# Computational Semantics <br> Day 2: Meaning representations and (predicate) logic 

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## Goals

Whatever we decide meanings to be, we want:

- a finite way to specify the meanings of the infinite set of sentences, i.e. a recursive procedure to determine the meaning of complex expressions given the meanings of lexical items and a syntactic structure (compositionality)
- to capture the relation of a natural language expression and the real world (modeltheoretic semantics)
- to capture certain semantic intuitions


## Semantic intuitions

- Semantic anomalies (despite syntactic well-formedness)
- Colourless green ideas sleep furiously.
- Forty-seven frightened sincerity.
- Contradictions
- It is raining and it is not raining.
- He is a bachelor and merrily married to Mary.
- Entailments
- Speedy Gonzales ran fast. $\rightarrow$ Speedy Gonzalez ran.
- Every human is mortal. $\rightarrow$ Chomsky is mortal.


## Outline

(1) Form and Content
(2) First-order predicate logic
(3) Logical formulas as meaning representations

## Form and Content

## Form in Haskell: User defined data types

Imagine we want to use types that correspond to syntactic categories like S, NP, VP and capture their internal structure.

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Imagine we want to use types that correspond to syntactic categories like S, NP, VP and capture their internal structure.

Instead of coding them as a combination of strings, we want to define structure trees for them.

This can be done with user defined data types.

## Type definitions

## General form:

data type_name (type_parameters) $=$ constructor $_{1} t_{11} \ldots t_{1 i}$ constructor $_{2} t_{21} \ldots t_{2 j}$ constructor $_{n} t_{n 1} \ldots t_{n k}$

## This can be used to create:

- enumeration types
- composite types
- recursive types
- parametric types


## Example: Enumeration types

data type_name (type_parameters) $=$ constructor $_{1} t_{11} \ldots t_{1 i}$ constructor $_{2} t_{21} \ldots t_{2 j}$ constructor $_{n} t_{n 1} \ldots t_{n k}$

## Examples:

```
module Day2 where
--data Bool = True / False
data Season = Spring | Summer | Autumn | Winter
data Temperature = Hot | Cold | Moderate
```


## Example: Enumeration types

Now, we can define a function using objects of type Season and Temperature.

```
weather :: Season -> Temperature
weather Summer = Hot
weather Winter = Cold
weather _ = Moderate
```


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Now, we can define a function using objects of type Season and Temperature.

```
weather :: Season -> Temperature
weather Summer = Hot
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```

But user-defined types do not automatically have operators for equality, ordering, show, etc.
> weather Spring
No instance for (Show Temperature)
arising from a use of 'print' at <interactive>:1:0-13

## Instance declarations for Show

In order to display user-defined types, we can either define the function show :: Typename -> String explicitely...

```
instance Show Season where
    show Spring = "Spring"
    show Summer = "Summer"
    show Autumn = "Autumn"
    show Winter = "Winter"
```


## Instance declarations for Show

In order to display user-defined types, we can either define the function show :: Typename -> String explicitely...

```
instance Show Season where
    show Spring = "Spring"
    show Summer = "Summer"
    show Autumn = "Autumn"
    show Winter = "Winter"
```

... or derive it.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { data Season }= & \text { Spring | Summer | Autumn | Winter } \\
& \text { deriving Show }
\end{aligned}
$$

## Example: Composite types

data type_name (type_parameters) \begin{tabular}{c}
$=$ constructor $_{1} t_{11} \ldots t_{1 i}$ <br>

$\left\lvert\,$| constructor |
| :---: |
| 2 |$t_{21} \ldots t_{2 j}\right.$ <br>

$\ldots$ <br>
constructor ${ }_{n} t_{n 1} \ldots t_{n k}$
\end{tabular}

## Examples:

```
data Book = Book Int String [String]
data Color = White | Black | RGB Int Int Int
```


## Example: Recursive types

data type_name (type_parameters) $=$ constructor $_{1} t_{11} \ldots t_{1 i}$ constructor $_{2} t_{21} \ldots t_{2 j}$ constructor $_{n} t_{n 1} \ldots t_{n k}$

## Example:

```
data Tree = Leaf | Branch Tree Tree
```


## Example: Polymorphic types

data type_name (type_parameters) $=$ constructor $_{1} t_{11} \ldots t_{1 i}$

$\left\lvert\,$| constructor |
| :---: |
| 2 |$t_{21} \ldots t_{2 j}\right.$

$\ldots$
constructor ${ }_{n} t_{n 1} \ldots t_{n k}$

## Examples:

data Maybe a = Nothing | Just a
data List a $=$ Nil | Cons a (List a)
data Tree a = Leaf a | Branch (Tree a) (Tree a)

## From context-free grammars to datatypes

Now we can define types like the following:
data $S=S$ NP VP
data $N=$ Boy | Princess | Dwarf | Giant | Wizard
I.e. we treat categories (non-terminals) as types, and words (terminals) as data constructors. This gives us a very straightforward way to express a context-free grammar by means of datatypes.

## A context-free grammar in Haskell

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { S } & ::=\text { NP VP } \\
\text { NP } & ::=\text { NAME } \mid \text { DET N | DET RN } \\
\text { ADJ } & :=\text { happy } \mid \text { drunken } \mid \text { evil } \\
\text { NAME }: & :=\text { Atreyu } \mid \text { Dorothy } \mid \text { Goldilocks } \mid \text { Snow White } \\
\text { N } & :=\text { boy | princess } \mid \text { dwarf } \mid \text { wizard } \mid \text { ADJ N } \\
\text { RN } & :=\mathbf{N} \text { REL VP } \mid \text { N REL NP TV } \\
\text { REL } & :=\text { that } \\
\text { DET } & :=\text { some } \mid \text { every } \mid \text { no } \\
\text { VP } & :=\mathbf{I V} \mid \text { TV NP } \mid \text { DV NP NP } \\
\text { IV } & :=\text { cheered } \mid \text { laughed } \mid \text { shuddered } \\
\text { TV } & ::=\text { admired } \mid \text { helped } \mid \text { defeated } \mid \text { found } \\
\text { DV } & :=\text { gave }
\end{aligned}
$$

## A context-free grammar in Haskell

```
data S = S NP VP
    NP ::= NAME|DET N|DET RN
    ADJ ::= happy | drunken | evil
NAME ::= Atreyu | Dorothy| Goldilocks| Snow White
        N ::= boy| princess | dwarf | wizard| ADJ N
    RN ::=N REL VP|N REL NP TV
    REL ::= that
    DET ::= some | every| no
    VP::= IV | TV NP|DV NP NP
    IV ::= cheered | laughed | shuddered
    TV ::= admired | helped | defeated | found
    DV ::= gave
```


## A context-free grammar in Haskell

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { data } \mathrm{S}=\mathrm{S} \text { NP VP } \\
& \text { data NP }=\text { NP1 NAME | NP2 DET N | NP3 DET RN } \\
& \text { ADJ }::=\text { happy } \mid \text { drunken } \mid \text { evil } \\
& \text { NAME }::=\text { Atreyu } \mid \text { Dorothy } \mid \text { Goldilocks | Snow White } \\
& \mathbf{N}::=\text { boy } \mid \text { princess } \mid \text { dwarf } \mid \text { wizard } \mid \text { ADJ N } \\
& \text { RN }::=\mathbf{N} \text { REL VP } \mid \text { N REL NP TV } \\
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& \text { DET }::=\text { some } \mid \text { every } \mid \text { no } \\
& \text { VP }::=\text { IV } \mid \text { TV NP } \mid \text { DV NP NP } \\
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        data S = S NP VP
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NAME ::= Atreyu | Dorothy| Goldilocks| Snow White
        N ::= boy| princess | dwarf | wizard|ADJ N
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& \text { data NAME }=\text { Atreyu | Dorothy | Goldilocks | SnowWhite } \\
& \mathbf{N}::=\text { boy } \mid \text { princess } \mid \text { dwarf } \mid \text { wizard } \mid \text { ADJ N } \\
& \text { RN }::=\mathbf{N} \text { REL VP } \mid \mathbf{N} \text { REL NP TV } \\
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```


## Haskell Version Again

