

# Nondeterministic Discontinuous Lambek Calculus

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# Graded prosodic algebra

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*basic prosodic algebra:*

- ▶  $(L, +, 0)$
- ▶  $L$  is a set,  $0 \in L$
- ▶  $+$  is a binary operation on  $L$

$$s_1 + (s_2 + s_3) = (s_1 + s_2) + s_3 \quad \text{associativity}$$
$$0 + s = s = s + 0 \quad \text{identity}$$

*graded prosodic algebra:*

- ▶  $(L, +, 0, 1)$
  - ▶  $1$  is a separator
- 



# Discontinuous prosodic structure

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$$(L_0, L_1, L_2, \dots, +, 0, 1; \times)$$

- $+$  :  $L_i \times L_j \rightarrow L_{i+j}$  as in the graded prosodic algebra
- $\times$  :  $L_{i+1} \times L_j \times L_{i+j}$  is the smallest relation such that  $\forall s_1+1+s_3 \in L_{i+1}, s_2 \in L_j, \times(s_1+1+s_3, s_2, s_1+s_2+s_3)$



# New operators

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^ ‘bridge’

~ ‘split’

↓ ‘infix’

↑ ‘extract’

⊙ ‘discontinuous product’

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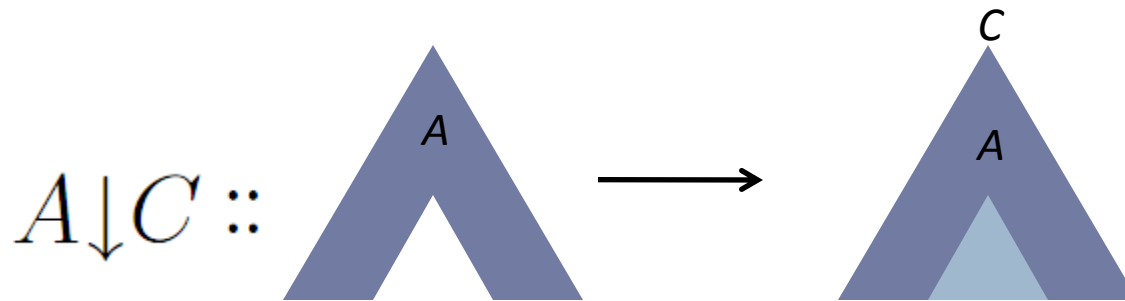
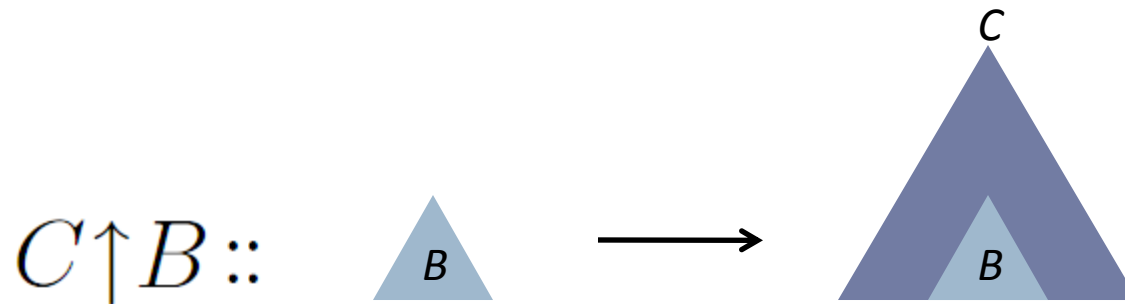


# Example of operators

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*If  $A = a + b$  then  $\check{A} = a + 1 + b$*

