한국언어정보학회　　소 식　　제 13 호 (1998년 6월)

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㉮ 6월 13일 모임 안내: 초청연사 발표 추가

이번 학기의 마지막 모임에서는 이스라엘 Bar Ilan 대학의 Adam Zachary Wyner 교수를 초청하게 되어 발표자가 1명 늘었습니다.　이 교수는 Modification, Adverbs, Event, Discourse Theory 등과 관련된 주제에 대해 많은 연구를 하고 있는데, 이번에는 "A Discourse Theory of Manner and Factive Adverbial Modification"이라는 제목으로 발표를 합니다.　꼭 참석하셔서 토론과 의견 교환이 활발하게 이루어질 수 있게 해주시기 바랍니다.　그리고 남승호 교수의 발표논문 제목이 "The Semantics of 'before/if' and Negative Polarity"로 바뀌었으니 참고해 주시기 바랍니다.

㉯ 언어와 정보 창간호 발송 완료, 원고 모집

우리 모임의 학회지 언어와 정보 (ISSN: 1226-7430) 창간호가 회원 여러분들에게 모두 발송되었습니다.　1997년도 회비를 냈지만 아직 책을 받지 못하신 분은 즉시 총무에게 연락해 주시기 바랍니다.　올 해 6월에 발간될 예정이었던 2권 1호가 조금 늦어져서 8월말 정도에 나올 예정입니다.　앞으로 출판될 학회지에 실릴 논문의 원고를 수시로 모집하고 있으니 회원 여러분들의 적극적인 협조를 바랍니다.　원고는 편집인 이현우 교수 (인하대학교 영어교육과)에게 보내 주시기 바랍니다 (032-860-7857 (O), 032-816-6795 (H), hylee@dragon.inha.ac.kr).

㉰ 회원 가입 및 회비 납부 안내

본 학회에 회원으로 가입하기를 원하시는 분은 총무에게 알려 주시기 바랍니다.　학기당 회비는 일반 회원이 15,000원이며 학생 회원은 3,000원입니다.　회비는 발표회 모임에서 직접 내시든지 은행 구좌로 간사에게 송금해 주시면 됩니다 (예금주: 이하원, 구좌번호: 132-20-202434, 제일은행 한국외국어대 지점).

㉱ 6월 13일 모임 발표자의 논문 초록

The Semantics of "before/if" and Negative Polarity
남 승 호 (서울대학교)

The goal of the paper is two-fold: (i) to propose a proper semantics of 'before' with reference to other temporal connectives; and (ii) to give a unified semantic account of the distribution of negative polarity items (NPIs, henceforth) in Korean and Japanese. As for the semantics of 'before', extending Landman's (1991) claim that 'before' be interpreted as a decreasing function/operator, we argue that the connective should be interpreted as denoting an anti-additive function, which is "more negative than simply decreasing functions." We treat, unlike Landman (1991), 'before'-clause as a predicate (or VP) modifier, so as denoting a function from properties into properties. Based on the semantics of 'before' and its counterpart in Korean and Japanese, we support the semantic typology of negative polarity items proposed by Nam (1994) and Van der Wouden (1994).

The Semantics of *Before*

Based on Ladusaw's observation of NPI-licensing in 'before'-clauses, we refute simple-minded semantics of 'before/after' such as Luce (1966) and Anscombe (1964), who take both 'before' and 'after' as monotone increasing propositional operators. The entailment patterns of the sentences with 'before', further, reveal that 'before' should be interpreted as a monotone decreasing function.

In order to account for Ladusaw's observation, Landman (1991) interprets 'before' as a monotone decreasing function (defined in Appendix). **Landman (1991)** interprets "p before q at some time t_0", $pBq(t_0)$, as in (1) below. This semantics interprets 'before' as decreasing on its first argument (i.e., the proposition q, in (4)). We show that Landman's semantics accounts for the intuitive entailment patterns in negative as well as positive contexts.

