

# Semantics II

Andrew Murphy  
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Week 8

05.18.22

LING 20001: Introduction to Linguistics

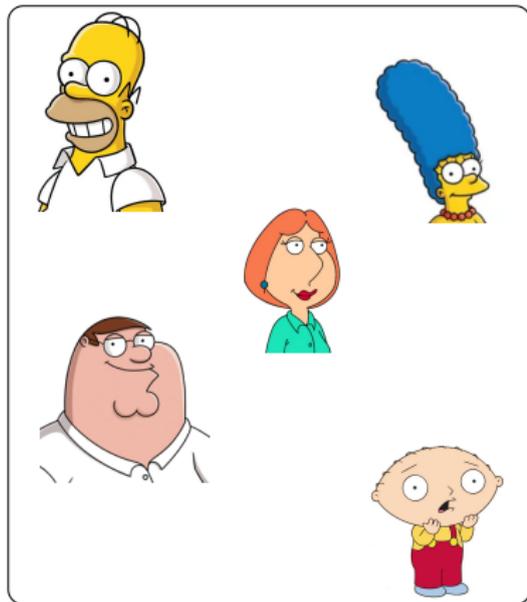
# Summary

Linguistic expressions divide up the logical space of entities in the world:



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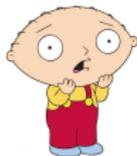
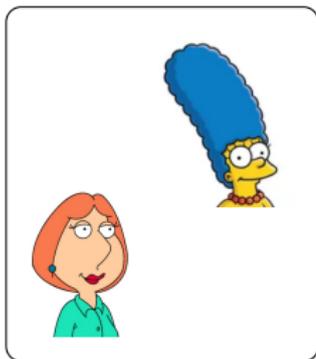
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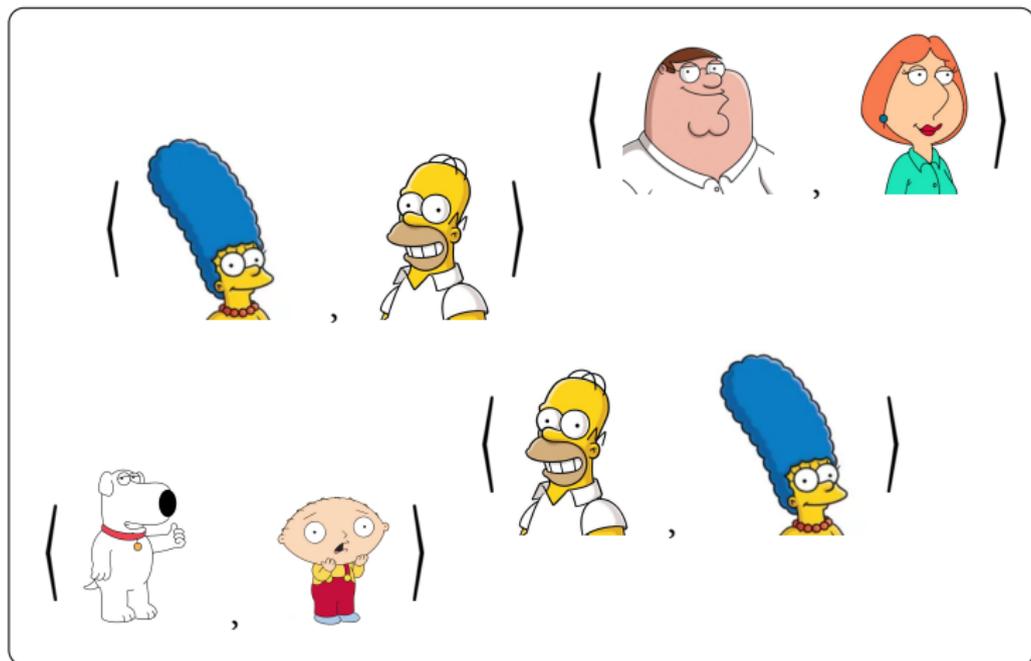
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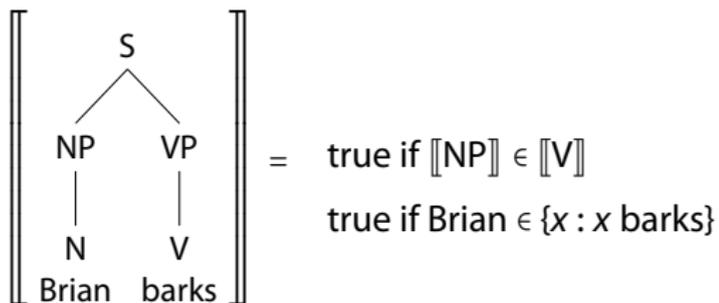
[[love]]

# Summary

Two interpretation rules, one for intransitive structures, and one for transitives:

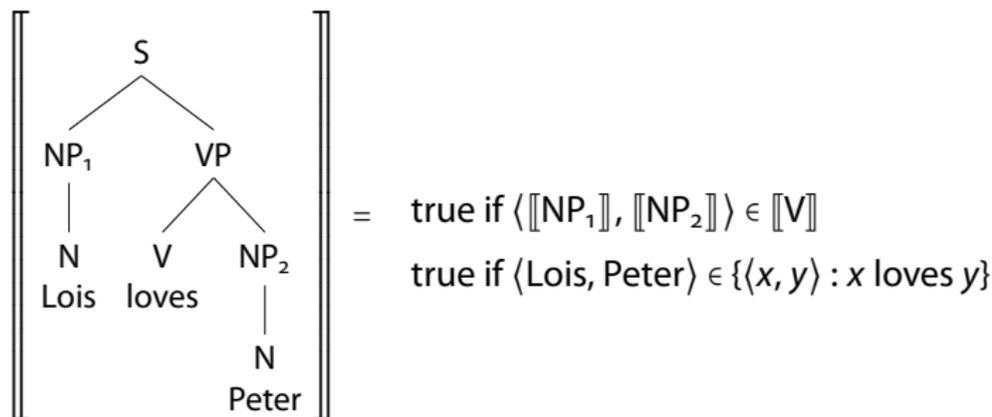
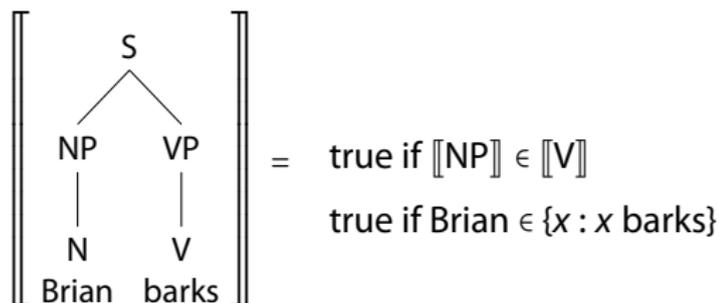
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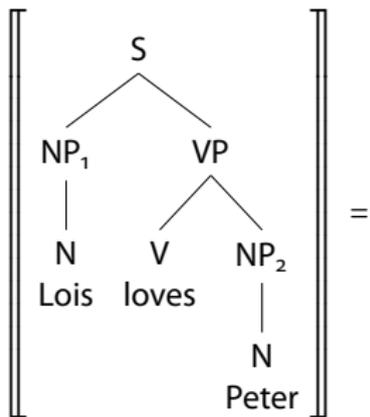


# An example

What is the meaning of *Lois loves Peter*?

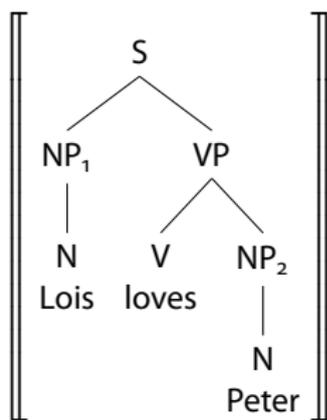
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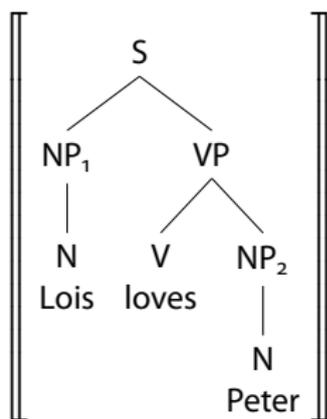


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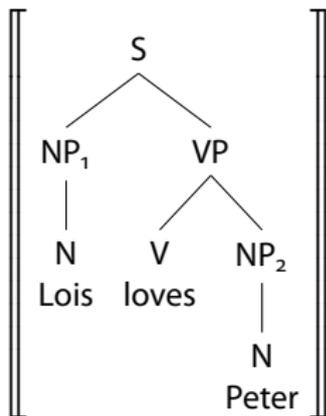
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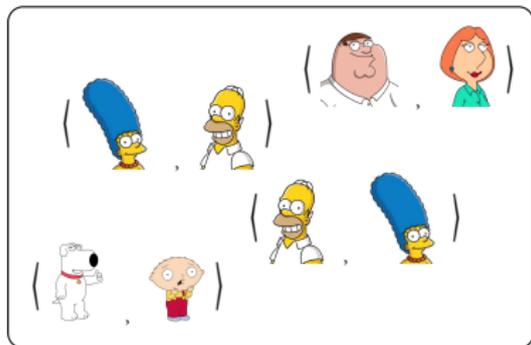


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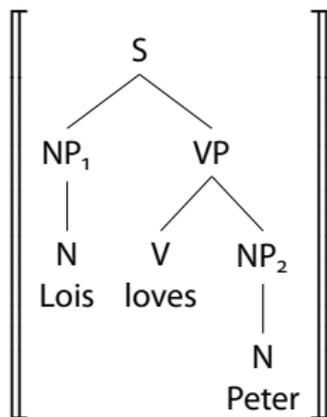
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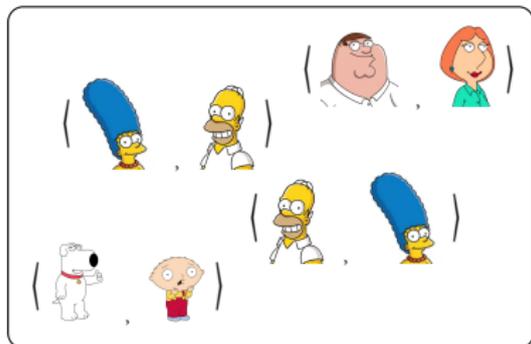


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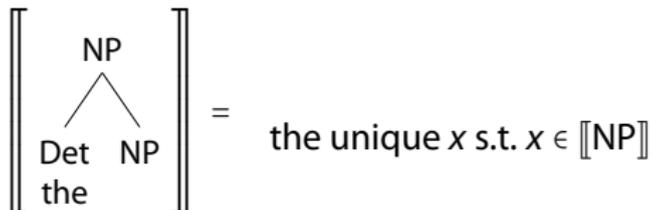
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**false**

# The meaning of NP

What about a sentence like *The train has arrived*?



What about other determiners like *every*?

# Quantifiers

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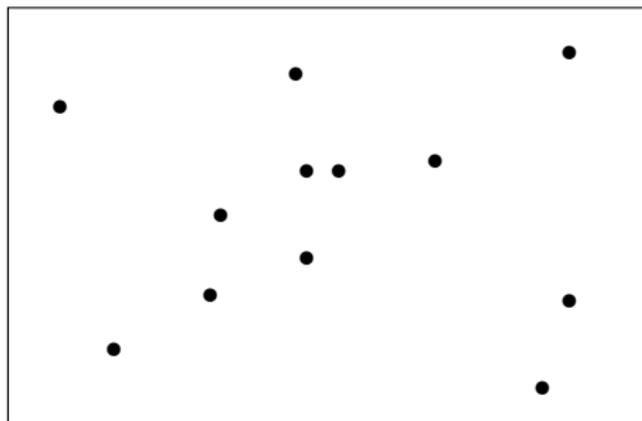
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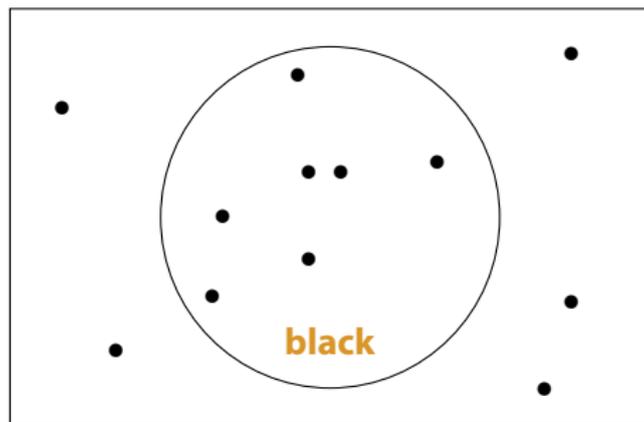


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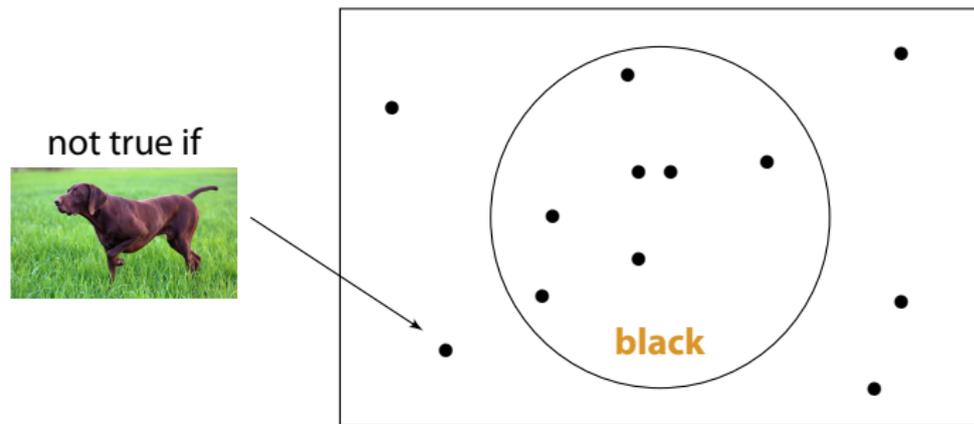


