Syntax, semantics and morphology in acquisition

Dr María J. Arche University of Greenwich

Symposium Theoretical Linguistics and Language Acquisition New York College, Thessaloniki 18th March 2018

This session

- On how detailed syntactic, semantic and morphological analysis is crucial for
- Gaining a finer-grained understanding of crosslinguistic variation and
- Developing adequate predictions on (second) language acquisition learning tasks

Why LI/L2 differences matter

- Native language plays a role in the success of the SLA process
 - Intuitional level every lay person may have/ agree with that idea; may have experienced it herself.
 - Theoretical level: not an innocent idea. It entails a specific vision on what a language is and how the process of acquisition works.
 - How the initial state is defined. What defines it.

The plan

- Why do we say crosslinguistic differences matter
- What exactly matters?
- How do we formalize what matters and how it affects the journey form one language to the other.

WHY & HOW

- Why exactly do the properties of languages matter?
- How are the properties of native and second language related? How can they affect each other?

The devil is in the details... in depends on

Theory of acquisition

Theory of acquisition

- That is, how the acquisition process works.
- Understood as a **developmental** process with:
 - An initial state —point of departure
 - A "growing" phase
 - Final attainment
 - Debate: possible?

The SLA Initial State

- The LI
 - Full Transfer-Full Access (Schwartz & Sprouse 1994, 1996; White 2000).
- Universal Grammar (Flynn & Martohardjono 1994, Flynn 1996, Epstein et al 1998).
- Nothing: wild grammars

Full Transfer-Full Access Schwartz & Sprouse 1996, 2000

- Full Transfer of L1: initial state of L2 is the L1.
- Full Access to UG: in subsequent states.
 - Different L1 → different initial stages (e.g., contrast null subject languages)
 - The properties of the interlanguage grammar is UG constrained.
 - SLA process:
 - Access what LI does not have (from scratch or not).
 - Sort of restructuring of what we have.

The what we transfer & need to acquire

- What is it that we can transfer or not?
- How crosslinguistic differences matter for SLA?
- How does the route look like exactly?
- What do we need to acquire?
- So, exactly, precisely, what is it that we transfer, carry with us, our previse point of departure and what is our point of arrival, our target?

WHAT

- What exactly matters?
- What properties?
 - Properties of the native language
 - Properties of the second language

 How are we going to define such properties?

The devil is in the details...

Theory of language

A theory of Language

What is a language? How can we define it? (e.g., Chomsky 1995, 2001)

- Set of ingredients "features"
 - There is a general set of features
 - Individual languages make different selections from it.
 - Open debate: is there any feature every language must include?
- A recipe to operate with them; a way of operating.
 - Alike across languages

Language elements

- Different language units –for starters:
 - Vocabulary (lexical): nouns (table), verbs (walk),
 adjs (pretty)
 - Functional items: e.g., -ed.
- Language units: collections of
 - Phonetic information: how they sound.
 - Morpho-syntactic information: how they behave wrt word-formation= walked vs.
 *edwalk or *ed walk (but will walk); wrt word order "I will walk" vs "*walk I will"
 - Meaning information: what they refer to.

Language elements

- Pairs of form and meaning
- If different in L1 & L2 (the usual case),
 high(er) difficulty predicted.

An illustrative example

- Three aims:
 - Raise awareness of crosslinguistic variation
 - Raise awareness of how specific theoretical detail can be
 - Give an example on how these two respects are used in second language analysis and predictions.
- The acquisition of Grammatical Aspect: Arche 2014b; Domínguez, Arche & Myles 2017

Grammatical aspect

- "Grammatical aspect", "viewpoint aspect" (Smith 1991), or "outer aspect" (Verkuyl 1993).
 - Gives us information about the unfolding of a situation in time.
 - Ongoing: He was cleaning the table.
 IMPERFECTIVE
 - Finished: He cleaned the table.

PERFECTIVE

Not started yet: He was about to clean the table.
 PROSPECTIVE

Crosslinguistic awareness

 The contrast imperfective/perfective is the most commonly marked in the languages of the world (Comrie 1976).

However!

- World Atlas of Language Structures (Dahl & Velupillai 2011)
- out of the 222 languages included in their crosslinguistic study, more than half of them (121) do not show any grammatical marking of the imperfective/perfective distinction.

