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² Implementing Semantic Theories

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1 Introduction

 What is a semantic theory, and why is it useful to implement semantic theories?

 In this chapter, a semantic theory is taken to be a collection of rules for specifying the interpretation of a class of natural language expressions. An example would be a theory of how to handle quantification, expressed as a set of rules for how to interpret determiner expressions like all, all except one, at least three but no more than ten.

 It will be demonstrated that implementing such a theory as a program that can be executed on a computer involves much less effort than is commonly thought, and has greater benefits than most linguists assume. Ideally, this Handbook should have example implementations in all chapters, to illustrate how the theories work, and to demonstrate that the accounts are fully explicit.

What makes a semantic theory easy or hard to implement?

 What makes a semantic theory easy to implement is formal explicitness of the framework in which it is stated. Hard to implement are theories stated in vague frameworks, or stated in frameworks that elude explicit formulation because they change too often or too quickly. It helps if the semantic theory itself is stated in more or less formal terms.

Choosing an implementation language: imperative versus declarative

 Well-designed implementation languages are a key to good software design, but while many well designed languages are available, not all kinds of language are equally suited for implementing semantic theories.

 Programming languages can be divided very roughly into imperative and declarative. Imperative programming consists in specifying a sequence of as- signment actions, and reading off computation results from registers. Declar- ative programming consists in defining functions or predicates and executing these definitions to obtain a result.

 Recall the old joke of the computer programmer who died in the shower? He was just following the instructions on the shampoo bottle: "Lather, rinse, repeat." Following a sequence of instructions to the letter is the essence of imperative programming. The joke also has a version for functional program- mers. The definition on the shampoo bottle of the functional programmer ω runs:

wash = lather : rinse : wash

 This is effectively a definition by co-recursion (like definition by recursion, but without a base case) of an infinite stream of lathering followed by rinsing followed by lathering followed by

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 To be suitable for the representation of semantic theories, an implemen-⁴⁶ tation language has to have good facilities for specifying *abstract data types*. The key feature in specifying abstract data types is to present a precise de- scription of that data type without referring to any concrete representation ⁴⁹ of the objects of that datatype and to specify operations on the data type without referring to any implementation details.

 This abstract point of view is provided by many-sorted algebras. Many sorted algebras are specifications of abstract datatypes. Most state-of-the art functional programming languages excel here. See below. An example of an abstract data type would be the specification of a grammar as a list of context free rewrite rules, say in Backus Naur form (BNF).

⁵⁶ Logic programming or functional programming: trade-offs

First order predicate logic can be turned into a computation engine by adding SLD resolution, unification and fixpoint computation. The result is called datalog. SLD resolution is Linear resolution with a Selection function for Definite sentences. Definite sentences, also called Horn clauses, are clauses with exactly one positive literal. An example:

 $father(x) \vee \neg parent(x) \vee \neg male(x).$

This can be viewed as a definition of the predicate father in terms of the predicates parent and male, and it is usually written as a reverse implication, and using a comma:

$$
father(x) \leftarrow parent(x), male(x).
$$

 To extend this into a full fledged programming paradigm, backtracking and cut (an operator for pruning search trees) were added (by Alain Colmerauer and Robert Kowalski, around 1972). The result is Prolog, short for programmation [l](http://www.learnprolognow.org/)ogique. Excellent sources of information on Prolog can be found at [http:](http://www.learnprolognow.org/) [//www.learnprolognow.org/](http://www.learnprolognow.org/) and <http://www.swi-prolog.org/>.

 Pure lambda calculus was developed in the 1930s and 40s by the logician Alonzo Church, as a foundational project intended to put mathematics on a firm basis of 'effective procedures'. In the system of pure lambda calculus, everything is a function. Functions can be applied to other functions to obtain values by a process of application, and new functions can be constructed from existing functions by a process of lambda abstraction.

> Unfortunately, the system of pure lambda calculus admits the formulation of Russell's paradox. Representing sets by their characteristic functions (essentially procedures for separating the members of a set from the non-members), we can define

$$
r = \lambda x \cdot \neg(x \ x).
$$

⁶⁸ Now apply r to itself:

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$$
r r = (\lambda x \cdot \neg(x x))(\lambda x \cdot \neg(x x))
$$

= $\neg((\lambda x \cdot \neg(x x))(\lambda x \cdot \neg(x x)))$
= $\neg(r r).$

 $\frac{69}{100}$ So if $(r r)$ is true then it is false and vice versa. This means that pure lambda calculus is not a suitable foundation for mathematics. However, as Church and Turing realized, it is a suitable foundation for computation. Elements of lambda calculus have found their way into a number of programming lan-guages such as Lisp, Scheme, ML, Caml, Ocaml, and Haskell.

 In the mid-1980s, there was no "standard" non-strict, purely-functional programming language. A language-design committee was set up in 1987, and the Haskell language is the result. Haskell is named after Haskell B. Curry, a η logician who has the distinction of having two programming languages named τ_{B} after him, Haskell and Curry. For a famous defense of functional programming ⁷⁹ the reader is referred to [Hughes](#page-49-0) [\(1989\)](#page-49-0). A functional language has *non-strict* evaluation or lazy evaluation if evaluation of expressions stops 'as soon as possible'. In particular, only arguments that are necessary for the outcome are computed, and only as far as necessary. This makes it possible to handle infinite data structures such as infinite lists. We will use this below to represent the infinite domain of natural numbers.

 A declarative programming language is better than an imperative pro- gramming language for implementing a description of a set of semantic rules. The two main declarative programming styles that are considered suitable for implementating computational semantics are logic programming and func- tional programming. Indeed, computational paradigms that emerged in com- puter science, such as unification and proof search, found their way into seman- tic theory, as basic feature value computation mechanisms and as resolution algorithms for pronoun reference resolution.

 If unification and first order inference play an important role in a semantic theory, then a logic programming language like Prolog may seem a natural choice as an implementation language. However, while unification and proof search for definite clauses constitute the core of logic programming (there is hardly more to Prolog than these two ingredients), functional programming encompasses the whole world of abstract datatype definition and polymorphic typing. As we will demonstrate below, the key ingredients of logic program- ming are easily expressed in Haskell, while Prolog is not very suitable for expressing data abstraction. Therefore, in this chapter we will use Haskell rather than Prolog as our implementation language. For a textbook on com- putational semantics that uses Prolog, we refer to [Blackburn & Bos](#page-49-1) [\(2005\)](#page-49-1). A recent computational semantics textbook that uses Haskell is [Eijck & Unger](#page-49-2) $(2010).$ $(2010).$

 Modern functional programming languages such as Haskell are in fact im- plementations of typed lambda calculus with a flexible type system. Such languages have polymorphic types, which means that functions and opera-

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 tions can apply generically to data. E.g., the operation that joins two lists has 110 as its only requirement that the lists are of the same type a — where a can be the type of integers, the type of characters, the type of lists of characters, or any other type — and it yields a result that is again a list of type a.

 This chapter will demonstrate, among other things, that implementing a Montague style fragment in a functional programming language with flexible types is a breeze: Montague's underlying representation language is typed lambda calculus, be it without type flexibility, so Montague's specifications of natural language fragments in PTQ [Montague](#page-49-3) [\(1973\)](#page-49-3) and UG [Montague](#page-49-4) [\(1974b\)](#page-49-4) are in fact already specifications of functional programs. Well, almost.

Unification versus function composition in logical form construction

 If your toolkit has just a hammer in it, then everything looks like a nail. If your implementation language has built-in unification, it is tempting to use unification for the composition of expressions that represent meaning. The Core Language Engine [Alshawi](#page-49-5) [\(1992\)](#page-49-5); [Alshawi & Eijck](#page-49-6) [\(1989\)](#page-49-6) uses unification to construct logical forms.