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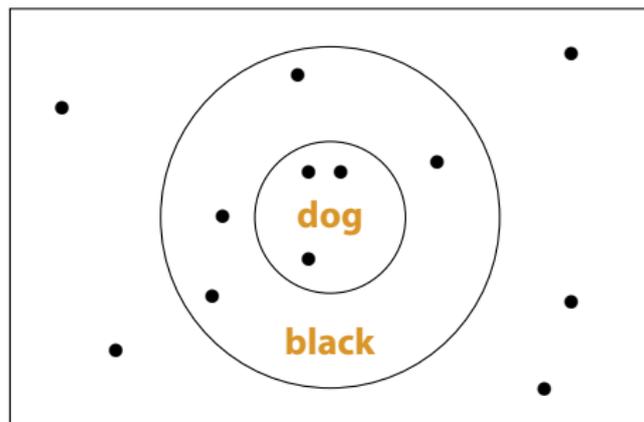


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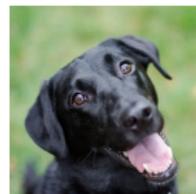
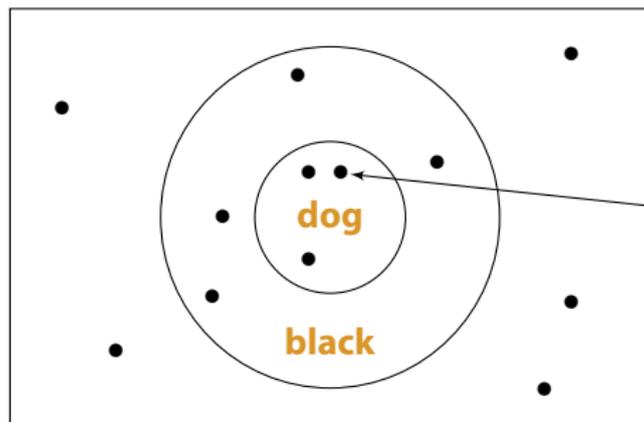


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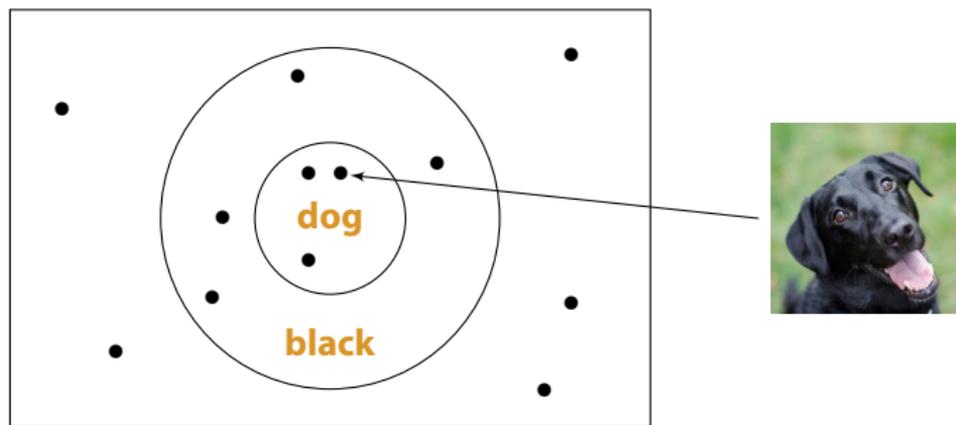


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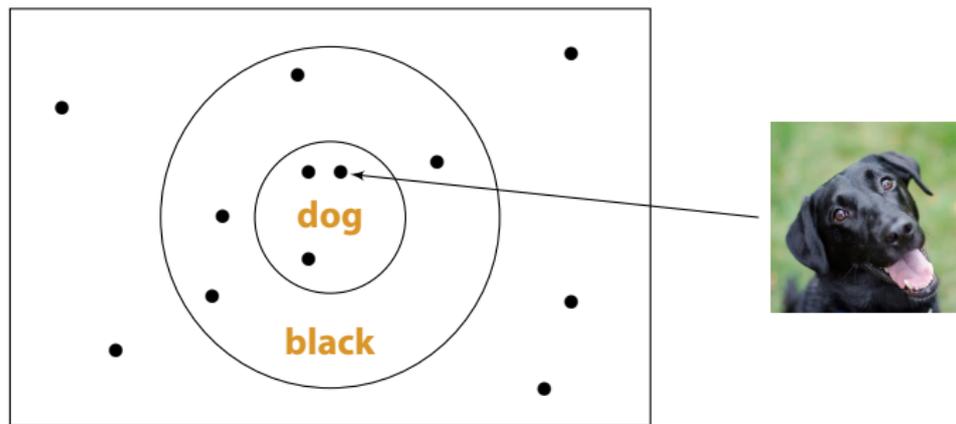
In other words, the set corresponding to  $\llbracket \text{dog} \rrbracket$  is a **subset** of the set of  $\llbracket \text{is black} \rrbracket$ .

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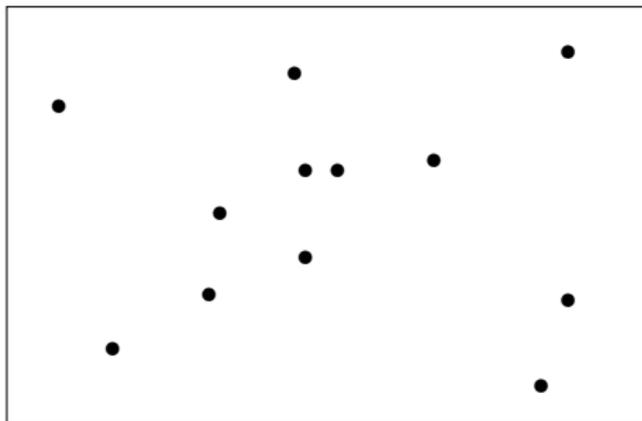


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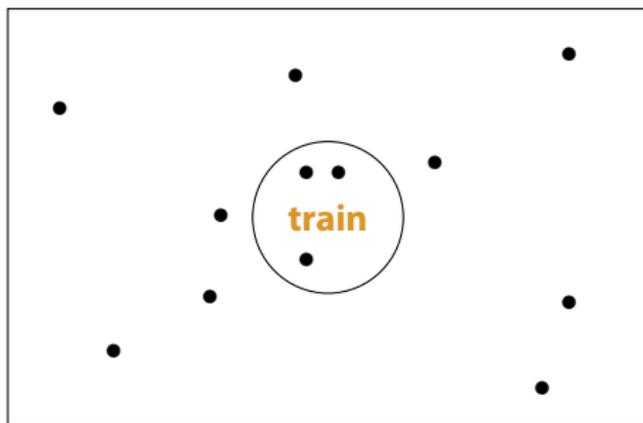
$$\llbracket \text{Every dog is black} \rrbracket = \{x : x \text{ is a dog}\} \subseteq \{y : y \text{ is black}\}$$

What about *Every train has left?*

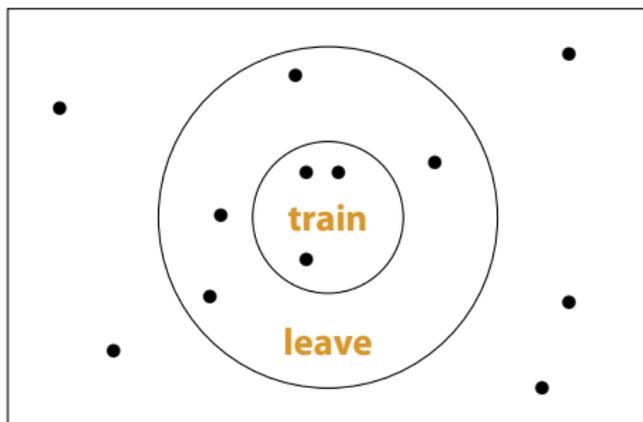
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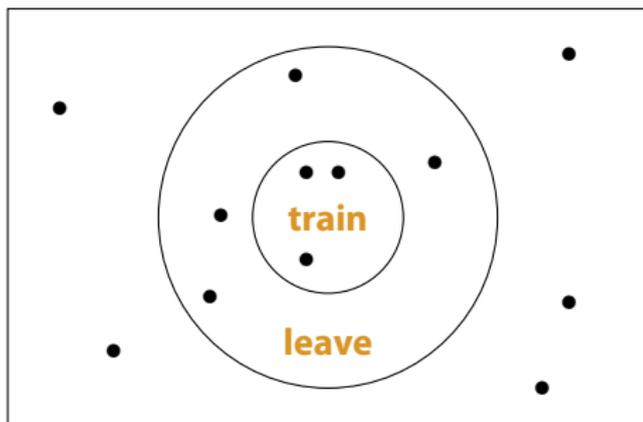
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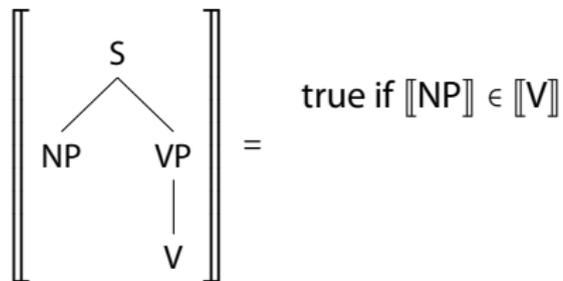
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How can we arrive at a compositional rule for quantifiers?

The rule we have so far for intransitive verbs is this:



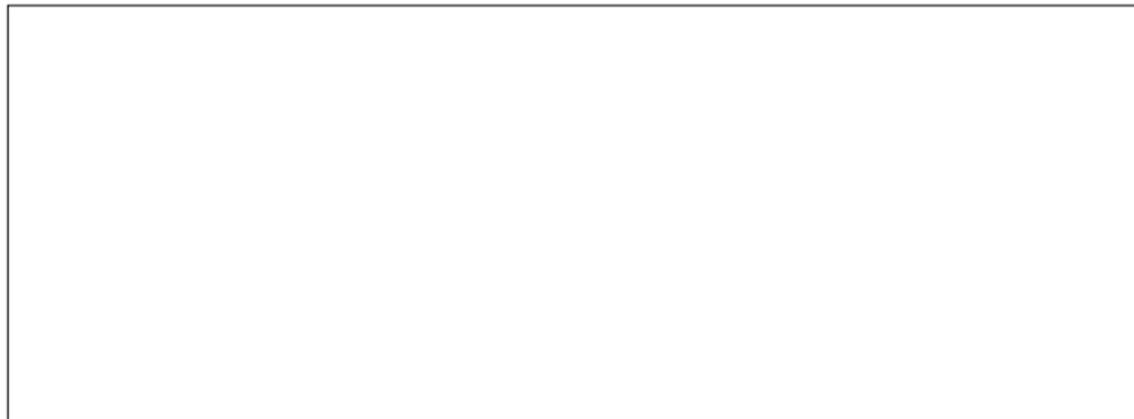
But this won't work...

