

Formal Semantics of Natural Language

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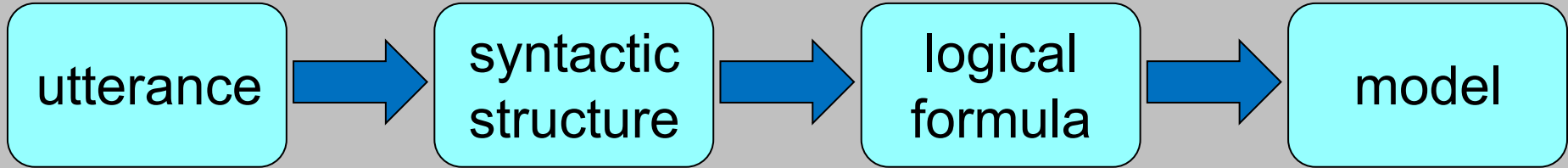
Topic 5

Quantification

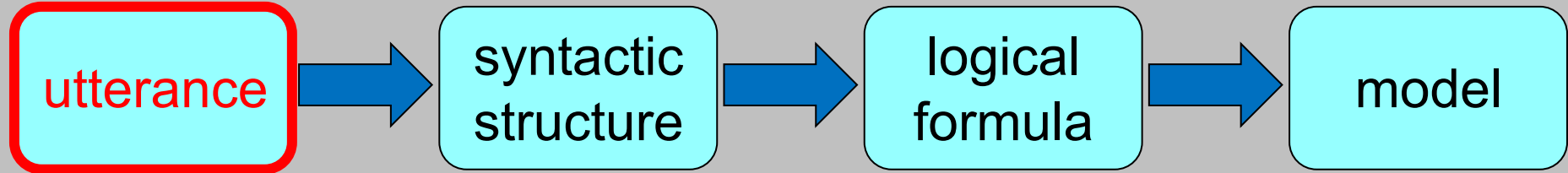
Quantificational expressions

- ▶ *Everybody* praised Mary.
- ▶ *Everybody but Tina* praised Mary.
- ▶ One can find it *everywhere*.
- ▶ John *rarely* wears a cap.
- ▶ John *most often* wears a cap.
- ▶ We are *far from* Beijing.
- ▶ There is *a lot of* work to do today.
- ▶ *Everybody* needs *some* help *sometimes*.
- ▶ *Some* representatives of *every* department in *most* companies saw *a few* samples of *every* product

Taking stock

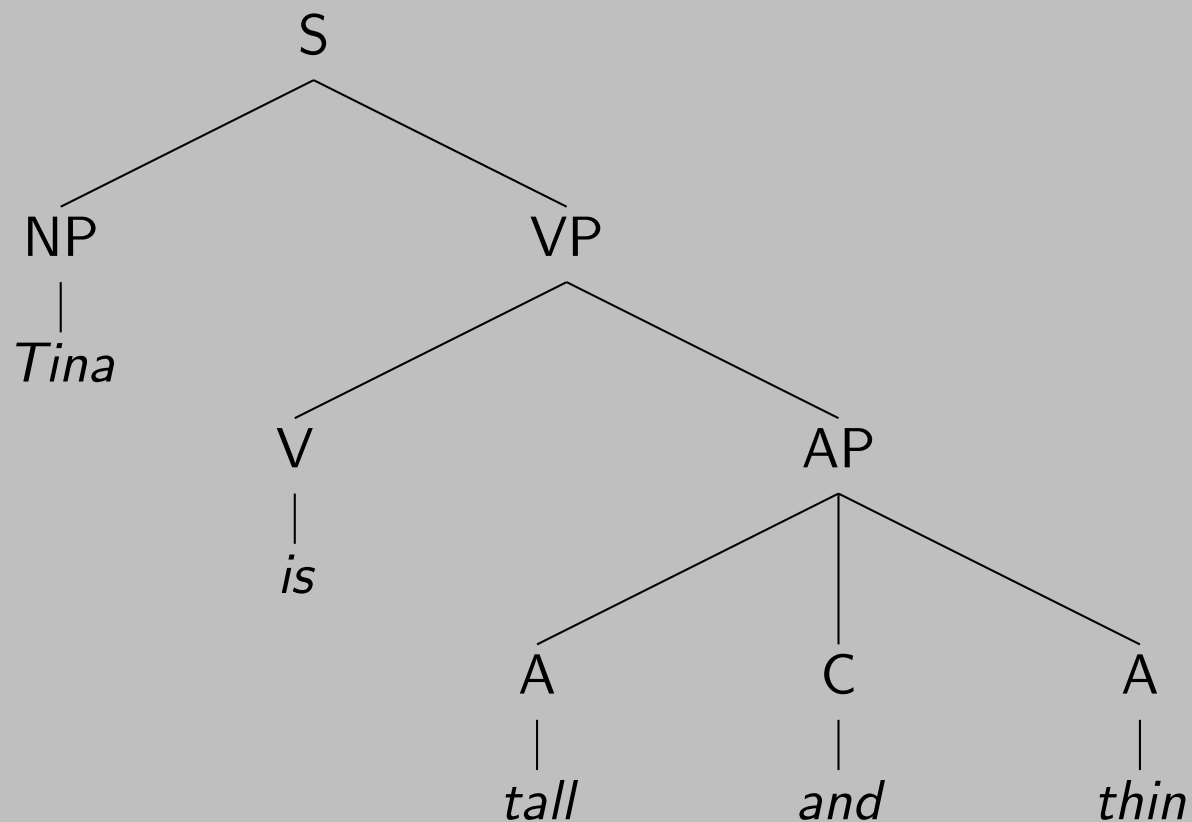
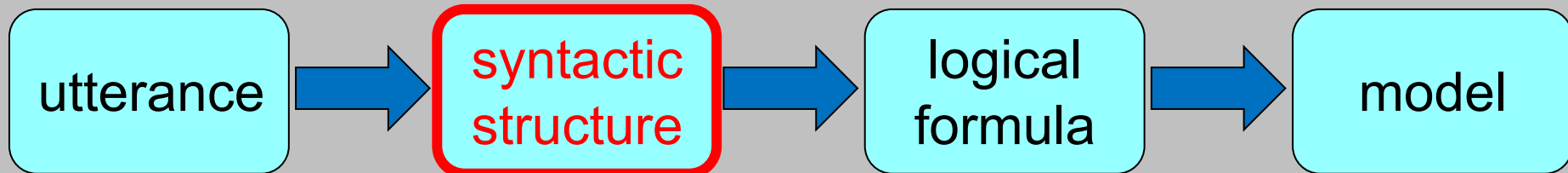


