

Montague's Theory of Translation: Laying the Groundwork¹

1. Some Context and Questions to Have in the Background

(1) Fundamental Fact: Translation \neq Semantics

- Translating expressions from a language L into a language L' doesn't *necessarily* tell you anything about the semantics of the expressions in language L .
 - For example, simply knowing that (1a) can be translated as (1b) doesn't tell you anything about what (1a) *means*.
- a. Tlingit Sentence: Ax éet yaan uwaháa
- b. Haida Translation: Dii.uu q'wiidang gwaa.
- However, translating an expression from a language L into a language L' **whose semantics are known** *can* inform you of the semantics of the expressions in L .
 - For example, given that you speak English, knowing that (1a) can be translated as (1c) *would* inform you of the meaning of (1a).
- c. English Translation: I'm hungry. (~ Hunger moves to me imperceptibly.)
- Of course, even such translations don't necessarily mean one has a *compositional semantics* for language L .

(2) Question (Not Necessarily Montague's)

Given our background theory of language and meaning, under what conditions (if any) can we guarantee that translating from one language L into another language L' gives us a compositional semantics for L .

(3) Some Historical Context: Semantics in Generative Grammar Before Montague

Prior to Montague (and for some time afterwards), generative linguists conceived of natural language semantics as having the following goal:

- Develop a theory of the system that maps syntactic structures to some kind of 'mentalese' (conceptual structures) encoding the information in the sentence.

Illustration: Jackendoff's 'Conceptual Semantics'

"A dog is a reptile" \rightarrow [_{State} Is-included in ([_{Thing} Type: Dog]) ([_{Thing} Type: Reptile])]
(Jackendoff 1983: 96)

¹ These notes are based upon material in the following readings: Halvorsen & Ladusaw (1979), Dowty *et al.* (1981) Chapter 8, and Thomason (1974) Chapter 7 (Montague's "Universal Grammar").

(4) **Early and Perennial Criticism of Such Approaches**

Given the fundamental fact in (1), simply translating a sentence of English to a sentence of ‘mentalese’ isn’t (necessarily) providing a semantics for the English sentence.

- The problem of providing a semantics for English now becomes the problem of providing a semantics for the ‘mentalese’ notation (one that had never been taken up)

(5) **Question (Not Necessarily Montague’s)**

Under what conditions can this problem in (4) be circumvented? Again, under what conditions (if any) can we guarantee that translating from one language L into another language (notation) L' gives us a compositional semantics for L .

2. **Key Ingredient: First Order Logic as a Family of Languages**

Up to now, we’ve been using the term “First Order Logic” to refer to a *single* language...

- However, at this point, it will be important to view First Order Logic not as a single language, but rather as a family of infinitely many different languages...

First Order Logic A: $\exists x((Px) \ \& \ ((Qa)b))$
 First Order Logic B: $\exists x((\text{dog}' x) \ \& \ ((\text{loves}' \text{bill}') \ \text{mary}'))$
 First Order Logic C: $\exists x((\mathcal{D} \star) \ \& \ ((\mathcal{F} \star) \star))$

(6) **First Order Language (Logic)**

A first order language (first order logic) is a language whose vocabulary of symbols satisfies the conditions in (6a) and whose WFFs satisfy the conditions in (6b).

a. The Vocabulary of a First Order Language (Logic):

- (i) *The Logical Constants:* $\sim, \ \&, \ \forall, \ \exists$ ($\vee, \ \rightarrow, \ \exists$ are ‘abbreviations’)
- (ii) *Syntactic Symbols:* $(, \)$
- (iii) *The Non-Logical Constants:*
 1. A **countable** set of predicate letters (with associated arities)
 2. A **countable** set of individual constants
 3. A **countably infinite** set of variables $\{x, y, z, \dots, x_1, x_2, x_3, \dots\}$

b. The Well-Formed Formulas of a First Order Language (Logic):

- (i) If φ is an n -ary predicate letter and each of $\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n$ is either an individual constant or a variable, then $\text{Concat}(\dots(\text{Concat}(\text{Concat}(\varphi, \alpha_1), \alpha_2), \dots, \alpha_n) \in \text{WFF}$
- (ii) If $\varphi, \psi \in \text{WFF}$, then $\sim\varphi \in \text{WFF}$ and $(\varphi \ \& \ \psi) \in \text{WFF}$
- (iii) If $\varphi \in \text{WFF}$ and v is a variable, then $\forall v\varphi \in \text{WFF}$

(7) **Remarks**

- a. Note that a first order language only needs a *countable* set of predicate letters and individual constants. Thus, in a first order language, those sets can be *finite*.
- b. Note that we are requiring a first order language to use the vocabulary in (6ai, ii), the (infinite) variables in (iii), and the exact syntax rules in (6b).
 - Thus, a logic in ‘Polish notation’ wouldn’t be a FOL according to (6); nor would one making use of the alternate symbols ‘ \neg ’ and ‘ \wedge ’
 - The reason for this is simply because we need to keep *some* things constant between FOLs; it works for us right now to keep these constant.
- c. The definition in (6) defines an infinite set of different languages/logics.
 - We can think of the general term ‘First Order Logic’ as referring to this infinite set of different languages.

