

## 1. 한국언어정보학회 2004년 여름학술대회 논문모집

◆ 개최 일자 및 장소: 2004년 6월 18일(금) - 19일(토) 성신여자대학교

◆ 논문 제출 분야: 논문 제출 분야에 제한이 없습니다. 통사론, 의미론, 화용론, 언어처리, 언어습득 등을 포함한 언어학의 제 분야에서 이루어지고 있는 연구 내용을 공모합니다.

◆ 주요 일정:

1. 2003년 4월 24일(토): 논문 요약문 마감 논문 요약문의 분량은 2쪽 이내로 작성하여 전송(email)하여 주시거나 우편으로 보내주시기 바랍니다. 요약문에는 필자의 이름을 넣지 않고, 별도의 A4 용지에 논문 제목과 저자명, 소속 기관, 연락처(email, 주소, 연락 전화)를 적어 보내주시면 됩니다. 전송하실 때는 필자정보를 전송편지 본문에 적어 주십시오. 제출처는 아래 있습니다. 제출한 논문 요약문은 프로그램 위원회의 심사를 거친 후 선정된 것에 한하여 저자들에게 개별적으로 통보하겠습니다.

2. 2003년 5월 15일(토): 논문 요약문 심사 결과 통보

3. 최종 논문(camera ready) 제출 마감: 우편 접수 및 전자우편 접수 6월 5일(토) 제출 논문의 형식에 대해서는 추후 언어정보학회 홈페이지 (http://society.kordic.re.kr/~ksli)를 통해 안내하겠습니다.

◆ 2004 여름 학술 대회 조직 및 프로그램 위원회 조직위원장: 정소우 프로그램 위원장: 남승호

조직 및 프로그램 위원:

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# 2. [언어와 정보] 논문 모집

[언어와 정보]에 실을 원고를 수시로 모집하고 있습니다. 심사용 논문은 자유로운 스타일로 아래아 한글이나 MS Word로 작성하셔도 됩니다. 어느 경우이든 꼭 논문요약을 포함시켜 주시기 바라고, 그 외 논문의 스타일은 학회 홈페이지(http://society.kordic.re.kr/~ksli/)에 자세히 소개되어 있으니 참 조하시기 바랍니다. 투고하실 분은 다음 주소로 보내주시기 바랍니다.

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◆ 논문 게재와 관련된 비용들이 아래와 같이 조정되었습니다.

심사료: 없음 게재료: 연구비 지원을 받지 않은 논문: 전임 50,000원, 비전임 20,000원, 연구비 지원을 받은 논문: 전임/비전임 150,000원 라텍 전환비: 20,000원

## 3. 회원 가입 안내

2003년도 학회 연회비는 정회원 20,000원, 준회원 10,000원이며, 기관회원 100,000원, 평생회비는 250,000원입니다. 연회비는 발표회 모임에서 직접 내시든지 다음 은행 계좌로 송금하시면 됩니다. (예금주: 한국언어정보학회, 계좌번호 012336-01-001683, 우체국)

## 4. PACLIC 18 안내

- ◆ 일시: 2004 년 12 월 8 일(수) 10 일(금)
- ◆ 장소: 일본 와세다대학
- ◆ 홈페이지: http://www.decode.waseda.ac.jp/PACLIC18/index.html

### ◆ 주요 일정

Submissions due: July 26 (Monday), 2004 Reviews due: Aug 16 (Monday), 2004 Notification of acceptance sent: August 30 (Monday), 2004 Final versions due: October 25 (Monday), 2004 Early registration until: October 25 (Monday), 2004

 PACLIC18 Program Committee Honorary Chair Akira IKEYA, Toyo Gakuen University, Tokyo Co-Chairs Chu-Ren HUANG, Academia Sinica, Taipei Beom-mo KANG, Korea University, Seoul Members Hee-Rahk CHAE, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Yongin Jason S. CHANG, National Tsing Hua University, Hsinchu Takao GUNJI, Kobe Shoin Women's University, Kobe Koichi HASIDA, Cyber Assist Research Center, AIST Tokyo Waterfront, Tokyo Minpyo HONG, Myong Ji University, Seoul Akira ISHIKAWA, Sophia University, Tokyo Ikumi IMANI, Nagoya Gakuin University, Nagoya Donghong JI, Laboratories for Information Technology, Singapore Youngchul JUN, Seoul National University, Seoul Sue-Jin KER, Soochow University, Taipei Chiharu KIKUTA, Doshisha University, Kyoto Olivier KWONG, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Tom LAI, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Chungmin LEE, Seoul National University, Seoul Ik-Hwan LEE, Yonsei University, Seoul Minhaeng LEE, Yonsei University, Seoul Meichun LIU, National Chiaotung University, Hsinchu Kim Teng LUA, Chinese and Oriental Languages Information Processing Society, Singapore Yuji MATSUMOTO, Nara Institute of Science and Technology, Nara Yoshiki MORI, Tsukuba University, Tsukuba Yoshihiko NITTA, Nihon University, Tokyo Yongkyoon NO, Chungnam National University, Daejeon Naoyuki ONO, Tohoku University, Sendai Byung-Soo PARK, Kyung Hee University, Seoul Lily I-wen SU, National Taiwan University, Taipei Shu-Chuan TSENG, Academia Sinica, Taipei Hui WANG, National University of Singapore, Singapore Jhing-fa WANG, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan Jie XU, National University of Singapore, Singapore Kei YOSHIMOTO, Tohoku University, Sendai

