

Compositional Semantics



Jacob Andreas



Problem 1

Each of the three girls has a platypus.

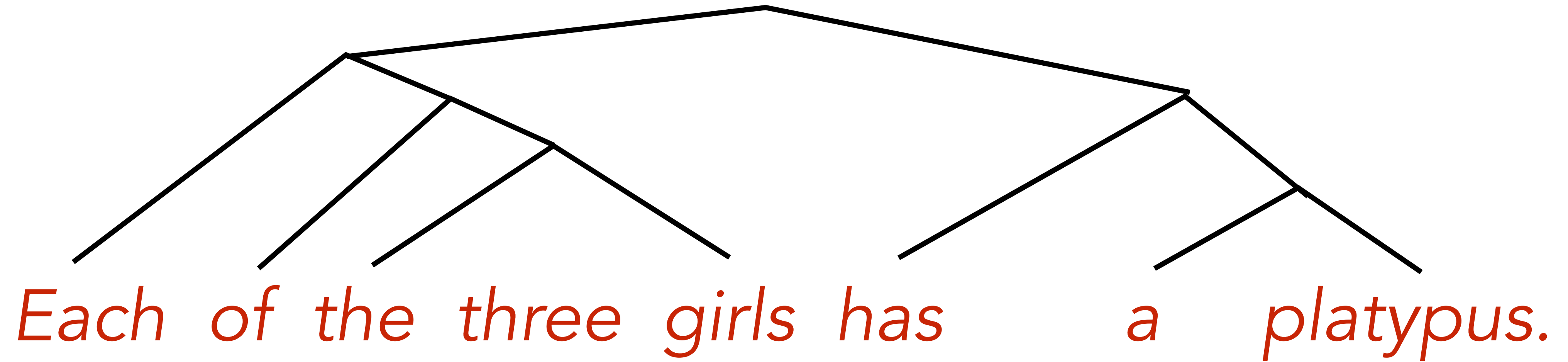
Each of the three girls climbed the mountain.

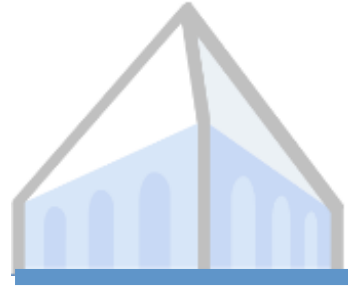
How many platypuses?

How many mountains?

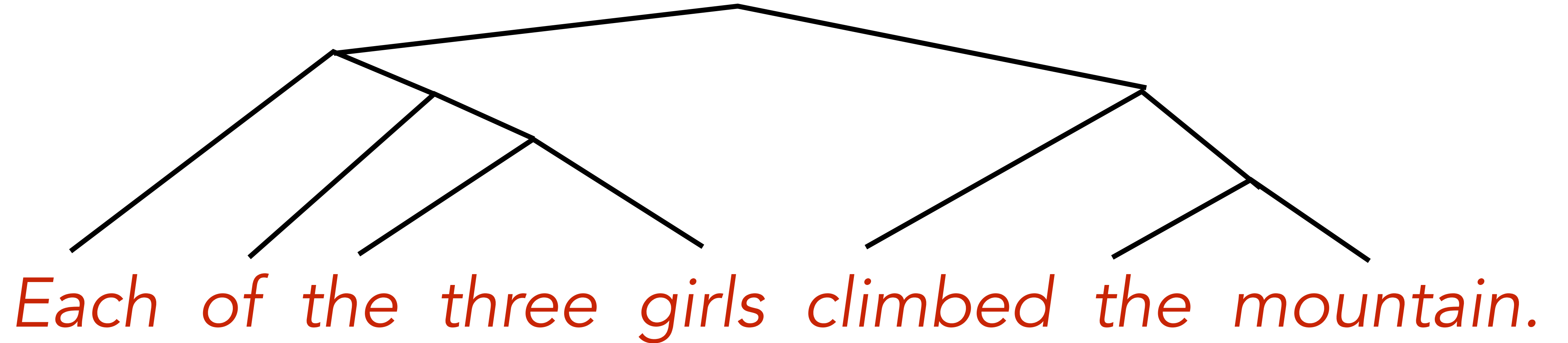


Problem 1





Problem 1





Problem 2

*There are 128 cities
in South Carolina.*

name	type	coastal
<i>Columbia</i>	city	no
<i>Cooper</i>	river	yes
<i>Charleston</i>	city	yes



Problem 3

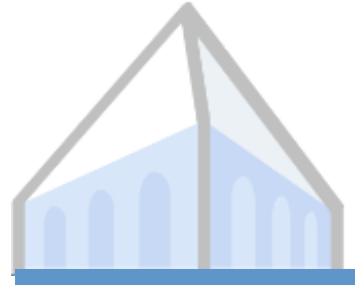
Barack Obama was the 44th President of the United States. Obama was born on August 4 in Honolulu, Hawaii. In late August 1961, Obama's mother moved with him to the University of Washington in Seattle for a year...

Is Barack Obama from the United States?



Compositional semantics

It's not enough to have structured representations of syntax:
We also need structured representations of **meaning**.



Compositional semantics

It's not enough to have structured representations of syntax:
We also need structured representations of **meaning**.

Today:

How do we get from **language** to **meaning**?

PART I

What is meaning?

