

Mathematical Logic and Linguistics

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BGSMath Course
Class 10

Syntactic and Semantic Analyses: the PTQ Fragment

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”The Montague Test” is the challenge of providing a computational cover grammar of the Montague fragment.

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- ▶ has typically 2 rules for each connective: a rule of use and a rule of proof: roughly $50 \times 2 = 100$ rules
- ▶ uses backward chaining focused sequent proof search so that for a binary connective for half of the rules there are 4 cases: $+/+$, $+/-$, $-/+$, $-/-$: $50 \times 4 + 50 =$ a total of about 250 focused rules

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I.e. we propose as a sine qua non being able to simulate computationally the Montague syntax-semantics interface of quantification, anaphora, intensionality, coordination, . . .

Taking on the Montague Test

We invoke CatLog2 on this mini-corpus . . .

str(dwp('(7-7)'), [b([john]), walks], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-16)'), [b([every, man]), talks], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-19)'), [b([the, fish]), walks], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-32)'), [b([every, man]), b([b([walks, or, talks]))]), s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-34)'), [b([b([b([every, man]), walks, or, b([every, man]), talks]))]), s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-39)'), [b([b([b([a, woman]), walks, and, b([she]), talks]))]), s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-43, 45)'), [b([john]), believes, that, b([a, fish]), walks], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-48, 49, 52)'), [b([every, man]), believes, that, b([a, fish]), walks], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-57)'), [b([every, fish, such, that, b([it]), walks]), talks], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-60, 62)'), [b([john]), seeks, a, unicorn], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-73)'), [b([john]), is, bill], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-76)'), [b([john]), is, a, man], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-83)'), [necessarily, b([john]), walks], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-86)'), [b([john]), walks, slowly], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-91)'), [b([john]), tries, to, walk], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-94)'), [b([john]), tries, to, b([b([catch, a, fish, and, eat, it]))]), s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-98)'), [b([john]), finds, a, unicorn], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-105)'), [b([every, man, such, that, b([he]), loves, a, woman]), loses, her], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-110)'), [b([john]), walks, in, a, park], s(f)).
str(dwp('(7-116, 118)'), [b([every, man]), doesnt, walk], s(f)).

Categorial connectives

	cont. mult.	disc. mult.	add.	qu.	norm. mod.	brack. mod.	exp.	limited contr. & weak.
primary	/ • 	↑ ⊙ J ↓	& ⊕	∧ ∨	□ ◇	[] ⁻¹ ⟨ ⟩	! ?	 W
sem. inactive variants	•—○ ●	○—• ●	↑ ↓ ●	↑ ↓ □	∧ ∨ ∩	■ ◆		
det. synth.	◀ ⁻¹ ◀	▶ ⁻¹ ▶	∨ ∧					diff.
nondet. synth.	÷ ×	↑↑ ⊙	↓↓					—