# 5. **회원** 소식

ㄱ. 이예식 교수님(경북대)이 연구년을 마치시고 귀국하셨습니다. 반갑습니다.

 ∟. 이정민 교수님(서울대)이 2월 26-28일에, Shoin Women's U(일본 고베)에서 열린 Workshop on Conditionals and Modality (Gunji, Takubo, 이정민, 염재일, Sells, Kaufmann, von Fintel이 참여하는 일본정부 3년 연구과제의 일환)에 염재일 교수님과 같이 참가하여 논문을 발표하셨습니다. 또한 4월 15-17일에 CLS 40에서 'Scalar Implicature Suspension and Polarity'를 발표하셨습니다

# 6. 공지 사항

ㄱ. 이번 월례 모임은 종전의 9:30이 아니라 10시 정각에 시작합니다.

L. 5월 월례 모임은 5월 15일에 장소를 바꾸어 서울대에서 열립니다. 화창한 계절에 회원들 간의 친
 목을 도모하고자 논문 발표 후에 관악산 등반 (2-3시간 소요), 테니스 등을 준비하고 있습니다. 미리
 일정을 잡아 두어 많은 분들이 참가하실 수 있기를 고대합니다.

# 7. 발표논문초록

#### 이동동사와 '들-다'/'나-다' 이정민 (서울대)

#### 1. Introduction

This paper examines how change of location is related to change of state or transition, particularly in the case of tul-/na- (K) and hairu/deru (J) 'enter'/ 'exit.'1 Their process subevent is not explicit.

Change of state (qualities) is structurally analogous to change of location, with its pre-change state Source and post-change state Goal. Change always involves a shift from  $\neg P$  to P in state as well as in location through the flow of time. Our verbs of 'enter'/'exit' involve the subevents of result state inside (of) and outside (of), point-monotone increasing and decreasing respectively (Zwarts and Winter 2000), but when the dynamic process of motion with Path is included, 'exit' is not monotonic; the Source space counts. Shift in state is more abstract. For motion, deictic verbs are added in K/J. Abstraction causes reduction in arguments and other syntactic forms.

When transition becomes mental/psychological, it becomes even more abstract. As seen in kincangkam-ul coseng-ha-ta 'build tension,' indirect constitutive causation changes to experienced (direct) causation.

#### 2. Change of Location Expressions

The verb class of 'paint'/'smear'/'stuff'/'wrap' show alternation cross-linguistically (Kim 1999, Lee et al 1999). The globally affected result state of the derived Theme turned Goal is rather clear. This corresponds to Jackendoff's (1996) 'final-distributive' as opposed to 'Path-distributive' of spray. The latter gives more weight on manner and Path and disallows alternation in K/J. Korean shows the following types of transitive motion verbs:

(1(4)) Type A: neh- 'put (into)', twu- 'put', noh- 'put (on)', pus- 'pour.'

Type B: tam- 'put (into)', sit- 'load (onto)', pokwanha- 'store.'

- Type C: chaywu- 'fill', machchhwu- 'hit', teph- 'cover', ssa- 'cover', mukk- 'tie', kyenwu- 'aim', kyenyangha- 'aim,' sso-'shoot,' chiwu- 'clear' (with Source). Type D: puthi-, palu-, chilha-, sekk- (Lee, Kang, Nam, Kim '99)
- (2(5)) \*The truck loaded the hay. cf. Store-rooms store things and containers contain things. --- Type B in K.

(3(6)) \* Mary filled water into the bottle.

(Reported to occur in child English, see Gropen, Pinker, et al 1992)

The Type C verbs in K/J is interesting in that they show both Goal PP case frame and Goal Thematization pattern. The latter is impossible in English (see (6)) The case frame of Figure-NOM Goal-ACC is also possible for Type C. The Instrumental case that is attached to Figure in

Thematization involves causation or affecting the derived Theme together with Agent, with Figure being somewhat prominent. That is why Figure in Type C but not in Type D can be a good subject. Otherwise, Type D verbs behave like Type C.

