

Plural-NP in der DRT: Summation, Abstraktion, kollektive und distributive Lesart

Ereignisse, Einstellungen, Nominalisierung und Inferenz in der
Diskursrepräsentationstheorie, SS 2017
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Plural ist komplexer als Singular

- ▶ Keine notwendige Kongruenz in Numerus und Genus zwischen Pronomen und Antezedenten
- ▶ Zugänglichkeit der Antezedenten schwieriger
- ▶ Summation, Abstraktion
- ▶ Kollektive und distributive Lesarten
- ▶ Reziprozität
- ▶ floating quantifiers
- ▶ ...

Summation

John took Mary to Acapulco. **They** had a lousy time.

→ Einfach: Summe über zugängliche Diskursreferenten

Last month John took Mary to Acapulco. Fred and Suzie were already there. The next morning **they** set off on their sailing trip.

→ Sind alle denkbaren Summen aus zugänglichen Diskursreferenten möglich?

Summation: Regel

Ja, alle denkbaren Summen sind möglich:

Summation	
Triggering configurations:	K' is a sub-DRS of the DRS K (possibly K itself) and $\mathbf{v}_1, \dots, \mathbf{v}_k$ ($k \geq 2$) are discourse referents occurring in K and accessible from K' .
Operation:	Introduce a new non-individual discourse referent \mathbf{Z} into $U_{K'}$ while introducing into $\text{Con}_{K'}$ the condition $\mathbf{Z} = \mathbf{v}_1 \oplus \dots \oplus \mathbf{v}_k$

(Konvention: Denotation durch Großbuchstaben: $S = s_1 \oplus s_2$)

Summation

u v y Z U

John(u)

Mary(v)

Acapulco(y)

u took v to y

$Z = u \oplus v$

$U = Z$

U had a lousy time

Durchgeführte Operationen:

1. Neuer Diskursreferent Z
2. Neue Bedingung $Z = u \oplus v$

Summation

Two of the ten balls are not in the bag. **They** are under the sofa.

→ Die zwei Bälle können gemeint sein.

Eight of the ten balls are in the bag. **They** are under the sofa.

→ Die zwei Bälle können nicht gemeint sein (Differenzmengen nicht wünschenswert).

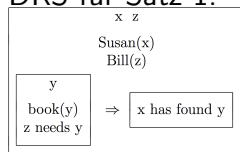
Freddy took one ball out of the bag. Andy took out another one. **They** are under the sofa.

→ Die zwei Bälle können gemeint sein.

Abstraktion

Susan has found every book which Bill needs. **They** are on his desk.

DRS für Satz 1:



Gewünschte Abstraktion für Satz 2: Alle $y(!)$, die Bücher sind, von z gebraucht werden, und von x gefunden worden sind.

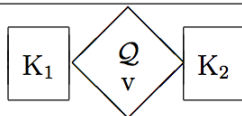
→ Wie wird y für die Abstraktion zugänglich gemacht?

Abstraktion: Regel

Abstraction

Triggering configurations

$\gamma \subseteq \bar{\gamma} \in \text{Con}_{\mathbf{K}}$:



Operations:

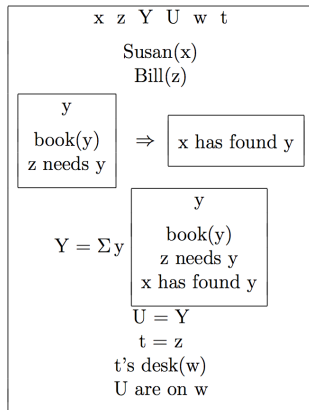
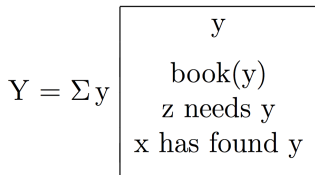
Form the union $K_0 = K_1 \cup K_2$ of the two component DRSs of this condition. Choose a discourse referent \mathbf{w} from U_{K_0} . Introduce into $U_{\mathbf{K}}$ a new discourse referent \mathbf{Y} and add to $\text{Con}_{\mathbf{K}}$ the condition

$$\mathbf{Y} = \Sigma \mathbf{w}: K_0$$

Abstraktion

Abstraktion:

1. Neuer Diskursreferent Y
2. Neue Bedingung



Kollektive und distributive Lesart

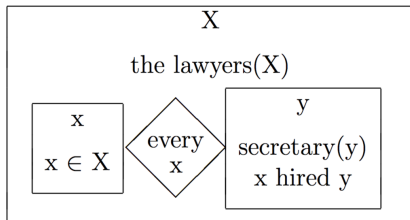
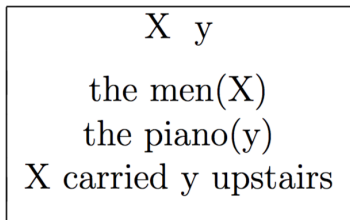
- ▶ The men carried the piano upstairs.
- ▶ The lawyers hired a secretary.
- ▶ The inhabitants built a town hall.

In allen drei Beispielen wird eine *kollektive* Lesart bevorzugt.
Das Subjekt handelt als Kollektiv.

In vielen Fällen ist aber auch eine *distributive* Lesart möglich:

- ▶ Both the professors and the lawyers decided to get private secretaries. But there was a difference. The lawyers hired a secretary they liked. The professors hired a secretary they could afford.

Kollektive und distributive Lesart: DRS



Exkurs: Diskursreferenten für NP von Mengen

CR.NP [Quant = def / Num = plur]

Triggering configurations $\gamma \sqsubseteq \bar{\gamma} \in \text{Con}_K$:

Operations:

- Introduce a new plural discourse referent \mathbf{X} into the universe of the main DRS K' . Add to $\text{Con}_{K'}$ the condition $\beta(\mathbf{X})$.
- Substitute in $\bar{\gamma}$: \mathbf{X} for NP .
 $\begin{matrix} \Delta \\ \delta\beta \end{matrix}$

CR.NP [Quant = ind / Num = plur]

Triggering configurations $\gamma \sqsubseteq \bar{\gamma} \in \text{Con}_K$:

Operations:

- Introduce a new plural discourse referent \mathbf{X} into the universe of the DRS K .
- Add $\beta(\mathbf{X})$ to Con_K .
- Substitute in $\bar{\gamma}$: u for NP .
 $\begin{matrix} \Delta \\ \delta\beta \end{matrix}$

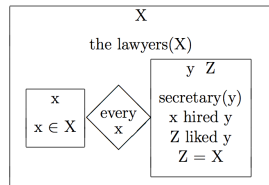
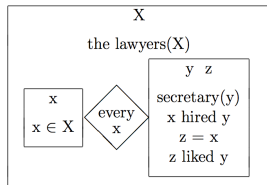
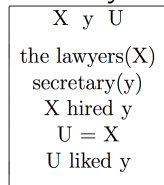
Wann sind kollektive und distributive Lesarten möglich?

1. The lawyers hired a secretary.
2. Few lawyers hired a secretary.
3. The villagers built a town hall.
4. Many villagers built a town hall.

Welche kollektive und distributive Lesarten sind möglich?

The lawyers hired a secretary they liked.

Unterscheide kollekt. und distr. Lesarten bezüglich *the lawyers* und *they*:



Weitere Phänomene: Abhängige Plurale

Distributive Lesart (über die Subjekte): Was ist die richtige Lesart für die Objekte? Sind diese immer als Plural zu verstehen?

1. Most of my friends own cars.
2. Most students bought books that would keep them fully occupied during the next two weeks.

Abhängige Plurale: DRS