(8) **Illustration: The First Order Language ‘Politics’**

The language ‘Politics’ is the first order language whose vocabulary is as in (8a) and whose WFFs are defined in (8b).

- a. The Vocabulary of ‘Politics’
 - (i) *The Logical Constants:* $\sim, \&, \forall,$
 - (ii) *Syntactic Symbols:* (,)
 - (iii) *The Non-Logical Constants:*
 - 1. Predicate Letters:
 - Unary Predicate Letters: { **smokes’** }
 - Binary Predicate Letters: { **loves’** }
 - 2. Individual Constants: { **michelle’, barack’, mitt’** }
 - 3. Variables: { $x, y, z, \dots, x_1, x_2, x_3, \dots$ }
- b. The WFFs of ‘Politics’ (exactly as in (6b))

(9) **Some Illustrative Formulae of Politics**

- a. $\sim(\mathbf{smokes' barack'})$
- b. $(\mathbf{loves' barack'}) \mathbf{michelle'}$
- c. $\sim(\mathbf{smokes barack'}) \& (\mathbf{smokes' mitt'})$
- d. $\forall x \sim(\mathbf{smokes' x}) \& \sim(\mathbf{loves' mitt'}) x)$

Notice how the vocabulary in our logical language is boldfaced, and followed by primes?...
Get used to that!...

3. Introducing the Central Characters

(10) A Roadmap of Where We're Headed

We're going to build up Montague's theory of translation by showing how a fragment of English can be 'translated' (formally) into a fragment of Politics, and then showing how that (formal) translation also gives us a semantics for the fragment of English.

- a. *Step One:* Build the relevant fragment of Politics
- b. *Step Two:* Try to build the relevant fragment of English
- c. *Step Three:* NOTICE A FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM IN STEP TWO
- d. *Step Four:* Fix that problem, leading to a further refinement of our definition of what a language is...

As we've done before, we're going to make our lives easier by putting aside quantification for the moment...

(11) A Useful Fragment of Politics: Politics-NoQ

The language 'Politics-NoQ' is the language whose vocabulary is as in (11a) and whose WFFs are defined in (11b).

- a. The Vocabulary of 'Politics-NoQ'
 - (i) *The Logical Constants:* $\sim, \&$
 - (ii) *Syntactic Symbols:* $(,)$
 - (iii) *The Non-Logical Constants:*
 1. Predicate Letters:
 - Unary Predicate Letters: $\{ \text{smokes}' \}$
 - Binary Predicate Letters: $\{ \text{loves}' \}$
 2. Individual Constants: $\{ \text{michelle}', \text{barack}', \text{mitt}' \}$
- b. The WFFs of 'Politics-NoQ'
 - (i) If φ is an n-ary predicate letter and each of $\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n$ is an individual constant, then $\text{Concat}(\dots(\text{Concat}(\text{Concat}(\varphi, \alpha_1), \alpha_2), \dots), \alpha_n) \in \text{WFF}$
 - (ii) If $\varphi, \psi \in \text{WFF}$, then $\sim\varphi \in \text{WFF}$ and $(\varphi \& \psi) \in \text{WFF}$

(12) Some Illustrative Formulae of Politics-NoQ

- a. $\sim(\text{smokes}' \text{ barack}')$
- b. $((\text{loves}' \text{ barack}') \text{ michelle}')$
- c. $\sim((\text{smokes}' \text{ barack}') \& (\text{smokes}' \text{ mitt}'))$

(13) **Remarks**

- Politics-NoQ is *not* a ‘first order language’, as defined in (6).
- In terms of its structure, Politics-NoQ is quite similar to our language FOL-NoQ from the last two handouts.
- Consequently, we can easily see how to characterize Politics-NoQ in terms of our general (Montagovian) definition of a language.

(14) **The Language Politics-NoQ (Montagovian Presentation)**

The language Politics-NoQ is the structure $\langle A, F_\gamma, X_\tau, S, t \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And}\}, \tau \in T}$ where:

- a. $\langle A, F_\gamma \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And}\}}$ is the algebra such that
- (i) $F_{\text{Concat}}, F_{\text{Not}}, F_{\text{And}}$ are as defined previously.
 - (ii) A is the smallest set such that:
 1. $\{\text{smokes}', \text{loves}', \text{michelle}', \text{barack}', \text{mitt}'\} \subseteq A$
 2. It is closed under $F_{\text{Concat}}, F_{\text{Not}}, F_{\text{And}}$
- b. The basic categories X_τ are such that:
- (i) $X_e = \{\text{michelle}', \text{barack}', \text{mitt}'\}$
 - (ii) $X_{\langle e, t \rangle} = \{\text{smokes}'\}$
 - (iii) $X_{\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle} = \{\text{loves}'\}$
 - (iii) For all other types $\tau \in T$, $X_\tau = \emptyset$.
- c. The set S is the following (infinite) set of syntactic rules:
- (i) $\langle F_{\text{Not}}, \langle t \rangle, t \rangle$
 - (ii) $\langle F_{\text{And}}, \langle t, t \rangle, t \rangle$
 - (iii) $\langle F_{\text{Concat}}, \langle \langle \sigma, \tau \rangle, \sigma \rangle, \tau \rangle$, for all $\sigma, \tau \in T$

(15) **Some Illustrative Members of Category C_t of Politics-NoQ**

- a. $\sim(\text{smokes}' \text{ barack}')$
- b. $(\text{loves}' \text{ barack}') \text{ michelle}'$
- c. $\sim((\text{smokes}' \text{ barack}') \& (\text{smokes}' \text{ mitt}'))$

Given this structural similarity between Politics-NoQ and FOL-NoQ, it's also rather easy to set up a (Fregan) interpretation for Politics-NoQ!

