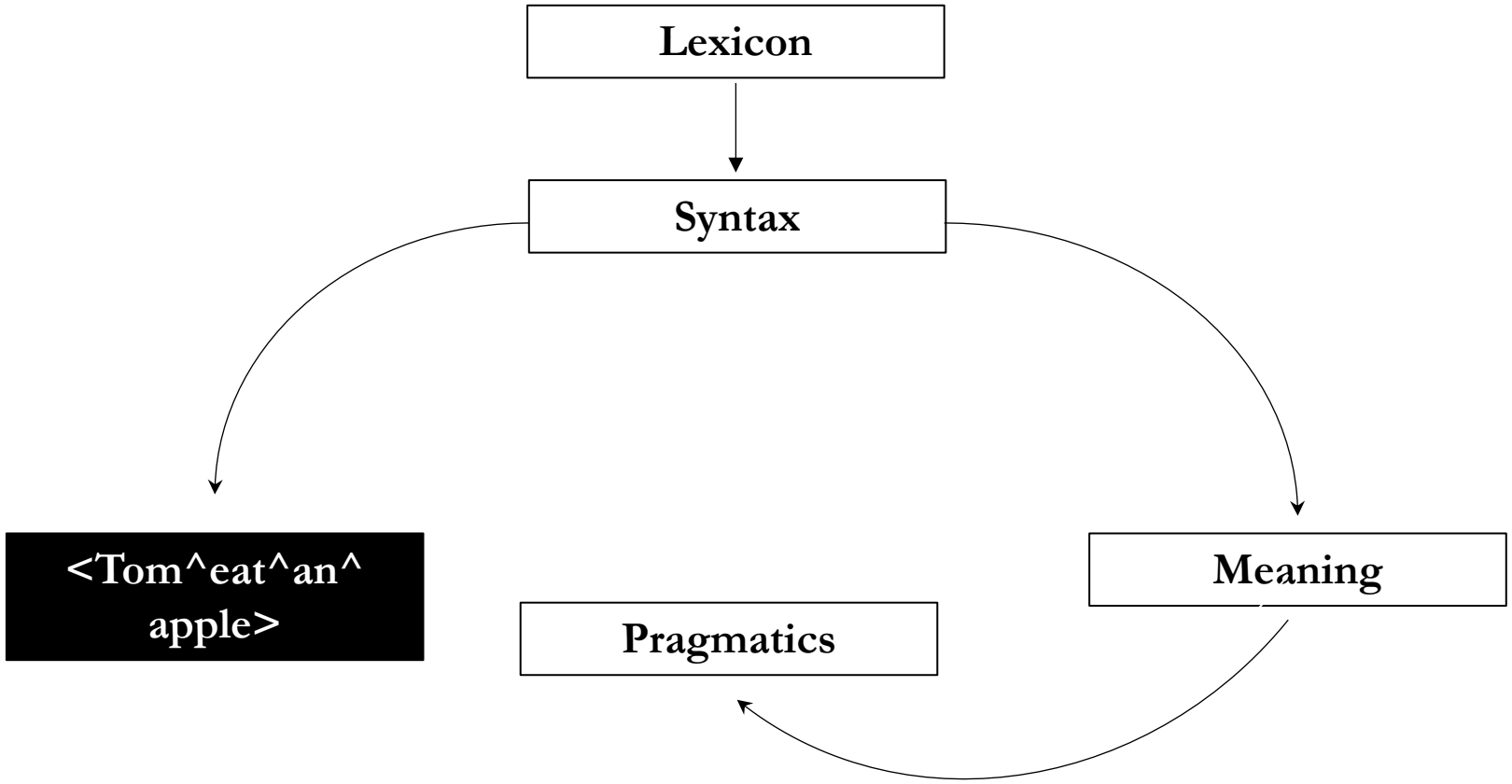

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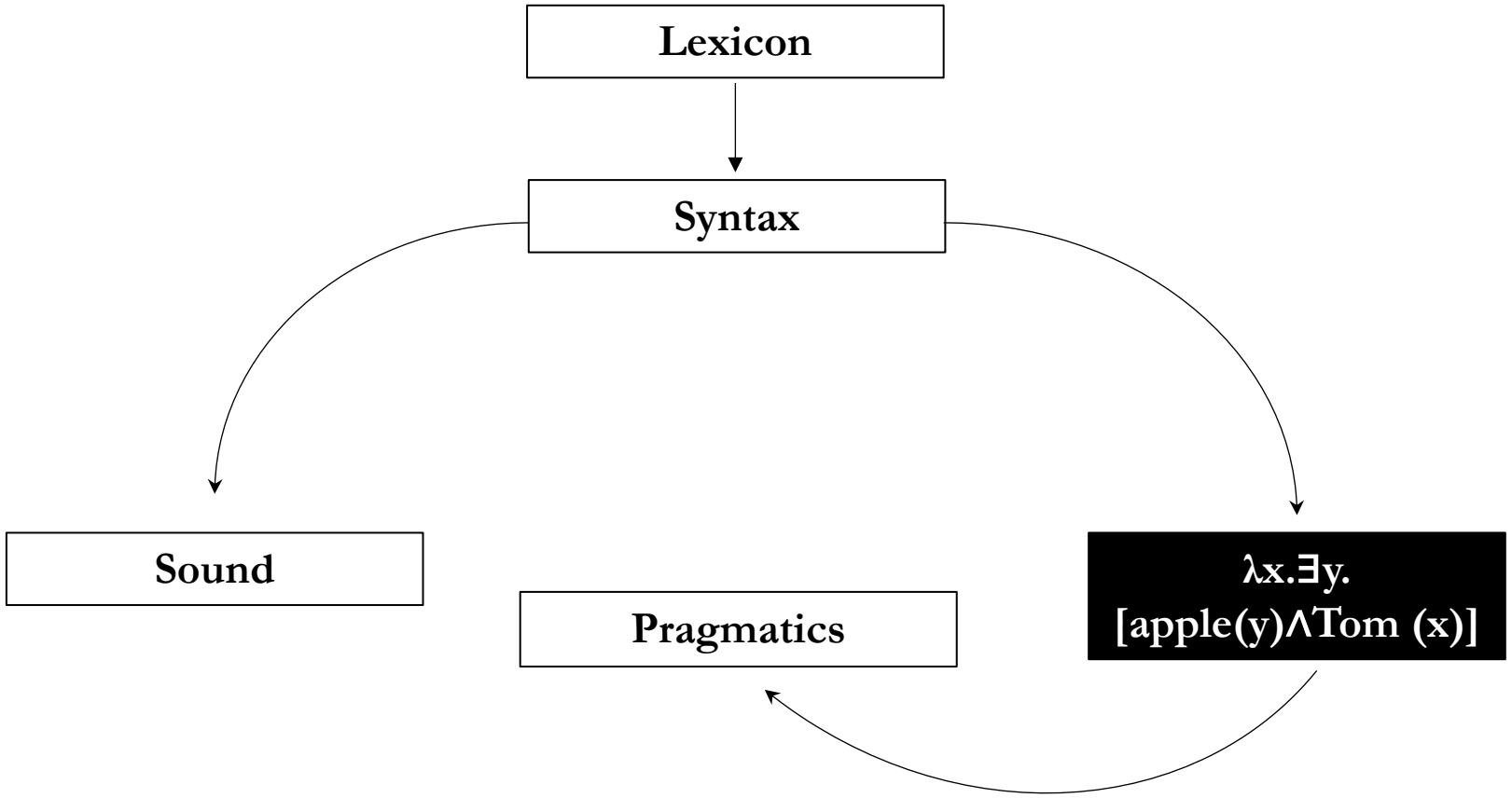

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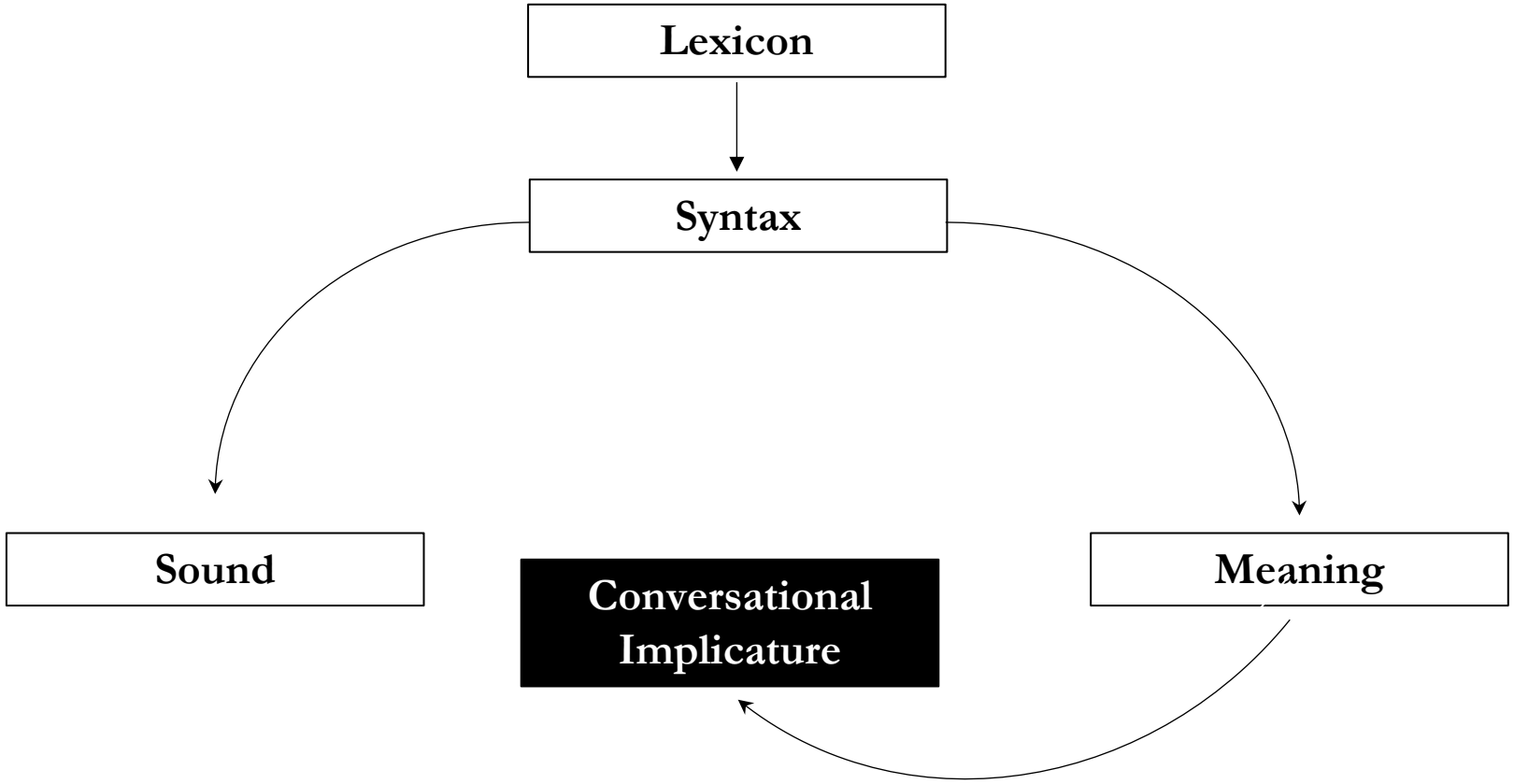


