Parametric Variation of Disjunction[*]

Kabyong Park

Contents

1. Introduction
2. Larson's (1985) Analysis of Disjunction
3. Korean Data
4. Concluding Remarks

---

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to review Larson's (1985) analysis of the scope of disjunction and to raise some theoretical and empirical problems. I will propose a slightly different alternative for the analysis of disjunction. Larson argues that the syntax of scope indicators such as <u>either</u> and <u>whether</u> reflects the semantics--specifically, the scope--of disjunction. Conversely, the scope disjunction determines the possible positions of those scope indicators. Larson's hypothesis that the syntactic behavior of a certain linguistic element (or a certain construction) reflects its semantic property and vice versa says that it is in the spirit of May (1985). Larson's contribution to this research program would be that (i) he develops a theory of syntax for disjunction, and that (ii) he tries to characterize how the proposed syntax is tied to semantics with respect to
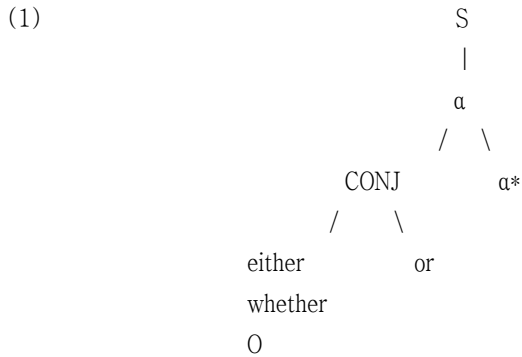
---

disjunction scope.

Larson clearly aims at a universal theory of disjunction. However, it seems that he misunderstands the concepts of "universals" and "language acquisition" : he provides an English particular analysis of disjunction, which, he proposes, serves as "a part of universal biological endowment" for a learner of English. The confusion results from the ignorance of the fact that any particular property of any particular language could not be guaranteed the label of "universal"--it could be a "candidate"-- until it is empirically tested cross-linguistically. I will propose a slightly different underlying representation. I hope to show that the present account explains parametric variation among languages, at least the difference between English and Korean. In section 2, I will sketch the outline of Larson's theory of disjunction and raise some problems about Larson's framework. Section 3 is devoted to the discussion of the same Korean disjunction data followed by an alternative proposal.

2. Larson′s (1985) Analysis of Disjunction

2.1. Larson (1985)

On the basis of the hypothesis that scope of disjunction is tied in an "intimate" way to the syntax of either and whether, Larson presents a syntactic analysis of disjunction scope within Government-Binding Framework: the scope disjunction is assigned by way of syntactic movement of the so-called scope indicators. His scope indicators include either, whether, and a phonologically null operator O. Either is a [-Wh] scope indicator which undergoes the movement of S-adjunction. This movement is essentially the same as May's Quantifier Raising. The [+Wh]

indicator <u>whether</u> moves, as in Wh-Movement, Comp-to-Comp. He adopts an underlying representation for disjunction proposed in Lakoff and Peters (1969), who argue against an approach in which all coordination is derived from coordination of sentences, as shown in (1). In (1) $\alpha*$ denotes a finite sequence of categories. The movement of scope indicators, like other kind of movement, is constrained by some general principles such as ECP and Subjacency.

```
(1)                                    S
                                       |
                                       α
                                      /  \
                               CONJ        α*
                              /    \
                          either       or
                          whether
                          O
```

Let us look at an example for the sake of concreteness.

(2) Mary is looking for a cook or a maid.

This sentence is ambiguous in that the scope of or could be either narrow or wide. In the narrow scope interpretation, the or scope is confined to the object noun phrase a cook or a maid. And in the wide scope reading, the sentence is understood as (3).

(3) Either Mary is looking for a cook or Mary is looking for a maid.

This ambiguity is explained by the assumption that, given the underlying structure in (1), the scope indicators like either can move either at S-structure or LF, as long as it obeys the general principles such as ECP and Subjacency.

As far as the semantics of disjunction is concerned, the author simply adopts Rooth and Partee's (1982) model theoretic semantic approach to disjunction. The idea is that disjunction introduces a free variable which must be bound by a quantifier at the point where a scope indicator can appear. The sentence (4), for example, would have two different logical forms in (5).