 For instance, instead of combining noun phrase interpretations with verb phrase interpretations by means of functional composition, in a Prolog im- plementation a verb phrase interpretation typically has a Prolog variable X occupying a subjVal slot, and the noun phrase interpretation typically unifies with the X. But this approach will not work if the verb phrase contains more than one occurrence of X. Take the translation of No one was allowed to pack ¹³¹ and leave. This does not mean the same as No one was allowed to pack and no one was allowed to leave. But the confusion of the two is hard to avoid under a feature unification approach.

 Theoretically, function abstraction and application in a universe of higher order types are a much more natural choice for logical form construction. Using an implementation language that is based on type theory and function abstraction makes it particularly easy to implement the elements of semantic processing of natural language, as we will demonstrate below.

Literate Programming

 This Chapter is written in so-called literate programming style. Literate pro- gramming, as advocated by Donald Knuth in [Knuth](#page-49-7) [\(1992\)](#page-49-7), is a way of writing computer programs where the first and foremost aim of the presentation of a program is to make it easily accessible to humans. Program and documenta- tion are in a single file. In fact, the program source text is extracted from the LATEX source text of the chapter. Pieces of program source text are displayed as in the following Haskell module declaration for this Chapter:

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module IST where import Data.List import Data.Char

import System.IO

 This declares a module called IST, for "Implementing a Semantic Theory", ¹⁴⁹ and imports the Haskell library with list processing routines called *Data.List*, the library with character processing functions Data.Char, and the input-¹⁵¹ output routines library System. IO.

 We will explain most programming constructs that we use, while avoiding a full blown tutorial. For tutorials and further background on programming [i](#page-49-2)n Haskell we refer the reader to <www.haskell.org>, and to the textbook [Eijck](#page-49-2) $\& \text{ Unger } (2010).$ $\& \text{ Unger } (2010).$ $\& \text{ Unger } (2010).$

 You are strongly encouraged to install the Haskell Platform on your com- puter, download the software that goes with this chapter from internet address <https://github.com/janvaneijck/ist>, and try out the code for yourself. The advantage of developing fragments with the help of a computer is that interacting with the code gives us feedback on the clarity and quality of our formal notions.

The role of models in computational semantics

 If one looks at computational semantics as an enterprise of constructing logical forms for natural language sentences to express their meanings, then this may seem a rather trivial exercise, or as Stephen Pulman once phrased it, an ¹⁶⁶ "exercise in typesetting". "John loves Mary" gets translated into $L(j, m)$, ¹⁶⁷ and so what? The point is that $L(j, m)$ is a predication that can be checked for truth in an appropriate formal model. Such acts of model checking are what computational semantics is all about. If one implements computational semantics, one implements appropriate models for semantic interpretation as well, plus the procedures for model checking that make the computational engine tick. We will illustrate this with the examples in this Chapter.

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¹⁷³ 2 Direct Interpretation or Logical Form?

¹⁷⁴ In Montague style semantics, there are two flavours: use of a logical form ¹⁷⁵ language, as in PTQ [Montague](#page-49-3) [\(1973\)](#page-49-3) and UG [Montague](#page-49-4) [\(1974b\)](#page-49-4), and direct ¹⁷⁶ semantic interpretation, as in EAAFL [Montague](#page-49-8) [\(1974a\)](#page-49-8).

> To illustrate the distinction, consider the following BNF grammar for generalized quantifiers:

> > Det ::= Every | All | Some | No | Most.

¹⁷⁷ The data type definition in the implementation follows this to the letter:

 179 Let D be some finite domain. Then the interpretation of a determiner on ¹⁸⁰ this domain can be viewed as a function of type $PD \to PD \to \{0, 1\}$. In 181 Montague style, elements of D have type e and the type of truth values is denoted t, so this becomes: $(e \to t) \to (e \to t) \to t$. Given two subsets p, q 183 of D, the determiner relation does or does not hold for these subsets. E.g., ¹⁸⁴ the quantifier relation All holds between two sets p and q iff $p \subset q$. Similarly 185 the quantifier relation Most holds between two finite sets p and q iff $p \cap q$ has 186 more elements than $p - q$. Let's implement this.

¹⁸⁷ Direct interpretation

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¹⁸⁸ A direct interpretation instruction for "All" for a domain of integers (so now $\frac{189}{189}$ the role of e is played by Int) is given by:

```
intDET :: [Int] -> Det
                         \Rightarrow (Int \Rightarrow Bool) \Rightarrow (Int \Rightarrow Bool) \Rightarrow Bool
intDET domain All = \ p q \rightarrowfilter (\xrightarrow x \rightarrow p \ x \ \& \ not (q \ x)) domain == []
```
 Here, [] is the empty list. The type specification says that $intDET$ is a function that takes a list of integers, next a determiner Det, next an integer property, next another integer property, and yields a boolean (True or False). The function definition for All says that All is interpreted as the relation 195 between properties p and q on a *domain* that evaluates to True iff the set of 196 objects in the domain that satisfy p but not q is empty.

¹⁹⁷ Let's play with this. In Haskell the property of being greater than some number n is expressed as $(> n)$. A list of integers can specified as $[n...m]$. So ¹⁹⁹ here goes:

²⁰⁰ *IST> intDET [1..100] All (> 2) (> 3)

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are some examples of identifiers:

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From now on we can use ix for Id "x" 0, and so on. Next, we define terms. Terms are either variables or functions with names and term arguments. First in BNF notation:

 $t ::= v_i | f_i(t, ..., t).$

²³⁴ The indices on variables v_i and function symbols f_i can be viewed as names. ²³⁵ Here is the corresponding data type:

```
236 data Term = Var Id | Struct Name [Term] deriving (Eq,Ord)
237 Some examples of variable terms:
            x = Var i xy = Var i yz = Var i z238
239 An example of a constant term (a function without arguments):
            zero :: Term
\frac{240}{2} zero = Struct "zero" \begin{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}241 Some examples of function symbols:
            s = Struct "s"
            t = Struct "t"
            u = Struct "u"
242
243 Function symbols can be combined with constants to define so-called
244 ground terms (terms without occurrences of variables). In the following, we
<sup>245</sup> use s[ for the successor function.
            one = s[zero]
            two = s[one]three = s[two]four = s[three]five = s[four]246
```
 \sum_{247} The function is Var checks whether a term is a variable; it uses the type 248 Bool for Boolean (true or false). The type specification Term \rightarrow Bool says

²⁴⁹ that *is Var* is a classifier of terms. It classifies the terms that start with ²⁵⁰ Var as variables, and all other terms as non-variables.

```
isVar :: Term -> Bool
isVar (Var) = TrueisVar = False
```
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²⁵² The function isGround checks whether a term is a ground term (a term ²⁵³ without occurrences of variables); it uses the Haskell primitives *and* and *map*, ²⁵⁴ which you should look up in a Haskell tutorial if you are not familiar with ²⁵⁵ them.

```
isGround :: Term -> Bool
isGround (Var _{-}) = False
isGround (Struct _ ts) = and (map isGround ts)
```
²⁵⁷ This gives (you should check this for yourself):

```
258 *IST> isGround zero
259 True
260 *IST> isGround five
261 True
_{262} *IST> isGround (s[x])
263 False
```
²⁶⁴ The functions $varsInTerm$ and $varsInTerm$ give the variables that occur in a term or a term list. Variable lists should not contain duplicates; the function nub cleans up the variable lists. If you are not familiar with nub, concat and function composition by means of ·, you should look up these functions in a Haskell tutorial.

```
varsInTerm :: Term -> [Id]
varsInTerm (Var i) = [i]varsInTerm (Struct _ ts) = varsInTerms ts
varsInTerms :: [Term] -> [Id]
varsInTerms = nub . concat . map varsInTerm
```
We are now ready to define formulas from atoms that contain lists of terms. First in BNF:

 $\phi ::= A(t, \ldots, t) | t = t | \neg \phi | \phi \land \phi | \phi \lor \phi | Q_v \phi \phi.$

²⁷⁰ Here $A(t, \ldots, t)$ is an atom with a list of term arguments. In the implemen-²⁷¹ tation, the data-type for formulas can look like this:

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 E quality statements Eq Term Term express identities $t_1 = t_2$. The Formula data type defines conjunction and disjunction as lists, with the intended mean- ing that Cnj fs is true iff all formulas in fs are true, and that Dsj fs is true iff at least one formula in fs is true. This will be taken care of by the truth definition below.