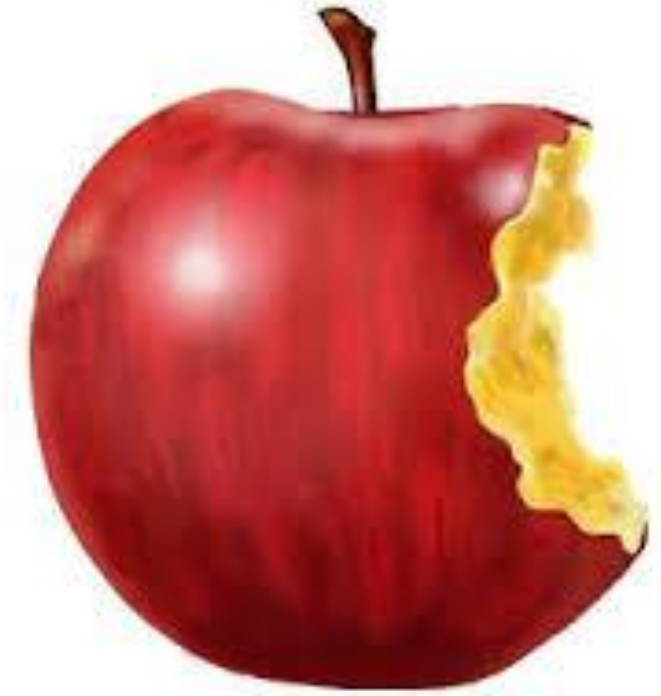
Telicity

What is Telicity?

- *Telicity* is an end-point of an event.
- (A)telicity of transitive VPs is determined by the quantity of the object DP (*Verkuyl's generalization* (Verkuyl, 1993, among others).

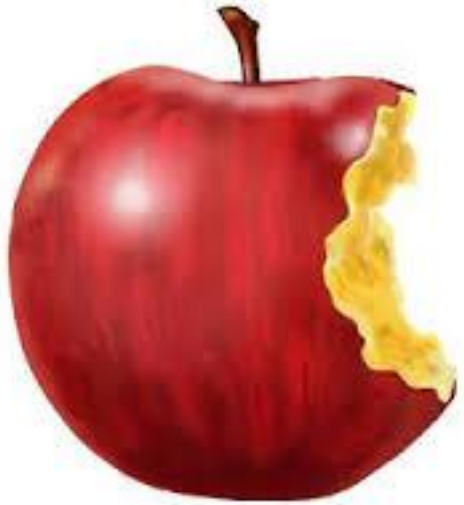
(A)telicity

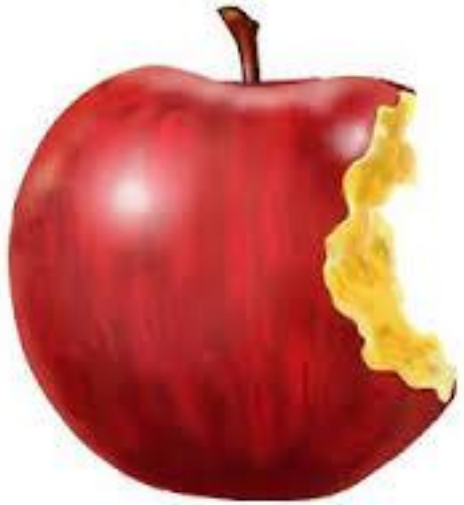
Tom ate an apple. ➡ not appropriate!

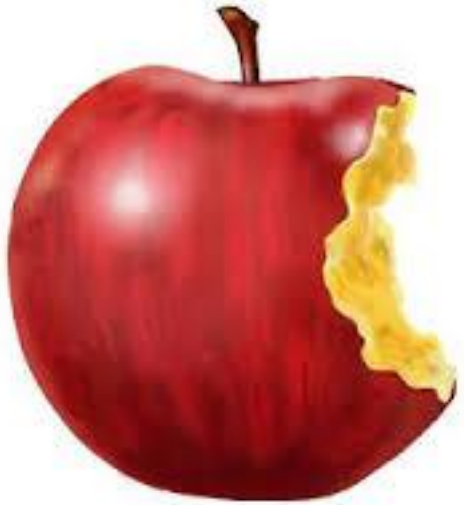


(A)telicity

Tom ate an apple. → not appropriate!







Composition of Telicity

Semantic Composition

- Krifka (1998)
  - Telicity of VP is determined by the **[+/−quantised]** property of DP

    DP [+quantised] → VP [+telic]

    DP [−quantised] → VP [−telic]

  - Quantisation is calculated as follows:

    [+quantised] iff $\alpha \oplus \alpha \neq \alpha$ (e.g. *two apples*$\oplus$*two apples*$\neq$*two apples*)

    [−quantised] iff $\alpha \oplus \alpha = \alpha$ (e.g. *apples*$\oplus$*apples*=*apples*)

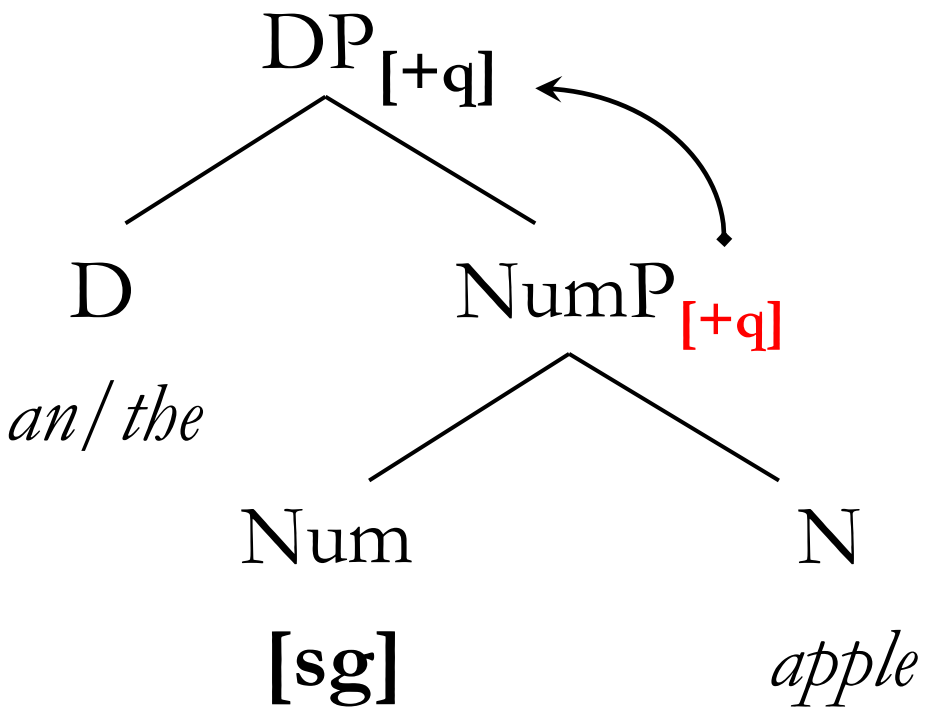
Semantic Composition

- **[+quantised] ([+q]) DP**
  - singular (e.g., *an apple*, *the apple*)
  - definite plural (i.e., *the apples*, *these apples*)
- **[−quantised] ([−q]) DP**
  - bare plural (i.e., *apples*)
  - indefinite plural (e.g., *many apples*)

Telicity at the Syntax-Semantics Interface (Soh & Kuo, 2005)

