

아원자 의미론과 함의 (Subatomic Semantics and Entailment)

이 영헌
(조선대학교)

younglee@mail.chosun.ac.kr
<http://www.chosun.ac.kr/~younglee>

1. 문제의 제기

첫째, 술부부사와 술어의 함의

- (1) a. Brutus stabbed Caesar in the back.
b. Brutus stabbed Caesar
(1a) \models (1b), where \models means ENTAILS

둘째, 논리식의 비정형화 (n-항 술어)

- (2) a. Brutus stabbed Caesar in the back with something.
 $\rightarrow (\exists w)P(\text{Brutus, Caesar, Caesar's back, } w): P = 4\text{-place-predicate}$
b. Brutus stabbed Caesar
 $\rightarrow (\exists z)(\exists w)P(\text{Brutus, Caesar, } z, w) : P = 4\text{-place-predicate}$

- (3) a. **Brutus** stabbed **Caesar** in the **back** through his **toga** with the **knife** at **noon** at the **bridge** under the **arch**.

b. Stab(b, c, b, t, k, n, b, a) 8-place-predicate

셋째, 형용사와 유도 부사의 의미적 동일성

- (4) a. John sings a song **loudly**
b. John sings a **loud** song

넷째, 사역(Causative)동사와 기동(inchoative)동사의 의미

- (5) a. Mary closes the door \Rightarrow close(m, door) \rightarrow TV
b. The door closes. \Rightarrow close(door) \rightarrow IV
c. The door is closed \Rightarrow be-closed(door) \rightarrow Ad

(5a) \models (5b) : TV \models IV 타동사 \models 자동사 \models 형용사

다섯째, 조건 논리식의 문제 (예화:instantiation)

- (6) $p \rightarrow q$
 $q \rightarrow r$
 $\therefore p \rightarrow r$

- (7) 비가 오면 땅이 젖는다.
땅이 젖으면 신발이 젖는다.
 \therefore 비가 오면 신발이 젖는다.

- (8) 물질이라면 원소로 되어있다.
 원소라면 눈에 보이지 않는다.
 * ∴ 물질이라면 눈에 보이지 않는다.

여섯째, 수식어의 제한

- (9) a. 큰 개미는 작은 동물이다.
 b. 작은 코끼리는 큰 동물이다.
 (10) a. *큰 개미는 큰 동물이다.
 b. *작은 코끼리는 작은 동물이다.

2. Subatomic semantics

2.1 Formal Notation

* basic idea

ex: **Caeser Died.**
 For some event e,
 e is a dying, **and**
 the object of e is Caesar, **and**
 e culminates before now

* formal noation

$(\exists e) [\text{Dying}(e) \wedge \text{Object}(e, \text{Caesar}) \wedge \text{Culminate}(e, \text{before now})]$
 $\uparrow \quad \uparrow \quad \quad \quad \uparrow \quad \quad \uparrow$
 default verb subject tense

Predicate = <event, state>: subatomic Predicate : <**Cul**, **Hold**>

event: stab, walk, sing : <event, cul>

state: have, sat, is : <state, Hold>

- (11) a. Brutus is clever
 $\rightarrow (\exists s)[s \text{ is a stae of being clever} \wedge \text{Subject}(s, \text{Brutus}) \wedge \text{Holds}(s, \text{now})]$
 b. Brutus is under the tree
 $\rightarrow (\exists s)[\text{Under}(s, \text{the tree}) \wedge \text{Subject}(s, \text{Brutus}) \wedge \text{Holds}(s, \text{now})]$
 c. Brutus sat under the tree
 $\rightarrow (\exists s)[\text{Under}(s, \text{the tree}) \wedge \text{Subject}(s, \text{Brutus}) \wedge \text{Holds}(s, \text{before now})]$
 d. Brutus played the piano under the tree
 $\rightarrow (\exists e)[\text{Playing}(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(e, \text{Brutus}) \wedge \text{Theme}(e, \text{piano}) \wedge \text{Under}(e, \text{tree})$
 $\wedge \text{Cul}(e, \text{before now})]$