(1) $pBq(t_0)$ iff $\exists t_1 < t_0 [p(t_1)$ & $\forall t_2 [t_2 < t_0$ & $q(t_2) \dashrightarrow t_1 < t_2]]$

This paper identifies NPIs licensed in 'before/if'-clauses in Korean/Japanese and English, and argues further that these NPIs are not simply weak NPIs which can be licensed by a decreasing operator, but that they are **strong NPIs** which need an anti-additive operator to be licensed. Due to the typology of NPIs proposed in Nam (1994) and Van der Wouden (1994), we can properly characterize the meaning of 'before/if' as an anti-additive function, which licenses strong negative polarity items as well as weak ones (see Appendix for the semantic typology of NPIs in Nam (1994)). Unlike Landman (1991), we interpret 'before'-clause as denoting a predicate modifier (adverbial clause) interpreted as follows:

(2) 'before' of type $<t,<<e,t>,<e,t>>>$
$= \lambda p \lambda Q \lambda x \lambda t\ [\exists t_1 < t[Q(x)(t_1)$ & $\forall t_2[t_2 < t$ & $p(t_2) \rightarrow t_1 < t_2]]]$

We also claim that the conditional connective 'if' should be interpreted as an anti-additive function due to a conventional implicatur triggered by conditionals. Furthermore, this paper supports the semantic typology of NPIs by identifying **strong** NPIs as well as **strongest** ones in Korean and Japanese.

한국어와 영어에서 명사구와 시간 부사구의 상호작용에 대한 의미론적 분석
김 용 환 (양산대학)

이 논문의 목적은 한국어와 영어에서 명사구와 시간 부사구의 상호작용을 Link (1983, 1987b)와 Krifka (1989, 1992)의 대수의미론 틀내에서 분석하고자 한다. Verkyul (1972, 1987, 1989, 1993)의 plus 이론에 의하면, 다음과 같은 예들의 telicity를 설명할 수 없다.

(1) a. Nobody read two books through. [+ TELIC]
b. John read no books through. [+ TELIC]
c. Only John read two books. [+/- TELIC]
d. John read only two books. [+/- TELIC]
e. John only read two books. [+/- TELIC]
f. John pulled on the rope. [- TELIC]

Verkyul의 PLUG-문법에 의하면, 영(zero)과 공집합을 동일시 한다.

(2) DET1 NO $<=>$ $\lambda U \lambda V \mid U \cap V \mid = 0$
DET2 ⟦ no ⟧ = ⟦ ∅ ⟧ (NO)
$\lambda D \lambda X \lambda P \exists W\ [\ W \subseteq X \wedge D(X)(W) \wedge \exists Q_{ps}\ W\ [Q = P|X]]$
$(\lambda U \lambda V \mid U \cap V \mid = 0)$

명사를 물질명사와 가산명사로 구분하는 대신 cumulative nominal과 quantized nominal로 구분하는 것이 타당하며, cumulative nominal은 지속의미를 지닌 시간 부사구 (예를 들면, for an hour)와 결합하여 [- TELIC]을 나타내며, quantized nominal은 종결의미를 지닌 시간 부사구 (예를 들면, in an hour)와 결합하여

[+ TELIC]을 나타낸다.

시간 부사구와 관련된 의미 해석상의 차이를 즉 부분 해석(partitive reading)과 반복 해석(iterative reading), 그리고 완료상과 비완료상을 다루고자 한다.

(3) a. 존이 그 책을 한시간 동안 읽었다. (imperfective/partitive reading)
       $\lambda P \lambda x' \exists x\ [\ P(x) \wedge x' \leq x\ ]$
    b. 한시간 동안 존이 그 책을 읽었다. (imperfective)
    c. 존이 그 편지를 한 시간 동안에/만에 읽었다. (perfective)
    d. 한 시간 동안에/만에 존이 그 편지를 읽었다. (perfective)

끝으로, 문장의 telicity는 어떻게 결정되며, 어떤 문법 범주가 telicity를 결정하는 주 요인인지를 분석하고자 한다. 즉 [- TELIC] 자질을 지닌 동사구는 지속 시간 부사구와 합성을 하며, [+ TELIC] 자질을 지닌 동사구는 종결 시간 부사구와 일반적으로 합성을 한다. 문장의 telicity는 문법 범주들 사이에 존재하는 telicity의 지배 관계에 의해 결정이 된다는 것을 알 수 있다. 이러한 지배 관계는 한국어와 영어에서 서로 차이가 있다는 것을 알 수 있다. 또한 한국어와 영어에 있어서 시간 부사구의 위치에 따른 의미 해석상의 차이도 있다.