Taking stock

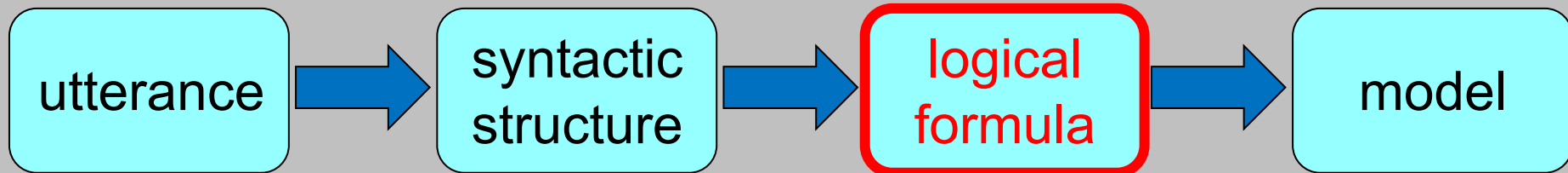


Tina is tall and thin

Taking stock

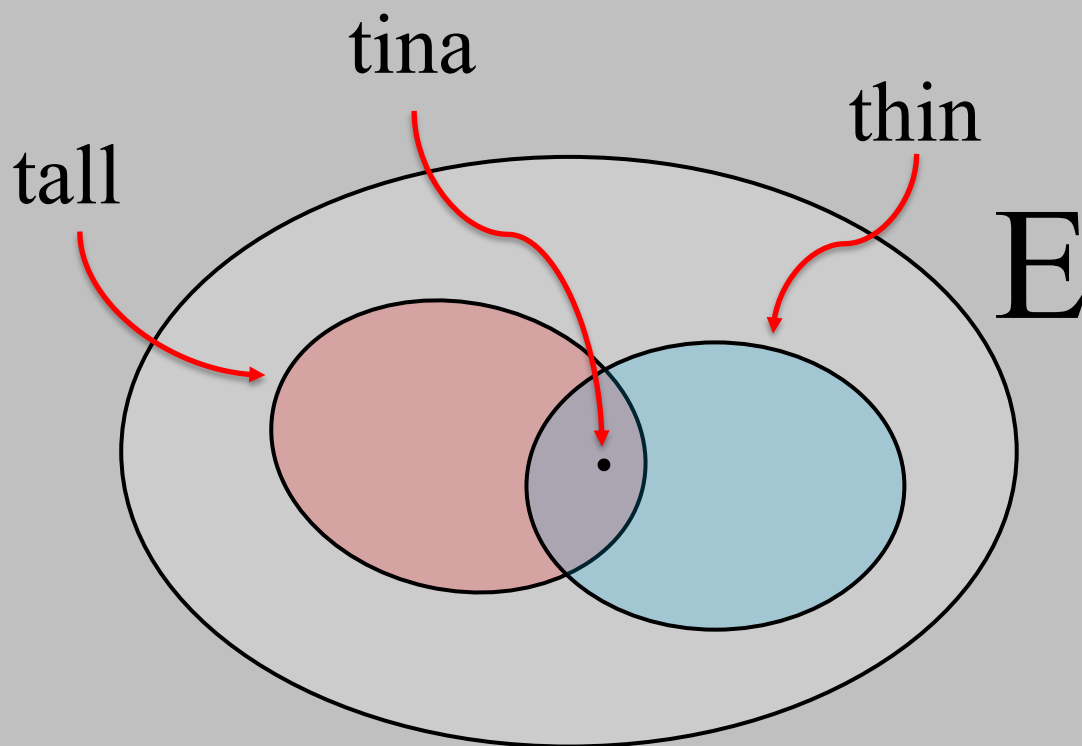
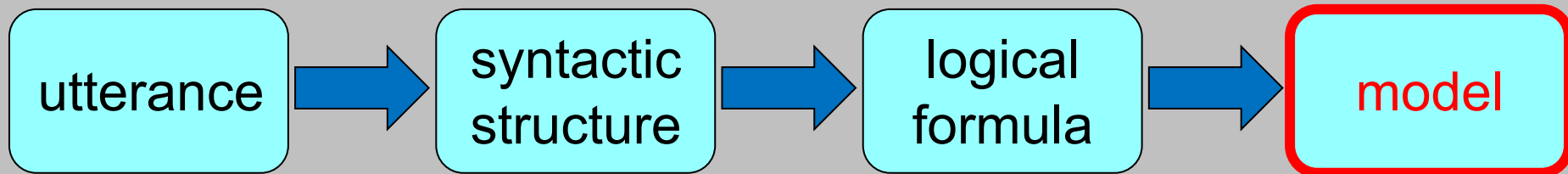