# Compositionality

*Every* relates two sets in a particular way (such that one is a subset of the other):

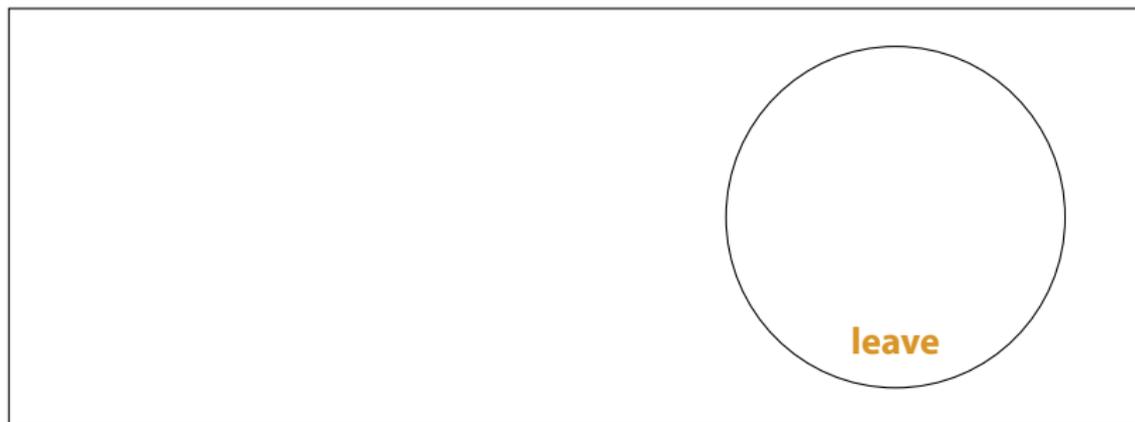
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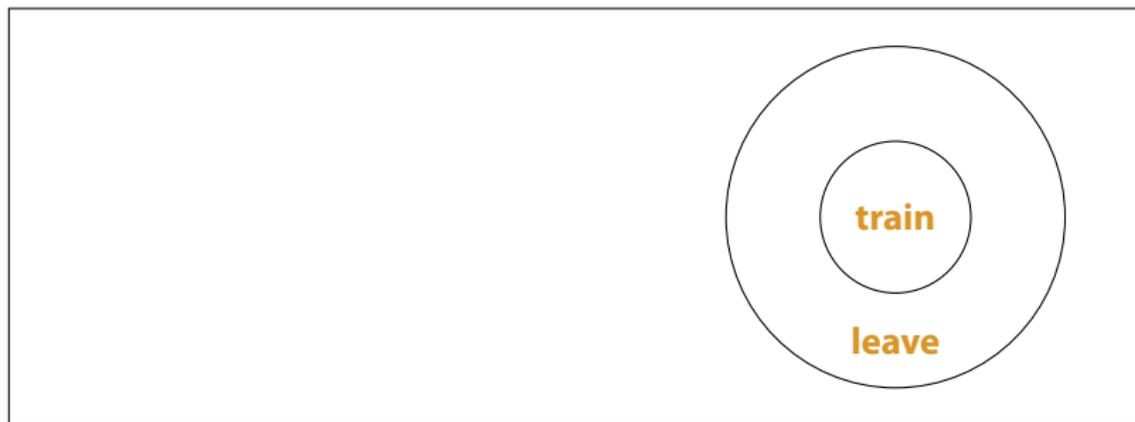
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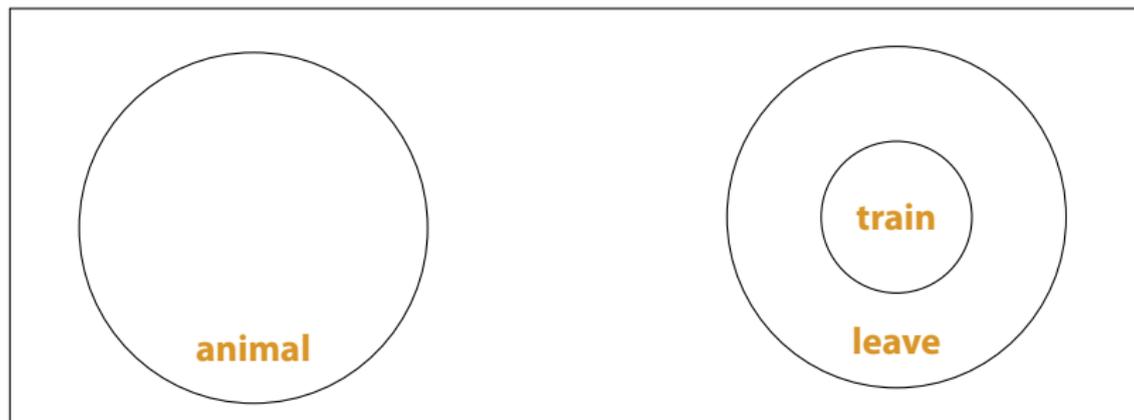
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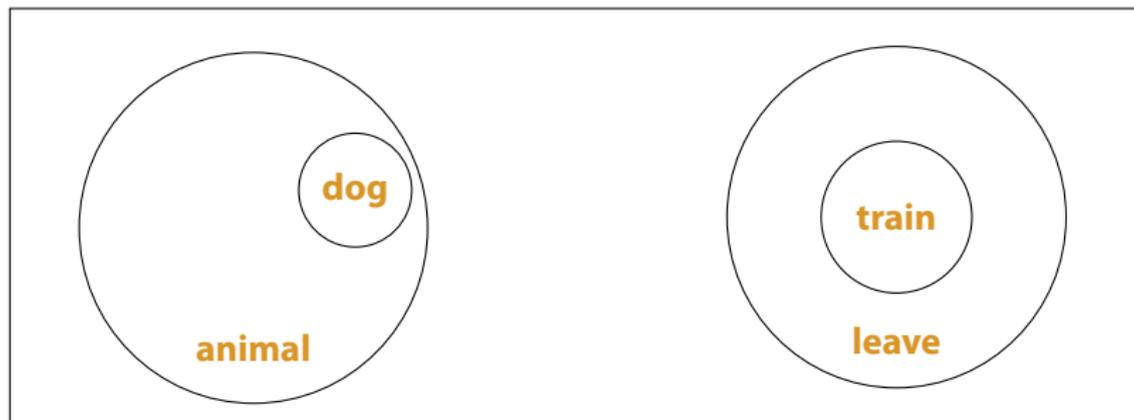
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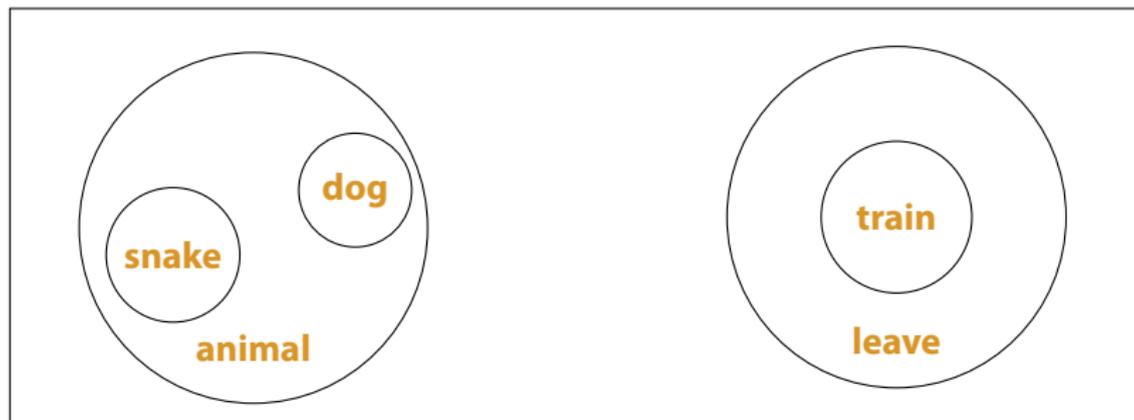
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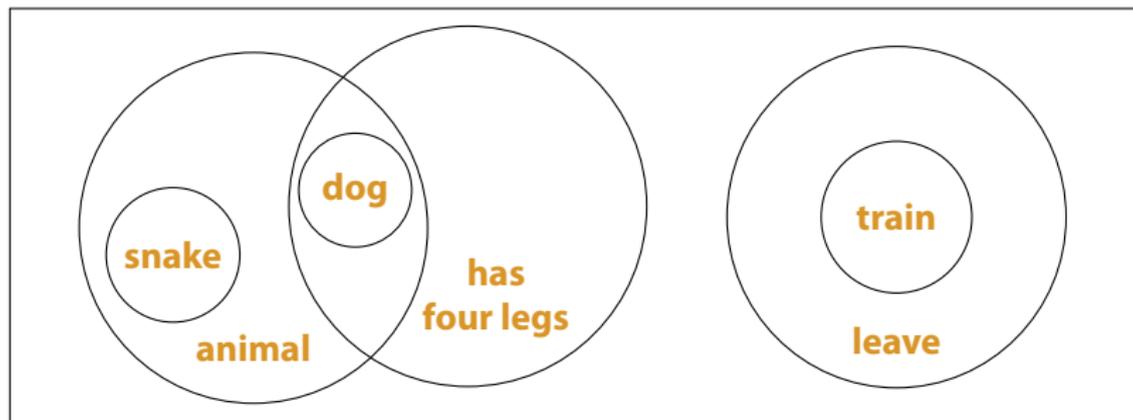
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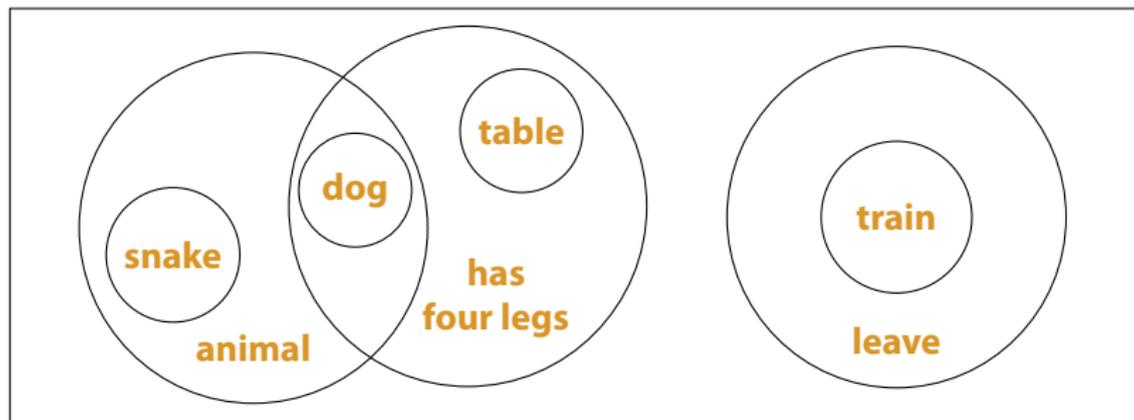
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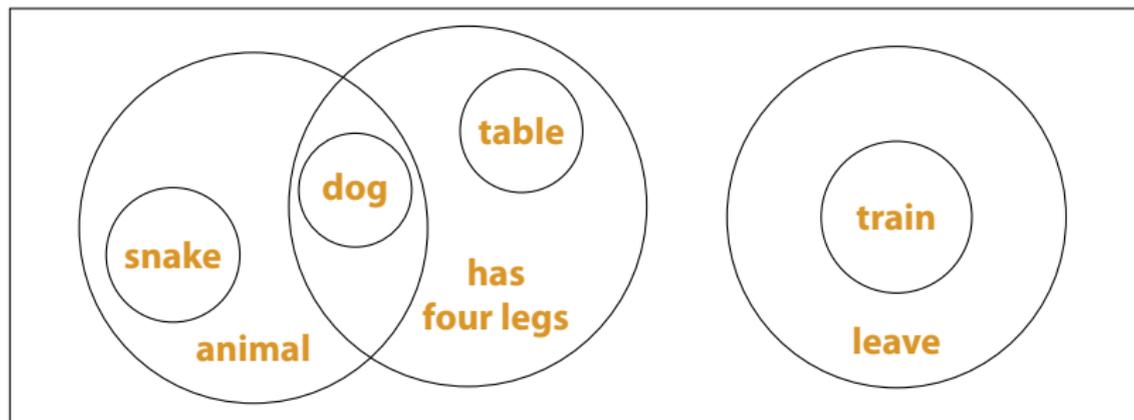
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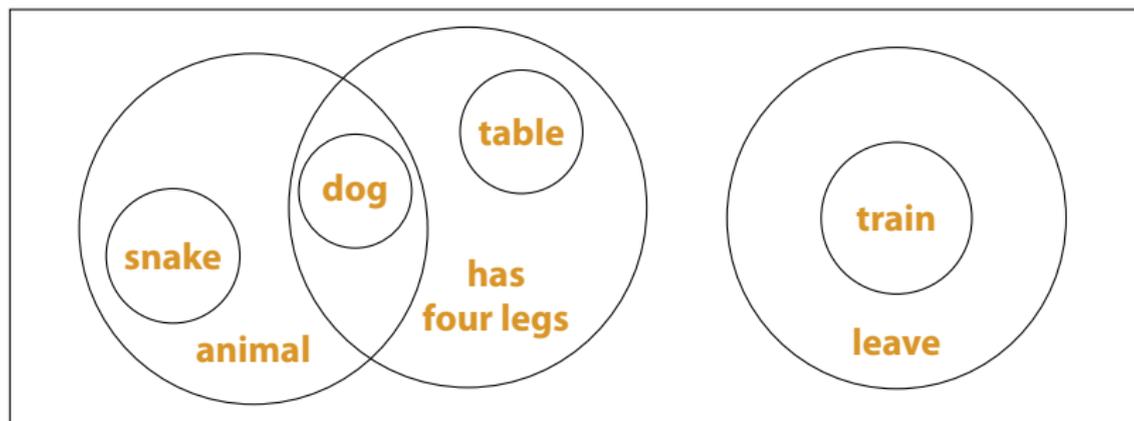


This relation can be expressed as a set of ordered pairs of **sets**:

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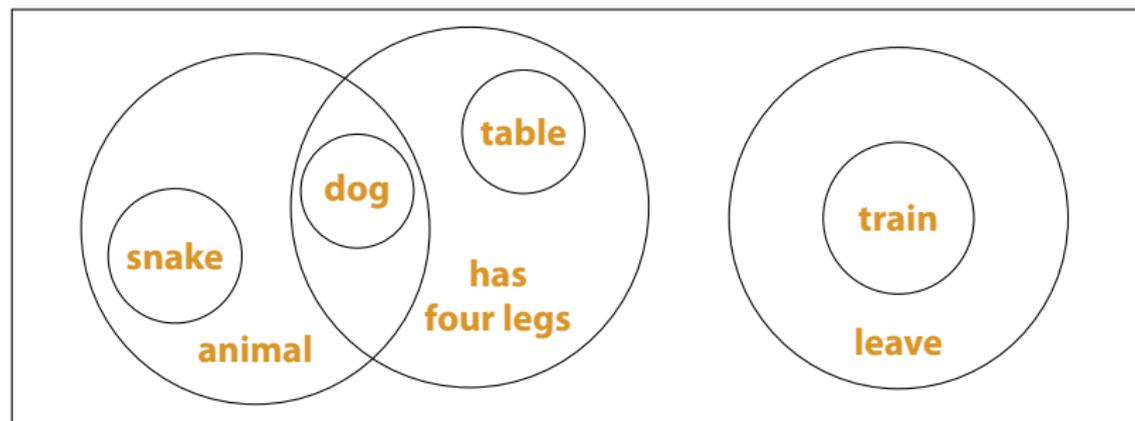
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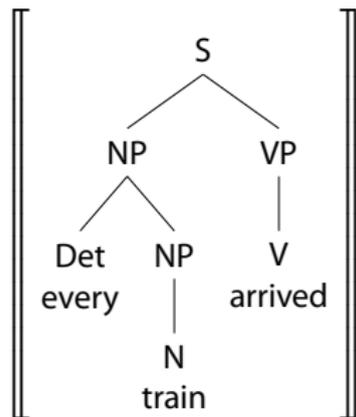
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Every always relates **hyponyms** (like *dog*) to their respective **hypernym** (*animal*)

# Compositionality



=

true if  $\langle \llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket, \llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket \rangle \in \llbracket \text{Det} \rrbracket$

true if  $\langle \llbracket \text{train} \rrbracket, \llbracket \text{arrived} \rrbracket \rangle \in \llbracket \text{every} \rrbracket$

true if  $\langle \{x : x \text{ is a train} \}, \{y : y \text{ arrived} \} \rangle \in \{ \langle P, Q \rangle : P \subseteq Q \}$

# Quantifiers

What about the quantifier *no* in *No train arrived*?

