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Abstract

A semantic analysis of topic and focus as two parts of tectogrammatical representation by means of transparent intensional logic (TIL) is presented. It is pointed out that two sentences (more precisely, their tectogrammatical representations) differing just in the topic/focus articulation (TFA) denote different propositions, i.e. that TFA has an effect upon the semantic content of the sentence. An informal short description of an algorithm handling the TFA in the translation of tectogrammatical representations into the constructions of TIL is added. The TFA algorithm divides a representation into two parts corresponding to the topic and focus; every part is analyzed (translated) in isolation and then the resulting construction is put together. The TIL construction discussed here reflect the scope of negation and some of the presuppositions observed.

1. Introduction: Transparent intensional logic

One of the current tasks of semantic studies consists in finding a procedure translating the disambiguated linguistic meanings of sentences (see Sgall et al., 1986) into the constructions of intensional logic. The core of such procedure was developed (Vlk, 1987), but a description of this procedure exceeds the scope of the present paper. The aim of this paper is rather to present some ideas used in the algorithm handling the topic/focus articulation within the translation.

Sufficient means for the semantic analysis of natural language are given by Tichy's Transparent intensional logic (TIL). Referring to exact definitions to Tichy (1980) and Materna (1985), we reproduce here only a brief characterization of TIL.

Let $o = \{T, F\}$ be a set of truth-values, let *i* be a set of individuals (the universe of discourse) and let ω be a set of possible worlds (the logical space). Then

 $B = \{0, b, \omega\}$ is an epistemic basis. Then

- (i) any member of B is a type over $B_{\rm f}$
- (ii) if $2, f_1, \dots, f_n$ are types over B, then $(2f_1, \dots, f_n)$ is a type over B, where $(2f_1, \dots, f_n)$ is the set of (total and partial) functions from $f_1 \times \dots \times f_n$ to 2.
- (iii) the types over B are just those introduced in (i), (ii).

Any member of type 3 is called an object of type 3, or an 2-object. An object is an 2-object for any 2. For every type a denumerably infinite set of \mathcal{I} -variables is at our disposal.

The constructions are the ways in which objects can be given. They are defined inductively:

- any 2-object, and also any 2-variable, is an 2-construction (called the atomic construction).
- (ii) let F be a $(2 f_1, f_2)$ -construction, X_i a f_2 -construction for i=1,...,n. Then the application (F $X_1 X_2 \dots X_n$) of F to $X_1, X_2,$..., X_n is an 2-construction.
- (iii) let Y be an 2-construction and x1, x2,...,

x_n distinct variables of types f_1, \ldots, f_n , respectively. Then the abstraction [$\lambda_x, x_1, \ldots, x_n$ Y] of Y on x_1, x_2, \ldots, x_n is a $(2 f_1 \cdots f_n)$ -construction.

(iv) there are no constructions except those defined in (i)-(iii).

Let us characterize some important objects of TIL. For every type 2 we have objects Σ^3 , TT^2 of the type (o(0 3)), such that (i) and (ii) hold:

(i)
$$[\Sigma^{\frac{1}{2}} X] = \text{if } X \text{ is empty class then F}$$

else T
(ii) $[\Pi^{\frac{1}{2}} X] = {}^{\times}\Sigma^{\frac{1}{2}} \lambda y. {}^{\times}[X y]$

For every type 2 we have the 2-singularizer I^2 of the type (2 (02)), which is defined on single-element 2-classes only and returns the single element of the respective class. Propositions are objects of the type (0 ω).

The following notation will be used throughout the paper. The outermost parentheses and brackets will be sometimes omitted. Furthermore, a dot will represent a left bracket whose corresponding right bracket is to be imagined as far to the right as is compatible with other pairs of brackets. The notation with an apostrophe will be used in the following meaning:

X' = [X w] if X is of type (2ω) for any 2 X otherwise

where X is a construction and v is a particular ω -variable.

We write $\exists x.Y$ in place of $\Sigma^{2} \lambda x Y$ and $\forall x.Y$ in place of $TT^{2} \lambda x Y$, $\neg x.Y$ in place of $[I^{2} \lambda x Y]$. Logical connectives and identity will be written in the standard way, e.g. a & b, a = b in place of [& a b], [=, a b], respectively.