(4) John hopes Mary is swimming or dancing.
(5) a. HOPE (j, P_i[P_i(m) & [P_i = SWIM v P_i = DANCE]]
    b. P_i [HOPE(j, [P_i (m) & [P_i = SWIM v P_i = DANCE]]

(5a) represents the narrow scope reading where the free predicate variable P_i introduced by disjunction must be bound inside the embedded clause, and (5b) represents the wide scope reading understood as 'John hopes Mary is swimming or he hopes Mary is swimming'.

2.2. The problems

Now, I will raise some problems as to Larson's analysis of disjunction. First of all, the author never talks about the movement of the connective or. If we assume that the underlying structure for disjunction is like (1), then we have to move or somewhere in the grammar, perhaps at PF. The

question is whether there is any evidence to support the existence of this extra kind of movement for disjunction.

Second, the argument for revision of the concept of antecedent−government should be modified such that only tensed S's block antecedent government. Neither infinitive S's nor NP's block antecedent government. This revision is necessary in order to explain the contrast between tensed and infinitive S's with respect to scope indicator movement. Consider the following examples.

(6) * a. John believes that either Bill said that [Mary was drinking or playing video games].
   * b. Either John believes that Bill said that [Mary was drinking or playing video games].

(7) a. Sherlock pretended [PRO to either be looking for [NP a burglar or a thief]
    b. Sherlock either pretended [PRO to be looking for [NP a burglar or a thief].

(7) shows that neither NP nor an infinitive, respectively, blocks movement across a tensed clause, while the movement is shown to be impossible in (6). However, there is no independent evidence in favor of this modification. Thus, to the extent that this revised version of ECP fails to find independent general support, Larson's hypothesis that scope indicator movement is constrained by some general principles would be wrong.

Third, the author assigns very different status to whether and if appearing in interrogative complements: the former is a scope indicator moved COMP and the latter is not a scope indicator and is to be base−generated in COMP. However, there seems to be no theoretical and

empirical ground in favor of this distinction. Consider the following examples.

(8) a. I don't know if John claimed that Bill left or not.
   b. I don't know [if John made [the claim [that Bill left
      or not]]].

Notice that (8b) exhibits the same Subjacency effect as the corresponding one with whether. According to Larson, although (8a) yields both wide and narrow scope reading for disjunction like I don't know whether Bill left or not, a phonologically null operator O is responsible for the wide scope interpretation of (8a). There seems to be no theoretical advantage to cover the cost of the introduction of the empty operator O.

Another thing we have to explain is, I think, the ungrammarticality of (9a).

(9) * a. I don't if or not Bill should resign or retire.
      b. [O i if [e i or not [s Oj [Bill should [Vp ej resign
         or retire]]]

If we follow Larson's introduction of the empty operator for if the S-structure of the interrogative complement would be like (9b). Larson's distinction seems to fail to explain why or not must move to the end when the COMP is filed with if, while the movement is not necessary when the COMP is filed with whether.

We might also ask what role the history of derivation plays in a theory of grammar. The author follows the proposal by Aoun, Hornstein and Sportiche (1981) that "if an element αis move to an A-bar position at S-structure, then it is not subject to further movements at LF. (p. 231)" The author adopts this proposal to account for scope "marking" by either

displaced from <u>or</u>. As far as the data is concerned, we might stipulate a more general constraint: Any element in A−bar position is not subject to movement at LF, assuming that the original place is an A position. This assumption makes some very important consequences as to the property of LF and theory of quantifiers. This hypothesis is incompatible with May's (1985) theory of quantification, since May's quantifier raising QR would move wh−phrases in intermediate complements at LF. Therefore, we end up with two kinds of quantifiers : those subject to the above constraint−−for example, scope indicators−−and the others which are not subject to the constraints, for example, wh−phrases. In order to avoid this undesirable complication, Larson is led to adopt Montague's (1974) proposal that quantified expressions may be interpreted in situ, and need not undergo obligatory raising in Logical Form. In any event, the question of how much syntactic information−−such as history of derivation−−is needed in a semantic theory assigning "interpretations" seems to be an important one.

  Fifth, Larson allows asymmetric disjunction in order to avoid rightward movement of scope indicators in the examples like (10) given below.