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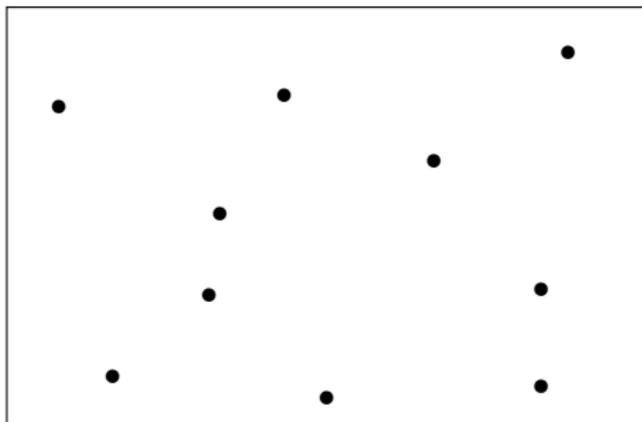
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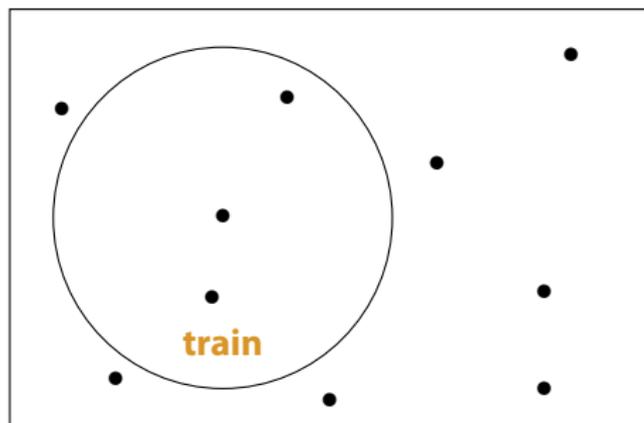
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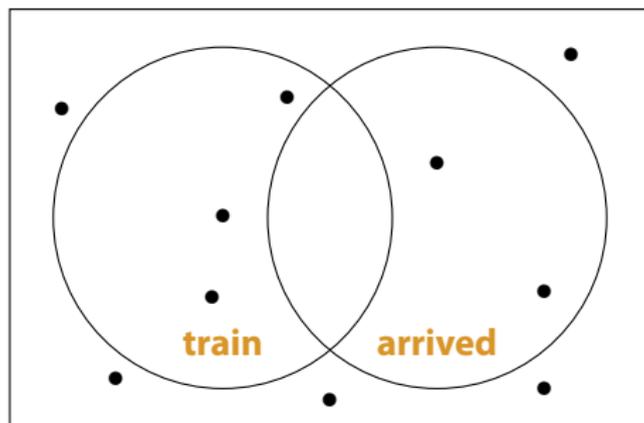
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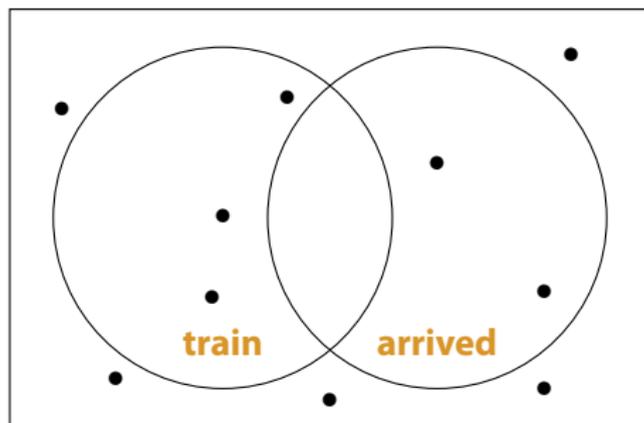
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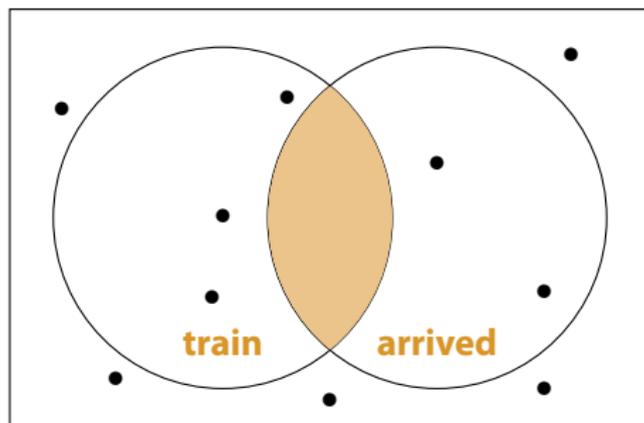


In set-theoretic terms: The **intersection** of the two sets ( $\cap$ ) must not contain any elements, i.e. it must be **empty set** ( $\emptyset$ )

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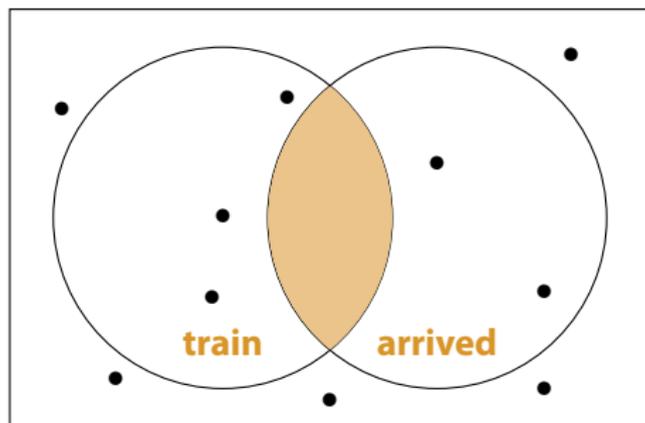


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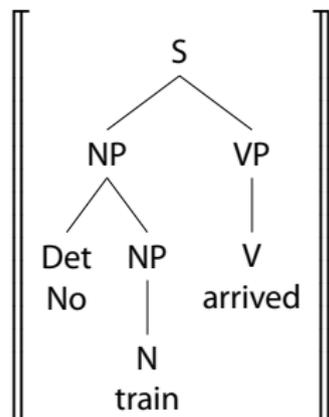
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$$\llbracket \text{No train arrived} \rrbracket = \text{true if } \{x : x \text{ is a train}\} \cap \{y : y \text{ arrived}\} = \emptyset$$

How does this all fit together compositionally?



$\langle \llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket, \llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket \rangle \in \llbracket \text{Det} \rrbracket$   
=  $\langle \llbracket \text{train} \rrbracket, \llbracket \text{arrived} \rrbracket \rangle \in \llbracket \text{no} \rrbracket$   
true if  
 $\langle \{x : x \text{ is a train} \}, \{y : y \text{ arrived} \} \rangle \in \{ \langle P, Q \rangle : P \cap Q = \emptyset \}$

$\llbracket \text{no} \rrbracket = \{ \langle \llbracket \text{hot} \rrbracket, \llbracket \text{cold} \rrbracket \rangle, \langle \llbracket \text{alive} \rrbracket, \llbracket \text{dead} \rrbracket \rangle, \langle \llbracket \text{train} \rrbracket, \llbracket \text{arrived} \rrbracket \rangle \}$

The quantifier *no* will always contains pairs of **antonyms** (e.g. words with inherently opposite meanings)

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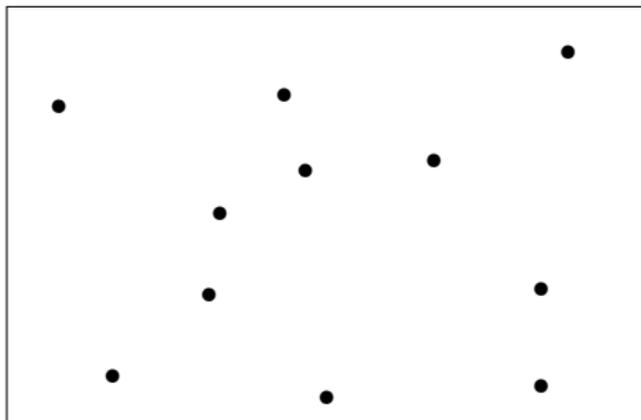
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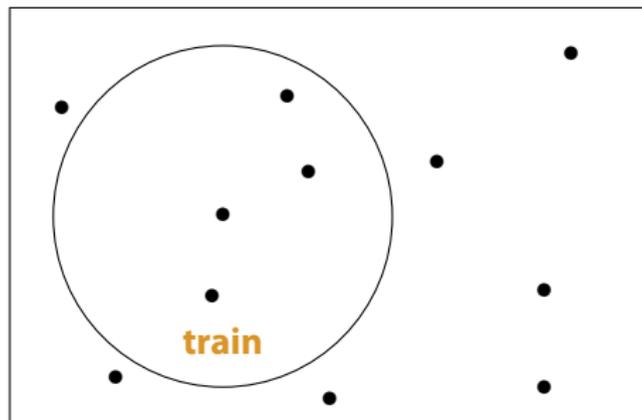
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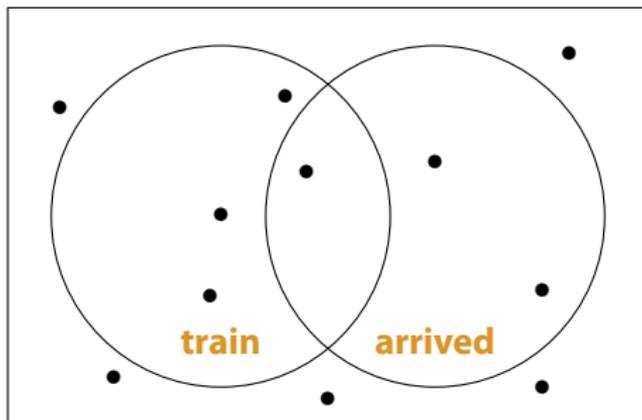
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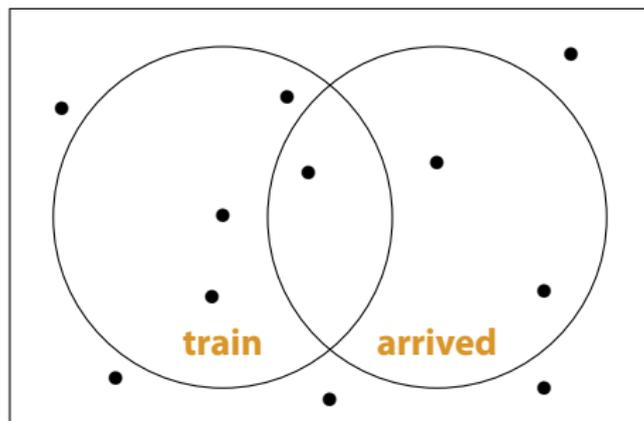
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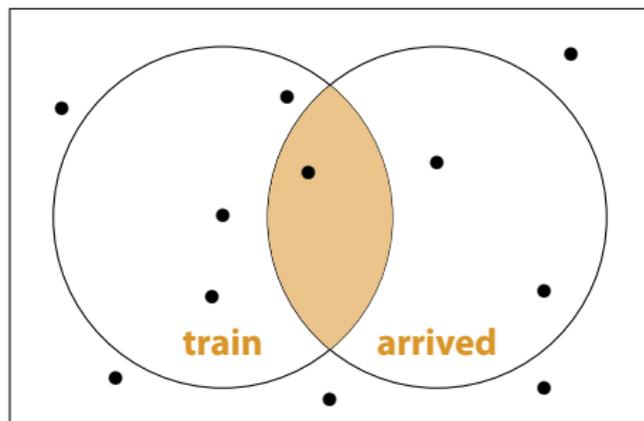


The **intersection** of the two sets ( $\cap$ ) must **not** be the **empty set** ( $\emptyset$ )

