

An Introduction to Formal Computational Semantics

CS224N/Ling 280

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A first example

Lexicon

Kathy, NP : **kathy**

Fong, NP : **fong**

respects, V : $\lambda y. \lambda x. \mathbf{respect}(x, y)$

runs, V : $\lambda x. \mathbf{run}(x)$

Grammar

$S : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow \text{NP} : \alpha \quad \text{VP} : \beta$

$\text{VP} : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow \text{V} : \beta \quad \text{NP} : \alpha$

$\text{VP} : \beta \rightarrow \text{V} : \beta$

A first example

- - $S : \text{respect}(\mathbf{kathy}, \mathbf{fong})$
 - NP : \mathbf{kathy}
 - $Kathy$
 - VP : $\lambda x.\text{respect}(x, \mathbf{fong})$
 - V : $\lambda y.\lambda x.\text{respect}(x, y)$
 - $respects$
 - NP : \mathbf{fong}
 - $Fong$
- $[\text{VP } \text{respects } \mathbf{Fong}] : [\lambda y.\lambda x.\text{respect}(x, y)](\mathbf{fong})$
 $= \lambda x.\text{respect}(x, \mathbf{fong})$ $[\beta \text{ red.}]$

 $[\text{S } \mathbf{Kathy} \text{ respects } \mathbf{Fong}] : [\lambda x.\text{respect}(x, \mathbf{fong})](\mathbf{kathy})$
 $= \text{respect}(\mathbf{kathy}, \mathbf{fong})$

Database/knowledgebase interfaces

- Assume that **respect** is a table *Respect* with two fields *respector* and *respected*
- Assume that **kathy** and **fong** are IDs in the database:
k and *f*
- If we assert *Kathy respects Fong* we might evaluate the form **respect(fong)(kathy)** by doing an insert operation:

insert into *Respects*(*respector*, *respected*) values (*k*, *f*)

Database/knowledgebase interfaces

- Below we focus on questions like *Does Kathy respect Fong* for which we will use the relation to ask:
select 'yes' from Respects where Respects.respecter = k and Respects.respected = f
- We interpret “no rows returned” as ‘no’ = **0**.

Typed λ calculus (Church 1940)

- Everything has a type (like Java!)
- **Bool** truth values (**0** and **1**)
- Ind** individuals
- Ind** \rightarrow **Bool** properties
- Ind** \rightarrow **Ind** \rightarrow **Bool** binary relations
- **kathy** and **fong** are **Ind**
- run** is **Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**
- respect** is **Ind** \rightarrow **Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**
- Types are interpreted right associatively.
- respect** is **Ind** \rightarrow (**Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**)
- We convert a several argument function into embedded unary functions. Referred to as *currying*.

Typed λ calculus (Church 1940)

- Once we have types, we don't need λ variables just to show what arguments something takes, and so we can introduce another operation of the λ calculus:

η reduction [abstractions can be contracted]

$$\lambda x.(P(x)) \Rightarrow P$$

- This means that instead of writing:

$\lambda y.\lambda x.\mathbf{respect}(x, y)$

we can just write:

respect

Typed λ calculus (Church 1940)

- λ extraction allowed over any type (not just first-order)
- β reduction [application]
$$(\lambda x.P(\dots, x, \dots))(Z) \Rightarrow P(\dots, Z, \dots)$$
- η reduction [abstractions can be contracted]
$$\lambda x.(P(x)) \Rightarrow P$$
- α reduction [renaming of variables]

Typed λ calculus (Church 1940)

- The first form we introduced is called the β, η long form, and the second more compact representation (which we use quite a bit below) is called the β, η normal form. Here are some examples:

β, η normal form	β, η long form
run	$\lambda x.\mathbf{run}(x)$
every²(kid, run)	every²(($\lambda x.\mathbf{kid}(x)$), ($\lambda x.\mathbf{run}(x)$))
yesterday(run)	$\lambda y.\mathbf{yesterday}(\lambda x.\mathbf{run}(x))(y)$

Types of major syntactic categories

- nouns and verb phrases will be properties (**Ind** → **Bool**)
 - noun phrases are **Ind** – though they are commonly type-raised to **(Ind** → **Bool**) → **Bool**
 - adjectives are **(Ind** → **Bool**) → **(Ind** → **Bool**)
This is because adjectives modify noun meanings, that is properties.
 - Intensifiers modify adjectives: e.g, *very* in *a very happy camper*, so they're **((Ind** → **Bool**) → **(Ind** → **Bool**)) → **((Ind** → **Bool**) → **(Ind** → **Bool**))
- [honest!].

A grammar fragment

- $S : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow NP : \alpha \quad VP : \beta$
 $NP : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow Det : \beta \quad N' : \alpha$
 $N' : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow Adj : \beta \quad N' : \alpha$
 $N' : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow N' : \alpha \quad PP : \beta$
 $N' : \beta \rightarrow N : \beta$
 $VP : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow V : \beta \quad NP : \alpha$
 $VP : \beta(\gamma)(\alpha) \rightarrow V : \beta \quad NP : \alpha \quad NP : \gamma$
 $VP : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow VP : \alpha \quad PP : \beta$
 $VP : \beta \rightarrow V : \beta$
 $PP : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow P : \beta \quad NP : \alpha$