```
data S = S NP VP deriving Show
data NP = NP1 NAME | NP2 DET N | NP3 DET RN
    deriving Show
data ADJ = Happy | Drunken | Evil
    deriving Show
data NAME = Atreyu | Dorothy | Goldilocks | SnowWhite
    deriving Show
data N = Boy | Princess | Dwarf | Giant | Wizard | N ADJ N
    deriving Show
data RN = RN1 N That VP | RN2 N That NP TV
    deriving Show
data That = That deriving Show
data DET = A_ | Some | Every | No | The
    deriving Show
data VP = VP1 IV | VP2 TV NP | VP3 DV NP NP deriving Show
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- No princess laughed.

```
s1 : : S
s1 = S (NP2 No Princess) (VP1 Laughed)
```


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Well, not quite. Building structures from strings is called parsing ...

- every drunken wizard

```
np :: NP
np = NP2 Every (N Drunken Wizard)
```

- No princess laughed.

```
s1 : : S
s1 = S (NP2 No Princess) (VP1 Laughed)
```

- Atreyu found the princess.

```
s2 : : S
s2 = S (NP1 Atreyu) (VP2 Found (NP2 The Princess))
```


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Structure trees that do not 'belong' to the tree language are not well-typed.
> S Princess Cheered
<interactive>:1:2:
Couldn't match expected type ' $N P$ ' against inferred type ' $N$ ' In the first argument of ' S ', namely 'Princess'
In the expression: $S$ Princess Laughed
In the definition of 'it': it $=$ S Princess Laughed

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Restrict attention to declarative sentences. Declarative sentences are sentences that can be either true or false in a given context.

It is raining today in Ljubljana and I am Dutch are declarative sentences. If they are uttered, the context of utterance fixes the meaning of today and $l$, and the uttered sentences are either true or false in that context.

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Restrict attention to declarative sentences. Declarative sentences are sentences that can be either true or false in a given context.

It is raining today in Ljubljana and I am Dutch are declarative sentences. If they are uttered, the context of utterance fixes the meaning of today and $l$, and the uttered sentences are either true or false in that context.

Let's try to be smarter next time is not a declarative sentence. Is drinking coffee bad for you? is not a declarative sentence either.

## Sameness of Meaning

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But what does 'interpretation of a sentence in a situation' mean?
To replace the intuitive understanding by a precise understanding one can look at formal examples: the language of predicate logic and its semantics, or the Haskell language, and its interpretation.

## The study of meaning

Lexical semantics:

- What are the meanings of words?

Compositional semantics:

- What are the meanings of phrases and sentences?
- And how are the meanings of phrases and sentences derived from the meanings of words?


## What is the meaning of words?



Meaning is...

## What is the meaning of words?



Meaning is...

- about the world out there


## What is the meaning of words?



Meaning is...

- about the world out there
- related to something in the mind (thoughts, ideas, concepts)


## Formalizing word meanings

- semantic feature sets, e.g.
[bachelor』 $=[+$ MALE,+ ADULT,- MARRIED $]$
- conceptual representations, e.g. fuzzy concepts with a prototype centroid

We will stay agnostic to what the meanings of words are.
For us it will suffice to have a formal representation of them, that stands proxy for whatever we assume meanings to be (i.e. that are pointers to concepts or real world objects or something else).

## Sentence meanings



Denotational meaning (knowing what) can be formalized as conditions for truth in situations.