Even more...

 Of the languages that mark such a distinction, not all of them:

A) Use the same grammatical means, varying between inflection and analytical (periphrastic) forms.

B) Even if they use the same grammatical means, not all of them have the same interpretations.

EXAMPLES OF CROSSLINGUISTIC VARIATION

Spanish

• Spanish has a dedicated **inflectional paradigm** that can express the readings of the imperfect (in parallel with additional periphrastic ways) in sharp opposition to the perfective.



Stop over

- Imperfective readings:
- Progressive: ongoing action
- (1) Juan comía carne cuando lo vi.

 Juan eat-impfve.3ps meat when him saw.1st p.s

 'Juan was eating meat when I saw him'
- Habitual: repeated action that denotes a habit
- (2) Juan comía carne cuando era joven. Juan eat-impfve.3ps meat when was.imp. I st p.s young 'Juan used to eat meat when he was young'
- Attitudinal: attitude or ability
- (3) Juan comía carne cuando era joven. Juan eat-impfve.3ps meat when was.imp. I st p.s young 'Juan did not object to eating meat when he was young'
- Ongoing state
- (4) Juan estaba enfermo cuando lo visité.

 Juan was.impf.3ps ill when him visited.pfve.lps

 "Juan was ill when I visited him"

Hindi

 Hindi presents an inflectional imperfective/perfective dichotomy, but the Imperfect form cannot be interpreted as progressive.

English

 Habitual, attitudinal and ongoing states (impfve) and perfective interpretations are represented by the same morpheme:

- John ate meat (when he was young).
- John ate meat (but now he is a vegetarian)
- John was ill when I visited him.
- John ate meat yesterday. (Pfve)
- John was ill the whole winter of 2001. (Pfve)

Russian

- Russian Imperfective is reported to be compatible with a culminated situation, typical of the perfective viewpoint (Altshuler 2014).
- K nam priezža-l otec, no vskore u-exa-l.

To us arrive.IPF-PST father but in.a.rush PFV-go-PST

'Father came to see us, but went away again soon'

(example from Rassudova 1968).

Hindi, Lilooet Salish, Thai, and Karachai-Balkar

- The Perfective allows for reference to incomplete situations, which is expected from the Imperfect.
- Hindi (Arunachalam & Kothari 2010)
 maayaa-ne biskuT-ko khaa-yaa,
 Maya-ERG cookie-ACC eat-PFV
 par use puuraa nahiin khaa-yaa
 but it-ACC finish not eat-PFV
 'Maya ate the cookie, but did not finish it'

- Lilooet Salish (St'át'imcets) (Bar-el et al 2005)
- (4) máys-en-lhkan ti q'láxan-a, t'u7 cw7ay t'u7 kw-s tsúkw-s-an fix-TR-ISG.SU DET fence-DET but NEG just DET-NOM finish-CAU-ISG.ERG 'I fixed a fence, but I didn't finish.'
- Thai (Koening & Muansuwan 2001)
- (6) Surii teeŋ kloon khurn tee jarj maj sed
 Surii compose poem ascend but still not finish

'Surii composed a/the poem, but has not finished it yet.'

Conclusions for SLA

- The SLA process can be argued to involve:
 - The acquisition of ingredients inexistent in the LI of the learner.
 - Debate about whether there is a difference in the accessibility of the feature depending on whether it is interpretable (semantic) or not.
 - The re-organization of the form-meaning correspondences if transfer (total or partial).

(Montrul & Slabakova 2003; Lardiere 2008; Arche 2014a; Domínguez, Arche & Myles 2017)

Need to acquire the category

 The case if there is no Aspect in L1 or its semantics is conveyed through different means. See related discussion about Tense:

Theoretical nuances & SLA Illustrative Case

- Domínguez, Arche & Myles 2017
- L2 acquisition of Spanish by English natives
- English & Spanish:
 - Different?
 - How exactly?
 - Need to acquire imperfect?
 - Does English have any imperfective features?
 - The how determines the L2 learning task

English vs Spanish differences

Meaning	Number occasions	Status	English form	Spanish form
Perfective	1	Finished	Past	Preterit
			Marta was ill last Sunday	Marta estuvo enferma el domingo pasado
Continuous			Past	Imperfect
	3	Unfinished	Marta was ill (when I visited her)	Marta estaba enferma (cuando la visité)
Habitual	>1	Period unfinished	Past/Other means (used to/would)	Imperfect/Periphrasis (soler +Inf)
		Each instance finished	Marta used to sing in a choir	Marta cantaba/solía cantar en un coro
Progressive	1	Unfinished	Periphrases (copula + V-ing)	Imperfect/Periphrasis (copula + V-ndo)
			Marta was singing when we arrived.	Marta cantaba/estaba cantando cuando llegamos.