A grammar fragment

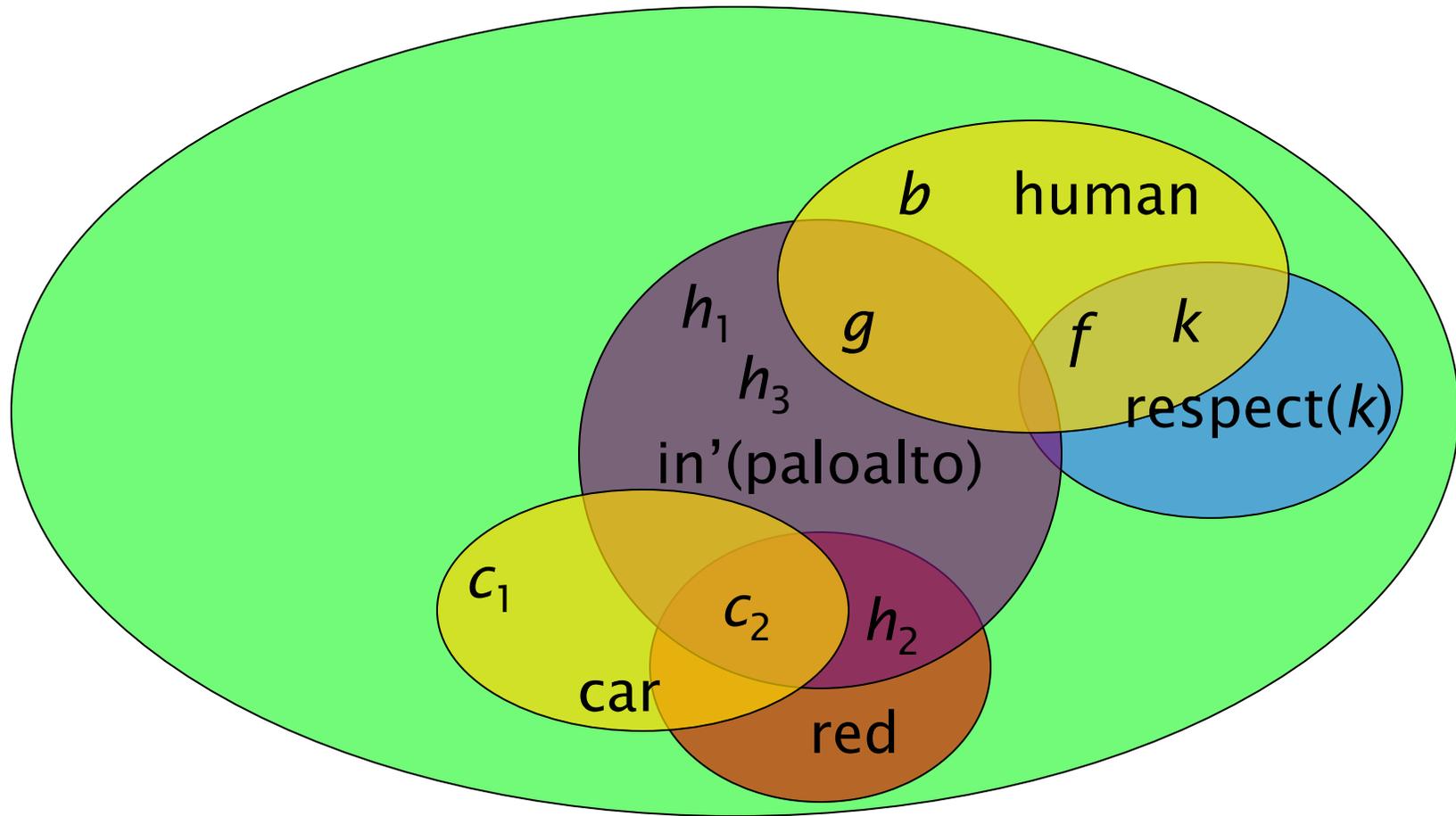
- *Kathy*, NP : **kathy**_{Ind}
- Fong*, NP : **fong**_{Ind}
- Palo Alto*, NP : **paloalto**_{Ind}
- car*, N : **car**_{Ind} → **Bool**
- overpriced*, Adj : **overpriced**_{(Ind → Bool) → (Ind → Bool)}
- outside*, PP : **outside**_{(Ind → Bool) → (Ind → Bool)}
- red*, Adj : $\lambda P.(\lambda x.P(x) \wedge \mathbf{red}'(x))$
- in*, P : $\lambda y.\lambda P.\lambda x.(P(x) \wedge \mathbf{in}'(y)(x))$
- the*, Det : ι
- a*, Det : **some**²_{(Ind → Bool) → (Ind → Bool) → Bool}
- runs*, V : **run**_{Ind → Bool}
- respects*, V : **respect**_{Ind → Ind → Bool}
- likes*, V : **like**_{Ind → Ind → Bool}

A grammar fragment

- **in'** is **Ind** \rightarrow **Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**
- **in** $\stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda y. \lambda P. \lambda x. (P(x) \wedge \mathbf{in}'(y)(x))$ is **Ind** \rightarrow (**Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**) \rightarrow (**Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**)
- **red'** is **Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**
- **red** $\stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda P. (\lambda x. (P(x) \wedge \mathbf{red}'(x)))$ is (**Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**) \rightarrow (**Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**)



Model theory – A formalization of a “database”