(16) **A (Fregean) Interpretation of Politics-NoQ**

Let the set $S = \{ \text{Michelle, Barack, Mitt} \}$. Let $\mathbf{B} = \langle B, G_\gamma, f_\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And}\} \rangle$ be the Fregean interpretation based on S , such that f consists of the following mappings:

- a. $f(\text{michelle}') = \text{Michelle}$
- b. $f(\text{barack}') = \text{Barack}$
- c. $f(\text{mitt}') = \text{Mitt}$
- d. $f(\text{smokes}') = h = \{ \langle \text{Michelle}, 0 \rangle, \langle \text{Barack}, 1 \rangle, \langle \text{Mitt}, 0 \rangle \}$
- e. $f(\text{loves}') = j = \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Michelle} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Michelle} \rightarrow 1 \\ \text{Barack} \rightarrow 1 \\ \text{Mitt} \rightarrow 0 \end{array} \right\} \\ \\ \text{Barack} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Michelle} \rightarrow 1 \\ \text{Barack} \rightarrow 1 \\ \text{Mitt} \rightarrow 0 \end{array} \right\} \\ \\ \text{Mitt} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Michelle} \rightarrow 0 \\ \text{Barack} \rightarrow 0 \\ \text{Mitt} \rightarrow 1 \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right)$

Note: We've basically interpreted 'smokes' as the property 'smokes', and we've interpreted 'loves' as the (curried) relation 'x is loved by y'.²

(17) **Using the Fregean Interpretation in (16) to Interpret Sentences of Politics-NoQ**

- (i) $g(\sim(\text{smokes}' \text{ barack}')) =$ (by definition of Politics-NoQ)
- (ii) $g(F_{\text{Not}}(F_{\text{Concat}}(\text{smokes}', \text{barack}'))) =$ (by homomorphism property of g)
- (iii) $G_{\text{Not}}(g(F_{\text{Concat}}(\text{smokes}', \text{barack}'))) =$ (by homomorphism property of g)
- (iv) $G_{\text{Not}}(G_{\text{Concat}}(g(\text{smokes}'), g(\text{barack}'))) =$ (by definition of g)
- (v) $G_{\text{Not}}(G_{\text{Concat}}(f(\text{smokes}'), f(\text{barack}'))) =$ (by definition of f in (16))
- (vi) $G_{\text{Not}}(G_{\text{Concat}}(h, \text{Barack})) =$ (by definition of G_{Concat})
- (vii) $G_{\text{Not}}(h(\text{Barack})) =$ (by definition of h in (16d))
- (viii) $G_{\text{Not}}(1) =$ (by definition of G_{Not})
- (ix) 0

² That is, in the notation of Heim & Kratzer (1998), we're interpreting **loves'** as $[\lambda y: [\lambda x: x \text{ loves } y]]$. The semanticists in the house can probably guess why we're doing this ;)

Finally, to get our third player on the field, let's recall that fragment of English that we defined a while back...

(18) **The Definition of 'Mini-English'**

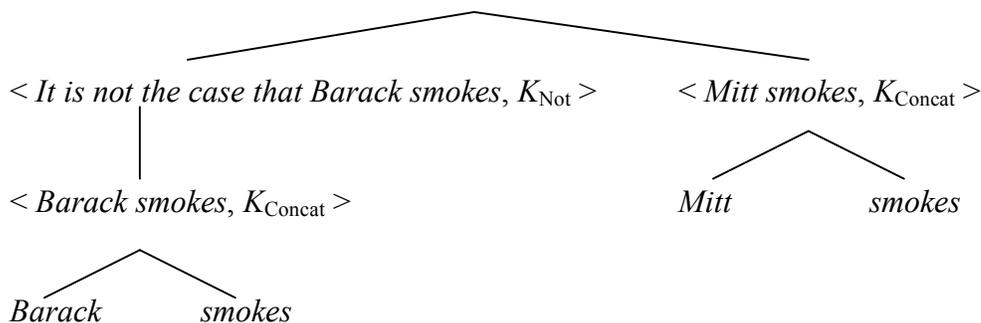
'Mini-English' is the structure $\langle E, K_\gamma, X_\delta, S_E, S \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And}\}, \delta \in \Delta}$ such that:

- a. The Syntactic Categories: $\Delta = \{\text{NP, IV, TV, S}\}$
- b. The Syntactic Operations:
 - (i) $K_{\text{Concat}} = \text{Merge}$ (from previous notes)
 - (ii) $K_{\text{Not}} = \text{Not}_E$ (from previous notes)
 - (iii) $K_{\text{And}} = \text{And}_E$ (from previous notes)
- c. The Basic Expressions:
 - (i) $X_{\text{NP}} = \{ \text{Barack, Michelle, Mitt} \}$
 - (ii) $X_{\text{IV}} = \{ \text{smokes} \}$
 - (iii) $X_{\text{TV}} = \{ \text{loves} \}$
 - (iv) $X_{\text{S}} = \emptyset$
- c. The Syntactic Algebra:
E is the smallest set such that:
 - (i) For all $\delta \in \Delta$, $X_\delta \subseteq E$.
 - (ii) E is closed under the operations K_{Concat} , K_{Not} and K_{And}
- d. The Syntactic Rules: The set S_E consists of the following tuples:
 - (i) $\langle K_{\text{Concat}}, \langle \text{TV, NP} \rangle, \text{IV} \rangle$
 - (ii) $\langle K_{\text{Concat}}, \langle \text{NP, IV} \rangle, \text{S} \rangle$
 - (iii) $\langle K_{\text{And}}, \langle \text{S, S} \rangle, \text{S} \rangle$
 - (iv) $\langle K_{\text{Not}}, \langle \text{S} \rangle, \text{S} \rangle$

(19) **Illustrative Sentence (Expression of Category C_S) of Mini-English**

It is not the case that Barack smokes and Mitt smokes.

$\langle \text{It is not the case that Barack smokes and Mitt smokes}, K_{\text{And}} \rangle$

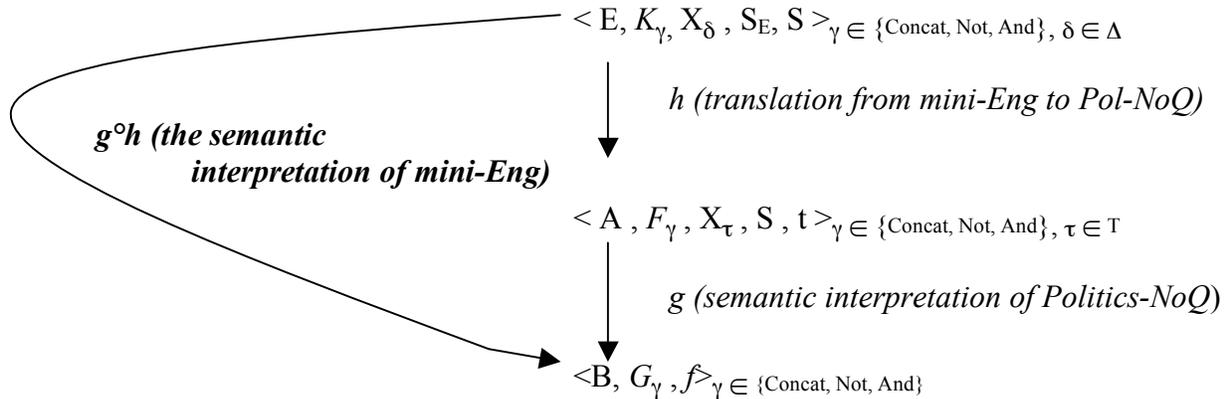


Unfortunately, there's a fundamental problem with the language as defined in (18). To see this, recall our ultimate goal, informally sketched out below.

(20) **Our Goal for a Theory of Translation**

We want to develop a way of homomorphically mapping expressions of mini-English to expressions of Politics-NoQ (so that we can ultimately get a semantics for English)

Indirect Interpretation in a Picture (Oversimplified):

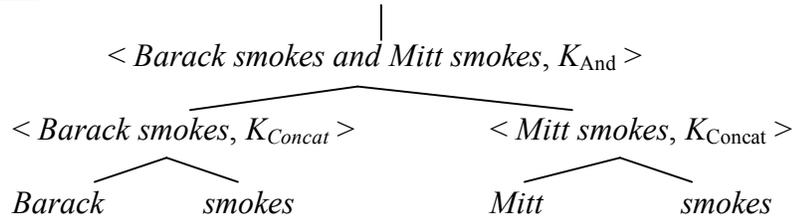


(21) **Critical Problem**

We currently conceive of the set E (expressions of mini-English) as consisting of *strings of English words*.

- However, some such strings in our mini-English language can be created **in more than one way** from the syntactic operations (and rules) of our language.

Example: $\langle \text{It is not the case that Barack smokes and Mitt smokes}, K_{\text{Not}} \rangle$



- Intuitively, we want these two different ways of constructing the mini-English sentence to lead to two different Politics-NoQ translations:
 $(\sim(\text{smokes}' \text{barack}') \& (\text{smokes}' \text{mitt}'))$
 $\sim((\text{smokes}' \text{barack}') \& (\text{smokes}' \text{mitt}'))$
- **But if the translation h is a mapping from strings of English to expressions of Politics-NoQ, each such string will be mapped to only one translation!**