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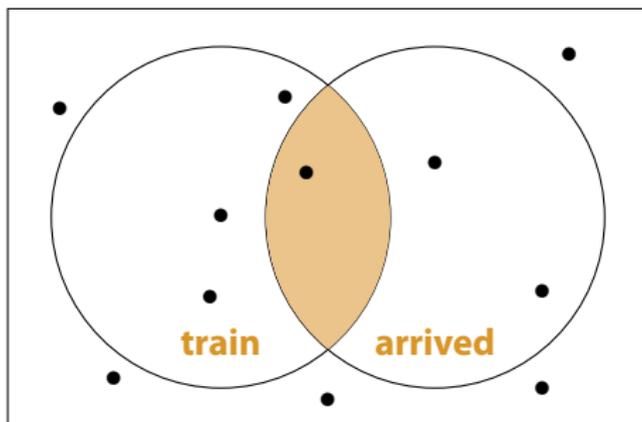


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$$\llbracket \text{A train arrived} \rrbracket = \text{true if } \{x : x \text{ is a train}\} \cap \{y : y \text{ arrived}\} \neq \emptyset$$

# More quantifiers

What about the quantifier *two* in *Two trains arrived*

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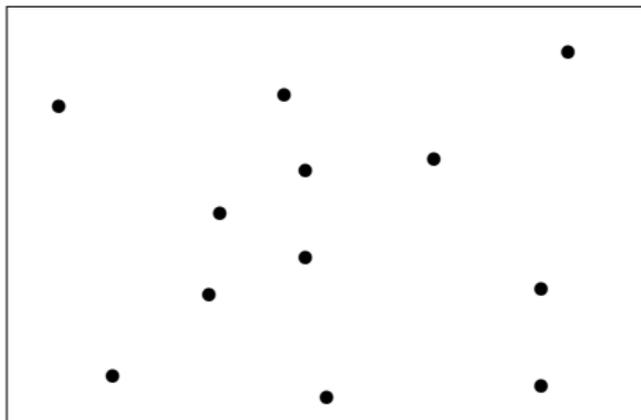
What about the quantifier *two* in *Two trains arrived*

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# More quantifiers

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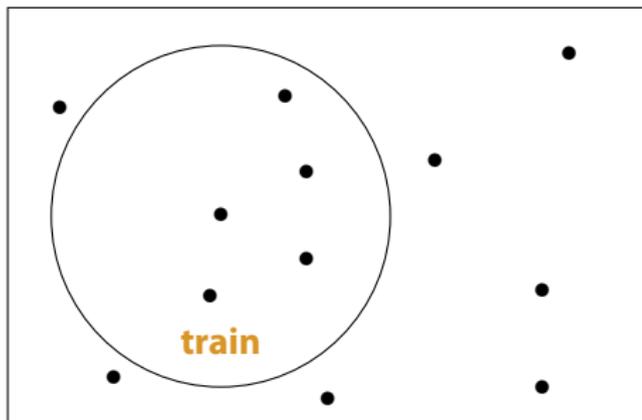
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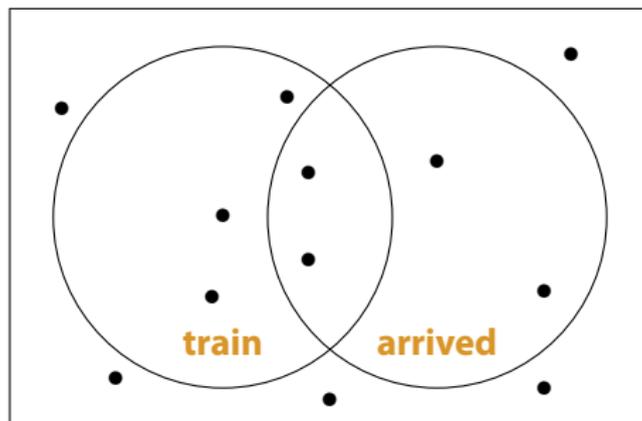
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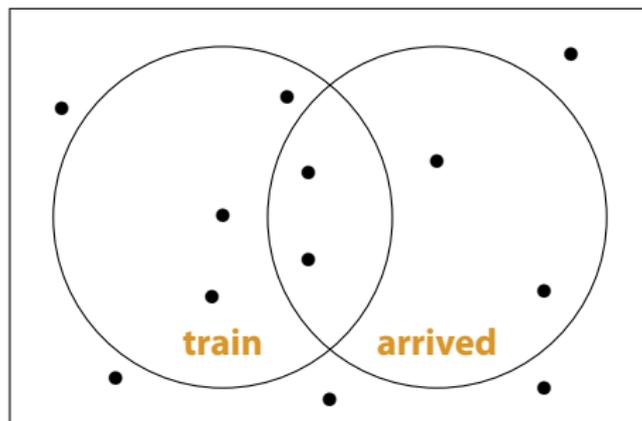
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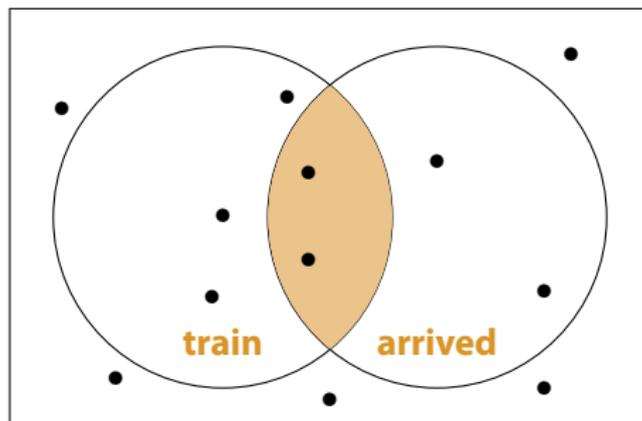


The **cardinality** ( $| \cap |$ ) of the intersection of the sets is **greater than or equal to 2**.

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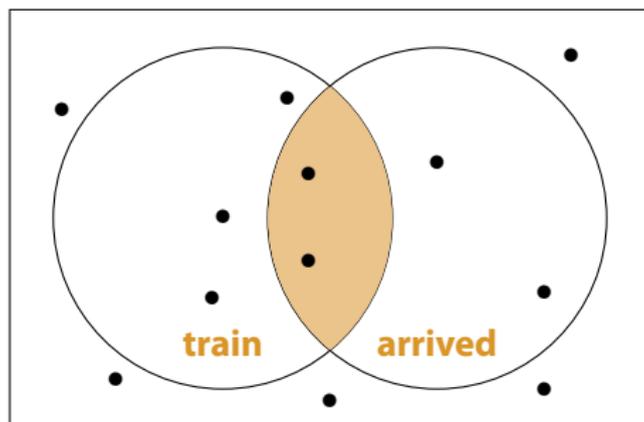


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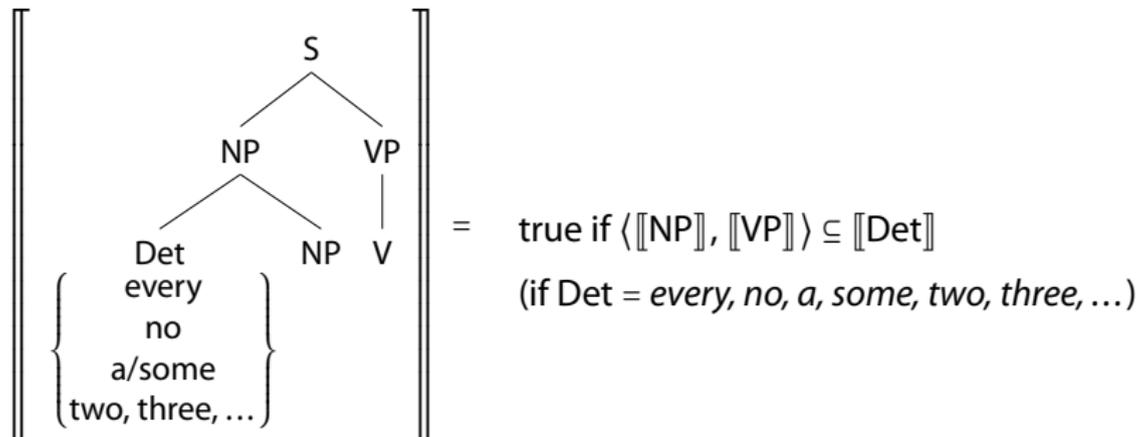
$$\llbracket \text{Two trains arrived} \rrbracket = \text{true if } |\{x : x \text{ is a train}\} \cap \{y : y \text{ arrived}\}| \geq 2$$

# Quantifiers: Summary

[[every]]	=	$\{\langle P, Q \rangle : P \subseteq Q\}$
[[no]]	=	$\{\langle P, Q \rangle : P \cap Q = \emptyset\}$
[[a/some]]	=	$\{\langle P, Q \rangle : P \cap Q \neq \emptyset\}$
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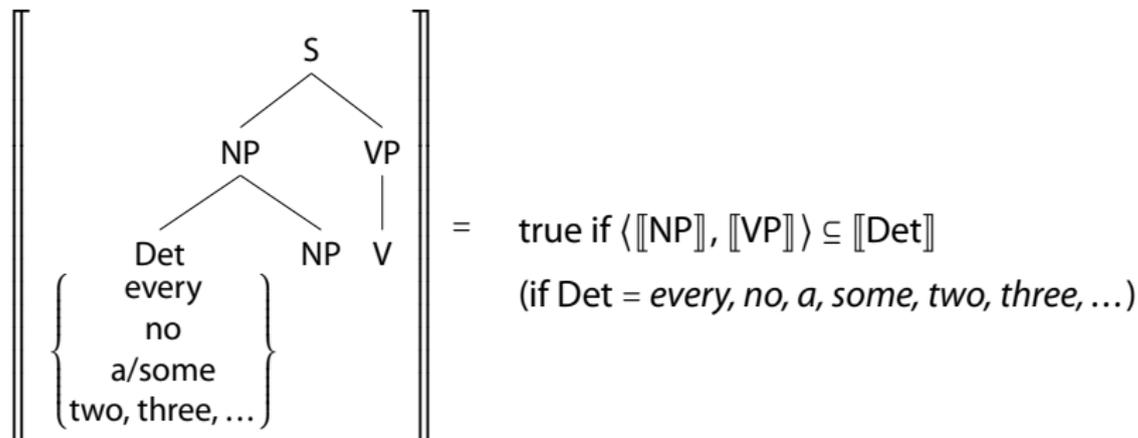
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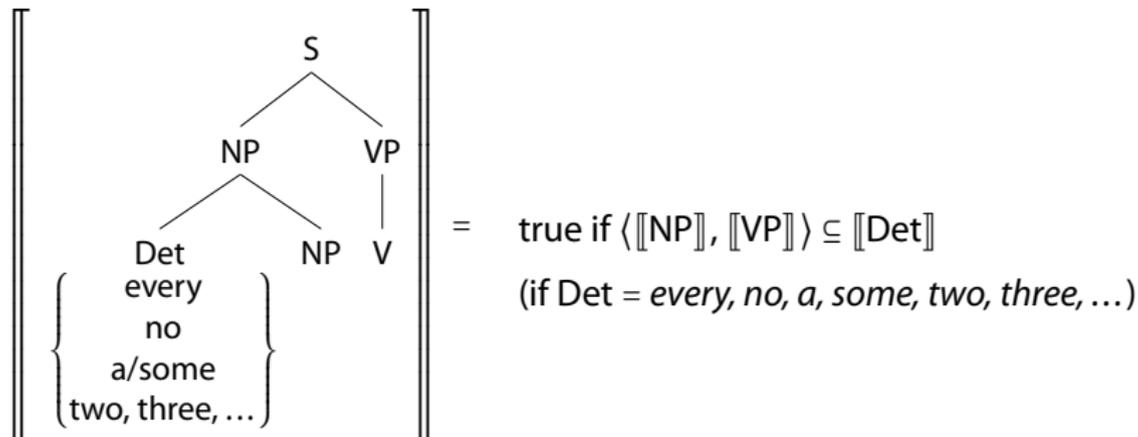
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We could also assign these determiners to a different syntactic category like Quant(ifier).

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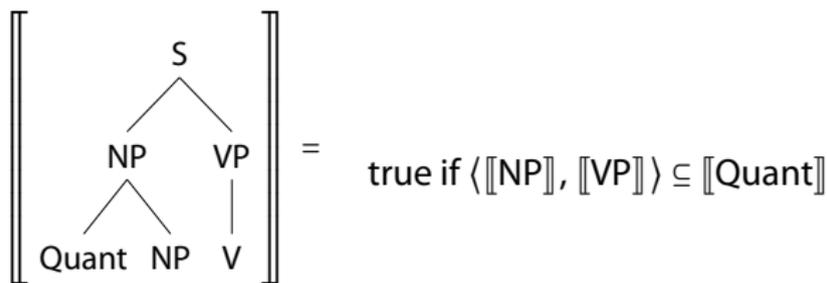
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What about adjectives like *brown* in *brown dog*?