A Discourse Theory of Manner and Factive Adverbial Modification
Adam Zachary Wyner (Bar Ilan University)

In this paper, I demonstrate similarities between sentences with manner and factive adverbs and discourses with correlated adjectives which predicate of a pronoun which refers to an antecedent event or fact; in particular, the adverbial cases in (1) have essentially the same interpretation as the discourse cases in (2).

(1a) Bill kissed Jill passionately.   (1b) Stupidly, Bill kissed Jill.
(2a) Bill kissed Jill. It was passionate.   (2b) Bill kissed Jill. It was stupid.

These parallels are extended to negation and quantification. I make the analogy to similar observations in the domain of nominal anaphora.

I argue that the intrasentential adverbial cases should be analyzed in terms of the intersentential adjectival cases.   I provide an account, the Discourse Theory of adverbial modification, for the intersentential cases using a version of Discourse Representation Theory (Asher, 1993), then extend it to the intrasentential cases. I show that this theory is superior to the current and widespread "Association Theory" of adverbial modification, in which particular sorts of adverbs are adjoined to particular adjunction sites. Furthermore, I show that adverbs need not be analyzed as combinators with respect to events or facts.

Attitudes of *de se* and Anaphora
이 현 우 (인하대학교)

This paper is concerned with the proper characterization of *de se* in relation with anaphora. I first argue that contra Chierchia (1989) and Reeves (1996), the notion of *de se* is not truth-conditionally definable or syntactically representable. Instead I argue that it is best accounted for in terms of conventional implicature. I would then like to discuss the data in which the de se/non de se distinction is not limited to long distance anaphora but plays a crucial role in the choice of short distance anaphors.

Reeves (1996) assigns a de se reading to (1), but a non de se one to (2).

(1)   Jon$_i$ telur   adh Maria hafi   svikidh   sig$_i$
        J   believes   that   M   has<SBJ> betrayed   self
(2)   Jon$_i$ telur   adh Maria hafi   svikidh   hann$_i$
        J   believes   that   M   has<SBJ> betrayed   him

He claims that (1) is true only if Jon is aware that it is himself that he believes Maria to have betrayed but it would be false under circumstances that do not include some such belief on Jons part. He further remarks that the use of the pronoun *hann* in (2) may allow the speaker of (2) to remain agnostic about Jon's perspectival relation to the proposition that Maria betrayed him: in a situation where Jon comes to the conclusion, through reading or hearing a report, that Maria has betrayed someone and he fails to realize is that the betrayed person reported about is him, a non de se reading would hold.

The above truth-conditional distinction incorporates the de se effect into the meaning of the sentence that contains *sig*, no contextual restriction is imposed on the utterance of (1). Suppose (1) is made in the circumstance in which Reeves's theory predicts (1) to be false but (2) to be true. On Reeves's account, utterance (1) will be judged to be a <u>false</u> statement, but not to be an <u>inappropriate</u> one. There is nothing wrong with the use of (1) since no one is required to make all and only true statements. This contradicts the native speakers intuition in that utterance (1) is infelicitous in such contexts. In addition, there seems to be no need to complicate the semantics of belief ascription. In the proposed analysis, sentences (1) and (2) have the same truth conditions, but differ in that an utterance of (1) conventionally implicates that Jon knows that it is himself that he believes Maria to have betrayed.

The contrast between (3a) and (3b) shows that the de se/non de se distinction is crucial in the choice of locally bound anaphors.

(3)a.   John-un   mwuuysik cwung-ey cakicasin-ul pipanhayssta.
        John-Top unconsciously   self-Acc   criticized
     b.   ?*John-un mwuuysik cwung-ey susulo-lul pipanhayssta.
        John-Top unconsciously   self-Acc   criticized

Both *cakicasin* and *susulo* are locally bound, but (3b) is anomalous. This fact is accounted for by assuming that an utterance of the latter conventionally implicates that the referent of its antecedent has a perspectival relation with the proposition of the sentence it contains.