(22) **Some More General Remarks**

- Ultimately, we want there to be two different Politics-NoQ translations of sentence (19) because we want this string to be paired with two different semantic values.
 - *There is a reading where (19) is true*
 $\approx \sim(\text{smokes' barack'}) \& (\text{smokes' mitt'})$
 - *There is a reading where (19) is false*
 $\approx (\sim(\text{smokes' barack'}) \& (\text{smokes' mitt'}))$
- Also, we have the background belief that (19) has these two readings *because of the different ways that the sentence can be constructed in English*
 - (i.e., it's not because of any ambiguity in what the words mean...)
- But, if we are semantically interpreting *strings* of English words – and ‘interpretation’ is conceived of as a *homomorphism* (function) from expressions to meanings – then each string will be mapped to exactly one meaning.
- Thus, unlike with Politics-NoQ, it is not feasible to build a semantics that interprets (directly or indirectly) English *strings*.
- **In LING 610, this problem doesn't even arise, because right from the start we're interpreting phrase structure trees**
 - **After all, a given tree is only ever constructed in one way by Merge and Move... *hmm...***

(23) **Another Critical Problem**

In the picture in (20), translation is a homomorphism from $\langle E, K_{\gamma} \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And}\}}$ for mini-English to the algebra $\langle A, F_{\gamma} \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And}\}}$ for Politics-NoQ

- Under such a homomorphism, we'd naturally want K_{Concat} and F_{Concat} to correspond. This will get the right interpretation for VPs (IVs) after all:

$$\begin{aligned} h(\text{loves michelle}) &= h(K_{\text{Concat}}(\text{loves, Michelle})) = \\ F_{\text{Concat}}(h(\text{loves}), h(\text{Michelle})) &= F_{\text{Concat}}(\text{loves'}, \text{michelle'}) = (\text{loves' michelle'}) \end{aligned}$$

- **However, this will get the wrong result for sentences!** Sentences will end up mapped to syntactic garbage in A.

$$\begin{aligned} h(\text{Barack smokes}) &= h(K_{\text{Concat}}(\text{Barack, smokes})) = \\ F_{\text{Concat}}(h(\text{Barack}), h(\text{smokes})) &= F_{\text{Concat}}(\text{barack'}, \text{smokes'}) = (\text{barack' smokes'}) \end{aligned}$$

↑
Syntactic Garbage!!!

(24) **More General Remarks**

- Obviously, what we want is for $h(\textit{Barack smokes}) = (\textit{smokes' barack'})$
- But, there is no operation in the algebra for Politics-NoQ which will take as argument the translation of *Barack* (**barack'**) and the translation of *smokes* (**smokes'**) and return the formula (**smokes' barack'**)
- *So maybe our homomorphic translation function h shouldn't actually be a homomorphism to the algebra $\langle A, F_\gamma \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\textit{Concat}, \textit{Not}, \textit{And}\}}$*
 - Maybe it should be a homomorphism to some *other* algebra that we can construct from $\langle A, F_\gamma \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\textit{Concat}, \textit{Not}, \textit{And}\}}$

In these notes, we'll deal only with the problem in (21)-(22)...

In the next set of notes, we'll tackle the problem in (23)-(24)...

4. Montague's Notion of a 'Disambiguated Language'

(25) **What We Want**

- We want it to be that the interpreted expressions of our language can only ever be created from the syntactic operations (rules) in exactly one way.
- This way, we won't ever have to worry about interpreting 'syntactically ambiguous' expressions (*because they just won't exist in our language*).
- Preview of Where This is Going:
We'll relate such 'syntactically unambiguous' expressions to sentence strings of English via a special operation (akin to 'linearization' or 'Spell Out').

(26) **Question**

Below we have our earlier (Montagovian) definition of a language. *What do we have to add to this to ensure that no expressions are syntactically ambiguous?*

A language L is a structure $\langle A, F_\gamma, X_\delta, S, \delta_0 \rangle_{\gamma \in \Gamma, \delta \in \Delta}$ such that:

- a. $\langle A, F_\gamma \rangle_{\gamma \in \Gamma}$ is an algebra.
- b. A is the smallest set such that:
 - (i) For all $\delta \in \Delta$, $X_\delta \subseteq A$; (ii) A is closed under the operations F_γ for all $\gamma \in \Gamma$
- c. S is a set of sequences of the form $\langle F_\gamma, \langle \delta_1, \dots, \delta_n \rangle, \delta \rangle$, where $\gamma \in \Gamma$, F_γ is an n -ary operation, and $\delta_1, \dots, \delta_n, \delta \in \Delta$
- b. $\delta_0 \in \Delta$

(27) **Montague's Answer**

At a minimum, we need to ensure that:

- a. Nothing in the basic expressions X_δ (lexical items) can also be constructed by the syntactic operations.

That is: X_δ and the range of F_γ are disjoint for all $\delta \in \Delta$ and $\gamma \in \Gamma$

- b. No element of A will be the output of two different operations F_γ and $F_{\gamma'}$
 c. No single operation F_γ will take two different inputs $a, a' \in A$ and give the same output.

That is: For all sequences $a_1, \dots, a_n \in A^n$ and $a'_1, \dots, a'_m \in A^m$, if $F_\gamma(a_1, \dots, a_n) = F_{\gamma'}(a'_1, \dots, a'_m)$, then $F_\gamma = F_{\gamma'}$ and $\langle a_1, \dots, a_n \rangle = \langle a'_1, \dots, a'_m \rangle$.

Note that if the conditions in (27) hold, then every expression in A will either be (i) a basic expression (lexical item), or (ii) constructible in exactly one way from the syntactic operations.

(28) **Montagovian Definition of a 'Disambiguated Language'**

The following definition now replaces our earlier concept of a language, as well as its concomitant definition.

