

Notes on Natural Logic

Notes for PHIL370

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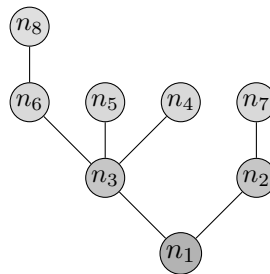
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1 Preliminaries: Trees

A **tree** is a structure $\mathcal{T} = (T, E)$, where T is a nonempty set whose elements are called *nodes* and E is a relation on T , $E \subseteq T \times T$, called the **immediate edge relation**, satisfying the following conditions: for all nodes, $n, n', m \in T$,

- Every node has a unique predecessor: If nEm and $n'Em$, then $n = n'$,
- There are no cycles: If (n_1, \dots, n_k) is a sequence of nodes where for each $i = 1, \dots, k - 1$, n_iEn_{i+1} , then $n_1 \neq n_k$, and
- Between any two nodes there is a unique path: For each $n, n' \in T$ there is a unique sequence n_1, n_2, \dots, n_m such that $n = n_1En_2 \cdots En_m = n'$.

Let n be a node, then $\mathbf{succ}(n) = \{n' \mid nEn'\}$ are the successors of n and $\mathbf{pred}(n) = \{n' \mid n'En\}$ are the predecessors of n . A node r is called the **root** of the tree provided $\mathbf{pred}(r) = \emptyset$. A node n is called a **leaf** provided $\mathbf{succ}(n) = \emptyset$. A **path** in a tree is a sequence of nodes connected by an edge relation: a path is a sequence (n_1, n_2, \dots, n_k) such that for each $i = 1, \dots, k - 1$, n_iEn_{i+1} . The **length** of a path is equal to the number of edges along that path (equivalently, one minus the number of nodes). The **height** of a tree is the length of the longest path. Here is an example:



The root of this tree is n_1 and the leaves are n_8, n_5, n_4 , and n_7 . We have $\mathbf{succ}(n_3) = \{n_6, n_5, n_4\}$ and $\mathbf{pred}(n_3) = \{n_1\}$. Two paths in the tree are (n_3, n_5) and (n_1, n_3, n_6) . The height of the tree is 3 (the longest path is (n_1, n_3, n_6, n_8) which has length 3).

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2 The logic of “All” and “Some”

Definition 2.1 (Sentences) Let $\mathcal{V} = \{X, Y, Z, \dots\}$ be a set of *variables*. The *All* and *Some* language \mathcal{L}_{AS} are all the sentences of the form:

- All X are Y
- Some X are Y ◁

Definition 2.2 (Models) A model for \mathcal{L}_{AS} is a pair $\mathcal{M} = \langle W, [\cdot] \rangle$, where W is a non-empty set and $[\cdot] : \mathcal{V} \rightarrow \wp(W)$ is a function assigning to each variable a subset of W . ◁

Truth of sentences is defined as follows:

1. $\mathcal{M} \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$ iff $[X] \subseteq [Y]$
2. $\mathcal{M} \models \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$ iff $[X] \cap [Y] \neq \emptyset$

Example 2.3 Suppose $\mathcal{M} = \langle W, [\cdot] \rangle$, where $W = \{a, b, c\}$, $[X] = \{a\}$, $[Y] = \{a, c\}$, $[U] = \{c, b\}$ and $[Z] = \emptyset$. Then, it is easy to verify that:

1. $\mathcal{M} \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$ and $\mathcal{M} \not\models \text{All } Y \text{ are } X$
2. $\mathcal{M} \models \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$, $\mathcal{M} \models \text{Some } U \text{ are } Y$, $\mathcal{M} \models \text{Some } Y \text{ are } U$, and $\mathcal{M} \not\models \text{Some } U \text{ are } X$
3. $\mathcal{M} \models \text{All } Z \text{ are } Y$, $\mathcal{M} \models \text{All } Z \text{ are } X$, and $\mathcal{M} \models \text{All } Z \text{ are } Z$
4. $\mathcal{M} \not\models \text{Some } Z \text{ are } Y$, $\mathcal{M} \not\models \text{Some } Z \text{ are } X$, and $\mathcal{M} \not\models \text{Some } Z \text{ are } Z$

◁

Let \mathcal{M} be a model and Γ a set of sentences. We write $\mathcal{M} \models \Gamma$ provided $\mathcal{M} \models S$ for each $S \in \Gamma$.