2. The topic/focus articulation

The procedure is divided into two parts: into the Basic algorithm handling such phenomena as the scope of quantifiers, several kinds of reference, and so on, and the TFA algorithm handling the topic/focus articulation (TFA). The Basic algorithm is recursively applied to all subtrees of the dependency tree and returns the construction(s) corresponding to the subtree. The TFA algorithm divides the dependency tree into two parts corresponding to the topic and to the focus, respectively; either part is translated by the Basic algorithm, and then the resulting construction is put together.

The topic/focus articulation (TFA) plays a crucial role in analysis of the presupposition, of the scope of negation and also of the so called exhaustive listing (see Sgall, Hajicova, Panevova, 1986, Hajicova 1974, 1984). First, its importance will be shown on an extremely simple 'toy' example; we will then discuss some problems in detail in connection with other examples.

Informally, the topic of a sentence is what the sentence talks about, and the focus is what the sentence says about the topic. A formal definition of topic and focus as two parts of the tectogrammatical representialless (TE) are to imme ou ignet of all isolit. Che B. For the perpent of the perpert of any sound to have that the instantory between tople rate form to altray placed in and a very that there is an iter A to the TR ends that every iter of the TR which is less concert dynamic them a bolonger to the tople (form).

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- (b) Churchers dielor's mark heavy.
- (2) (a) Charles Let <u>Mary</u>.
 - (b) Churles didn't meet kery.
 - (a) Guarlos dien't covi Nory.

See: (1) brings no problem to the semiller analyzing 25 surresponds to the "marshi rouding" at the semienso. We can construct the constructions corresponding to iso topic and iscus.

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Frank - No. he like? & Maryl

abara Charles, Hary, a /c., Her/(ac.)co. 200 ve sum formulate the commitmentions (they are refuase stop by stop through the lookake-refunction):

(<u>)</u> /)(u)	hr fifand' Tople') he (Anthet'n Kery) Charlou) er filst Charler Dary)
1211	hu. " (Facus' Topic') hu. " (hi(ikt' i Hiry) Chartou)

ho. " liket that he hery)

Constant (2) the same origination that, the verb suffering the the toplet. The reministry (2013) can be sufficient in the Zalloving only:

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- The influided that Charles and is here. (1-1) If was not duey who Charles ant.
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- 'iko hadishini that Charles didn'i oort ha Seey.

Yes conteneds (20,57 here a prosupposition that charles and decoholy, while (20) has a produpposition that there exists seasholy the Charles didn't uset. In (20) the cappe of negation is constituted by the formed, the work threads in not negated. In (20) only the verb is anywher (now Najisova, 1973, 1984).

The additionary the contempore (Super may that Mary

vas (in the given rentert) the only one individual that Charles wet, or did not weet. The focus is an exhaustive listing of such individuals, whenever the verb belongs to the topic (Materna, Sgall, 1980, Sgall of al. 1986).

Let us try to find the construction corresponding to case (2a). After the division of the TR into topic and focus ve get

Tepled = λv , by thet Charles yl (or) ω -construction Focual = Hery ℓ -construction

Intuitively, this is not what we need. The focus is to assert searching about the topic, but here the focus is only a counterpart of an individual. Intuitively, the topic of (2a) is that individual that Charles wet and the forms declares about this individual that it is mary. The constructions must be further modified.

(the property of being Hary)

The construction corresponding to (2a) is obtained by application of Focus2 to Topic2.

Analogically for (2b) we get

and for (2c)

Topici = hu. hy. " flot' Charles y) Focusi = Hary

Topic2 = $\lambda v_{*} \rightarrow \gamma_{*}$ " [Net' Charles y] Focus2 = λv_{*} $\lambda x_{*} x = Nary$

(2')(c) λψ [Focus2' Topic2'] λψ. (λπ.π=Mary] [η γ. " [Het' Charles y]] λψ. ηγ [".Met' Charles y]= Hary

Do these constructions reflect presupposition, negation and exhaustive listing as observed in (2a-c)? The iota-operator (singularizer) is not defined on the cupty class, i.e. the propositions (2'a, b) are undefined in those possible worlds where Charles wet nobody, and (2'c) is undefined in those possible vorlds where Charles wet everybody. Also the two scopes of negation corresponding to the contextually bound and non-bound operator of negation are distinguished by (2'b) and (2'c). In (2'a) and (2'c) the equality says that Mary was the only one individual with the given property, i.e. the constructions reflect the exhaustive listing.