A *disambiguated language* is a structure $\langle A, F_\gamma, X_\delta, S, \delta_0 \rangle_{\gamma \in \Gamma, \delta \in \Delta}$ such that:

- a. $\langle A, F_\gamma \rangle_{\gamma \in \Gamma}$ is an algebra.
 b. A is the smallest set such that:
 (i) For all $\delta \in \Delta$, $X_\delta \subseteq A$; (ii) A is closed under the operations F_γ for all $\gamma \in \Gamma$
 c. **X_δ and the range of F_γ are disjoint for all $\delta \in \Delta$ and $\gamma \in \Gamma$**
 d. **For all sequences $a_1, \dots, a_n \in A^n$ and $a'_1, \dots, a'_m \in A^m$, if $F_\gamma(a_1, \dots, a_n) = F_{\gamma'}(a'_1, \dots, a'_m)$, then $F_\gamma = F_{\gamma'}$ and $\langle a_1, \dots, a_n \rangle = \langle a'_1, \dots, a'_m \rangle$.**
 e. S is a set of sequences of the form $\langle F_\gamma, \langle \delta_1, \dots, \delta_n \rangle, \delta \rangle$, where $\gamma \in \Gamma$, F_γ is an n -ary operation, and $\delta_1, \dots, \delta_n, \delta \in \Delta$
 f. $\delta_0 \in \Delta$

(29) **Remarks**

- a. Our language Politics-NoQ is such a disambiguated language.
- b. Our language ‘mini-English’ is *not* a disambiguated language.
- c. Potential Problem:
If we assume that the expressions of mini-English (and English) are strings, then we just aren’t going to be able to represent those systems as disambiguated languages.
- d. Solution:
Along with the concept of a ‘disambiguated language’ in (28), we need a more general concept of a ‘language’.

(30) **Montagovian Definition of a Language (Final Version)**

A language is a pair $\langle L, R \rangle$, where $L = \langle A, F_\gamma, X_\delta, S, \delta_0 \rangle_{\gamma \in \Gamma, \delta \in \Delta}$ is a disambiguated language, and R is a binary relation whose domain is A.

- This relation R is an ‘ambiguating relation’.
 - It maps expressions in the disambiguated language L to expressions *not necessarily from L*.
- Importantly, R can be many-to-one (surjection), and so we can have more than one expression from the disambiguated language being mapped to the *same* expression in the range of R (hence, the term ‘ambiguating’)

(31) **Illustration: Politics-NoQ-SansParens**

a. Informal Definition

- (i) Vocabulary: *Same as Politics-NoQ*
- (ii) The WFFs of ‘Politics-NoQ-SansParens’
 1. If φ is an n-ary predicate letter and each of $\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n$ is either an individual constant or a variable, then $\varphi\alpha_1\dots\alpha_n \in \text{WFF}$
 2. If $\varphi, \psi \in \text{WFF}$, then $\sim\varphi \in \text{WFF}$ and $\varphi \& \psi \in \text{WFF}$

Illustrative Formulae: \sim **smokes’ barack’**
 loves’ barack’ michelle’
 \sim **smokes barack’ & smokes’ mitt’**

b. Formal Definition

The pair $\langle \langle A, F_\gamma, X_\tau, S, t \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And}\}, \tau \in T}, R \rangle$, where the structure $\langle A, F_\gamma, X_\tau, S, t \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And}\}, \tau \in T}$ is Politics-NoQ, and R is the function that takes any element of A and deletes every parenthesis.

$$R(\sim((\text{smokes barack}') \& (\text{smokes' mitt'}))) = \sim \text{smokes barack' \& smokes' mitt'}$$

(32) **Remark**

Every disambiguated language $\langle A, F_\gamma, X_\delta, S, \delta_0 \rangle_{\gamma \in \Gamma, \delta \in \Delta}$ can also be represented as a language $\langle \langle A, F_\gamma, X_\delta, S, \delta_0 \rangle_{\gamma \in \Gamma, \delta \in \Delta}, R \rangle$

- **Simply let R be the identity function!!**

(33) **Some Concomitant Definitions**

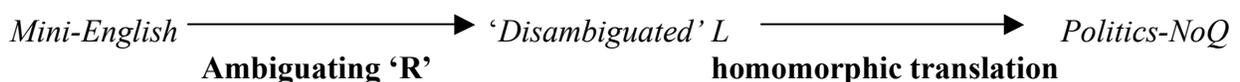
Let **L** be a language $\langle \langle A, F_\gamma, X_\delta, S, \delta_0 \rangle_{\gamma \in \Gamma, \delta \in \Delta}, R \rangle$.