# Modification

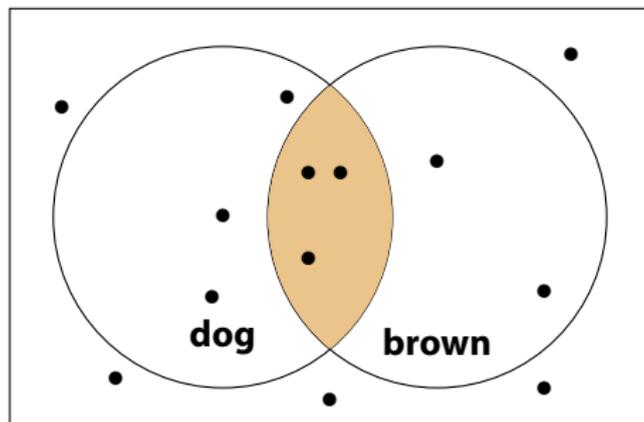
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These phrases also involve intersection of two sets:

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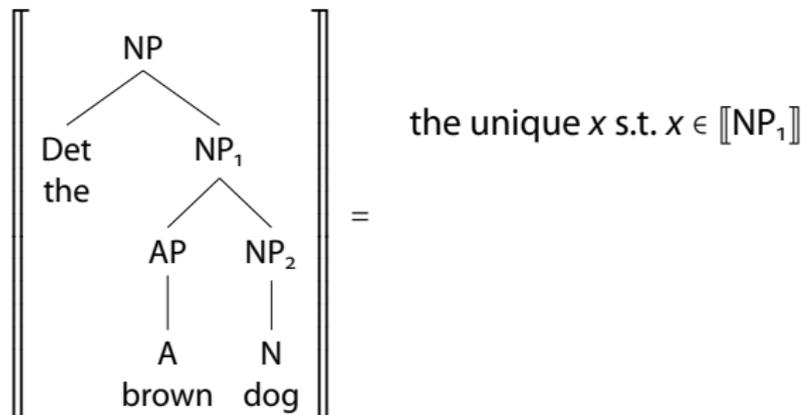
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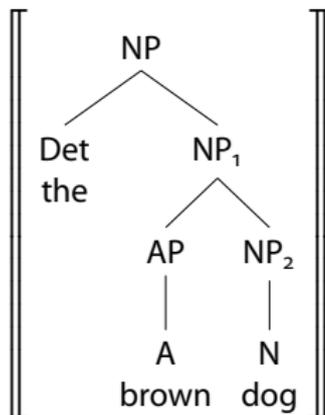


$$\llbracket \text{brown dog} \rrbracket = \{x : x \text{ is brown}\} \cap \{y : y \text{ is dog}\}$$

What about *the brown dog*?



What about *the brown dog*?

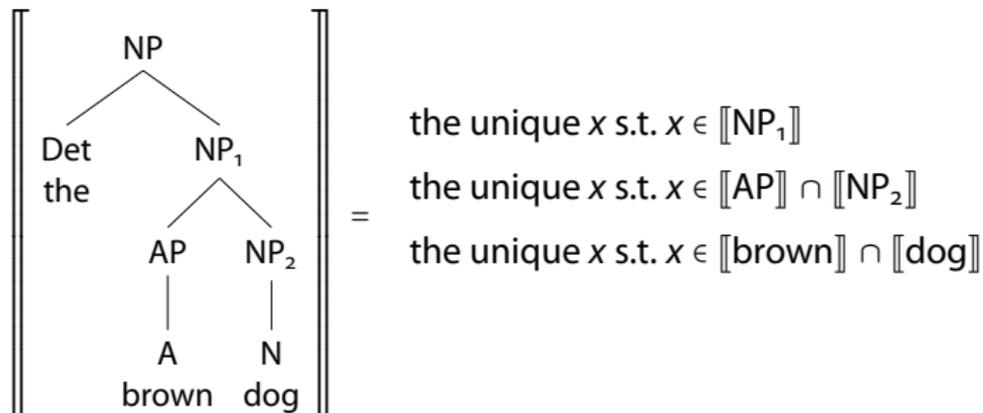


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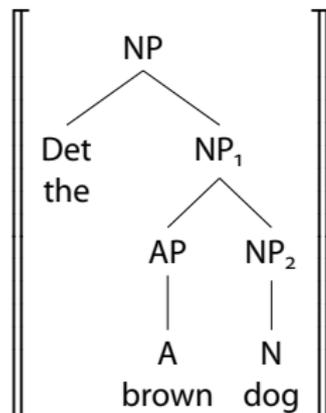
the unique  $x$  s.t.  $x \in \llbracket \text{NP}_1 \rrbracket$

the unique  $x$  s.t.  $x \in \llbracket \text{AP} \rrbracket \cap \llbracket \text{NP}_2 \rrbracket$

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=

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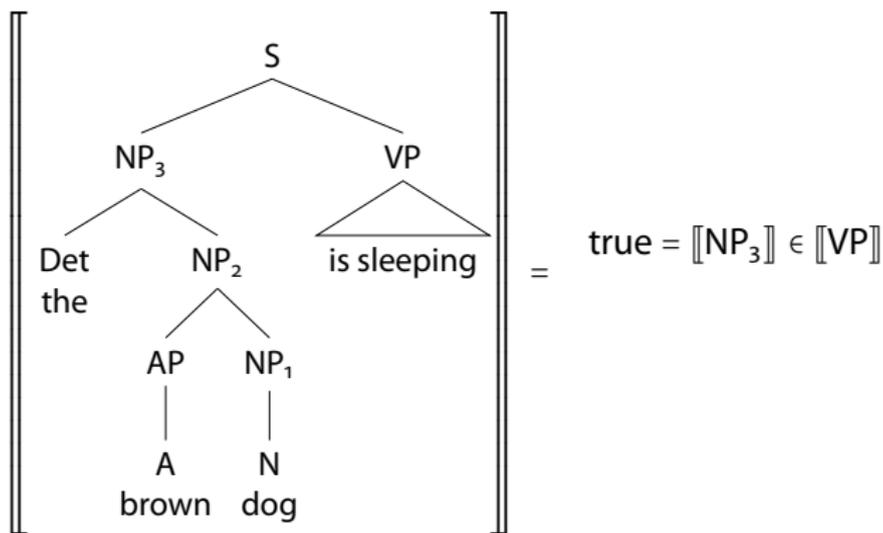
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the unique  $x$  s.t.  $x \in \llbracket \text{brown} \rrbracket \cap \llbracket \text{dog} \rrbracket$

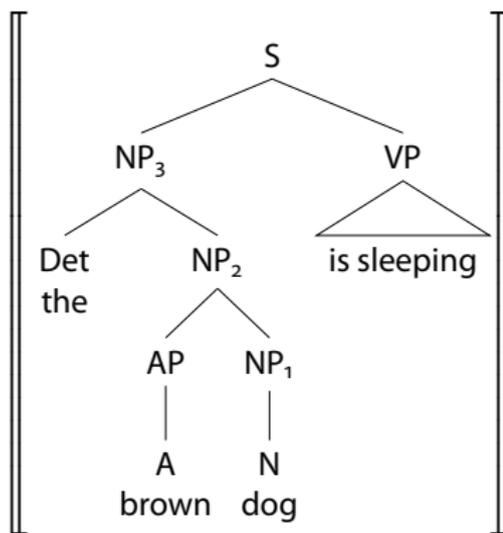
the unique  $x$  s.t.

$x \in \{y : y \text{ is brown}\} \cap \{z : z \text{ is dog}\}$

# Modification



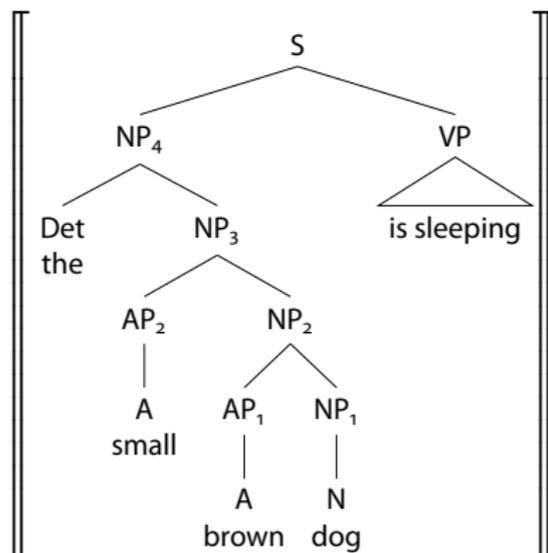
# Modification



$$\begin{aligned} &= \text{true} = \llbracket \text{NP}_3 \rrbracket \in \llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket \\ &\quad \frac{\text{the unique } x \text{ s.t. } x \in \{y : y \text{ is brown}\}}{\cap \{z : z \text{ is dog}\} \in \{q : q \text{ is sleeping}\}} \end{aligned}$$

# Modification

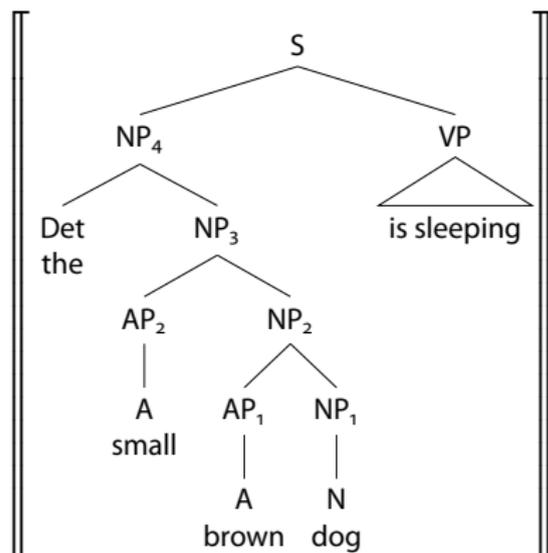
What about multiple adjectives like with *the small brown dog is sleeping*?



true if  $\llbracket \text{NP}_3 \rrbracket \in \llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket$

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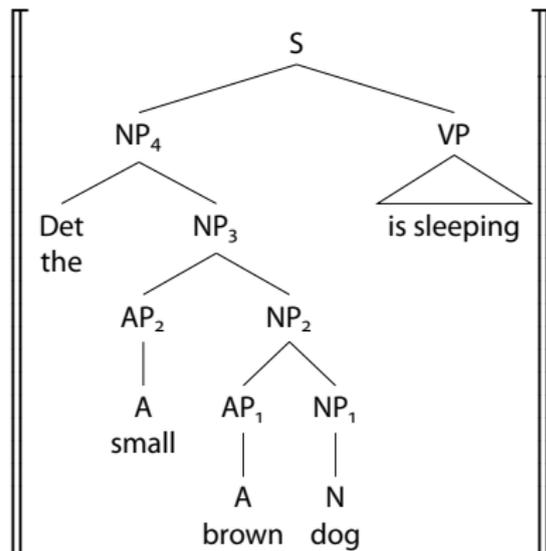
=

true if  $\llbracket \text{NP}_3 \rrbracket \in \llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket$

true if the unique  $x$  s.t.  $x \in$   
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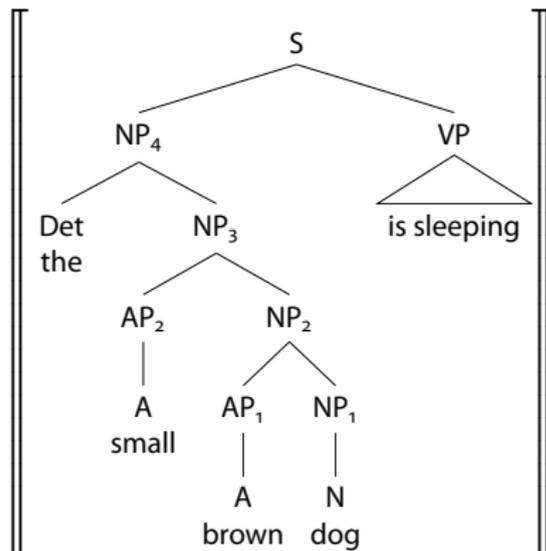


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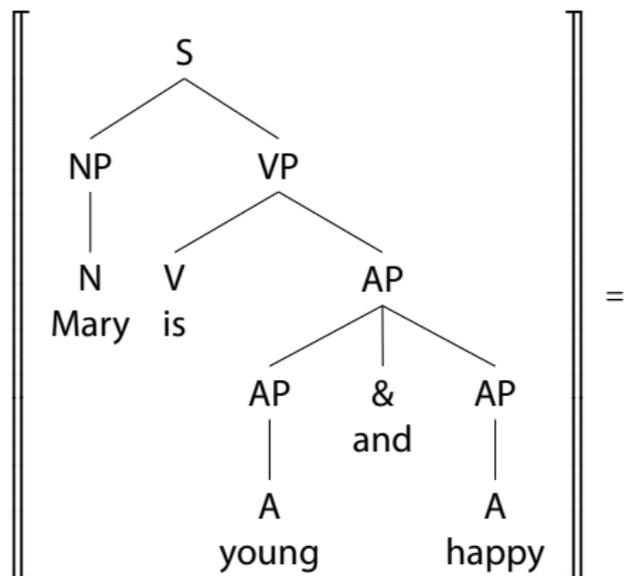
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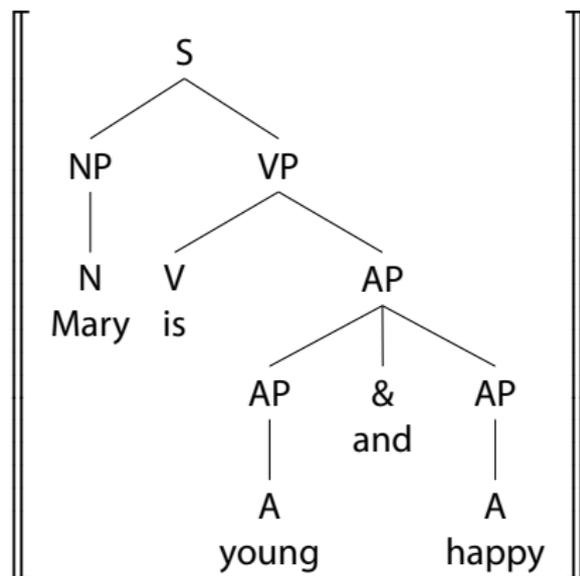
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true if the unique  $x$  s.t.  $x \in \{z : z \text{ is dog}\}$   
 $\frac{\cap \{y : y \text{ is brown}\} \cap \{g : g \text{ is small}\}}{\in \{q : q \text{ is sleeping}\}}$

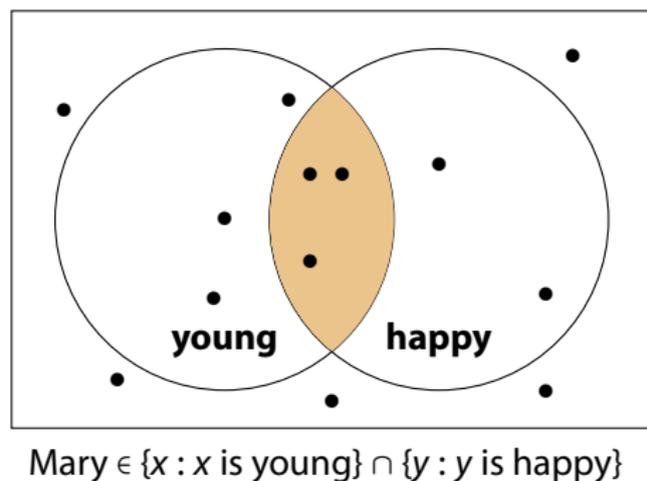
What is the meaning of coordinated adjectives like *young and happy*?