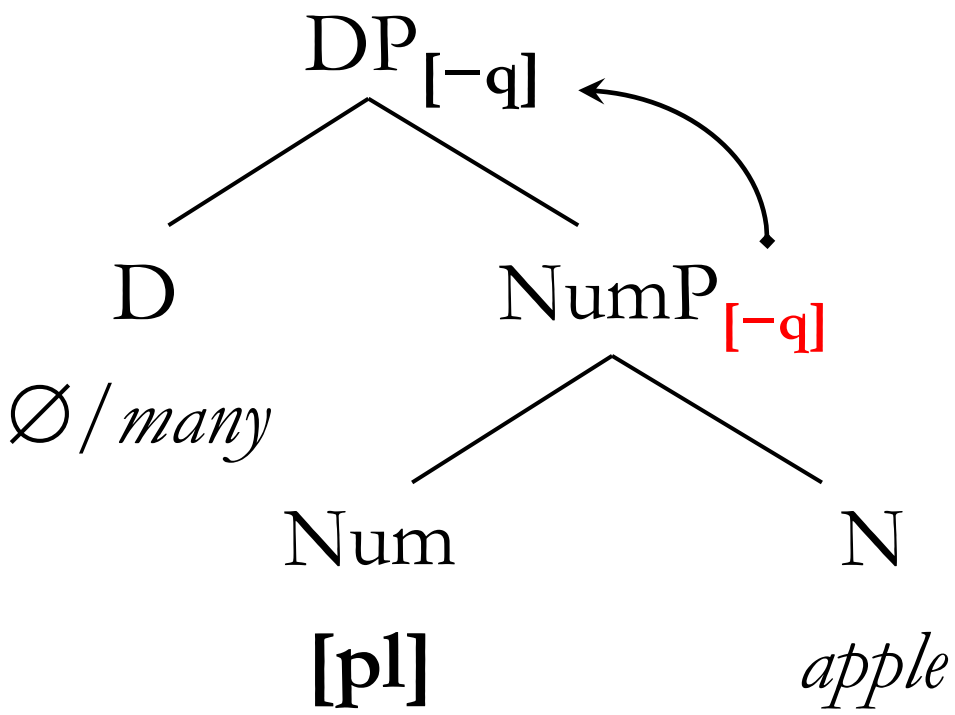
Telicity at Syntax-Semantics Interface

(1) singular



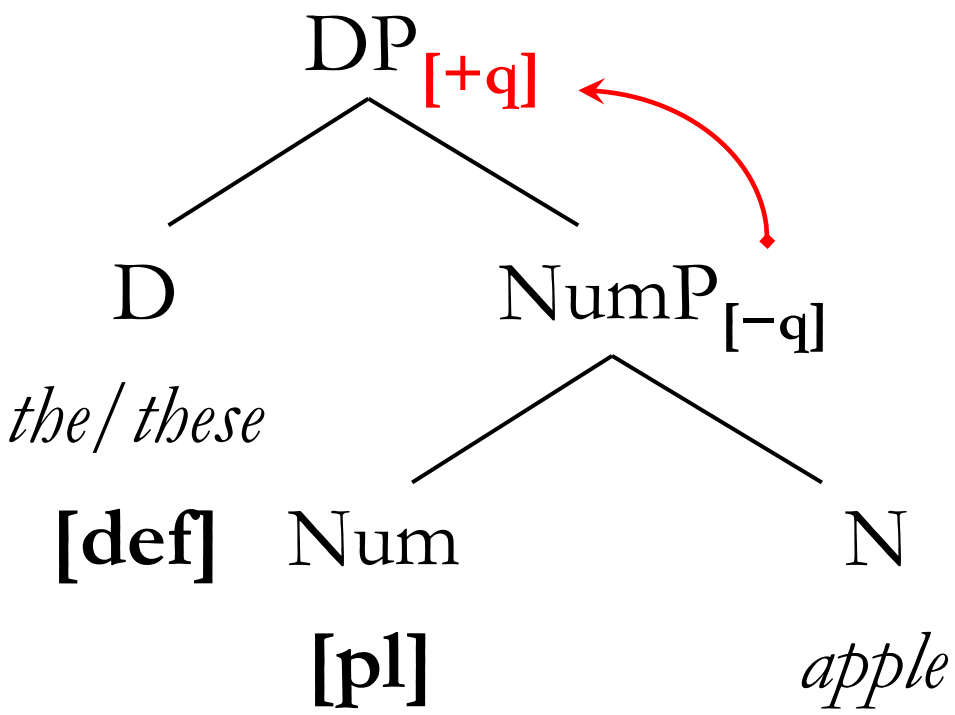
Telicity at Syntax-Semantics Interface

(2) indefinite/bare plurals



Telicity at Syntax-Semantics Interface

(3) definite plurals



Telicity in Japanese

Telicity in Japanese

- Japanese permits bare nominals (e.g., *ringo* (apple)).

(4) Taro-ga ringo-o tabeta. *telic/atelic*

-$_{\text{Nom}}$ apple-$_{\text{ACC}}$ ate

'Taro ate an/the apple(s).'

Telicity in Japanese

- In Japanese, Num, quantifiers and demonstratives are optionally merged (Wakabayashi, 1997; Déprez, 2005).

(5) Taro-ga [*kono/korerano* [$_{Num}$ ringo-o]] tabeta. *telic*

-$_{Nom}$ this/these apple-$_{ACC}$ ate

'Taro ate this/these apple/s.'

Telicity in Japanese

- In Japanese, Num, quantifiers and demonstratives are optionally merged (Wakabayashi, 1997; Déprez, 2005).

(6) Taro-ga [*takusanno* [$_{Num}$ ringo-o]] tabeta. *atelic*

-$_{Nom}$ many apple-$_{ACC}$ ate

'Taro ate many apples.'

Previous Studies: Kaku (2009)

Participants

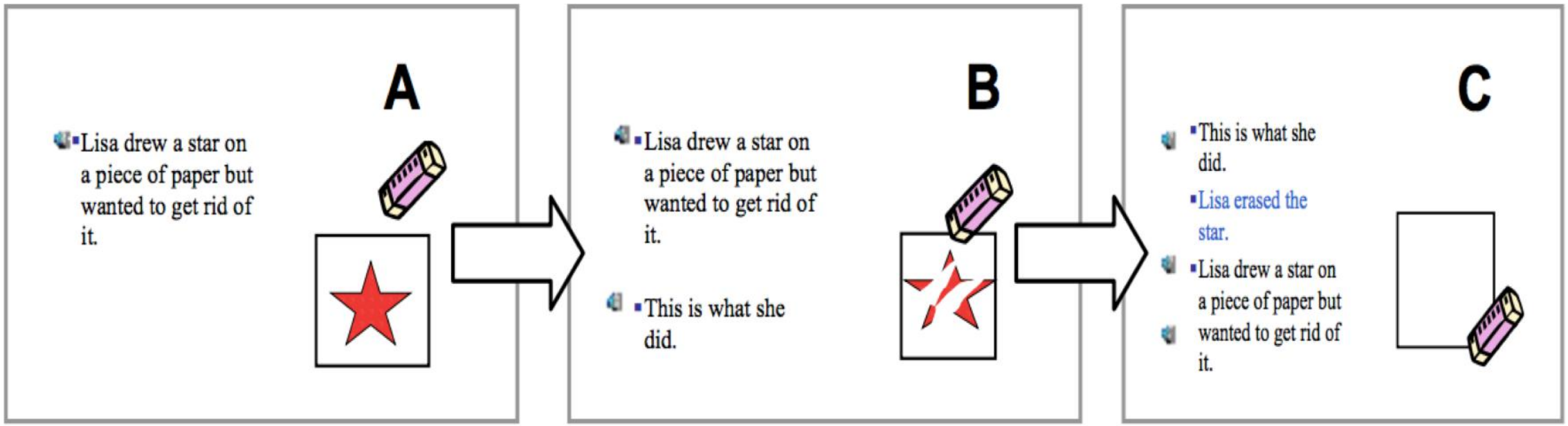
- 196 Japanese speaking learners of English
  - 60 2nd year junior high school students
  - 96 intermediate learners
  - 40 advanced learners
- 20 native speakers of English

Task and Materials

- Truth-value judgment task
  - Yes/No/I don't know
  - Four conditions: singular/plural × Yes/No
- Materials (only singular version)

  paint the door, build the house, erase the star, draw the picture, eat the orange, fill the glass, assemble the chair, untie the bow, empty the bottle, remove the cork, circle the star, shred the document, melt the candle, disassemble the table, unwrap the present, type the name

Task and Materials



Task and Materials

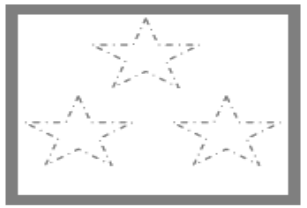
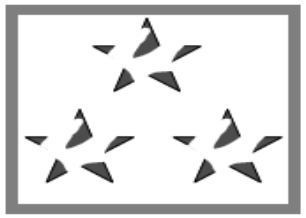
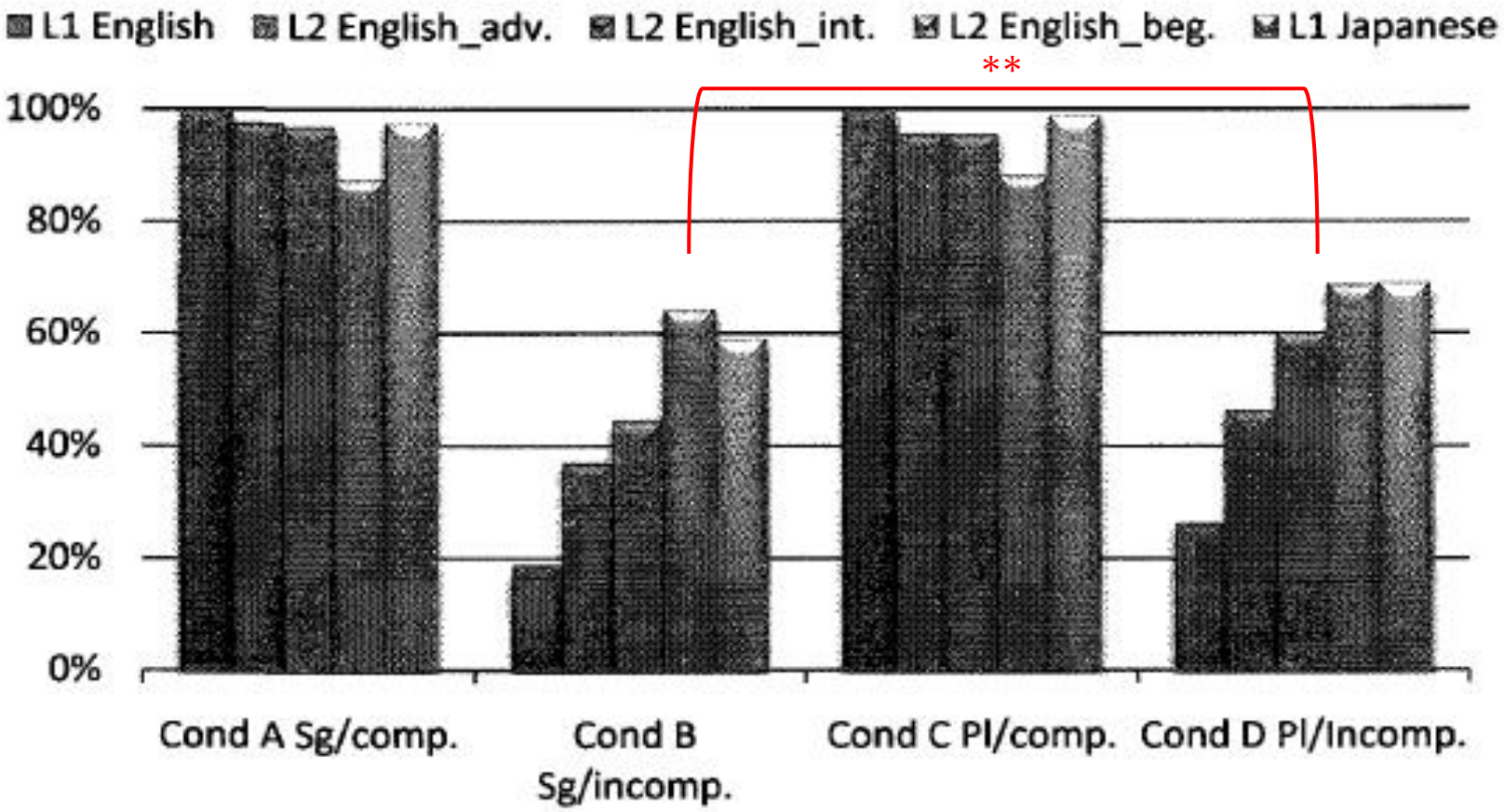
	Singular Object: *Lisa erased the star.*	Plural Object: *Lisa erased the stars.*
Complete	A Expected answer L1 Japanese √ L1 English √ 	C Expected answer L1 Japanese √ L1 English √ 
Incomplete	B Expected answer L1 Japanese √ L1 English X 	D Expected answer L1 Japanese √ L1 English X 