- a. The *proper expressions* of **L** is the range of R.
- b. The *operation indices* of **L** is Γ .
- c. The *category labels* of **L** is Δ
- d. The *syntactic rules* of **L** is S.
- e. The *basic expressions* of **L** of category δ is $\{ \varphi : \exists \psi \in X_\delta \text{ such that } \psi R \varphi \}$
- f. The *category* δ of **L** is $\{ \varphi : \exists \psi \in C_\delta \text{ such that } \psi R \varphi \}$, where C_δ is in the family of categories generated by $\langle A, F_\gamma, X_\delta, S, \delta_0 \rangle_{\gamma \in \Gamma, \delta \in \Delta}$
- g. The *meaningful expressions* of **L** is the union of all the categories δ of **L**.
- h. The *declarative sentences* of **L** is the category δ_0 of **L**
- i. If φ is a meaningful expression of **L**, then φ is *syntactically ambiguous* if there are distinct $\psi, \psi' \in \cup_{\delta \in \Delta} C_\delta$ such that $\psi R \varphi$ and $\psi' R \varphi$
- j. The language **L** is *syntactically ambiguous* if there is a meaningful expression φ of **L** which is syntactically ambiguous.

(34) **New Goal**

Given all that we've laid out, it seems that we now want to do the following:

- a. Represent mini-English as a (syntactically ambiguous) language $\langle L, R \rangle$, where
 - (i) L is some syntactically unambiguous language, and
 - (ii) R can 'transform' expressions of L into expressions of mini-English.
- b. Translate mini-English into Politics-NoQ *indirectly*, via translation from L into Politics-NoQ.



5. Representing Mini-English Via a Disambiguated Language

(35) Key Question

Given our new goal in (34), what should the expressions of our ‘disambiguated mini-English’ look like?

- Well, each complex expression must transparently reflect how it was constructed by the syntactic operations...
- That is, for each complex expression, there should be exactly one analysis tree...

(36) Montague’s Core Insight

For a syntactically ambiguous natural language like English, we could assume that the syntactically disambiguated expressions *are the analysis trees themselves!!*

- That is, (mini-)English is a pair $\langle L, R \rangle$, where the expressions of L are analysis trees, and the relation R simply maps an analysis tree to the string in its root node!



(37) Remarks

We’ll see in a moment how to actually implement the idea in (36). For the moment, let’s notice the similarities and differences between this and an ‘LF’-based semantics.

a. Key Similarity:

Our semantics does not directly interpret surface strings of English. Rather, it interprets abstract structures that represent how those strings can be derived.

b. Key Difference:

Unlike an ‘LF’-based semantics (like in 610), our system doesn’t first construct the analysis tree (LF structure) for a whole sentence and then ‘input’ that into semantic interpretation...

- That is, as will be clear in a few more classes, the syntax and semantics work in tandem with one another...
 - Every time a ‘move’ is made in the syntax to make a structure, a corresponding ‘move’ is made in the semantics to determine a meaning for that structure...

But how do we construct a ‘disambiguated language’ where the expressions are analysis trees?

(38) **Step One: The Category Labels**

The syntactic categories of Disambiguated mini-English will be just the same as before:

$$\Delta = \{NP, IV, TV, S\}$$

(39) **The Basic Expressions**

The basic expressions of Disambiguated mini-English will be ‘trivial trees’. The following trees consisting of root-nodes without any daughters.

- a. $X_{NP} = \{ \langle Barack, \emptyset \rangle, \langle Michelle, \emptyset \rangle, \langle Mitt, \emptyset \rangle \}$
- b. $X_{IV} = \{ \langle smokes, \emptyset \rangle \}$
- c. $X_{TV} = \{ \langle loves, \emptyset \rangle \}$
- d. $X_S = \emptyset$

(40) **The Syntactic Operations**

Our syntactic operations now take trees (including ‘trivial trees’) as input and output other trees, as defined below.

- In the definitions below, α and β are trees whose root nodes are ordered pairs. In addition α' and β' are the first members of the root nodes of α and β (respectively).

- a. $K_{Concat}(\alpha, \beta) = \begin{array}{c} \langle \alpha' \beta', Concat \rangle \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \alpha \quad \beta \end{array}$
 - b. $K_{Not}(\alpha) = \begin{array}{c} \langle it\ is\ not\ the\ case\ that\ \alpha', Not \rangle \\ | \\ \alpha \end{array}$
 - c. $K_{And}(\alpha, \beta) = \begin{array}{c} \langle \alpha' \text{ and } \beta', And \rangle \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \alpha \quad \beta \end{array}$
- Just for fun – since it will set us up for something important later, let’s also add the following syntactic operation.*
- d. $K_{If}(\alpha, \beta) = \begin{array}{c} \langle If\ \alpha' \text{ then } \beta', If \rangle \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \alpha \quad \beta \end{array}$

Note:
The right-hand member of a node is now the **index of the operation**, rather than the operation itself...

(41) **The Syntactic Algebra**

E is the smallest set such that:

- a. For all $\delta \in \Delta$, $X_\delta \subseteq E$.
- b. E is closed under the operations K_{Concat} , K_{Not} , K_{And} , and K_{If}

(42) **The Syntactic Rules**

We can retain much the same set of syntactic rules S_E that we had before:

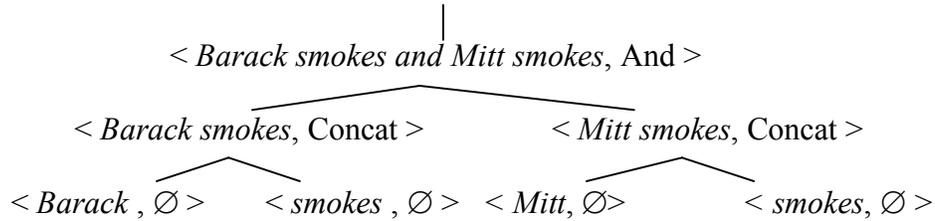
- a. $\langle K_{Concat}, \langle TV, NP \rangle, IV \rangle$
- b. $\langle K_{Concat}, \langle NP, IV \rangle, S \rangle$
- c. $\langle K_{And}, \langle S, S \rangle, S \rangle$
- d. $\langle K_{If}, \langle S, S \rangle, S \rangle$
- e. $\langle K_{Not}, \langle S \rangle, S \rangle$

(43) **The Definition of Our Language: ‘Disambiguated Mini-English’**

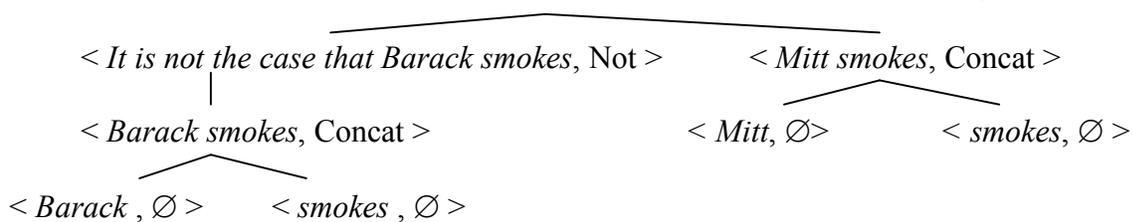
The structure $\langle E, K_\gamma, X_\delta, S_E, S \rangle_{\gamma \in \{Concat, Not, And, If\}, \delta \in \Delta}$ where $E, K_\gamma, X_\delta, S_E,$ and Δ are as defined in (38)-(42).

Some Illustrative Members of Category C_S

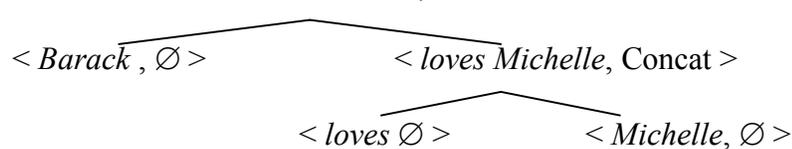
- a. $\langle It\ is\ not\ the\ case\ that\ Barack\ smokes\ and\ Mitt\ smokes, Not \rangle$



- b. $\langle It\ is\ not\ the\ case\ that\ Barack\ smokes\ and\ Mitt\ smokes, And \rangle$



- c. $\langle Barack\ loves\ Michelle, Concat \rangle$



(44) **Remark** Disambiguated Mini-English is indeed a disambiguated language.

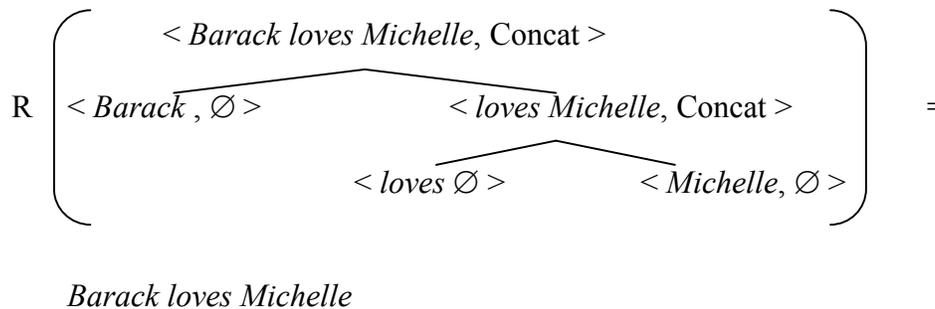
- No syntactic operation will ever create a basic expression.
- Because of the way the trees are indexed, no two ops will ever have the same output

Now, we can use Disambiguated Mini-English to characterize Mini-English as a language, in the sense of (30)

(45) **Montagovian Definition of Mini-English**

Mini-English is the structure $\langle \langle E, K_\gamma, X_\delta, S_E, S \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And, If}\}, \delta \in \Delta}, R \rangle$, where

- a. The structure $\langle E, K_\gamma, X_\delta, S_E, S \rangle_{\gamma \in \{\text{Concat, Not, And, If}\}, \delta \in \Delta}$ is Disambiguated Mini-English, as defined in (43).
- b. R is a function which takes as input a tree T in E, and returns as output the first member of the root node of T.



(46) **Some Illustrative Members of the Category S for Mini-English**

- a. *Barack smokes.*
- b. *Barack loves Michelle.*
- c. *It is not the case that Barack smokes and Mitt smokes.*

(47) **Remark** Mini-English is a syntactically ambiguous language (33j)

- After all, let T be the tree in (43a), and T' be the tree in (43b).
- $R(43a) = R(43b) = \text{It is not the case that Barack smokes and Mitt smokes.}$

What Coming Up Next:

- We now have the following two disambiguated languages:
 - Politics-NoQ
 - Disambiguated Mini-English
- We have an interpretation for Politics-NoQ
- **We're now going to try to find a way of homomorphically mapping expressions of Disambiguated Mini-English to ones of Politics-NoQ**