      (10) (his 30)
          a. Either Mary is driving to the airport or she is taking
             a cab.
          b. Mary either is driving to the airport or she is taking
             a cab.
          c. Mary is either driving to the airport or she is taking
             a cab.

  If we analyze (10b−c) as instances of S−disjunction, then we would have rightward movement of the scope indicator <u>either</u>, which is not a desirable consequence. In order to avoid this problem, Larson posits the

asymmetric disjunction structure like (11).

(11) (his 35)

```
                      S0
                   /      \
            NPo              INFL
             |             /      \
            Mary        INFL        XP
                         |        /   |   \
                         is     CONJ  VP   S1
                               /  \         |
                            either or  |   she is taking a cab
                                       |
                                  driving to the airport
```
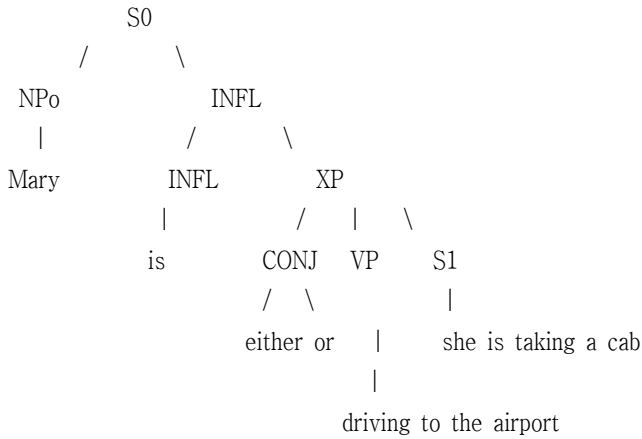
   The underlying representation itself in (11) is highly ad hoc. What kind of phrase structure rules could generate this type of underlying representation? Furthermore, the hypothesis would empirically predict that if the asymmetric VP-S disjunction is possible, there seems to be no principled reason not to allow NP-VP disjunction or any imaginable kind of disjunction. Then, we would not be able to account for the contrast illustrated below.

> (12) a. John either went to Boston or slept at home.
>   b. John went to either Boston or New York.
>   * c. John went either to Boston or slept at home.
>   * d. John went to either Boston or slept at home.

   Moreover, Montague grammar, whose semantics the author adopts, would not allow this kind of asymmetric structure, since it would not allow

the syntactic category (VP/S/)/S for the logical connective or. The generality underlying Montague Grammar's isomorphism between syntax and semantics would be in danger, if the asymmetry under discussion is possible.

Sixth, the author seems to fail to provide any principled reason why scope indicators have to move. According to Larson's analysis, the same rule of move Move-α applies to scope indicators as well as in raising constructions, for example. However, in the case of NP movement, Case Theory explains why the rule must apply. Consider the following, for example. S- and D-structures are given, respectively. John in (13b) must move to the higher subject position, since it can not be assigned a Case in its original place.

(13) a. John i seems [t i to be happy].
     b. e i seems [John to be happy].

Moreover, the movement of a [+Wh] element is optional, as illustrated below in the echo question (14b), whereas NP movement is obligatory because of the Case Theory.

(14) a. Whom did you see t i ?
     b. You saw whom?

In the case of movement of scope indicators, the opposite is true.

The following examples show that the [+Wh] scope indicator whether must undergo obligatory movement, while [-Wh] scope indicator either may stay in its orogonal position. Larson's analysis does not seem to provide any principled reason why the exact opposite should be true in SI movement. Note that (15c) is ruled out even as an echo question

   .

(15) a. Mary is looking for either a maid or a cook.

    b. Mary is either$_i$ looking for [e i a maid or a cook].

  * c. I don't know [[John [whether resigned or retired].

    d. I dont' know [whether$_i$ [John [e$_i$ resigned or retired].

Seventh, in order to explain the contrast between the following pair of examples, the author appeals to the assumption that disjunction introduces an operator whose values are constrained according to a condition determined by the <u>or</u> phrase.

(16) a. If Mary is swimming or dancing, then Sue is.

    b. If Mary is either swimming or dancing, then Sue is.

(16a) is ambiguous and has two different readings whose representations are informally given in (17). (16b), on the other hand, does not have the so-called "bound" reading in (17b). This difference is due to the presence of the overt scope indicator <u>either</u> in (16b).