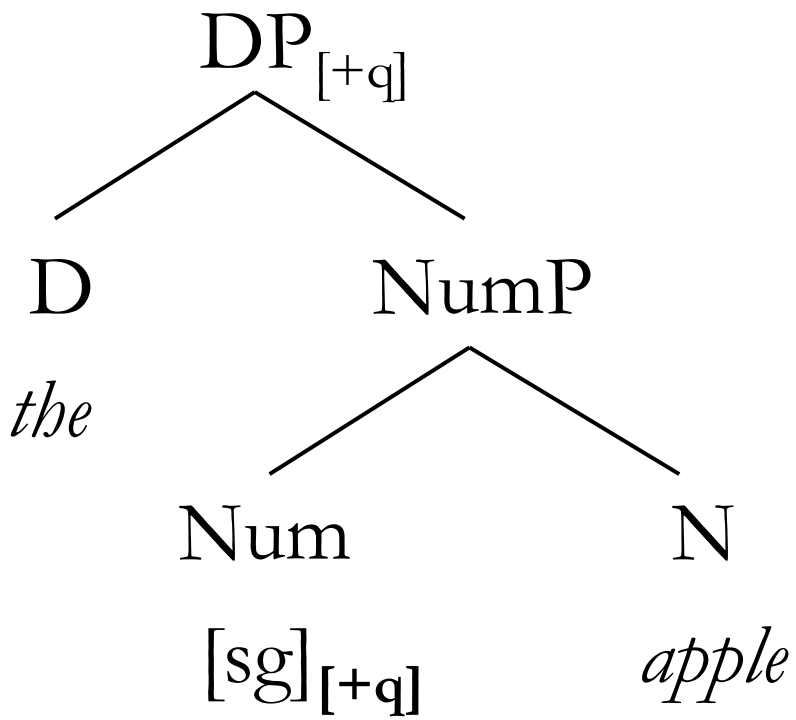
Table 1. Summary of experimental conditions in the truth-value judgment task.

Results

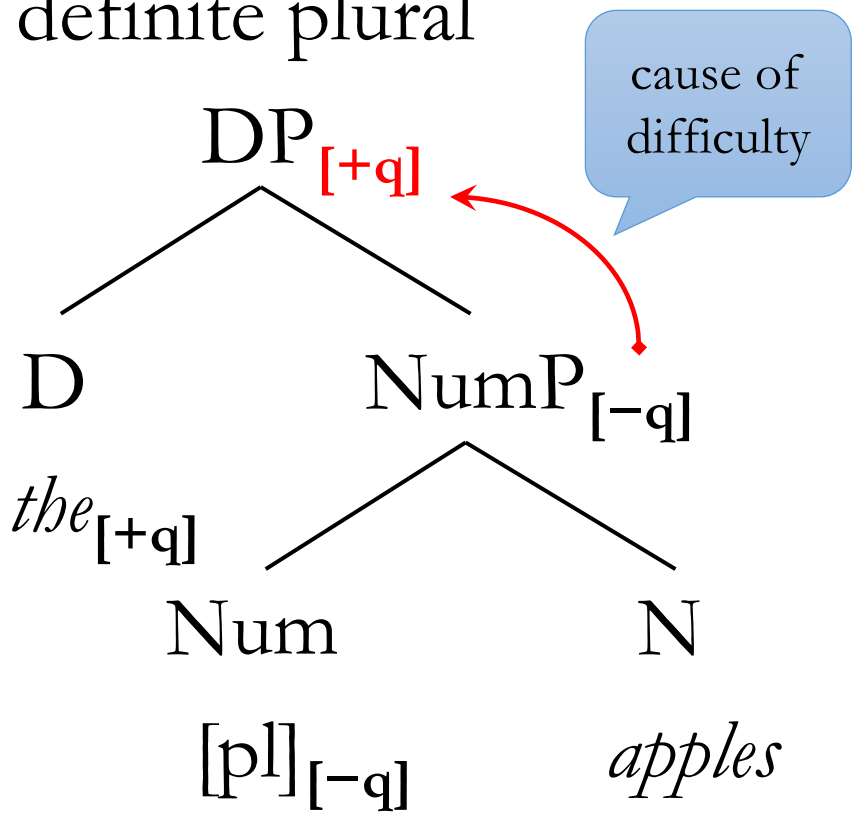

L1 English
L2 English_adv.
L2 English_int.
L2 English_beg.
L1 Japanese
**
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Cond A Sg/comp.
Cond B Sg/incomp.
Cond C Pl/comp.
Cond D Pl/Incomp.

Kaku (2009)

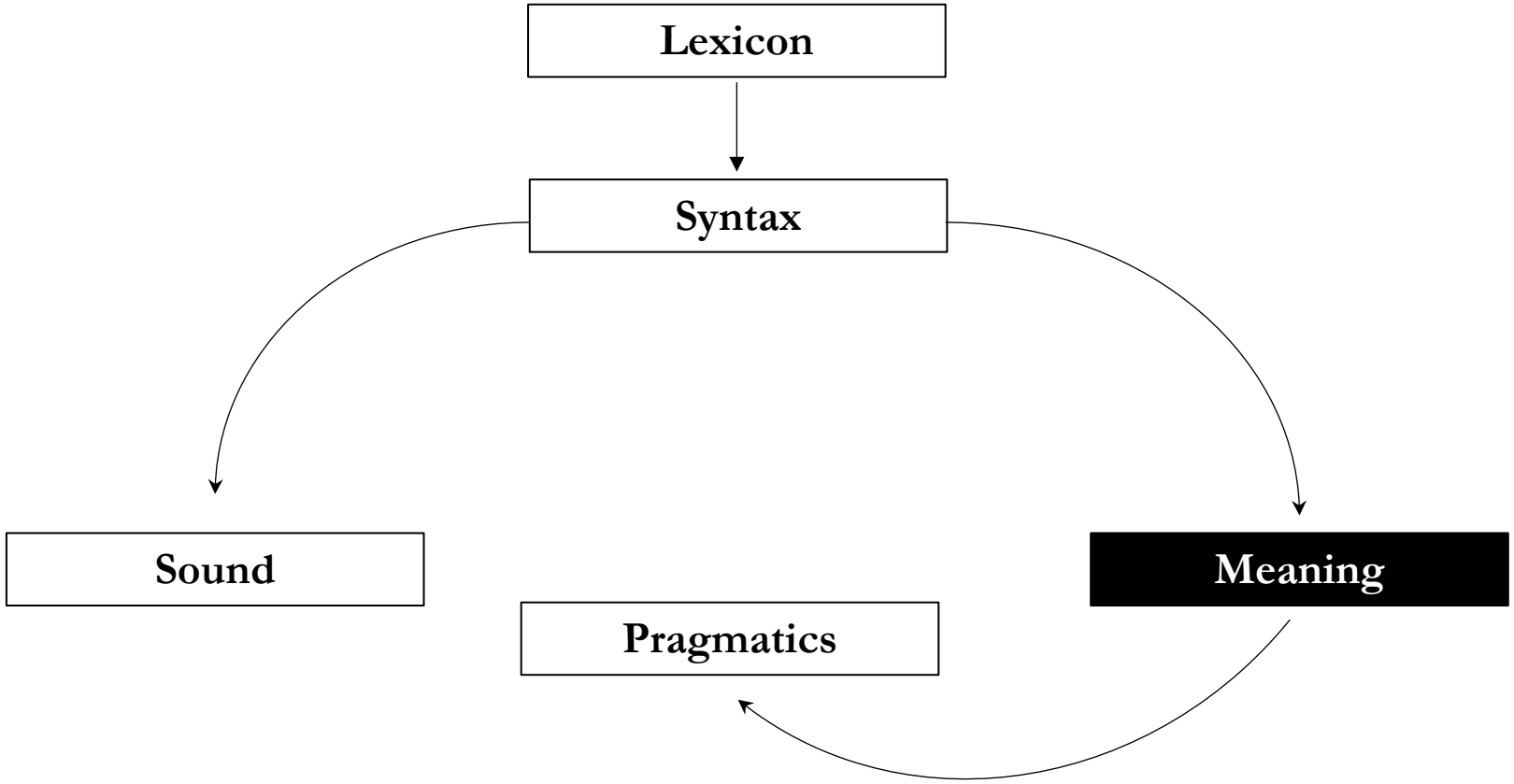
(7) definite singular



(8) definite plural



Where do Problems Lie?

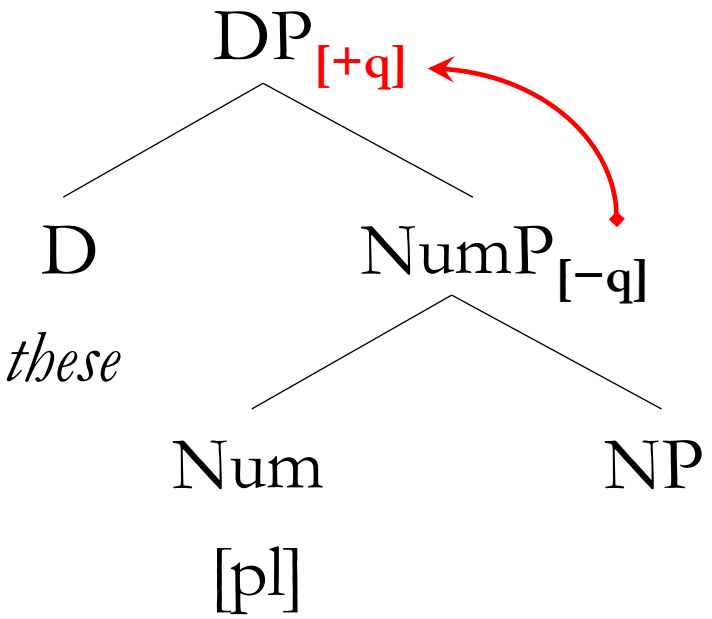


A Prediction Based on Kaku (2009)

- Japanese has plural demonstratives, *korerano (these)*.
- *these NPs* change the quantisation value.

  → *these NPs* should be difficult for JLEs, just like *the NPs*.

(9)



Previous Studies: Kimura (2014)

Kimura (2014)

- 8 Native speakers of English
- 25 Japanese university students learning
  - 9 beginners
  - 8 Low Intermediate
  - 8 High Intermediate
- Acceptability Judgment Task

  –2 （completely unnatural） ...+2 （completely natural）

Types of Test Sentences

The second clause cancels the event and is only compatible with an atelic VP.

(10)

Type 1: *a* NP (**[sg]**[-def]): #Tom ate an apple, but he didn't finish eating it.

