# More Theories, Formal semantics 

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Parts are based on slides by Carl Pollard

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## Optimality Theory

- Universal set of violable constraints:
- Faithfulness constraints:surface forms should be as close as to underlying forms
- Markedness constraints: work on output (along the lines: CV structure is preferred, voiceless final sounds are preferred)
- Language differ in constraint rankings
- Language acquisition = discovering the ranking
- Mostly in phonology


## HPSG

■ The most widely used grammar framework in computational linguistics

- Fully formalized
- Model theoretic approach
- Objects: Typed feature structures - directed graph with labeled edges and nodes
- Grammar: set of constraints (a la Prolog + types + negation)
- Constraints can be expressed as AVMs


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- In general, the reference of an expression can be contingent (depend on how things are), while the meaning is independent of how things are (examples coming soon).

Note: Here, we are ignoring the distinction between an expression and an utterance of an expression.

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■ Names are controversial! Vastly oversimplifying:
- Descriptivism (Frege, Russell) the meaning of a name is a description associated with the name by speakers; the reference is what satisfies the description.


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- Names are controversial! Vastly oversimplifying:
- Descriptivism (Frege, Russell) the meaning of a name is a description associated with the name by speakers; the reference is what satisfies the description.
- Direct Reference Theory (Mill, Kripke) the meaning of a name is its reference, so names are rigid (their reference is independent of how things are.)


## Grammar and Meaning

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- Grammar says nothing about reference.


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A grammar specifies

- the meaning of words (or morphemes)

■ how to derive a meaning of a complex expression from its components

## Entailment

- John ate a cake.
- A cake was eaten.
- There was a cake.


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Entailment: $\phi=\psi$ iff (if $\phi$ is true then $\psi$ must be true)

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Our theory will use the following sets as building blocks:
Prop The propositions (sentence meanings)
Bool The truth values (extensions of propositions)
Ind The individuals (meanings of names).
World The worlds (ultrafilters of propositions)
One The unit set $\{0\}$.
It's conventional to call the member of this set $*$, rather than 0 , since the important thing about it is that it is a singleton and not what its member is.

## Propositions

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■ We are agnostic only about their formal nature not about their properties.

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The absence of antisymmetry allows two propositions to entail each other and still be distinct objects. Equality implies equivalence but not vice versa.
- There are the usual glb/lub, top/bottom, complement, residual operations.


## (Hyper)intensional types

Meaning, the kind of hyperintensional types is defined as follows:

- Prop, Ind, One $\in$ Meaning.
- If $A, B \in$ Meaning then
- $A \times B \in$ Meaning.
- $A \rightarrow B \in$ Meaning
- Nothing else is a hyperintensional type.


## Examples of word meanings

syntax
proper name Chiquita
common noun donkey sentential adverb obviously dummy pronoun $\mathbf{i t}_{d}$ It is obvious that . . .
semantics
Chiquita' : Ind donkey':Ind $\rightarrow$ Prop obvious': Prop $\rightarrow$ Prop * $\in$ One

## References

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| meaning type | maps to | reference type |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ind | Ind |  |
| Prop | Bool |  |
| Prop $\rightarrow$ Prop | Prop $\rightarrow$ Bool |  |

etc.

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| meaning type | maps to | reference type |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ind | Ind |  |
| Prop | Bool |  |
| Prop $\rightarrow$ Prop | Prop $\rightarrow$ Bool |  |

etc.

| meaning | reference |
| :--- | :--- |
| Chiquita': Ind | Chiquita': Ind |
| $*:$ One | $*:$ One |
| donkey' : Ind $\rightarrow$ Prop | $f:$ Ind $\rightarrow$ Bool; $f(i) \Leftrightarrow(i$ is a donkey $)$ |
| obviously $:$ Prop $\rightarrow$ Prop | $g:$ Prop $\rightarrow$ Bool; $g(p) \Leftrightarrow(p$ is obvious $)$ |

## Categorial Grammar

- logical formalism, several implications (usually written as / and $\backslash$ )
- small number of language independent rules (e.g., modus ponens $=$ function application), the rest of grammar is in the lexicon (radical lexicalism)
- syntactic structure is an equivalence set of proofs
- Usually, surface form and semantics are derived in parallel.


## Categorial Grammar

- we can say that verbs are functions taking noun phrases as their arguments
- $\frac{\text { john:NP sleeps:NP } \backslash \mathrm{S}}{\text { john sleeps:S }}$ application

If there is an object john of type NP and an object sleeps of type $N P \backslash S$ then there is an object john sleeps of type $S$. Note that john sleeps is a syntactical object, not the actual surface form. We could have written x123 for john.