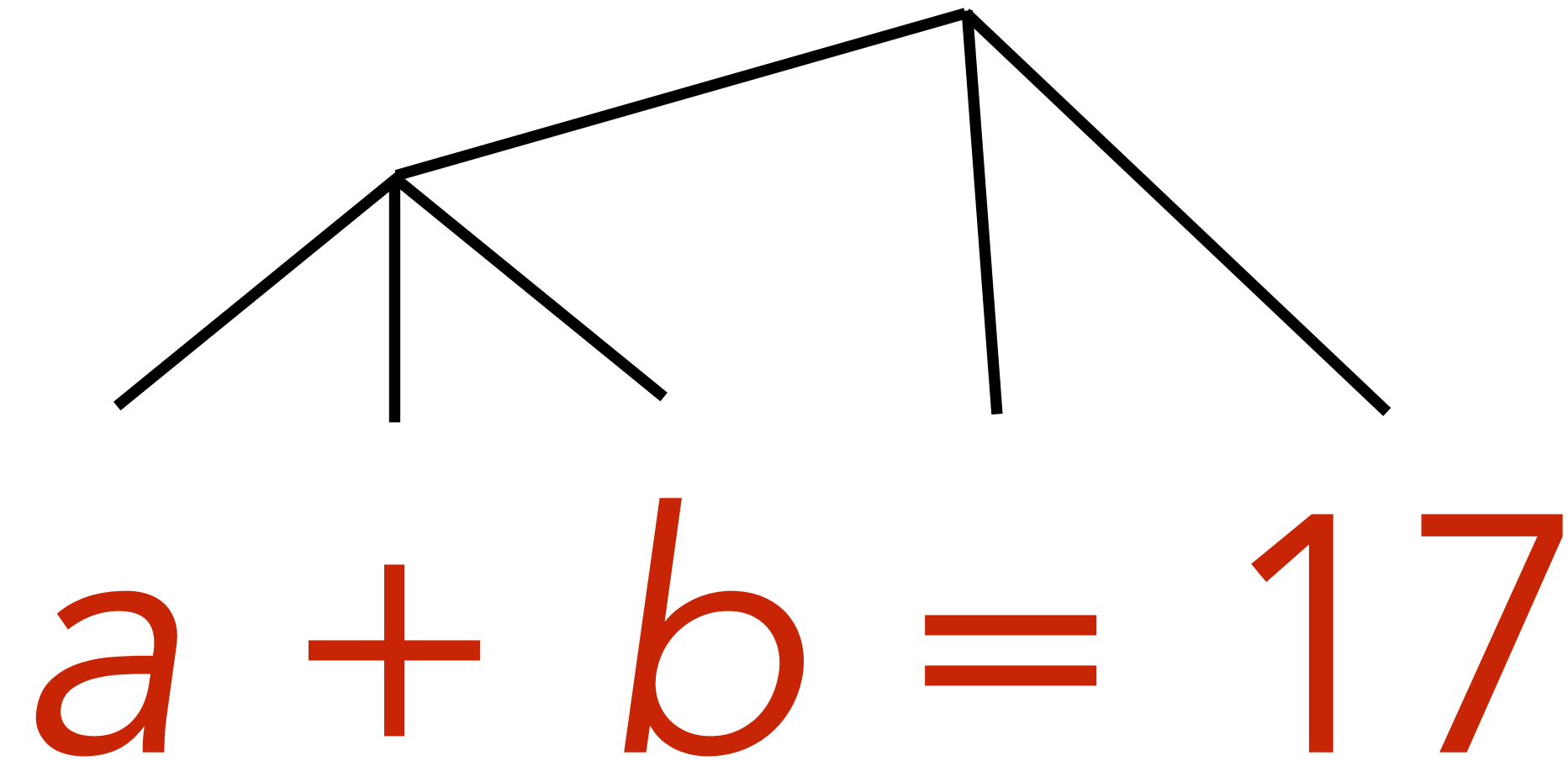


Meaning in formal languages

$$a + b = 17$$



Meaning in formal languages



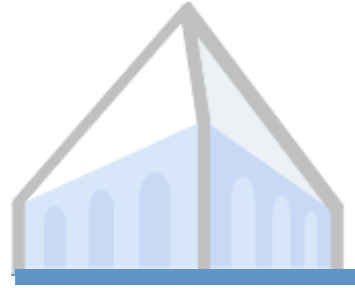


Meaning in formal languages

$$a + b = 17$$

$$a = ?$$

$$b = ?$$



Meanings are sets of valid assignments

$$a + b = 17$$

$$\{a=0, b=0\}$$

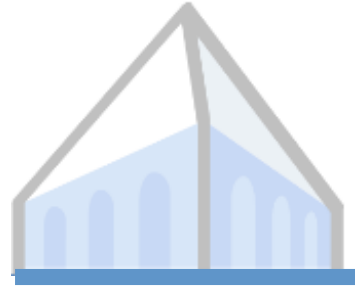
$$\{a=17, b=0\}$$

$$\{a=3, b=10\}$$

$$\{a=10, b=7\}$$

$$\{a=5, b=12\}$$

$$\{a=5, b=5\}$$



Meanings are sets of valid assignments

$$a + b = 17$$

$$\{a=0, b=0\} \times$$

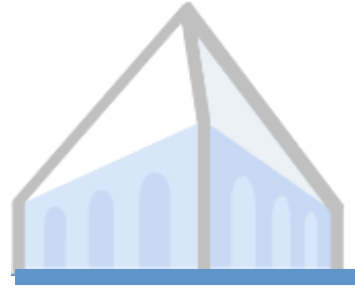
$$\{a=17, b=0\} \checkmark$$

$$\{a=3, b=10\} \times$$

$$\{a=10, b=7\} \checkmark$$

$$\{a=5, b=12\} \checkmark$$

$$\{a=5, b=5\} \times$$



Meanings are sets of valid assignments

$$a + 3 = 20 - b$$

$$\{a=0, b=0\} \times$$

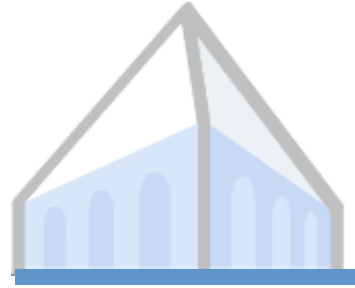
$$\{a=17, b=0\} \checkmark$$

$$\{a=3, b=10\} \times$$

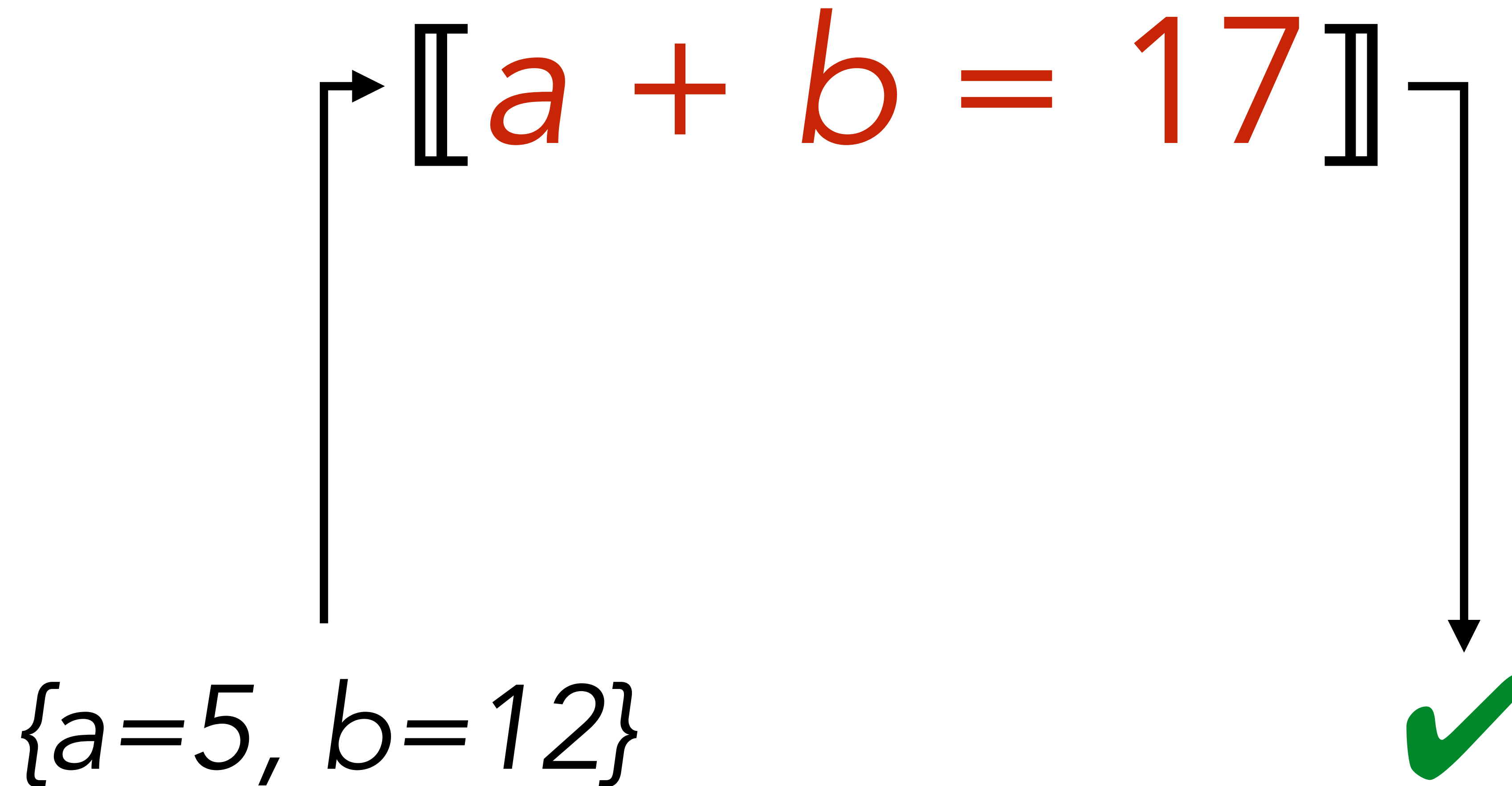
$$\{a=10, b=7\} \checkmark$$

$$\{a=5, b=12\} \checkmark$$

$$\{a=5, b=5\} \times$$

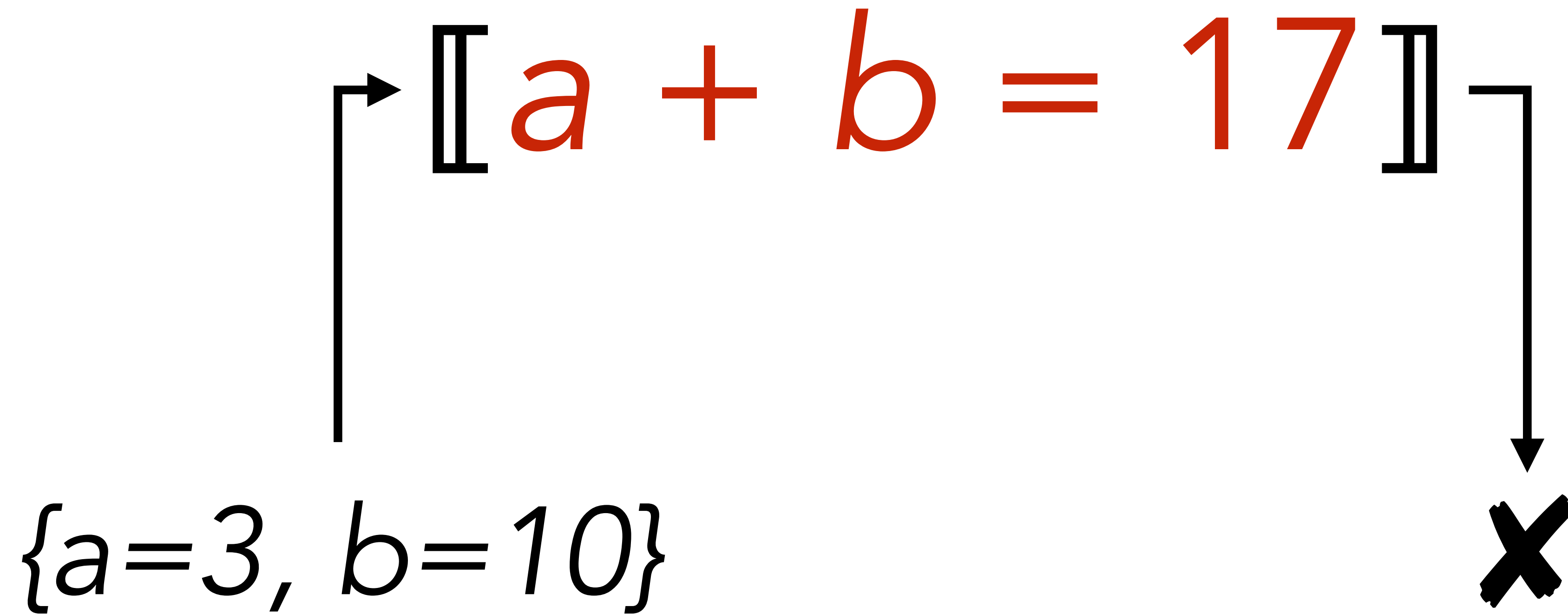


Meanings are *functions* that judge validity





Meanings are *functions* that judge validity





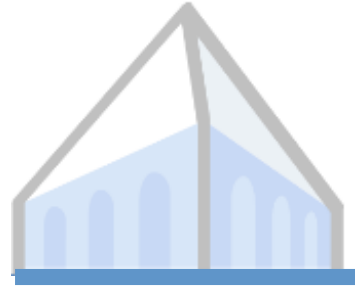
Lessons from math

$$[a + b = 17]$$

The meaning of a statement is the **set** of possible worlds consistent with that statement.

Here, a “possible world” is an assignment of values to variables.

$$\{a=3, b=10\}$$



Meaning in natural languages

Pat likes Sal.