Properties



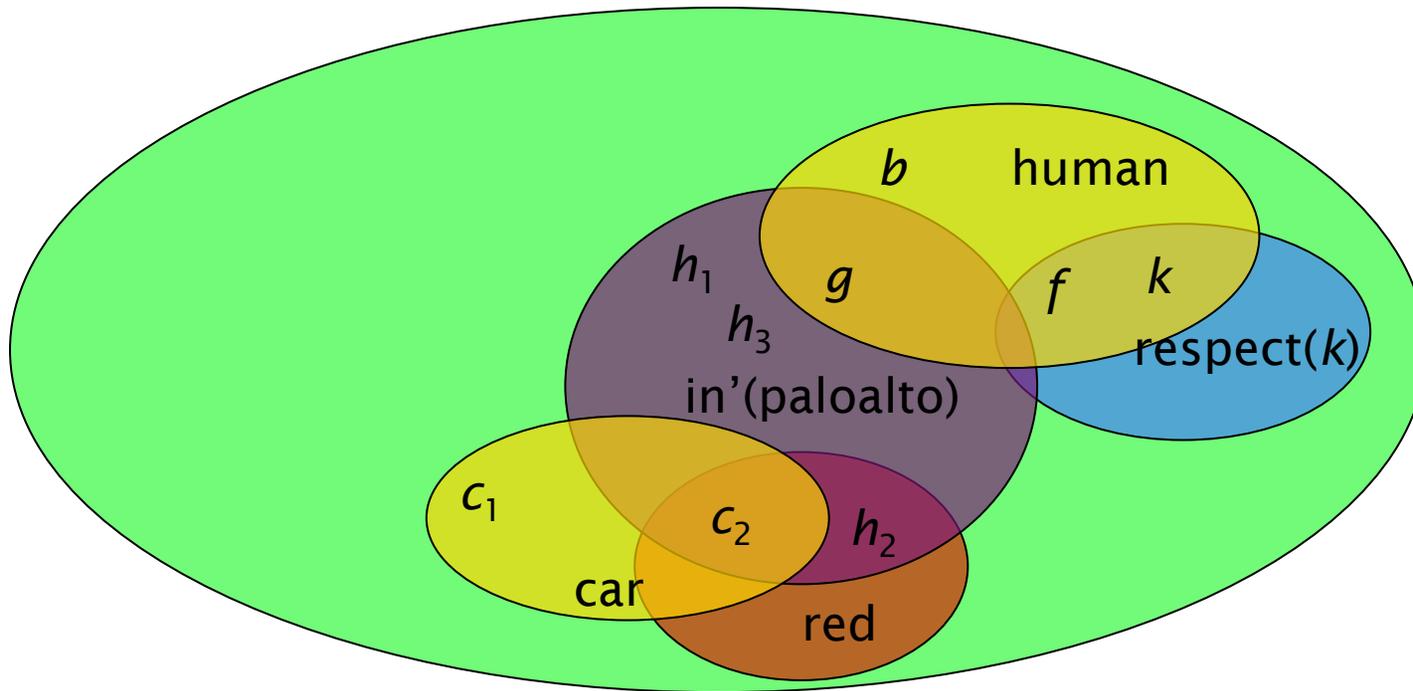
Curried multi-argument functions

$$\llbracket \text{respect} \rrbracket = \llbracket \lambda y. \lambda x. \text{respect}(x, y) \rrbracket = \left[\begin{array}{l} f \mapsto \left[\begin{array}{l} f \mapsto 0 \\ k \mapsto 1 \\ b \mapsto 0 \end{array} \right. \\ k \mapsto \left[\begin{array}{l} f \mapsto 1 \\ k \mapsto 1 \\ b \mapsto 0 \end{array} \right. \\ b \mapsto \left[\begin{array}{l} f \mapsto 1 \\ k \mapsto 0 \\ b \mapsto 0 \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$$

$$\llbracket \lambda x. \lambda y. \text{respect}(y)(x)(b)(f) \rrbracket = 1$$



Quiz question



- Which individuals are the red things in Palo Alto?
- Who respects kathy (*k*)?

Adjective and PP modification

- $$N' : \lambda x. \text{car}(x) \wedge \text{in}'(\text{paloalto})(x) \wedge \text{red}'(x)$$

Adj : $\lambda P. (\lambda x. P(x) \wedge \text{red}'(x))$ N' : $\lambda x. (\text{car}(x) \wedge \text{in}'(\text{paloalto})(x))$

|
red

N' : **car** PP : $\lambda P. \lambda x. (P(x) \wedge \text{in}'(\text{paloalto})(x))$

| | | |

N : **car** P : $\lambda y. \lambda P. \lambda x. (P(x) \wedge \text{in}'(y)(x))$ NP : **paloalto**

| | |

car *in* *Palo Alto*
- $$N' : \lambda x. \text{car}(x) \wedge \text{in}'(\text{paloalto})(x) \wedge \text{red}'(x)$$

N' : $\lambda x. \text{car}(x) \wedge \text{in}'(\text{paloalto})(x) \wedge \text{red}'(x)$

N' : $\lambda x. (\text{car}(x) \wedge \text{red}'(x))$ PP : $\lambda P. \lambda x. (P(x) \wedge \text{in}'(\text{paloalto})(x))$

Adj : $\lambda P. (\lambda x. P(x) \wedge \text{red}'(x))$ N' : **car** P : $\lambda y. \lambda P. \lambda x. (P(x) \wedge \text{in}'(y)(x))$ NP : **paloalto**

| | | |

red N : **car** *in* *Palo Alto*

|

car

Intersective adjectives

- Syntactic ambiguity is spurious: you get the same semantics either way
- Database evaluation is possible via a table join

Non-intersective adjectives

- For non-intersective adjectives get different semantics depending on what they modify
- **overpriced(in(paloalto)(house))**
- **in(paloalto)(overpriced(house))**
- But probably won't be able to evaluate it on database!



Adding more complex NPs

NP: A man $\sim \rightarrow \exists x.\text{man}(x)$

S: A man loves Mary

$\sim \rightarrow$ * $\text{love}(\exists x.\text{man}(x), \text{mary})$

- How to fix this?



A disappointment

Our first idea for NPs with determiner didn't work out:

“A man”

$\sim \rightarrow \exists z.\text{man}(z)$

“A man loves Mary”

$\sim \rightarrow * \text{love}(\exists z.\text{man}(z), \text{mary})$

But what was the idea after all?

Nothing!

$\exists z.\text{man}(z)$ just isn't the meaning of “a man”.

If anything, it translates the complete sentence

“There is a man”

Let's try again, systematically...



A solution for quantifiers

What we want is:

“A man loves Mary” $\sim>$ $\exists z(\text{man}(z) \wedge \text{love}(z, \text{mary}))$

What we have is:

“man” $\sim>$ $\lambda y. \text{man}(y)$

“loves Mary” $\sim>$ $\lambda x. \text{love}(x, \text{mary})$

How about: $\exists z(\lambda y. \text{man}(y)(z) \wedge \lambda x. \text{love}(x, \text{mary})(z))$

Remember: We can use variables for any kind of term.