 Before we can use the data type of formulas, we have to address a syntactic issue. The determiner expression is translated into a logical form construction recipe, and this recipe has to make sure that variables bound by a newly introduced generalized quantifier are bound properly. The definition of the fresh function that takes care of this can be found in the appendix. It is used in the translation into logical form for the quantifiers:

 Note that the use of a fresh index is essential. If an index i is not fresh, this means that it is used by a quantifier somewhere inside p or q, which gives a risk that if these expressions of type Term -> Formula are applied to Var i, occurrences of this variable may get bound by the wrong quantifier expression.

290 Of course, the task of providing formulas of the form All v $\phi_1 \phi_2$ or the ²⁹¹ form *Most v* $\phi_1 \phi_2$ with the correct interpretation is now shifted to the truth ²⁹² definition for the logical form language. We will turn to this in the next ²⁹³ Section.

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²⁹⁴ 3 Model Checking Logical Forms

 The example formula language from Section [2](#page-6-0) is first order logic with equality and the generalized quantifier Most. This is a genuine extension of first order ²⁹⁷ logic with equality, for it is proved in [Barwise & Cooper](#page-49-9) [\(1981\)](#page-49-9) that Most is not expressible in first order logic.

²⁹⁹ Once we have a logical form language like this, we can dispense with ³⁰⁰ extending this to a higher order typed version, and instead use the implemen-³⁰¹ tation language to construct the higher order types.

 302 Think of it like this. For any type a , the implementation language gives 303 us properties (expressions of type $a \rightarrow$ Bool), relations (expressions of type $a \rightarrow a \rightarrow$ Bool), higher order relations (expressions of type $(a \rightarrow$ Bool) \rightarrow ³⁰⁵ ($a \rightarrow$ Bool) \rightarrow Bool), and so on. Now replace the type of Booleans with that $_{306}$ of logical forms or formulas (call it F), and the type a with that of terms (call ³⁰⁷ it T). Then the type $T \to F$ expresses an LF property, the type $T \to T \to F$ 308 an LF relation, the type $(T \to F) \to (T \to F) \to F$ a higher order relation, ³⁰⁹ suitable for translating generalized quantifiers, and so on.

³¹⁰ For example, the LF translation of the generalized quantifier *Most* in Sec- 311 tion [2,](#page-6-0) produces an expression of type $(T \to F) \to (T \to F) \to F$.

 Tarski's famous truth definition for first order logic [\(Tarski, 1956\)](#page-50-0) has as key ingredients variable assignments, interpretations for predicate symbols, and interpretations for function symbols, and proceeds by recursion on the structure of formulas.

³¹⁶ A domain of discourse D together with an interpretation function I that ³¹⁷ interprets predicate symbols as properties or relations on D, and function \sum_{318} symbols as functions on D, is called a *first order model*.

³¹⁹ In our implementation, we have to distinguish between the interpretation ³²⁰ for the predicate letters and that for the function symbols, for they have ³²¹ different types:

```
type Interp a = Name \rightarrow [a] \rightarrow Bool\text{type} FInterp a = Name -> [a] -> a
```
 These are polymorphic declarations: the type a can be anything. Suppose our domain of entities consists of integers. Let us say we want to interpret on the domain of the natural numbers. Then the domain of discourse is infinite. Since our implementation language has non-strict evaluation, we can handle infinite lists. The domain of discourse is given by:

```
naturals :: [Integer]
rac{1}{228} and rac{1}{28} and rac{1}{28}
```
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 The type Integer is for integers of arbitrary size. Other domain definitions are also possible. Here is an example of a finite number domain, using the fixed size data type Int:

```
numbers :: [Int]
332<br>numbers = [minBound..maxBound]
```
333 Let V be the set of variables of the language. A function $g: V \to D$ is called a variable assignment or valuation.

 Before we can turn to evaluation of formulas, we have to construct valua- tion functions of type Term -> a, given appropriate interpretations for func-tion symbols, and given an assignment to the variables that occur in terms.

 A variable assignment, in the implementation, is a function of type Id -> a, where a is the type of the domain of interpretation. The term lookup function takes a function symbol interpretatiomn (type FInterp a) and vari- $_{341}$ able assigment (type Id \rightarrow a) as inputs, and constructs a term assignment (type Term \rightarrow a), as follows.

```
tVal :: FInterp a \rightarrow (Id \rightarrow a) \rightarrow Term \rightarrow atVal fint g (Var v) = g vtVal fint g (Struct str ts) =
             fint str (map (tVal fint g) ts)
```
 $1/344$ tVal computes a value (an entity in the domain of discourse) for any term, on the basis of an interpretation for the function symbols and an assigment of entities to the variables. Understanding how this works is one of the keys to understanding the truth definition for first order predicate logic, as it is explained in textbooks of logic. Here is that explanation once more:

- ³⁴⁹ If the term is a variable, $tVal$ borrows its value from the assignment g for variables.
- ³⁵¹ If the term is a function symbol followed by a list of terms, then $tVal$ is applied recursively to the term list, which gives a list of entities, and next the interpretation for the function symbol is used to map this list to an entity.

 Example use: fint1 gives an interpretation to the function symbol s while $\left(\begin{array}{cc} \searrow & -\geq 0 \end{array}\right)$ is the anonymous function that maps any variable to 0. The result of applying this to the term five (see the definition above) gives the expected value:

 $*$ IST> tVal fint1 (\ _ -> 0) five 5

 The truth definition of Tarski assumes a relation interpretation, a function interpretation and a variable assigment, and defines truth for logical form expression by recursion on the structure of the expression.

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 364 Given a structure with interpretation function $M = (D, I)$, we can define ³⁶⁵ a valuation for the predicate logical formulas, provided we know how to deal ³⁶⁶ with the values of individual variables.

³⁶⁷ Let g be a variable assignment or valuation. We use $g[v := d]$ for the $\frac{368}{268}$ valuation that is like g except for the fact that v gets value d (where g might ³⁶⁹ have assigned a different value). For example, let $D = \{1, 2, 3\}$ be the domain ³⁷⁰ of discourse, and let $V = \{v_1, v_2, v_3\}$. Let g be given by $g(v_1) = 1, g(v_2) =$ $2, g(v_3) = 3$. Then $g[v_1 := 2]$ is the valuation that is like g except for the fact $\frac{372}{1372}$ that v_1 gets the value 2, i.e. the valuation that assigns 2 to v_1 , 2 to v_2 , and 3 \int to v_3 .

 374 Here is the implementation of $g[v := d]$:

 Let $M = (D, I)$ be a model for language L, i.e., D is the domain of discourse, I is an interpretation function for predicate letters and function symbols. Let q be a variable assignment for L in M. Let F be a formula of our logical form language.