Taking stock

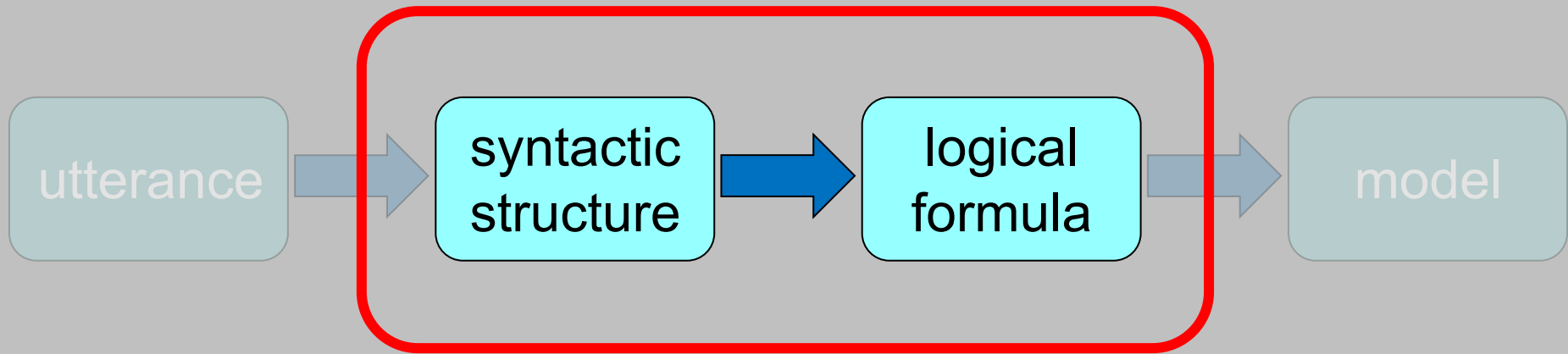


$$\begin{aligned} \text{IS (AND TALL THIN) TINA} &= (\lambda p x. p x) (\text{AND TALL THIN}) \text{TINA} \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} (\lambda x. \text{AND TALL THIN } x) \text{TINA} \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} \text{AND TALL THIN TINA} \\ &= (\lambda p q x. (p x) \wedge (q x)) \text{TALL THIN TINA} \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} (\lambda q x. (\text{TALL } x) \wedge (q x)) \text{THIN TINA} \\ &= (\lambda q x. ((\lambda x. \text{tall } x) x) \wedge (q x)) \text{THIN TINA} \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} (\lambda q x. (\text{tall } x) \wedge (q x)) \text{THIN TINA} \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} (\lambda x. (\text{tall } x) \wedge (\text{THIN } x)) \text{TINA} \\ &= (\lambda x. (\text{tall } x) \wedge ((\lambda x. \text{thin } x) x)) \text{TINA} \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} (\lambda x. (\text{tall } x) \wedge (\text{thin } x)) \text{TINA} \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} (\text{tall TINA}) \wedge (\text{thin TINA}) \\ &= (\text{tall tina}) \wedge (\text{thin tina}) \end{aligned}$$