## Recall

currying - transformation of a function with multiple parameters into a function taking a single argument (the first of the arguments of the original function) and returning a new function which takes the remainder of the arguments.

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uncurried
plus: $($ Int $\times$ Int $) \rightarrow$ Int plus(3,4)
inc $=$ plus' $^{\prime}(1)$
curried
plus' : Int $\rightarrow$ (Int $\rightarrow$ Int)
plus'(3)(4)

## All together now

- Words, phrases and sentences are modeled as signs.

■ Signs are the combinations of phonological, syntactic, and semantic objects that makes sense.

- The phonological component of a sign is the pronunciation of the syntactic component and the semantic component is the meaning of it.
- The type Sign is a subtype of the following tuple type
$\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { phon } & \text { Phon* } \\ \text { syn } & \text { Syn } \\ \text { sem } & \text { Meaning }\end{array}\right]$
- Syn is the kind of syntactic types, i.e., set of basic types $(\mathbf{N P}, \mathbf{N}, \mathbf{S}, \ldots)$ closed under syntactic constructors $(\times$, $\Rightarrow, \ldots$.


## All together now - Lexicon

■ Lexicon consists of axioms of the form:
$\vdash\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { phon } & {[\text { bor }]: \text { Phon* }} \\ \text { syn } & \text { boy: N } \\ \text { sem } & b o y^{\prime}: \text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }\end{array}\right]$

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[boi]: Phon* boy: N boy': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop


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- In abbreviated form:
[bor]: Phon* boy: N [sno:rz]: Phon*
snores: $\mathbf{N P} \Rightarrow \mathbf{S}$ [sli:ps]: Phon* sleeps: $\mathbf{N P} \Rightarrow \mathbf{S}$
boy': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop
snore': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop
sleep': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop


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- In abbreviated form:

| $[$ boi] $:$ Phon* | boy: N | boy': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [sno:rz]: Phon* | snores: NP $\Rightarrow \mathbf{S}$ | snore': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop |
| [sli:ps]: Phon* | sleeps: NP $\Rightarrow \mathbf{S}$ | sleep': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop |
| $[$ lavdli]: Phon** | loudly: VP $\Rightarrow$ VP | loud': $($ Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop $) \Rightarrow$ (Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop) $)$ |

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- In abbreviated form:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
{[\text { boi] }] \text { Phon* }} & \text { boy: } \mathbf{N} & \text { boy': Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop } \\
{[\text { sno:rz]: Phon* }} & \text { snores: NP } \Rightarrow \mathbf{S} & \text { snore': Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop } \\
{[\text { sli:ps]: Phon* }} & \text { sleeps: } \mathbf{N P} \Rightarrow \mathbf{S} & \text { sleep': Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop } \\
{[\text { lavdlI]: Phon* }} & \text { loudly: VP } \Rightarrow \mathbf{V P} & \text { loud': (Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop } \Rightarrow(\text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \\
{[\varepsilon v r I]: \text { Phon* }} & \text { every: } \mathbf{N} \Rightarrow \mathbf{N P} & \text { every' }=\lambda q, p . \lambda x .(q(x) \Rightarrow p(x)): \\
& & \\
& &
\end{array}
$$

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- In abbreviated form:

| [bor]: Phon* | boy: $\mathbf{N}$ | boy': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [sno:rz]: Phon* | snores: $\mathrm{NP} \Rightarrow \mathrm{S}$ | snore': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop |
| [sli:ps]: Phon* | sleeps: $\mathbf{N P} \Rightarrow \mathbf{S}$ | sleep': Ind $\Rightarrow$ Prop |
| [lavdir]: Phon* [evri]: Phon* | loudly: $\mathbf{V P} \Rightarrow \mathbf{V P}$ every: $\mathbf{N} \Rightarrow \mathbf{N P}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { loud }^{\prime}:(\text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \Rightarrow(\text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \\ & \text { every })=\lambda q, p \cdot \lambda x \cdot(q(x) \Rightarrow p(x)): \end{aligned}$ |
| [ænd]: Phon* | and: $\forall A . A \times A \Rightarrow A$ | $\begin{aligned} & (\text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \times(\text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \Rightarrow \text { Prop } \\ & \text { and }^{\prime}: \forall A . A \times A \Rightarrow A \end{aligned}$ |

## All together now - Grammar

- function application in syntax corresponds to:
- function application in semantics
- concatenation in phonology