Representing possible worlds

Individuals

Pat

Sal

Properties

whale •→

sad •→

Relations

— loves →

— contains →



Example world

Pat

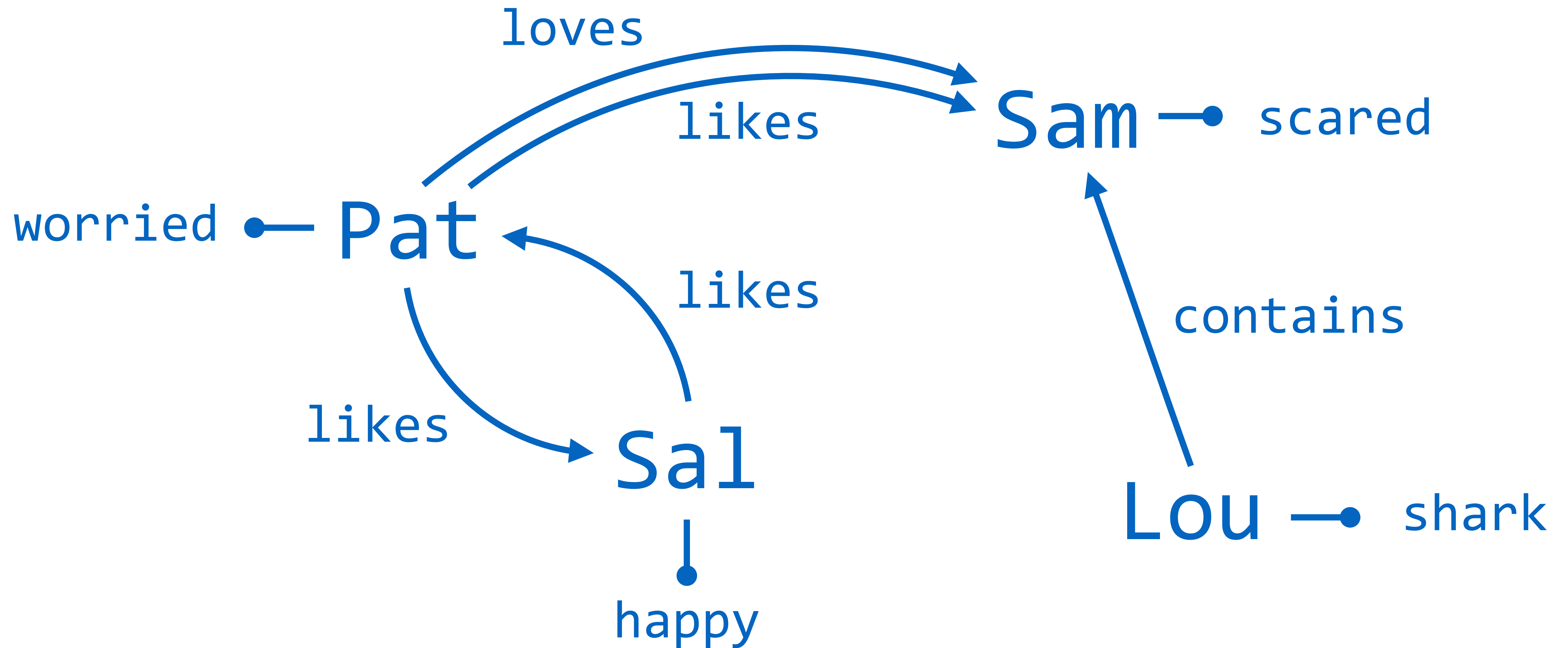
Sam

Sal

Lou

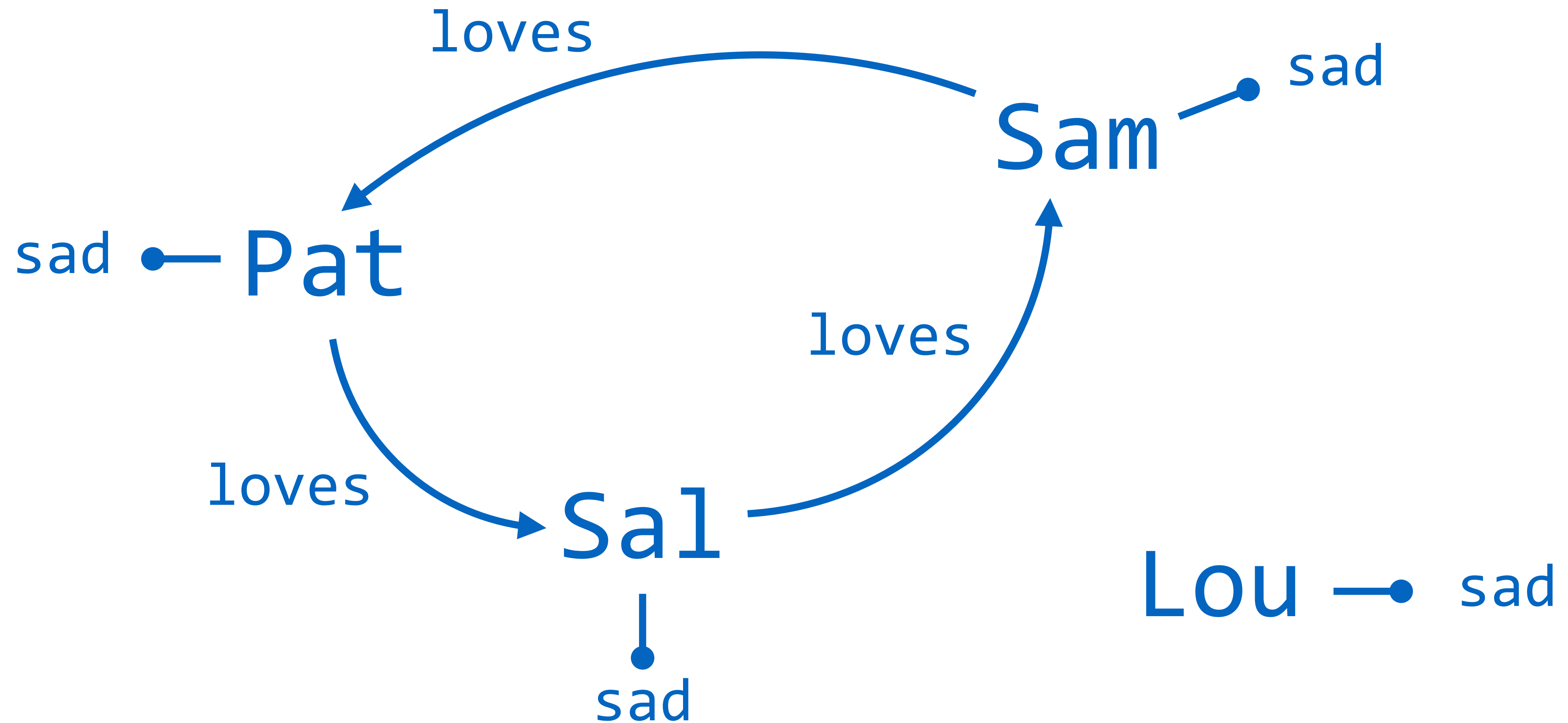


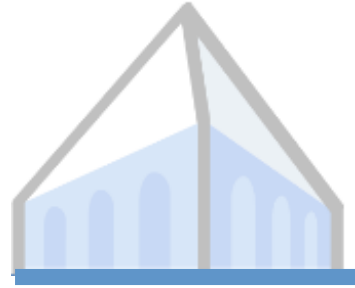
Example world





Different example world





Representing possible worlds

Individuals

Pat

Sal

Properties

whale={Lou}, sad={Pat,Sal}

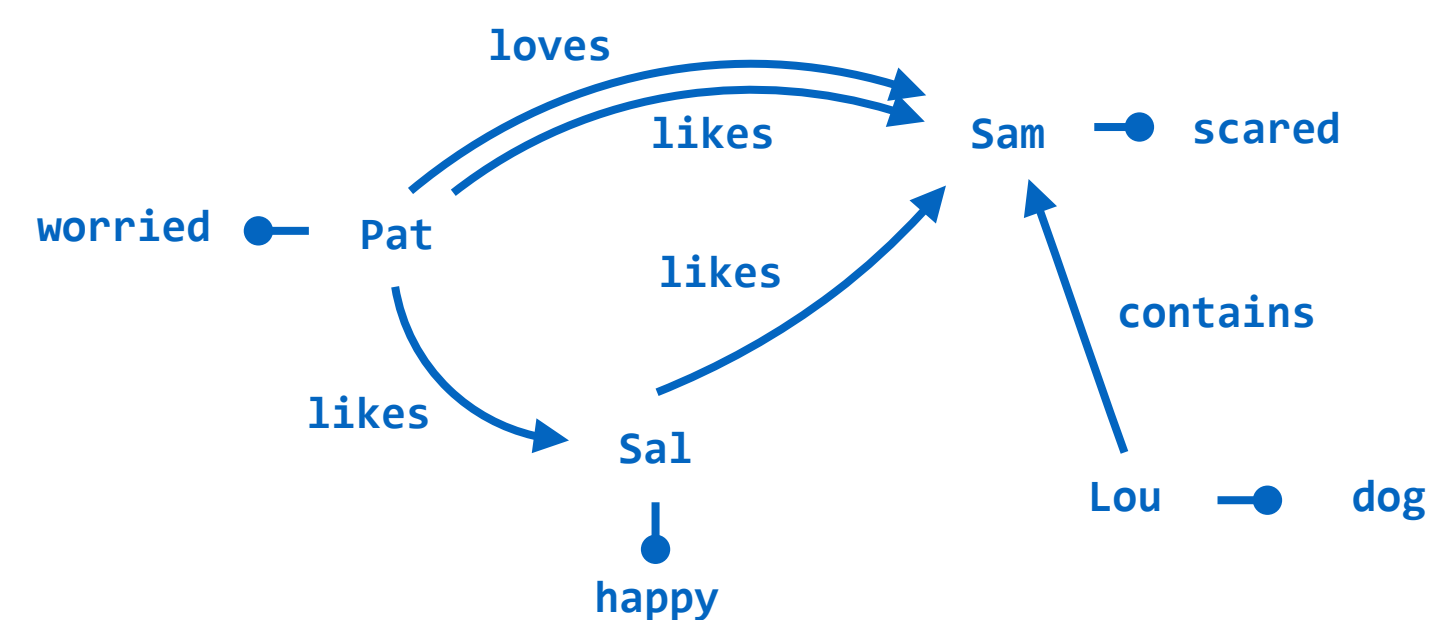
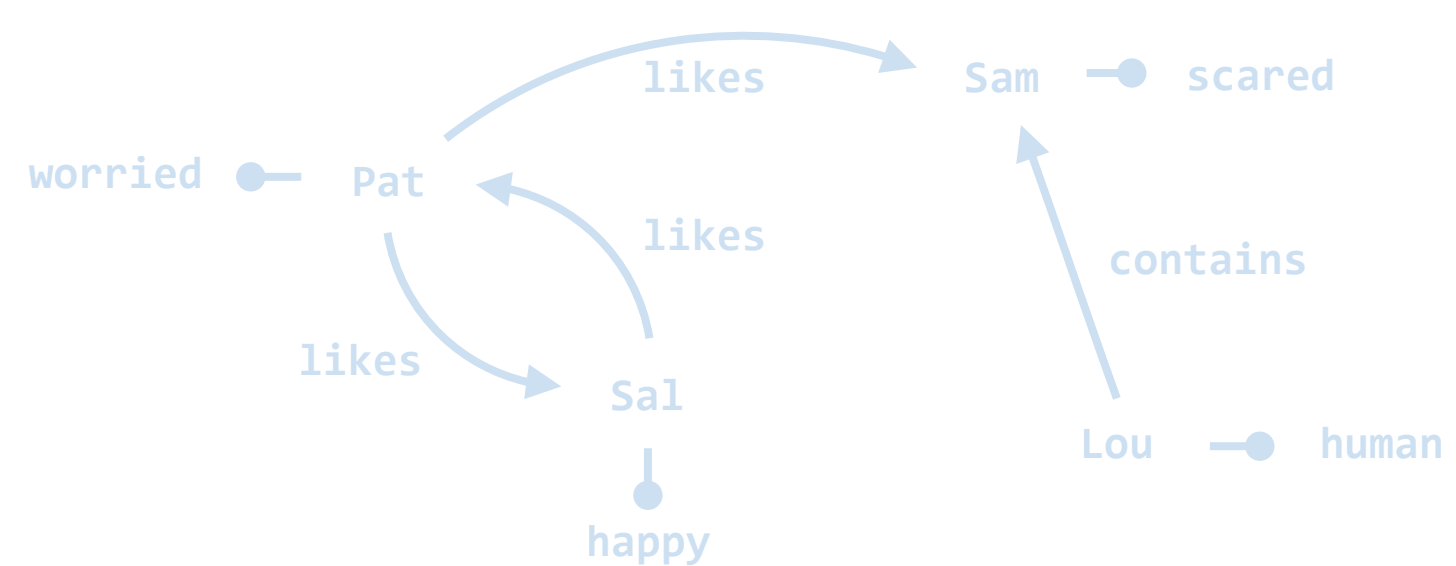
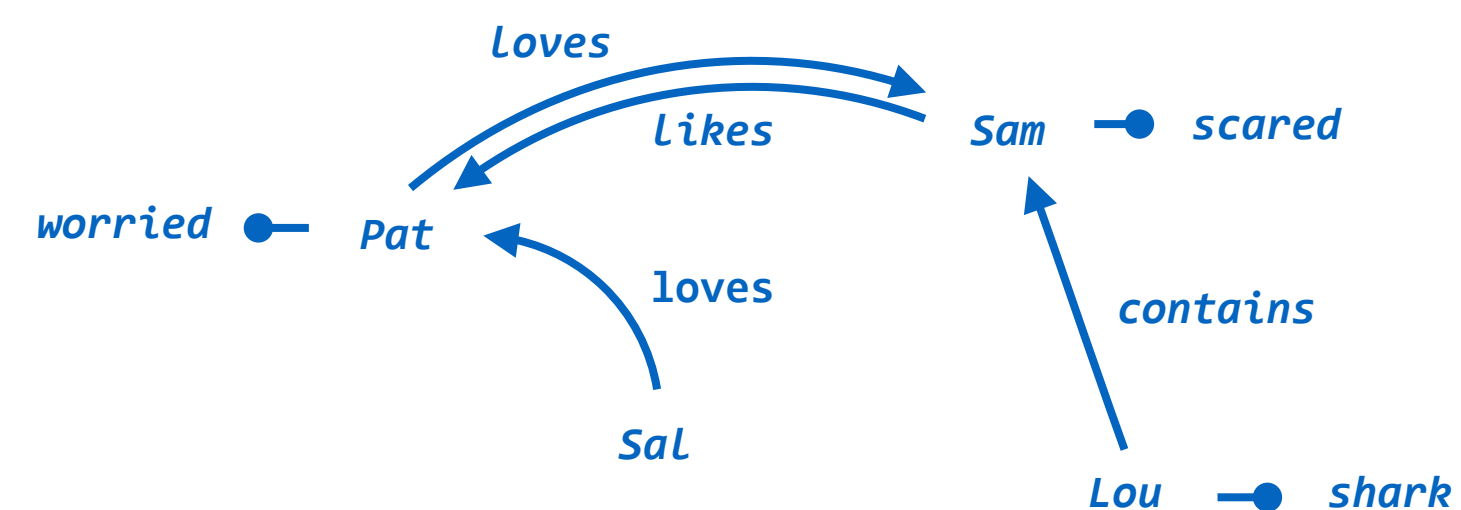
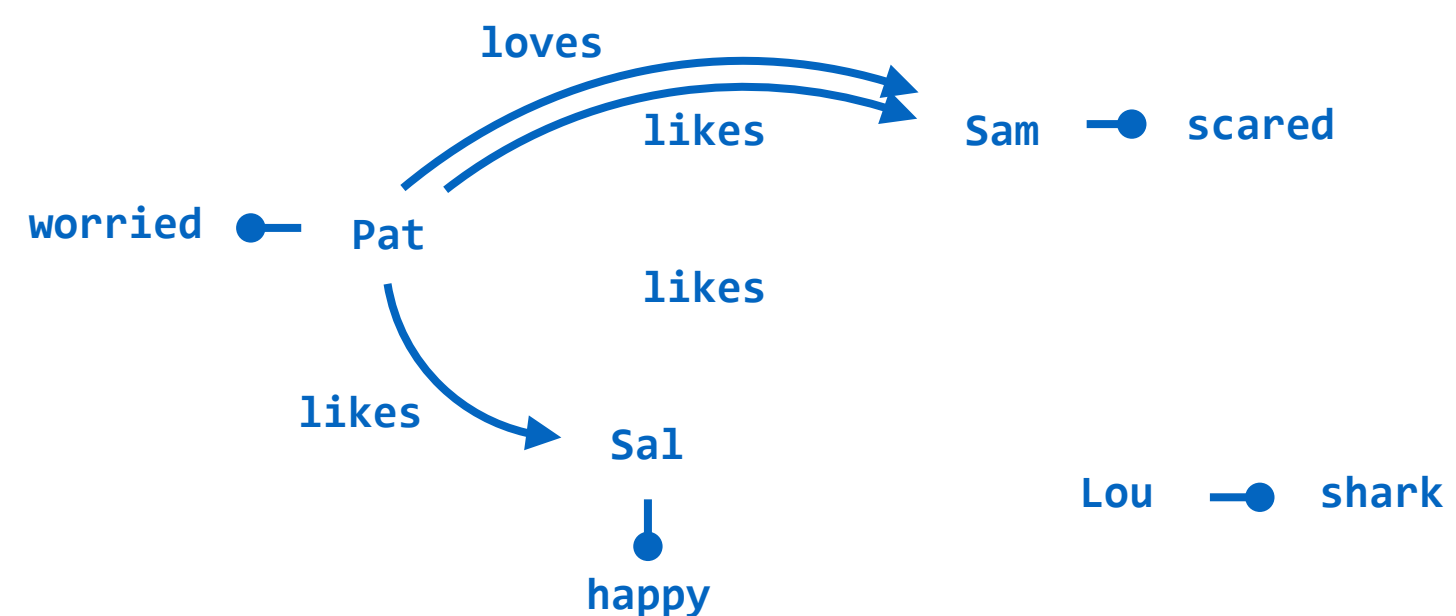
Relations

likes={(Pat,Sal),(Sal,Sam)}



Interpretations of sentences

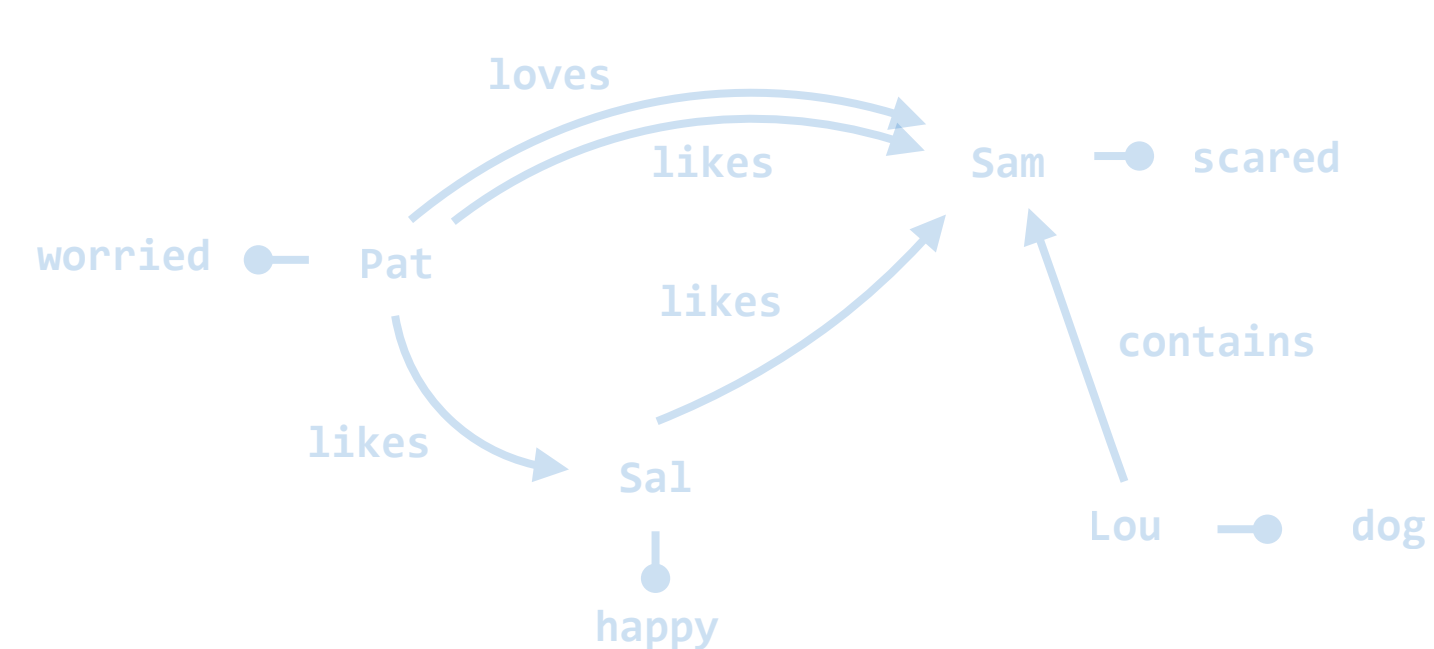
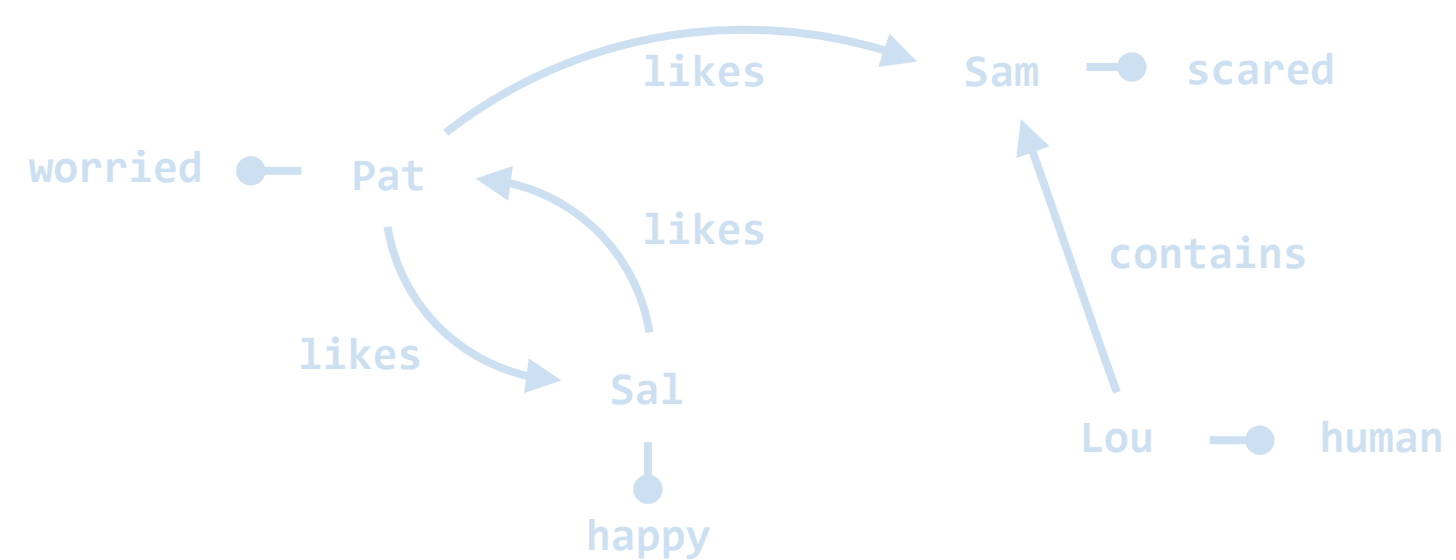
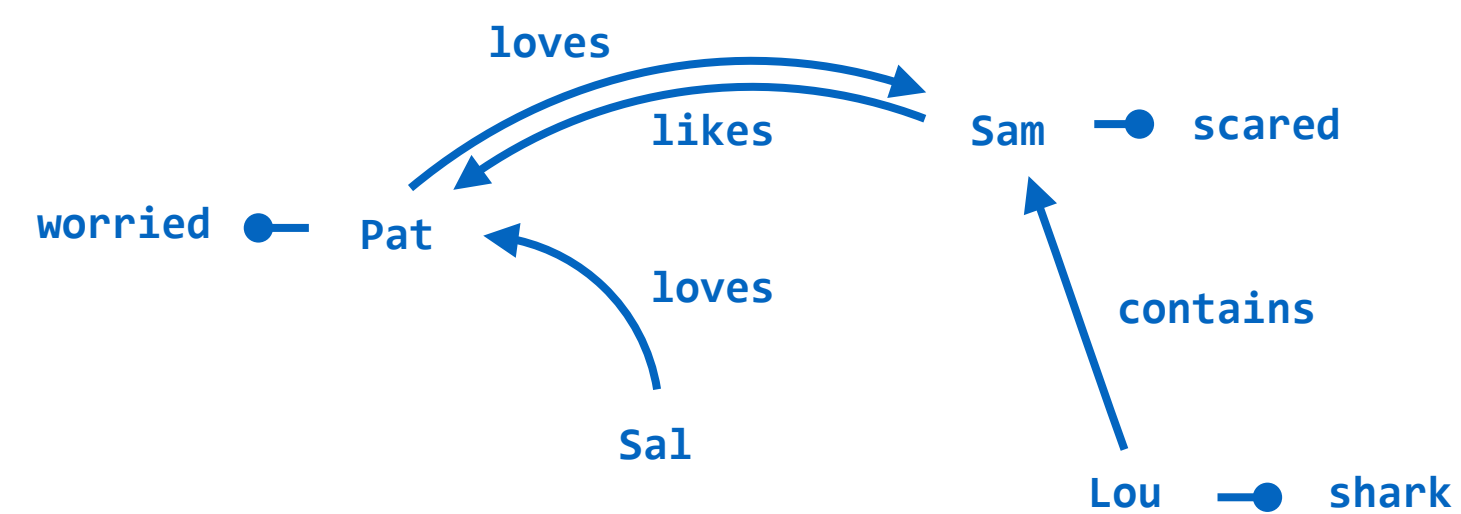
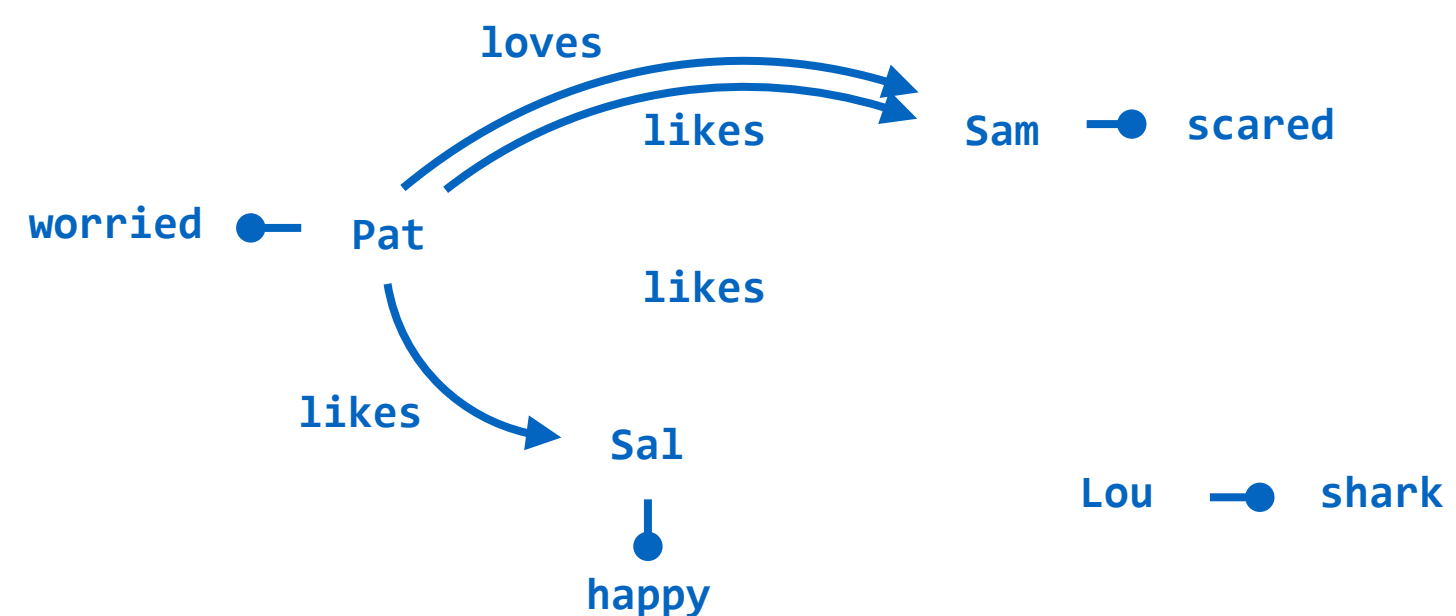
Pat likes Sal.