a: $\blacksquare \forall g(\forall f((Sf \uparrow \blacksquare Nt(s(g))) \downarrow Sf) / CNs(g)) : \lambda A \lambda B \exists C[(A \ C) \wedge (B \ C)]$
and: $\blacksquare \forall f((? \blacksquare Sf \downarrow \blacksquare^{-1} \blacksquare^{-1} Sf) / \blacksquare Sf) : (\Phi^{n+} \ 0 \ \text{and})$
and: $\blacksquare \forall a \forall f((? \blacksquare ((\diamond Na \ Sf) \downarrow \blacksquare^{-1} \blacksquare^{-1} ((\diamond Na \ Sf))) / \blacksquare ((\diamond Na \ Sf))) : (\Phi^{n+} \ (s \ 0) \ \text{and})$
believes: $\square((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf) / (C P \text{that} \square \blacksquare Sf)) : \lambda A \lambda B (Pres \ (\sim \text{believe } A) \ B)$
bill: $\blacksquare Nt(s(m)) : b$
catch: $\square((\diamond \exists a Na \backslash Sb) / \exists a Na) : \lambda A \lambda B (\sim \text{catch } A) \ B)$
doesnt: $\blacksquare \forall g \forall a((Sg \uparrow ((\diamond Na \ Sf) / ((\diamond Na \ Sb))) \downarrow Sg) : \lambda A \neg(A \ \lambda B \lambda C (B \ C))$
eat: $\square((\diamond \exists a Na \backslash Sb) / \exists a Na) : \lambda A \lambda B (\sim \text{eat } A) \ B)$
every: $\blacksquare \forall g(\forall f((Sf \uparrow Nt(s(g))) \downarrow Sf) / CNs(g)) : \lambda A \lambda B \forall C[(A \ C) \rightarrow (B \ C)]$
finds: $\square((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf) / \exists a Na) : \lambda A \lambda B (Pres \ (\sim \text{find } A) \ B)$
fish: $\square CNs(n) : \text{fish}$
he: $\blacksquare \blacksquare^{-1} \forall g((\blacksquare Sg \blacksquare Nt(s(m))) / ((\diamond Nt(s(m)) \backslash Sg)) : \lambda A A$
her: $\blacksquare \forall g \forall a(((\diamond Na \ Sg) \uparrow \blacksquare Nt(s(f))) \downarrow (\blacksquare (\diamond Na \ Sg) \blacksquare Nt(s(f)))) : \lambda A A$
in: $\square(\forall a \forall f(((\diamond Na \ Sf) \backslash ((\diamond Na \ Sf))) / \exists a Na) : \lambda A \lambda B \lambda C (\text{"in } A) \ (B \ C))$
is: $\blacksquare(((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf) / (\exists a Na \oplus (\exists g((CNg / CNg) \sqcup (CNg \ CNg)) - I))) : \lambda A \lambda B (Pres \ (A \rightarrow C.[B = C]; D.(D \ \lambda E[E = B]) \ B)))$
john: $\blacksquare Nt(s(m)) : j$
loses: $\square((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf) / \exists a Na) : \lambda A \lambda B (Pres \ (\sim \text{lose } A) \ B)$
loves: $\square((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf) / \exists a Na) : \lambda A \lambda B (Pres \ (\sim \text{love } A) \ B)$
man: $\square CNs(m) : \text{man}$
necessarily: $\blacksquare (SA / \square SA) : \text{Nec}$
or: $\blacksquare \forall f((? \blacksquare (Sf / ((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf)) \backslash \blacksquare^{-1} \blacksquare^{-1} (Sf / ((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf))) / \blacksquare (Sf / ((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf)))) : (\Phi^{n+} \ (s \ 0) \ \text{or})$
park: $\square CNs(n) : \text{park}$
seeks: $\square((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf) / \square \forall a \forall f(((Na \ Sf) / \exists b Nb) \backslash (Na \ Sf))) : \lambda A \lambda B (\sim \text{tries } \sim ((A \ \sim \text{find}) \ B)) \ B)$
slowly: $\square \forall a \forall f(\square((\diamond Na \ Sf) \backslash ((\diamond \square Na \ Sf)) : \lambda A \lambda B (\sim \text{slowly } \sim (A \ \sim B))$
such+that: $\blacksquare \forall n((CNn \backslash CNn) / (Sf \blacksquare Nt(n))) : \lambda A \lambda B \lambda C [(B \ C) \wedge (A \ C)]$
talks: $\square((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf) : \lambda A (Pres \ (\sim \text{talk } A))$
that: $\blacksquare (C P \text{that} / \square Sf) : \lambda A A$
the: $\blacksquare \forall n(Nt(n) / CNn) : t$
to: $\blacksquare((P P \text{to} / \exists a Na) \square \forall n((\diamond Nn \backslash Si) / ((\diamond Nn \backslash Sb))) : \lambda A A$
unicorn: $\square CNs(n) : \text{unicorn}$
walks: $\square((\diamond \exists g Nt(s(g)) \backslash Sf) : \lambda A (Pres \ (\sim \text{walk } A))$
woman: $\square CNs(f) : \text{woman}$