2.2 문장부사와 양화사

- (12) Possibly, every boy dates a girl. (in PL)
 $\Rightarrow \text{Possibly } (x)(\text{Boy}(x) \rightarrow (\exists y)(\text{Girl}(y) \wedge x \text{ dates } y))$
 (13) Possibly, every boy dates a girl. (in SAS)
 $\Rightarrow x \text{ dated } y = (\exists e)(e \text{ is a dating} \wedge x \text{ is the agent of } e \wedge y \text{ is the object of } (e) \wedge$

$$\begin{aligned}
& \text{Cul}(e, \text{now}) \\
\Rightarrow & = (\exists e)(\text{Date}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y) \wedge \text{Cul}(e, \text{now})) \\
\Rightarrow & = \text{PRESENT}(\exists e)(\text{Date}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y) \wedge \text{Cul}(e) \\
\Rightarrow & \text{Possibly } (x)(\text{Boy}(x) \rightarrow (\exists y)(\text{Girl}(y) \wedge (\exists e)(\text{Date}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y) \\
& \quad \wedge \text{Cul}(e, \text{now})))
\end{aligned}$$

3. 형식적 기술

첫째 논리적 표시와 함의

- (14) a. John walks slowly \rightarrow SW(j) or (S(W))(j)
 b. John walks. \rightarrow W(j)
- (14)' * (S(W))(j) \models (W(j))
- (15) a. Brutus stabbed Caesar violently \rightarrow Stab violently(b,c)
 a. Brutus stabbed Caesar \rightarrow S(b,c)
- (15)' * Stab violently (b,c) \models S(b,c)
- (16) a. Brutus stabbed Caesar in the back. \rightarrow Stab-in-the-back(b,c)
 b. Brutus stabbed Caesar \rightarrow Stab(b,c)
 c. Stab Caesar in the back \rightarrow Stab(c, back)
- (17) a. x stabbed y \rightarrow Sxy
 b. x stabbed y violently \rightarrow Vxy
 c. x stabbed y with z \rightarrow Wxyz
 d. x stabbed y violently with z \rightarrow Gxyz
- (18) a. Sxy \rightarrow $(\exists e)[\text{Stabbling}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y)]$
 b. Vxy \rightarrow $(\exists e)[\text{Stabbling}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y) \wedge \text{violent}(e)]$
 c. Wxyz \rightarrow $(\exists e)[\text{Stabbling}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y) \wedge \text{with}(e,z)]$
 d. Gxyz \rightarrow $(\exists e)[\text{Stabbling}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y) \wedge \text{violent}(e) \wedge \text{With}(e,z)]$
- (19) a. $(\exists e)[\text{Stabbling}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y)]$
 b. $(\exists e)[\text{Stabbling}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y) \wedge \text{violent}(e)]$
 $(\exists e)[\text{Stabbling}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y) \wedge \text{violent}(e)] \models$
 $(\exists e)[\text{Stabbling}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, x) \wedge \text{Object}(e, y)]$
- (20) p \wedge q

 p
- (21) a. John met Mary in the park.
 \rightarrow $(\exists e) [\text{Met}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, J) \wedge \text{Object}(e, M) \wedge \text{at}(e, p)]$
 b. John met Mary
 \rightarrow $(\exists e) [\text{Met}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, J) \wedge \text{Object}(e, M)]$
- (22) $(\exists e) [\text{Met}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, J) \wedge \text{Object}(e, M) \wedge \text{at}(e, p)]$
 $\models (\exists e) [\text{Met}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, J) \wedge \text{Object}(e, M)]$

둘째, 형용사와 부사의 동일성

(23) a. John sings a song loudly

b. John sings a loud song

(23)' a. $(\exists x)[\text{Song}(x) \wedge \text{Sing loudly}(j, x)]$

b. $(\exists x)[\text{Loud}(\text{Song})(x) \wedge \text{Sing}(j, x)]$

(24) a. $(\exists x)[(\text{Song}(x) \wedge (\exists e)[\text{Sing}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, \text{John}) \wedge \text{Objec}(e, x) \wedge \text{Loud}(e)]$

b. $(\exists x)[((\text{Song}(x) \wedge \text{Loud}(x)) \wedge (\exists e)[\text{Sing}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, \text{John}) \wedge \text{Objec}(e, x)])]$

where $(\exists x)[\text{Song}(x) \wedge (\exists e)[\text{Sing}(e) \wedge \text{Loud}(e)]$

$= (\exists x)[[(\text{Song}(x) \wedge \text{Loud}(x)) \wedge (\exists e)[\text{Sing}(e)]]]$

because 'a song loudly = a loud song, that is, $(\exists x)[\text{Loud}(x)] = (\exists e)[\text{Loud}(e)]$

셋째, 타동사와 자동사의 상호관계

TV (break) : to break the window \models IV (break) :to cause the window to break

IV (break) : For the window to break \models Adj(broken) :For it to become broken.