■ Possibly other rules in individual sub-grammars. For example, phonotactic constraints in phonology.
every boy:
Relevant lexicon:
$\vdash\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { phon } & {[\mathrm{bor}]: \text { Phon* }} \\ \text { syn } & \text { boy: N } \\ \text { sem } & \text { boy }^{\prime}: \text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }\end{array}\right] \vdash\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { phon } & {[\varepsilon v r i]: \text { Phon* }} \\ \text { syn } & \text { every }: \mathbf{N} \Rightarrow \mathbf{N P} \\ \text { sem } & \text { every }=\lambda q, p . \lambda x .(q(x) \Rightarrow p(x)): \\ (\text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \times(\text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \Rightarrow \text { Prop }\end{array}\right]$
every boy:
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$\vdash\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { phon } & {[\varepsilon v r i \text { boı }]: \text { Phon* }} \\ \text { syn } & \text { every(boy) : NP } \\ \text { sem } & \text { every'(boy') : (Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \Rightarrow \text { Prop }\end{array}\right]$
every boy:
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$\vdash\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { phon } & {[\text { cvrı boi }]: \text { Phon* }} \\ \text { syn } & \text { every(boy) : NP } \\ \text { sem } & \text { every'(boy') : }(\text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \Rightarrow \text { Prop }\end{array}\right]$
every'(boy') $=$
$[\lambda q, p \cdot \lambda x \cdot(q(x) \Rightarrow p(x))]\left(\lambda x\right.$. boy $\left.^{\prime}(x)\right)$
every boy:
Relevant lexicon:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \vdash\left[\begin{array}{ll}
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\end{array}\right] \vdash\left[\begin{array}{ll}
\text { phon } & {[\varepsilon v r i]: \text { Phon* }} \\
\text { syn } & \text { every }: \mathbf{N} \Rightarrow \mathbf{N P} \\
\text { sem } & \text { every }=\lambda q, p . \lambda x .(q(x) \Rightarrow p(x)): \\
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\end{array}\right] \\
& \vdash\left[\begin{array}{ll}
\text { phon } & {[\text { cvrı boi }]: \text { Phon* }} \\
\text { syn } & \text { every(boy) : NP } \\
\text { sem } & \text { every'(boy') : }(\text { Ind } \Rightarrow \text { Prop }) \Rightarrow \text { Prop }
\end{array}\right] \\
& \text { every' }^{\prime}\left(\text { boy' }^{\prime}\right)= \\
& {[\lambda q, p \cdot \lambda x \cdot(q(x) \Rightarrow p(x))]\left(\lambda x \text {. } \text { boy }^{\prime}(x)\right)} \\
& \lambda p . \lambda x\left(\operatorname{boy}^{\prime}(x) \Rightarrow p(x)\right)
\end{aligned}
$$

every boy sleeps and snores loudly
every boy sleeps and snores loudly
$\vdash\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { phon } & {[\text { evrı boi sli:ps ænd sno:rz lavdlı }]: \text { Phon }^{*}} \\ \text { syn } & \text { and(sleeps, loud(snore))(every (boy)) : S } \\ \text { sem } & \text { and }^{\prime}(\text { sleep', loud'(snore') })\left(\text { every }{ }^{\prime}\left(\text { boy }{ }^{\prime}\right)\right): \text { Prop }\end{array}\right]$
every boy sleeps and snores loudly

and $^{\prime}($ sleep', loud'(snore' $)\left(\right.$ every' $^{\prime}\left(\right.$ boy' $\left.\left.^{\prime}\right)\right)=$
$\left[\lambda p \cdot \lambda x\left(\right.\right.$ boy $\left.\left.^{\prime}(x) \Rightarrow p(x)\right)\right]\left(\lambda s\right.$. and'(sleep', loudly' $\left(\right.$ snore' $\left.\left.\left.^{\prime}\right)\right)(s)\right)=$
every boy sleeps and snores loudly

and $^{\prime}($ sleep', loud'(snore') $)\left(\right.$ every $^{\prime}\left(\right.$ boy' $\left.\left.^{\prime}\right)\right)=$
$\left[\lambda p \cdot \lambda x\left(\right.\right.$ boy $\left.\left.^{\prime}(x) \Rightarrow p(x)\right)\right]\left(\lambda s\right.$.and'(sleep', loudly' $\left(\right.$ snore' $\left.\left.\left.^{\prime}\right)\right)(s)\right)=$
$\lambda x .\left(\right.$ boy $^{\prime}(x) \Rightarrow$ and' $^{\prime}\left(\right.$ sleep' ${ }^{\prime}$ loud' $($ snore' $\left.\left.)\right)(x)\right)$