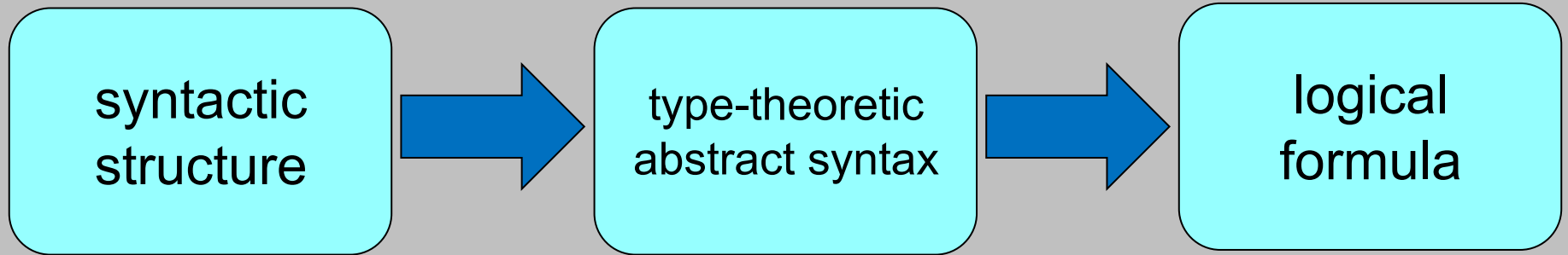
Taking stock



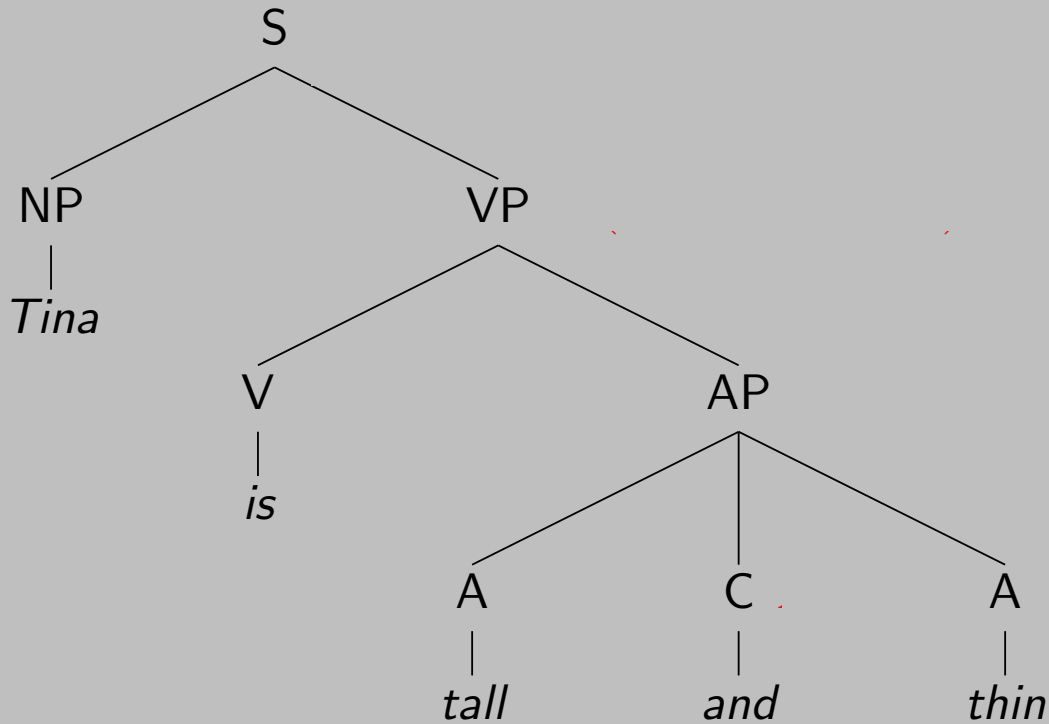
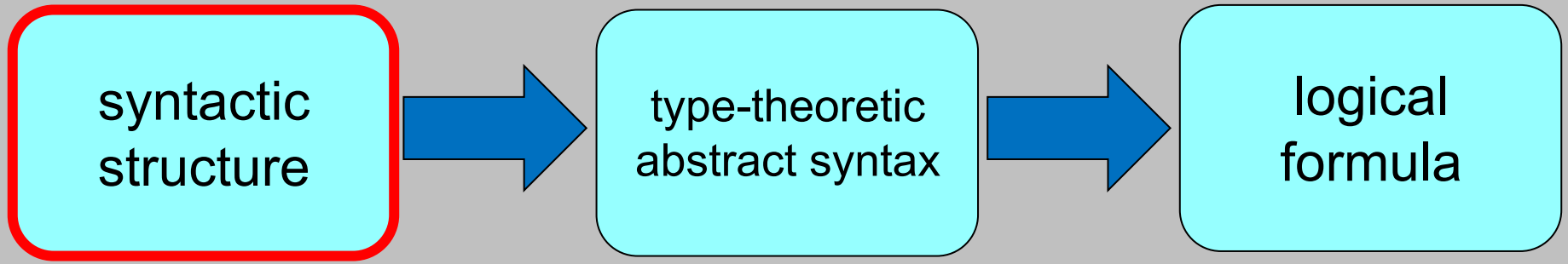
Syntax-semantics interface



