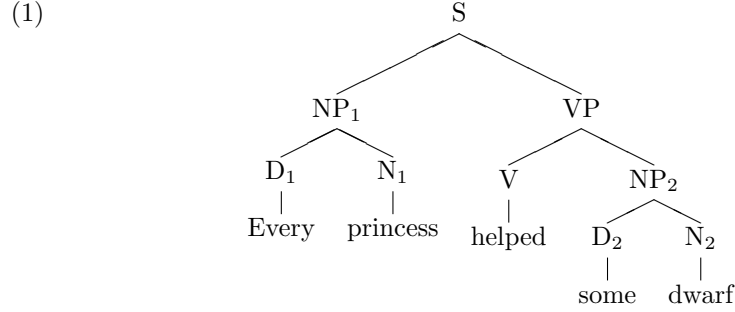


We want to compute the meaning of the sentence “Every princess helped some dwarf”. This sentence has the following syntactic structure:



We have the following basic (non-continuized) meanings:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \llbracket D_1 \rrbracket &= \llbracket \text{every} \rrbracket &= \lambda P \lambda Q. \forall x. P(x) \rightarrow Q(x) \\
 \llbracket N_1 \rrbracket &= \llbracket \text{princess} \rrbracket &= \lambda x. \text{princess}(x) \text{ (or just princess)} \\
 \llbracket V \rrbracket &= \llbracket \text{helped} \rrbracket &= \lambda y \lambda x. \text{help}(x, y) \text{ (or just help)} \\
 \llbracket D_2 \rrbracket &= \llbracket \text{some} \rrbracket &= \lambda P \lambda Q. \exists y. P(y) \wedge Q(y) \\
 \llbracket N_2 \rrbracket &= \llbracket \text{dwarf} \rrbracket &= \lambda x. \text{dwarf}(x) \text{ (or just dwarf)}
 \end{aligned}$$

In addition, we define the following functions:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{pure}(u) &= \lambda k. k(u)^1 \\
 u < * > v &= \lambda k. v(\lambda n. u(\lambda m. k(m(n))))^2 \\
 v >>= u &= \lambda c. v(\lambda a. (u(a))(c))
 \end{aligned}$$

We then have the following continuized grammar:

$$\begin{aligned}
 S \rightarrow NP VP & \quad \bar{S} = \overline{VP} < * > \overline{NP} \\
 VP \rightarrow V NP & \quad \overline{VP} = \bar{V} < * > \overline{NP} \\
 NP \rightarrow D N & \quad \overline{NP} = \bar{N} >>= \llbracket D \rrbracket \\
 V \rightarrow \text{helped} & \quad \bar{V} = \text{pure}(\llbracket \text{help} \rrbracket) \\
 N \rightarrow \text{princess} & \quad \bar{N} = \text{pure}(\llbracket \text{princess} \rrbracket) \\
 N \rightarrow \text{dwarf} & \quad \bar{N} = \text{pure}(\llbracket \text{dwarf} \rrbracket) \\
 D \rightarrow \text{every} & \quad \llbracket D \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{every} \rrbracket \\
 D \rightarrow \text{some} & \quad \llbracket D \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{some} \rrbracket
 \end{aligned}$$

¹van Eijck and Unger call this `cpsConst`; alternative names include “unit” and “return”

²van Eijck and Unger call this `cpsApply`

First, we have $\overline{N_2} = \text{pure}(\llbracket \text{dwarf} \rrbracket) = \lambda k.k(\text{dwarf})$. Then we can compute $\overline{NP_2} = \overline{N_2} \gg = \llbracket D_2 \rrbracket$ as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
\overline{NP_2} &= \overline{\text{some dwarf}} = \overline{N_2} \gg = \llbracket D_2 \rrbracket \\
&= \lambda c.\overline{N_2}(\lambda a.(\llbracket D_2 \rrbracket)(a))(c) \\
&= \lambda c.(\lambda k.k(\text{dwarf}))(\lambda a.(\llbracket D_2 \rrbracket)(a))(c) \\
&= \lambda c.(\lambda a.(\llbracket D_2 \rrbracket)(a))(c)(\text{dwarf}) \\
&= \lambda c.(\llbracket D_2 \rrbracket)(\text{dwarf})(c) \\
&= \lambda c.((\lambda P\lambda Q.\exists y.P(y) \wedge Q(y))(\text{dwarf}))(c) \\
&= \lambda c.(\lambda Q.\exists y.\text{dwarf}(y) \wedge Q(y))(c) \\
&= \lambda c.\exists y.\text{dwarf}(y) \wedge c(y)
\end{aligned}$$