> Now we are ready to define the notion $M \models_q F$, for F is true in M under assignment g , or: g satisfies F in model M . We assume P is a one-place predicate letter, R is a two-place predicate letter, S is a three-place predicate letter. Also, we use $[[t]]_g$ as the term interpretation of t under I and g. With this notation, Tarski's truth definition can be stated as follows:

 What we have presented just now is a recursive definition of truth for our logical form language. The 'relation specified by Q' in the last clause refers to ³⁸² the generalized quantifier interpretations for all, some, no and most. Here is an implementation of quantifiers are relations:

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```
qRel :: Eq a => Det -> [a] -> [a] -> Bool
qRel All xs ys = all (\x \rightarrow elem x ys) xs
qRel Some xs ys = any (\xrightarrow x \rightarrow e \text{lem } x \text{ ys}) xs
qRel No xs ys = not (qRel Some xs ys)
qRel Most xs ys =
  length (intersect xs ys) > length (xs \\ ys)
```
 If we evaluate closed formulas — formulas without free variables — the 386 assignment g is irrelevant, in the sense that any g gives the same result. So ³⁸⁷ for closed formulas F we can simply define $M \models F$ as: $M \models q$ for some variable assignment g. But note that the variable assignment is still crucial for the truth definition, for the property of being closed is not inherited by the components of a closed formula.

 Let us look at how to implement an evaluation function. It takes as its first argument a domain, as its second argument a predicate interpretation function, as its third argument a function interpretation function, as its fourth argument a variable assignment, as its fifth argument a formula, and it yields a truth value. It is defined by recursion on the structure of the formula. The type of the evaluation function eval reflects the above assumptions.

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 The evaluation function is defined for all types a that belong to the class Eq. The assumption that the type a of the domain of evaluation is in Eq is needed in the evaluation clause for equalities. The evaluation function takes a universe (represented as a list, [a]) as its first argument, an interpretation function for relation symbols (Interp a) as its second argument, an interpretation function for function symbols as its third argument, a variable assignment (Id -> a) as its fourth argument, and a formula as its fifth argument. The definition is by structural recursion on the formula:

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```
eval domain i fint = eval' where
  eval' g (Atom str ts) = i str (map (tVal fint g) ts)
  eval' g (Eq t1 t2) = tVal fint g t1 == tVal fint g t2
  eval' g (Not f) = not eval' g f)eval' g (Cnj fs) = and (map (eval' g) fs)<br>
eval' g (Dsj fs) = or (map (eval' g) fs)
                            = or (map (eval' g) fs)
  eval' g (Q \det v f1 f2) = letrestr = [d | d \leftarrow domain, eval' (change g v d) f1 ]body = [d | d \leftarrow domain, eval' (change g v d) f2 ]in qRel det restr body
```
 This evaluation function can be used to check the truth of formulas in appropriate domains. The domain does not have to be finite. Suppose we want to check the truth of "There are even natural numbers". Here is the ⁴¹⁰ formula:

⁴¹¹ form0 = Q Some ix (Atom "Number" [x]) (Atom "Even" [x])

⁴¹² We need an interpretation for the predicates "Number" and "Even". We ⁴¹³ also throw in an interpretation for "Less than":

```
int0 :: Interp Integer
int0 "Number" = \left[\begin{matrix}x\end{matrix}\right] -> True
int0 "Even" = \left[\begin{matrix}x\end{matrix}\right] -> even x
int0 "Less_than" = \left[\begin{matrix}x,y\end{matrix}\right] -> x < y
```
 Note that relates language (strings like "Number", "Even") to predicates on a model (implemented as Haskell functions). So the function int0 is part of the bridge between language and the world (or: between language and the model under consideration).

 For this example, we don't need to interpret function symbols, so any function interpretation will do. But for other examples we want to give names to certain numbers, using the constants "zero", "s", "plus", "times". Here is a suitable term interpretation function for that:

```
fint0 :: FInterp Integer
fint0 "zero" [] = 0fint0 "s" [i] = succ i
fint0 "plus" [i,j] = i + jfint0 "times" [i,j] = i * j
```
⁴²⁴ Again we see a distinction between syntax (expressions like "plus" and ⁴²⁵ "times") and semantics (Haskell operations like + and *).

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⁴⁵⁷ To give an example, assume that the domain of discourse is a finite set of ⁴⁵⁸ entities. Let the following data type be given.

data Entity = A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M deriving (Eq,Show,Bounded,Enum) 459 ⁴⁶⁰ Now we can define entities as follows: entities :: [Entity] ⁴⁶¹ entities = [minBound..maxBound] ⁴⁶² Now, proper names will simply be interpreted as entities. alice, bob, carol :: Entity alice $= A$ $bob = B$ $card = C$ 463 ⁴⁶⁴ Common nouns such as *girl* and *boy* as well as intransitive verbs like *laugh* ⁴⁶⁵ and weep are interpreted as properties of entities. Transitive verbs like love ⁴⁶⁶ and hate are interpreted as relations between entities. ⁴⁶⁷ Let's define a type for predications: ⁴⁶⁸ type Pred a = [a] -> Bool ⁴⁶⁹ Some example properties: girl, boy :: Pred Entity $\text{girl} = \{ [x] \rightarrow \text{elem } x \ [A, C, D, G] \}$ boy = $\left[\begin{matrix} x \end{matrix}\right]$ -> elem x $[B, E, F]$ 470 ⁴⁷¹ Some example binary relations: love, hate :: Pred Entity love = $\{ [x,y] \rightarrow \text{elem}(x,y) \}$ $[(A,A),(A,B),(B,A),(C,B)]$ hate = $\{ [x,y] \rightarrow \text{elem}(x,y) [(B,C), (C,D)] \}$ 472 ⁴⁷³ And here is an example of a ternary relation:

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 interpreted as individual variables. Instead, they denote argument reducing functions. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

$$
Alice\; loved\; herself. \tag{1}
$$

 The reflexive herself is interpreted as a function that takes the two-place predicate loved as an argument and turns it into a one-place predicate, which

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 takes the subject as an argument, and expresses that this entity loves itself. This can be achieved by the following function self.

self :: Pred a -> Pred a $s = 506$
 $self r = \ (x:xs) \rightarrow r (x:xs)$

Here is an example application:

 This approach to reflexives has two desirable consequences. The first one is that the locality of reflexives immediately falls out. Since self is applied to a predicate and unifies arguments of this predicate, it is not possible that an ₅₁₇ argument is unified with a non-clause mate. So in a sentence like [\(2\)](#page-19-0), herself can only refer to Alice but not to Carol.

$$
Carol \, believed \, that \, Alice \, loved \, herself. \tag{2}
$$

 The second one is that it also immediately follows that reflexives in subject position are out.

$$
*Herself loved Alice.
$$
\n
$$
(3)
$$

- Given a compositional interpretation, we first apply the predicate loved to $\text{Alice},$ which gives us the one-place predicate $\lambda[x] \mapsto \text{love } [x, a]$. Then trying to apply the function self to this will fail, because it expects at least two arguments, and there is only one argument position left.
- Reflexive pronouns can also be used to reduce ditransitive verbs to transi- tive verbs, in two possible ways: the reflexive can be the direct object or the indirect object:

$$
Alice introduced \, herself \,to \, Bob. \tag{4}
$$

$$
Bob\ gave\ the\ book\ to\ himself.\tag{5}
$$

 The first of these is already taken care of by the reduction operation above. For the second one, here is an appropriate reduction function:

self' :: Pred a -> Pred a $self'$ $r = \langle x:y:xs \rangle \rightarrow r \langle x:y:x:xs \rangle$

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Quantifier scoping

 Quantifier scope ambiguities can be dealt with in several ways. From the point of view of type theory it is attractive to view sequences of quantifiers as functions from relations to truth values. E.g., the sequence "every man, some 535 woman" takes a binary relation $\lambda xy \cdot R[x, y]$ as input and yields True if and only ⁵³⁶ if it is the case that for every man x there is some woman y for which $R[x, y]$ holds. To get the reversed scope reading, just swap the quantifier sequence, and transform the relation by swapping the first two argument places, as follows:

```
swap12 :: Pred a -> Pred a
s^{40} swap12 r = \ (x:y:xs) -> r (y:x:xs)
```
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 So scope inversion can be viewed as a joint operation on quantifier se- quences and relations. See [\(Eijck & Unger, 2010,](#page-49-2) Chapter 10) for a full-fledged implementation and for further discussion.