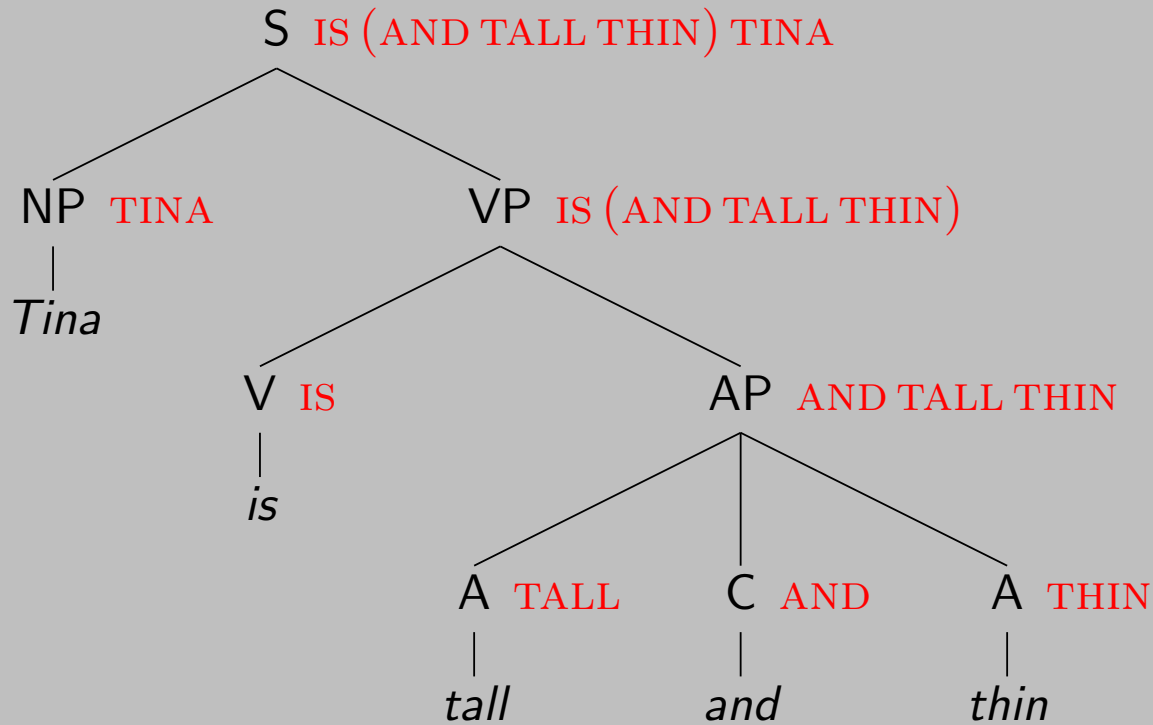
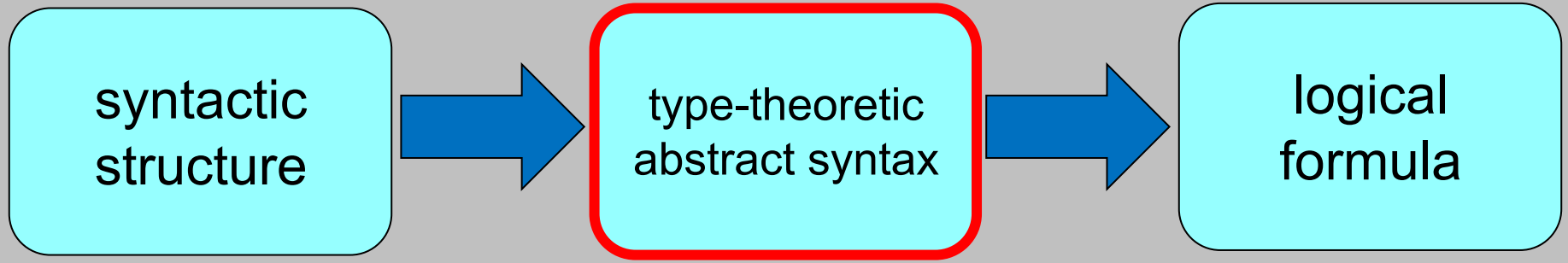
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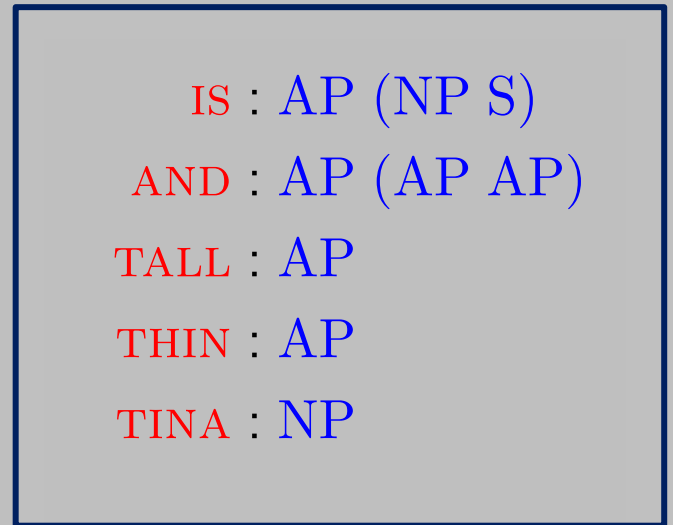
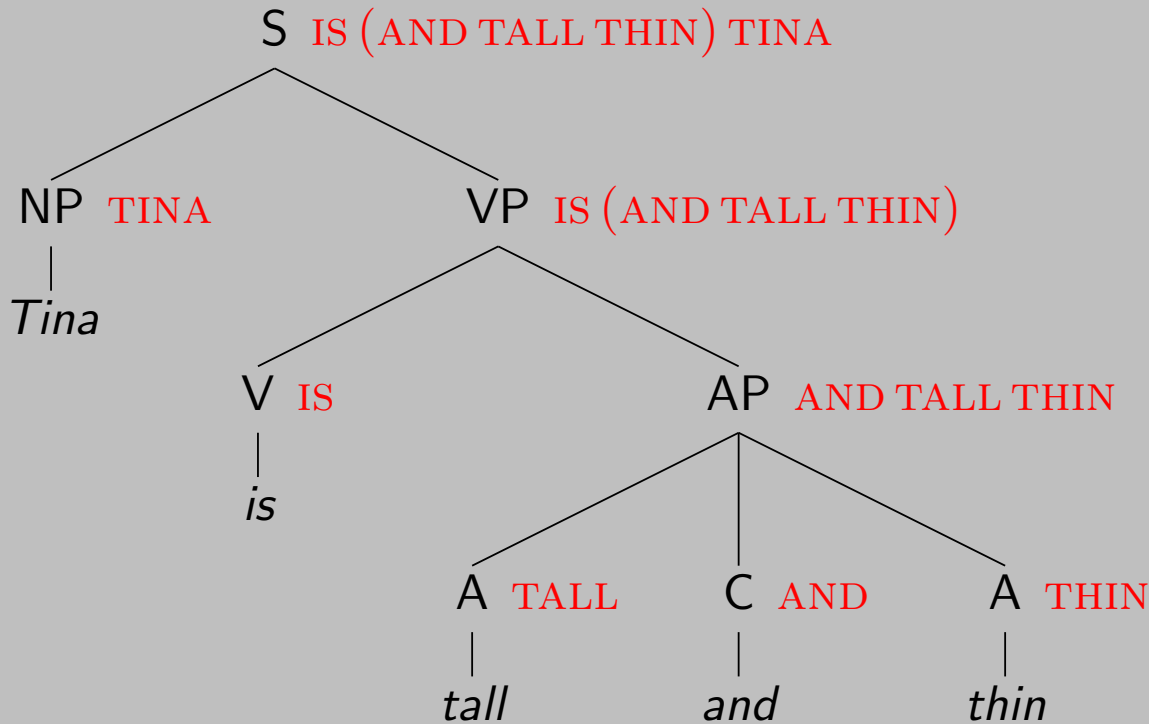
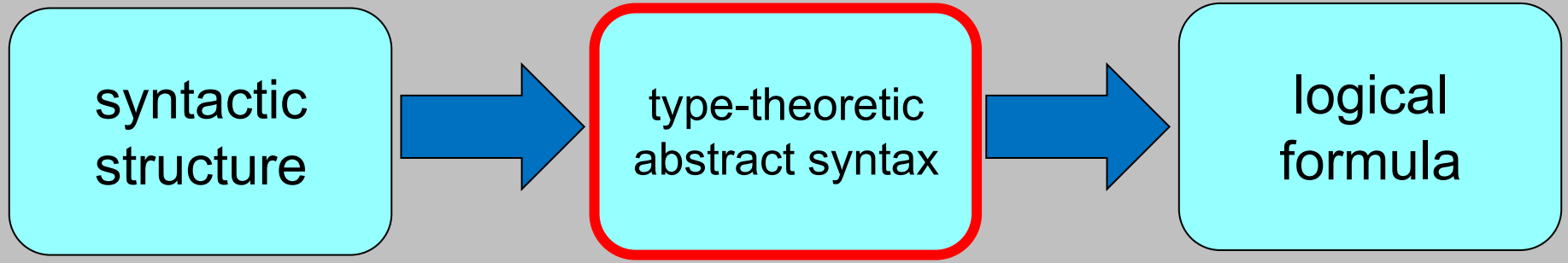
Syntax-semantics interface