## Sentence meanings



Operational meaning (knowing how) can be formalized as algorithms for performing an action.

## Meanings as truth conditions



To know the meaning of a sentence is to know how the world would have to be for the sentence to be true.
(Ludwig Wittgenstein, 1889-1951)

The meaning of words and sentence parts is their contribution to the truth-conditions of the whole sentence.

## Example

Intuitively, the sentence It is raining in Amsterdam is true if and only if it is raining in Amsterdam.

This sounds trivial, but it is not!

- How does the sentence get its truth conditions?
- What do the words contribute and how are these contributions combined?
- How does structure affect truth conditions?

Also, in order to specify a formal procedure for computing the truth conditions of a sentence, the metalanguage should be a formal language (and not English).

## The principle of compositionality

The meaning of a complex expression is a function of the meanings of its parts and of the syntactic rules by which they are combined.

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The meaning of a complex expression is a function of the meanings of its parts and of the syntactic rules by which they are combined.

## This is a methodological issue:

The question is not whether natural languages satisfy the principle of compositionality, but rather whether we can and want to design meaning assembly in a way that this principle is respected.

## Modeltheoretic semantics

A particular approach to truth-conditional semantics is modeltheoretic semantics. It represents the world as a mathematical structure - a model - and relates natural language expressions to this structure.

## Modeltheoretic semantics

A model should comprise all parts of the world relevant for interpretation:

- entities
(Atreyu, princesses, wizards, and other people)
- information about which properties these entities satisfy (being happy, laughing, etc.)
- information about which relations hold between which entities (admiring, defeating, etc.)
- maybe contextual parameters like time and place


## Modeltheoretic semantics

We say that natural language expressions denote objects in the model.

| Expression | Modeltheoretic object |
| :--- | :--- |
| sentence | truth value |
| proper name | entity |
| nouns | unary predicates (properties) |
| adjectives | unary predicates (properties) |
| intransitive verbs | unary predicates (properties) |
| transitive verbs | binary predicates (relations) |

We will demonstrate the workings of a compositional modeltheoretic semantics using the example of first-order predicate logic (FOL), which we will need to know anyway as we are going to use it as formal metalanguage for meaning representations.

## First-order predicate logic

Sentences denote propositions (linguistic entities that can be ascribed a truth value, i.e. something like a statement).

In order to be able to talk about the internal structure of propositions, first-order predicate logic provides us with names of objects, predicates for attributing properties to objects, and quantifiers for quantifying over objects.

## Vocabulary of FOL

- variables $x, \ldots$
- individual constants $c, \ldots$
- predicate constants $R, \ldots$ of different arities
- logical constants:
- unary connective $\neg$
- binary connectives $\wedge, \vee, \rightarrow$
- quantifiers $\forall, \exists$
- auxiliary symbols (brackets)


## Syntax of FOL

- Variables and constants are terms.
- If $t_{1}, \ldots, t_{n}$ are terms and $R$ is an $n$-place predicate constant, then $R\left(t_{1}, \ldots, t_{n}\right)$ is a formula.
- For $x$ a variable and $F$ a formula, $\forall x . F$ and $\exists x . F$ are formulas.
- If $F_{1}$ and $F_{2}$ are formulas, then so are $\left(F_{1} \wedge F_{2}\right),\left(F_{1} \vee F_{2}\right), \neg F_{1}$, and $\left(F_{1} \rightarrow F_{2}\right)$.
- Nothing else is a formula.


## Examples

- $R(x, y)$
- $\forall x . P(x)$
- $R(x, y, z) \wedge \exists y .(P(y) \rightarrow Q(y))$


## Notational conventions:

- In $\exists x . F$ and $\forall x . F$, the dot (and thus the scope of the quantifier) extends as far to the right as possible.
- We use $x, y, z \ldots$ for variables, $P, Q, R, \ldots$ for relation symbols, and omit brackets when they are not necessary.