⁵⁴⁴ 4 Example: Implementing Syllogistic Inference

 As an example of the process of implementing inference for natural language, let us view the language of the Aristotelian syllogism as a tiny fragment of natural language. Compare the chapter by Larry Moss on Natural Logic in this Handbook. The treatment in this Section is an improved version of the implementation in [\(Eijck & Unger, 2010,](#page-49-2) Chapter 5).

⁵⁵⁰ The Aristotelian quantifiers are given in the following well-known square ⁵⁵¹ of opposition:

Some A are B Not all A are B

⁵⁵³ Aristotle interprets his quantifiers with existential import: All A are B 554 and No A are B are taken to imply that there are A.

⁵⁵⁵ What can we ask or state with the Aristotelian quantifiers? The following ⁵⁵⁶ grammar gives the structure of queries and statements (with PN for plural ⁵⁵⁷ nouns):

$$
Q ::= \text{ Are all PN PN?}
$$
\n
$$
| \text{ Are no PN PN?}
$$
\n
$$
| \text{ Are any PN PN?}
$$
\n
$$
| \text{ Are any PN not PN?}
$$
\n
$$
| \text{ What about PN?}
$$

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 $S ::=$ All PN are PN. | No PN are PN. Some PN are PN. | Some PN are not PN.

⁵⁵⁹ The meanings of the Aristotelean quantifiers can be given in terms of set ⁵⁶⁰ inclusion and set intersection, as follows:

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- ⁵⁶¹ • ALL: Set inclusion
- ⁵⁶² SOME: Non-empty set intersection
- ⁵⁶³ NOT ALL: Non-inclusion
- ⁵⁶⁴ NO: Empty intersection

565 Set inclusion: $A \subseteq B$ holds if and only if every element of A is an element of B. Non-empty set intersection: $A \cap B \neq \emptyset$ if and only if there is some s_{57} $x \in A$ with $x \in B$. Non-empty set intersection can can expressed in terms of 568 inclusion, negation and complementation, as follows: $A \cap B \neq \emptyset$ if and only if 569 $A \not\subset \overline{B}$.

 To get a sound and complete inference system for this, we use the following \mathbf{K} ey Fact: A finite set of syllogistic forms Σ is unsatisfiable if and only if there exists an existential form ψ such that ψ taken together with the universal forms from Σ is unsatisfiable.

 This restricted form of satisfiability can easily be tested with propositional logic. Suppose we talk about the properties of a single object x. Let proposition letter a express that object x has property A. Then a universal statement "All A are B" gets translated as $a \to b$. An existential statement "Some A is B" gets translated as $a \wedge b$.

 For each property A we use a single proposition letter a. We have to check for each existential statement whether it is satisfiable when taken together with all universal statements. To test the satisfiability of a set of syllogistic statements with n existential statements we need n checks.

- ⁵⁸³ Literals, Clauses, Clause Sets
- ⁵⁸⁴ A *literal* is a propositional letter or its negation. A *clause* is a set of literals. ⁵⁸⁵ A clause set is a set of clauses.

⁵⁸⁶ Read a clause as a disjunction of its literals, and a clause set as a conjunc-⁵⁸⁷ tion of its clauses.

Represent the propositional formula

$$
(p \to q) \land (q \to r)
$$

as the following clause set:

$$
\{\{\neg p, q\}, \{\neg q, r\}\}.
$$

⁵⁸⁸ Here is an inference rule for clause sets: unit propagation

Unit Propagation

If one member of a clause set is a singleton $\{l\}$, then:

- remove every other clause containing l from the clause set;
- remove \overline{l} from every clause in which it occurs.

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The result of applying this rule is a simplified equivalent clause set. For example, unit propagation for $\{p\}$ to

$$
\{\{p\}, \{\neg p, q\}, \{\neg q, r\}, \{p, s\}\}\
$$

yields

 $\{\{p\}, \{q\}, \{\neg q, r\}\}.$

Applying unit propagation for ${q}$ to this result yields:

 $\{\{p\}, \{q\}, \{r\}\}.$

₅₉₀ The *Horn fragment* of propositional logic consists of all clause sets where every clause has at most one positive literal. Satisfiability for syllogistic forms containing exactly one existental statement translates to the Horn fragment of propositional logic. HORNSAT is the problem of testing Horn clause sets for satisfiability. Here is an algorithm for HORNSAT:

HORNSAT Algorithm

- If unit propagation yields a clause set in which units $\{l\}, \{\bar{l}\}$ occur, the original clause set is unsatisfiable.
- Otherwise the units in the result determine a satisfying valuation. Recipe: for all units $\{l\}$ occurring in the final clause set, map their proposition letter to the truth value that makes l true. Map all other proposition letters to false.

⁵⁹⁶ Here is an implementation. The definition of literals:

```
data Lit = Pos Name | Neg Name deriving Eq
instance Show Lit where
  show (Pos x) = xshow (Neg x) = '-':x
neg :: Lit -> Lit
neg (Pos x) = Neg x
neg (Neg x) = Pos x
```
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⁶¹² second argument gives the literals that occur in unit clauses, the third argu-⁶¹³ ment gives the non-unit clauses.

```
propagate cls =
  prop [] (concat (filter unit cls)) (filter (not.unit) cls)
  where
    prop :: [Lit] \rightarrow [Lit] \rightarrow [Clause]-> Maybe ([Lit],[Clause])
    prop xs [] clauses = Just (xs,clauses)
    prop xs (y:ys) clauses =
      if elem (neg y) xs
       then Nothing
       else prop (y:xs)(ys++newlits) clauses' where
        newclauses = unitProp y clauses
        zs = filter unit newclauses
        clauses' = newclauses \setminus zs
        newlits = concat zs
```
⁶¹⁵ Knowledge bases

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⁶¹⁶ A knowledge base is a pair, with as first element the clauses that represent the ⁶¹⁷ universal statements, and as second element a lists of clause lists, consisting ⁶¹⁸ of one clause list per existential statement.

```
619 type KB = ([Clause],[[Clause]])
620 The intention is that the first element represents the universal statements,
621 while the second element has one clause list per existential statement.
622 The universe of a knowledge base is the list of all classes that are mentioned
623 in it. We assume that classes are literals:
             type Class = Lit
             universe :: KB -> [Class]
             universe (xs,yss) =
               map (\xrightarrow x \rightarrow Pos x) zs ++ map (\xrightarrow x \rightarrow Neg x) zs
                  where zs = names (xs ++ concat yss)624
```
⁶²⁵ Statements and queries according to the grammar given above:

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```
data Statement =
    All1 Class Class | No1 Class Class
   | Some1 Class Class | SomeNot Class Class
   | AreAll Class Class | AreNo Class Class
   | AreAny Class Class | AnyNot Class Class
   | What Class
 deriving Eq
```
⁶²⁷ A statement display function is given in the appendix. Statement classifi-⁶²⁸ cation:

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630 Universal fact to statement. An implication $p \to q$ is represented as a ⁶³¹ clause $\{\neg p, q\}$, and yields a universal statement "All p are q". An implication ⁶³² p $\rightarrow \neg q$ is represented as a clause $\{\neg p, \neg q\}$, and yields a statement "No p are 633 $q"$.

Existential fact to statement. A conjunction $p \wedge q$ is represented as a clause ⁶³⁶ set $\{\{p\},\{q\}\}\$, and yields an existential statement "Some p are q". A conjunc- 637 tion $p \wedge \neg q$ is represented as a clause set $\{\{p\}, \{\neg q\}\}\$, and yields a statement ⁶³⁸ "Some p are not q ".