So next:

$\lambda P(\lambda Q. \exists z(P(z) \wedge Q(z))) \quad <\sim \text{“A”}$

Why things get more complex

- When doing predicate logic did you wonder why:
 - *Kathy runs* is **run(kathy)**
 - *no kid runs* is $\neg(\exists x)(\mathbf{kid}(x) \wedge \mathbf{run}(x))$
- Somehow the NP's meaning is wrapped around the predicate
- Or consider why this argument doesn't hold:
 - Nothing is better than a life of peace and prosperity.
A cold egg salad sandwich is better than nothing.

A cold egg salad sandwich is better than a life
of peace and prosperity.
- The problem is that *nothing* is a quantifier

Generalized Quantifiers

- We have a reasonable semantics for *red car in Palo Alto* as a property from **Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**
- How do we represent noun phrases like *the red car in Palo Alto* or *every red car in Palo Alto*?
- $\llbracket \iota \rrbracket (P) = a$ if $(P(b) = \mathbf{1} \text{ iff } b = a)$
undefined, otherwise
- The semantics for *the* following Bertrand Russell, for whom *the x* meant the unique item satisfying a certain description

Generalized Quantifiers

- *red car in Palo Alto*

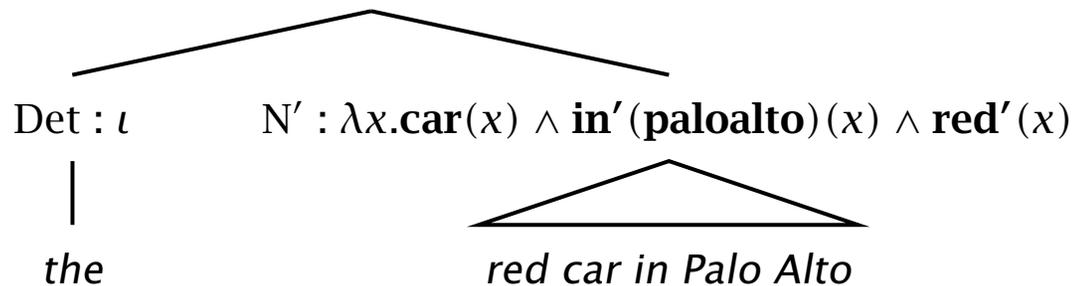
select Cars.obj from Cars, Locations, Red where
Cars.obj = Locations.obj AND

Locations.place = 'paloalto' AND Cars.obj = Red.obj

(here we assume the unary relations have one field,
obj).

Generalized Quantifiers

- *the red car in Palo Alto*
- NP : $\iota(\lambda x. \text{car}(x) \wedge \text{in}'(\text{paloalto})(x) \wedge \text{red}'(x))$



- *the red car in Palo Alto*
select Cars.obj from Cars, Locations, Red where
Cars.obj = Locations.obj AND
Locations.place = 'paloalto' AND Cars.obj = Red.obj
having count(*) = 1

Generalized Quantifiers

- What then of *every red car in Palo Alto*?
- A generalized determiner is a relation between two properties, one contributed by the restriction from the N' , and one contributed by the predicate quantified over:

$$(\mathbf{Ind} \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}) \rightarrow (\mathbf{Ind} \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}) \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$$

- Here are some determiners

$$\mathbf{some}^2(\mathbf{kid})(\mathbf{run}) \equiv \mathbf{some}(\lambda x.\mathbf{kid}(x) \wedge \mathbf{run}(x))$$

$$\mathbf{every}^2(\mathbf{kid})(\mathbf{run}) \equiv \mathbf{every}(\lambda x.\mathbf{kid}(x) \rightarrow \mathbf{run}(x))$$

Generalized Quantifiers

- Generalized determiners are implemented via the quantifiers:

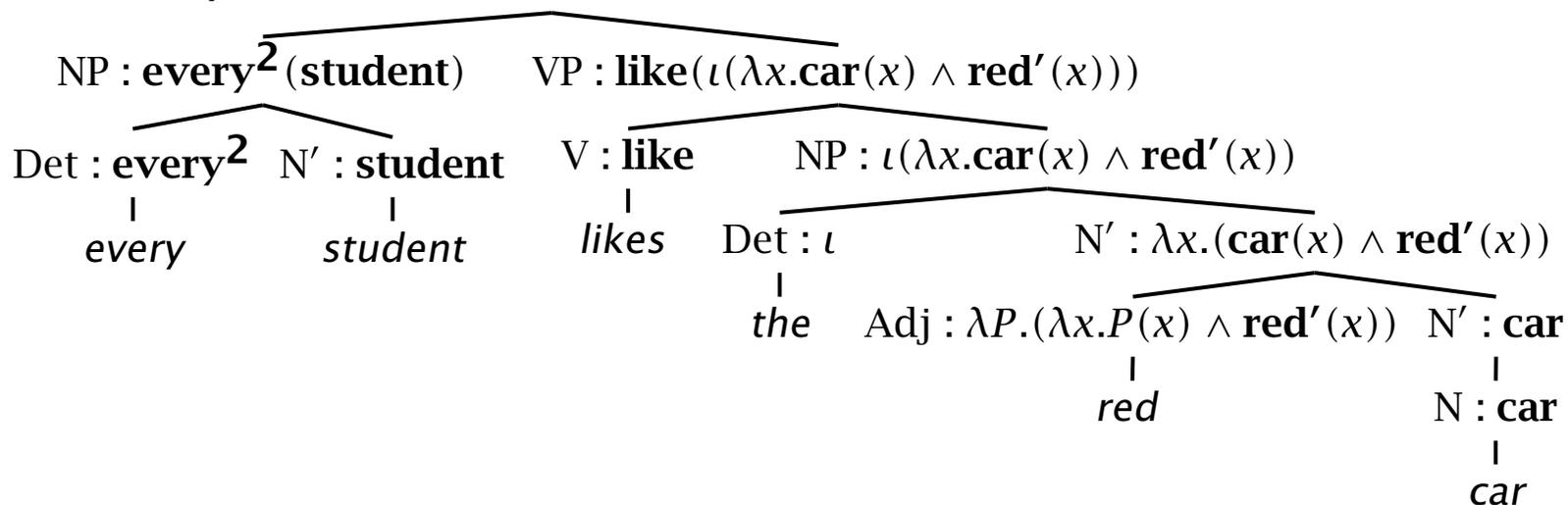
every(P) = 1 iff $(\forall x)P(x) = 1$;

i.e., if $P = \mathbf{Dom}_{\text{Ind}}$

some(P) = 1 iff $(\exists x)P(x) = 1$; i.e., if $P \neq \emptyset$

Generalized Quantifiers

- Every student likes the red car
- $S : \text{every}^2(\text{student})(\text{like}(\iota(\lambda x.\text{car}(x) \wedge \text{red}'(x))))$