(17) a. [swim(m) v dance(m) --> [swim(s) v dance (s)]

    b. [swim(m) -> swim(s) & [dance(m) -> dance (s)]

This line of analysis would predict that the following sentence (18) exhibits the same kind of ambiguity as (16a), since <u>whether</u> moves to COMP over everything in the clause. The subject I asked reported, however, only the "bound" reading like (17b). The unavailability of the reading like (17a) can not be explained under Larson's analysis.

(18) Whether Tim stole or brought the apples, Sue did so.

Eighth, Larson's account of disjunction predicts that the complex whether-clause in (19) would yield ambiguities--both narrow and wide scope interpretations of or--whether it appears in an interrogative complement as in (19b). Again, the prediction seems to be wrong, since there is no wide scope interpretation in (19b), while (19a) yields ambiguities.

> (19) a. I don't know whether John should ask Bill to resign
>   or retire.
>   b. [Whether John should ask Bill to resign or retire] is
>   not clear.

3. Korean Data

Now, I turn to Korean, a typologically very different language from English. Unlike English, Korean employs affixes attached to nouns, verbs, or clauses for the purpose of disjunction, as will be shown below. In English, there are two kinds of or: inclusive and exclusive. For example, in the sentence like Would you like coffee or tea?, the choice is mutually exclusive. The speaker (and the hearer) does not expect both. If somebody answered "Both" to the above question, the hearer would take it as a joke. On the other hand, disjunction in questions like Did you phonology and syntax? is inclusive : the same answer "Both" is one of the expected ones. There also seem to be two kinds of disjunction in Korean. But, unlike English, Korean uses two different morphemes for these two kinds of disjunction.

> (20) a. Mary-nin yonphil-na   hokin pen-lil chas-ko

iss-ta.

    TOP pencil-either or   pen-ACC look for
    PROG-DEC

'Mary is looking for a pencil or a pen.'

  b. Mary-nin yonphil-na animyon pen-lil chas-ko
    iss-ta.

                      NEG

'Mary is looking for a pencil or a pen (not both)'

(20a) and (20b) represent inclusive and exclusive disjunction, respectively. According to my judgements, (20b) would be false if Mary is, in fact, looking for both. (20a), on the other hand, would still be true even if Mary is, in fact, looking for both.

Let us first consider NP-disjunction.

(21) Mary-nin yonphil-na hokin pen-lil chas-ko iss-ta.
     TOP pencil-either or pen-ACC look for
     PROG-DEC
  'Mary is looking for a pencil or a pen.'

This example is also ambiguous like the English translation: it has both narrow scope interpretation and wide scope interpretation whose meaning is informally given in (22).

(22) a. Mary is looking for ((a pencil) or (a pen)).
    b. Mary is looking for a pencil or else Mary is looking
      for a pen.

Either the affix na or the connective morpheme hokin 'or' can be missing.

(23) a. Mary-nin yonphil-na pen-lil chas-ko iss-ta.
  b. Mary-nin yonphil hokin pen-lil chas-ko iss-ta.
   'Mary is looking for a pencil or a pen.'

However, since the scope indicator -na is an affix, it can not move at Syntax.

(24) * a. Na Mary-nin yonphil hokin pen-lil chas-ko
      iss-ta.
   * b. Mary-nin na yonphil hokin pen-lil chas-ko
      iss-ta.
   * c. Mary-nin yonphil hokin pen-na chas-ko iss-ta.

Since there is no syntactic movement of scope indicators in Korean, the underlying structure in (1) is not universal or at least it is not appropriate for Korean. What is more important here is that even though the scope indicator can not move, the sentence (21) still contains a wide scope interpretation in (22b). This could be the first objection to Larson's hypothesis that possible syntactic positions of scope indicators determine the scope of disjunction. Moreover, if we posit an underlying structure like (1) for Korean disjunctive examples, we would not have any example which does not involve movement of scope indicators.

Let us look at Verb- and S -disjunction, which employ a mechanism different from noun-disjunction. While English employs the same scope indicators and the connective or for every kind of disjunction, Korean uses different affixes for the Verb- and S-disjunction. (25) illustrates a VP-disjunction.

