

## **Computational Semantics**

Questions and gap threading

**Any respectable natural language understanding system** has to be able to process questions.

- Who did the male suspect meet?

$?x(person(x), the_y(suspect(y) \wedge male(y), meet(y, x)))$

- What did the female suspect buy?

$?x(location(x), the_y(suspect(y) \wedge female(y), go(y, x)))$

- Was there an explosion in the peer?

$\exists x(explosion(x) \wedge the_y(peer(y) \wedge in(x, y)))$

$?_x(\phi) = \text{the } g(x) \text{ that makes } \exists x(\phi) \text{ true}$

## Yes-No Questions (polar questions)

- (1) a. Did the flight depart?  
b. Will the letter mention Robin?

## General syntactic-semantic pattern:

$(S ; (\theta)((\phi)(\psi))) \rightarrow (\text{Aux} ; \theta) (\text{NP} ; \phi) (\text{VP} ; \psi)$

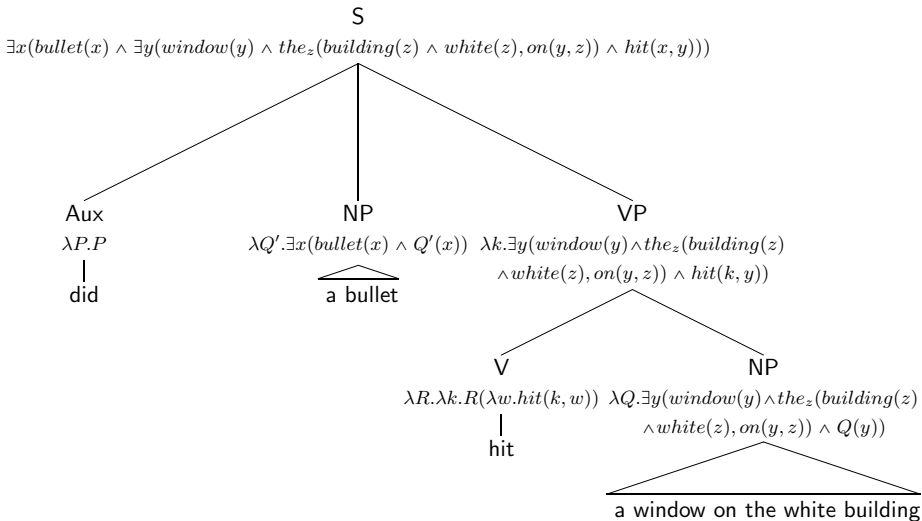
$(\text{Aux} ; \lambda P.(\lambda e.\text{future}(e) \wedge P(e)) \rightarrow \text{will}$

$(\text{Aux} ; \lambda P.(\lambda e.\text{past}(e) \wedge P(e)) \rightarrow \text{did}$

Let's simplify things and ignore tense:  $(\text{Aux} ; \lambda P.P) \rightarrow \text{will} \mid \text{did} \mid \dots$

# Questions

(2) Did a bullet hit a window on the white building?



## The verb 'to be' is trickier

Predicative AP complements:

(3) a. Is Robin single?

$$(\text{Adj}_{pred}, \lambda y. \text{single}(x) \wedge x = y) \rightarrow \text{single}$$

The above predicative adjective licenses (3a):

$$\begin{aligned} &(\lambda Q. Q(\text{robin}))(\lambda y. \text{single}(x) \wedge x = y) = \\ &(\lambda y. \text{single}(x) \wedge x = y)(\text{robin}) = \\ &\text{single}(x) \wedge x = \text{robin} \end{aligned}$$

b. Is the boy single?

$$\begin{aligned} &(\lambda Q. \text{the}_k(\text{boy}(k) \wedge Q(k)))(\lambda y. \text{single}(x) \wedge x = y) = \\ &\text{the}_k(\text{boy}(k) \wedge (\lambda y. \text{single}(x) \wedge x = y)(k)) = \\ &\text{the}_k(\text{boy}(k) \wedge \text{single}(x) \wedge x = k) \end{aligned}$$