```
e2s :: [Clause] -> Statement
e2s [[Pos x],[Pos y]] = Some1 (Pos x) (Pos y)
e2s [[Pos x],[Neg y]] = SomeNot (Pos x) (Pos y)
```
⁶⁴⁰ Query negation:

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⁶⁷¹ indication of failure. This explains the following type. The boolean in the ⁶⁷² output is a flag indicating change in the knowledge base.

⁶⁷³ update :: Statement -> KB -> Maybe (KB,Bool)


```
update (All1 as bs) kb@(xs,yss)
 | bs' 'elem' (intersectionsets as kb) = Nothing
  | bs 'elem' (supersets as kb) = Just (kb,False)
  | otherwise = Just (([as',bs]:xs,yss),True)
where
   as' = neg as
   bs' = neg bs
```
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⁶⁷⁸ Update with other kinds of statements:

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```
update (No1 as bs) kb@(xs,yss)
  | bs 'elem' (intersectionsets as kb) = Nothing
  | bs' 'elem' (supersets as kb) = Just (kb,False)
  | otherwise = Just (([as',bs']:xs,yss),True)
 where
   as' = neg as
   bs' = neg bs
```

```
update (Some1 as bs) kb@(xs,yss)
 | bs' 'elem' (supersets as kb) = Nothing
  | bs 'elem' (intersectionsets as kb) = Just (kb,False)
  | otherwise = Just ((xs, [[as], [bs]]:yss), True)where
   bs' = neg bs
```

```
update (SomeNot as bs) kb@(xs,yss)
  | bs 'elem' (supersets as kb) = Nothing
  | bs' 'elem' (intersectionsets as kb) = Just (kb,False)
  | otherwise = Just ((xs, [[as], [bs']]:yss), True)where
   bs' = neg bs
```
 The above implementation of an inference engine for syllogistic reasoning is a mini-case of computational semantics. What is the use of this? Cogni- tive research focusses on this kind of quantifier reasoning, so it is a pertinent question whether the engine can be used to meet cognitive realities? A possi- ble link with cognition would refine this calculus and the check whether the predictions for differences in processing speed for various tasks are realistic.

 There is also a link to the "natural logic for natural language" enterprise: the logical forms for syllogistic reasoning are very close to the surface forms of the sentences. The Chapter on Natural Logic in this Handbook gives more information. All in all, reasoning engines like this one are relevant for rational reconstructions of cognitive processing. The appendix gives the code for con- structing a knowledge base from a list of statements, and updating it. Here is a chat function that starts an interaction from a given knowledge base and writes the result of the interaction to a file:

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```
chat :: IO ()
            chat = do
            kb <- getKB "kb.txt"
            writeKB "kb.bak" kb
            putStrLn "Update or query the KB:"
            str <- getLine
            if str == "" then return ()
             else do
              handleCases kb str
              chat
696
```
⁶⁹⁷ You are invited to try this out by loading the software for this chapter and ⁶⁹⁸ running chat.

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⁶⁹⁹ 5 Implementing Fragments of Natural Language

 Now what about the meanings of the sentences in a simple fragment of En- glish? Using what we know now about a logical form language and its inter- pretation in appropriate models, and assuming we have constants available for proper names, and predicate letters for the nouns and verbs of the fragment, we can easily translate the sentences generated by a simple example grammar into logical forms. Assume the following translation key:

Then the translation of Every boy loved a girl in the logical form language above could become:

$$
Q_{\forall}x (Boy\, x)(Q_{\exists}y (Girl\, y)(Love\, x\, y)).
$$

 To start the construction of meaning representations, we first represent a context free grammar for a natural language fragment in Haskell. A rule χ_{709} like S ::= NP VP defines syntax trees consisting of an S node immediately dominating an NP node and a VP node. This is rendered in Haskell as the following datatype definition:

 712 data $S = S NP VP$

⁷¹³ The S on the righthand side is a combinator indicating the name of the ⁷¹⁴ top of the tree. Here is a grammar for a tiny fragment:

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```
data S = S NP VP deriving Show
data NP = NP1 NAME | NP2 Det N | NP3 Det RN
  deriving Show
data ADJ = Beautiful | Happy | Evil
  deriving Show
data NAME = Alice | Bob | Carol
  deriving Show
data N = Boy | Girl | Toy | N ADJ N
  deriving Show
data RN = RN1 N That VP | RN2 N That NP TV
  deriving Show
data That = That deriving Show
data VP = VP1 IV | VP2 TV NP | VP3 DV NP NP deriving Show
data IV = Cheered | Laughed deriving Show
data TV = Admired | Loved | Hated | Helped deriving Show
data DV = Gave | Introduced deriving Show
```
715

⁷¹⁶ Look at this as a definition of syntactic structure trees. The structure for The boy that Alice helped admired every girl is given in Figure [1,](#page-32-0) with the ⁷¹⁸ Haskell version of the tree below it.

⁷¹⁹ For the purpose of this chapter we skip the definition of the parse function ⁷²⁰ that maps the string The boy that Alice helped admired every girl to this ⁷²¹ structure (but see [\(Eijck & Unger, 2010,](#page-49-2) Chapter 9)).

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 Now all we have to do is find appropriate translations for the categories in the grammar of the fragment. The first rule, $S \rightarrow NP VP$, already presents us with a difficulty. In looking for NP translations and VP translations, should we represent NP as a function that takes a VP representation as argument, or vice versa? In any case, VP representations will have a functional type, for VPs de- note properties. A reasonable type for the function that represents a VP is Term -> Formula. If we feed it with a term, it will yield a logical form. Proper names now can get the type of terms. Take the example Alice laughed. The verb laughed gets represented as the function that maps the term x to the formula Atom "laugh" [x]. Therefore, we get an appropriate logical form for τ ³³ the sentence if **x** is a term for *Alice*. ⁷³⁴ A difficulty with this approach is that phrases like no boy and every girl do not fit into this pattern. Following Montague, we can solve this by assuming that such phrases translate into functions that take VP representations as arguments. So the general pattern becomes: the NP representation is the function that takes the VP representation as its argument. This gives: lfS :: S -> Formula ⁷³⁹
1fS (S np vp) = (1fNP np) (1fVP vp) Next, NP-representations are of type (Term -> Formula) -> Formula. lfNP :: NP -> (Term -> Formula) -> Formula fNP (NP1 Alice) = \p -> p (Struct "Alice" []) $1fNP (NP1 Bob) = \ p \rightarrow p (Struct "Bob" [])$ lfNP (NP1 Carol) = $\ p \rightarrow p$ (Struct "Carol" []) $1fNP$ (NP2 det cn) = ($1fDET$ det) ($1fN$ cn) lfNP (NP3 det rcn) = (lfDET det) (lfRN rcn) Verb phrase representations are of type Term -> Formula. lfVP :: VP -> Term -> Formula lfVP (VP1 Laughed) = $\ t \rightarrow$ Atom "laugh" [t] lfVP (VP1 Cheered) = $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} t \to A$ tom "cheer" [t] Representing a function that takes two arguments can be done either by τ ⁴⁵ means of $a \rightarrow a \rightarrow b$ or by means of $(a,a) \rightarrow b$. A function of the first type is called curried, a function of the second type uncurried. We assume that representations of transitive verbs are uncurried, so they have type (Term,Term) -> Formula, where the first term slot is for the sub- ject, and the second term slot for the object. Accordingly, the representations of ditransitive verbs have type

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to change in an intensional fragment.

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6 Extension and Intension

 One of the trademarks of Montague grammar is the use of possible worlds to treat intensionality. Instead of giving a predicate a single interpretation in a model, possible world semantics gives intensional predicates different inter- pretations in different situations (or: in different "possible worlds"). A prince in one world may be a beggar in another, and the way in which intensional semantics accounts for this is by giving predicates like prince and beggar dif-ferent interpretations in different worlds.

