Formale Semantik o6. Quantifikation und Modelltheorie

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stets aktuelle Fassungen: https://github.com/rsling/VL-Deutsche-Syntax

Inhalt

- From PC to F1
 - Taking stock
 - Pronouns and context
 Phrase structure version of PC
 - Trees
 - C-command
- 2 Model theory
 - Models and valuations
 - Assignment functions

- Modified assignment functions
- 3 Problems with natural language
 - Restricted quantificationVariable binding and scope
 - Pre-spellout movement
 - LF movement
- Quantification in English: F2
 - Movement rules
 - Fragment F2

From PC to F1

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- sentences refer to truth values

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- fixed only within a specific context (SOA)

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- variables interpreted like definite pronominal NPs (within a fixed context)

ullet a o const, var

- $a \rightarrow \text{const}$, var
- conn $\rightarrow \land, \lor, \rightarrow, \leftrightarrow$

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- $lackbox{Q} o \exists, \forall$

• pred₁ \rightarrow P, Q

- pred₁ \rightarrow P, Q
- $pred_2 \rightarrow R$

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- $\bullet \ pred_2 \to R$
- $\bullet \ pred_3 \to S$

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- const \rightarrow b, c
- var \rightarrow x₁, x₂, ..., x_n

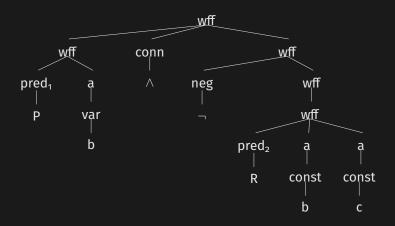
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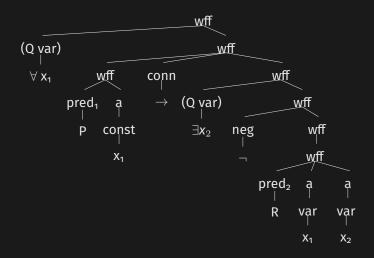
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- wff \rightarrow pre $\overline{d_n a_1 a_2 ... a_n}$
- $\bullet \ \text{wff} \to \text{neg wff}$
- wff \rightarrow wff con wff
- wff \rightarrow (Q var) wff

A wff without Q



A wff with Q's



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- The definition in CM allows a node to dominate itself.

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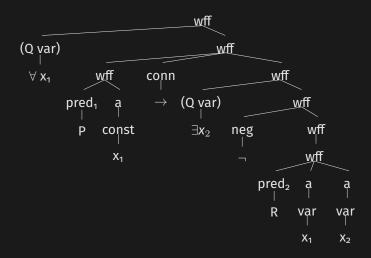
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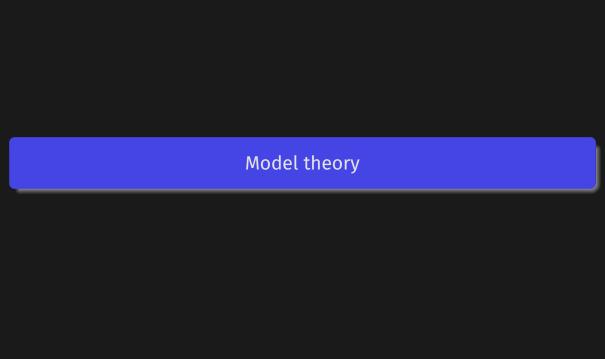
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- scope = binding domain

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- the extension of α relative to \mathcal{M}_n and g_n

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- initial assignment can be anything:

$$g_1 = \left[egin{array}{l} {\sf x}_1
ightarrow {\sf Herr Webelhuth} \ {\sf x}_2
ightarrow {\sf Frau Eckardt} \ {\sf x}_3
ightarrow {\sf Turm - Mensa} \end{array}
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- iff the answer was never 0, then $[(\forall x_1)Px_1]^{\mathcal{M}_1,g_1}=1$

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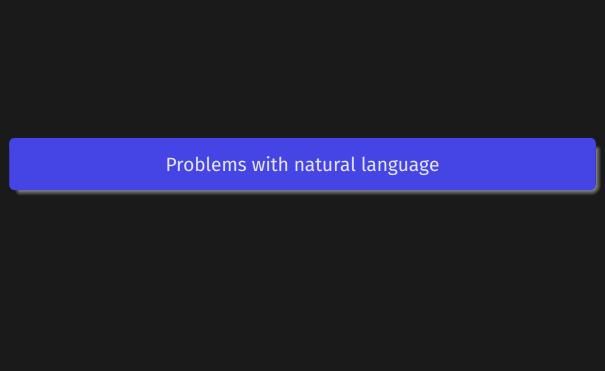
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- For NL: Assume that the checking domain for Q is the set denoted by CN.