## Questions

Predicative NP complements:

(4) a. Is Robin a criminal?

$$(\lambda Q.Q(\text{robin}))(\lambda y.\text{criminal}(x) \wedge x = y) = \\ \text{criminal}(x) \wedge x = \text{robin}$$

b. Is the man a criminal?

$$(\lambda Q.\text{the}_k(\text{boy}(k) \wedge Q(k)))(\lambda y.\text{criminal}(x) \wedge x = y) = \\ \text{the}_k(\text{man}(k) \wedge \text{criminal}(x) \wedge x = k)$$

c. Is Robin at the house?

$$(\lambda Q.Q(\text{robin}))(\lambda y.\exists x(\text{house}(x) \wedge \text{at}(y, x) \wedge x = y) = \\ \exists x(\text{house}(x) \wedge \text{at}(y, x) \wedge x = \text{robin})$$

**We have therefore several patterns:**

$S \rightarrow \text{BE NP AP}$

$S \rightarrow \text{BE NP PP}$

$S \rightarrow \text{BE NP NP}$

$\text{BE} \rightarrow \text{is} \mid \text{was} \mid \text{are}$

## Wh-questions are the most interesting cases:

- **Subject interrogatives:**

- (5) a. Who died?  
b. Which suspect punched the guard?  
c. Who sent this letter to Robin?
- (6) a. Who do you think \_ won the game?  
b. Which suspect was it that \_ punched the guard?  
c. Who did you say \_ sent this letter to Robin?

- **Complement interrogatives**

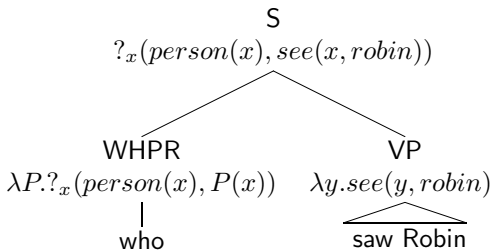
- (7) a. Who did Robin hug \_?  
b. What did you say that Robin bought \_?  
c. Which book did you say Kim wanted us to read \_?

## Non-embedded subject interrogatives are easy

$(S; (\phi)(\psi)) \rightarrow (\text{WHPR}; \phi) (\text{VP}; \psi)$

$(\text{WHPR}; \lambda P. ?_x(\text{person}(x), P(x))) \rightarrow \text{who}$

$(\text{WHPR}; \lambda P. ?_x(\text{thing}(x), P(x))) \rightarrow \text{what}$



$?_x(\phi)$  means 'provide the value of  $g(x)$  such that  $\exists x(\phi)$  is true'.

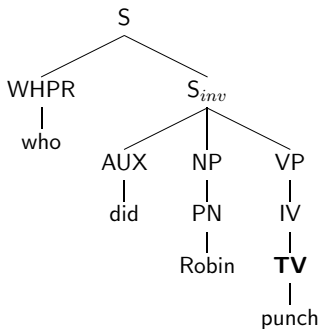


### Other interrogatives involve long-distance dependencies

- We must record the presence of the missing phrase
- Revise the  $\lambda$ -term accordingly
- Link the variable of the missing phrase to the wh-word variable

(8) a. Who did Robin punch?

b.  $?_x(\text{person}(x) \wedge \text{punch}(\text{robin}, x))$



## Lexical rules + a third slot for wh-variables

(assuming the simplified  $\lambda$ -terms used in the Prolog implementation)

- All verbs are listed as having an empty wh-variable slot, e.g.  
(IV;  $\lambda x.sneeze(x)$ , [])  $\rightarrow$  sneezed  
(TV;  $\lambda x.\lambda y.sneeze(x, y)$ , [])  $\rightarrow$  punched
- One rule for complement interrogatives  
(IV;  $\lambda x.\phi$ , [y])  $\rightarrow$  (TV;  $\lambda x.\lambda y.\phi$ , [])

Example:

(TV ;  $\lambda x.\lambda y.punch(x, y)$ , []) becomes (IV ;  $\lambda x.punch(x, y)$ , [y])