Table 1. Characteristics of Perfective and Imperfective in English and Spanish

Semantics-Morphology correspondences

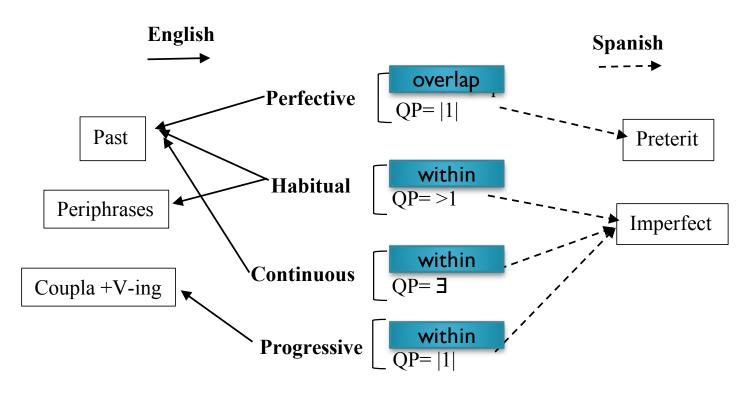


Figure 1. Mapping of features of Aspect (Asp) and the quantifier <occasions> (Q) for the perfective and imperfective (habitual, continuous and progressive) onto corresponding forms in English and in Spanish.

Previous premises to settle re: acquisition

- The process of L2 acquisition.
- Lardiere 2005, 2008, 2009; Lardiere & Hwang 2013.

Transfer of features + Reassembly into new (functional) categories

Chomsky 2000, 2004.

First Language Acquisition: feature selection from UG + assembly

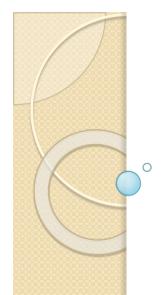
$$C_{HL}$$

I. $F \longrightarrow [F_{LI}]$ 2. $[F_{LI}] \longrightarrow Lex_{LI} = \{LIs\}$

Selection Assembly

Predictions for SLA

- Assuming Transfer of Semantics
- English speakers may accept the Imperfect in the appropriate contexts but they may not reject the use of the Preterit in 'continuous' and 'habitual' contexts --- reassembly of an existing feature onto a new form is required.
- Acute issues in differentiating imperfective vs perfective (states) —no ancillary periphrasis exits to aid associating right.



The study

Participants

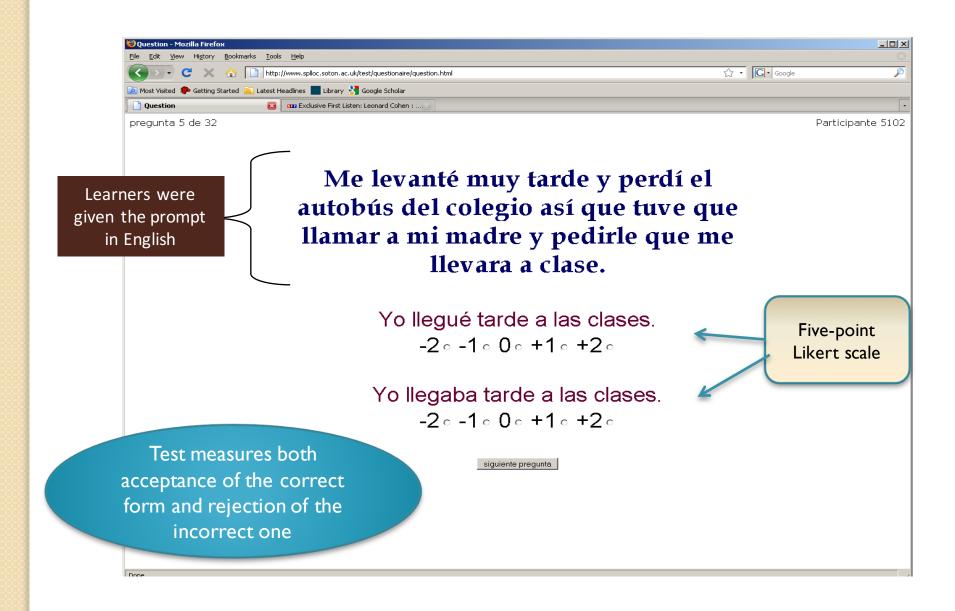
Group	Number	Age	Hours of Instruction
Year 10	20	14-15	c200
Year 13	20	17-18	c500
Undergraduates	20	21-23	Post Year Abroad
Native Speakers	15	14-28	n/a