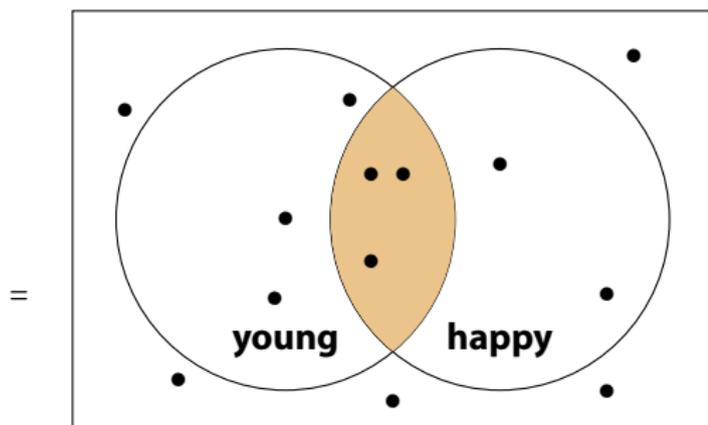
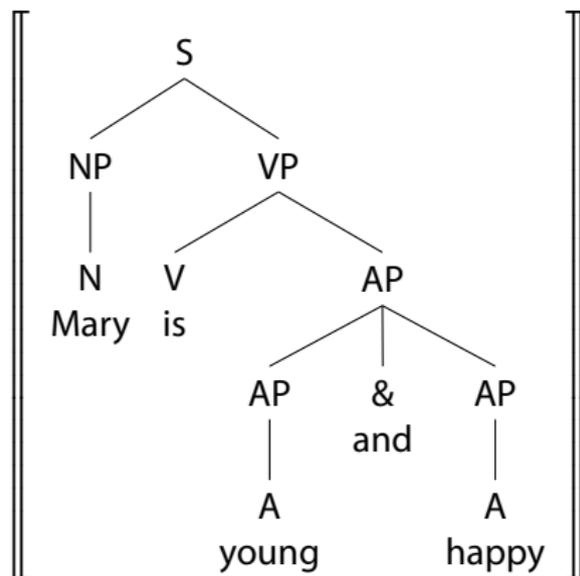
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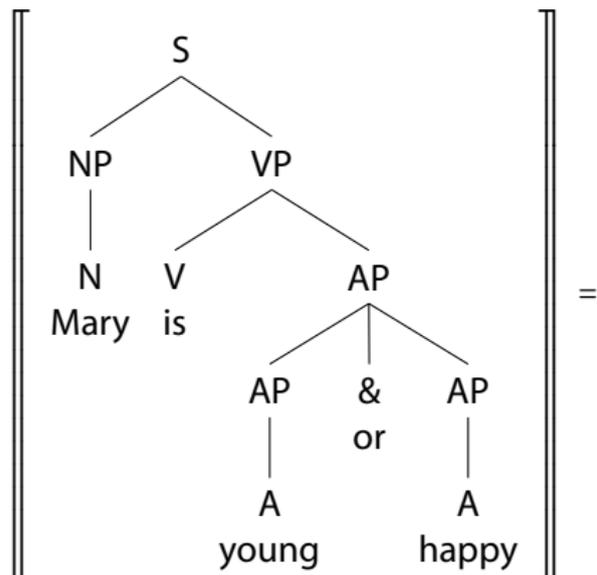
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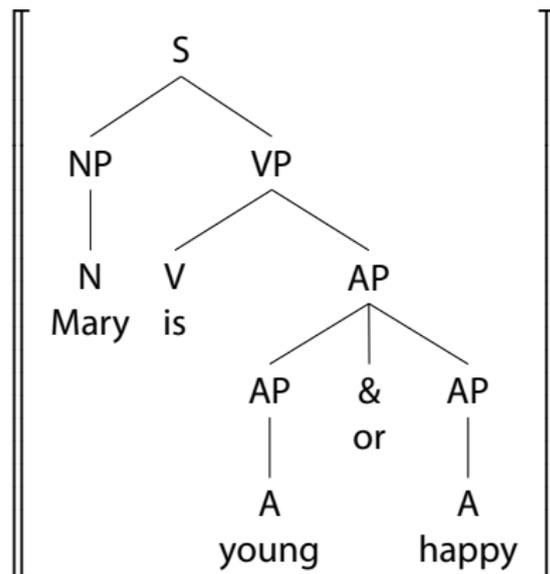
$Mary \in \{x : x \text{ is young}\} \cap \{y : y \text{ is happy}\}$

It is just set intersection again!

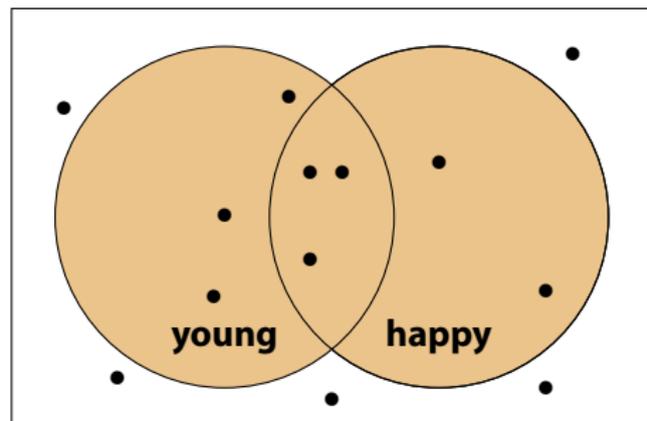
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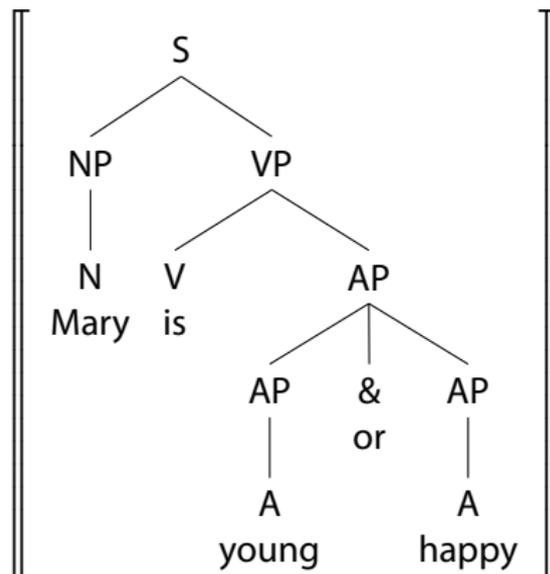


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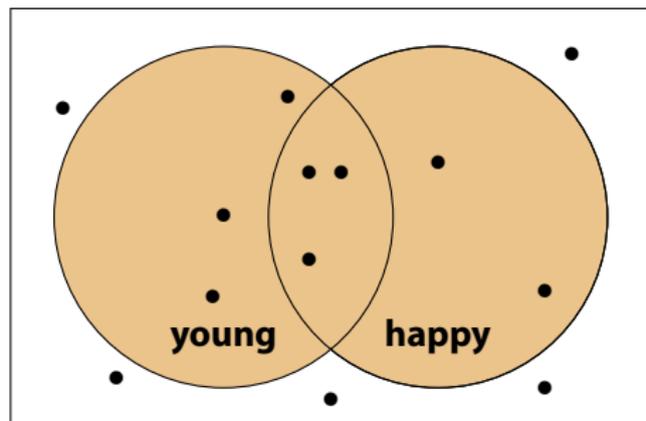


$Mary \in \{x : x \text{ is young}\} \cup \{y : y \text{ is happy}\}$

What is the meaning of coordinated adjectives like *young or sad*?



=



$Mary \in \{x : x \text{ is young}\} \cup \{y : y \text{ is happy}\}$

The coordination *or* involves the **union** ( $\cup$ ) of two sets!

# Negation

What about negation in phrases like *not happy*?

# Negation

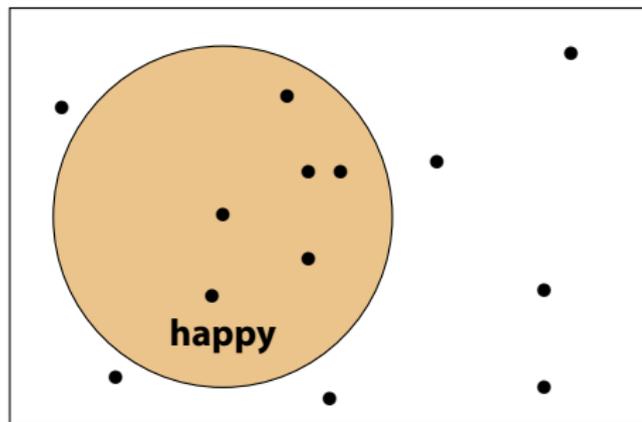
What about negation in phrases like *not happy*?

It involves the **complement** of some set  $\{a, b, c\}$  ( $\overline{\{a, b, c\}}$ ), i.e. the set of elements that are **not** in a given set.

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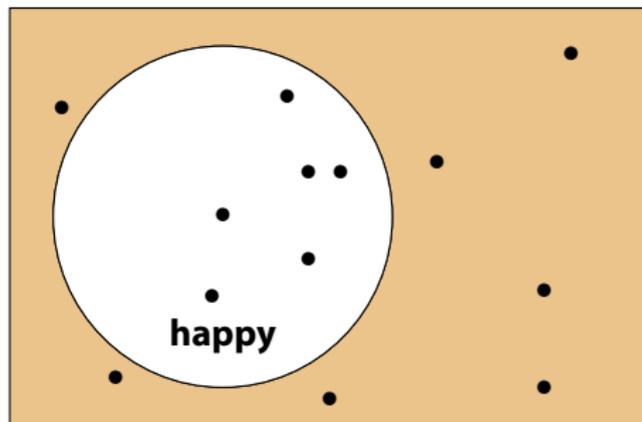


$\llbracket \text{Mary is happy} \rrbracket = \text{true if Mary} \in \{x : x \text{ is happy}\}$

# Negation

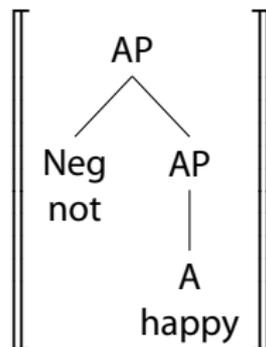
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$\llbracket \text{Mary is not happy} \rrbracket = \text{true if Mary} \in \overline{\{x : x \text{ is happy}\}}$

# Negation



$$\llbracket \text{not AP} \rrbracket = \overline{\llbracket \text{AP} \rrbracket}$$

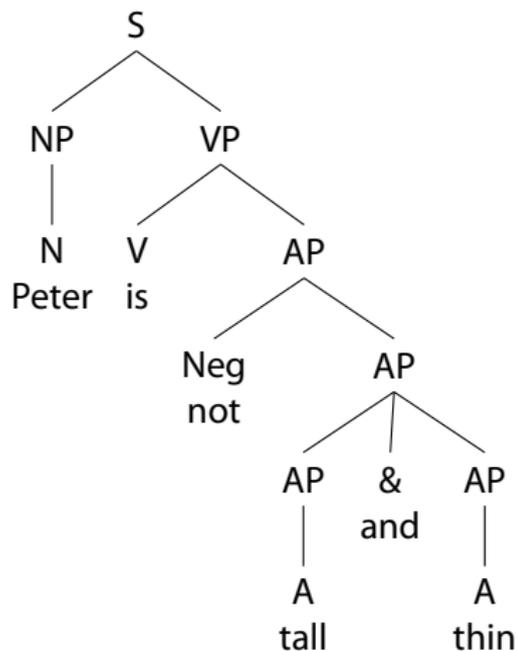
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# Ambiguity

What are the two meanings of *Peter is not tall and thin*?