## A grammar for FOL

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Const }::=c \mid \text { Const' } \\
& \text { Var }::=x \mid \text { Var } \\
& \text { Rel }:=R \mid \text { Rel }^{\prime} \\
& \text { Term }::=\text { Const } \mid \text { Var } \\
& \text { Formula }:=\operatorname{Rel}_{n}\left(\text { Term }_{1}, \ldots, \text { Term }_{n}\right) \\
& \mid \forall \text { Var. Formula } \mid \exists \text { Var. Formula } \\
& \mid(\text { Formula } \wedge \text { Formula }) \mid(\text { Formula } \vee \text { Formula }) \\
& \mid \neg \text { Formula } \mid(\text { Formula } \rightarrow \text { Formula })
\end{aligned}
$$

Where $n \in \mathbb{N}$ encodes the arity of a relation symbol.

## Implementation

```
data Term = Var Int
    | Const String
    deriving Eq
data Formula = Atom String [Term]
    | Neg Formula
    | Conj [Formula]
    | Disj [Formula]
    | Impl Formula Formula
    | Forall Int Formula
    | Exists Int Formula
    deriving Eq
```


## Implementation

```
instance Show Term where
    show (Var n) = show n
    show (Const s) = s
instance Show Formula where
    show (Atom s []) = s
    show (Atom s ts) = s ++"("++ showLst "," ts ++")"
    show (Neg f) = "~" ++ show f
    show (Conj fs) = showLst " AND " fs
    show (Disj fs) = showLst " OR " fs
    show (Impl f1 f2) = show f1 ++ " -> " ++ show f2
    show (Forall n f) = "FORALL " ++ show n ++ "." ++ show f
    show (Exists n f) = "EXISTS " ++ show n ++ "." ++ show f
```


## Implementation

```
showLst :: Show a => String -> [a] -> String
showLst _ [] = []
showLst s (x:xs) | null xs = show x
| otherwise = show x ++ s ++ showLst s xs
```


## Bound and free variables

An instance of a variable $v$ is bound if is in the scope of an instance of the quantifier $\forall v$ or $\exists v$ (i.e. occurs in a formula $F$ in $\forall v . F$ or $\exists v . F$ ), otherwise it is free.

Feel free to try implementing corresponding functions bound and free in Haskell!

## Semantics of FOL

Formulas are interpreted with respect to a model $M=\langle\mathcal{D}, \mathcal{I}\rangle$, where

- $\mathcal{D}$ is a domain of entities
- $\mathcal{I}$ is an interpretation function that specifies an appropriate semantic value for each constant of the language:
- individual constants are interpreted as elements of $\mathcal{D}$ (i.e. objects in the domain)
- $n$-place predicate constants $R$ are interpreted as $n$-ary relations on $\mathcal{D}$ (i.e. relations over objects in the domain)
and an assignment function $g$ that maps each variable to an element of the domain $\mathcal{D}$.


## Truth of formulas

We write $\llbracket F \rrbracket^{M, g}$ for the interpretation of formula $F$ relative to $M, g$.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\llbracket R^{n}\left(t_{1}, \ldots, t_{n}\right) \rrbracket^{M, g} & =1 \text { iff }\left(\mathcal{I}\left(t_{1}\right), \ldots, \mathcal{I}\left(t_{n}\right)\right) \in \mathcal{I}(R) \\
\llbracket F_{1} \wedge F_{2} \rrbracket^{M, g} & =1 \text { iff } \llbracket F_{1} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { and } \llbracket F_{2} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \\
\llbracket F_{1} \vee F_{2} \rrbracket^{M, g} & =1 \text { iff } \llbracket F_{1} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { or } \llbracket F_{2} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \\
\llbracket \neg F \rrbracket^{M, g} & =1 \text { iff } \llbracket F \rrbracket^{M, g}=0
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\llbracket F_{1} \rightarrow F_{2} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { iff not both } \llbracket F_{1} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { and } \llbracket F_{2} \rrbracket^{M, g}=0
$$

$$
\llbracket \forall v \cdot F \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { iff for all } d \in \mathcal{D} \text { it holds that } \llbracket F \rrbracket^{M, g[v:=d]}=1
$$

$$
\llbracket \exists v . F \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { iff there is some } d \in \mathcal{D} \text { such that } \llbracket F \rrbracket^{M, g[v:=d]}=1
$$