Numeral Classifiers and Incremental Theme
이 정 민 (서울대학교)

We are interested in showing how the notion of Incremental Theme (Dowty 1991) or quantization (Krifka 1997) is achieved by means of numeral classifiers in Korean. The event associated with an Incremental Theme like 'an apple' in 'eat an apple' is telic and involves a homomorphism from its Theme argument denotations into a domain of events. In no-article numeral classifier languages like Korean, a bare common noun, as in 사과를 먹었다, has many faces: a mass noun face, a definite NP face, a kind name face, etc. In a non-cumulative quantized context like 'eat an apple,' a numeral classifier construction such as 사과 한 개 is used. The classifier selects a possible head N and the violation of selection restriction creates graded sortal incorrectness. The domain of the common noun entity is doubly restricted: it must first belong to the classifier domain semantically congruent with the common noun domain. Numeral classifier quantization is normally based upon folk taxonomically homogeneous intra-kind/species, not upon heterogeneous inter-kind/species membership. For instance, even if the classifier *mari* applies to all the kinds of animals ranging from a bacteria to a horse, we do not apply the numeral classifier [Numeral *mari*] to a mixture of cows and cats and bacteria. (Here, basic categories matter.) Consider:

(1) mari = λn {x | Card(x) = n $\wedge$ animal$_{subkind}$(x)}

This talk will also treat some aspect of 'floating' of numeral classifiers as well as scrambling and specificty. Its relation to the plural marker -들 will also be considered.

Quantized/non-quantized Theme with aspectual verb is studied. Pustejovsky and Bouillon's (1994) claim is criticized. Their claim is that the direct complement of an aspectual verb 'begin' must be quantized and otherwise it is ungrammatical. Mineur & Buitelaar's (1996) use of existential quantifier (∃) must be reconsidered to make clear the numerical concept. It must also be associated with a sortal unit in a classifier language, and further, with a telic event (e_{telic}) but not with an atelic event.

⊞ 1998학년도 1학기 연구 발표회 계획 (한국언어정보학회): 제 36호

일시: 3/21, 4/18, 5/16, 6/13 (토) 9:30 a.m.
장소: 대우재단 빌딩 (서울역 앞 대우 빌딩 뒤) 세미나실
발표 시간: 초청 논문--60분, 일반 논문--30분

3월 21일 (토), 9:30 a.m.
기획: 전영철 (서울대) "The Syntax-Semantics Interface of Genericity"
일반: 이민행 (연세대) "독일어의 초점 통사론과 초점 불변화사 이동 이론"
일반: 강범모 (고려대) "컴퓨터의, 컴퓨터에 의한 텍스트 장르 분석"

4월 18일 (토), 9:30 a.m.
기획: 이동영 (서울대) "Resolving Honorific Pronouns in Dialogue on the Basis of Social Status Information"
일반: 최승권/이민행 (SERI/연세대) "독-한 명사구 기계번역 연구"
일반: 윤영은 (이화여대) "Double Quantifier Binding in Double-*if* Clauses"
일반: 노용균 (충남대) "부가어 부착으로서의 대등접속 (Coordination as Adjunction)"

5월 16일 (토), 9:30 a.m.
기획: 채희락 (한국외대) "Complements vs. Adjuncts (in Korean)"
일반: 김종복 (경희대) "On the Mixed Properties of Pseudo Relative Clauses"
일반: 윤재학 (경희대) "Korean Exceptives and Their Implications"
일반: 김용범 (광운대) "한정사 -도의 의미와 강조"

6월 13일 (토), 9:30 a.m.
일반: 남승호 (서울대) "The Semantics of 'before/if' and Negative Polarity"
일반: 김용환 (양산대) "한국어와 영어에서 명사구와 시간 부사구의 상호 작용에 대한 의미론적 분석"
초청: Adam Zachary Wyner (Bar Ilan Univ., Israel) "A Discourse Theory of Manner and Factive Adverbial Modification"
일반: 이현우 (인하대) "Attitudes of *de se* and Anaphora"
일반: 이정민 (서울대) "Numeral Classifiers and Incremental Theme"

대우재단 빌딩의 주차장이 협소하고 주차권 발급이 한정되어 있사오니 (5매), 가급적 대중 교통 수단을 이용하여 주십시오.
발표 및 휴식 시간을 지킬 수 있도록 발표자와 참석자들께서 협조해 주시기 바랍니다.
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