Type 2: *the* NP (**[sg]** [+def]): #Tom ate the apple, but …

Type 3: *this* NP (**[sg]** [+def]): #Tom ate this apple, but…

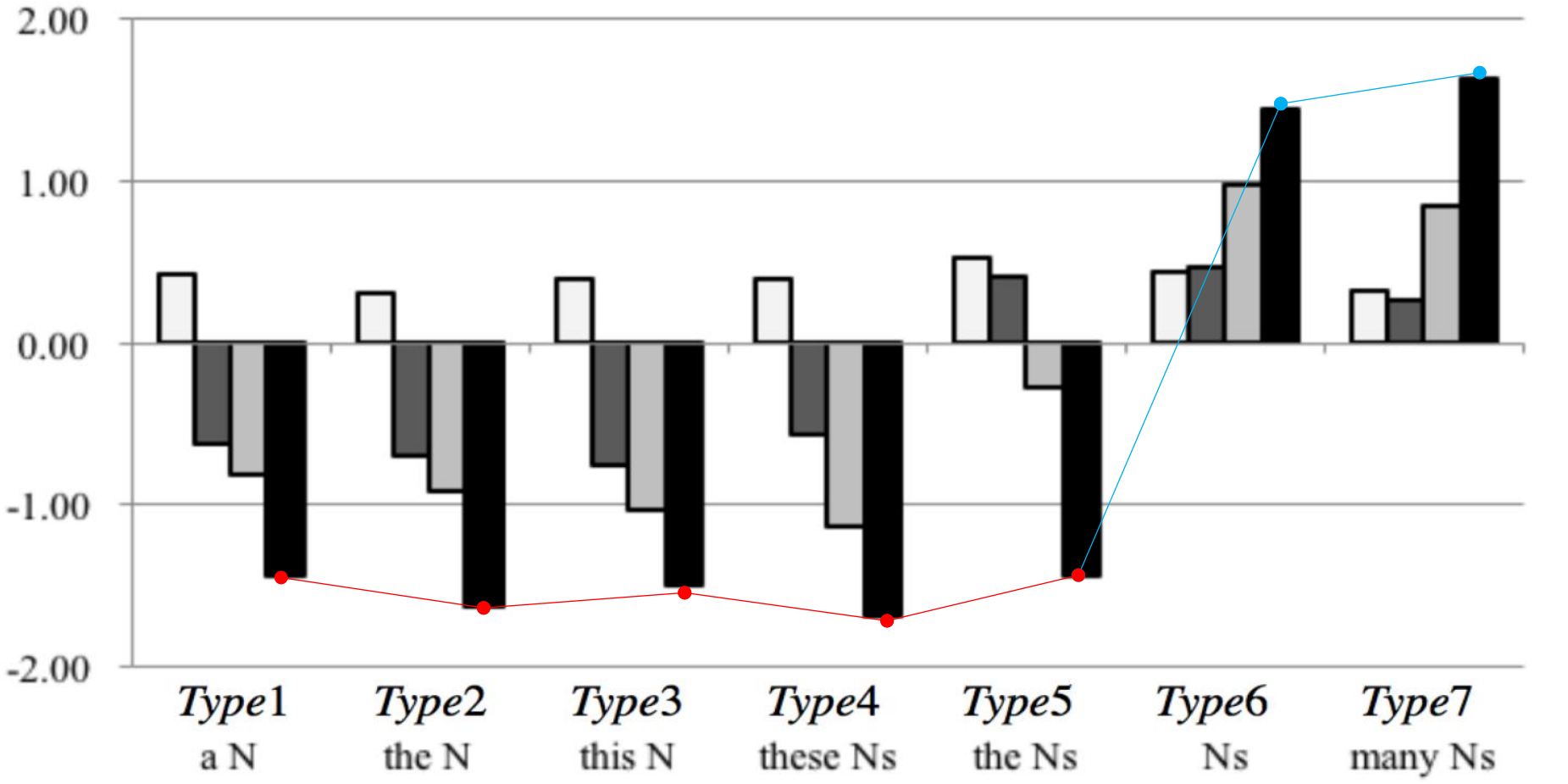
Type 4: *these* NPs ([pl]**[+def]**): #Tom ate these apples, but…

Type 5: *the* NPs ([pl] **[+def]**): #Tom ate the apples, but…

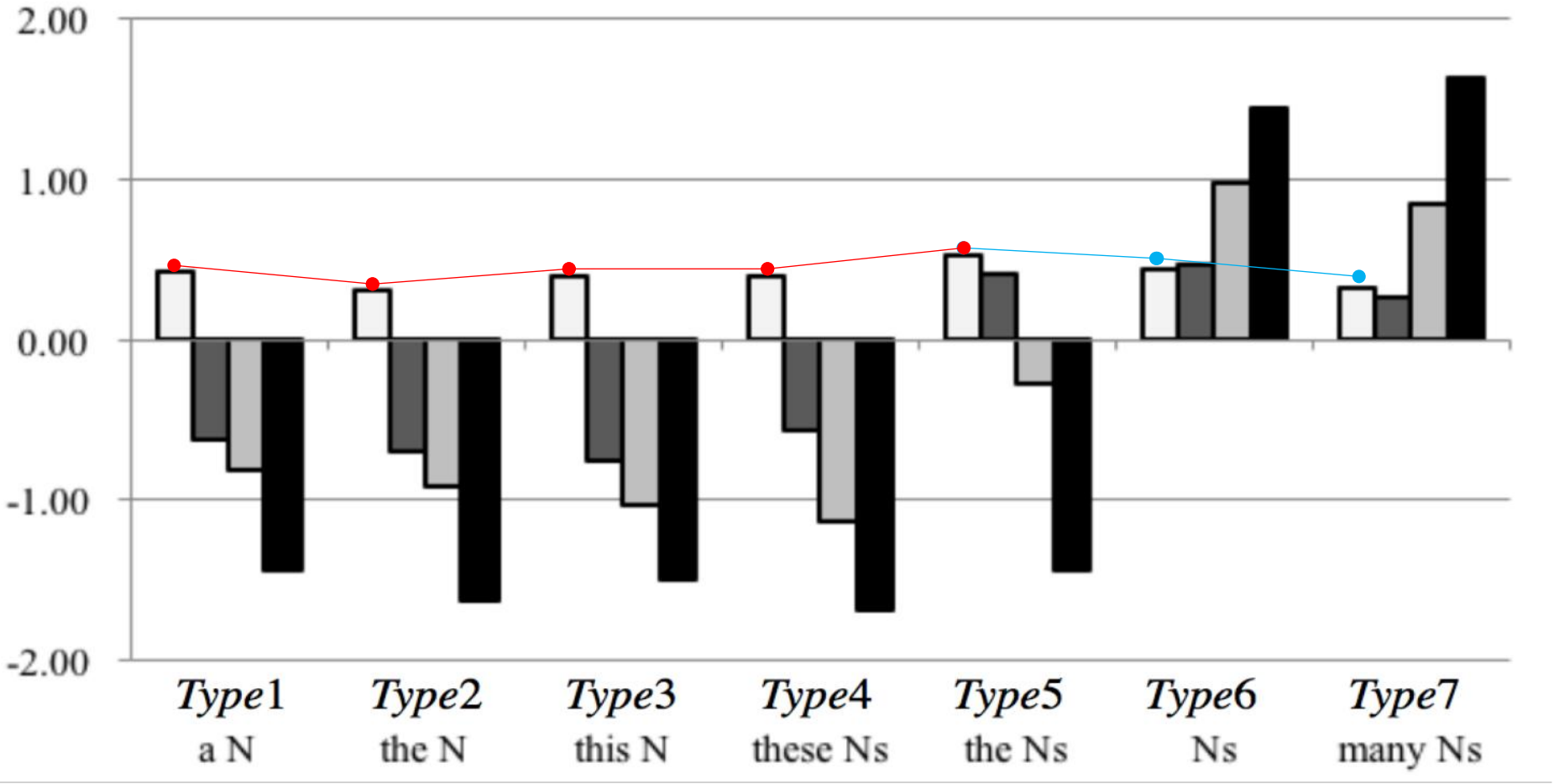
Type 6: ∅ NPs (**[pl]** [-def]): Tom ate apples, but…

Type 7: *many* NPs (**[pl]** [-def]): Tom ate many apples, but…

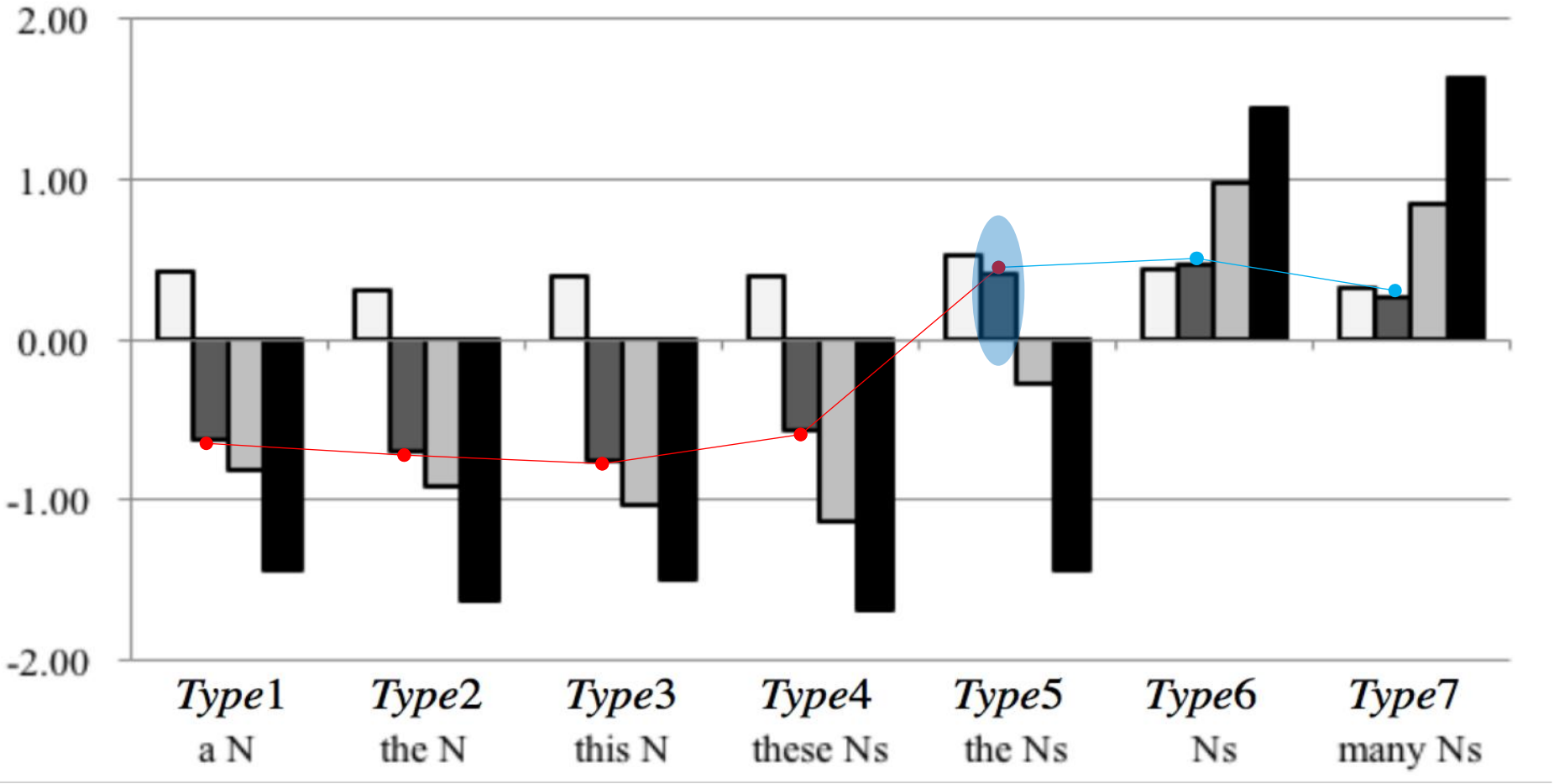
Results (NS)