- One rule for subject interrogatives  
(TV;  $\lambda y.\phi$ , [x])  $\rightarrow$  (TV;  $\lambda x.\lambda y.\phi$ , [])

Example:

(TV;  $\lambda x.\lambda y.punch(x, y)$ , []) becomes (TV;  $\lambda y.punch(x, y)$ , [x])

## Revised verbal rules

- 1 `rule(vp(X^K, []), [tv(X^Y, []), np(Y^K)])`
- 2 `rule(vp(X, WH), [iv(X, WH)])`
- 3 `rule(s(Y, WH), [np(X^Y), vp(X, WH)])`

## New verbal rules

- 1 `rule(vp(K, [WH]), [tv(Y, [WH]), np(Y^K)])`
- 2 `rule(s(X, [WH]), [vp(X, [WH])])`

## Wh-question rules:

- 1 `rule(Y, [whpr(X^Y), vp(X, [])])`
- 2 `rule(ynq(Y), [aux, np(X^Y), vp(X, [])])`
- 3 `rule(Z, [whpr((X^Y)^Z), inv_s(Y, [X])])`
- 4 `rule(inv_s(Y, [WH]), [aux, np(X^Y), vp(X, [WH])])`

## Now our system can cope with questions:

```
1  ?- parse([who,saw,tom]).
2  q(_G18,and(person(_G18),see(_G18,tom)))
3  true.
4
5  ?- parse([who,did,tom,see]).
6  q(_G20,and(person(_G20),see(tom,_G20)))
7  true.
8
9  ?- parse([who,tom,see]).
10 false.
11
12 ?- parse([who,tom,saw]).
13 false.
```

## PP Complements

- (9) a. Who did John rely on?  
 $?_x(person(x), rely(john, x))$
- b. What did John dispose of?  
 $?_x(thing(x), dispose(john, x))$
- c. Who did John talk to?  
 $?_x(person(x), talk(john, x))$
- d. What is John looking at?  
 $?_x(thing(x), look(john, x))$

## Such case-marking prepositions add no semantics

(P;  $\lambda P.P$ , [])  $\rightarrow$  on | of | to | at | ...

(PP;  $\lambda P.P(x)$ , [x])  $\rightarrow$  on | of | to | at | ...

**New rules** (PV= verbs that require PP complements):

(PV;  $\lambda x.\lambda y.rely(x, y)$ , [])  $\rightarrow$  rely

(VP; ..., WH)  $\rightarrow$  (PV; ...) (PP; ... WH)  
(semantics left out as an exercise)

**The wh-store** allows us to capture other patterns:

- (10) a. Who did Robin [[punch \_] and [kick \_]]?  
b. Who did Robin say [[John punched \_] and [Sue kicked \_]]?  
c. What do most geneticists [[think about \_] but [never consider the implications of \_]]?

**Generalization:** coordination unifies wh-slots!

$$(X ; ((\phi)(\psi))(\theta); WH) \rightarrow (X; \theta ; WH) \text{ (Coord; } \phi) (X; \psi ; WH)$$

Where  $X$ s are variables over categories: NP, VP, S, PP, etc.

$$(\text{Coord} ; \lambda P. \lambda Q. P \wedge Q) \rightarrow \text{and} \mid \text{but}$$

$$(\text{Coord} ; \lambda P. \lambda Q. P \vee Q) \rightarrow \text{or}$$

**Relative clauses** also make use of the slot:

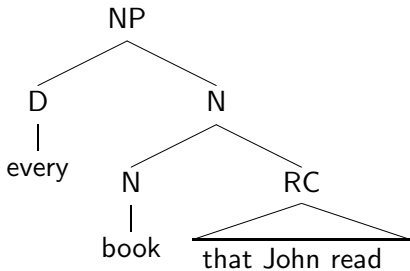
- (11) a. The man [[who] [John punched \_]] sued the restaurant.  
b. A spy intercepted the book [[which] [the Canadian agent gave \_]] the Mexican ambassador.  
c. The informant knows [[who] [the email accused \_]].
- (12) a. The man [[who] [punched John]] sued the restaurant.  
b. The informant knows [[who] [wrote the email to the ambassador]].