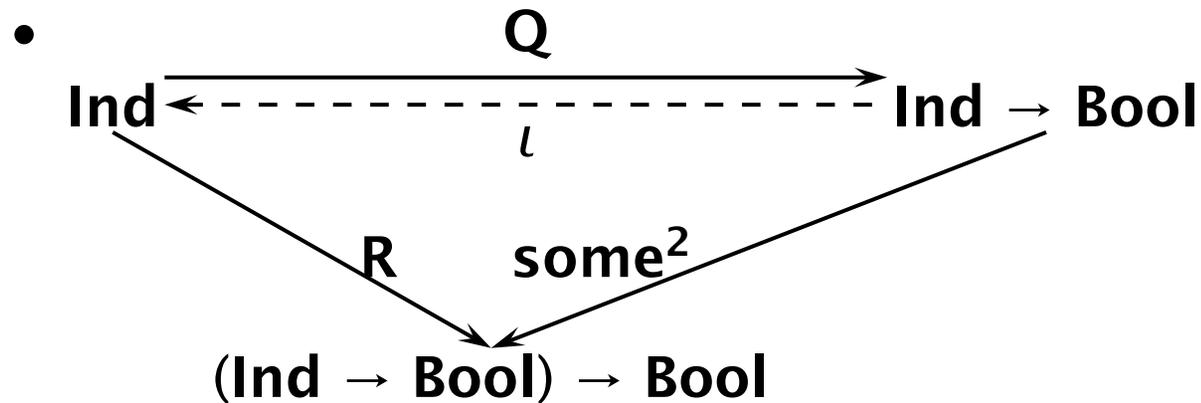


Representing proper nouns with quantifiers

- The central insight of Montague's PTQ was to treat individuals as of the same type as quantifiers (as type-raised individuals):
- *Kathy* : $\lambda P.P(\mathbf{kathy})$
- Both good and bad
- The main alternative (which we use) is flexible *type shifting* – you raise the type of something when necessary.

Nominal type shifting

- Common patterns of nominal type shifting



- $\mathbf{R}(x) = \lambda P.P(x)$
 $\mathbf{some}^2(P) = \lambda Q.(Q \cap P) \neq \emptyset$
 $\mathbf{Q}(x) = \lambda y.x = y$
- In this diagram, \mathbf{R} is exactly this basic type-raising function for individuals.

Noun phrase scope – following Hendriks (1993)

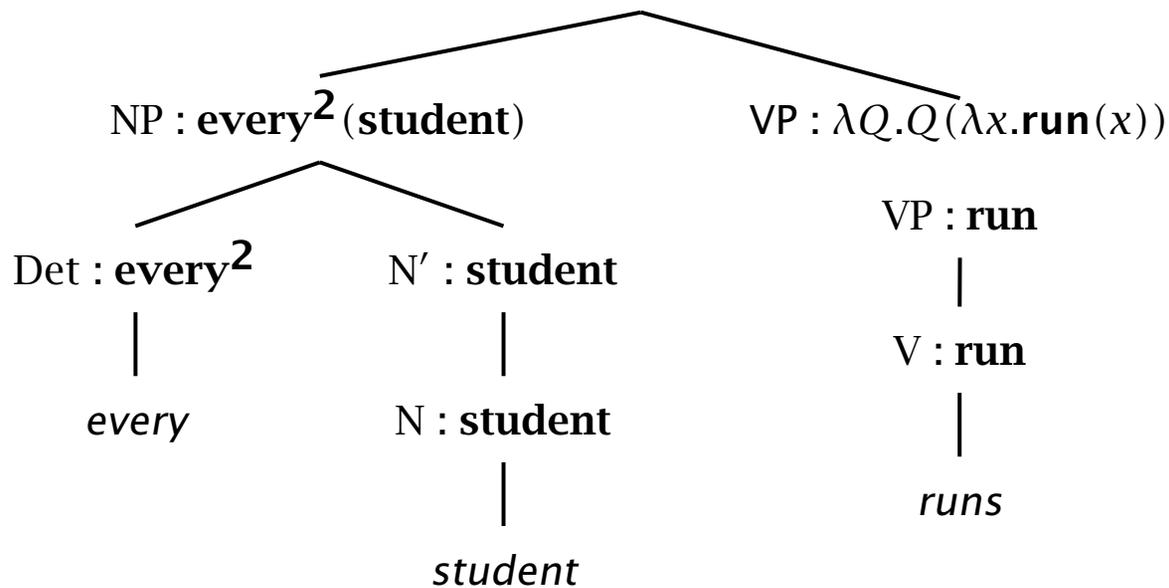
Value raising raises a function that produces an individual to one that produces a quantifier. If $\alpha : \sigma \rightarrow \mathbf{Ind}$ then $\lambda x. \lambda P. P(\alpha(x)) : \sigma \rightarrow (\mathbf{Ind} \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}) \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$

Argument raising replaces an argument of a boolean function with a variable and applies the quantifier semantically binding the replacing variable. If $\alpha : \sigma \rightarrow \mathbf{Ind} \rightarrow \tau \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$ then $\lambda x_1. \lambda Q. \lambda x_3. Q(\lambda x_2. \alpha(x_1)(x_2)(x_3)) : \sigma \rightarrow (\mathbf{Ind} \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}) \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool} \rightarrow \tau \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$