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 - $\blacktriangleright (\forall \mathbf{x}_1)(\exists \mathbf{x}_2) \mathbf{L} \mathbf{x}_1 \mathbf{x}_2$
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- c-command condition on binding/scope fails in NL
- no PNF's in NL
- Q and common noun (CN) usually in-situ (e.g., argument position)
- ambiguities independent of Q position
 - Everybody loves somebody. (ELS)
 - $(\forall \mathbf{x}_1)(\exists \mathbf{x}_2) \mathbf{L} \mathbf{x}_1 \mathbf{x}_2$
 - $\blacktriangleright (\exists x_2)(\forall x_1) L x_1 x_2$
- Q ambiguity cannot be structural (e.g., ∃ will never c-command ∀)

Cases of overt movement and traces

- wh movement:
- What_i will Agent Cooper solve t_i?

•

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- •
- passive movement:
- (Laura Palmer); was killed t_i.

•

Cases of overt movement and traces

- wh movement:
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- passive movement:
- (Laura Palmer); was killed t_i.
- raising verbs:
- (Laura Palmer); seems t; to be dead.

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- could use movement mechanism as used at surface level
- All quantifiers adjoin to the left periphery of S at LF.
- LF is constructed by syntactic rules!

Ambiguities at LF

```
• [s''] everybody; [s'] somebody; [s] [s] ti loves [s] []]
```

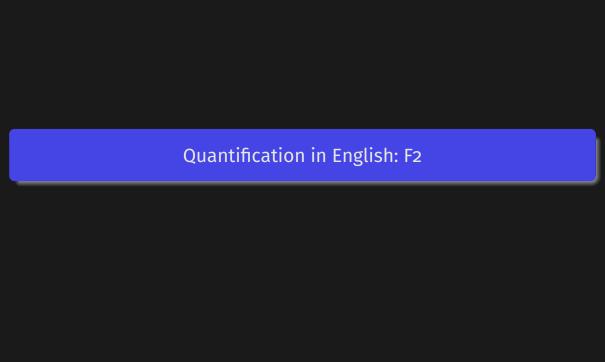
Ambiguities at LF

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• [s''] everybody, [s'] somebody, [s] toves [s] []]
```

•

• [_{S''} somebody_i [_{S'} everybody_i [_S t_i loves t_i]]]

•



The Q raising rule

$$[_S X NP Y] \Rightarrow [_{S'} NP_i [_S X t_i Y]]$$

The Q raising rule

$$[_{\mathsf{S}}\,\mathsf{X}\,\mathsf{NP}\,\mathsf{Y}\,] \;\Rightarrow\; [_{\mathsf{S}'}\,\mathsf{NP}_{\mathsf{i}}\,[_{\mathsf{S}}\,\mathsf{X}\,\mathsf{t}_{\mathsf{i}}\,\mathsf{Y}\,]]$$

• specify a PS as input and output

The Q raising rule

$$[_{\mathsf{S}} \ \mathsf{X} \ \mathsf{NP} \ \mathsf{Y} \] \ \Rightarrow \ [_{\mathsf{S'}} \ \mathsf{NP}_i \ [_{\mathsf{S}} \ \mathsf{X} \ \mathsf{t}_i \ \mathsf{Y} \]]$$

- specify a PS as input and output
- QR rule also introduces coindexing of traces

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- ullet assume admissible (reasonable, possible) models ${\cal M}$

Semantics for QR output: every

A sentence containing the trace t_i with an adjoined NP_i (which consists of every plus the common noun β) extend to 1 iff for each individual u in the universe U which is in the set referred to by the common noun β , S denotes 1 with u assigned to the pronominal trace t_i . g is modified iteratively to check that.

Semantics for QR output: some, a

(similar)

Literatur I

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