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On the Cancellability of an Achievement-Implicature in Japanese

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In this research, we deal with sentences in which a transitive verb and the corresponding intransitive verb are used in the first conjunct and the second conjunct, respectively, as illustrated by the following:

- a. * Mado-o aketa kedo, akanakatta. window-ACC opened but didn't open (lit.) 'I opened the window, but it didn't open.'
 - b. Daikon-o nita kedo, nienakatta.
 Japanese white radish-ACC boiled but didn't boil
 (lit.) 'I boiled Japanese white radish, but it didn't boil.'

In each of these sentence, the first conjunct usually implies that the goal intended by the action denoted by the verb phrase has been successfully achieved (we will henceforth call this implication "Achievement-implicature"). The second conjunct, on the other hand, describes the situation in which the intended goal is not achieved, and therefore it should be semantically incompatible with the first conjunct. For example, (1a) is unacceptable because the first conjunct implying the achievement of the goal (i.e., the window is open) contradicts the second conjunct, which shows that the window is not open. What is interesting, however, is that there are some cases in which this type of sentence is acceptable, that is, achievement-implicature is cancelled, as in (1b). In what follows, we will mainly discuss what gives rise to the difference in cancellability between (1a) and (1b).

We claim that the cancellability of the achievement-implicature is conditioned by the aspectual property of the verb phrase in the first conjunct. The verb phrases in (1a) and (1b) exhibit different aspectual properties when they are followed by the progressive or perfective aspect marker *te-iru*, as in (2a,b) and (3a,b).

- (2) a. Mado-o ake-te-iru. window-ACC open be-PRES 'I have opened the window.'
 - b. Mado-ga ai-te-iru.window-NOM open be-PRES'The window is open.'
- (3) a. Daikon-o ni-te-iru.

 Japanese white radish-ACC boil be-PRES

 'I am boiling Japanese white radish.'

b. Daikon-ga nie-te-iru.

Japanese white radish-NOM boil be-PRES

'The Japanese white radish is cooked (through).'

(2a) usually implies (2b), but (3a) does not necessarily imply (3b). This shows that the verb phrase, *mado-o akeru* implies the achievement of the goal, while *daikon-o niru* does not. It is concluded from the observation that the achievement-implicature can be cancelled when the first conjunct includes the verb phrase which does not imply the achievement of the goal.

This is not the whole story, however. Let us consider the following sentence.

(4) ok/?Denki-o tuketa kedo, tukanakatta.

light-ACC turned on but didn't come on

(lit.) 'I switched on the lights, but they didn't come on.'

The acceptability of this example varies among native speakers. Roughly speaking, they are divided between those who consider (4) totally acceptable and those who consider it less deviant than (1a). We can explain the judgement of the former in terms of the aspectual property of the verb phrase *denki-o tukeru*. For them, (5a) does not necessarily imply (5b) and therefore the first conjunct in (4) can be cancelled for the same reason as the one in (1b) is cancelable.

(5) a. Denki-o tuke-te iru.

light -ACC turned on be-PRES

'I have turned the light on.'

b. Denki-ga tui-te iru.

light-NOM come on be-PRES

'The light has been on.'

On the other hand, we need another explanation for the judgement of the latter. For them, the aspectual property of the verb phrase in question is the same as that of the verb phrase *mado-o akeru*, since (5a) implies (5b). This predicts that (4), like (1a), is unacceptable. Nevertheless, they think (4) as marginally acceptable. Related to this fact is that we have the knowledge that the action of pushing a switch does not necessarily have the consequence that the light turns on. For example, we can easily imagine a situation where the light does not turn on because of the trouble with an electric system. This encyclopedic knowledge of the world enables us to think that the verb phrase *denki-o tukeru* does not imply the achievement of the goal and that (4) is more acceptable than (1a).

In conclusion, achievement-implicature can be cancelled when the first conjunct includes a verb phrase that does not imply the achievement of the goal intended by the action. In other words, it can be cancelled when the first conjunct is interpreted as focusing solely on the action but not on the goal. We have argued that there are two factors which contribute to producing this interpretation, the aspectual property of the verb phrase and our encyclopedic knowledge about the event described by the verb phrase.