

Logic and Language: Exercise (Week 6)

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1 Syntax

1.1

First, we define the rules of *rightward extraction* $\hat{\alpha}_{\diamond}^r, \hat{\sigma}_{\diamond}^r$:

$$\frac{f : A \otimes (B \otimes \Diamond C) \rightarrow D}{\widehat{\alpha}_\Diamond^r f : (A \otimes B) \otimes \Diamond C \rightarrow D} \qquad \frac{f : (A \otimes \Diamond C) \otimes B \rightarrow D}{\widehat{\sigma}_\Diamond^r f : (A \otimes B) \otimes \Diamond C \rightarrow D}$$

We can now proceed with the derivation of

$$n \otimes ((n \setminus n)/(s/\diamond \square np)) \otimes ((np/n) \otimes n) \otimes ((np \setminus s)/np) \rightarrow n$$

as follows:

$$\begin{array}{c}
\frac{\overline{np \vdash np} \quad 1_{np} \quad \overline{n \vdash n} \quad 1_n}{np \setminus n \vdash np \setminus n} \quad \backslash \quad \frac{\overline{np \vdash np} \quad 1_{np}}{\square np \vdash \square np} \quad \square \\
\frac{\overline{np \setminus n \vdash np \setminus n}}{(np \setminus n) \otimes n \vdash np} \triangleright^{-1} \quad \frac{\overline{s \vdash s} \quad 1_s}{\diamond np \vdash np} \quad \nabla^{-1} \\
\frac{\overline{np \setminus s \vdash ((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \setminus s}}{(np \setminus s)/np \vdash (((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \setminus s)/\diamond np} \quad / \\
\frac{\overline{(np \setminus s)/np \vdash (((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \setminus s)/\diamond np}}{(np \setminus s)/np \otimes \diamond np \vdash ((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \setminus s} \quad \triangleright^{-1} \\
\frac{\overline{((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes ((np \setminus s)/np \otimes \diamond np) \vdash s}}{(((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes ((np \setminus s)/np)) \otimes \diamond np \vdash s} \quad \triangleleft^{-1} \\
\frac{\overline{(((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes ((np \setminus s)/np)) \otimes \diamond np \vdash s}}{((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes ((np \setminus s)/np) \vdash s/\diamond np} \quad \widehat{\delta}_\diamond^r \\
\frac{\overline{((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes ((np \setminus s)/np) \vdash s/\diamond np}}{(n \setminus n)/(s/\diamond np) \vdash (n \setminus n)/(((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes (np \setminus s)/np)} \quad \triangleright \\
\frac{\overline{(n \setminus n)/(s/\diamond np) \vdash (n \setminus n)/(((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes (np \setminus s)/np)}}{(n \setminus n)/(s/\diamond np) \otimes (((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes (np \setminus s)/np) \vdash n \setminus n} \quad \triangleright^{-1} \\
\frac{\overline{(n \setminus n)/(s/\diamond np) \otimes (((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes (np \setminus s)/np) \vdash n \setminus n}}{n \otimes ((n \setminus n)/(s/\diamond np) \otimes (((np \setminus n) \otimes n) \otimes (np \setminus s)/np)) \vdash n} \quad \triangleleft^{-1}
\end{array}$$

2 Interpretation

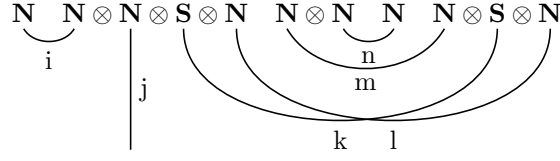
2.1

2.2

By working our way from the leaves of the proof tree, we get the following generalized Kronecker delta:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{island}_i \otimes \text{that}_{j,k,l,m} \otimes \text{the}_{n,o} \otimes \text{hurricane}_p \otimes \text{destroyed}_{q,r,s} \xrightarrow{\delta_{j,t,r,s,i,q,p}^{i,k,l,m,n,o}} \mathbf{v}_r^{obj} \in \mathbf{N} \\ \mathbf{v}_r^{obj} = \text{island}_i \otimes \text{that}_{i,j,k,l} \otimes \text{the}_{m,n} \otimes \text{hurricane}_n \otimes \text{destroyed}_{m,k,l} \quad (\text{relabelled}) \end{array}$$

We give the matching diagram in the figure below:



2.3

In order to calculate the semantic value for the relative clause body 'the hurricane destroyed', we first apply **the** to **hurricane** (which leaves **hurricane** unchanged) and then proceed by the tensor application...

2.4

The interpreted type for the relative pronoun is:

$$[(n \setminus n) / (s / \diamond \square np)] = [n \setminus n] \otimes [s / \diamond \square np] = [n] \otimes [n] \otimes [s] \otimes [\diamond \square np] = N \otimes N \otimes S \otimes N$$

We can now give the following Frobenius recipe for **that**:

$$I \cong I \otimes I \xrightarrow{\eta_N \otimes \eta_N} N \otimes N \otimes N \otimes N \cong N \otimes N \otimes N \otimes I \otimes N \xrightarrow{1_N \otimes \mu_N \otimes \zeta_S \otimes 1_N} N \otimes N \otimes S \otimes N$$

In order to obtain the final interpretation, we do the following (dictated from the above recipe):

1. Reduce the rank of the transitive verb by summing over the S component, thus obtaining the following matrix:

$$\text{collapsed_destroyed} = \begin{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} 9 & 2 & 3 \end{pmatrix} \\ \begin{pmatrix} 1 & -5 & 2 \end{pmatrix} \\ \begin{pmatrix} -1 & -8 & 1 \end{pmatrix} \end{pmatrix}$$

2. Apply **collapsed_destroyed** to **the_hurricane** in object position:

$$\text{the_hurricane_destroyed} = \begin{pmatrix} 17 & -9 & 4 \end{pmatrix}$$

3. Multiply **the_hurricane_destroyed** element-wise with **island**:

$$\text{island_that_the_hurricane_destroyed} = \begin{pmatrix} -85 & -36 & 0 \end{pmatrix}$$

Note The matrix operations were computed in Python, as shown below:

```
import numpy as np
hurricane = np.array([3,-5,5])
island = np.array([-5,4,0])
destroyed = np.array([[4,-3,1],[5,5,2]], [[-1,-2,2],[2,-3,0]], [[-1,-4,2],[0,-4,-1]])
the = np.array([[1, 0,0], [0,1,0], [0,0,1]])
the_hurricane = np.matmul(the, hurricane) # == hurricane
# the_hurricane_destroyed = np.tensordot(the_hurricane, destroyed, axes=1)
collapsed_destroyed = destroyed[:,0,:] + destroyed[:,1,:]
the_hurricane_destroyed = np.matmul(hurricane, collapsed_destroyed)
island_that_the_hurricane_destroyed = island * hurricane_destroyed
```