To deal with Type C, underspecification of headedness between the process and the state can be considered. If the motion process is headed the Goal PP appears and if the state subevent is headed the Goal Thematization occurs. This must be distinguished from the achievement type, in which I propose an implicit process (I-process) for the pre-telic stage. Alternatively, because the derived Themes as incremental objects are 'affected' (Lakoff 1970) as well as quantized, we may represent the derived Theme construction as a change-of-state lcp with formal = (globally) affected (e2,  $\langle 2 \rangle$ )[2=GoalSpace], agentive = (e1, move\_act (e1,  $\langle 1 \rangle$ ,  $\langle 3 \rangle$ , ( $\langle 2 \rangle$ ))[3=Figure]. Consumption verbs involve internally 'affected' incremental Themes (cf. Tenny 1987, Dowty 1991) and location change alternation verbs involve externally 'affected' derived Themes as their direct objects, not just positional variants.

### 3. Enter/exit Verbs (and Unaccusativization)

Path verbs of 'enter' and 'exit' in K/J, i.e., tul- and na- (K)/hairu and deru (J) show an interesting development. As pure Path verbs they hardly show any explicit motion/process meaning part in modern Korean but in Japanese they are freely used in the Path interpretation, as in (7), whereas in modern Korean their use in the Path reading is mostly blocked, as in (8a), and extremely limited, although in Middle Korean they were freely used just as in modern Japanese. Consider:

(4(7)) Taro-ga heya-ni hait-ta / heya -kara/-o de -ta
-NOM room-at enter-PAST /room-from/-ACC exit-PAST
'Taro entered/exited from the room.'
(5(8)) a. *Yumi-ka pang-ey tul-ess-ta /pang-eyse na-ss-ta
b. Yumi-ka pang-ey tul-e ka-ess-ta/pang-eyse na-o-ass-ta
c. Yumi-ka pang-ey tul-e ka-ko iss-ta /pang-eyse na-o-ko iss-ta
(6(9)) a. Insu-ka cumak/camcari-ev tul -ess-ta /*tul-ko iss-ta
b. sav-tul-i tungci-ev tul-ess-ta
c. *Insu-ka cumak/camcari-evse na -ass-ta
d. Yumi-ka puek-ul tul-lak-na-l-lak-ha-n-ta
(7(10)) a. uri cip-ev totuk-i tul-ess-ta
b. tongcen-i cikap-ev tul -e iss-ta
c. ?Yumi-ka pang-ev tul -e iss-ta 'Yumi is (confined) in the room.'
d. Yumi-ka kamok-ev tul-e iss-ta
-NOM prison-in enter-RESULTATIVE
'Yumi is (confined) in the prison.'
(8(11)) a. *Inho-nun cumak -kkaci/-uro tul-ess-ta
$h^{2}$ Inho-nun cip-kkaci/-uro tochakha-vess-ta
(9(20)) noin-i kil-ul kenne-ko iss-ta /??kenne-e issta [progressive accomplishment]
(?)noin-un kil-ul kenne-ki-rul machi-ess-ta of *ku-nun ttena-ki-rul machi-ess-ta
(i)hom an an a kenne a ra machi ess ta ei, ata nan tiena ai ra machi ess ta
$(10(21))$ [PROC $\phi$ ] is true at (I, w) iff for some interval I' such that I C I' and I is not a final

(10(21)) [PROG φ] is true at <I, w> iff for some interval I' such that I C I' and I is not a final subinterval for I', and for all w' such that w' Inertia(<I, w>), φ is true at <I', w'>. Dowty (1979)

Progressive kil-ul kenne-ko iss-ta 'crossing the street' denotes part of a complete streetcrossing, which may be interrupted and unrealized. In inertia worlds, without any interruption the old man would have crossed the street---modality-involved. Because of the nature of temporal part, the progressive shows the implicature of temporariness of the event involved. In English, the active sentence of 'cross' is passivized but not that of 'enter' (The street has been crossed by people vs. \*The auditorium was entered by the crowd; cf. ?kil-i kenne-ci-ess-ta 'The street was crossed). The former involves process and the affected (Path-)Theme.<sup>3</sup> Another interesting kind of non-process progressive occurs with the so-called 'criterion predicates' such as break the law, break the promise (Kearns 2003). The sentence In reading the document Jones was breaking the law shows a non-process progressive; break the law has the D - E1 = e2: process-headed; restr =  $e2 \le e1$  and formal = illegal (e1, [1]) in the representation and the progressive can be said to apply to the default event e2 (reading the document or a similar implicit event) with the declaration of the criterion (of being illegal from the formal quale). Achievement verbs like 'arrive' in Korean can hardly take the Path-oriented telic postposition -kkaci 'up to'; the process part of an achievement is cognitively suppressed or backgrounded and is almost not perceived.