2.00
1.00
0.00
-1.00
-2.00
Type1
a N
Type2
the N
Type3
this N
Type4
these Ns
Type5
the Ns
Type6
Ns
Type7
many Ns

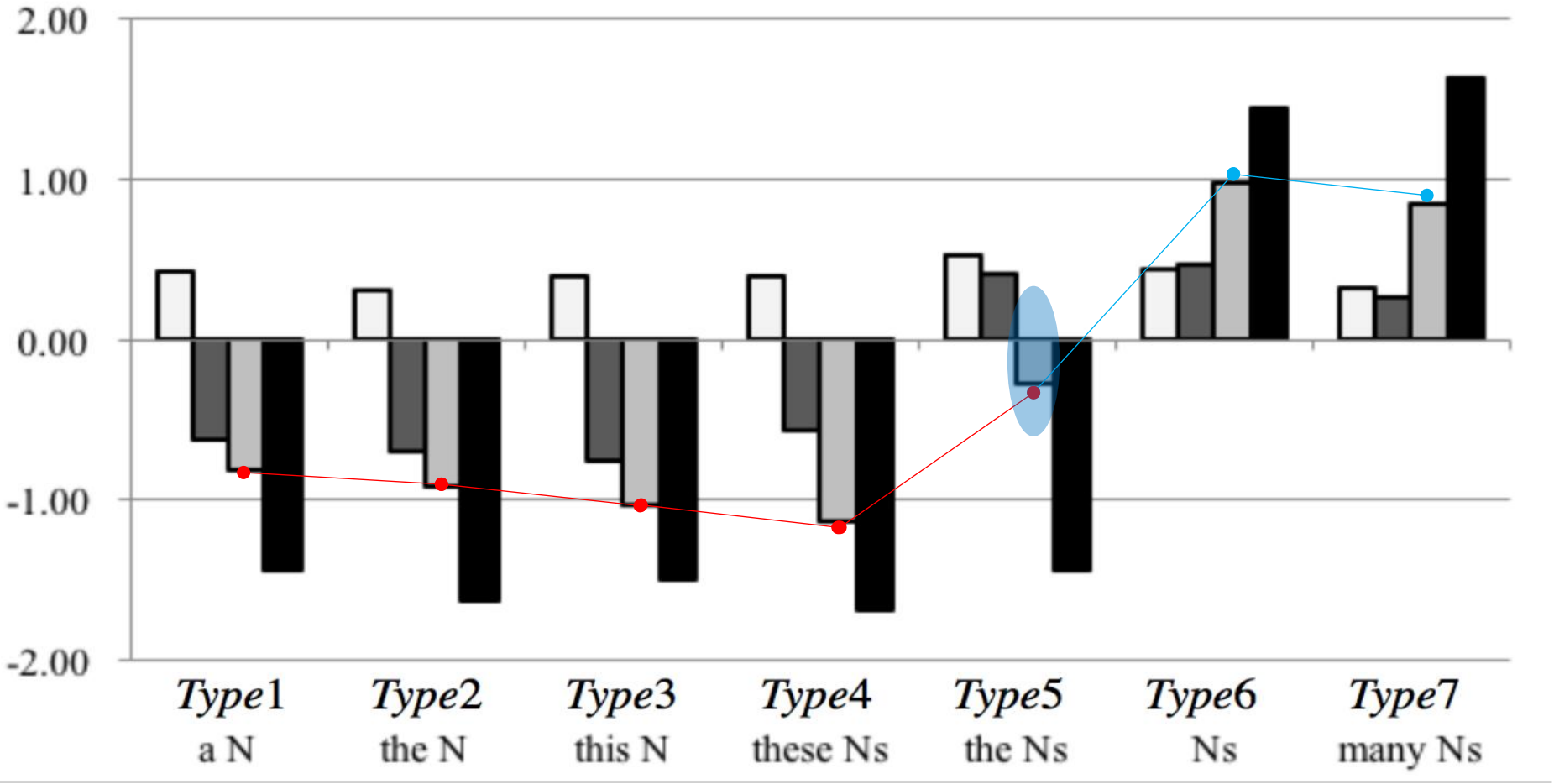
Results (Elementary)



Results (Lower Intermediate)



Results (Upper Intermediate)



Summary of Results

- NS
  - Responded as expected by the theory
- Elementary
  - Made no distinction between types
  - Responses to *this NP, these NPs* and *many NPs* were not good
- Upper & Lower Intermediate
  - Distinguished between singular and plural NPs
  - Correct except *the Ns* (responses to *the NPs* were similar to *Ns*)
  - *these NPs* was much easier than *the NPs*

Kimura's (2014) Observation

- L1 transfer was NOT observed at the early stage, contrary to the Full Transfer Hypothesis of Schwartz & Sprouse (1994, 1996).

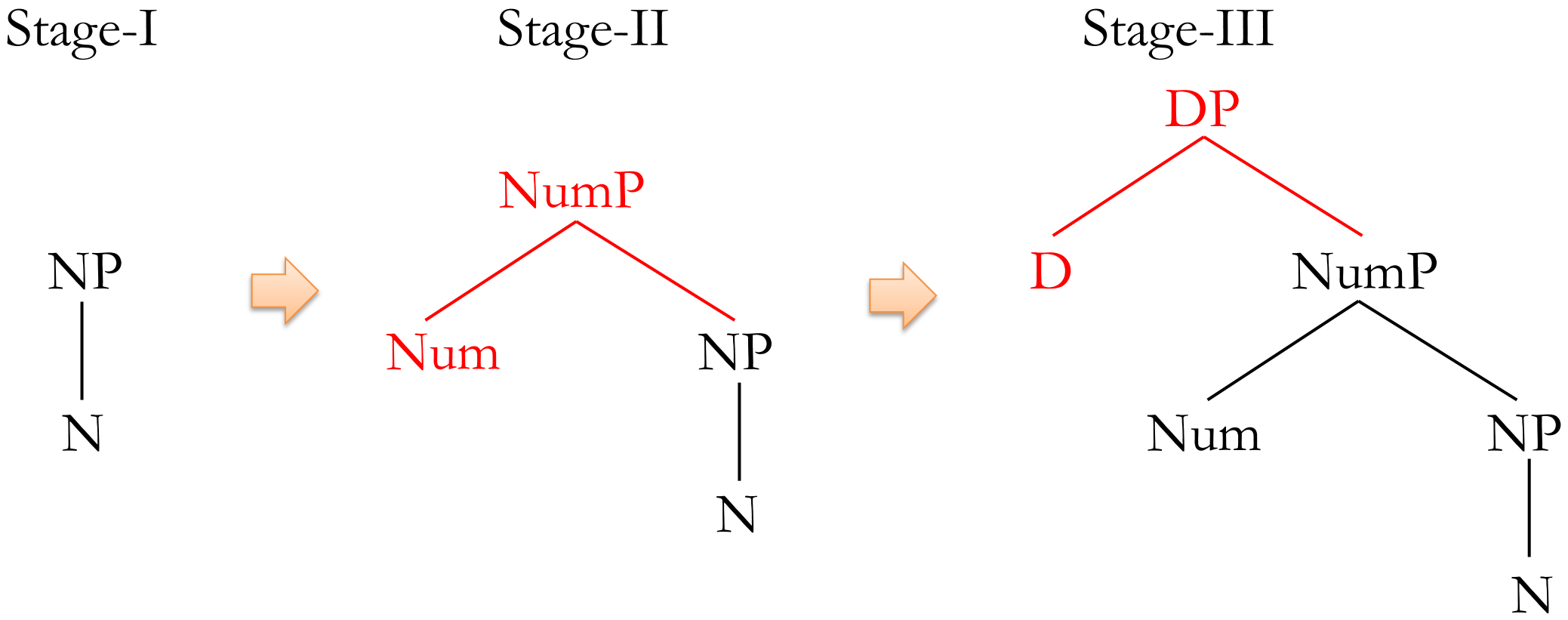
- L1 transfer emerges at subsequent stages in accordance with the Delayed Transfer Hypothesis (Wakabayashi, 1997, 2002; Suda & Wakabayashi, 2007).

Explanation:
Wakabayashi & Kimura (2018)

Proposal

- Kimura's (2014) results can be explained by gradual structure-building (Vainikka & Young-Scholten, 1994, 1996; Wakabayashi, 1997, 2002).