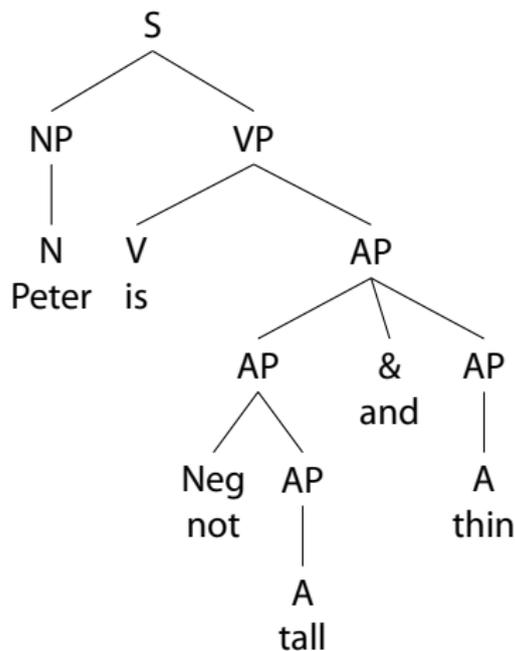
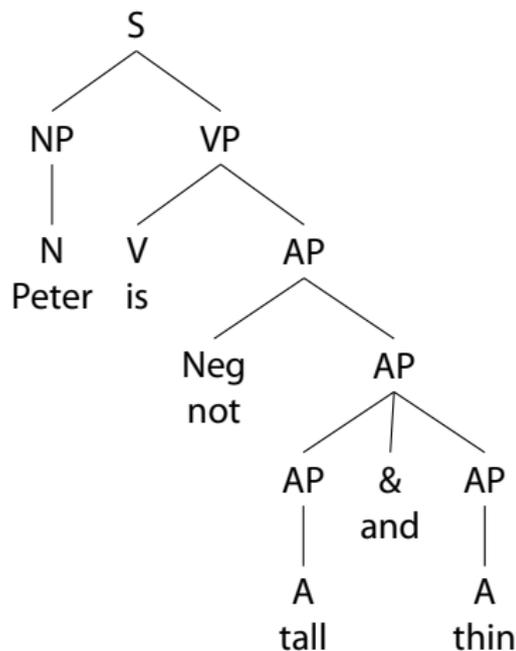
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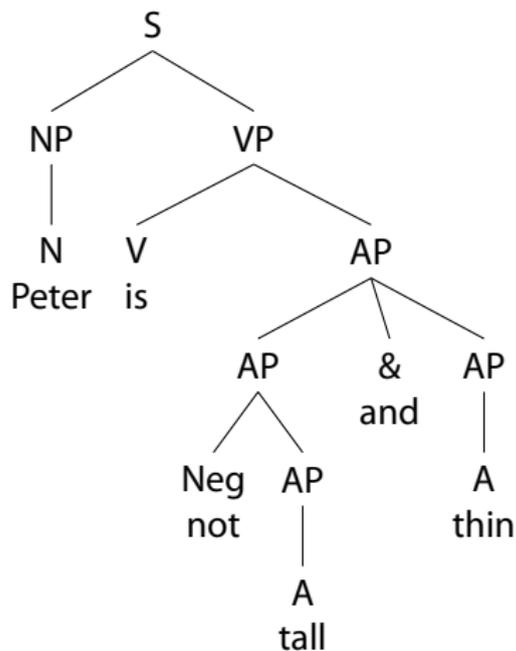
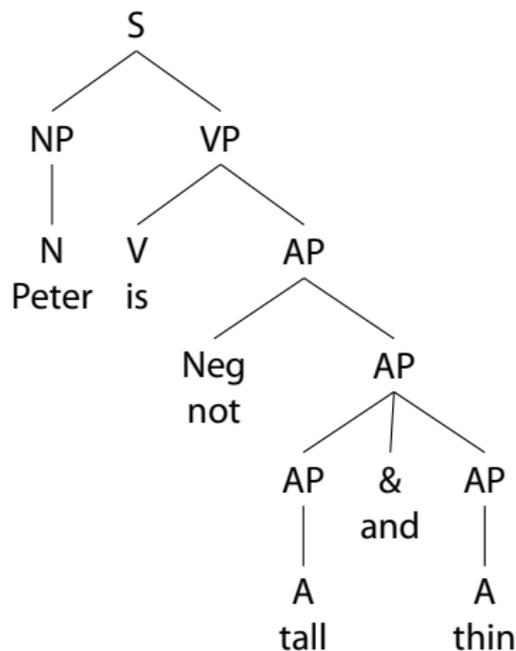
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# Ambiguity

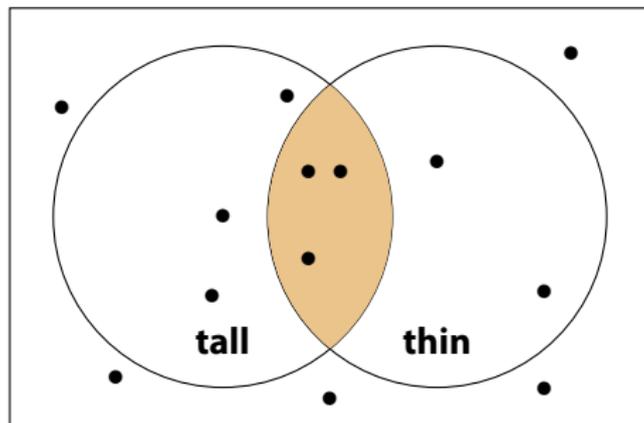
What are the two meanings of *Peter is not tall and thin*?



This is a structural ambiguity!

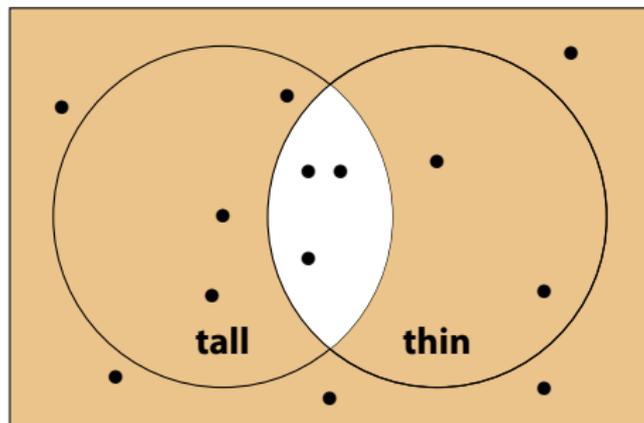
Peter is [not tall and thin]

Peter is [not tall and thin]



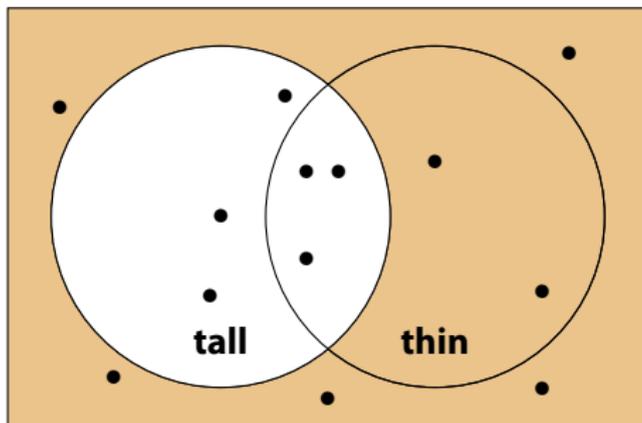
$$\llbracket \text{tall and thin} \rrbracket = \{x : x \text{ is tall}\} \cap \{y : y \text{ is thin}\}$$

Peter is [not tall and thin]



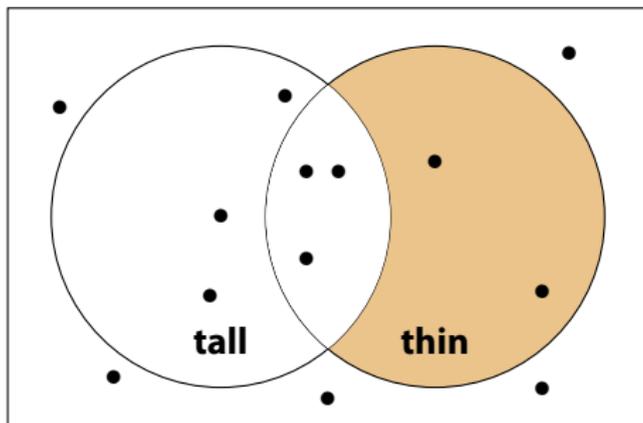
$$\llbracket \text{not [tall and thin]} \rrbracket = \overline{\{x : x \text{ is tall}\} \cap \{y : y \text{ is thin}\}}$$

Peter is [not tall] and thin



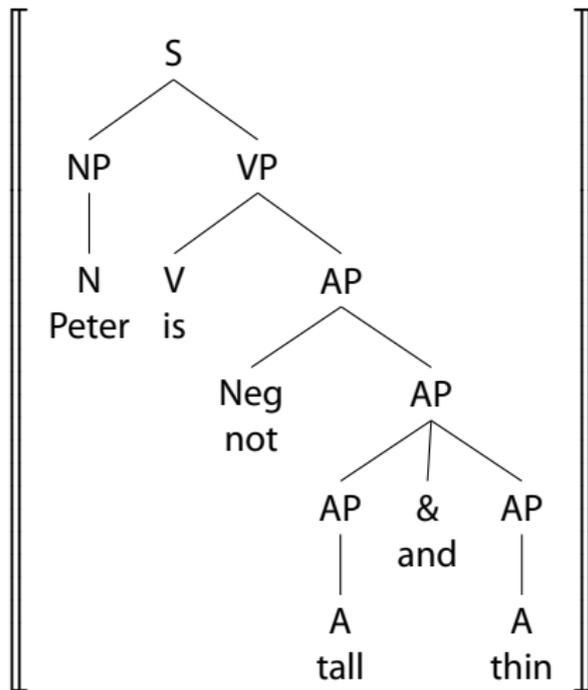
$$\llbracket \text{not tall} \rrbracket = \overline{\{x : x \text{ is tall}\}}$$

Peter is [not tall] and thin

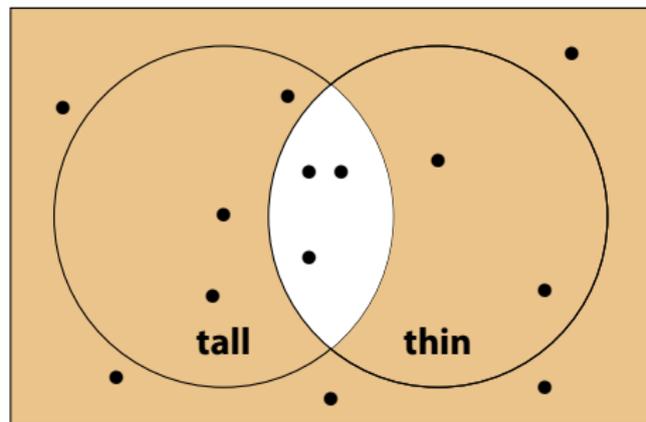


$$\llbracket [\text{not tall}] \text{ and thin} \rrbracket = \overline{\{x : x \text{ is tall}\}} \cap \{y : y \text{ is thin}\}$$

# Ambiguity

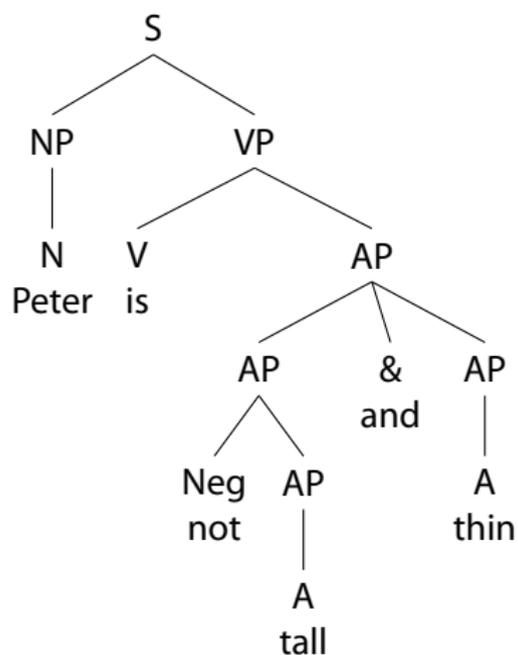


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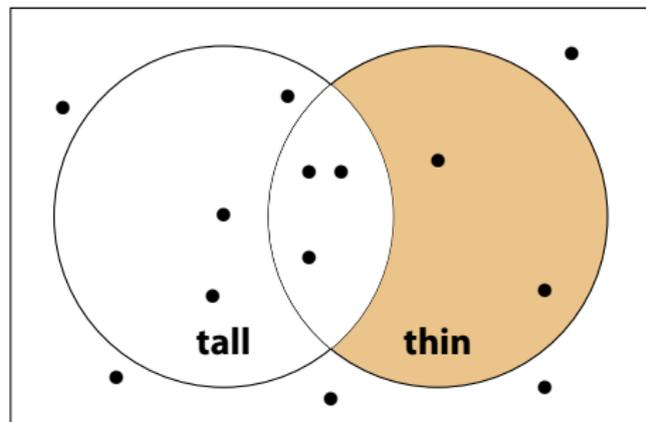


true if Peter  $\in \overline{\{x : x \text{ is tall}\} \cap \{y : y \text{ is thin}\}}$

# Ambiguity



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true if Peter  $\in \overline{\{x : x \text{ is tall}\}} \cap \{y : y \text{ is thin}\}$