

Tomas VLK

P.O. Box 55
43401 Most
Czechoslovakia

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

$B = \{ \sigma, \iota, \omega \}$ is an epistemic basis. Then

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

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

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

- (i) any $\{ \}$ -object, and also any $\{ \}$ -variable, is an $\{ \}$ -construction (called the atomic construction).
- (ii) let F be a $(\{f_1 \dots f_n\})$ -construction, X_i a f_i -construction for $i=1, \dots, n$. Then the application $[F X_1 X_2 \dots X_n]$ of F to X_1, X_2, \dots, X_n is an $\{ \}$ -construction.
- (iii) let Y be an $\{ \}$ -construction and $x_1, x_2, \dots,$

x_n distinct variables of types f_1, \dots, f_n , respectively. Then the abstraction $[\lambda x_1 x_2 \dots x_n Y]$ of Y on x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n is a $(\{f_1 \dots f_n\})$ -construction.

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

Let us characterize some important objects of TIL. For every type $\{ \}$ we have objects $\Sigma^{\{ \}}, \Pi^{\{ \}}$ of the type $(\sigma \{ \})$, such that (i) and (ii) hold:

- (i) $[\Sigma^{\{ \}} X] =$ if X is empty class then F
else T
- (ii) $[\Pi^{\{ \}} X] = \sim \Sigma^{\{ \}} \lambda y. \sim [X y]$

For every type $\{ \}$ we have the $\{ \}$ -singularizer $I^{\{ \}}$ of the type $(\{ \} (\sigma \{ \}))$, which is defined on single-element $\{ \}$ -classes only and returns the single element of the respective class. Propositions are objects of the type $(\sigma \omega)$.

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:

$$X' = \begin{cases} [X v] & \text{if } X \text{ is of type } (\{ \omega) \text{ for any } \{ \} \\ X & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

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

We write $\exists x.Y$ in place of $\Sigma^{\{ \}} \lambda x Y$ and $\forall x.Y$ in place of $\Pi^{\{ \}} \lambda x Y$, $\neg x.Y$ in place of $[I^{\{ \}} \lambda x Y]$. Logical connectives and identity will be written in the standard way, e.g. $a \& b$, $a = b$ in place of $[\& a b]$, $[=_2 a b]$, 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

representables (TR) and its focus on (Foc) of (1). (1986, Ch. 5). For the purpose of this paper we only need to know that the boundary between topic and focus is always placed in such a way that those in the TR are the TR such that every item of the TR which is less certain depends then it belongs to the topic (Focus).

In all the examples, that part of sentences which belongs to the focus (in the reading discussion) is underlined.

Let us assume that A is a presupposition of B in a sentence A and not-B also entails A (Gajda 1974, 1984). Presupposition are understood as (co)-subjects in the TR. Let A, B be (co)-subjects. We say that A is a presupposition of B if for all possible worlds w it holds that if B of w is defined then A of w is true and if A of w is not true then B of w is undefined. The presupposition A determines all possible worlds where B is defined (has a truth-value).

3. About Charles and Mary

Let us consider the examples:

- (1) (a) Charles met Mary.
- (b) Charles didn't meet Mary.
- (2) (a) Charles met Mary.
- (b) Charles didn't meet Mary.
- (c) Charles didn't meet Mary.

Case (1) brings no problem to the semantic analysis. It corresponds to the "normal reading" of the sentence. We can construct the constructions corresponding to the topic and focus:

Topic1 = Charles
Focus1 = $\lambda x. \lambda y. \text{Met}' x \text{ Mary}$

where Charles, Mary, x/y , $\text{Met}'(\text{Charles})$. How we can formulate the constructions (they are read and stop by stop through the lambda-notation):

- (1') (a) $\lambda x. [\text{Focus}' \text{Topic}']$
 $\lambda y. [\lambda x. \lambda y. \text{Met}' x \text{ Mary}] \text{ Charles}$
 $\lambda z. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} \text{ Mary}]$
- (b) $\lambda x. [\text{Focus}' \text{Topic}']$
 $\lambda y. [\lambda x. \lambda y. \text{Met}' x \text{ Mary}] \text{ Charles}$
 $\lambda z. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} \text{ Mary}]$

Case (2) is more complicated. Here, the verb belongs to the topic. The sentences (2a-c) can be paraphrased in the following way:

- (2) (a') It was Mary who Charles met.
 The individual that Charles met is Mary.
- (b') It was not Mary who Charles met.
 The individual that Charles met is not Mary.
- (c') It was Mary who Charles didn't meet.
 The individual that Charles didn't meet is Mary.