For the Japanese hairu 'enter' and deru 'exit' pair, Kita (1999) argues that they lack semantic encoding of motion and therefore discrete change of state must be posited in the set of primitives in addition to motion and location in spatial semantics. But Tsujimura (1999) argues against Kita's claim that the pair of verbs lacks 'motion,' saying that they pattern with motion verbs in Japanese. The controversy is rather natural because the motion part exists physically but not cognitively. Also in Japanese, when the pair of verbs appears in the -te iru form, they are normally not associated with the progressive interpretation, as in (22), according to Kita, but according to Tsujimura, they can give a progressive reading if they have a Source role and a time adverbial reinforcing the action-in-progress, as in (23).

(22) uma-ga	saku –no	naka-ni	hai	-te	iru5	
horse-NOM	fence-GEN	inside-in	nto ent	er		
'A horse has	been in/*is er	ntering th	e fence-	enclosi	ure.'	
(23) uma-ga	ima umago	ya-kara	de -te	iru	(-no o	mitegoaran)
horse-NOM	now barn-f	rom	exit		COMP A	CC look
'(Look at) the	e horse that is	exiting f	rom the l	barn rig	ght now'	
(24) ima mise-ni	hai-te	iru tol	koro	da	iyo.	
now shop-in	enter- PF	ROG rig	ght now	EN	DER	
Intended: "I am	n entering the	shop righ	nt now."			

However, (23) seems to have the predominant reading of result state, even in the given context of focused time adverbial modification with ima, according to most Japanese native speakers I have consulted. To denote a process-progressive or an action-in-progress, a directed motion verb ku-ru 'come' or ik-u 'go' must be used (instead of i-ru 'be, exist'), as in (25). Although one person admits that (24) can be used in the progressive reading in a cell phone conversation situation, others agree that it still shows a result state and say it may be influence of some Western dialects in Japan. There are two forms that correspond to the two interpretations of teiru (a) mise-ni hairi-yoru [progressive] (b) mise-ni hait-toru [result state]. Both of yoru and toru are from 'oru' ('be' for animate themes)(-yoru: attached to infinitival form; -toru: reduction of V-te-oru)(Eri Tanaka, p.c.).

Lack of explicit durative process is responsible for the prohibition of an aspectual verb from co-occurring, as in (26a,b). The durative adverbial is possible to modify the result state, not the process, in (27a,b) and the time span 'in' adverbial is used to modify the preparatory/preliminary stage before the onset of the event of 'enter' or 'exit' in (28a,b). Consider:

(25) uma-ga ima umagoya-kara de-te kuru/iku (-no o mitegoran) horse-nom now barn-from exit come/go (look.at) '(Look at) the horse that is coming/going out of the barn right now.'
(26) a. \*Yumi-wa sono heya-ni hairi-oe-ta (Lit.) 'Yumi finished entering that room.'
b. \*Yumi-wa sono heya-o/-kara de-oe-ta (Lit.)'Yumi finished exiting that room.'
(27) a. Yumi-wa 5 hun (kan) sono heya-ni hait-ta / hait-te i-ta 'Yumi entered and was/stayed in that room for five minutes.'

- b. Yumi-wa 5 hun (kan) sono heya-o/kara ?de-ta / de-te i-ta
  - 'Yumi exited and was outside that room for five minutes.'
- (28) a. Yumi-wa 5 hun-de sono heya-ni hait-ta
   TOP minute.-in that room-in enter-PAST
  'Yumi went into that room in five minutes.'
  - b. Yumi-wa 5 hun-de sono heya-o/kara de-ta 'Yumi went/came out of that room in five minutes.'

In Korean, neither (22) nor (23) is possible in its progressive reading. It is interesting to see that the Japanese counterparts are still widely used in physically motional contexts, though their process-progressive is almost impossible. In both languages, they are combined (co-composed) with the deictic directed motion verbs ka- 'go' and o- 'come' to be freely associated with the progressive form. Therefore, these verbs, without directed motion verbs attached, are felt to denote the transition or change from the 'outside' state to the 'inside' state or vice versa. The two opposite states may be felt to be discrete. Location change develops into state change, still maintaining the flavor of location change. I see this as unaccusativization. Canonical achievements lack agentivity and gets unaccusativized. Pinon's (1997) claim that their nonagentivity is due to their lack of duration does not seem to be entirely tenable; degree achievements are not instantaneous and have duration but lack agentivity (e.g., The snow is gradually melting, The icicle is slowly lengthening). When they become completely unaccusative, they get devoid of agency and come to denote abstract change of state productively. On the other hand, they can take a causative morpheme to produce causative transitive verbs both in Korean and Japanese. Tsujimura (1999) nicely observed the pairs of intransitive-causative in Japanese but did not capture the tendency of the unaccusativity of the intransitives in the pairs. Observe:

(29) Unaccusative- causative

(unac	c) ca	usative	(	(unacc)	causative		
hai	ru ir	eru 'put	in' (J)	deru	desu 'take c	out' (	(J)
tul-	- tu	l-i-	(K)	na-	na-y-	(	(K)
(30) sonnii	n/kaku	-rul	tul-i-ess-ta	а			

In the case of ttu- 'float,' there seems to be an implicit or presupposed, preceding upward motion because of buoyancy but that part may or may not be linguistically encoded in different languages and we can represent its event structure simply as E1 = e1: state, as done for float in English by Pustejovsky (1995), or as follows for ttu- 'float' in Korean:

(31) E1 = e1: state with D-E1 = e2: I-process, Restr = e2 < e1, Head = e1.