**RCs syntax and semantics:**

- $(RC; \phi, [x]) \rightarrow REL (S; \phi, [x])$
- $REL \rightarrow \text{that} \mid \text{what} \mid \text{who} \mid \text{which}$

## Questions

Let us simplify things and assume that RCs combine with N:



Should yield:

$$\lambda Q.\forall x((book(x) \wedge read(john,x)) \Rightarrow Q(x))$$

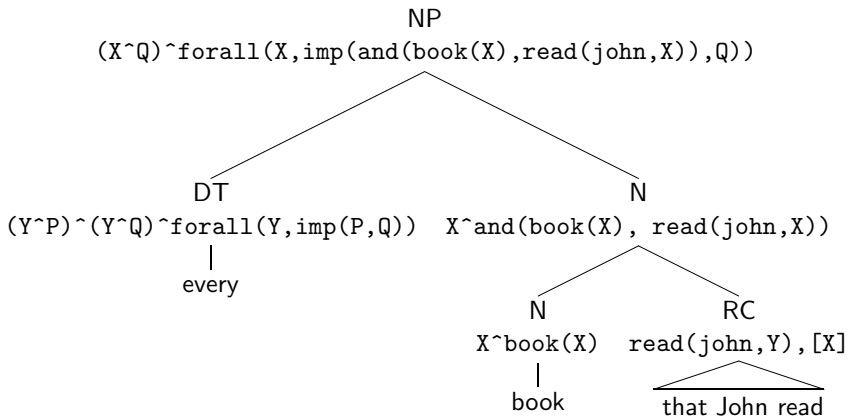
**We can achieve this with the following rules:**

- 1  $\text{rule}(n(X \wedge \text{and}(Y,Z)), [n(X \wedge Y), rc(X \wedge Z, [])])$
- 2  $\text{rule}(n(X \wedge \text{and}(Y,Z)), [n(X \wedge Y), rc(Z, [X])])$



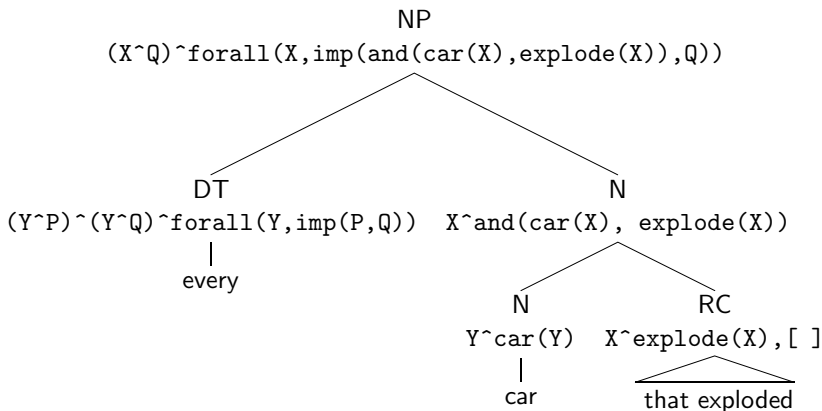
## Example 1: 'every book that John read'

$\text{rule}(\text{n}(\text{X} \wedge \text{and}(\text{Y}, \text{Z})), [\text{n}(\text{X} \wedge \text{Y}), \text{rc}(\text{Z}, [\text{X}])])$



## Example 2: 'every car that exploded'

`rule(n(X^and(Y,Z)), [n(X^Y), rc(X^Z, [])])`



## Deeper RC gap embeddings:

- (13) a. Chelsea and David are two of the most amazing people that [we have ever had [the chance to work with \_]].  
([http://eventsbykristin.blogspot.com/2012\\_06\\_01\\_archive.html](http://eventsbykristin.blogspot.com/2012_06_01_archive.html))
- b. That is a good question [that I don't have [an answer for \_]].  
(<http://www.recumbentriders.org/forums/showthread.php?t=4440>)