*If  $A = a + 1 + b$  then  $\hat{A} = a + b$*



# Interpretation of operators

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$$[[\sim B]] = \{s \mid \forall s', \times(s, 0, s') \Rightarrow s' \in [[B]]\}$$

$$[[\hat{A}]] = \{s' \mid \exists s \in [[A]], \times(s, 0, s')\}$$

$$[[A \downarrow C]] = \{s_2 \mid \forall s_1 \in [[A]], \times(s_1, s_2, s) \Rightarrow s \in [[C]]\}$$

$$[[C \uparrow B]] = \{s_1 \mid \forall s_2 \in [[B]], \times(s_1, s_2, s) \Rightarrow s \in [[C]]\}$$

$$[[A \odot B]] = \{s \mid \exists s_1 \in [[A]], s_2 \in [[B]], \times(s_1, s_2, s)\}$$

$$B \subseteq A \downarrow C \quad \text{iff} \quad A \odot B \subseteq C \quad \text{iff} \quad A \subseteq C \uparrow B$$

$$A \subseteq \sim B \quad \text{iff} \quad \hat{A} \subseteq B$$

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# Notations

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$$\sqrt[0]{A} \bullet \{1\} \cdots \{1\} \bullet \sqrt[i]{A} = A$$

$\Delta|_i\Gamma$  is the result of replacing  
the  $i$ -th separator in  $\Delta$  by  $\Gamma$

N = noun phrase

CN = N without Det

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# Hypersequent Calculus

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$$\frac{\Delta(\vec{B}) \Rightarrow \vec{C}}{\Delta(\check{B}|_i\Lambda) \Rightarrow \vec{C}} \check{L}$$

$$\frac{\Delta|_1\Lambda \Rightarrow \vec{B} \quad \dots \quad \Delta|_{S(B)}\Lambda \Rightarrow \vec{B}}{\Delta \Rightarrow \check{B}} \check{R}$$





# Hypersequent Calculus

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$$\frac{\Delta(\vec{A} |_1 \Lambda) \Rightarrow \vec{C} \quad \dots \quad \Delta(\vec{A} |_{S(A)} \Lambda) \Rightarrow \vec{C}}{\Delta(\hat{A}) \Rightarrow \vec{C}} \hat{L}$$

$$\frac{\Delta \Rightarrow \vec{A}}{\Delta |_i \Lambda \Rightarrow \hat{A}} \hat{R}$$



# Hypersequent Calculus

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$$\frac{\Gamma \Rightarrow \vec{A} \quad \Delta(\vec{C}) \Rightarrow \vec{D}}{\Delta(\Gamma |_i \overline{A \downarrow C}) \Rightarrow \vec{D}} \downarrow L$$

$$\frac{\vec{A} |_1 \Gamma \Rightarrow \vec{C} \quad \dots \quad \vec{A} |_{s(A)} \Gamma \Rightarrow \vec{C}}{\Gamma \Rightarrow \overline{A \downarrow C}} \downarrow R$$



# Hypersequent Calculus

---

$$\frac{\Gamma \Rightarrow \vec{B} \quad \Delta(\vec{C}) \Rightarrow \vec{D}}{\Delta(\vec{C} \uparrow \vec{B} |_i \Gamma) \Rightarrow \vec{D}} \uparrow L$$

$$\frac{\Gamma|_1 \vec{B} \Rightarrow \vec{C} \quad \dots \quad \Gamma|_{s(c)} \vec{B} \Rightarrow \vec{C}}{\Gamma \Rightarrow \vec{C} \uparrow \vec{B}} \uparrow R$$



# Natural Deduction

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- ▶ Uitleg over notatie

$$\beta - \psi : B$$

- ▶  $\beta$  = reeks woorden en seperators
- ▶  $\psi$  =  $\lambda$ -calculus term
- ▶  $B$  = type



# Natural Deduction

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$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \beta - \psi : \checkmark B \end{array}}{\beta |_i 0 - \psi : B} E^{\checkmark}$$



# Natural Deduction

---

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \beta|_1 0 - \psi : B \end{array} \quad \dots \quad \begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \beta|_{S(B)} 0 - \psi : B \end{array}}{\beta - \psi : \sim B} I_{\sim}$$



# Natural Deduction

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$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \gamma - \chi : \hat{A} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \vec{a} - x : A^i \\ \vdots \\ \delta(\vec{a} |_1 0) - \omega(x) : D \end{array} \quad \dots \quad \begin{array}{c} \vec{a} - x : A^i \\ \vdots \\ \delta(\vec{a} |_{S(A)} 0) - \omega(x) : D \end{array}}{\delta(\gamma) - \omega(\chi) : D} E^{\wedge i}$$



# Natural Deduction

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$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \cdot \\ \cdot \\ \alpha - \phi : A \end{array}}{\alpha|_i 0 - \phi : \hat{A}} I^{\wedge}$$