E1 = e1:I(mplicit)-Process and E1 = e1:E(xplicit)-process/process.

Then, e1:I-process applies to those verbs of achievement/unaccusative type such as tul- (K), hairu (J) 'enter' and na- (K), deru (J) 'exit' and other verbs that behave similarly.

The event of 'entering a hotel' with the verb tul- in Korean is understood to be instantaneously achieved at a telic point. Then, the lexical semantic representation of the verbs tul- and hairu 'enter' must have:

(33) e1: I-process ande2: state but e2 is headed and e1 is not headed and is implicit.FORMAL = be inside of (e2, x, y)

(inside' =<sub>def</sub> λA. λv.internal(v, A), mapping a set of points to the set of internally closest vectors, Zwarts and Winter 2000)

The result states of be inside of for 'enter' and be outside of are point-monotone increasing and decreasing, respectively (Zwarts and Winter 2000), but when the dynamic process of motion with Path included, 'exit' is not monotonic; the Source is counted, e.g., France-eyse na-ka-ass-ta '(He) exited France' =/=> Paris-eyse na-ka-ass-ta '(He) exited Paris.' The verb ture ka- 'enter' is Goal-oriented and is still monotone increasing. Paris-ey ture-ka-ass-ta '(He) entered Paris' => France-ey ture-ka-ass-ta '(He) entered Paris.'

The Kita-Tsujimura controversy is preceded by Choi & Bowerman (1991)-Kim (1997) controversy in Korean over whether the verb tul- is just Path (Choi & Bowerman) or motion + Path (Kim) in the verb complex of tul-e o-/ka- . In other words, Choi & Bowerman argue that the deictic verb in the complex means motion+ deixis, whereas Kim argues that it only has a deixis meaning. Kim, giving the impossibility of -se insertion as evidence (ku-nun san-ey olla-(\*-se) kass-ta 'He went up the mountain.' But other conformation verbs with -se are grammatical ku-nun san-ul neme-se ka-ss-ta 'He went over the mountain.' Here the motion of 'going' can extend beyond '(moving) over the mountain,' whereas there is one identical Goal telic point for 'rising' and 'going' in (Im 2001). Because the verb tul- lost its explicit motion (process) reading in modern Korean, the deictic verb attached can be said to have overtaken the component of motion instead. That is why progressive is possible with the complex, but not possible with tul-alone.

(34) a. Yumi-nun cam-i tul-ess-ta

- b. Yumi-nun nun-ey meng-i tul -ess-ta 'Yumi got a black eye.'
- c. suyem-i na -ass -ta
- d. Insu-nun elkul-ey hok-i na-ass-ta
- (35) a. Yumi-nun yuhok-ey ppaci-e-tul-ess-ta
  - b. mul-i mwun thum-uro sumi-e-tul-ess-ta
- (36) a. koyangi-ka kay-hanthey tempi-e tul-ess-ta
  - b. talli-e-tu-l 'go at, rush at,' ttwui-e-tul- 'jump onto'
- (37) a. i kos-ey-nun pyeth-i tul-ci anh-nun-ta
  - b. ppang-ey komphangi-ka na-ass-ta
  - c. sako-ka na-ass-ta
- (38) Yumi-nun pan-esyse 10 tung -an-ey tul-ess-ta
- (39) a. Yumi-nun chel-i tul-ess-ta cf. chel-i na-ss-ta
  - b. icey sayngkak-i na-ass-ta
  - c. Yumi-ka cengshin-i na-ss-ta vs. na-ka-ss-ta
  - d. na-nun Yumi-ka maum-ey tu-n-ta