Definition 2.4 (Semantic Consequence) Let Γ be a set of sentences and S a sentence. We write $\Gamma \models S$ (read “ S semantically follows from Γ ”) provided for all models \mathcal{M} if $\mathcal{M} \models \Gamma$ then $\mathcal{M} \models S$. ◁

A **proof rule** is a relation between a (possibly empty) set of sentences and a sentence. We denote proof rules as follows:

$$\frac{S_1 \quad S_2 \quad \cdots \quad S_n}{S}$$

Alternatively, we may write $R(\{S_1, \dots, S_n\}, S)$ (where R is the name of the rule). The intended interpretation is that from S_1, S_2, \dots , and S_n , one can infer S . An axiom system is a set of proof rules.

Definition 2.5 (Proof Tree) Let \mathbf{A} be an axiom system and Γ a set of sentences. We write $\Gamma \vdash_{\mathbf{A}} S$ provided there exists a tree $\mathcal{T} = (T, E)$ where the set of nodes T are sentences in \mathcal{L}_{AS} , the root of T is S , and and for each $S' \in T$:

1. If S' is a leaf node, then $S' \in \Gamma$, or

2. there is a rule R in \mathbf{A} such that $R(\text{succ}(S'), S')$.

The tree \mathcal{T} is called a proof tree. We say \mathcal{T} is a proof tree for (Γ, \mathbf{A}) provided that it satisfies the above to properties for Γ and \mathbf{A} . \triangleleft

The axiom system for the logic of “All” and “Some”, denoted \mathbf{A}_{AS} contains the following rules:

$\frac{}{\text{All } X \text{ are } X}$	$\frac{\text{All } X \text{ are } Y \quad \text{All } Y \text{ are } Z}{\text{All } X \text{ are } Z}$	$\frac{\text{All } X \text{ are } Z \quad \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y}{\text{Some } Y \text{ are } Z}$
	$\frac{\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y}{\text{Some } Y \text{ are } X}$	$\frac{\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y}{\text{Some } X \text{ are } X}$

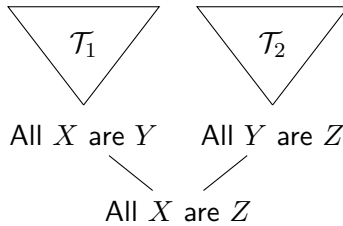
Theorem 2.6 (Soundness of \mathbf{A}_{AS}) *Let Γ be a set of sentences and S a sentence. Then, $\Gamma \vdash_{\mathbf{A}_{AS}} S$ implies $\Gamma \models S$.*

Proof. We say that \mathcal{T} is a proof tree for $(\Gamma, \mathbf{A}_{AS})$ if \mathcal{T} satisfies the two conditions of Definition 2.5 for Γ and \mathbf{A}_{AS} . Given this notion, we want to prove a fact about all proof trees: For all proof tree \mathcal{T} , for all sentences S if \mathcal{T} is a proof tree for $(\Gamma, \mathbf{A}_{AS})$ with root S , then $\Gamma \models S$. The proof is by induction on the height of trees.

Base Case: Suppose that \mathcal{T} is a proof tree of height 0. Then \mathcal{T} consists of exactly one node. Since \mathcal{T} is a proof tree for $(\Gamma, \mathbf{A}_{AS})$, either $S \in \Gamma$ or S is of the form All X are X . If $S \in \Gamma$ and $\mathcal{M} \models \Gamma$, then it is obvious that $\mathcal{M} \models S$. If S is of the form All X are X , then any \mathcal{M} makes S true (this follows from the fact that $\llbracket X \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket X \rrbracket$ for any variable X). Hence, $\Gamma \models S$.

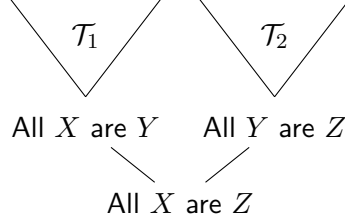
Induction Step: The Induction hypothesis is: for any proof tree \mathcal{T} for $(\Gamma, \mathbf{A}_{AS})$ of height less than k with the sentence S as the root, $\Gamma \models S$. Suppose that \mathcal{T} is a proof tree of height k with root S . There are four cases.