# Natural Deduction

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$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \alpha - \phi : A \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \gamma - \chi : A \downarrow C \end{array}}{\alpha |_i \gamma - (\chi \ \phi) : C} E \downarrow$$



# Natural Deduction

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$$\frac{
 \begin{array}{c}
 \vec{a} - x:A^i \\
 \vdots \\
 \vec{a} \mid_1 \gamma - \chi:C
 \end{array}
 \quad \dots \quad
 \begin{array}{c}
 \vec{a} - x:A^i \\
 \vdots \\
 \vec{a} \mid_{S(A)} \gamma - \chi:C
 \end{array}
 }{
 \gamma - \lambda x \chi:A \downarrow C
 }
 I \downarrow^i$$



# Natural Deduction

---

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \gamma - \chi : C \uparrow B \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \beta - \psi : B \end{array}}{\gamma |_i \beta - (\chi \ \beta) : C} E \uparrow$$



# Natural Deduction

---

$$\frac{
 \begin{array}{c}
 \vec{b} - y : B^i \\
 \vdots \\
 \gamma|_1 \vec{b} - \chi : C
 \end{array}
 \quad \dots \quad
 \begin{array}{c}
 \vec{b} - y : B^i \\
 \vdots \\
 \gamma|_{s(C)} \vec{b} - \chi : C
 \end{array}
 }{
 \gamma - \lambda x \chi : C \uparrow B
 }
 I \uparrow^i$$



# Applications of DLC

---

- ▶ Medial extraction
- ▶ Discontinuous idioms
- ▶ Parentheticals
- ▶ Gapping
- ▶ Quantification
- ▶ Complement alternation
- ▶ Particle shift
- ▶ Cross-serial dependencies



# Applications of DLC: Medial extraction

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dog that Mary saw today

**that**     $–$      $\lambda x \lambda y \lambda z [(x\ z) \wedge (y\ z)]$   
           $:=$      $(\text{CN} \setminus \text{CN}) / \wedge (\text{S} \uparrow \text{N})$



# Applications of DLC:

## Medial extraction

---

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{saw} \\
 \hline
 \text{saw} - \text{see} : (\mathbf{N} \setminus \mathbf{S}) / \mathbf{N} \quad \text{a} - \text{x} : \mathbf{N} \quad \text{today} \\
 \hline
 \text{Mary} \quad \text{saw} + \text{a} - (\text{see } x) : \mathbf{N} \setminus \mathbf{S} \quad \text{today} - \text{today} : (\mathbf{N} \setminus \mathbf{S}) \setminus (\mathbf{N} \setminus \mathbf{S}) \\
 \hline
 \text{Mary} - m : \mathbf{N} \quad \text{saw} + \text{a} + \text{today} - (\text{today } (\text{see } x)) : \mathbf{N} \setminus \mathbf{S} \\
 \hline
 \text{Mary} + \text{saw} + \text{a} + \text{today} - (\text{today } (\text{see } x) m) : \mathbf{S} \\
 \hline
 \text{Mary} + \text{saw} + \text{a} + \text{today} - \lambda x (\text{today } (\text{see } x) m) : \mathbf{S} \uparrow \mathbf{N} \\
 \hline
 \text{Mary} + \text{saw} + \text{today} - \lambda x (\text{today } (\text{see } x) m) : \hat{\mathbf{S}} \uparrow \mathbf{N} \\
 \hline
 \text{Mary} - \lambda y \lambda z [(\text{today } (\text{see } z) m) \wedge (y z)] : \mathbf{CN} \setminus \mathbf{CN} \\
 \hline
 \text{Mary} - \lambda y \lambda z [(\text{today } (\text{see } z) m) \wedge (\text{dog } z)] : \mathbf{CN}
 \end{array}$$

# Applications of DLC:

## Discontinuous idioms

---

**gave+1+the+cold+shoulder**     $-$     *shun*  
 $:=$      $(N \setminus S) \uparrow N$

gave ... the cold shoulder

John

---

**gave+1+the+cold+shoulder**  $-$  *shun*:  $(N \setminus S) \uparrow N$     **John**  $-$   $j:N$

---

**gave+John+the+cold+shoulder**  $-$   $(shun\ j):N \setminus S$      $\_$

$E \uparrow$





# Applications of DLC: Parentheticals

---

- a. Fortunately, John has perseverance.
- b. John, fortunately, has perseverance.
- c. John has, fortunately, perseverance.
- d. John has perseverance, fortunately.