An abstract state (change) is expressed by tul- as in (42') with the perfective form in the verb. Only a fictive motion may initially involve. Otherwise, it is stative with its result state. Mental state changes are expressed by (43a,b) and a psychological state by (43c). These new meanings are generated by co-composition of the verb with mental or psychological nominals, constituting a I-process.state-lcp. The formal quale of the second argument of (43) must be mental/psychological or abastract. In (19a), the Experiencer Topic (the original Goal) undergoes the change or process of mental state from being not sensible to being sensible. The cocomposed predicate chel-i tul- 'become sensible' is a result-salient one as an individual-level predicate and the past form in this case entails the present relevance. In contrast, cengshin-i na- 'become sober' in (43b) is a stage-level predicate. Here, na- means 'come out,' 'come into being,' 'be generated' but na-ka- with its motion verb ka-'go' means 'go out of.' Therefore, when the former combines with cengshin 'spirit,' 'mind' it means 'become sober instantly' but when the latter combines with the mental nominal it means 'go crazy.' In (19c), because of the psychological nominal maum 'heart' the composed predicate becomes a pure psychological predicate, being subject to subjectivity constraint (permitting only the first person Experiencer in the present form). Here, maum is the Experiencer's and it retains the original Loc/Goal marker ey- 'in,' 'at.' This composed predicate is largely a stage-level one. The causative-transitive verb n-ay- 'let out,' derived from na- 'exit,' is also extended to a psychological use, combined with a psychological noun hwa 'anger.' The combined expression hwa-rul n-ay- comes to mean 'get angry, have one's blood up.' (Sue ceased to be in the kitchen and came to be in the living-room cf. Sue went from the kitchen to the living-room.---McCawley )

Unergative (manner) verbs such as run and talli-(K) have internal causation (Levin and Hovav 1995) and agentive exertion of force and therefore can form a pseudo-reflexive in English and a hyperbolic resultative in K unlike unaccusative verbs. Observe:

- (40) I ran myself exhausted.
- (41) a. na-nun cuk-torok tali-ess-ta
  - b. \* na-nun cuk-torok cip-ey tochak-hay-ss-ta (Lee and Lee 2000)
  - c. \* na-nun cuk-torok yekwan-ey tul-ess-ta
- (42) a. na -nun Yumi -eke maum-i kkul-i-n-ta/ka-n-ta
  - b. . na -nun Yumi -ka maum-i kkul-i-n-ta/ka-n-ta
- (43) Yumi-ka nathana-a kincangkam-ul coseng-ha-yess-ta
- (44) Yumi-uy chwulhyen-i maywu kincangkam-ul coseng-ha-yess-ta
  - -of appearance NOM very tension sense-ACC built
  - Lit. 'Yumi's appearance (presence) very built tension.'

Motion verbs and spatial directive prepositions become psychological, when combined with psychological nominals, losing the original physical motion sense. As seen in (43), indirect constitutive causation in the verb coseng-ha- 'build, construct' (with the qualia of [const =  $part_of(z,y)$ ; formal =  $a_result(e2,y)$ ; agentive =  $a_act(e1,x,z)$ ]) changes to experienced (direct) causation (with qualia = [formal =  $a_result(e2,x)$ ; agentive =  $a_act(e1,x, ---)$ ]) and does not need any part of the object such as 'material' (from a default argument). This is 'derived unaccusativity' (Pustejovsky 1995). This allows, I argue, for modification by the degree adverbial maywu 'very' in Korean, as in (45). Furthermore, the progressive form of (45) entails (45), in parallel with 'if Yumi's presence is building tension then Yumi's presence has built tension.' In other words, imperfective paradox disappears because there is no telicity involved any more. When transition becomes mental/psychological, it becomes even more abstract and its structure is reduced, its default argument 'material' and its quale of const =  $part_of(z,y)$  disappearing, unlike in build a house. The progressive form in K/J, V-ko -iss-/V-te iru, can co-occur with psychological/cognitive verbs like 'know' (because of its original (central) coincidence or result state meaning), unlike in English. However, it largely denotes continuation of a psychological/cognitive state and implicates the temporariness of the given event (Lee 1999).

- (45) A predicate P is quantized iff no entity that is P can be a subset of another entity that is P (see Krifka 1998) (Kennedy 2002)
- (46) An event description R is telic iff it applies to events e such that all parts of e that fall under R are initial and final parts of e (see Krifka 1998) (Kennedy 2002)

Most cases of telicity may be dealt with the above definitions but Kennedy (2002) argues that certain degree achievements such as lengthen the icicle for an hour cannot be solved with (46) because an atelic interpretation is possible even when the object argument is quantized. Thus, he proposes that the aspectual behavior of these verbs can be explained in terms of underlying scalar properties of the source verbs, particularly, the structure of "degree of change," d. He posits a degree "increase" function for both positive (such as long) and negative (such as short), having open-scale and closed-scale for respective default atelic and telic interpretations. As numeral classifier languages, K and J exhibit quantization (and distributivity) in terms of

numeral classifiers. Otherwise their nominals remain underspecified, unlike in English (cf Kennedy 2002).

## 4. Removal, Degree Modification and NPIs

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# Right Node Raising in English and Korean: A Computational Approach Yong-hun Lee

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Right Node Raising (RNR) demonstrates interesting properties, and has been one of the hottest topics in syntax. In an English sentence (1), syntaxis raised rightward from both conjuncts. Likewise, in a Korean sentence (3), two elements Chelsoo-ka and cwu-ess-ta are raised rightward. These two sentences (1) and (3) can be interpreted as in (2) and (4) respectively. As you observe, the missing elements of the both conjuncts are fully specified in their semantic interpretations.