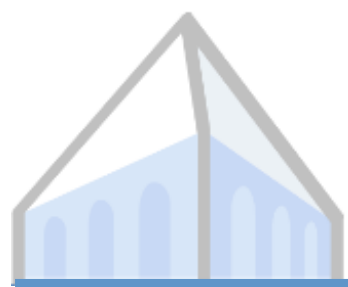




Interpretations of sentences

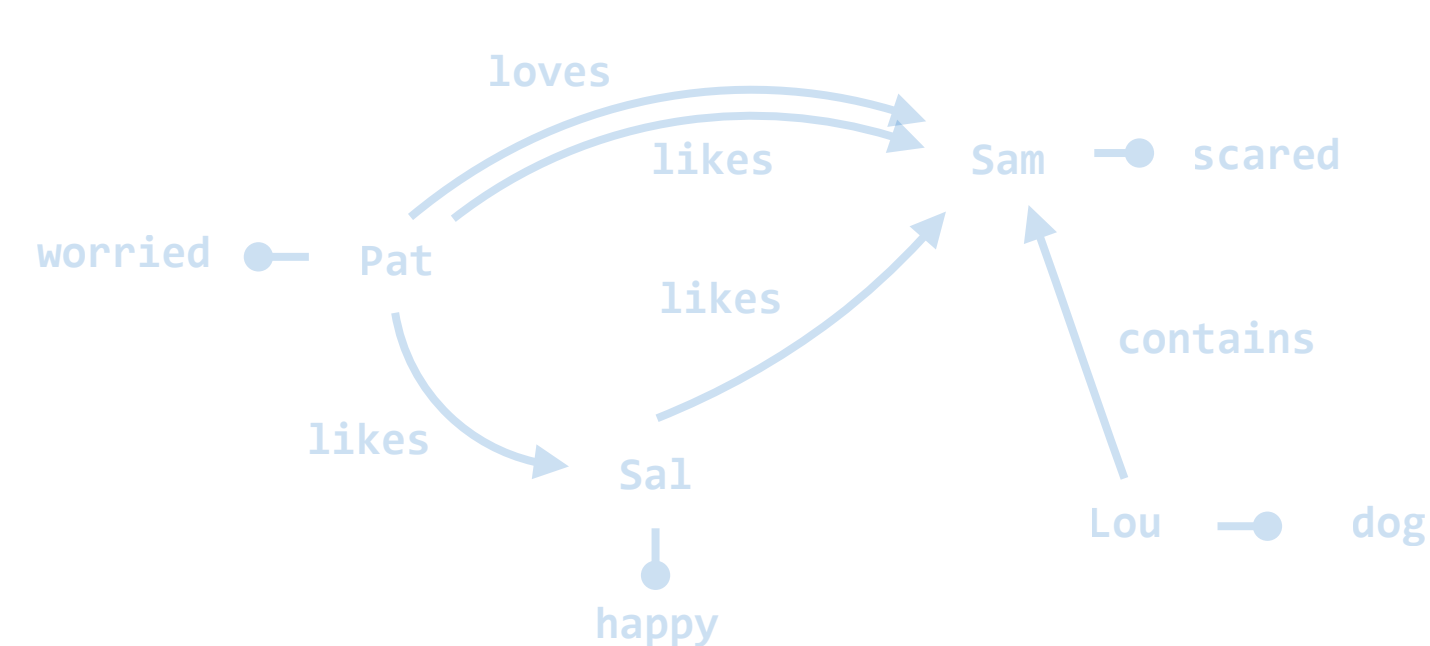
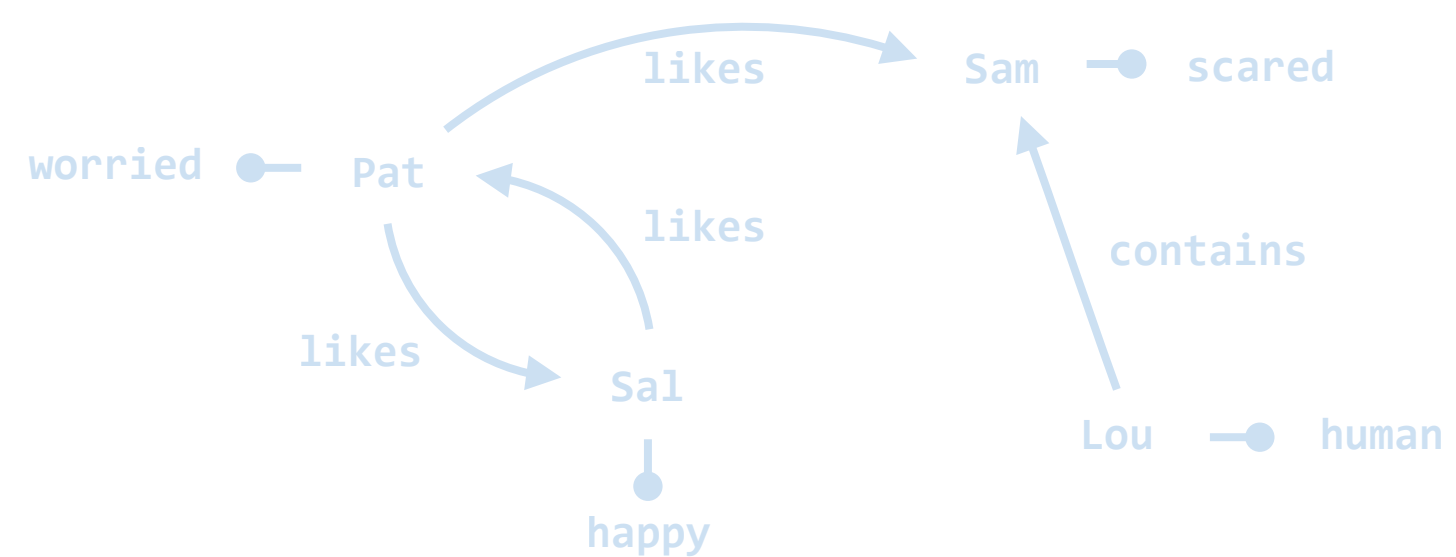
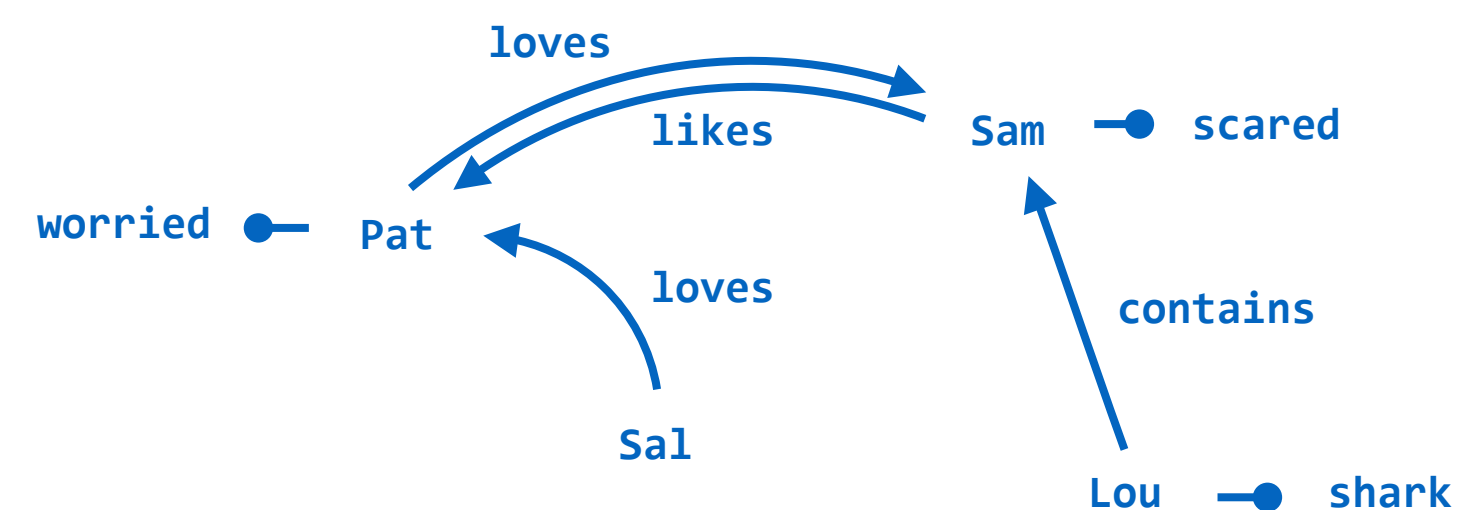
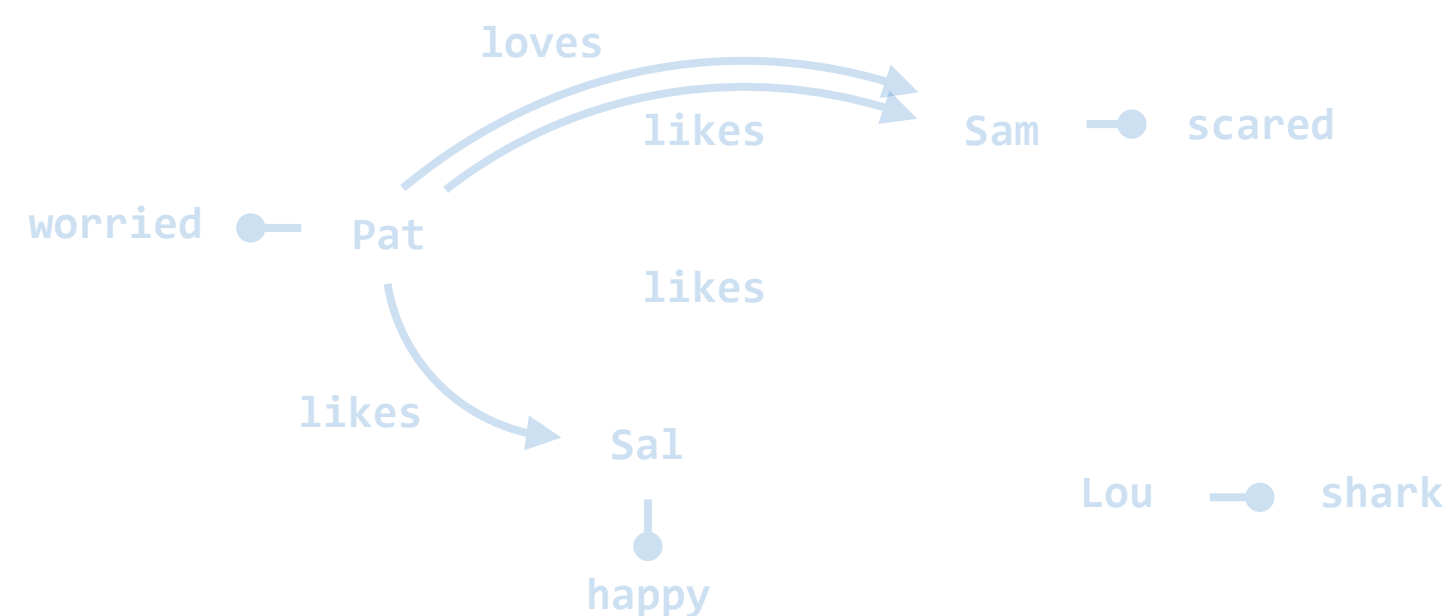
Lou is a shark.