Comprehension task

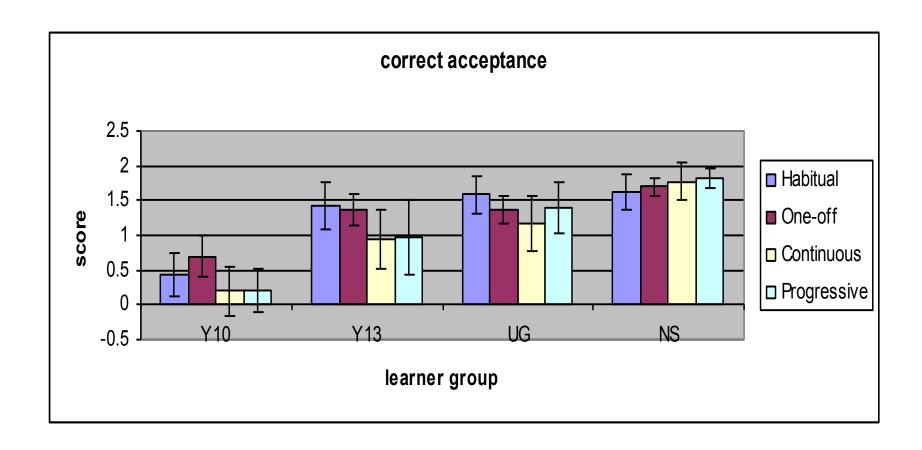
- Sentence-context matching task
- 32 sentences

CONTEXT	TYPE OF PREDICATE	TARGET FORM
Habitual	Eventive	Imperfect
Habitual	Stative	Imperfect
One-off event	Eventive	Preterit
One-off event	Stative	Preterit
Continuous	Stative	Imperfect
Progressive	Eventive (non-achievements)	Imperfect
Progressive	Eventive (achievements) coercion	Imperfect