There have been several previous studies on the syntactic properties of RNR constructions: RNR as a gapping or as an ellipsis (Hong, 1998) or RNR as a PF deletion (Sohn, 2001). But, most of them mainly focused on syntactic properties of RNR, rather than how to calculate semantic interpretation of RNR from syntactic operations.

The goal of this paper is to provide computational algorithms that can compositionally calculate the semantic interpretations of RNR constructions in English and Korean. Here, computational has dual meaning la Lee (2004). One is operations on representations, and the other is computational implementations. The system developed in this paper presupposes computational implementations, though specific implementational algorithms will not be provided here. In other words, this paper focuses on operations on representations, rather than computational implementations. But, the system introduced in this paper can easily be converted into computer languages.

For this purpose, this paper modifies Steedman's Combinatory Categorial Grammar (CCG;Steedman 1996, 2000), and develops a CCG-like system. In this system, semantic interpretations of RNR constructions are calculated compositionally based on the syntactic operations on the constituents. (5) illustrates how the English sentence (1) can be analyzed in the CCG-like system. The analysis proceeds as follows. After the subjects, Sueand Mary, are type-raised, they are combined with the verbs likes and hates by functional composition. Then co-ordination rule is applied. At the last step, syntaxis combines with the other components. As you can see in the top node of (5), we can compositionally calculate semantic interpretations of RNR constructions based on the syntactic operations of the constituents. The Korean sentence (3) can be analyzed similarly.

In sum, this paper provides computational algorithms by which we can calculate semantic interpretations of RNR constructions in English and Korean. In this system, the semantic interpretations are calculated compositionally based on the functor-argument relations of the constituents.
<ul> <li>Sample Sentences</li> <li>(1) Sue likes, and Mary hates, syntax.</li> <li>(2) like'(s,syntax) hate'(m,syntax)</li> <li>(3) Younghee-eykey kkoch-ul, kuliko Minhee-eykey Younghee.DAT flower.ACC and Minhee.DAT chokoleyttu-lul Chelsoo-ka cwu-ess-ta. chocolate.ACC Chelsoo.NOM give.PAST.DECL 'Chelsoo gave Younghee flowers, and he gave Minhee a chocolate.'</li> <li>(4) give'(c,y,flowers') give'(c,m,flowers')</li> </ul>
Sample Analysis (5) <[Sue likes and Mary hates, syntax],S,[like'(s,syntax') ^ hate'(m,syntax)]>
<sue and="" hates,s="" likes="" mary="" np,λx<sub="">2[like'(s,x<sub>2</sub>) ^ hate'(m,x<sub>2</sub>)]&gt;<syntax,np,syntax'></syntax,np,syntax'></sue>
<sue and="" hates,s="" likes="" mary="" np,λx<sub="">2like'(s,x<sub>2</sub>) ∧ λx<sub>2</sub>hate'(m,x<sub>2</sub>)&gt;</sue>
<sue likes,s="" np,λx₂like'(s,x₂)=""><and,conj,^><mary hates,s="" np,λx₂hate'(m,x₂)=""></mary></and,conj,^></sue>
<sue likes,s="" np,λx<sub="">2like'(x<sub>2</sub>)(s)&gt;      <mary hates,s="" np,λx<sub="">2hate'(x<sub>2</sub>)(m)&gt;</mary></sue>
$< Sue, S/(S \ NP), \ APP(s) > < likes, (S \ NP)/NP), \ Ax_1x_2 like'(x_2)(x_1) > \\ x_1x_2 hate'(x_2)(x_1) > \\ < Mary, S/(S \ NP), \ PP(m) > < hates, (S \ NP)/NP), \ Ax_1x_2 like'(x_2)(x_1) > \\ < Mary, S/(S \ NP), \ PP(m) > < hates, \ APP(m) > <$
<sue,np,s> <mary,np,m></mary,np,m></sue,np,s>
<ul> <li>References</li> <li>Hong, Sungshim. 1998. On Korean and English Right Node Raising. In Park, Byung Soo and James Hye Suk Yoon, eds., Selected Papers from the 11th International Conference on Korean Linguistics. 570-9. University of Hawai'i at Manoa.</li> <li>Lee, Yong-hun. 2004. Head Parameters and Verb Gapping: A Categorial Grammar Approach. To Appear in Modern Studies in English Language &amp; Literature 47.2.</li> <li>Sohn, Keun-Won. 2001. Deletion and Right Node Raising in Korean and English. Studies in Generative Grammar 11.2:485-501.</li> <li>Steedman, M. 1996. Surface Structure and Interpretation. Cambridge, MA : MIT Press.</li> <li> 2000. The Syntactic Process. Cambridge, MA : MIT Press.</li> </ul>