Where $g[v:=d]$ is the variable assigment which assigns $d$ to the variable $v$, and is identical to $g$ otherwise.

## Example

$$
\llbracket P(x) \rightarrow \exists y \cdot Q(y) \wedge R(a, y) \rrbracket^{M, g}=1
$$

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- iff not both $\llbracket P(x) \rrbracket^{M, g}=1$ and $\llbracket \exists y \cdot Q(y) \wedge R(a, y) \rrbracket^{M, g}=0$


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- iff not both $g(x) \in \mathcal{I}(P)$ and there is no $d \in \mathcal{D}$ such that $\llbracket Q(y) \wedge R(a, y) \rrbracket^{M, g[y:=d]}=1$


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- iff not both $g(x) \in \mathcal{I}(P)$ and there is no $d \in \mathcal{D}$ such that $g[y:=d](y) \in \mathcal{I}(Q)$ and $(\mathcal{I}(a), g[y:=d](y)) \in \mathcal{I}(R)$


## Reformulation using Lists

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \llbracket R^{n}\left[t_{1}, \ldots, t_{n} \rrbracket \rrbracket^{M, g}\right.=1 \text { iff }\left[\mathcal{I}\left(t_{1}\right), \ldots, \mathcal{I}\left(t_{n}\right)\right] \in \mathcal{I}(R) \\
& \llbracket \neg F \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { iff } \llbracket F \rrbracket^{M, g}=0 \\
& \llbracket \wedge\left[F_{1}, \ldots, F_{n} \rrbracket^{M, g}\right.=1 \text { iff } \llbracket F_{1} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { and } \ldots \text { and } \llbracket F_{n} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \\
& \llbracket \vee\left[F_{1}, \ldots, F_{n} \rrbracket^{M, g}\right.=1 \text { iff } \llbracket F_{1} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { or } \ldots \text { or } \llbracket F_{n} \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \\
& \mathbb{V v . F \rrbracket ^ { M , g }}=1 \text { iff for all } d \in \mathcal{D} \text { it holds that } \llbracket F \rrbracket^{M, g[v:=d]}=1 \\
& \llbracket \exists v . F \rrbracket^{M, g}=1 \text { iff there is some } d \in \mathcal{D} \text { such that } \llbracket F \rrbracket^{M, g[v:=d]}=1
\end{aligned}
$$

## Implementation

```
data Model = Model { domain :: Domain,
                mapping :: ConstantMapping,
                interpretation :: Interpretation }
type Domain = [Entity]
type ConstantMapping = String -> Entity
type Interpretation = String -> [Entity] -> Bool
type Assignment = Int -> Entity
```


## Implementation of $g[v:=d]$

The implementation of model checking for predicate logic is straightforward, once we have captured the notion $g[v:=d]$.

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```
change :: (Int -> a) -> Int -> a -> Int -> a
change s x d = \ v -> if x == v then d else s v
```

Now change g x d is the implementation of $g[x:=d]$.

## Implementation of $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{M, g}$

```
eval :: Model -> Assignment -> Formula -> Bool
eval m g (Atom s ts) = (interpretation m) s
    (map (intTerm m g) ts)
eval m g (Neg f) = not $ eval m g f
eval m g (Conj fs) = and $ map (eval m g) fs
eval m g (Disj fs) = or $ map (eval m g) fs
eval m g (Impl f1 f2) = not ((eval m g f1)
    && not (eval m g f2))
```

evil mg (Forall nf) =
all ( $\backslash d$-> val $m$ (change $g n d$ ) f) (domain $m$ )
evil mg (Exists nf) =
any ( $\backslash \mathrm{d}->$ val $m$ (change $g \mathrm{n}$ d) f) (domain $m$ )