Severtheless, at least two objections to these constructions can be reised:

1. In (2a) Hary is not the single individual in the world that Charles set, but the single one in the given context, the single one from all currently present in the speaker's wind. The construction

ha. Net' Charles a

should be substituted by

Ax. (Net' Charles al & (c al

share a is a free (nc)-verishif that is to be connected is every situation (context) with a class of individuals estivated in the stock of knowledge chared by speaker and heaver. As wany problems concerning the context and the stock of shared knowledge are not yet revolved, we will neglect it in this paper.

2. The prosupposition of (2'a-c) established by the ista-operator is too strong. It requires that the shase under the ista-operator has only one elecant. In once Charles set sore than one individual (2'a) would be undefined, but (2a) would be value in this situation. If Charles not for encepts Jone and Eve, seatense (2a) would be value, because it was Mary who Charles not for encepts of was Mary who Charles not for encepts of was Mary who charles not if Charles ust Hary and Jane, the sentense (2a) would be (at least partly) false, because the focus part of (2a) is not an anhamitive listing, it does not include Jane. Constant the sentence

(3) Churles not Mary and June.

It is not possible to express (3) as a conjunction of two mentoness (Charles set Hary and Charles set Jane), because the focus of (3) is an exhaustive listing of individuals that Charles set. The tople of (3) is the same as in (2a). Therefore, the presupposition of both sentences is the onse. The tople of hath sentences determines a class of individuals that Charles set. The presupportion of the two sentences is that Charles hat encededy, i.e. that the same is near supply. Sentence (2a) mays that this non-empty class is equal to the single-classed to the sheet sheet containing just har it is equal to the presence of the desired have appointion we define the presence of the desired presupposition is the presence of the desired presupposition is the size of the presence of the desired presupposition is the size of the presence of the desired presupposition is of the size of the siz

The function He is an identical function defined only on non-cepty slagged.

In the following emerivation, "Focus2" corresponds to the focus of (2), "Focus3" corresponds to the focus of (3) and "Tople" corresponds to the tople of both the contonece.

(2'')(a) Nv (Feenal' Yeple') Nv. the Nr. Het' Charles x) = hr.r-Hery

(3') Av D'ocus3' Topic'l Av. Ne An. Net' Charles Bl = Anix-Mary Un=Jamel

These constructions have the same precapposition (that the class in topic is non-empty), they differ only in their foci. The two propositions are not defined in those possible worlds where Charles set mobedy.

4. Dividing A-edges

In this section we discuss exceptes in which the dividing edges between topic and forms are edges having estants as their functors (A-edges). We restrict ourselves in this paper to sentences having just one dividing edge.

- (2) Tou wells Jis a var.
- (5) Tou sells a car to Ma.
- (6) Tos nells Jiu <u>e car.</u>

Ageln, (4) to a menteral (princey) sambles, the arm struction corresponding to (4) to

(4') Av. No Ger'l the Soll' You die al Av. 3 m. (Ger' mill Gell' You die al a.

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Cent / (or.)co	

The sontenes (5) is analyzed distinctly as (20). The verb belongs to the tople, no that (5) triggers a presupportion and contains extrustive listing like (20).

Yonda = ha.Me hz. Eto Ger'l (by.Enll' You z y) Fucan = hz.z=hz.z=Jab

(3') by (Former Togola') how the health of the formally the angle has an Jer

The construction (i') chemres the presepportion that The sette constanty a dor.

Someons (5) is a little core couplinated. The the topic determines a character is individually that that wells to this Agena, the presupposition of (6) is that the character is near support individuals (because the verb holonys to the topic). We seek that (6) is not (fully) to the topic). We seek that (6) is not (fully) to the topic). We seek that (6) is not (fully) to the topic) of some of (6) may the state of the topic bar of (6) may that the state of the topic bar of (6) may the the state of the topic bar of (6) may the the state of the topic bar of (6) may the the state of the topic bar of (6) may the the state of the topic bar of (6) may the the state of the topic bar of (6) may the the state of the topic bar of (6) may the the state of the topic bar of (6) may the state and this of the topic bar of (6) may the state and this of the topic bar of (6) may the state and this of the topic bar of (6) may the state and this of the topic bar of (6) may the state and the of the topic bar of (6) may the state and the of the topic bar of (6) may the state of (6) may the topic bar of (6) may the state of (6) may the topic bar of (6) may the state of (6) may the topic bar of (6) may the state of (6) may the topic bar of (6) may the state of (6) may the sta

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and to continue (6)

(6') Av. (One Cone') The As. Soll' Tran Jim al

The proposition conversion by (6°) to deviate endy in theme pression works of a set for both converting to the (house only in much pressible works function by in designed), and it is been in theme pressible works where the collection can be thing and this thing be a end. In a biblication can be fixed of (6) can be found in interaction of al. (1997), and has two analyses are encourted in Vik (1997).