Interpretations of sentences

Sam is inside Lou, a shark.



KEY IDEA

The meaning of a sentence is the set of possible worlds it picks out.

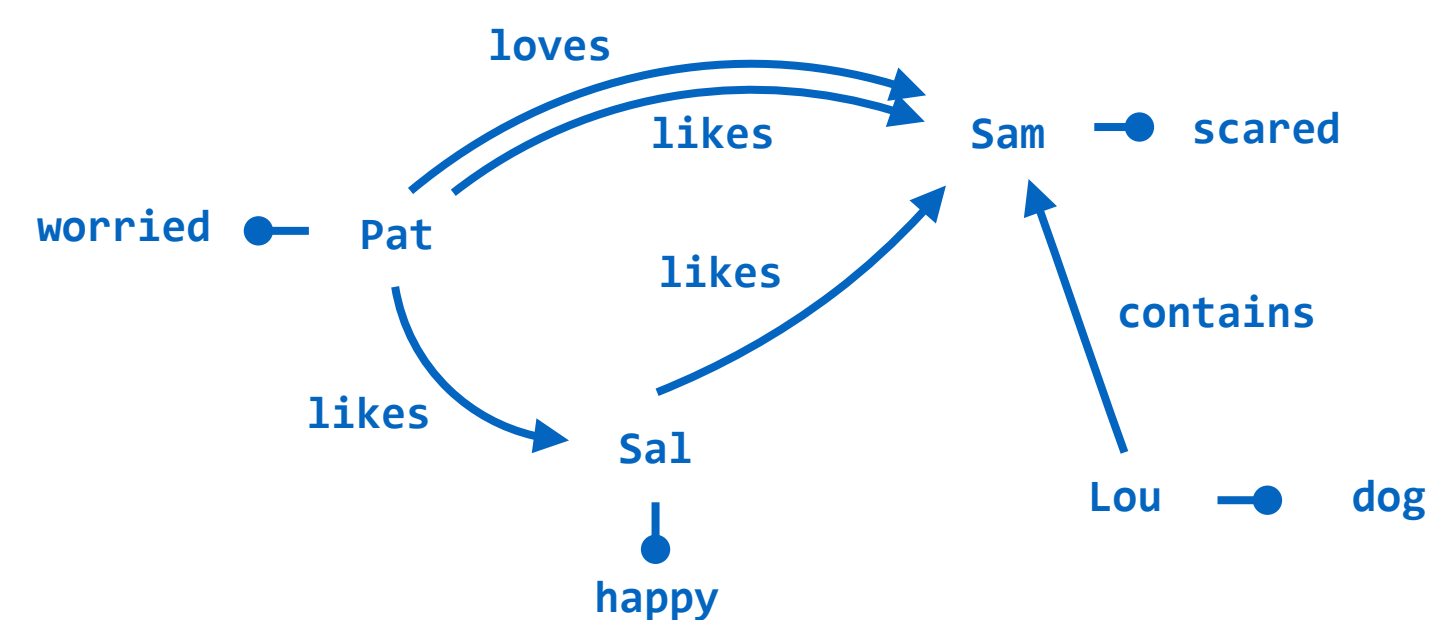
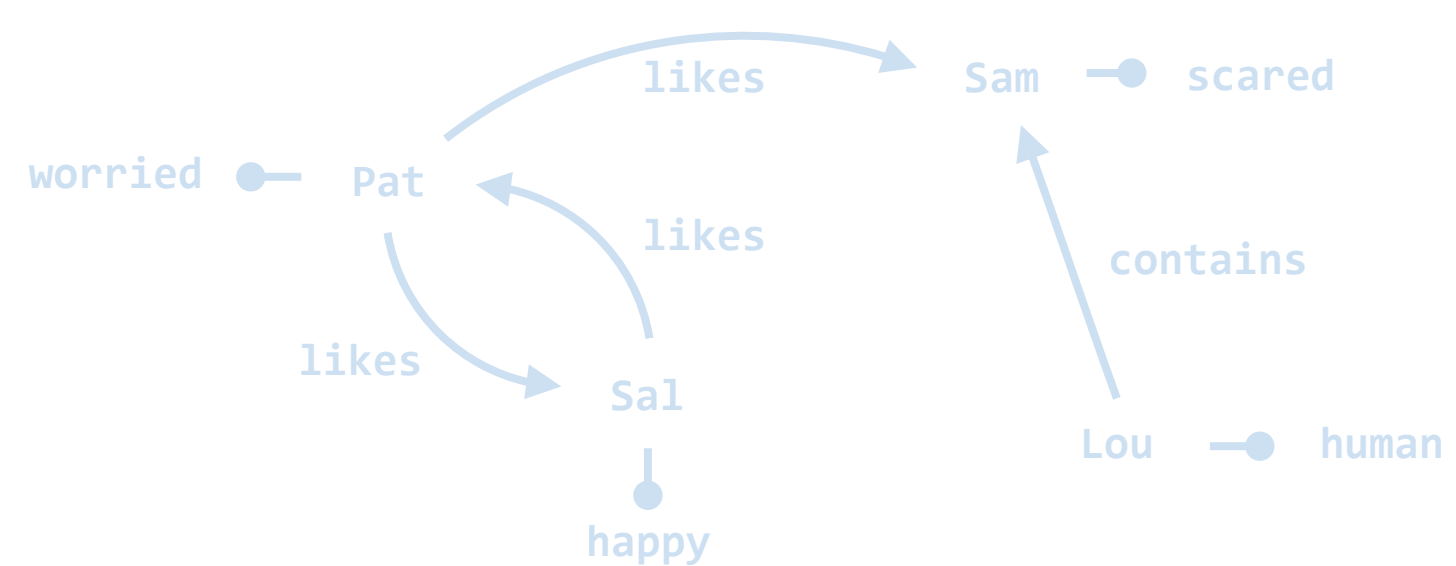
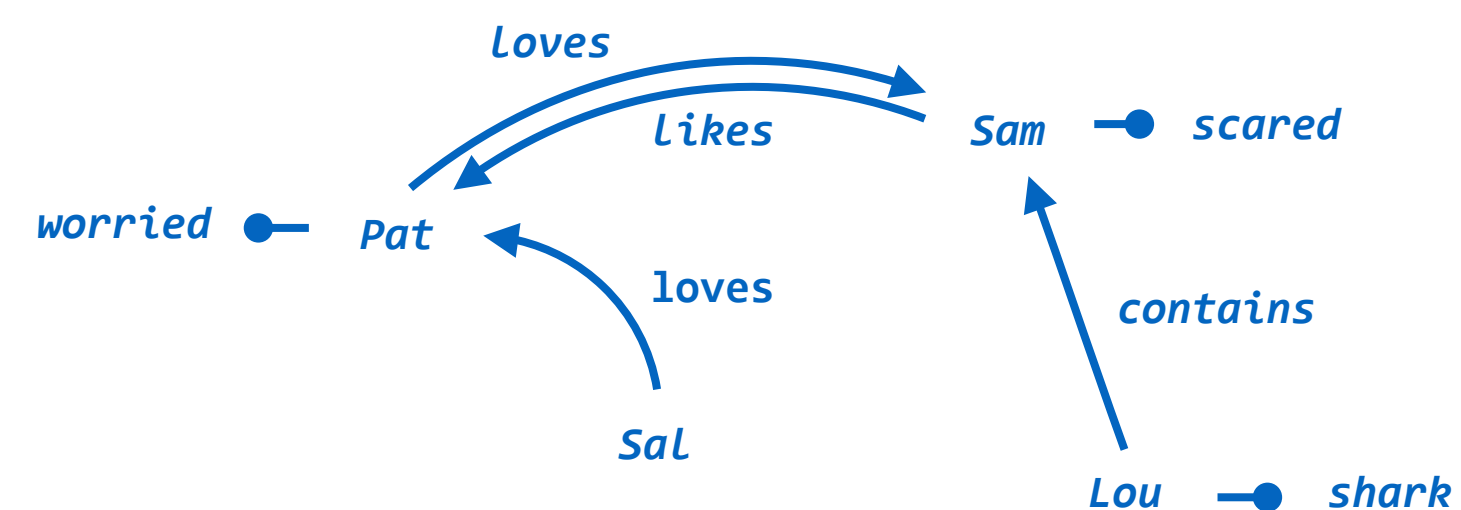
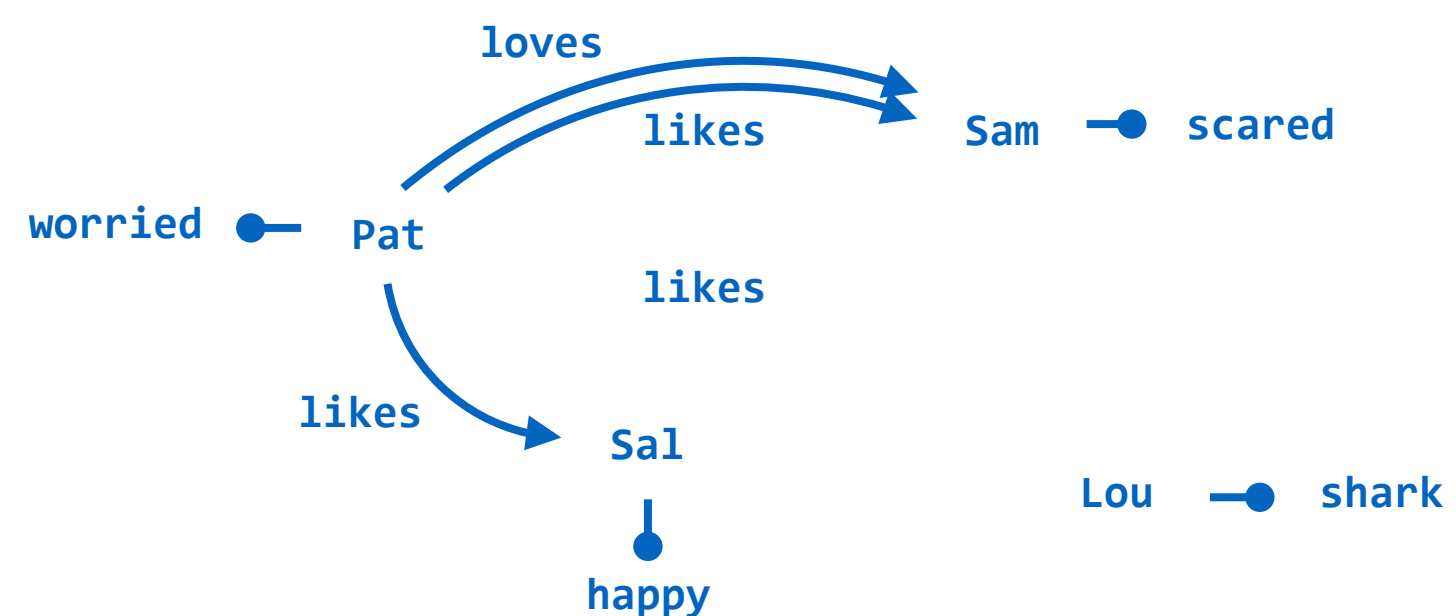
PART II

How is meaning constructed?



Explicit representation is too hard

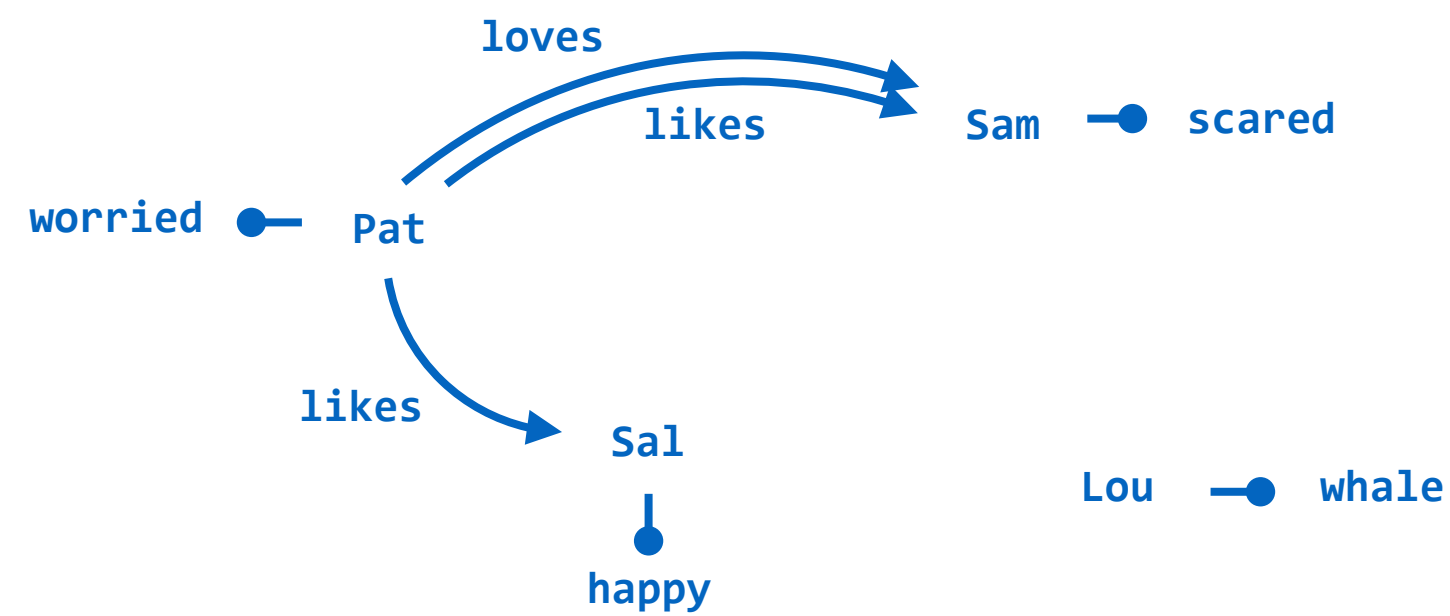
Pat likes Sal.