Case 1 The proof tree \mathcal{T} is of the form:



where \mathcal{T}_1 and \mathcal{T}_2 are proof trees of height less than k . By the induction hypothesis, $\Gamma \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$ and $\Gamma \models \text{All } Y \text{ are } Z$. Suppose that $\mathcal{M} \models \Gamma$. Then $\mathcal{M} \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$ and $\mathcal{M} \models \text{All } Y \text{ are } Z$. We must show $\mathcal{M} \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Z$. Suppose that $a \in \llbracket X \rrbracket$. Then, since $\llbracket X \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket Y \rrbracket$, $a \in \llbracket Y \rrbracket$ and since $\llbracket Y \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket Z \rrbracket$, we have $a \in \llbracket Z \rrbracket$. Hence, $\mathcal{M} \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Z$.

Case 2 The proof tree \mathcal{T} is of the form:



Therefore, $\Gamma \vdash \text{All } X \text{ are } Z$.

QED

If X is a variable, let $[X]_{\downarrow} = \{Y \mid Y \leq X\}$ be the downset of X .

Theorem 2.9 $\Gamma \models S$ implies $\Gamma \vdash S$.

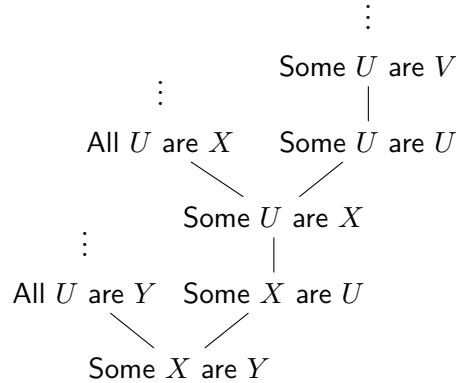
Proof. Let Γ be a set of sentences and suppose that $\Gamma \models S$. The proof splits into two cases depending on the form of S . The first case is when S is of the form $\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$. Construct a model $\mathcal{M}^S = \langle W^S, [\cdot] \rangle^S$ as follows:

- $W^S = \{\text{Some } U \text{ are } V \mid \text{Some } U \text{ are } V \in \Gamma\}$
- $[X]^S = \{\text{Some } U \text{ are } V \mid U \leq X \text{ or } V \leq X\}$

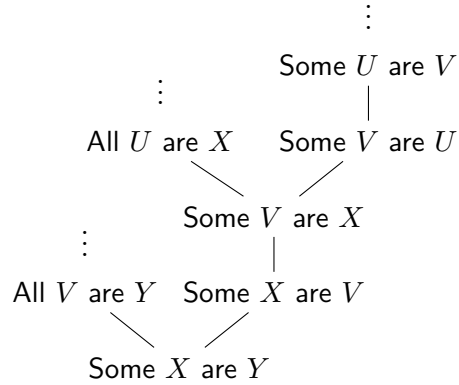
We first show that $\mathcal{M}^S \models \Gamma$. Suppose that $\text{All } X \text{ are } Y \in \Gamma$. If $[X]^S = \emptyset$, then clearly $[X]^S \subseteq [Y]^S$. Suppose that $\text{Some } U \text{ are } V \in [X]^S$. Then either $U \leq X$ or $V \leq X$. Since $\Gamma \vdash \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$, we also have $X \leq Y$. Then, since \leq is transitive, we have either $U \leq Y$ or $V \leq Y$. Hence, $\text{Some } U \text{ are } V \in [Y]^S$. Thus, $\mathcal{M}^S \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$. Suppose that $\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y \in \Gamma$. Then, since $X \leq X$, we have $\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y \in [X]^S$ and since $Y \leq Y$, we have $\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y \in [Y]^S$. Hence, $\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y \in [X]^S \cap [Y]^S \neq \emptyset$. Therefore, $\mathcal{M}^S \models \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$.

Next, we show that if $\mathcal{M}^S \models \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$, then $\Gamma \vdash \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$. Suppose that $\mathcal{M}^S \models \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$. Then, we have $\text{Some } U \text{ are } V \in [X] \cap [Y]$ for some $\text{Some } U \text{ are } V \in \Gamma$. Since $\text{Some } U \text{ are } V \in \Gamma$, we have $\Gamma \vdash \text{Some } U \text{ are } V$. Since, $\text{Some } U \text{ are } V \in [X] \cap [Y]$, we have $U \leq X$ or $V \leq X$ and $U \leq Y$ or $V \leq Y$. There are four cases.