 So we assume that apart from entities and truth values there is another basic type, for possible worlds. We introduce names or indices for possible worlds, as follows:

```
791 data World = W Int deriving (Eq,Show)
```
 Now the type of individual concepts is the type of functions from worlds to entities, i.e., World -> Entity. An individual concept is a rigid designator if it picks the same entity in every possible world:

```
rigid :: Entity -> World -> Entity
rigid x = \langle - \rangle x
```
 A function from possible worlds to truth values is a proposition. Proposi- $\frac{797}{797}$ tions have type World \rightarrow Bool. In *Mary desires to marry a prince* the rigid designator that interprets the proper name "Mary" is related to a proposition, namely the proposition that is true in a world if and only if Mary marries someone who, in that world, is a prince. So an intensional verb like desire may have type (World -> Bool) -> (World -> Entity) -> Bool, where (World -> Bool) is the type of "marry a prince", and (World -> Entity) is the type for the intensional function that interprets "Mary."

Models for intensional logic have a domain D of entities plus functions from predicate symbols to intensions of relations. Here is an example interpretion for the predicate symbol "princess:"

What this says is that in W_1 x is a princess iff x is among A, C, D, G , in W_2 x is a princess iff x is among A, M, and in no other world is x a princess. This interpretation for "princess" will make "Mary is a princess" true in W_2 but in no other world.

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812 7 Implementing Communicative Action

⁸¹³ The simplest kind of communicative action probably is *question answering* of ⁸¹⁴ the kind that was demonstrated in the Syllogistics tool above, in Section [4.](#page-21-0) The interaction is between a system (the knowledge base) and a user. In the implementation we only keep track of changes in the system: the knowledge base gets updated every time the user makes statements that are consistent with the knowledge base but not derivable from it.

⁸¹⁹ Generalizing this, we can picture a group of communicating agents, each ⁸²⁰ with their own knowledge, with acts of communication that change these ⁸²¹ knowledge bases. The basic logical tool for this is again intensional logic, more ⁸²² in particular the epistemic logic proposed by Hintikka in [Hintikka](#page-49-11) [\(1962\)](#page-49-11), and ⁸²³ [a](#page-49-13)dapted in cognitive science (Gärdenfors [\(1988\)](#page-49-12)), computer science [\(Fagin](#page-49-13) $et \ al. (1995)$ $et \ al. (1995)$ and economics [\(Aumann](#page-49-14) [\(1976\)](#page-49-14); [Battigalli & Bonanno](#page-49-15) [\(1999\)](#page-49-15)). ⁸²⁵ The general system for tracking how knowledge and belief of communicating ⁸²⁶ agents evolve under various kinds of communication is called *dynamic epis*-⁸²⁷ *temic logic* or *DEL*. See [van Benthem](#page-49-16) [\(2011\)](#page-49-16) for a general perspective, and $\frac{1}{828}$ [Ditmarsch](#page-49-17) *et al.* [\(2006\)](#page-49-17) for a textbook account.

⁸²⁹ To illustrate the basics, we will give an implementation of model checking ⁸³⁰ for epistemic update logic with public announcements.

 The basic concept in the logic of knowledge is that of epistemic uncer- tainty. If I am uncertain about whether a coin that has just been tossed is showing head or tail, this can be pictured as two situations related by my uncertainty. Such uncertainty relations are equivalences: If I am uncertain be-⁸³⁵ tween situations s and t, and between situations t and r, this means I am also $\frac{836}{836}$ uncertain between s and r.

 \mathbb{R}^3 Equivalence relations on a set of situations S can be implemented as parti- $\frac{838}{100}$ tions of S, where a partition is a family X_i of sets with the following properties 839 (let *I* be the index set):

- 840 For each $i \in I$, $X_i \neq \emptyset$ and $X_i \subseteq S$.
- 841 For $i \neq j$, $X_i \cap X_j = \emptyset$.
- ⁸⁴² \bullet $\bigcup_{i \in I} X_i = S.$

⁸⁴³ Here is a datatype for equivalence relations, viewed as partitions (lists of lists ⁸⁴⁴ of items):

 845 type Erel $a = [[a]]$

 $\frac{846}{100}$ The block of an item x in a partition is the set of elements that are $\text{equivalent to } x$:

bl :: Eq a => Erel a -> a -> [a] $b \ln x = head (filter (elem x) r)$

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```
40 Jan van Eijck
           rel :: Agent -> EpistM a -> Erel a
           rel ag (Mo _ _ rels _) = myLookup ag rels
           myLookup :: Eq a => a -> [(a,b)] \rightarrow bmyLookup x table =
              maybe (error "item not found") id (lookup x table)
862
863 This gives:
864 *IST> rel a example
865 [[0],[1],[2],[3]]
866 *IST> rel c example
867 [[0,1,2,3]]
868 *IST> rel d example
869 *** Exception: item not found
870 A logical form language for epistemic statements; note that the type has
871 a parameter for additional information.
           data Form a = Top
                       | Info a
                       | Ng (Form a)
                       | Conj [Form a]
                       | Disj [Form a]
                       | Kn Agent (Form a)
                     deriving (Eq,Ord,Show)
872
873 A useful abbreviation:
           impl :: Form a -> Form a -> Form a
impl form1 form2 = Disj [Ng form1, form2] 874
875 Semantic interpretation for this logical form language:
```
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```
isTrueAt :: Ord state =>
            EpistM state -> state -> Form state -> Bool
isTrueAt m w Top = True
isTrueAt m w (Info x) = w == xisTrueAt m \leq N \leq f = not (isTrueAt m \leq f)
isTrueAt m \vee (Conj fs) = and (map (isTrueAt m \vee) fs)isTrueAt m \in (Disj fs) = or (map (isTrueAt m w) fs)isTrueAt
 m@(Mo worlds agents acc points) w (Kn ag f) = let
    r = rel ag m
    b = bl r win
    and (map (flip (isTrueAt m) f) b)
```
⁸⁷⁷ This treats the Boolean connectives as usual, and interprets knowledge as ⁸⁷⁸ truth in all worlds in the current accessible equivalence block of an agent.

 $\frac{879}{100}$ The effect of a public announcement φ on an epistemic model is that the $\frac{880}{100}$ set of worlds of that model gets limited to the worlds where ϕ is true, and the ⁸⁸¹ accessibility relations get restricted accordingly.

```
upd_pa :: Ord state =>
          EpistM state -> Form state -> EpistM state
upd_pa m@(Mo states agents rels actual) f =(Mo states' agents rels' actual')
   where
   states' = [s \mid s \leftarrow states, isTrueAt m s f ]
   rels' = [(ag, restrict states' r) | (ag,r) < -rels ]actual' = [ s | s < - actual, s 'elem' states' ]
```
883 A series of public announcement updates:

```
upds_pa :: Ord state =>
            EpistM state -> [Form state] -> EpistM state
upds_pa m [] = m
upds_pa m (f:fs) = upds_pa (upd_pa m f) fs
```
 We illustrate the working of the update mechanism on a famous epistemic puzzle. The following Sum and Product riddle was stated by the Dutch math- ematican Hans Freudenthal in a Dutch mathematics journal in 1969. There is [a](http://www-formal.stanford.edu/jmc/puzzles.htm)lso a version by John McCarthy (see [http://www-formal.stanford.edu/](http://www-formal.stanford.edu/jmc/puzzles.htm) [jmc/puzzles.htm](http://www-formal.stanford.edu/jmc/puzzles.htm)).

```
890 A says to S and P: I have chosen two integers x, y such that 1 < x < y891 and x + y \le 100. In a moment, I will inform S only of s = x + y, and
```
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⁹¹³ To check this statement is expensive. A computationally cheaper equiva- $_{914}$ lent statement is the following (see [Ditmarsch](#page-49-19) *et al.* [\(2005\)](#page-49-19)).

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8 Resources

Code for this Chapter

⁹³⁹ [T](https://github.com/janvaneijck/ist)he example code in this Chapter can be found at internet address **https**: [//github.com/janvaneijck/ist](https://github.com/janvaneijck/ist). To run this software, you will need the Haskell system, which can be downloaded from <www.haskell.org>. This site also gives many interesting Haskell resources.