Wakabayashi & Kimura (2018)



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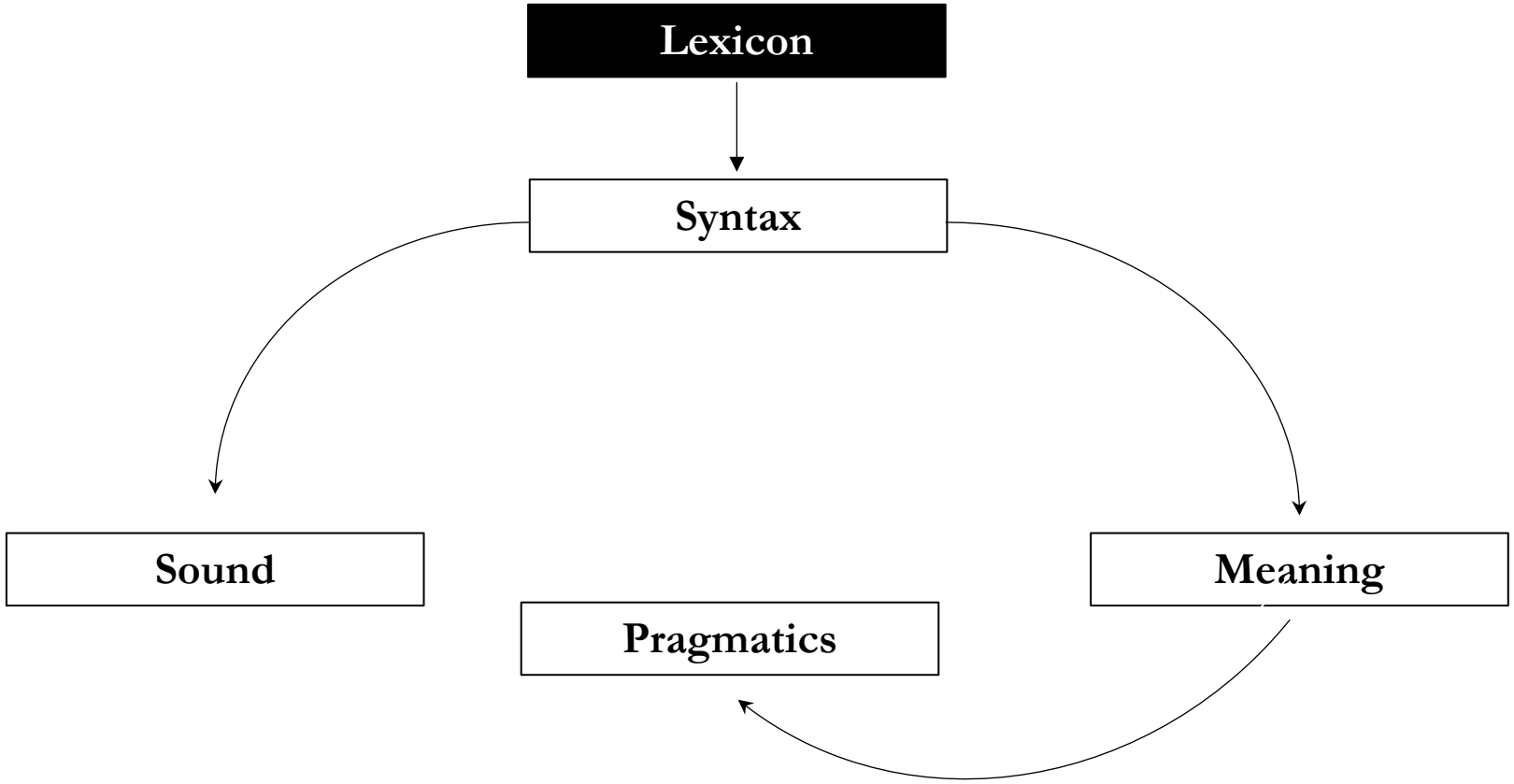


Remaining Problems and Future Research

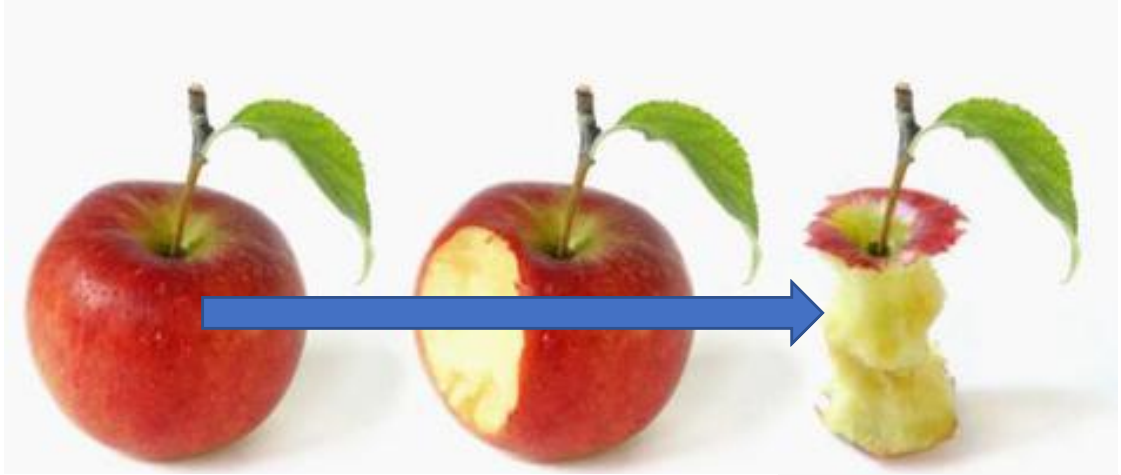
Why are Beginning Learners insensitive to Functional Elements?

- Kaku (2009): Complexity of semantic computation
- Wakabayashi & Kimura (2018): Absence of functional categories in the L2 lexicon

L2ers at Early Stages Really do not Project Functional Categories, NumP and DP?

- If D does not exist in interlanguage, L2 learners may ignore D items (cf. Shallow Structure Hypothesis, Clahsen and Felser, 2006).
  - Then, L2 learners should make no distinction between *This is a pen* and *That is a pen*. Is this plausible?
- L2 learners may treat *this/that/these/those* as adjectives when they are attributive. L2 learners should not be aware of the differences between Adj and D? Is this plausible?
  - Morphology: Demonstratives have different forms for [+/- singular].
  - Syntax: Demonstratives always appear at the edge of a noun phrase.
  - Semantics: Demonstratives have no descriptive content.

"Tom ate an apple."



change (event)

Tom did the action of eating an apple.

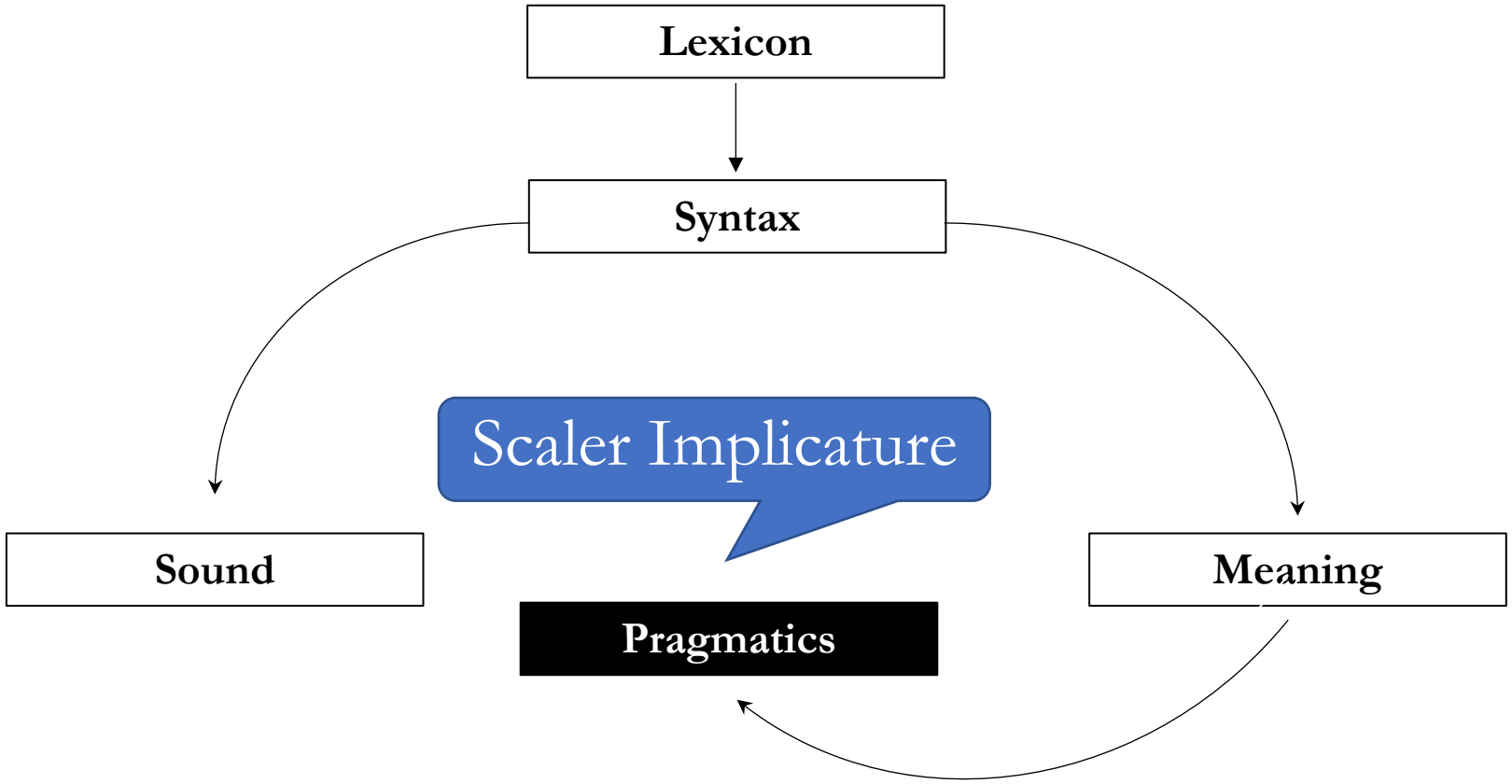
result (state)

So, the apple has been eaten up.

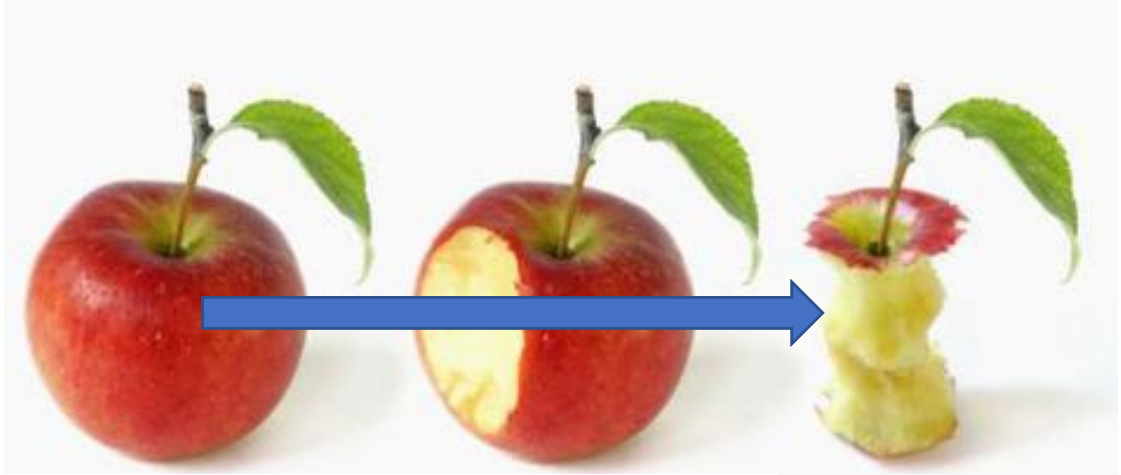
Telicity as Maximalization and Scaler Implicature

- Telicity is calculated by interaction between a covert operator, ***Max***, and **scaler implicature in pragmatics** (Fillip, 2008).
- *Max* picks out the unique largest (upper bound) event.
- DPs with [+q] (e.g., *ate an apple/two apples*) provide a scale and an upper bound.
- DPs with [−q] (e.g., *ate apples, drink water*) fail to provide them.