# Applications of DLC: Parentheticals

---

John	<u>has</u>	<u>perseverance</u>	
<b>John</b>	<b>has</b> – <i>have</i> :(N\S)/N	<b>perseverance</b> – <i>perseverance</i> :N	
<b>John</b> – <i>j</i> :N	<b>has</b> + <b>perseverance</b> –( <i>have perseverance</i> ):N\S		<i>E</i> /
<b>John</b> + <b>has</b> + <b>perseverance</b> –( <i>have perseverance j</i> ):S			<i>E</i> \
<b>John</b> + <b>has</b> +1+ <b>perseverance</b> –( <i>have perseverance j</i> ): <sup>v</sup> S			<i>I</i> <sup>v</sup>
		<u>fortunately</u>	
<b>John</b> + <b>has</b> +1+ <b>perseverance</b> –( <i>have perseverance j</i> ): <sup>v</sup> S			<b>fortunately</b> – <i>fortunately</i> : <sup>v</sup> S↓S
<b>John</b> + <b>has</b> + <b>fortunately</b> + <b>perseverance</b> –( <i>fortunately (have perseverance j)</i> ):S			<i>E</i> ↓



# Applications of DLC: Gapping

---

John studies logic, and Charles, phonetics.

**and**     $- \quad \lambda x \lambda y \lambda z [(y \ z) \wedge (x \ z)]$   
           $:= \quad ((S \uparrow TV) \setminus (S \uparrow TV)) / ^ (S \uparrow TV)$



# Applications of DLC: Quantification

---

John gave every book to Mary.

$$\forall x[(book\ x) \rightarrow (give\ m\ x\ j)]$$

**every**     $-$      $\lambda x \lambda y \forall z [(x\ z) \rightarrow (y\ z)]$   
               $:=$      $((S \uparrow N) \downarrow S) / CN$

- ▶ Erst een noun: *book*
- ▶ Dan een zin met een NP gap: *John+gave+1+to+Mary*



# Applications of DLC: Quantification

---

$$\frac{
 \frac{
 \frac{
 \text{N, PTV, N, PP} \Rightarrow \text{S}
 }{
 \text{N, PTV, [], PP} \Rightarrow \text{S} \uparrow \text{N}
 }
 \uparrow R
 \quad
 \text{S} \Rightarrow \text{S}
 }{
 \text{N, PTV, (S} \uparrow \text{N)} \downarrow \text{S, PP} \Rightarrow \text{S}
 }
 \downarrow L
 }{
 \text{CN} \Rightarrow \text{CN}
 }
 }{
 \text{N, PTV, ((S} \uparrow \text{N)} \downarrow \text{S)} / \text{CN, CN, PP} \Rightarrow \text{S}
 }
 /L$$



# Applications of DLC: Quantification

---

Mary thinks someone left.

$$\frac{\frac{N, N \setminus S \Rightarrow S}{[], N \setminus S \Rightarrow S \uparrow N} \uparrow R \quad S \Rightarrow S}{(S \uparrow N) \downarrow S, N \setminus S \Rightarrow S} \downarrow L \quad N, N \setminus S \Rightarrow S}{N, (N \setminus S) / S, (S \uparrow N) \downarrow S, N \setminus S \Rightarrow S} / L$$



# Applications of DLC: Quantification

---

Mary thinks someone left.

$$\frac{\frac{N, (N \setminus S) / S, N, N \setminus S \Rightarrow S}{N, (N \setminus S) / S, [], N \setminus S \Rightarrow S \uparrow N} \uparrow R \quad S \Rightarrow S}{N, (N \setminus S) / S, (S \uparrow N) \downarrow S, N \setminus S \Rightarrow S} \downarrow L$$