(25) a. John-in saimha-ass-kena hokin intoyha-ass-ta.
       TOP resigned-either or   retired

b. John-in saimha-ass-tinji hokin intoyha-ass-ta.
' John either resigned or retired.'
* c. John-in saimha-ass-kena hokin intoyha-ass-ta.

The ungrammaticality of (25c) indicates that VP-disjunction, unlike NP-disjunction, does not allow the absence of the scope indicator.

Disjunction in interrogative complements uses another different affix. Some examples are found in (26).

(26) a. ki koch-ka   saimha-ass-ninji (hokin) an
ha-ass-ninji
the coach-NOM resigned whether   or   NEG
did-whether
molikes-ta.
don't know
'I don't know whether the coach resigned or not.'
b. ki koch-ka   saimha-ass-ninji
the coach-NOM resigned whether
molikes-ta.
don't know
'I don't know whether the coach resigned.'
c.   ki   koch-ka   saimha-ass-ninji
intoy-ha-ass-ninji
the   coach-NOM   resigned-whether   retired
whether
molikes-ta.
don't know
'I don't know whether the coach resigned or retired.'

(26b) exhibits the optionality of the connective or not, which is also

true in English. The optionality of <u>an-ha-ass-nin-ji</u> 'or did not' plays an important role in complex sentences. Consider the following English examples.

(27a) is ambiguous: it shows two apparent readings whose logical forms are given in (28). (28a) represents the wide scope reading and (28b) the narrow one. (27b), on the other hand, allows only the wide scope interpretation in (28a).

This contrast is due to the presence of <u>or not</u> in (28b).

(27) a. I know whether John should ask Bill to resign or
       retire.
    b. I know whether or not John should ask Bill to
       resign or to retire.

(28) a. {p: p is true &
         [[p= John should ask Bill to resign or retire] v
            [p=~ John should ask Bill to retire or
            retire]]}
     b. {p: p is true &
         [[p= John should ask Bill to resign] v
            [p= John should ask Bill to retire]]}

Now, consider the corresponding Korean examples.

(29) John-ka [Bill-eke saimha-kona (hokin) intoyha-
     ki-lil]
     NOM DAT resign-either(or) retire-COMP-ACC
     yochongha-ya hal-ji   molikesta.
     ask   should-whether don't know
     'I don't know whether John should ask [Bill to resign
     or to retire].'

(30) John-ka [Bill-eke saimha-kona (hokin) intoyha-
        ki-lil]
    NOM DAT resign-either (or) retire-COMP-ACC]
    yochongha-ya hal-ji   an ha-ya hal-ji molikesta.
    ask   should -whether NEG-should-whether don't
    know
    'I don't know whether or not John should ask [Bill to
    resign or to retire]'

There is no narrow interpretation in the above Korean examples, whether or not appears as in (30) or not as (29). The only possible reading is the wide scope one given in (28a). Recall that in simple sentences (26a-b) the presence of or not does not make any difference for the scope of disjunction. The same is true in complex sentences in Korean, as shown in (29-30), while the presence of or not in English yields different interpretations as shown above. The same phenomenon is found in the following example, where the disjunction appears in the subject position of the complement.

(31) Ki koch-na   kamtok-ka   saimha-ass-ninji
        molikes-ta.
    the coach-or manager-NOM resigned-whether don't
    know
    'I don't know whether the coach or the manager
    resigned.'

(31) exhibits only the wide scope reading in (32a), whereas English translation would yield both readings (32a) and (32b).

(32) a. {p: p is true &

           [[p= The coach or the manager resigned] v
              [p=~The coach or the manager resigned]
          b. {p: p is true &
              [[p = The coach resigned]v
              [p = The manager resigned]]}

   A tensed clause also shows the same fact. (33) also allows only wide
scope interpretation.

       (33) John-ka saimha-ass-kona intoyha-ass-ta-ko
               NOM resigned   or   retired-COMP-that
            Bill-ka jujangha-ass-nin-ji   molikesta
               NOM claimed   whether don't know
            'I don't know whether Bill claimed that John resigned
             or retired.'

   These examples perhaps indicate that Larson's analysis of disjunction is
not universal. I do not have an answer at hand for the unavailability of the
narrow scope interpretation in these examples.
   However, Japanese data is consistent with Larson's analysis. Yoshimoto
   (personal communication) points out that (34) has both narrow and wide
scope readings.