Syntax-semantics interface



Syntax-semantics interface



Syntax-semantics interface

IS : AP (NP S)

AND : AP (AP AP)

TALL : AP

THIN : AP

TINA : NP

Syntax-semantics interface

IS : AP (NP S)

AND : AP (AP AP)

TALL : AP

THIN : AP

TINA : NP

S := t

NP := e

AP := e t

Syntax-semantics interface

IS : AP (NP S)

AND : AP (AP AP)

TALL : AP

THIN : AP

TINA : NP

S := t

NP := e

AP := e t

TINA := **tina**

TALL := $\lambda x. \mathbf{tall} x$

THIN := $\lambda x. \mathbf{thin} x$

AND := $\lambda p q x. (p x) \wedge (q x)$

IS := $\lambda p x. p x$

Noun phrases (naive interpretation)

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Abstract syntax:

TINA : NP

MARY : NP

PRAISED : NP NP S

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Semantic interpretation:

Noun phrases (naive interpretation)

Abstract syntax:

TINA : NP

MARY : NP

PRAISED : NP NP S

Semantic interpretation:

NP := e

S := t

Noun phrases (naive interpretation)

Abstract syntax:

TINA : NP

MARY : NP

PRAISED : NP NP S

Semantic interpretation:

NP := e

S := t

TINA := tina

MARY := mary

PRAISED := $\lambda xy. \text{praised } y x$

where:

tina, mary : e

praised : e e t

Quantified noun phrases

- ▶ Tina praised Mary.
- ▶ Everybody praised Mary.
- ▶ Nobody praised Mary.
- ▶ Tina praised somebody.
- ▶ Everybody praised somebody.
- ▶ Everybody ran.

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

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- ▶ Remember that $(e\ t)\ t$ is the type of the logical constants **all** (\forall) and **exists** (\exists).