	만역	샥 V-(어)도 채희락 (한국의	] 구문어 리국어대	대하 학교)	ले	
H	'만약'은	'V-(으)면'과	호응을	하고	양보	부사

일반적으로 조건 부사어 '만약'은 'V-(으)면'과 호응을 하고 양보 부사어 '비록'은 'V-(어)도'와 호응을 하여 "호응 부사어 구문"이라는 독특한 구문을 형성한다 (Chae 2003, 채희락 2004). 그래 서 '비록 재미가 없으면'과 같은 표현은 비문법적이다. 그러나 '만약 그 문제를 풀어도 (자랑거리가 못된다)'와 같은 표현에서는 조건 부사어 '만약'과 양보 어미 '-어도'가 공기를 하고 있지만 특별한 문제가 없는 것 같다. 이 발표에서는 이 "교차" 현상을 어떻게 분석해야 할지 여러 가지 가능성을 바탕으로 생각해 보려고 한다. 첫째, 이런 표현은 비문법적이지만 해석을 해 내려는 "강제적 노력" 의 결과로 용인이 되는 것으로 가정할 수 있다. 둘째, '만약'을 '-(으)면'과 호응하는 호응 부사어와 다른 요소와 호응하지 않고 독립적으로 조건의 의미를 가지고 있는 일반 부사어로 나누어 생각해 볼 수 있다. 이런 가정하에서는 교차 표현의 '만약'은 일반 부사어가 된다. 셋째, '만약'을 조건 어미 '-(으)면'뿐만 아니라 양보 어미 '-어도'와도 호응할 수 있는 호응 부사어로 분석할 수도 있다. 이들 가정 중 어떤 것이 가장 합리적인지 살펴 보고, 그 결과는 Chae(2003)과 채희락(2004)의 "인덱스 구구조문법" 분석에 어떤 영향을 끼치는지 알아 보려고 한다.

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# 한국언어정보학회 2004 학년도 1 학기 윌례회 일정표

날짜	시간	발표자	논문제목	사회
	기획논문 9:30-10:50	이한정 (성균관대)	Morphosyntactic variation: Empirical arguments for the (stochastic) OT conception of grammar	
3월 27일			휴식(10분)	
(토) 대우재단	일반논문 11:00-11:40	노보경 (서울외국어대 학원 대학교)	영어 습득에서의 pro-drop parameter	정소우 (성신여대)
	일반논문 11:40-12:20	김의수 (고려대)	비분리 명사를 가진 영어의 능격동사 구문	
	일반논문 10:00-11:00	이정민 (서울대)	이동동사와 '들-다'/'나-다'	
4월 24일	휴식(10분)			
(토) 대우재단	일반논문 11:10-11:50	이용훈 (충남대/한남대)	Right Node Raising in English and Korean: A Computational Approach	전영철 (서울대)
	일반논문 11:50-12:30	채희락 (한국외대)	[만약 V-라도] 구문에 대하여	
	일반논문 10:00-10:40	김용범 (광운대)	TBA	
5월15일	일반논문 10:40-11:20	윤영은 (이화여대)	TBA	
(토)	휴식(10분)			

서울대	일반논문 11:30-12:10	백미현 (충남대)	한국어 부정형태소 의미 연구	(서울대)
일반논문 12:10-12:50		류병래 (충남대)	TBA	

# 2004년 1학기 한국언어정보학회 제약기반문법연구회 워크샵 주제: Approaches to Korean Case

날짜	장소/ 시간	주제	발표자	토론자
3월 27일 (토)		Auxiliary Verb Constructions and Case Marking in Korean	유은정 (서울대)	박병수 (경희대)
	대우재단/ 2:30-5:00	The Korean Dative Case	최인철 (경희대)	이예식 (경북대)
		Quantitative Variation in Korean Case Ellipsis: A Stochastic OT Analysis	이한정 (성균관대)	최혜원 (이화여대)
4월 24일 (토)	대우재단/ 2:30-5:00	A Computational Treatment of Some Case-Related Problem	이기용 (고려대)	김종복 (경희대)
		Relative Clauses and Related Constructions in Korean	류병래 (충남대)	김용범 (광운대)
		소단위어와 중의성: 대격 표지를 중심으로	채희락 (한국외대)	노용균 (충남대)
	실 충남대/ 2:30-5:00	Case Problems in the Relative Clauses	차종렬 (경희대)	조세연 (호남대))
5월 29일 (토)		Korean Case System and Issues in the Computational Implementation	김종복 (경희대)	정찬 (동서대)
		한국어 구조격 조사의 의미와 구조	최기용 (광운대)	박명관 (동국대)