# Applications of DLC: Quantification

---

Everyone loves someone.  $\forall \exists$

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{N, (N \setminus S) / N, N \Rightarrow S}{N, (N \setminus S) / N, [] \Rightarrow S \uparrow N} \uparrow R \quad S \Rightarrow S \\
 \frac{}{N, (N \setminus S) / N, (S \uparrow N) \downarrow S \Rightarrow S} \downarrow L \\
 \frac{}{[], (N \setminus S) / N, (S \uparrow N) \downarrow S \Rightarrow S \uparrow N} \uparrow R \quad S \Rightarrow S \\
 \frac{}{(S \uparrow N) \downarrow S, (N \setminus S) / N, (S \uparrow N) \downarrow S \Rightarrow S} \downarrow L
 \end{array}$$



# Applications of DLC: Quantification

---

Everyone loves someone.  $\exists \forall$

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{N, (N \setminus S) / N, N \Rightarrow S}{\quad} \uparrow R \\
 \frac{[] , (N \setminus S) / N, N \Rightarrow S \uparrow N \quad S \Rightarrow S}{\quad} \downarrow L \\
 \frac{(S \uparrow N) \downarrow S, (N \setminus S) / N, N \Rightarrow S}{\quad} \uparrow R \\
 \frac{(S \uparrow N) \downarrow S, (N \setminus S) / N, [] \Rightarrow S \uparrow N \quad S \Rightarrow S}{\quad} \downarrow L \\
 \frac{\quad}{(S \uparrow N) \downarrow S, (N \setminus S) / N, (S \uparrow N) \downarrow S \Rightarrow S} \downarrow L
 \end{array}$$

# Applications of NDLC: Complement alternation

---

John talked to Mary about Bill.

John talked about Bill to Mary.

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{talked}+1+1 & - \quad \mathit{talk} \\ & := \quad ((N \setminus S) \uparrow PP_{\text{to}}) \uparrow PP_{\text{about}} \end{aligned}$$



# Applications of NDLC:

## Complement alternation

---

$$\frac{
 \text{PP}_{\text{about}} \Rightarrow \text{PP}_{\text{about}} \quad
 \frac{
 \text{PP}_{\text{to}} \Rightarrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}} \quad \text{VP} \Rightarrow \text{VP}
 }{\frac{1}{\sqrt{\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}}, \text{PP}_{\text{to}}, \frac{2}{\sqrt{\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}} \Rightarrow \text{VP}}}} \uparrow L
 }{\frac{1}{\sqrt{(\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}) \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{about}}}, \text{PP}_{\text{about}}, \frac{2}{\sqrt{(\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}) \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{about}}}, \text{PP}_{\text{to}}, \frac{3}{\sqrt{(\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}) \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{about}}} \Rightarrow \text{VP}}}} \uparrow L}$$

$$\frac{
 \text{PP}_{\text{about}} \Rightarrow \text{PP}_{\text{about}tb} \quad
 \frac{
 \text{PP}_{\text{to}} \Rightarrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}} \quad \text{VP} \Rightarrow \text{VP}
 }{\frac{1}{\sqrt{\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}}, \text{PP}_{\text{to}}, \frac{2}{\sqrt{\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}} \Rightarrow \text{VP}}}} \uparrow L
 }{\frac{1}{\sqrt{(\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}) \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{about}}}, \text{PP}_{\text{to}}, \frac{2}{\sqrt{(\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}) \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{about}}}, \text{PP}_{\text{about}}, \frac{3}{\sqrt{(\text{VP} \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{to}}) \uparrow \text{PP}_{\text{about}}} \Rightarrow \text{VP}}}} \uparrow L}$$



# Applications of NDLC:

## Particle shift

---

- a. John called up Mary.
- b. John called Mary up.