Comprehension Task



Results



Results

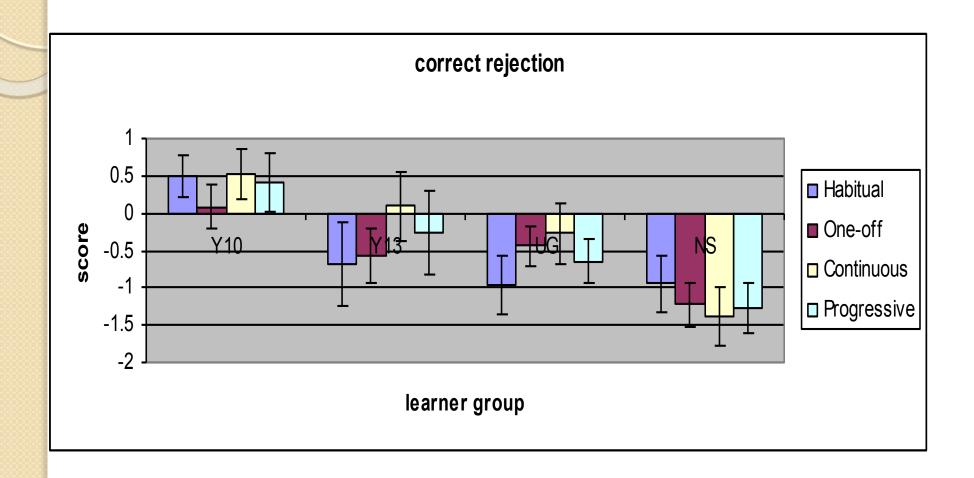


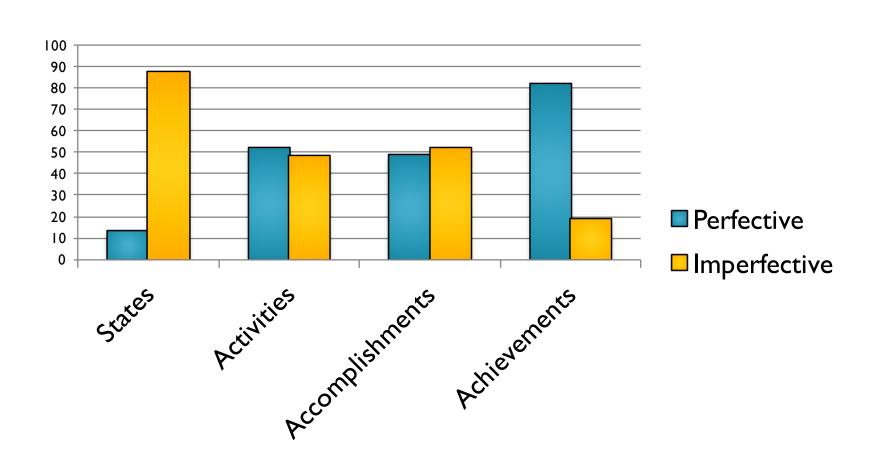
Figure 2. Mean acceptance and rejection scores for the two input sentences across contexts. *Notes.* HAB-EVENT = habitual event; HAB-STA = habitual state; ONE-OFF EVEN = one-off event; ONE-OFF STA = one-off state; CONT-STA = continuous state; PROG-EVENT = progressive event; NS = native speaker; Y10 = year 10; Y13 = year 13; UG = undergraduate students.

R E S U L T S

Discussion

- Problems with the imperfective, not as a whole, but with certain interpretations.
- Problems with the habitual are not high in the comprehension data.
- Even at high levels of proficiency, persistent problems in rejecting the preterit in imperfective contexts with the continuous meaning.
- That is, the imperfective with STATES is not acquired at late stages.
- Although it is a form early produced with states
- Alternative explanation?
- Frequency in the input (Arche, Domínguez & Myles 2018)

Task tokens in native corpus (Davies 2002)



Conclusions

- SLA analysis has to take detailed crosslinguistic differences into account.
- SLA analysis has to be narrowed down to the fine detail.

THANKYOU



- Altshuler, Daniel. 2014. A typology of partitive aspectual operators. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 32, 3:
- Arche, M.J. 2014a. About the primitives of aspect across languages. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 32, 3: 711-733.
- Arche, María J. 2014b. The construction of viewpoint aspect: the imperfective revisited.
 Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 32, 3: 791-831.
- Arche, Domínguez & Myles. 2018. The seeds of aspect. Paper given at the University Pompeu Fabra,
 22 March

- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89– 155. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Dahl, Östen, & Velupillai, Viveka. 2011.
 Perfective/imperfective aspect. In: The world atlas of language structures online, ed. Matthew S.
 Dryer and Martin Haspelmath. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, feature 65A. Accessed at http://wals.info/feature/65A.
- Domínguez, L., M.J. Arche & F. Myles. 2017. Spanish Imperfect revisited: exploring L1 influence in the reassembly of imperfective features onto new L2 forms. Second Language Research 33.: 431-457.

- Lardiere, Donna. 2008. Feature-assembly in second language acquisition. In *The role of formal features in second language acquisition*, ed. Juana Liceras, Helen Goodluck, and Helmut Zobl, 107–40. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Lin, Jo-Wang. 2012. Tenselessness. In The Oxford handbook of tense and aspect, ed. Robert I. Binnik, 669-695. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Matthewson, Lisa 2006. <u>Temporal semantics in a supposedly tenseless language</u>. Linguistics and Philosophy 29: 673–713.
- Montrul, S and Slabakova, R. (2003). Competence similarities between native and near-native speakers: An investigation of the preteriteimperfect contrast in Spanish. Studies in Second Language Acquisition 25, 351–398.
- Ritter, Elisabeth, and Martina Wiltschko. 2014. The composition of INFL. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 32, 4: 1331-1386.
- Verkuyl, Henk J. 1993. A theory of aspectuality: The interaction between temporal and atemporal structure. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.