Meanings as functions

[[*Pat likes Sal*]]

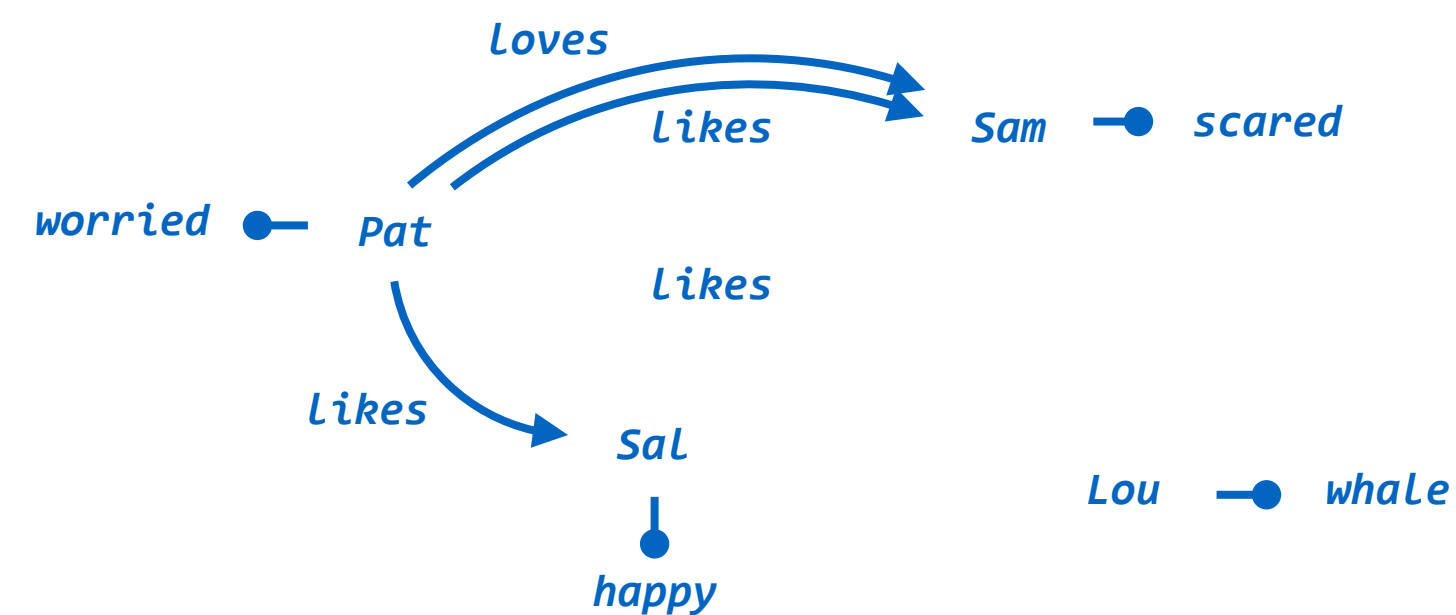




Meanings as logical statements

[[*Pat likes Sal*]]

likes(Pat, Sal)





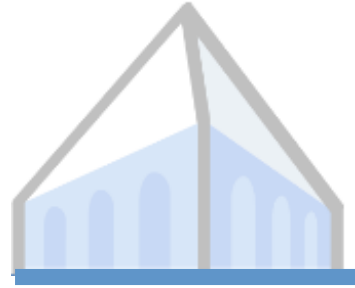
Expressing functions with logic

Pat likes Sal
`likes(Pat, Sal)`



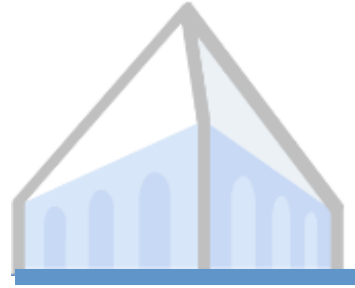
Meanings as logical statements

Lou is a shark
shark(Lou)



Meanings as logical statements

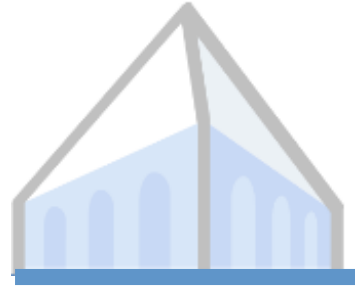
Sam is inside Lou, a shark



Meanings as logical statements

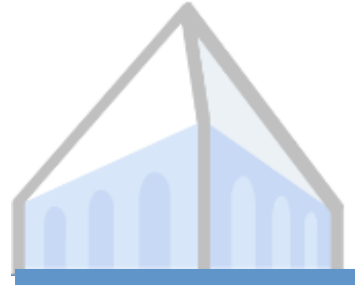
Sam is inside Lou, a shark

$\text{shark}(\text{Lou}) \wedge \text{contains}(\text{Lou}, \text{Sam})$



Meanings as logical statements

Nobody likes Lou



Meanings as logical statements

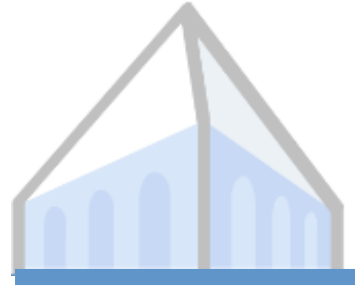
Nobody likes Lou

$\forall x. \neg \text{likes}(x, \text{Lou})$



Meanings as logical statements

Everyone who knows Sal is happy



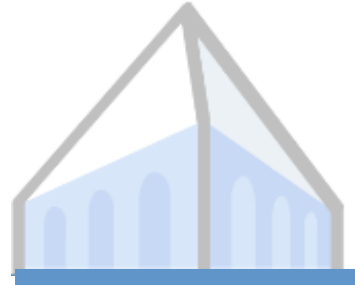
Meanings as logical statements

Everyone who knows Sal is happy

$\forall x. \text{ knows}(x, \text{Sal}) \rightarrow \text{happy}(x)$

KEY IDEA

Collections of possible worlds can be compactly represented with logical forms.



Compositionality of meaning

Pat likes Sal

`likes(Pat, Sal)`

Lou is a shark

`shark(Lou)`

*Sam is inside Lou,
a shark*

`shark(Lou) \wedge
contains(Lou, Sam)`

Nobody likes Lou

`$\forall x. \neg \text{likes}(x, \text{Lou})$`



Compositionality of meaning

Pat likes Sal

likes(Pat, Sal)

Lou is a shark

shark(Lou)

*Sam is inside Lou,
a shark*

shark(Lou) \wedge
contains(Lou, Sam)

Nobody likes Lou

$\forall x. \neg$ *likes*(x, Lou)



Compositionality of meaning

Pat likes Sal

`likes(Pat, Sal)`

Lou is a shark

`shark(Lou)`

*Sam is **inside** Lou,
a shark*

`shark(Lou) \wedge
contains(Lou, Sam)`

Nobody likes Lou

`$\forall x. \neg \text{likes}(x, \text{Lou})$`



Compositionality of meaning

A Sal le gusta Pat

likes(Pat, Sal)

Lou es un tiburón

shark(Lou)

*Sam está dentro de
Lou, un tiburón*

shark(Lou) \wedge
contains(Lou, Sam)

A nadie le gusta Lou

$\forall x. \neg$ *likes*(x, Lou)



Compositionality of meaning

a12 b5 c67 a8

likes(Pat, Sal)

a12 b5 c0 a0

shark(Lou)

a12 b16 c12 c12

shark(Lou) \wedge
contains(Lou, Sam)

a53

$\forall x. \neg \text{likes}(x, \text{Lou})$

KEY IDEA

Pieces of logical forms
correspond to pieces of language



Building a lexicon

Sam is inside Lou, a shark `shark(Lou) \wedge contains(Lou, Sam)`

Pat: Pat

Sal: Sa1

Sam: Sam

Lou: Lou



Building a lexicon

Sam is inside Lou, a shark $\text{shark}(\text{Lou}) \wedge \text{contains}(\text{Lou}, \text{Sam})$

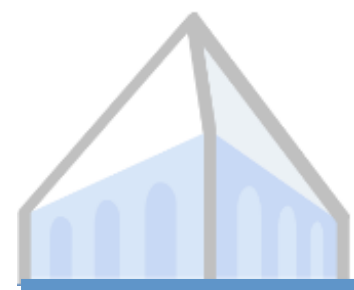
Pat: Pat

shark:

Sal: Sal

Sam: Sam

Lou: Lou



Building a lexicon

Sam is inside Lou, a shark $\text{shark}(\text{Lou}) \wedge \text{contains}(\text{Lou}, \text{Sam})$

Pat: Pat

shark: $\lambda x. \text{shark}(x)$

Sal: Sal

Sam: Sam

Lou: Lou



Building a lexicon

Sam is inside Lou, a shark $\text{shark}(\text{Lou}) \wedge \text{contains}(\text{Lou}, \text{Sam})$

Pat: Pat

shark: $\lambda x. \text{shark}(x)$

Sal: Sal

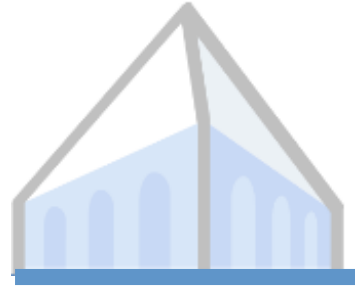
likes: $\lambda yx. \text{likes}(x, y)$

Sam: Sam

nobody: $\lambda f. \forall x. \neg f(x)$

Lou: Lou

...

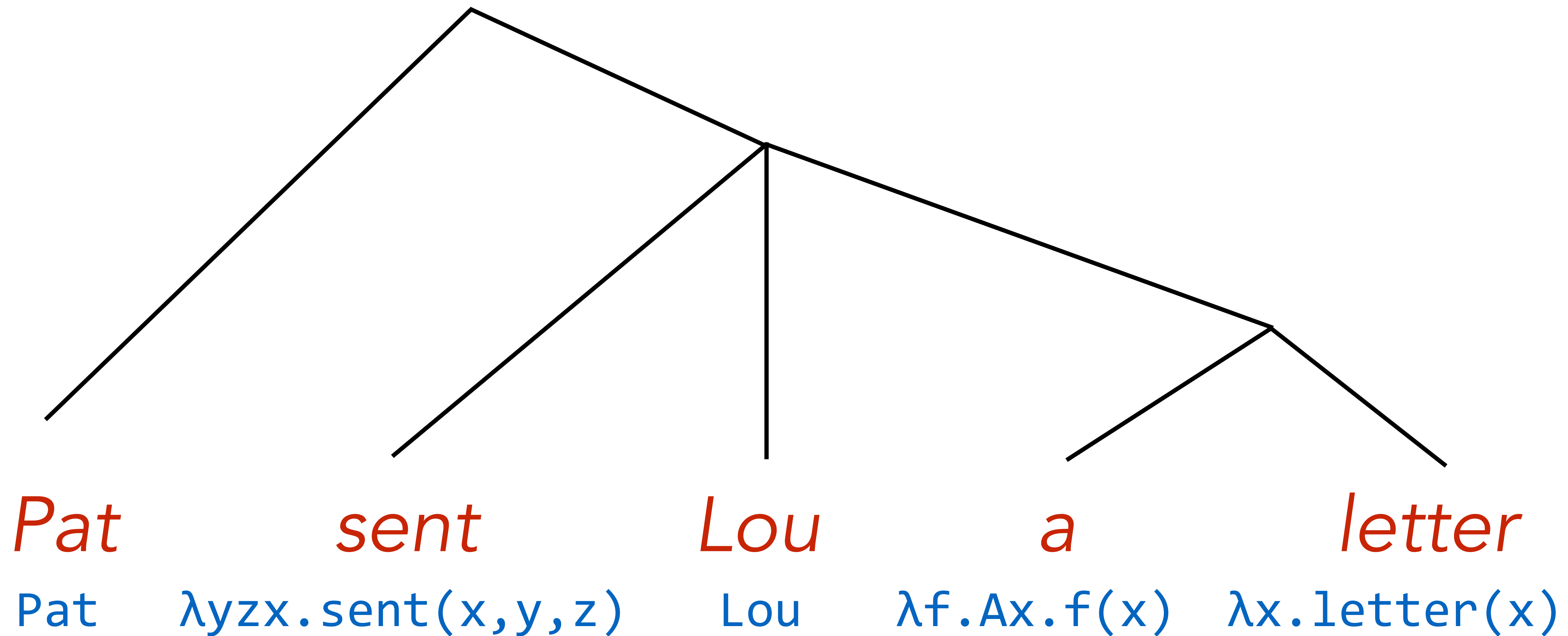


What do we do now?

<i>Pat</i>	<i>sent</i>	<i>Lou</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>letter</i>
Pat	$\lambda yzx.\text{sent}(x,y,z)$	Lou	$\lambda f.Ax.f(x)$	$\lambda x.\text{letter}(x)$

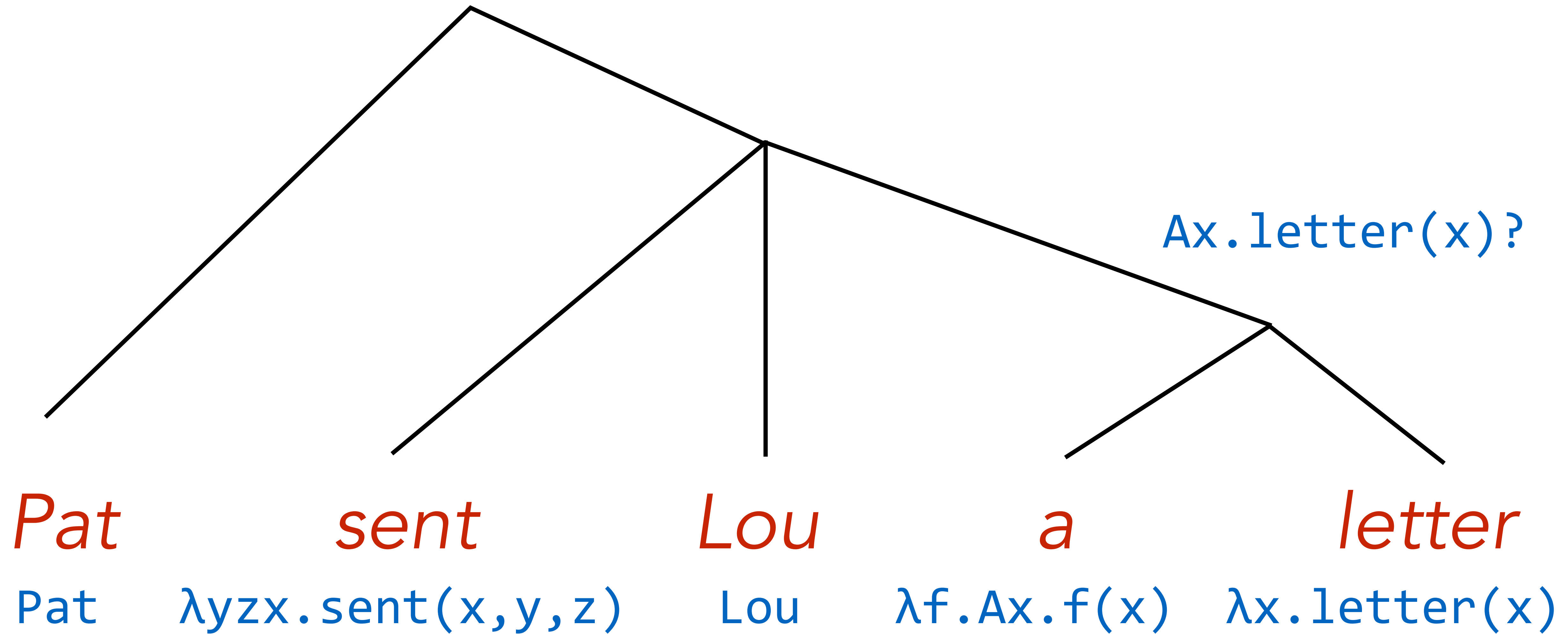


What do we do now?



