

1. NL Quantifiers vs Logic Quantifiers

- Restriction

- Lack of parallelism

[Jean_{NP}] dort

dort(*j*)

[Certains hommes_{NP}] dorment

$\exists x (Hx \wedge Dx)$

[Tous les hommes_{NP}] dorment

$\forall x (Hx \rightarrow Dx)$

[Au moins deux hommes_{NP}] dorment

$\exists x \exists y (x \neq y \wedge Hx \wedge Hy \wedge Dx \wedge Dy)$

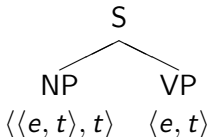
- Lack of expressivity

- (3)
- Un nombre fini d'étoiles sont sensibles à l'attraction du soleil.
 - Plus de la moitié des amis de Jean sont parisiens.
 - La plupart des gens ont voté Chirac.

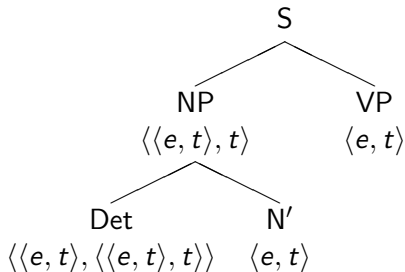
2. Generalized Quantifiers

3. Thesis: $\llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket = \text{GQ}$

- (4)
- a. $\llbracket \text{Tous les N} \rrbracket = \{X \subseteq E / \llbracket \text{N} \rrbracket \subseteq X\}$
 - b. $\llbracket \text{Quelques N} \rrbracket = \{X \subseteq E / \llbracket \text{N} \rrbracket \cap X \neq \emptyset\}$
 - c. $\llbracket \text{Jean} \rrbracket = \{X \subseteq E / j \in X\}$
 - d. $\llbracket \text{Au moins deux N} \rrbracket = \{X \subseteq E / |\llbracket \text{N} \rrbracket \cap X| \geq 2\}$
 - e. $\llbracket \text{La plupart des N} \rrbracket = \{X \subseteq E / |\llbracket \text{N} \rrbracket \cap X| \geq |\llbracket \text{N} \rrbracket \setminus X|\}$



- (5)
- a. $\llbracket \text{Tous les } A B \rrbracket = 1 \Leftrightarrow \llbracket A \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket B \rrbracket$
 - b. $\llbracket \text{Certains } A B \rrbracket = 1 \Leftrightarrow \llbracket A \rrbracket \cap \llbracket B \rrbracket \neq \emptyset$
 - c. $\llbracket \text{La plupart } A B \rrbracket = 1 \Leftrightarrow |\llbracket A \rrbracket \cap \llbracket B \rrbracket| \geq |\llbracket A \rrbracket \setminus \llbracket B \rrbracket|$
 - d. $\llbracket \text{Beaucoup } A B \rrbracket = 1 \Leftrightarrow |\llbracket A \rrbracket \cap \llbracket B \rrbracket| \geq m|\llbracket A \rrbracket|$



4. Determiners \subset binary set relations