- Epistemic model checking
- More information on epistemic model checking can be found in the documen-tation of the epistemic model checker DEMO. See [Eijck](#page-49-18) [\(2007\)](#page-49-18).
- Link for Computational Semantics With Functional Programming
- The book [Eijck & Unger](#page-49-2) [\(2010\)](#page-49-2) has a website devoted to it, which can be found at <www.computationalsemantics.eu>.
- Further computational semantics links
- [S](http://www.sigsem.org/wiki/)pecial Interest Group in Computational Semantics: [http://www.sigsem.](http://www.sigsem.org/wiki/) [org/wiki/](http://www.sigsem.org/wiki/). International Workshop on Computational Semantics: [http:](http://iwcs.uvt.nl/) [//iwcs.uvt.nl/](http://iwcs.uvt.nl/). Wikipedia entry on computational semantics: [http://en.](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Computational_semantics)
- [wikipedia.org/wiki/Computational_semantics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Computational_semantics).

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954 9 Appendix

⁹⁵⁵ A show function for identifiers:

```
instance Show Id where
```

```
show (Id name 0) = name
show (Id name i) = name ++ show i
```
⁹⁵⁷ A show function for terms:

```
instance Show Term where
  show (Var id) = show id
  show (Struct name []) = name
  show (Struct name ts) = name ++ show ts
```
⁹⁵⁹ For the definition of fresh variables, we collect the list of indices that are ⁹⁶⁰ used in the formulas in the scope of a quantifier, and select a fresh index, i.e., ⁹⁶¹ an index that does not occur in the index list:

```
fresh :: [Formula] -> Int
fresh fs = i+1 where i = maximum (0: indices fs)
indices :: [Formula] -> [Int]
indices [1 = 1]indices (Atom _{-}:fs) = indices fs
indices (Eq \_ _{-}:fs) = indices fs
indices (Not f:fs) = indices (f:fs)indices (Cnj fs1:fs2) = indices (fs1 ++ fs2)
indices (Dsj fs1:fs2) = indices (fs1 ++ fs2)
indices (Q_ (Id_n) f1 f2:fs) = n : indices (f1:f2:fs)
```
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⁹⁶³ A show function for the statements in our syllogistic inference fragment:

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```
instance Show Statement where
 show (All1 as bs) =
    "All " ++ show as ++ " are " ++ show bs ++ "."
 show (No1 as bs)
   "No " ++ show as ++ " are " ++ show bs ++ "."
 show (Some1 as bs) =
   "Some " ++ show as ++ " are " ++ show bs ++ "."
 show (SomeNot as bs) =
   "Some " ++ show as ++ " are not " ++ show bs ++ "."
 show (AreAll as bs) =
   "Are all " ++ show as ++ show bs ++ "?"
 show (AreNo as bs) =
   "Are no " ++ show as ++ show bs ++ "?"
 show (AreAny as bs) =
   "Are any " ++ show as ++ show bs ++ "?"
 show (AnyNot as bs) =
    "Are any " ++ show as ++ " not " ++ show bs ++ "?"
 show (What as) = "What about " ++ show as ++ "?"
```
966

964

⁹⁶⁵ Constructing a knowledge base from a list of statements:

```
makeKB :: [Statement] -> Maybe KB
makeKB = makeKB' ([], [])
    where
        makeKB' kb [] = Just kb
        makeKB' kb (s:ss) = case update s kb of
             Just (kb',_) -> makeKB' kb' ss
             Nothing -> Nothing
```
⁹⁶⁷ A preprocess function to prepare for parsing:

```
preprocess :: String -> [String]
preprocess = words . (map toLower) .
               (takeWhile (\xrightarrow x \rightarrow isAlpha x || isSpace x))
```
968

⁹⁶⁹ A parse function, with a type indicating that the parsing may fail:

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```
parse :: String -> Maybe Statement
            parse = parse' . preprocess
              where
                parse' ["all",as,"are",bs] =
                  Just (All1 (Pos as) (Pos bs))
                parse' ["no",as,"are",bs] =
                  Just (No1 (Pos as) (Pos bs))
                parse' ["some",as,"are",bs] =
                  Just (Some1 (Pos as) (Pos bs))
                parse' ["some",as,"are","not",bs] =
                  Just (SomeNot (Pos as) (Pos bs))
                parse' ["are","all",as,bs] =
                  Just (AreAll (Pos as) (Pos bs))
                parse' ["are","no",as,bs] =
                  Just (AreNo (Pos as) (Pos bs))
                parse' ["are","any",as,bs] =
                  Just (AreAny (Pos as) (Pos bs))
                parse' ["are","any",as,"not",bs] =
                  Just (AnyNot (Pos as) (Pos bs))
                parse' ["what", "about", as] = Just (What (Pos as))
                parse' ["how", "about", as] = Just (What (Pos as))
                parse' _ = Nothing
970
971 Processing a piece of text, given as a string with newline characters.
            process :: String -> KB
            process txt =
              maybe ([],[]) id (mapM parse (lines txt) >>= makeKB)
972
973 An example text, consisting of lines separated by newline characters:
            mytxt = "all bears are mammals\n'++ "no owls are mammals\n"
                 ++ "some bears are stupids\n"
                 ++ "all men are humans\n"
                 ++ "no men are women\n"
                 ++ "all women are humans\n"
                 ++ "all humans are mammals\n"
                 ++ "some men are stupids\n"
                 ++ "some men are not stupids"
974
975 Reading a knowledge base from disk:
```
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```
48 Jan van Eijck
            getKB :: FilePath -> IO KB
            getKB p = do
                       txt <- readFile p
                       return (process txt)
976
977 Writing a knowledge base to disk, in the form of a list of statements.
            writeKB :: FilePath -> KB -> IO ()
            writeKB p (xs,yss) = writeFile p (unlines (univ ++ exist))
              where
                univ = map (show.u2s) xsexist = map (show.e2s) yss
978
979 Telling about a class, based on the info in a knowledge base.
            tellAbout :: KB -> Class -> [Statement]
            tellAbout kb as =
              [All1 as (Pos bs) | (Pos bs) <- supersets as kb,
                                     as /=(Pos bs)]
              ++
              [No1 as (Pos bs) | (Neg bs) <- supersets as kb,
                                     as /= (Neg bs) ]
              ^{++}[Some1 as (Pos bs) | (Pos bs) <- intersectionsets as kb,
                                   as /=(P \circ s).
                                   notElem (as,Pos bs) (subsetRel kb) ]
              ^{++}[SomeNot as (Pos bs) | (Neg bs) <- intersectionsets as kb,
                               notElem (as, Neg bs) (subsetRel kb) ]
0.90
```
⁹⁸¹ Depending on the input, the various cases are handled by the following ⁹⁸² function:

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```
handleCases :: KB -> String -> IO ()
handleCases kb str =
  case parse str of
    Nothing -> putStrLn "Wrong input.\n"
    Just (What as) -> let
        info = (tellAbout kb as, tellAbout kb (neg as)) in
      case info of<br>([],[])
                    -> putStrLn "No info.\n"
        ([],negi) -> putStrLn (unlines (map show negi))
       (posi,negi) -> putStrLn (unlines (map show posi))
    Just stmt ->
     if isQuery stmt then
       if derive kb stmt then putStrLn "Yes.\n"
         else if derive kb (negat stmt)
                then putStrLn "No.\n"
                else putStrLn "I don't know.\n"
       else case update stmt kb of
         Just (kb',True) -> do
                             writeKB "kb.txt" kb'
                            putStrLn "OK.\n"
         Just (_,False) -> putStrLn
                            "I knew that already.\n"
         Nothing -> putStrLn
                             "Inconsistent with my info.\n"
```
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References

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¹⁰³¹ Tarski, A. (1956), The concept of truth in the languages of the deductive sciences, in ¹⁰³² J. Woodger (ed.), Logic, Semantics, Metamathematics, Oxford, first published ¹⁰³³ in Polish in 1933.

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