```
intTerm :: Model -> Assignment -> Term -> Entity
intTerm m g (Var n) = g n
intTerm m g (Const s) = (mapping m) s
```


## Satisfiability

The question whether a predicate logical formula is satisfiable, i.e. whether there is a model and an assignment that make it true, is not decidable, i.e. there is no method that tells us for an any formula in a finite number of steps, whether the answer is yes or no.

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Note: However, there are fragments of first-order predicate logic that are decidable, e.g. the so-called $\exists^{*} \forall^{*}$-prefix class and monadic predicate logic.

## Logical formulas as meaning representations

## Direct vs indirect interpretation

natural language expression


## Indirect interpretation

Using FOL as language for meaning representations reduces the semantics of natural language to the semantics of FOL (which we know). Thus our task is to find a procedure to systematically map natural language expressions to expressions of FOL.

## Digression on Direct Interpretation: Predicate Logic in Haskell

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- 'not even' becomes not . even or $\backslash \mathrm{x} \rightarrow$ not (even x ).
- Quantifications are 'some integers in [1..100] are even', or 'all integers in [1..] are positive'.


## Examples of Quantifications in Haskell

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- 'some integers in [1.100] are even'


## Examples of Quantifications in Haskell

- 'some integers in [1.100] are even'
- Day2> any even [1..100] True


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True
Day2> all (>0) [1..] \{Interrupted!\}

## Examples of Quantifications in Haskell

- 'some integers in [1..100] are even'
- Day2> any even [1..100] True
- 'all integers in [1..100] are positive':
- Day2> all (>0) [1..100]

True
Day2> all (>0) [1..] \{Interrupted!\}

- Question: does a quantification over an infinite list (like [1..]) always run forever?


## Example vocabulary

- individual constant $a, b, c$
- predicate constants
- for one-place predicates: boy, princess, dwarf, giant, wizard, happy, evil, cheer, laugh
- for two-place predicates: admire, defeat, find
- for three-place predicates: give

As well as variables and the logical constants $\forall, \exists, \wedge, \vee, \neg, \rightarrow$.

## Example formulas

- wizard(b)
- evil( $(x) \wedge$ admire $(x, c)$
- $\forall x . h a p p y(x)$
- $\exists y . \exists x . \neg f i n d(x, y)$


## Example translation

| Lexical item | Logical constant |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Atreyu | a | (individual constant) |
| boy | boy | (one-place predicate) |
| princess | princess | (one-place predicate) |
| wizard | wizard | (one-place predicate) |
| cheered | cheer | (one-place predicate) |
| laughed | laugh | (one-place predicate) |
| happy | happy | (one-place predicate) |
| drunken | drunken | (one-place predicate) |
| admired | admire | (two-place predicate) |
| defeated | defeat | (two-place predicate) |
| found | find | (two-place predicate) |
| gave | give | (three-place predicate) |
|  |  |  |

## Example logical forms

- Atreyu laughed
- Everyone cheered
- Atreyu admired a princess
- Every dwarf defeated some giant


## Example logical forms

- Atreyu laughed laugh(a)
- Everyone cheered
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## Example logical forms

- Atreyu laughed laugh(a)
- Everyone cheered $\forall x . \operatorname{cheer}(x)$
- Atreyu admired a princess $\exists x$.princess $(x) \wedge$ admire $(a, x)$
- Every dwarf defeated some giant $\forall x . \operatorname{dwarf}(x) \rightarrow \exists y . \operatorname{giant}(y) \wedge \operatorname{defeat}(x, y)$


## Example model

Assume a model $M=\langle\mathcal{D}, \mathcal{I}\rangle$, where


- $\mathcal{I}(a)=$ 领
- $\mathcal{I}(b)=0$
- $\mathcal{I}(d)=$
- $\mathcal{I}(c)=$
- $I(e)=$ 有
- $\mathcal{I}(f)=$


## Example model

－ $\mathcal{I}$（boy $)=\{\mathbb{K}\}$

- $\mathcal{I}($ princess $)=\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { 急 }\end{array}\right\}$
- $\mathcal{I}($ wizard $)=\{$ 気 $\}$
－ $\mathcal{I}($ sword $)=\{ \}$

- $\mathcal{I}($ evil $)=\{$ 號，$\}$
- $\mathcal{I}($ laugh $)=\{$ 盆，, $\overrightarrow{i z}\}$
－ $\mathcal{I}($ cheer $)=\{\mathbb{K}\}$


## Example model





- $\mathcal{I}($ give $)=\{$ (


## Examples

- $\exists x \cdot \operatorname{boy}(x) \wedge \operatorname{admire}(x, c)$ is true relative to $M, g$ iff for some entity $d$ it holds that both
- $d \in \mathcal{I}($ boy $)$ and
- $(d, \mathcal{I}(c)) \in \mathcal{I}($ admire $)$
- $\forall x .((\operatorname{wizard}(x) \wedge \neg e v i l(x)) \rightarrow \exists y$.admire $(x, y))$ is true relative to $M, g$ iff for some entity $d$ it holds that
- if $d \in \mathcal{I}$ (wizard) and $d \notin \mathcal{I}$ (evil), then
- for some entity $d^{\prime}$ it holds that $\left(d, d^{\prime}\right) \in \mathcal{I}$ (admire)


## Implementation