Telicity as Maximalization and Scaler Implicature



"Tom ate an apple."



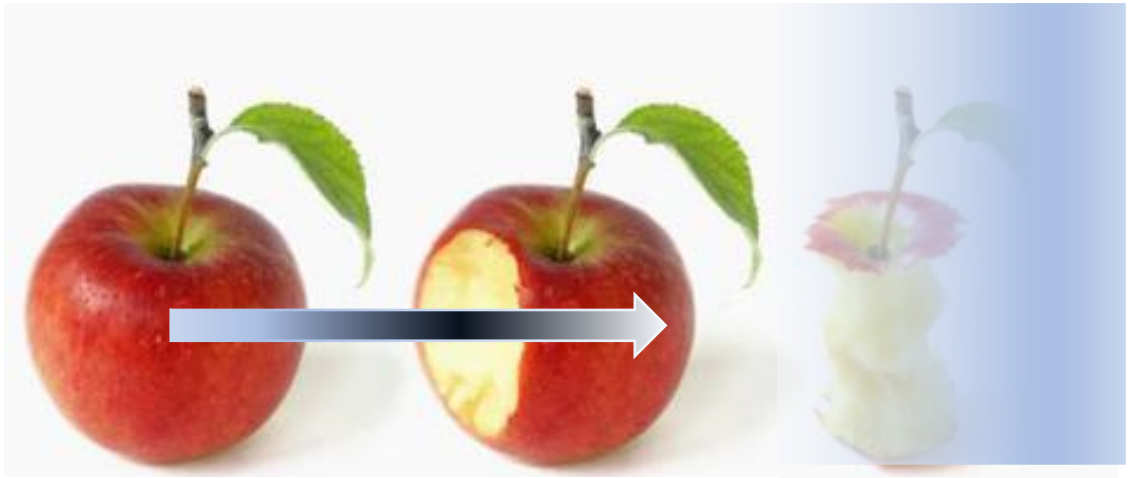
change (event)

Tom did the action of eating an apple.

result (state)

So, the apple has been eaten up.

"Tom ate an apple." in Early Interlanguage



change (event)

Tom did the action of eating an apple.

~~**result (state)**~~

~~So, the apple has been eaten up.~~

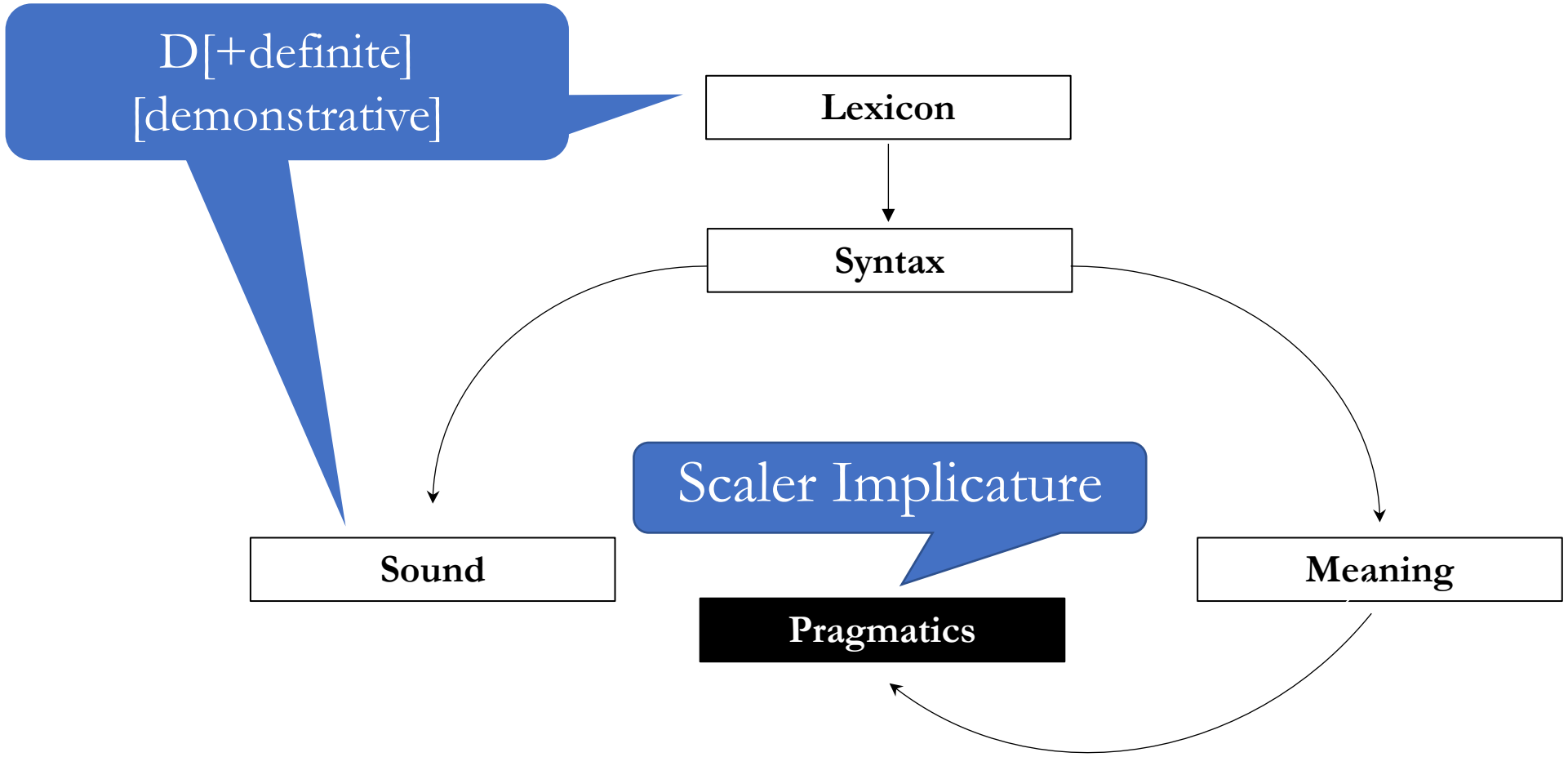
Telicity in Early Grammar

- The failure to compute telicity by beginners might be attributed to the difficulty in pragmatics.

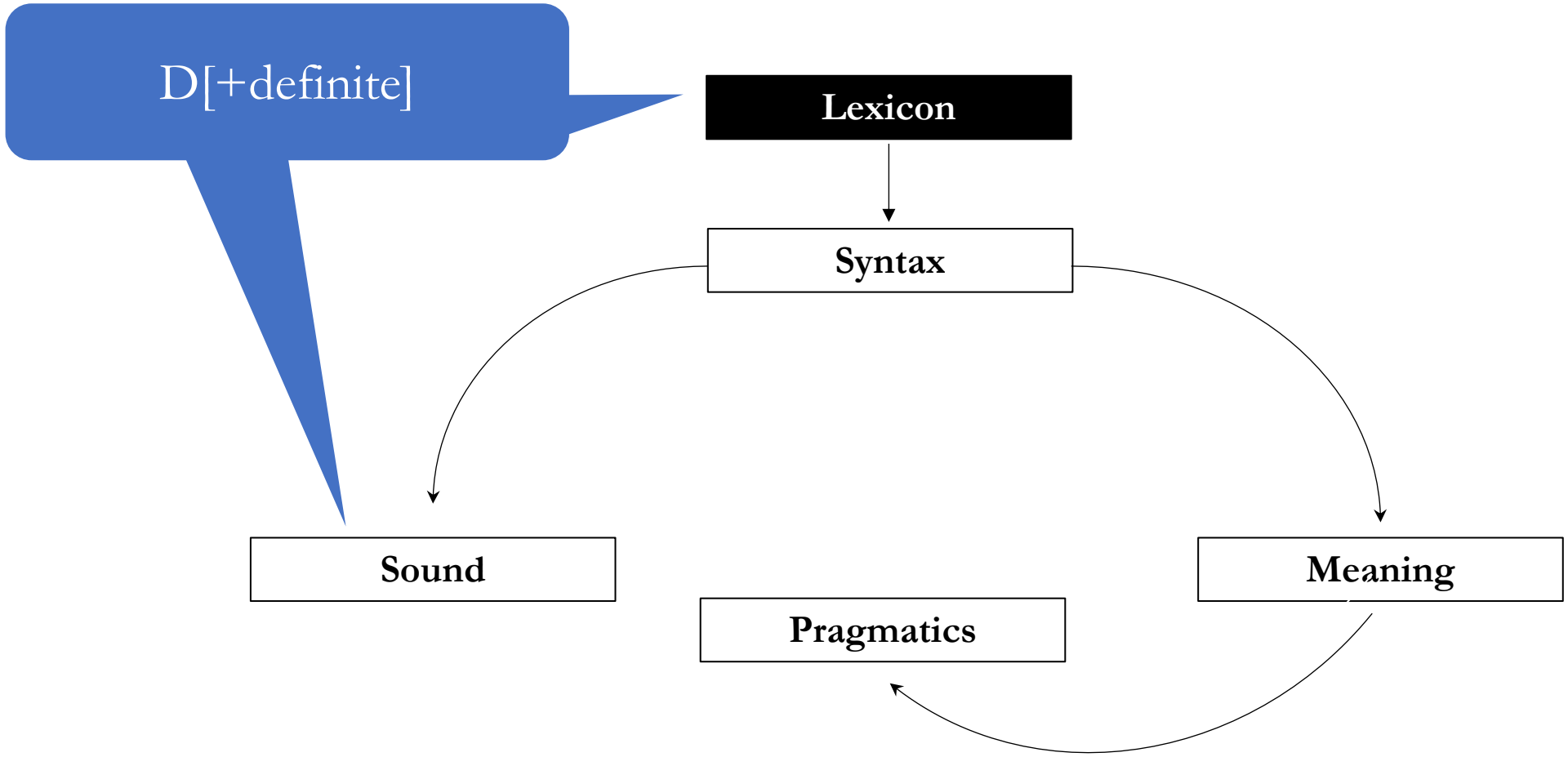
Telicity in an Intermediate Learner's Grammar

- Learners compute telicity expressed by *this/that/these/those N*.
- However, they fail to compute telicity expressed by ***the*** *N*.

This and *These* Are Included in Computation



The is Not Included in Computation



Conclusion

- Initial : Semantics OK/ Pragmatics (implicature) NG
- Intermediate: Semantics OK / Pragmatics (implicature) OK but Lexical Items are only those transferred from a learner's L1.
- Advanced ?

→Prediction [Definite] is

A) acquirable ∵ Interpretable

B) not acquirable ∵ POS + pragmatic knowledge used in L1

Also, pragmatic knowledge in Filip (2008)

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