       (34) John-ga Bill-ni jinnin-ka   (aruiwa) taisyoku-o
               NOM   DAT   resignation-either   or
               retirement-ACC
            tanomubeki-ka dooka watasi-wa wakaranai.
            ask-either   whether I-TOP   don't know
            'I don't know whether or not John should ask [Bill to
             resign or to retire].'

The interaction between negation and disjunction illustrates an important point. Consider the English example in (35).

(35) Mary isn't looking for a maid or a cook.

What is important here is that the scope of disjunction may not cross over the negative morpheme <u>not</u>: hence the unavailability of the reading ' Either Mary is not looking for a maid or else Mary is not looking for a cook.' The syntax of the scope indicator <u>either</u> shows this fact, as illustrated in (36): it may not move over the negative element.

(36) a. Mary isn't looking for either a maid or a cook.
  ? b. Mary isn't either looking for a maid or a cook.
  * c. Mary either isn't looking for a maid or a cook.
  * d. Either Mary isn't looking for a maid or a cook.

The author provides a semantic account for this fact from the interaction between negation and disjunction: "interpretation of negation involves "obligatory" introduction of an unselective existential quantifier (p. 258)", which blocks movement of scope indicators. In other words, the blinding of free variables introduced by disjunction must occur inside the negative quantifier NEG. In contrast to English, Korean shows that disjunction is not confined by negation.

(37) a. John-ka i chayk-na hokin   jo chaek-lil   an
    po-ass-ta.
    NOM this book-either or that book-ACC NEG read
    'John did not read either this or that book.'

   b. John-ka jomsim-na hokin jonyok-lil   an

mek-ass-ta.
　lunch-either or　dinner-ACC NEG ate
'John did not eat either lunch or dinner.'

The examples in (37) do not have the complete negation reading like (35): in fact, the only possible interpretation is the wide scope one in (38), which the English counterparts would not permit.

(38) a. Either John did not read this book or John did not
　　　　read that book.
　　b. Either John did not have lunch or John did not have
　　　　dinner.

Recall that either the scope indicator -na 'either' or the connective hokin 'or' can be missing. The sentences without -na 'either' or without hokin 'or' yield the same result. Korean has another way of negation: the so-called 'long-form' negation, which is exemplified in (39). (39) also shows the same interpretation.

(39) John-ka i chayk-na　　　hokin　 jo chayk-lil po-ji
　　 an-ass-ta.
　　　　NOM this book-either or that book-ACC read-ji
　　　　NEG-PAST

Thus, it seems that the negated verb as a whole is treated as a predicate, since NEG does not block wide scope reading. Japanese exhibits the same phenomenon. Therefore, we could at least say that Larson's assumption that disjunction is confined by negation is not universal, either.

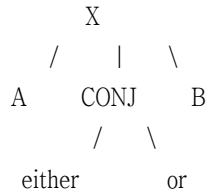(40)　 John-wa　 hirugohan-ka　 aruiwa　 yuugohan-o

tabe-na-katta.
 TOP lunch   either or   dinner-ACC
 eat-NEG-PAST
'Either John did not have lunch or John did not have
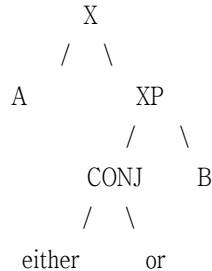dinner.'
* 'John had neither lunch nor dinner.'

Now, I propose that an underlying representation for disjunction should look like (41a) or (41b). The choice between the two would have to be determined by testing their consequences.

(41) a.   X
                              / | \
                            A   CONJ   B
                                  /   \
                              either   or

    b.   X
                               /   \
                             A   XP
                                    /   \
                                 CONJ   B
                                 /   \
                             either   or

Even though the underlying representation in (41) does not solve all the problems I raised in sections 2 and 3, it has some theoretical advantages. First of all, under the present account, there is no need to posit rightward movement, which initiated asymmetric disjunction. Consequently we could

dispense with asymmetric disjunction. Given the underlying structure in (41), the sentences in (10) could be treated as a S-disjunction instead of a VP-S disjunction. Another possible alternative would be to treat them as a VP-disjunction, assuming that the same subject is inserted for some pragmatic reason. If we look at idiomatic expressions like not A but B, the same pattern is found. Thus speakers of English use both (42a) and (42b).