Argument lowering replaces a quantifier in a boolean function with an individual argument, where the semantics is calculated by applying the original function to the type raised argument. If $\alpha : \sigma \rightarrow ((\mathbf{Ind} \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}) \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}) \rightarrow \tau \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$ then $\lambda x_1. \lambda x_2. \lambda x_3. \alpha(x_1)(\lambda P. P(x_2))(x_3) : \sigma \rightarrow \mathbf{Ind} \rightarrow \tau \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$

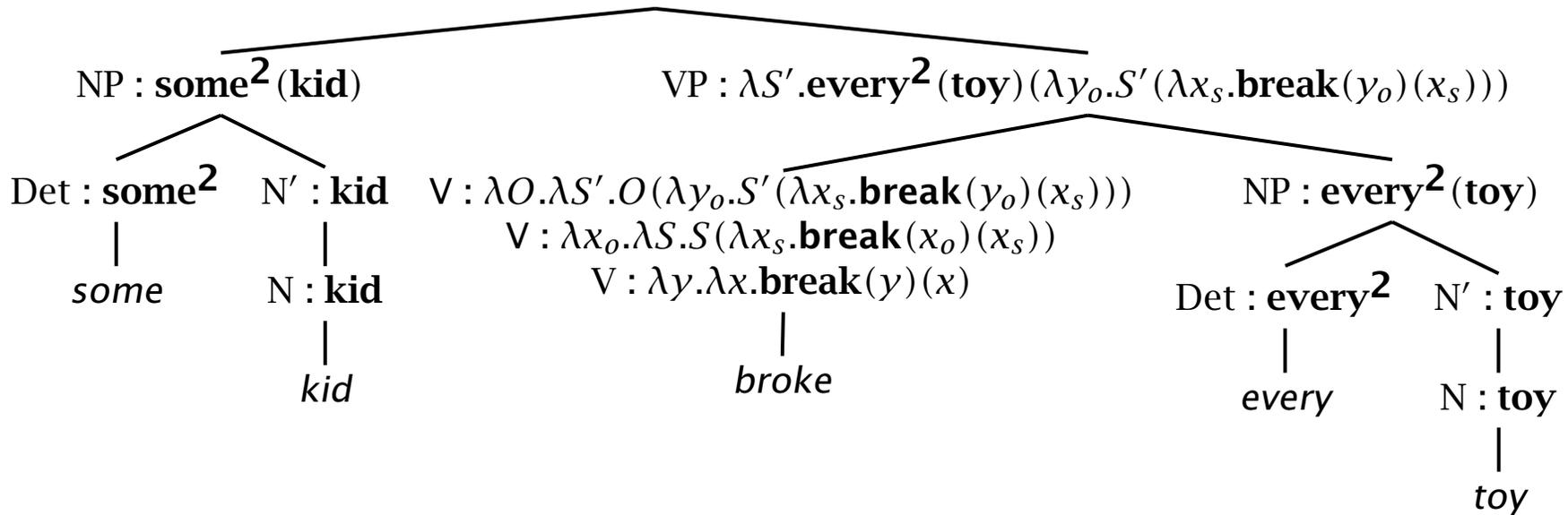
Every student runs

- $S : \mathbf{every}^2(\mathbf{student})(\mathbf{run}) \equiv \mathbf{every}(\lambda x.\mathbf{student}(x) \rightarrow \mathbf{run}(x))$



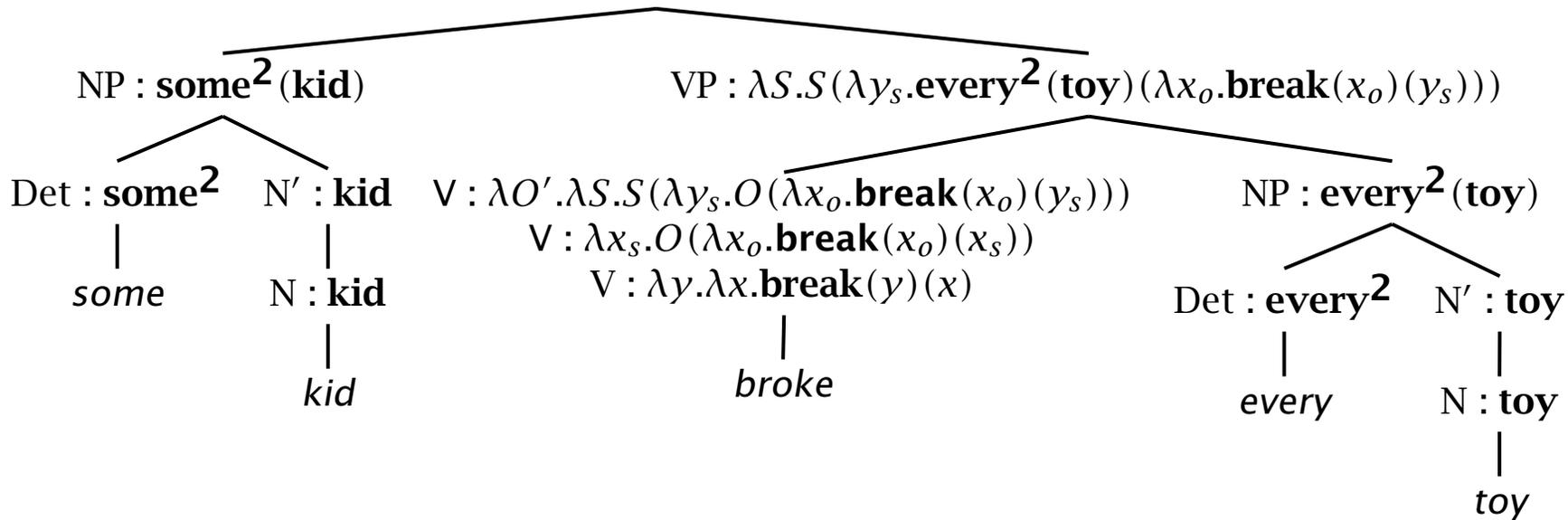
Some kid broke every toy

- $S : \text{every}^2(\text{toy})(\lambda y_o.\text{some}^2(\text{kid})(\lambda x_s.\text{break}(y_o)(x_s)))$



Some kid broke every toy

- $S : \text{some}^2(\text{kid})(\lambda y_s.\text{every}^2(\text{toy})(\lambda x_o.\text{break}(x_o)(y_s)))$



Questions with answers!