The sentences (2a,b) have a presupposition that Charles met somebody, while (2c) has a presupposition that there exists somebody who Charles didn't meet. In (2b) the scope of negation is constituted by the focus, the verb itself is not negated. In (2c) only the verb is negated (see Gajda, 1974, 1984).

In addition, the sentences (2a,c) say that Mary

was (in the given context) the only one individual that Charles met, or did not meet. The focus is an exhaustive listing of such individuals, whenever the verb belongs to the topic (Katerina, Sgall, 1980, Sgall et al. 1986).

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

Topic1 = $\lambda x. \lambda y. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} y]$ (α) ω -construction
Focus1 = Mary ω -construction

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

Topic2 = $\lambda x. \lambda y. \text{Met}' \text{Charles} y$
 (that individual that Charles met)
Focus2 = $\lambda x. \lambda x. x = \text{Mary}$
 (the property of being Mary)

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

(2') (a) $\lambda x. [\text{Focus2}' \text{Topic2}']$
 $\lambda y. [\lambda x. x = \text{Mary}] [\lambda y. \text{Met}' \text{Charles} y]$
 $\lambda z. \lambda y. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} y] = \text{Mary}$

Analogically for (2b) we get

(2') (b) $\lambda x. [\text{Focus2}' \text{Topic2}']$
 $\lambda y. \lambda y. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} y] \neq \text{Mary}$

and for (2c)

Topic1 = $\lambda x. \lambda y. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} y]$
Focus1 = Mary

Topic2 = $\lambda x. \lambda y. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} y]$
Focus2 = $\lambda x. \lambda x. x = \text{Mary}$

(2') (c) $\lambda x. [\text{Focus2}' \text{Topic2}']$
 $\lambda y. [\lambda x. x = \text{Mary}] [\lambda y. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} y]]$
 $\lambda z. \lambda y. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} y] = \text{Mary}$

Do these constructions reflect presupposition, negation and exhaustive listing as observed in (2a-c)? The ω -operator (singularizer) is not defined on the empty class, i.e. the propositions (2'a,b) are undefined in those possible worlds where Charles met nobody, and (2'c) is undefined in those possible worlds where Charles met 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.

Nevertheless, at least two objections to these constructions can be raised:

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

$\lambda x. \text{Met}' \text{Charles} x$

should be substituted by

$\lambda x. [\text{Met}' \text{Charles} x] \& [\text{c} \text{ x}]$

The following functions are used in the description:

```

CB      : DepTree -> Bool
NB      : DepTree -> Bool
NBNeg  : DepTree -> Bool
Tree    : Edge    -> DepTree
Fun     : Edge    -> Functor
R      : 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  : Construction -> 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. R(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' without 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(c) returns the type of construction c.

Now we can describe the following procedures:

```

TFA     - the main procedure (function)
FA      - verb in the focus, dividing A-edge
TA      - 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

```

TFA (dt) =
let e = DivEdge (dt) in
( A-Edge(e) & NB(dt) -> FA(dt),
  A-Edge(e) & CB(dt) -> TA(dt),
  R-Edge(e) & NB(dt) -> FR(dt),
  R-Edge(e) & CB(dt) -> TR(dt)
);

```

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,e)),
    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 belongs to the topic the tree is handled by function TA. The tree is divided in the same manner as in FA. The resulting construction is more complicated than in TA because it has to reflect presuppositions and exhaustive listing.

TA : DepTree -> Construction

```

TA (dt) =
let e = DivEdge (dt),
    T = Translate (PutVar (dt,e)),
    F = Translate (Tree(e))
in
let
  Y = (if GetTyp(F')=GetTyp(T')
      then [ [One F']Ino T' ]
      else [ \y.y=F' ]Ino T' )
in
if NBNeg(dt) then [ \v.~ Y ]
else [ \v. Y ] ;

```

If the dividing edge is an R-edge and the verb belongs 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 determines a relationship 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 negation.

FR : DepTree -> Construction

```

FR (dt) =
let e = DivEdge (dt),
    F = Translate (DelEdge (dt,e)),
    T = Translate (Tree(e)),
    P = R(Fun(e))
in
if NBNeg(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,e)),
    F = Translate (Tree(e)),
    P = R(Fun(e))
in
if NBNeg(dt) then [ \v.~ [P' [Tr' T] F] ]
else [ \v [P' [Tr' T] F] ] ;

```

Although many 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.

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