>   (42) a. John is not a student but a professor.
>   b. John is not a student but he is a professor.

Another consequence is that there is no need to move the disjunctive connective or at all in most cases even in English. Recall that if we have an underlying structure like (1), whether the syntactic node CONJ is pre or post-conjunct ($\alpha*$), we need to have two kinds of movement: scope indicators at one time and or at some other level, perhaps as PF. The structure (42), on the other hand, avoids the necessity of syntactic movement in Korean.

As mentioned above, Larson's analysis of disjunction is language-particular: good for only English, if correct. However, Larson argues that "from the standpoint of language acquisition these (explanations) represent promising results." (p. 262) The children's task is just picking up a scope indicator appropriate for the given context. Linguists within Universal Grammar framework are not, however, concerned with acquisition of any particular language.

The two criteria for Chomsky's Universal Grammar are language acquisition and the possible range of natural Grammar that consists of a certain set of "parameters". Chomsky (1986) points out that "the principles of universal grammar are exceptionless, because they constitute the language faculty itself, a framework for any particular language, the basis for the acquisition of language. (p. 62)" But clearly languages differ in

numerous ways at the surface level. This difference is due to different values of a certain set of more general "parameters": "each permissible array of switch settings (of parameters) determines a particular language. Acquisition of a language is in part a process of setting the switches one way or another on the basis of the presented data, a process of fixing the values of the parameters. (p. 63)"

Given the assumption that the underlying structure in (41) is universal, then, we could take an extreme approach. If the present account is right, then the first task of children would be to set the values of the parameter "Move (or Do not move) scope indicators at syntax." Perhaps this is a consequence of a more general parameter, since Korean does not have a Wh-movement, either. Even in languages without syntactic SI movement, scope indicators may move at LF; in Korean, movement of scope indicators is confined to the nominal clause where they appear, whereas English allows more wide movement. The third possible parameter is the status of NEG: in English, it blocks the movement of scope indicators at both S-structure and LF, whereas in languages like Korean and Japanese, it does not block the movement if it appears in the same clause as the scope indicator.

4. Concluding Remarks

To summarize, I propose the underlying structure for the disjunction should look like the one given in (41) cross-linguistically. A language is parameterized with respect to the movement of scope indicators such as either at syntax and LF. We also might need another parameter with respect to the status of NEG. The present account makes some predictions as to the possible range of languages with respect to the syntactic and

semantic properties of disjunction. This prediction should be checked
cross-linguistically to see if the hypothesis is valid.

인 용 문 헌

Aoun, J., N. Hornstein & D. Sportiche. "Some Aspects of Wide Scope Quantification". *Journal of Linguistic Research* 1: 69-95. 1981.

Chomsky, N. *Language and Problems of Knowledge: The Managua Lectures*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 1986.

Lakoff, G. & S. Peters. "Phrasal Conjunction and Syntactic Predicates". D. A. Reibel & S. A. Schane. Eds. *Modern Studies in English.* N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1969.

Larson, R. "On the Syntax of Disjunction Scope". *Natural language and Linguistic Theory* 3:217-264. 1985.

May, R. *Logical Form*. Cambridge: MIT press. 1985.

Montague, R. *Formal Philosophy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974.

Oirsouw, R. *The Syntax of Coordination*. London: Taylor & Francis. 1987.

Rooth, M. & B. Partee. "Conjunction, Type Ambiguity, and Wide Scope 'Or'" *Proceedings of the West Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Somerville: Cascadilla press. 1982.

Abstract

Parametric Variation of Disjunction

Kabyong Park

   This paper reviews Larson's (1985) analysis of the scope of disjunction and raises some theoretical and empirical problems. A slightly different alternative for the analysis of disjunction will be proposed to handle those problems. Larson's analysis based on the correlation between the syntax of scope indicators and the scope of disjunction clearly aims at a universal theory of disjunction, which may not be true of all languages. I propose a slightly different underlying representation for disjunction and hope to show that the present account explains parametric variation among languages, at least the difference between English and Korean.

이름: 박 갑 용
소속: 남서울대학교 영어과
주소: 충청남도 천안시 성환읍 매주리 21
e-mail: kpark@nsu.ac.kr