# Formale Semantik o6. Quantifikation und Modelltheorie

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Achtung: Folien in Überarbeitung. Englische Teile sind noch von 2007! Stets aktuelle Fassungen: https://github.com/rsling/VL-Semantik

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- 1 From PC to F1
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  - 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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- tr. verbs refer to sets of ordered pairs of individuals
- 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)

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

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

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- $pred_2 \rightarrow R$
- pred<sub>3</sub>  $\rightarrow$  S
- const  $\rightarrow$  b, c
- var  $\rightarrow$  x<sub>1</sub>, x<sub>2</sub>, ..., x<sub>n</sub>

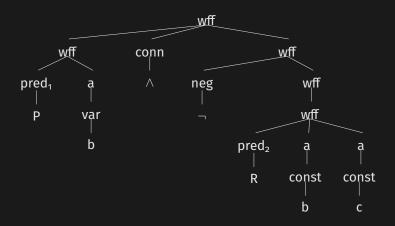
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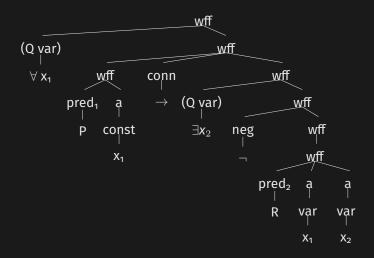
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- wff  $\rightarrow$  pre $\overline{d_n a_1 a_2 ... a_n}$
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- wff  $\rightarrow$  wff con wff
- wff  $\rightarrow$  (Q var) wff

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

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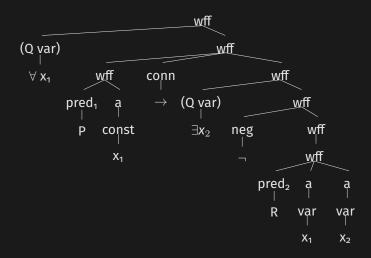
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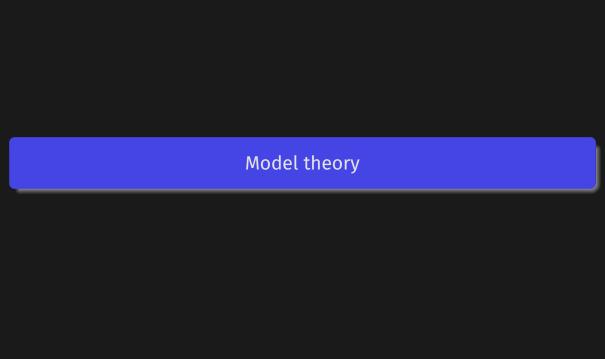
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- scope = binding domain

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

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- initial assignment can be anything:

$$g_1 = \left[egin{array}{l} {\sf x}_1 
ightarrow {\sf Herr Webelhuth} \ {\sf x}_2 
ightarrow {\sf Frau Eckardt} \ {\sf x}_3 
ightarrow {\sf Turm - Mensa} \end{array}
ight]$$

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- $lacksquare \left[ lacksquare lacksquare$

•  $[\![(\forall x_1)Px_1]\!]^{\mathcal{M}_1,g}$ 

- $[(\forall x_1)Px_1]^{\mathcal{M}_1,g_1}$
- start with initial assignment:  $[x_1]^{\mathcal{M}_1,g_1}=$  Webelhuth check:  $[Px_1]^{\mathcal{M}_1,g_1}$

- $\llbracket (\forall x_1) P x_1 \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}_1, g_1}$
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- modify:  $[x_1]^{\mathcal{M}_1,g_1[\mathsf{Eckardt}/\mathsf{x}_1]} = \mathsf{Eckardt}$ check:  $[\mathsf{P}x_1]^{\mathcal{M}_1,g_1}$

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  bracket^{\mathcal{M}_1,g_1[\mathsf{Mensa}/\mathsf{x}_1]} = \mathsf{Mensa}$  check:  $\llbracket \mathsf{P} \mathsf{x}_1 
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  rbracket^{\mathcal{M}_1, \overline{g}_1[\mathsf{Mensa}/x_1]} = \mathsf{Mensa}$ check:  $\llbracket \mathsf{P} x_1 
  rbracket^{\mathcal{M}_1, \overline{g}_1}$
- iff the answer was never 0, then  $[(\forall x_1)Px_1]^{\mathcal{M}_1,g_1}=1$

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- $\llbracket (\forall \mathbf{x}_1)(\exists \mathbf{x}_2) P \mathbf{x}_1 \mathbf{x}_2 \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}_1, g_1}$
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  - lacksquare  $[\![x_2]\!]^{\mathcal{M}_1,g_1[[\mathsf{Eckardt}/\mathsf{x}_1]\mathsf{Webelhuth}/\mathsf{x}^2]}=\mathsf{Webelhuth}$

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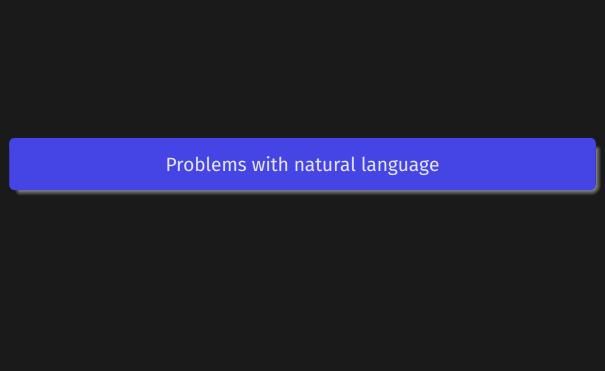
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- quantifying expressions in NL beyond  $\forall$  and  $\exists$
- some seem to work differently:
- All patients adore Dr. Rick <u>D</u>agless M.D. (∀x<sub>1</sub>)Px<sub>1</sub> → Ax<sub>1</sub>d (ok)
- but: Most patients adore Dr. Rick <u>D</u>agless M.D. (MOST x<sub>1</sub>)Px<sub>1</sub> → Ax<sub>1</sub>d (wrong interpretation)
- domain should be the set of patients, not individuals
- For NL: Assume that the checking domain for Q is the set denoted by CN.

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- Q ambiguity cannot be structural (e.g., ∃ will never c-command ∀)

#### Cases of overt movement and traces

- wh movement:
- What<sub>i</sub> will Agent Cooper solve t<sub>i</sub>?

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- (Laura Palmer); was killed t<sub>i</sub>.
- raising verbs:
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- LF is constructed by syntactic rules!

## **Ambiguities at LF**

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

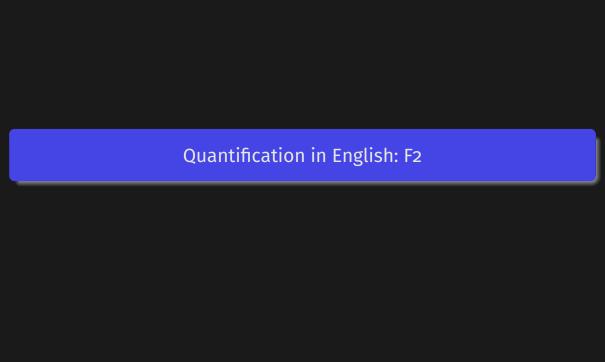
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# The Q raising rule

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- 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  $\beta$ ) extend to 1 iff for each individual u in the universe U which is in the set referred to by the common noun  $\beta$ , 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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