The megative creatoryarts of (5), (5) nguin large two readings work, in arrordance with the contentual honomous of the quarator of negative (new Neglerson, 1974, 1994). Let as take the argedive constants of (5) for dilactrotion.

- tions from deriver most well a cone for Mine.
- (36) You down and cost is out the fille.

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.Se') An Element' Topick'' Ten nyli a An. ardan An. Ele Sustite Car'll'Ay. "Estl" Ten nyli a An. ardan

S. Neverlay needyou

In this mostlow we discuss insuples in which the dividing signs holder topic and donas and cagos hoving "Cause", "Ain" or "Condition" we that fonders (studyes). They are analyzed rather we relation-inteconoica between propositions (haberne, Spall, 1939). Let us take the following excepted

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of (1) increasing being were the Characteria elicity (a particular

(9) Characters denies become an and all all a

(10) CHARLES BLOW'S COME DEPENDING BOY'S SAME SHALL

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This is the continent (7-13) has one dividing only with the dentities "Cause". All contances have trained to their and work (the cost of the dependency "weets" to their and work (the cost of the dependency "weets" is the complete "Cause" to the restriction-haterization between two properties. The first proposisters is the the topic and the correct one is in the "Gauss of the contents, The proposition in the topic is of a proceeping there is the contents. The time topic is the content of the contents, the contents of the topic of a proceeping the the contents of the proceeding of a proceeping the the costs and the proceeping the tail of proceeping the the costs and the proceeping the tail of a state that the topic and the proceeping the topic of the topic topic the the cost of the proceeping the topic of the topic the proceeding the cost of the proceeping of the cost of the there is the cost of the proceeping the topic of the topic of the the topic of the proceeping the topic of the topic there is the topic of the topic of the topic of the topic the proceeding to the topic of the proceeding the topic of the topic of the topic of the topic of the proceeding the topic of the topic

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Let us look at the crops of negation. In (6) andy the counted groundtion (in focus) to negated, not the constant relationship between topic and focus. In (10) any the first proposition is negated and again (10) any the first proposition is negated and again (10) any the first proposition is negated and again (10), the (11), where the main work is contextually bund and the agarator of negation is non-bound, it is just the onesal relationship that is negated.

If Gauss / $(a(a, a), (a(a))) \otimes$ realizes the relationchip "Cause", as that by (Gauss" P1 P2) as an that P2 causes r1. The constructions corresponding to (7-11)are

(Y') And Gener'the. Come ' Charles HTr' Ne. 111' Maryl

(H') he.Coustike. "[Coust Charles HTF.' he. II.' Mary]

(9') Au. Gues' (Tr' Mo. Cosso' Churley Mikery)

(10)) he deno'lly he "limbs" Cherley Jike Lik' Mary)

(11') hv. "Usue'lly' hv. Cone' Charles) (hv. Ill' Hnry)

Free (11') being true it follows (1) that there uses, (11) heing true it follows (1) that this was not canned by Mary's illness, and (11) mether that Mary was, nor that she was not illy in the positive counterpart (9') the fact that Mary was ill is entailed. In other words, (iii) is an alegation of (5), is the teruinology of Helicovs (1974, 1984).

The constructions (7'-11') conditant pairstee different propositions. To descriptions this, 18' an compare (8') and (10'). Consulting two pressible survives

US and URC

 With Charles came.
 Mary was 111.

 W2:
 Charles didn't came.
 Mary was hit.

In U., (B') in Anton and (10') in underland. In U., (S') in underland and (10') in Julea.

It can be seen that a dividing body to the the except of negation only when the sain work is contercually bound and the volated operator of negation is non-bound.

6. TFA Algorithm

In this section we describe an algorithm handling the TFA. For the sets of simplicity, only encapted with one dividing edge between the topic and foods were presented. A general case (with core then one dividing edge) requires the introduction of additional familient (see VIL, 1987). Here we present a adaptified version of the algorithm, which reflect only the phenomena discussed in this paper.

First se successive the functions defined to the province cartines.