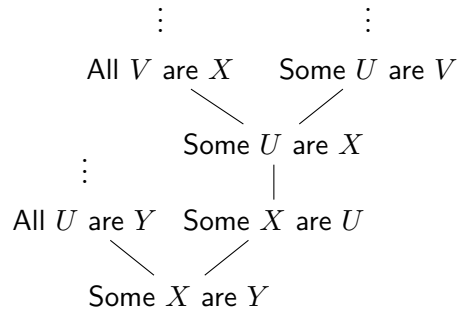
Case 1 Suppose that $U \leq X$ and $U \leq Y$, the $\Gamma \vdash \text{All } U \text{ are } X$ and $\Gamma \vdash \text{All } U \text{ are } Y$. Then, the following is a proof tree for $\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$:



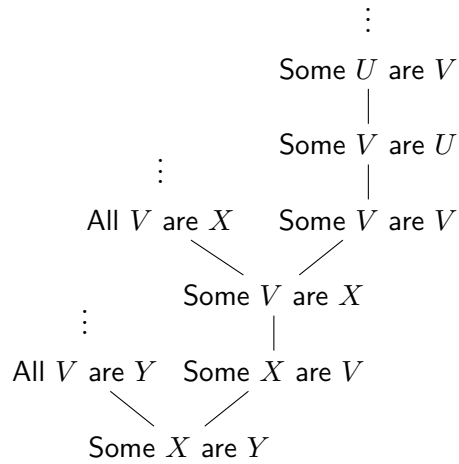
Case 2 Suppose that $U \leq X$ and $V \leq Y$. Then $\Gamma \vdash$ All U are X and $\Gamma \vdash$ All V are Y . Then, the following is a proof tree for Some X are Y :



Case 3 Suppose that $V \leq X$ and $U \leq Y$. Then, $\Gamma \vdash$ All V are X and $\Gamma \vdash$ All U are Y . Then, the following is a proof tree for Some X are Y :



Case 4 Suppose that $V \leq X$ and $V \leq Y$. Then $\Gamma \vdash$ All U are X and $\Gamma \vdash$ All V are Y . Then, the following is a proof tree for Some X are Y :



In all cases, we have $\Gamma \vdash \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$, as desired.

The proof of the statement follows from these two observations: Suppose that $\Gamma \models \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$. Then, since $\mathcal{M}^S \models \Gamma$, we must have $\mathcal{M}^S \models \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$. Hence, $\Gamma \vdash \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$.

The second case is when S is of the form $\text{All } X \text{ are } Y$. Construct a model $\mathcal{M}^A = \langle W^A, [\cdot]^A \rangle$ as follows:

- $W^A = \mathcal{V} \cup \{*\}$ where $* \notin \mathcal{V}$.
- $[X]^A = \begin{cases} [X] \downarrow \cup \{*\} & \text{if } \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y \in \Gamma \text{ or } \text{Some } Y \text{ are } X \in \Gamma \\ [X] \downarrow & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$

We first show that $\mathcal{M}^A \models \Gamma$. Suppose that $\text{All } X \text{ are } Y \in \Gamma$. Then $X \leq Y$. Suppose that $V \in [X]^A$. Then, either V is a variable such that $V \leq X$ or V is $*$. In the first case, we have $V \leq X$ and $X \leq Y$. Since, \leq is transitive, we have $V \leq Y$, and so $V \in [Y]^A$. In the second case, we have either $\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y \in \Gamma$ or $\text{Some } Y \text{ are } X \in \Gamma$. In either case, we also have $* \in [Y]^A$. Hence, $[X]^A \subseteq [Y]^A$. Suppose that $\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y \in \Gamma$. Then, we have $* \in [X]^A$ and $* \in [Y]^A$. Therefore, $[X]^A \cap [Y]^A \neq \emptyset$, so $\mathcal{M}^A \models \text{Some } X \text{ are } Y$.

We now show that if $\mathcal{M}^A \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$, then $\Gamma \vdash \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$. Suppose that $\mathcal{M}^A \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$. Then, $[X]^A \subseteq [Y]^A$. Since $X \in [X]^A$ (this follows from the fact that $X \leq X$ for all variables), we have $X \in [Y]^A$. Hence, $X \leq Y$. But this means, $\Gamma \vdash \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$, as desired.