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- ▶ The expected meaning of “*everybody ran*” might be captured by the following formula:

$$\forall x. (\mathbf{human}\ x) \rightarrow (\mathbf{ran}\ x)$$

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- ▶ The expected meaning of “*everybody ran*” might be captured by the following formula:

$$\forall x. (\mathbf{human\ }x) \rightarrow (\mathbf{ran\ }x)$$

- ▶ Accordingly, the following λ -term, which is of type $(\mathbf{e\ t})\ \mathbf{t}$, is a good candidate for the interpretation of “*everybody*”:

$$\lambda p. \forall x. (\mathbf{human\ }x) \rightarrow (p\ x)$$

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Syntax/semantics interface:

TINA : NP

MARY : NP

EVERYBODY : NP

SOMEBODY : NP

RAN : NP S

PRAISED : NP NP S

Semantic interpretation:

NP := (e t) t

S := t

TINA := ?

MARY := ?

EVERYBODY := $\lambda k. \forall x. (\mathbf{human} x) \rightarrow (k x)$

SOMEBODY := $\lambda k. \exists x. (\mathbf{human} x) \wedge (k x)$

RAN := ?

PRAISED := ?

Proper names as generalized quantifiers

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Proper names as generalized quantifiers

- ▶ The interpretations of **TINA** and **MARY** must be of type **(e t) t**.
- ▶ Semantically, it means that we must characterize an entity using a set of sets of entities.
- ▶ $\{ S \in \mathcal{P}(E) : \mathbf{tina} \in S \}$
- ▶ $\lambda S_{(e\ t)} \cdot S\ \mathbf{tina}$

Applying type-raising to verb arguments

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- ▶ The syntactic type of **RAN** is $(NP\ S)$, the semantic interpretation of **NP** is $(e\ t)\ t$, and the one of **S** is t . Accordingly the type of the interpretation of **RAN** must be $((e\ t)\ t)\ t$

Applying type-raising to verb arguments

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- ▶ **RAN** := $\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \mathbf{ran} x)$

Applying type-raising to verb arguments

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- ▶ $RAN := \lambda s. s (\lambda x. ran\ x)$
- ▶ Similarly, the type of the interpretation of **PRAISED** must be $((e\ t)\ t)\ ((e\ t)\ t)\ t$.

Applying type-raising to verb arguments

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- ▶ $\mathbf{RAN} := \lambda s. s (\lambda x. \mathbf{ran}\ x)$
- ▶ Similarly, the type of the interpretation of **PRAISED** must be $((e\ t)\ t)\ ((e\ t)\ t)\ t$.
- ▶ $\mathbf{PRAISED} := \lambda o s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised}\ x\ y))$

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Syntax/semantics interface:

TINA : NP

MARY : NP

EVERYBODY : NP

SOMEBODY : NP

RAN : NP S

PRAISED : NP NP S

Semantic interpretation:

NP := (e t) t

S := t

TINA := $\lambda k. k \mathbf{tina}$

MARY := $\lambda k. k \mathbf{mary}$

EVERYBODY := $\lambda k. \forall x. (\mathbf{human} x) \rightarrow (k x)$

SOMEBODY := $\lambda k. \exists x. (\mathbf{human} x) \wedge (k x)$

RAN := $\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \mathbf{ran} x)$

PRAISED := $\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} x y))$

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Tina praised somebody.

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Tina praised somebody.

PRAISED SOMEBODY TINA

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Tina praised somebody.

PRAISED SOMEBODY TINA

= $(\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} x y)))$ SOMEBODY TINA

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= $(\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y)))$ SOMEBODY TINA

\rightarrow_{β} $(\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY } (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y)))$ TINA

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

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= $(\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y)))$ SOMEBODY TINA

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\rightarrow_{β} TINA $(\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY } (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y))$

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Tina praised somebody.

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= $(\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)))$ SOMEBODY TINA

\rightarrow_{β} $(\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)))$ TINA

\rightarrow_{β} $\mathbf{TINA} (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y))$

= $(\lambda k. k \ \mathbf{tina}) (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y))$

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Tina praised somebody.

PRAISED SOMEBODY TINA

= $(\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y)))$ SOMEBODY TINA

\rightarrow_{β} $(\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY } (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y)))$ TINA

\rightarrow_{β} TINA $(\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY } (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y))$

= $(\lambda k. k \text{ tina}) (\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY } (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y))$

\rightarrow_{β} $(\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY } (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y))$ tina

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Tina praised somebody.

PRAISED SOMEBODY TINA

$$\begin{aligned} &= (\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y))) \mathbf{SOMEBODY} \ \mathbf{TINA} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & (\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y))) \ \mathbf{TINA} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \mathbf{TINA} (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)) \\ &= (\lambda k. k \ \mathbf{tina}) (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)) \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)) \ \mathbf{tina} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ \mathbf{tina} \ y) \end{aligned}$$

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Tina praised somebody.