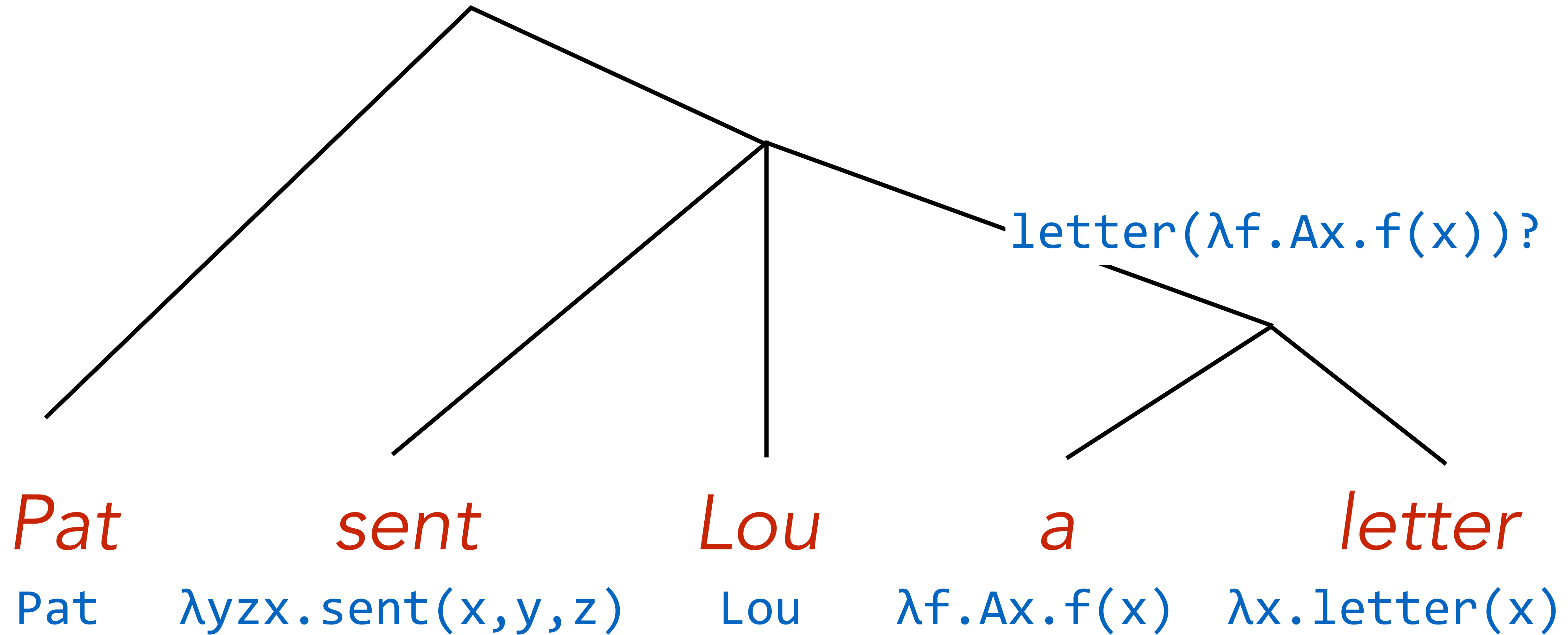


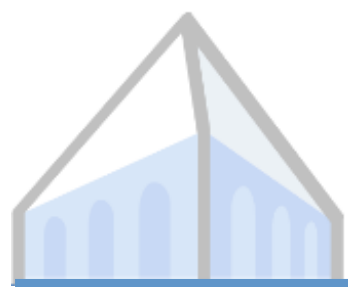
What do we do now?



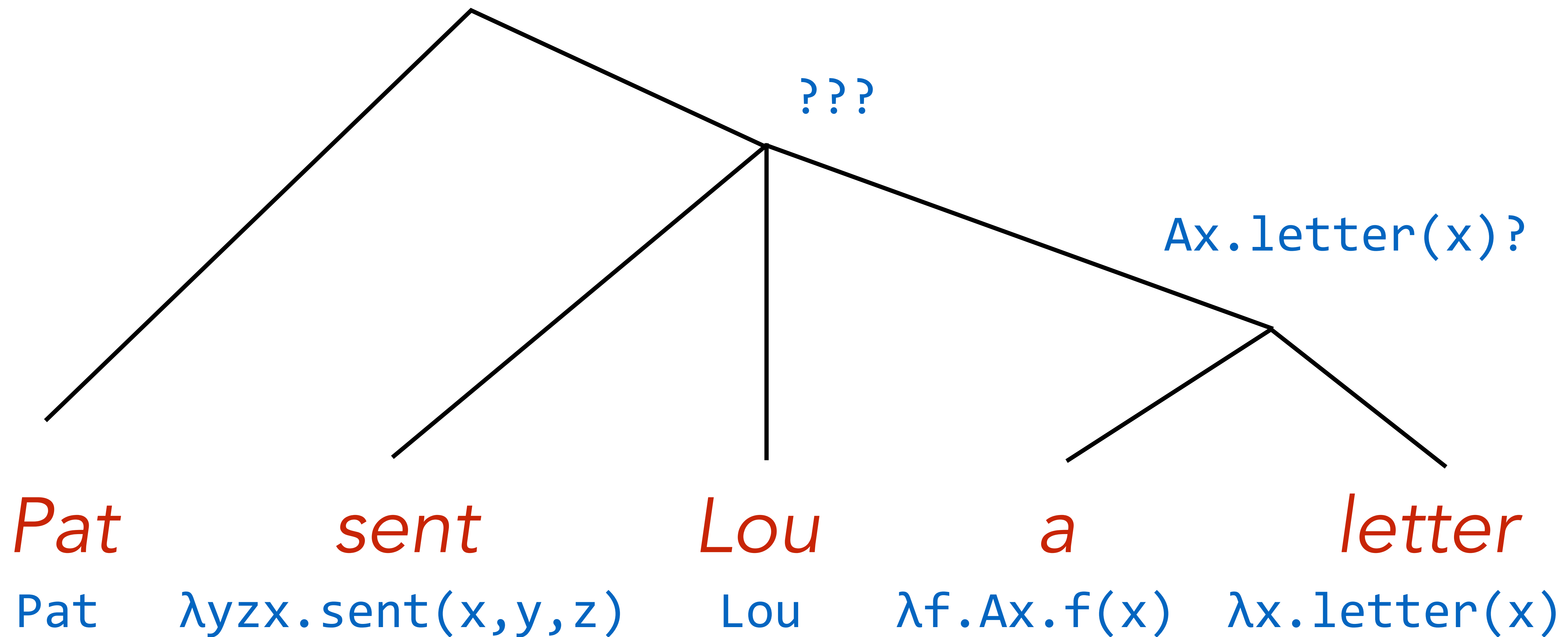


What do we do now?



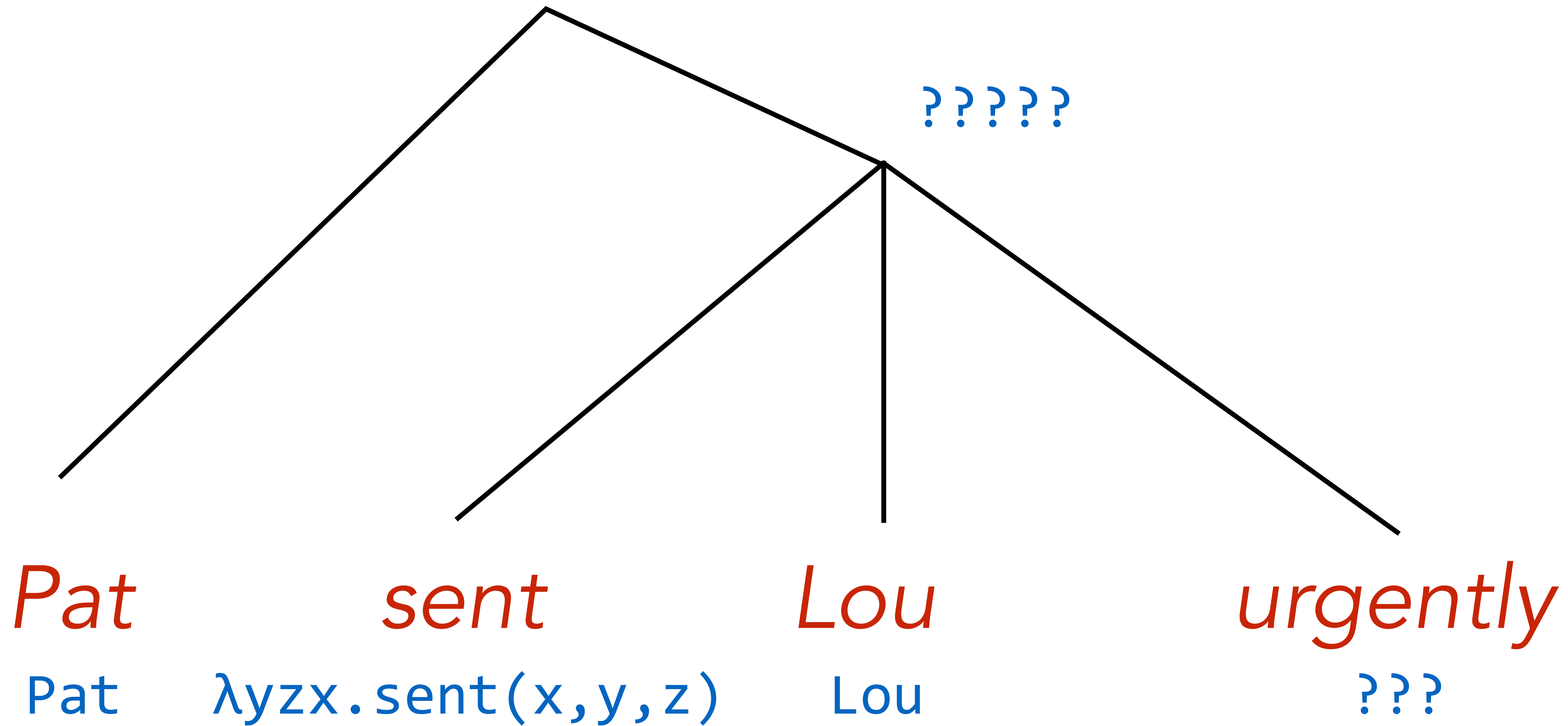


What do we do now?





What do we do now?