(25) John closes the door

$\rightarrow (\exists e)[\text{Cul}(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(e, \text{john}) \wedge (\exists e')[\text{Closing}(e') \wedge \text{Cul}(e') \wedge \text{Theme}(e', \text{door}) \wedge \text{CAUSE}(e, e') \wedge (\exists s)[\text{being-closed}(s) \wedge \text{Theme}(s, \text{door}) \wedge \text{Hold}(s) \wedge \text{BECOME}(e', s)]]]$

(26) The door closes.

$\rightarrow (\exists e)[\text{Cul}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e, \text{door}) \wedge (\exists s)[\text{being-closed}(s) \wedge \text{Theme}(s, \text{door}) \wedge \text{Hold}(s) \wedge \text{BECOME}(e', s)]]]$

(27) $(\exists e)[\text{Cul}(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(e, \text{john}) \wedge (\exists e')[\text{Closing}(e') \wedge \text{Cul}(e') \wedge \text{Theme}(e', \text{door}) \wedge \text{CAUSE}(e, e') \wedge (\exists s)[\text{being-closed}(s) \wedge \text{Theme}(s, \text{door}) \wedge \text{Hold}(s) \wedge \text{BECOME}(e', s)]]]$

$\rightarrow (\exists e)[\text{Cul}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e, \text{door}) \wedge (\exists s)[\text{being-closed}(s) \wedge \text{Theme}(s, \text{door}) \wedge \text{Hold}(s) \wedge \text{BECOME}(e', s)]]]$

$\therefore \mathbb{P}[(\exists e)[\text{Cul}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e', \text{door}) \wedge (\exists s)[\text{being-closed}(s) \wedge \text{Theme}(s, \text{door}) \wedge \text{Hold}(s) \wedge \text{BECOME}(e', s)]]] \wedge \mathbb{Q} [\text{Agent}(e, \text{john}) \wedge (\exists e')[\text{Closing}(e') \wedge \text{Cul}(e') \wedge \text{Theme}(e', \text{door}) \wedge \text{CAUSE}(e, e') \wedge \text{Theme}(s, \text{door})]]]$

$\rightarrow \mathbb{P}[(\exists e)[\text{Cul}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e, \text{door}) \wedge (\exists s)[\text{being-closed}(s) \wedge \text{Theme}(s, \text{door}) \wedge \text{Hold}(s) \wedge \text{BECOME}(e', s)]]]$

(28) $(p \wedge q) \rightarrow p$

넷째, 조건 논리식의 문제

(29) a. In every burning, oxygen is consumed.

b. John burned the wood.

c. Oxygen was consumed.

(30)' a. $e[\text{Burning}(e) \rightarrow (\exists e')[\text{Consuming}(e') \wedge \text{Object}(e' \text{O}_2) \wedge \text{In}(e, e')]]]$

b. $(\exists e)[\text{Burning}(e) \wedge \text{Subject}(e, \text{John}) \wedge \text{Object}(e, \text{wood})]$

c. $(\exists e')[\text{Consuming}(e') \wedge \text{Object}(e' \text{O}_2)]$

(a) and (b) \models (c)

4. 형용사의 의미

한정 형용사의 종류

a. predicate

(31) a. x is a red house

b. x is a house \wedge x is red

(32) x is a clever teacher and x is a parent

\Rightarrow x is clever \wedge x is a teacher \wedge x is a parent)

\therefore x is clever \wedge x is a parent (from a and b) (predicate)

\therefore x is a clever teacher but not a clever parent (violet predicate use)

(33) a. x is a clever N (predicate use)

b. x is clever \wedge x is N for an F

(where F is supplied from context or F is the same as N)

b. operator

(34) a. x is a former president

b. Formerly(x is president)

(35) a. x is a clever N (operator use)

b. Clever(x is an N that is F)

b'. x is an N \wedge x is clever for an F

c. attributive

(36) a. Mary is clever

b. * x is clever \wedge x is Mary

(There is no argument for the operator to operate on)

c. * Clever(Mary) (violate operator use)

다섯째, 수식어의 문제

(37) a. 코끼리는 큰 동물이다.

b. *개미는 큰 동물이다.