PRAISED SOMEBODY TINA

$$\begin{aligned} &= (\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y))) \text{SOMEBODY TINA} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & (\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y))) \text{TINA} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \text{TINA} (\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y)) \\ &= (\lambda k. k \text{tina}) (\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y)) \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & (\lambda x. \text{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \text{praised } x y)) \text{tina} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \text{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \text{praised tina } y) \\ &= (\lambda k. \exists x. (\text{human } x) \wedge (k x)) (\lambda y. \text{praised tina } y) \end{aligned}$$

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Tina praised somebody.

PRAISED SOMEBODY TINA

$$\begin{aligned} &= (\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y))) \mathbf{SOMEBODY} \ \mathbf{TINA} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & (\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y))) \ \mathbf{TINA} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \mathbf{TINA} (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)) \\ &= (\lambda k. k \ \mathbf{tina}) (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)) \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)) \ \mathbf{tina} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ \mathbf{tina} \ y) \\ &= (\lambda k. \exists x. (\mathbf{human} \ x) \wedge (k \ x)) (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ \mathbf{tina} \ y) \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \exists x. (\mathbf{human} \ x) \wedge ((\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ \mathbf{tina} \ y) \ x) \end{aligned}$$

Generalized quantifiers & type raising

Tina praised somebody.

PRAISED SOMEBODY TINA

$$\begin{aligned} &= (\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y))) \mathbf{SOMEBODY} \ \mathbf{TINA} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & (\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y))) \ \mathbf{TINA} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \mathbf{TINA} (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)) \\ &= (\lambda k. k \ \mathbf{tina}) (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)) \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & (\lambda x. \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ x \ y)) \ \mathbf{tina} \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \mathbf{SOMEBODY} (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ \mathbf{tina} \ y) \\ &= (\lambda k. \exists x. (\mathbf{human} \ x) \wedge (k \ x)) (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ \mathbf{tina} \ y) \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \exists x. (\mathbf{human} \ x) \wedge ((\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} \ \mathbf{tina} \ y) \ x) \\ \rightarrow_{\beta} & \exists x. (\mathbf{human} \ x) \wedge (\mathbf{praised} \ \mathbf{tina} \ x) \end{aligned}$$

Nouns & Determiners

Syntax/semantics interface:

TINA : NP

MARY : NP

EVERYBODY : NP

SOMEBODY : NP

MAN : N

WOMAN : N

EVERY : N NP

SOME : N NP

RAN : NP S

PRAISED : NP NP S

Semantic interpretation:

$N := e\ t$

$NP := (e\ t)\ t$

$S := t$

Nouns & Determiners

Semantic interpretation:

TINA := $\lambda k. k \mathbf{tina}$

MARY := $\lambda k. k \mathbf{mary}$

EVERYBODY := $\lambda k. \forall x. (\mathbf{human} x) \rightarrow (k x)$

SOMEBODY := $\lambda k. \exists x. (\mathbf{human} x) \wedge (k x)$

MAN := $\lambda x. \mathbf{man} x$

WOMAN := $\lambda x. \mathbf{woman} x$

EVERY := $\lambda n. \lambda m. \forall x. n x \rightarrow m x$

SOME := $\lambda n. \lambda m. \exists x. n x \wedge m x$

RAN := $\lambda s. s (\lambda x. \mathbf{ran} x)$

PRAISED := $\lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} x y))$

where:

woman, man : e t

Determiners as binary generalized quantifiers

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- ▶ The type of the interpretations of **EVERY** and **SOME** is $(e\ t)\ (e\ t)\ t$.

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Determiners as binary generalized quantifiers

- ▶ The type of the interpretations of **EVERY** and **SOME** is $(e\ t)\ (e\ t)\ t$.
- ▶ Every term of type $(e\ t)\ (e\ t)\ t$ is called a binary generalized quantifier.
- ▶ Semantically, a binary generalized quantifier corresponds to a relation between two sets of entities.

Determiners as binary generalized quantifiers

SOME $A B$	$A \cap B \neq \emptyset$
EVERY $A B$	$A \subset B$
NO $A B$	$A \cap B = \emptyset$
(AT-LEAST n) $A B$	$ A \cap B \geq n$
(AT-MOST n) $A B$	$ A \cap B \leq n$
(EXACTLY n) $A B$	$ A \cap B = n$
MOST $A B$	$ A \leq 2 \times A \cap B $

Scope ambiguities

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Every man praised a woman

Scope ambiguities

Every man praised a woman

$$\forall x.\mathbf{man} x \rightarrow (\exists y.\mathbf{woman} y \wedge \mathbf{praised} x y)$$
$$\exists y.\mathbf{woman} y \wedge (\forall x.\mathbf{man} x \wedge \mathbf{praised} x y)$$

Scope ambiguities

Every man praised a woman

$$\begin{aligned} &\forall x.\mathbf{man} x \rightarrow (\exists y.\mathbf{woman} y \wedge \mathbf{praised} x y) \\ &\exists y.\mathbf{woman} y \wedge (\forall x.\mathbf{man} x \wedge \mathbf{praised} x y) \end{aligned}$$

Subject wide scope:

$$\mathbf{PRAISED} = \lambda o. \lambda s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y. \mathbf{praised} x y))$$

Object wide scope:

$$\mathbf{PRAISED}_{\text{ows}} = \lambda o. \lambda s. o (\lambda y. s (\lambda x. \mathbf{praised} x y))$$