- A yes/no question (*Is Kathy running?*) will be something of type **Bool**, checked on database
- A content question (*Who likes Kathy?*) will be an *open proposition*, that is something semantically of the type *property* (**Ind** \rightarrow **Bool**), and operationally we will consult the database to see what individuals will make the statement true.
- We use a grammar with a simple form of gap-threading for question words

Syntax/semantics for questions

- $S' : \beta(\alpha) \rightarrow \text{NP}[wh] : \beta \quad \text{Aux} \quad S : \alpha$
 $S' : \alpha \rightarrow \text{Aux} \quad S : \alpha$
 $\text{NP}/\text{NP}_z : z \rightarrow e$
 $S : \lambda z.F(\dots z \dots) \rightarrow S/\text{NP}_z : F(\dots z \dots)$

Syntax/semantics for questions

- *who*, NP[*wh*] : $\lambda U.\lambda x.U(x) \wedge \mathbf{human}(x)$
what, NP[*wh*] : $\lambda U.U$
which, Det[*wh*] : $\lambda P.\lambda V.\lambda x.P(x) \wedge V(x)$
how_many, Det[*wh*] : $\lambda P.\lambda V.|\lambda x.P(x) \wedge V(x)|$
- Where $|\cdot|$ is the operation that returns the cardinality of a set (count).

Question examples

- $S' : \lambda x. \text{like}(x)(\text{kathy}) \wedge \text{human}(x)$

$NP[wh] : \lambda U. \lambda x. U(x) \wedge \text{human}(x)$ *Aux* $S : \lambda z. \text{like}(z)(\text{kathy})$
 $S/NP_z : \text{like}(z)(\text{kathy})$

Who $does$ $NP : \text{kathy}$ $VP/NP_z : \text{like}(z)$

$Kathy$ $V : \text{like}$ $NP/NP_z : z$
 $like$ e
- select liked from Likes, Humans where Likes.liker='Kathy' AND Humans.obj = Likes.liked

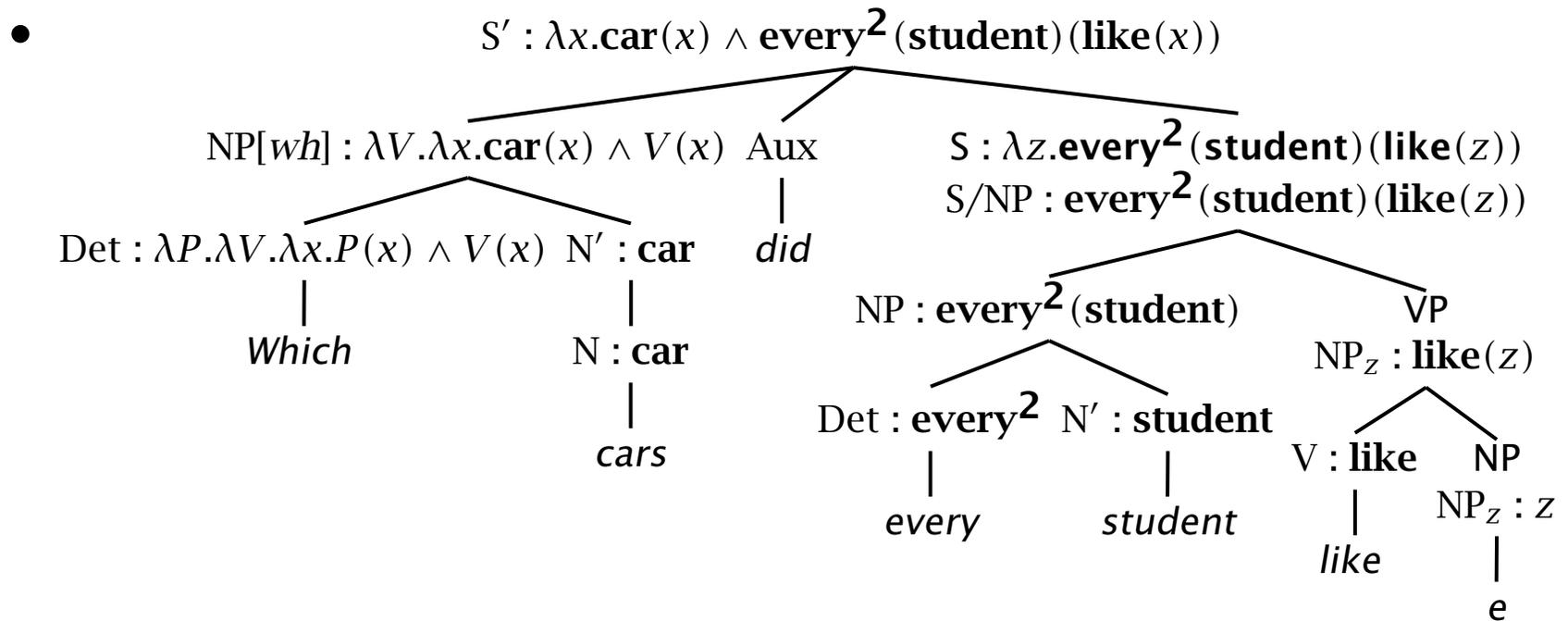
Question examples

- $S' : \lambda x. \mathbf{car}(x) \wedge \mathbf{like}(x)(\mathbf{kathy})$

$NP[wh] : \lambda V. \lambda x. \mathbf{car}(x) \wedge V(x)$ Aux $S : \lambda z. \mathbf{like}(z)(\mathbf{kathy})$
 $Det : \lambda P. \lambda V. \lambda x. P(x) \wedge V(x)$ $N' : \mathbf{car}$ $S/NP : \mathbf{like}(z)(\mathbf{kathy})$
 $Which$ $N : \mathbf{car}$ $NP : \mathbf{kathy}$ $VP/NP_z : \mathbf{like}(z)$
 $cars$ $like$ $Kathy$ $V : \mathbf{like}$ $NP/NP_z : z$
 e