**called**+1+**up**+1     $-$     *phone*  
 $:=$      $\tilde{\phantom{v}}(N \setminus S) \uparrow N$



# Applications of NDLC:

## Particle shift

---

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{called up} \\
 \hline
 \mathbf{called}+1+\mathbf{up}+1-\mathit{phone}:\checkmark(N\setminus S)\uparrow N \quad \mathbf{Mary}-m:N \\
 \hline
 \mathbf{called}+1+\mathbf{up}+\mathbf{Mary}-(\mathit{phone} m):\checkmark(N\setminus S) \\
 \hline
 \mathbf{called}+\mathbf{up}+\mathbf{Mary}-(\mathit{phone} m):N\setminus S
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \text{Mary} \\
 \hline
 \mathbf{Mary}-m:N \\
 \hline
 E\uparrow \\
 E\checkmark
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{called up} \\
 \hline
 \mathbf{called}+1+\mathbf{up}+1-\mathit{phone}:\checkmark(N\setminus S)\uparrow N \quad \mathbf{Mary}-m:N \\
 \hline
 \mathbf{called}+\mathbf{Mary}+\mathbf{up}+1-(\mathit{phone} m):\checkmark(N\setminus S) \\
 \hline
 \mathbf{called}+\mathbf{Mary}+\mathbf{up}-(\mathit{phone} m):N\setminus S
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \text{Mary} \\
 \hline
 \mathbf{Mary}-m:N \\
 \hline
 E\uparrow \\
 E\checkmark
 \end{array}$$

# Applications of NDLC:

## Cross-serial dependencies

---

- a. ... dat Jan boeken las  
that Jan books reads  
“that Jan reads books”
  
- b. ... dat Jan boeken kan lezen  
that Jan books is-able read  
“that Jan can read books”
  
- c. ... dat Jan boeken wil kunnen lezen  
that Jan books wants be-able read  
“that Jan wants to be able to read books”



# Applications of NDLC: Cross-serial dependencies

---

<b>kan</b>	–	<i>be-able</i>
	:=	$(N \setminus \text{Sinf}) \downarrow (N \setminus S)$
<b>1+kunnen</b>	–	<i>be-able</i>
	:=	$(N \setminus \text{Sinf}) \downarrow (N \setminus \text{Sinf})$
<b>las</b>	–	<i>read</i>
	:=	$N \setminus (N \setminus S)$
<b>1+lezen</b>	–	<i>read</i>
	:=	$N \setminus (N \setminus \text{Sinf})$
<b>wil</b>	–	<i>want</i>
	:=	$(N \setminus \text{Sinf}) \downarrow (N \setminus S)$



# Applications of NDLC: Cross-serial dependencies

---

a. ... dat Jan alles las  
that Jan everything reads  
“that Jan reads everything”

b. ... dat Jan alles kan lezen  
that Jan everything is-able read  
“that Jan can read everything”





# Applications of NDLC:

## Cross-serial dependencies

---

<b>kan</b>	–	<i>be-able</i>
	:=	$(N \setminus \text{Sinf}) \downarrow' (N \setminus S)$
<b>1'+kunnen</b>	–	<i>be-able</i>
	:=	$(N \setminus \text{Sinf}) \downarrow' (N \setminus \text{Sinf})$
<b>las</b>	–	<i>read</i>
	:=	$N \setminus (N \setminus S)$
<b>1'+lezen</b>	–	<i>read</i>
	:=	$N \setminus (N \setminus \text{Sinf})$
<b>wil</b>	–	<i>want</i>
	:=	$(N \setminus \text{Sinf}) \downarrow' (N \setminus S)$



# Applications of NDLC:

## Cross-serial dependencies

---

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{boeken} \qquad \qquad \text{lezen} \\
 \hline
 \text{boeken} - \text{books}:N \quad 1' + \text{lezen} - \text{read}:N \setminus (N \setminus \text{Sinf}) \\
 \hline
 \text{boeken} + 1' + \text{lezen} - (\text{read books}):N \setminus \text{Sinf} \quad E \setminus \quad \text{kunnen} \\
 \hline
 \text{boeken} + 1' + \text{lezen} - (\text{read books}):N \setminus \text{Sinf} \quad 1' + \text{kunnen} - \text{be-able}:N \setminus \text{Sinf} \downarrow' (N \setminus \text{Sinf}) \\
 \hline
 \text{boeken} + 1' + \text{kunnen} + \text{lezen} - (\text{be-able} (\text{read books})):N \setminus \text{Sinf} \quad E \downarrow' \quad \text{wil} \\
 \hline
 \text{boeken} + 1' + \text{kunnen} + \text{lezen} - (\text{be-able} (\text{read books})):N \setminus \text{Sinf} \quad \text{wil} - \text{want}:N \setminus \text{Sinf} \downarrow' (N \setminus S) \\
 \hline
 \text{boeken} + \text{wil} + \text{kunnen} + \text{lezen} - (\text{want} (\text{be-able} (\text{read books}))) : N \setminus S \quad E \downarrow'
 \end{array}$$



Vragen?

Einde