777 (160)(60))00 No 7 (010-30)(030-30) Noo 7 (010-30)(03) The following functions are used in the description:

CB :	DepTree	-> Bool
NB :	DepTree	-> Bool
NBNeg :	DepTree	> Bool
Tree :	Edge	-> DepTree
Fun :	Edge	-> Functor
N :	Functor	-> Construction
R-Edge :	Edge	-> Bool
A-Edge :	Edge	-≻ Bool
DivEdge :	DepTree	~> Edge
DelEdge :	DepTree	Edge -> DepTree
PutVar :	DepTree	Edge -> DepTree
Translate:	DepTree	-> Construction
GetTyp :	Contruc	tion -> Type

The meanings of the functions are as follows:

CB(dt) returns true iff the root of dt is contextually bound. NB(dt) returns true iff CB(dt) returns false (NB(dt) = "CB(dt)). NBNeg(dt) returns true iff the contextually non-bound operator of negation is connected with the root of dt (contextually bound operator of negation is handled by the Basic algorithm).

Tree(e) returns the dependency tree suspended on edge e. Fun(e) returns the functor of edge e. M(f) returns the object of TIL realizing relationship f ('Cause', 'Aim'). R-Edge(e) returns true iff e is an R-Edge. A-Edge(e) returns true iff e is an A-Edge. DivEdge(dt) returns the dividing edge between the topic and the focus of dt.

Functions DelEdge and PutVar realize dividing of the dependency tree. DelEdge(dt,e) returns dependency tree dt vithout edge e (edge e is removed from dt). PutVar(dt,e) replaces the tree suspended on edge e in tr by a variable and returns the resulting dependency tree.

Translate(dt) returns the construction of TIL corresponding to dt to which dt is translated by the Basic algorithm. GetTyp(σ) returns the type of construction c.

Now we can describe the following procedures:

тға	•	the wain procedure				(function)	
FA		verb	in	the	focus,	dividing	A-edge
ТA	8 .4	verb	in	the	topic,	dividing	A-edge
FR	~	verb	in	the	focus,	dividing	R-edge
TR	••	verb	in	the	topic,	dividing	R-edge

TFA : DepTree -> Construction

If the dividing edge is an A-edge and the verb belongs to the focus the tree is handled by function FA. The tree suspended on the dividing edge is replaced by a variable, the topic and focus are translated separately and the resulting construction is put together. F is the construction corresponding to the focus and T is the construction corresponding to the topic. FA : DepTree -> Construction

```
FA (dt) =
    let e = DivEdge (dt),
    F = Translate (PutVar (dt, o)),
    T = Translate (Tree(e))
    in
    if NBNeg(dt) then [ \v.~ [F' T']]
    else [ \v [F' T']]
```

If the dividing edge is an A-edge and the verb bolonges to the topic the tree is handled by function TA. The tree is divided in the sense commer as in FA. The resulting construction is more complicated than in TA because it has to reflect presuppositions and enhancetive listing.

TA : DepTree -> Construction

```
TA (dt) =
    let e = BivEdge (dt),
        Y = Translate (PutVur (dt, c)),
        F = Translate (Tree(e))
    in
    let
        Y = (if BetTyp(F')=BetTyp(T')
            then f [One F']iNe T']]
            clas f [Ny.y=F']=INe Y'] ;
    in
    if NBNEg(dt) then [ )v.~ Y ]
        else f &v. Y ];
```

If the dividing edge is an R-edge and the verb belonge to the focus the tree is translated by function FR. Here the dividing edge is removed from the tree and the functor of the dividing edge determined a rolationship between the topic and focus. The proposition in the focus is presupposed, the presupposition is ensured by function Tr. The relationship between the topic and the focus is not within the scope of momention.

FR : DepTree -> Construction

```
FR (dt) =
    let e = DivEdge (dt) ,
    F = Tronelate (DelEdge (dt,e)),
    T = Tronelate (Tree(e)),
    P = H(Fun(e))
    in
    if #BNeg(dt) then [ \v.[P' [\v.~F']]Tr' T]]]
    else [ \v [P' F [Tr' T]]];
```

If the dividing edge is an R-edge and the verb belongs to the topic the tree is translated by function TR. The tree is divided in the same manner as in FR. A relationship between the topic and focus is within the scope of negation here.

```
TR : DepTree -> Construction
TR (dt) =
Let e = DivEdge (dt) ,
```

```
T = Translate (DelEdge (dt, ω)),

F = Translate (Trec(e)),

P = H(Fun(e))

in

if MBNeg(dt) then [ λν." (P' [Tr' T] F]]

else [ λν [P' [Tr' T] F]];
```

Although wany problems are open, it is seen that the topic/focus articulation has an effect on the semantic content of the sentence and, therefore, it can be analyzed by means of formal semantics.

Acknowledgement.

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