The proof of the statement follows from these two observations: Suppose that $\Gamma \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$. Then, since $\mathcal{M}^A \models \Gamma$, we must have $\mathcal{M}^A \models \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$. Hence, $\Gamma \vdash \text{All } X \text{ are } Y$. QED

2.1 Completeness for a subclass of models

In this section, we show how to use the above completeness theorem to prove completeness for a subclass of models. Let $\mathbb{M} = \{\mathcal{M} \mid \text{for all } X \in \mathcal{V}, [X] \neq \emptyset\}$ be the class of models that assign *nonempty* subsets to variables. We write $\Gamma \models_{\mathbb{M}} S$ provided for each $\mathcal{M} \in \mathbb{M}$, if $\mathcal{M} \models \Gamma$ then $\mathcal{M} \models S$. Obviously, the above set of rules \mathbf{A}_{AS} are sound for this class of models. The question is: Are they complete? It is not hard to see that the answer is “no”. If we restrict to the models in \mathbb{M} , then the following rule becomes valid:

$$\boxed{\frac{\text{All } X \text{ are } Y}{\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y}}$$

Let \mathbf{A}' be the set of rules in the axiom system \mathbf{A}_{AS} together with the above rule. We now show that this axiom system is complete with respect to \mathbb{M} .

Theorem 2.10 $\Gamma \models_{\mathbb{M}} S$ implies $\Gamma \vdash_{\mathbf{A}'} S$.

Proof. Let $\bar{\Gamma} = \Gamma \cup \{\text{Some } X \text{ are } Y \mid \Gamma \vdash_{\mathbf{A}_{AS}} \text{All } X \text{ are } Y\}$. We first prove two claims.

Claim 2.11 If $\Gamma \models_{\mathbb{M}} S$, then $\bar{\Gamma} \models S$.

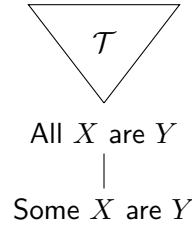
Suppose that $\Gamma \models_{\mathbb{M}} S$ and $\mathcal{M} \models \bar{\Gamma}$. First, note that for each $X \in \mathcal{V}$, we have **Some X are $X \in \bar{\Gamma}$** (this follows from the fact that for each $X \in \mathcal{V}$, $\Gamma \vdash$ **All X are X**). Since $\mathcal{M} \models \bar{\Gamma}$, for each $X \in \mathcal{V}$, $\mathcal{M} \models$ **Some X are X** . Hence $\emptyset \neq \llbracket X \rrbracket \cap \llbracket X \rrbracket = \llbracket X \rrbracket$. Therefore, $\mathcal{M} \in \mathbb{M}$. Furthermore, since $\Gamma \subseteq \bar{\Gamma}$, we have $\mathcal{M} \models \Gamma$. Since $\Gamma \models_{\mathbb{M}} S$. This implies, $\mathcal{M} \models S$. Hence, $\bar{\Gamma} \models S$. This completes the proof of the first claim.

Claim 2.12 *If $\bar{\Gamma} \vdash_{\mathbf{A}_{AS}} S$, then $\Gamma \vdash_{\mathbf{A}'} S$.*

Suppose that $\bar{\Gamma} \vdash_{\mathbf{A}_{AS}} S$. The proof is by induction on the height of proof trees.

Base Case: Suppose that \mathcal{T} is a proof tree of height 0. This means that either S is **All X are X** or $S \in \bar{\Gamma}$. Suppose that S is **All X are X** . Since $\frac{}{\text{All } X \text{ are } X}$ is a proof rule in \mathbf{A}' , we have $\Gamma \vdash_{\mathbf{A}'} S$.

If $S \in \bar{\Gamma}$, then we are also done since this immediately implies $\Gamma \models S$. Suppose that S is of the form **Some X are Y** with $\Gamma \vdash_{\mathbf{A}_{AS}} S$. Since all the \mathbf{A}' contains all the rules of \mathbf{A}_{AS} , the following is a proof tree in \mathbf{A}' :



where \mathcal{T} is the proof tree for **All X are Y** using the rules from \mathbf{A}_{AS} . Hence $\Gamma \vdash_{\mathbf{A}'} S$.

Induction Step: Since \mathbf{A}' contains all the rules of \mathbf{A}_{AS} , all extensions of proof trees for the axiom system \mathbf{A}' using rules from \mathbf{A}_{AS} are still proof trees in the axiom system \mathbf{A}' .

This completes the proof of the claim.

Putting everything together: Suppose that $\Gamma \models_{\mathbb{M}} S$. Then, $\bar{\Gamma} \models S$ by Claim 2.11. By the completeness theorem for \mathbf{A}_{AS} , we have $\bar{\Gamma} \vdash_{\mathbf{A}_{AS}} S$. By Claim 2.12, $\Gamma \vdash_{\mathbf{A}'} S$, as desired. QED