 - select liked from Cars, Likes where Cars.obj=Likes.liked AND Likes.liker='Kathy'

Question examples



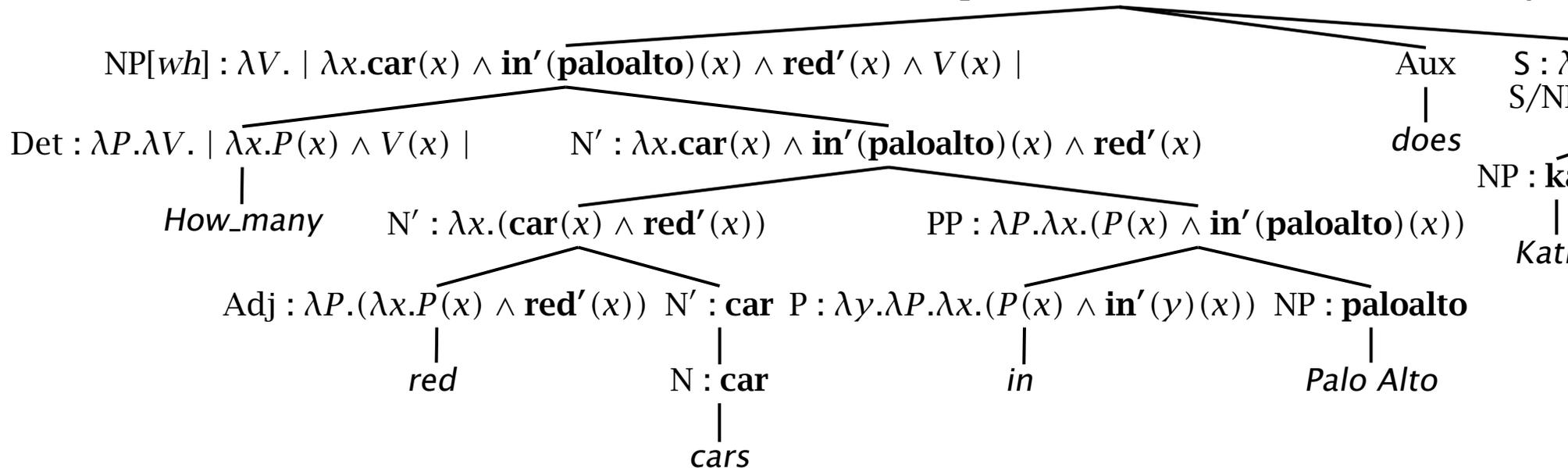
- ???

Question examples

- *How many red cars in Palo Alto does Kathy like?*
- `select count(*) from Likes,Cars,Locations,Reds where Cars.obj = Likes.liked AND Likes.liker = 'Kathy' AND Red.obj = Likes.liked AND Locations.place = 'Palo Alto' AND Locations.obj = Likes.liked`
- *Did Kathy see the red car in Palo Alto?*
- `select 'yes' where Seeings.seer = k AND Seeings.seen = (select Cars.obj from Cars, Locations, Red where Cars.obj = Locations.obj AND Locations.place = 'paloalto' AND Cars.obj = Red.obj having count(*) = 1)`

How many red cars in Palo Alto does Kathy like?

$S' : | \lambda x. \text{car}(x) \wedge \text{in}'(\text{paloalto})(x) \wedge \text{red}'(x) \wedge \text{like}(x)(\text{kathy})$



How could we learn such representations?

- After disengagement for many years, there has started to be very interesting work in this area:
 - Luke S. Zettlemoyer and Michael Collins. 2005. Learning to Map Sentences to Logical Form: Structured Classification with Probabilistic Categorical Grammars. In *Proceedings of the 21st UAI*.
 - Yuk Wah Wong and Raymond J. Mooney. 2007. Learning Synchronous Grammars for Semantic Parsing with Lambda Calculus. In *Proceedings of the 45th ACL*, pp. 960–967.

How could we learn such representations?

- General approach (ZC05): Start with initial lexicon, category templates, and paired sentences and meanings:

What states border Texas?

$\lambda x.\mathbf{state}(x) \wedge \mathbf{borders}(x, \mathbf{texas})$

- Learn lexical syntax/semantics for other words and learn to parse to logical form (parse structure is hidden).
- They successfully do iterative refinement of a lexicon and maxent parser

How can we reason with such representations?

- Logical reasoning is practical for certain domains (business rules, legal code, etc.) and has been used (see Blackburn and Bos 2005 for background).
- But our knowledge of the world is in general incomplete and uncertain.
- There is various recent work on handling *restricted* fragments of first order logic in probabilistic models
 - Lise Getoor, Nir Friedman, Daphne Koller, Avi Pfeffer, Benjamin Taskar. 2007. Probabilistic Relational Models. In *An Introduction to Statistical Relational Learning*. MIT Press.

How can we reason with such representations?

- Undirected model:
 - Pedro Domingos, Stanley Kok, Daniel Lowd, Hoifung Poon, Matthew Richardson, Parag Singla. 2008. Markov Logic. In L. De Raedt, P. Frasconi, K. Kersting and S. Muggleton (eds.), *Probabilistic Inductive Logic Programming*, pp. 92–117. Springer.
- A recent attempt to apply this to natural language inference:
 - Chloé Kiddon. 2008. Applying Markov Logic to the Task of Textual Entailment. Senior Honors Thesis, Computer Science. Stanford University.
- Logical formulae are given weights which are grounded out in an undirected markov network