Then, we have $\overline{V} = \text{pure}(\llbracket \text{help} \rrbracket) = \lambda n.n(\text{help})$. Then we can compute $\overline{VP} = \overline{V} < * > \overline{NP_2}$ as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
\overline{VP} &= \overline{\text{helped some dwarf}} = \overline{V} < * > \overline{NP_2} \\
&= \lambda k.\overline{NP_2}(\lambda n.\overline{V}(\lambda m.k(m(n)))) \\
&= \lambda k.(\lambda c.\exists y.\text{dwarf}(y) \wedge c(y))(\lambda n.\overline{V}(\lambda m.k(m(n)))) \\
&= \lambda k.\exists y.\text{dwarf}(y) \wedge (\lambda n.\overline{V}(\lambda m.k(m(n))))(y) \\
&= \lambda k.\exists y.\text{dwarf}(y) \wedge \overline{V}(\lambda m.k(m(y))) \\
&= \lambda k.\exists y.\text{dwarf}(y) \wedge (\lambda n.n(\text{help}))(\lambda m.k(m(y))) \\
&= \lambda k.\exists y.\text{dwarf}(y) \wedge (\lambda m.k(m(y)))(\text{help}) \\
&= \lambda k.\exists y.\text{dwarf}(y) \wedge k(\text{help}(y))
\end{aligned}$$

Similarly to $\overline{N_2}$, we have $\overline{N_1} = \text{pure}(\llbracket \text{princess} \rrbracket) = \lambda k.k(\text{princess})$. In the same way, we can compute $\overline{NP_1} = \overline{N_1} \gg = \llbracket D_1 \rrbracket$ as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
\overline{NP_1} &= \overline{\text{every princess}} = \overline{N_1} \gg = \llbracket D_1 \rrbracket \\
&= \lambda c.\overline{N_1}(\lambda a.(\llbracket D_1 \rrbracket)(a))(c) \\
&= \lambda c.(\lambda k.k(\text{princess}))(\lambda a.(\llbracket D_1 \rrbracket)(a))(c) \\
&= \lambda c.(\lambda a.(\llbracket D_1 \rrbracket)(a))(c)(\text{princess}) \\
&= \lambda c.(\llbracket D_1 \rrbracket)(\text{princess})(c) \\
&= \lambda c.((\lambda P\lambda Q.\forall x.P(x) \rightarrow Q(x))(\text{princess}))(c) \\
&= \lambda c.(\lambda Q.\forall x.\text{princess}(x) \rightarrow Q(x))(c) \\
&= \lambda c.\forall x.\text{princess}(x) \rightarrow c(x)
\end{aligned}$$

Finally, we can compute $\bar{S} = \overline{VP} < * > \overline{NP}_1$ as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
\bar{S} = \overline{\text{every princess helped some dwarf}} &= \overline{VP}_1 < * > \overline{NP}_1 \\
&= \lambda k. \overline{NP}_1 (\lambda n. \overline{VP} (\lambda m. k(m(n)))) \\
&= \lambda k. (\lambda c. \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow c(x)) (\lambda n. \overline{VP} (\lambda m. k(m(n)))) \\
&= \lambda k. \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow (\lambda n. \overline{VP} (\lambda m. k(m(n))))(x) \\
&= \lambda k. \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow \overline{VP} (\lambda m. k(m(x))) \\
&= \lambda k. \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow (\lambda c. \exists y. \text{dwarf}(y) \wedge c(\text{help}(y))) (\lambda m. k(m(x))) \\
&= \lambda k. \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow \exists y. \text{dwarf}(y) \wedge (\lambda m. k(m(x))) (\text{help}(y)) \\
&= \lambda k. \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow \exists y. \text{dwarf}(y) \wedge k((\text{help}(y))(x)) \\
&= \lambda k. \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow \exists y. \text{dwarf}(y) \wedge k(\text{help}(x, y))
\end{aligned}$$

To get the meaning of S, we apply \bar{S} to the trivial continuation $\lambda x.x$:

$$\begin{aligned}
\llbracket S \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{every princess helped some dwarf} \rrbracket &= \bar{S}(\lambda x.x) \\
&= (\lambda k. \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow \exists y. \text{dwarf}(y) \wedge k(\text{help}(x, y))) (\lambda x.x) \\
&= \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow \exists y. \text{dwarf}(y) \wedge (\lambda x.x) (\text{help}(x, y)) \\
&= \forall x. \text{princess}(x) \rightarrow \exists y. \text{dwarf}(y) \wedge \text{help}(x, y)
\end{aligned}$$

Note that with an alternative definition of $u < * > v = \lambda k. u(\lambda m. v(\lambda n. k(m(n))))$ ³, we can derive the reverse scope. The derivation is left as an exercise for the reader⁴.

³van Eijck and Unger call this `cpsApply`,

⁴Specifically, Exercise 11.6