(38) a. 작은 개미는 작은 동물이다.

b. 큰 개미는 작은 동물이다.

(39) a. *작은 개미는 큰 동물이다.

b. *큰 개미는 큰 동물이다.

(40) a. ? 작은 개미는 작은 곤충이다.

b. ? 큰 개미는 큰 곤충이다.

(41) a. ? 큰 개미는 작은 곤충이다.

b. ? 작은 개미는 큰 곤충이다.

(42) a. ?? 큰 개미는 작은 생물이다.

b. ?? 작은 개미는 큰 생물이다.

(43) a. 코끼리는 큰 동물이다.

- b. *코끼리는 작은 동물이다.
- (44) a. 코끼리는 큰 포유동물이다.
b. *코끼리는 작은 포유동물이다.
- (45) a. 코끼리는 큰 생물이다.
b. *코끼리는 작은 생물이다.
- (46) a. 큰 개미 \Rightarrow 크다(x) \wedge 개미(x)
b. 작은 동물 \Rightarrow 작다(x) \wedge 동물(x)
- (47) 큰 개미는 작은 동물이다. $\Rightarrow (\exists x)(\exists y)[\{\text{크다}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x)\} \subseteq \{\text{작다}(y) \wedge \text{동물}(y)\}]$
- (48) 개미는 동물이다.
 $\Rightarrow (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[x \in y \wedge \text{코끼리}(x) \wedge \text{동물}(y) \wedge \text{크다}(y) \wedge \text{Hold}(\in, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[s \text{ is a state such that } x \text{ is a member of } y \wedge \text{코끼리}(x) \wedge \text{동물}(y) \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{코끼리}(x) \wedge \text{동물}(y) \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
- (49) 큰 개미는 작은 동물이다.
 $\Rightarrow (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{큰 개미} \wedge \text{작은 동물} \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{크다}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x) \text{ for } N \wedge \text{작다}(y) \wedge \text{동물}(y) \text{ for } N \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{크다}(x) \wedge [\text{개미}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x)] \wedge \text{작다}(y) \wedge [\text{동물}(y) \wedge \text{동물}(y)] \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{크다}(x) \wedge [\text{개미}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x)] \wedge \text{작다}(y) \wedge [\text{동물}(y) \wedge \text{동물}(y)] \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
where; $y \in \{\text{개미, 참새, } \dots\}$
ex: 개미(x) \wedge 동물(개미)
- (50) *큰 개미는 큰 동물이다.
 $\Rightarrow (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{큰 개미} \wedge \text{큰 동물} \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{크다}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x) \text{ for } N \wedge \text{크다}(y) \wedge \text{동물}(y) \text{ for } N \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{크다}(x) \wedge [\text{개미}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x)] \wedge \text{크다}(y) \wedge \text{동물}(y) \wedge \text{동물}(y)] \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
where; $y \in \{\text{곰, 소, 호랑이, } \dots\}$
 $\therefore (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge x \text{ 크다} \wedge [\text{개미}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x)] \wedge \text{크다}(y) \wedge [\text{동물}(y) \wedge \text{동물}(y)] \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
where; $y \in \{\text{곰, 소, 호랑이, } \dots\}$
ex: 개미(x) \wedge 동물(곰)
- (41) ? 큰 개미는 작은 곤충이다.
 $\Rightarrow (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{큰 개미} \wedge \text{작은 곤충} \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{크다}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x) \text{ for } N \wedge \text{작다}(y) \wedge \text{곤충}(y) \text{ for } N \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{크다}(x) \wedge [\text{개미}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x)] \wedge \text{작다}(y) \wedge [\text{곤충}(y) \wedge \text{곤충}(y)] \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 $= (\exists x)(\exists y)(\exists s)[[s \text{ is a state } \mid x \in y] \wedge \text{크다}(x) \wedge [\text{개미}(x) \wedge \text{개미}(x)] \wedge \text{작$

$\text{다}(y) \wedge [\text{곤충}(y) \wedge \text{곤충}(y)] \wedge \text{Hold}(s, \text{now})]$
 where; $y \in \{\text{파리, 모기, 개미, 잠자리, 메뚜기, \dots}\}$
 ex: $\text{개미}(x) \wedge [\text{곤충}(\text{개미}) \text{ or } \text{곤충}(\text{모기})]$

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