

A proof theoretical account of polarity  
items and monotonic inference.

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# 1. Monotonicity Calculus

$f \circ g = h$	$h : A^z \rightarrow C$
$\uparrow\text{Mon} \circ \uparrow\text{Mon} = \uparrow\text{Mon}$	$h : A^{sg(+,+)} \rightarrow C$
$\downarrow\text{Mon} \circ \downarrow\text{Mon} = \uparrow\text{Mon}$	$h : A^{sg(-,-)} \rightarrow C$
$\uparrow\text{Mon} \circ \downarrow\text{Mon} = \downarrow\text{Mon}$	$h : A^{sg(+,-)} \rightarrow C$
$\downarrow\text{Mon} \circ \uparrow\text{Mon} = \downarrow\text{Mon}$	$h : A^{sg(-,+)} \rightarrow C$

## 2. Polarity and Monotone Positions

Definition [Polarity of Occurrences]

Given a lambda term  $N$  and a subterm  $M$  of  $N$ . A specified occurrence of  $M$  in  $N$ , is called **positive** (**negative**) according to the following clauses:

- i.*  $M$  is positive in  $M$ .
- ii.*  $M$  is positive (negative) in  $PQ$  iff  $M$  is positive (negative) in  $P$ .
- iii.*  $M$  is positive (negative) in  $PQ$  iff  $M$  is positive (negative) in  $Q$ , and  $P$  denotes an upward monotone function.
- iv.*  $M$  is negative (positive) in  $PQ$  iff  $M$  is positive (negative) in  $Q$ , and  $P$  denotes a downward monotone function.
- v.*  $M$  is positive (negative) in  $\lambda X.P$  iff  $M$  is positive (negative) in  $P$  and  $X \notin FV(M)$ .

Definition [Monotone position]

Let  $N'_\alpha$  be a lambda term like  $N_\alpha$  except for containing an occurrence of  $M'_\beta$  where  $N_\alpha$  contains  $M_\beta$ ,

- i.*  $N_\alpha$  is **upward monotone in**  $M_\beta$  iff for all models and assignments  $\llbracket M \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}^f \leq_\beta$   
 $\llbracket M' \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}^f$  entails  $\llbracket N \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}^f \leq_\beta \llbracket N' \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}^f$ ;
- ii.*  $N_\alpha$  is **downward monotone in**  $M_\beta$  iff for all models and assignments  $\llbracket M \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}^f \leq_\beta$   
 $\llbracket M' \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}^f$  entails  $\llbracket N' \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}^f \leq_\beta \llbracket N \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}^f$ .

### 3. Partial Order

Taking advantage of the fact that the denotation of all expressions of natural language can at end be reduced to sets, we can extend our model with a partial order defined recursively by means of types. Let  $\mathcal{M} = \langle D, \leq, I \rangle$ , be our model, where  $\leq$  is recursively defined as follows:

$$\begin{array}{lll} \text{If } \beta, \gamma \in Dom_e, \text{ then} & \llbracket \beta \rrbracket \leq_e \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket & \text{iff } \llbracket \beta \rrbracket = \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket \\ \text{If } \beta, \gamma \in Dom_t, \text{ then} & \llbracket \beta \rrbracket \leq_t \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket & \text{iff } \llbracket \beta \rrbracket = 0 \text{ or } \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket = 1 \\ \text{If } \beta, \gamma \in Dom_{(a,b)}, \text{ then} & \llbracket \beta \rrbracket \leq_{(a,b)} \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket & \text{iff } \forall \alpha \in Dom_a, \llbracket \beta(\alpha) \rrbracket \leq_b \llbracket \gamma(\alpha) \rrbracket \end{array}$$

## 4. Semantics

$$\llbracket \text{no } N \rrbracket = \{X \subseteq E \mid \llbracket N \rrbracket \cap X = \emptyset\}$$

$$\llbracket \text{some } N \rrbracket = \{X \subseteq E \mid \llbracket N \rrbracket \cap X \neq \emptyset\}$$

$$\llbracket \text{every } N \rrbracket = \{X \subseteq E \mid \llbracket N \rrbracket \subseteq X\}$$

Determining the truth-value of an expression is reduced to simple set theoretical operations e.g. inclusion, membership, intersection. For example, checking whether in a given model  $\mathcal{M}$  the sentence “Every student walks” is true, means to determine whether  $\llbracket \text{every student (walks)} \rrbracket = 1$ . This is done by means a simple calculation:

$$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \text{every student (walks)} \rrbracket = 1 & \text{ iff } \llbracket \text{every student} \rrbracket(\llbracket \text{walks} \rrbracket) = 1 \\ & \text{ iff } \llbracket \text{walks} \rrbracket \in \llbracket \text{every student} \rrbracket \\ & \text{ iff } \llbracket \text{student} \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket \text{walks} \rrbracket \\ & \text{ iff } \forall x \in \llbracket \text{student} \rrbracket x \in \llbracket \text{walks} \rrbracket. \end{aligned}$$