Semantic types

Pat

Pat

sent

$\lambda yzx. \text{sent}(x, y, z)$

$\{\text{Obj}, \text{Obj}, \text{Obj}\}$



Bool

Object

Lou

Lou

Object

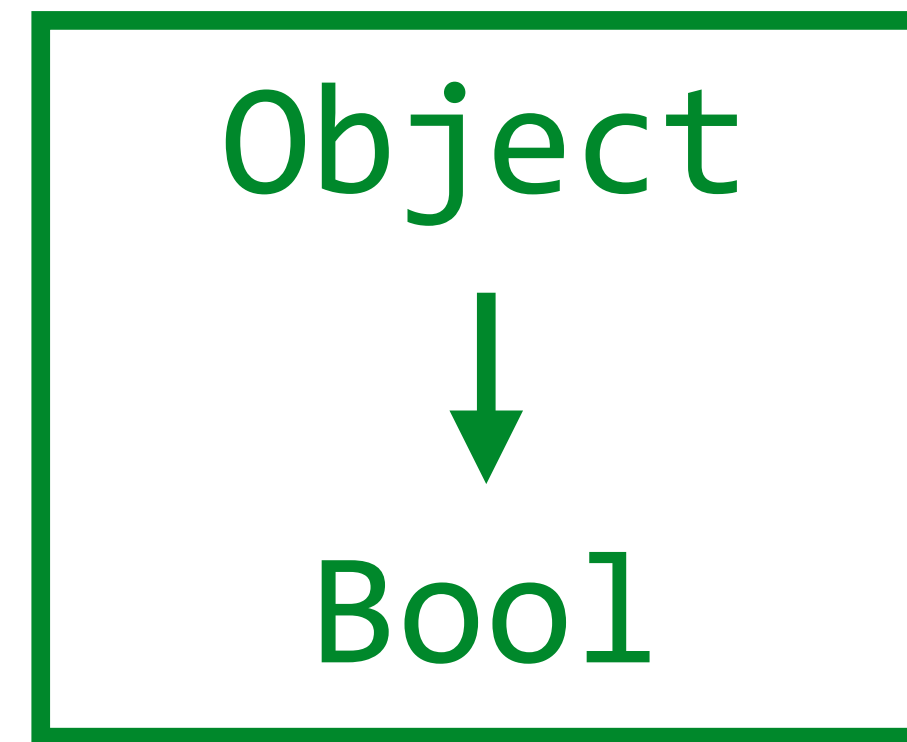
a

$\lambda f. \text{Ax}. f(x)$

Object



Bool



Bool

letter

$\lambda x. \text{letter}(x)$

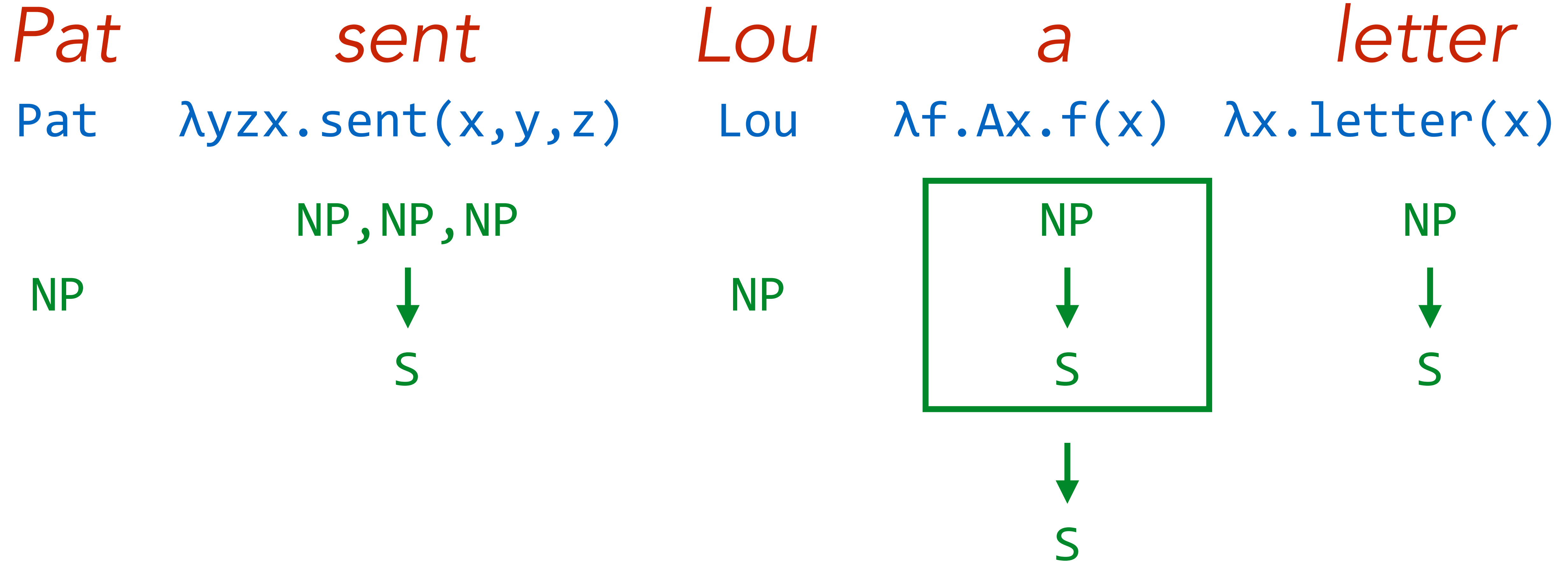
Object

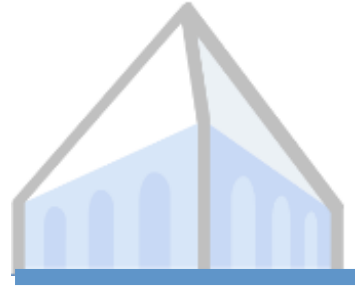


Bool



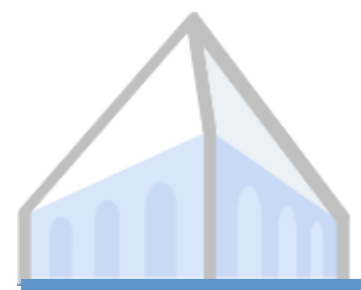
Semantic types & syntax





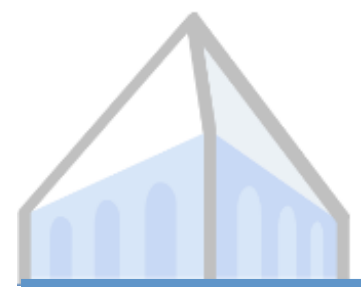
Semantic types & syntax

<i>Pat</i>	<i>sent</i>	<i>Lou</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>letter</i>
Pat	$\lambda yzx.\text{sent}(x,y,z)$	Lou	$\lambda f.Ax.f(x)$	$\lambda x.\text{letter}(x)$
NP	$((S NP) NP) NP$	NP	$S (S NP)$	$S NP$



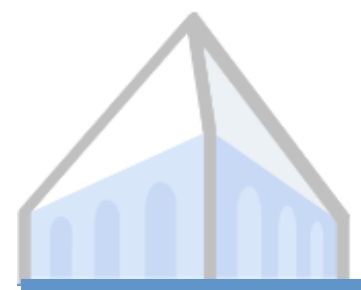
Categorial grammar

<i>Pat</i>	<i>sent</i>	<i>Lou</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>letter</i>
Pat	$\lambda yzx.\text{sent}(x,y,z)$	Lou	$\lambda f.Ax.f(x)$	$\lambda x.\text{letter}(x)$
NP	$((S \backslash \text{NP}) / \text{NP}) / \text{NP}$	NP	$\text{NP} / (S / \text{NP})$	S / NP



Parsing with a categorial grammar

<i>Pat</i>	<i>sent</i>	<i>Lou</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>letter</i>
Pat	$\lambda yzx.\text{sent}(x,y,z)$	Lou	$\lambda f.Ax.f(x)$	$\lambda x.\text{letter}(x)$
NP	$((S \backslash NP) / NP) / NP$	NP	$NP / (S / NP)$	S / NP
			<hr/>	
			$Ax.\text{letter}(x)$	
			NP	



Parsing with a categorial grammar

<i>Pat</i>	<i>sent</i>	<i>Lou</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>letter</i>
Pat	$\lambda yzx.\text{sent}(x,y,z)$	Lou	$\lambda f.Ax.f(x)$	$\lambda x.\text{letter}(x)$
NP	$((S \backslash NP) / NP) / NP$	NP	$NP / (S / NP)$	S / NP
<hr/>			<hr/>	
$\lambda zx.\text{sent}(x, \text{Lou}, z)$			$Ax.\text{letter}(x)$	
$(S \backslash NP) / NP$			NP	



Parsing with a categorial grammar

<i>Pat</i>	<i>sent</i>	<i>Lou</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>letter</i>
Pat	$\lambda yzx.\text{sent}(x,y,z)$	Lou	$\lambda f.Ax.f(x)$	$\lambda x.\text{letter}(x)$
NP	$((S \backslash NP) / NP) / NP$	NP	$NP / (S / NP)$	S / NP
<hr/>		<hr/>		
	$\lambda zx.\text{sent}(x, \text{Lou}, z)$		$Ax.\text{letter}(x)$	
	$(S \backslash NP) / NP$		NP	
<hr/>				
	$\lambda x.\text{sent}(x, \text{Lou}, Ax.\text{letter}(x))$			
	$S \backslash NP$			



Parsing with a categorial grammar

<i>Pat</i>	<i>sent</i>	<i>Lou</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>letter</i>
Pat	$\lambda yzx.\text{sent}(x,y,z)$	Lou	$\lambda f.Ax.f(x)$	$\lambda x.\text{letter}(x)$
NP	$((S \backslash NP) / NP) / NP$	NP	$NP / (S / NP)$	S / NP
<hr/>			<hr/>	
$\lambda zx.\text{sent}(x, \text{Lou}, z)$			$Ax.\text{letter}(x)$	
$(S \backslash NP) / NP$			NP	
<hr/>				
$\lambda x.\text{sent}(x, \text{Lou}, Ax.\text{letter}(x))$				$S \backslash NP$
<hr/>				
$\text{sent}(\text{Pat}, \text{Lou}, Ax.\text{letter}(x))$				S



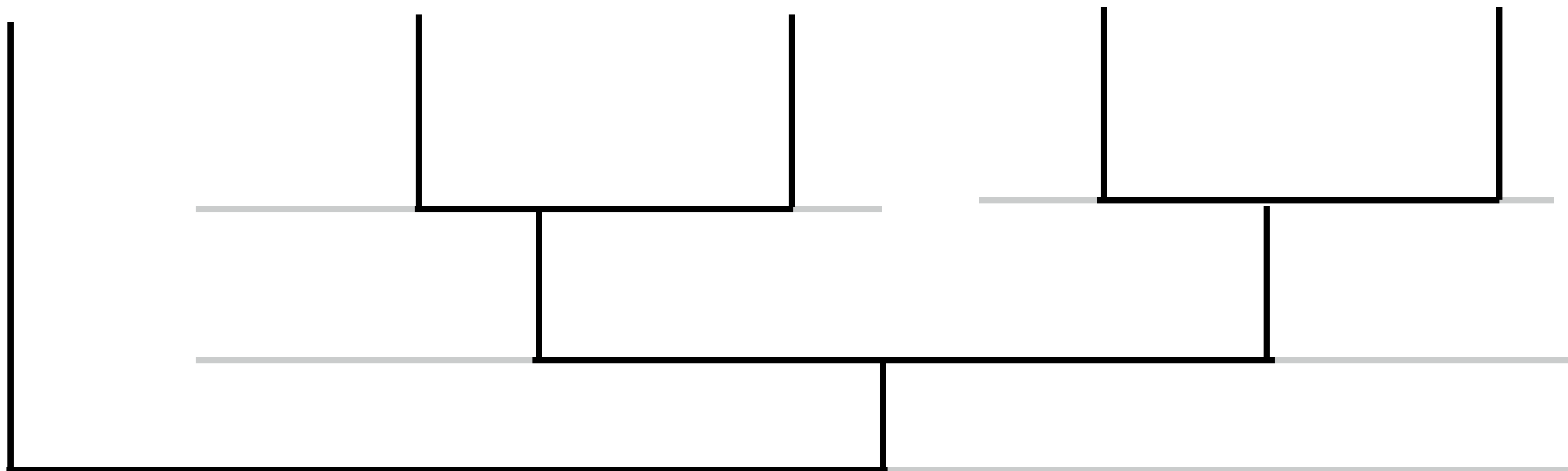
Semantics → Syntax!

Pat *sent* *Lou* *a* *letter*



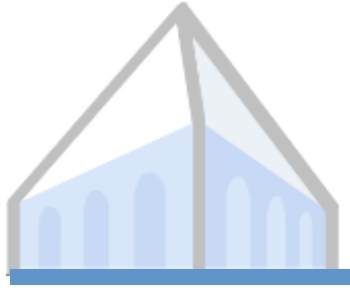
Semantics → Syntax!

Pat *sent* *Lou* *a* *letter*



KEY IDEA

Types in logic correspond to
grammatical categories in language



Problem 1

Each of the three girls has a platypus.

Each of the three girls climbed the mountain.

$\forall x.\text{girl}(x) \rightarrow \exists y.\text{platypus}(y) \wedge \text{has}(x, y)$

$\exists y.\text{mountain}(y) \wedge \forall x.\text{girl}(x) \rightarrow \text{climbed}(x, y)$



Problem 2

*There are 128 cities
in South Carolina*

name	type	coastal
<i>Columbia</i>	city	no
<i>Cooper</i>	river	yes
<i>Charleston</i>	city	yes

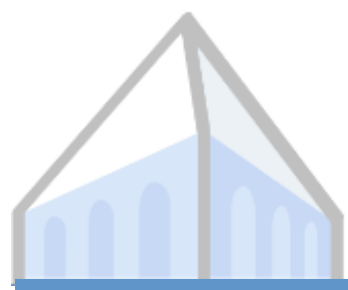


Problem 2

*There are 128 cities
in South Carolina*

same(128,
count x. city(x) \wedge
in(x, SouthCarolina))

name	type	coastal
<i>Columbia</i>	city	no
<i>Cooper</i>	river	yes
<i>Charleston</i>	city	yes



Problem 3

Barack Obama was the 44th President of the United States. Obama was born on August 4 in Honolulu, Hawaii. In late August 1961, Obama's mother moved with him to the University of Washington in Seattle for a year...

Is Barack Obama from the United States?



Problem 3

*Barack
States.
Hawaii.
him to*

`born(Obama, Hawaii, August 4)`

*United
Honolulu,
ed with
year...*

Is l `from(Obama, United States)` *es?*



Problem 3

Barack
States

born(Obama, Hawaii, August 4)

United
Honolulu,

Ha
hir

$\text{born}(x, y, z) \rightarrow \text{from}(x, y)$
 $\text{from}(x, y) \wedge \text{in}(y, z) \rightarrow \text{from}(x, z)$
 $\text{in}(\text{Hawaii}, \text{United States})$

with
r...

Is l

from(Obama, United States)

as?

KEY IDEA

The meaning of a sentence is the set of possible worlds it picks out.

KEY IDEA

Collections of possible worlds can be compactly represented with logical forms.

KEY IDEA

Pieces of logical forms
correspond to pieces of language

KEY IDEA

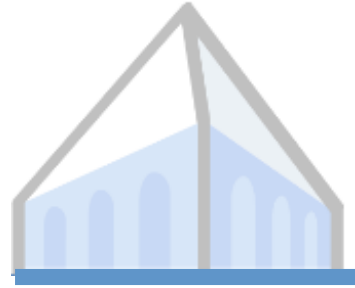
Types in logic correspond to
grammatical categories in language

BONUS ROUND
What's missing?



Saying what we mean

Q: How do you like my cooking?



Saying what we mean

Q: How do you like my cooking?

A: It's extremely interesting.

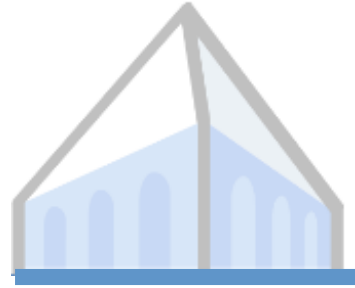


Saying what we mean

Q: How do you like my cooking?

A: It's extremely interesting.

Q: Do you know what time it is?



Saying what we mean

Q: How do you like my cooking?

A: It's extremely interesting.

Q: Do you know what time it is?

A: Yes, I do.



Belief & possibility

Sal might have seen a unicorn.

Pat thinks Sal saw a unicorn.

Pat wants to find a unicorn.

KEY IDEA

Not all meaning is literal!

BONUS ROUND

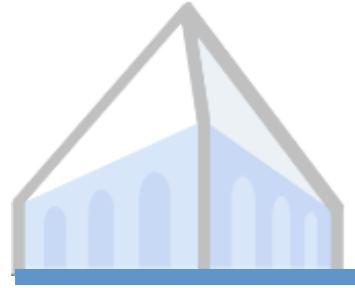
Historical Notes



Alfred Tarski



Richard Montague



Learn more

ling121: "Logical Semantics"

Ted Briscoe's lecture notes:

<https://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/teaching/1011/L107/semantics.pdf>

Mark Steedman, "The Syntactic Process"