```
data Entity = A | B | C | D | E | F deriving (Eq, Show)
model :: Model
model = Model dom intConst int
dom :: Domain
dom = [A, B, C, D, E , F]
intConst :: ConstantMapping
intConst "a" = A
intConst "b" = B
intConst "c" = C
intConst "d" = D
intConst "e" = E
intConst "f" = F
intConst _ = error "unknown constant"
```


## Implementation

```
int :: Interpretation
int "boy" = \ [x] -> x 'elem' [A]
int "princess" = \ [x] -> x 'elem' [C]
int "wizard" = \ [x] -> x 'elem' [B]
int "sword" = \ [x] -> x 'elem' [D]
int "happy" = \ [x] -> x 'elem' [A,E,F]
int "evil" = \ [x] -> x 'elem' [B,D]
int "laugh" = \ [x] -> x 'elem' [B,E]
int "cheer" = \ [x] -> x 'elem' [A]
int "admire" = \ [x,y] -> (x,y) 'elem' [(A,C),(B,C),(E,C),
    (F,C)]
int "defeat" = \ [x,y] -> (x,y) 'elem' [(A,B),(E,F)]
int "find" = \ [x,y] -> (x,y) 'elem' [(A,C),(B,A),(E,F)]
int "give" = \ [x,y,z] -> (x,y,z) 'elem'
    [(B,C,F),(C,A,D)]
int _ = error "unknown constant"
```


## Loose end

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- We do not yet know how to recursively construct FOL expressions corresponding to natural language expressions.
- Which kind of FOL expressions correspond to intermediate constituents like admires every princess?

Difficulty: The structure of FOL expressions is quite different from the semantic structure of natural language expressions.

Solution: In order to devise a syntax-directed translation of natural language to FOL, i.e. to compositionally build meaning representations in tandem with a syntactic analysis, we will interpret natural language expressions as expressions of a typed lambda calculus (subsuming FOL as fragment).

## Course overview

Day 2:
Meaning representations and (predicate) logic

- Day 3:

Lambda calculus and the composition of meanings

- Day 4:

Extensionality and intensionality

- Day 5:

From strings to truth conditions and beyond

