

Semantic Modeling with Frames

Rainer Osswald & Wiebke Petersen

Department of Linguistics and Information Science
Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

ESSLLI 2018

Introductory Course

Sofia University

06. 08. – 10. 08. 2018

Part 4

Formal foundations: extensions

Frame semantics: extensions

Issue How to represent quantification, negation, intensionality, etc. within frame semantics?

Frame semantics: extensions

Issue How to represent quantification, negation, intensionality, etc. within frame semantics?

- (1) a. Every man kissed some woman.
- b. The king of France is not bald.
- c. Adam thinks he has understood what frame semantics is about.

Frame semantics: extensions

Issue How to represent quantification, negation, intensionality, etc. within frame semantics?

- (1) a. Every man kissed some woman.
b. The king of France is not bald.
c. Adam thinks he has understood what frame semantics is about.

Possible approaches

- 1 Use an **attribute-value language with quantifiers** and build formulas instead of models. [≈ Kallmeyer/Osswald/Pogodalla 2016]

Frame semantics: extensions

Issue How to represent quantification, negation, intensionality, etc. within frame semantics?

- (1) a. Every man kissed some woman.
b. The king of France is not bald.
c. Adam thinks he has understood what frame semantics is about.

Possible approaches

- 1 Use an **attribute-value language with quantifiers** and build formulas instead of models. [≈ Kallmeyer/Osswald/Pogodalla 2016]
- 2 Keep frames as basic semantic representations and evaluate **quantification over the domain of frames**. [≈ Muskens 2013]

Frame semantics: extensions

Issue How to represent quantification, negation, intensionality, etc. within frame semantics?

- (1) a. Every man kissed some woman.
- b. The king of France is not bald.
- c. Adam thinks he has understood what frame semantics is about.

Possible approaches

- 1 Use an **attribute-value language with quantifiers** and build formulas instead of models. [≈ Kallmeyer/Osswald/Pogodalla 2016]
- 2 Keep frames as basic semantic representations and evaluate **quantification over the domain of frames**. [≈ Muskens 2013]
- 3 Try to retain the idea of minimal model building and consider **frame types** as proper entities of the model/universe.

Attribute-value formulas with quantifiers (qAVForm)

$\forall\phi, \exists\phi$ ($\phi \in \text{AVDesc}$)

Attribute-value formulas with quantifiers (qAVForm)

$\forall\phi, \exists\phi$ ($\phi \in \text{AVDesc}$)

$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \forall\phi$ iff $\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi$ for every $v \in V$

Attribute-value formulas with quantifiers (qAVForm)

$\forall\phi, \exists\phi$ ($\phi \in \text{AVDesc}$)

$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \forall\phi$ iff $\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi$ for every $v \in V$

$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \exists\phi$ iff $\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi$ for some $v \in V$

Attribute-value formulas with quantifiers (qAVForm)

$\forall\phi, \exists\phi$ ($\phi \in \text{AVDesc}$) $\forall x\alpha, \exists x\alpha$ ($\alpha \in \text{AVForm} \cup \text{qAVForm}$)

$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \forall\phi$ iff $\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi$ for every $v \in V$

$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \exists\phi$ iff $\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi$ for some $v \in V$

Attribute-value formulas with quantifiers (qAVForm)

$\forall\phi, \exists\phi$ ($\phi \in \text{AVDesc}$) $\forall x\alpha, \exists x\alpha$ ($\alpha \in \text{AVForm} \cup \text{qAVForm}$)

$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \forall\phi$ iff $\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi$ for every $v \in V$

$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \exists\phi$ iff $\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi$ for some $v \in V$

For $x \notin \text{dom}(g)$ (= set of variables for which g is defined):

$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \forall x\alpha$ iff $\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g' \rangle \models \alpha$ for every assignment g' with
 $\text{dom}(g') = \text{dom}(g) \cup \{x\}$ and
 $g(v) = g'(v)$ for all $v \in \text{dom}(g)$

Attribute-value formulas with quantifiers (qAVForm)

$$\forall\phi, \exists\phi \quad (\phi \in \text{AVDesc}) \quad \forall x \alpha, \exists x \alpha \quad (\alpha \in \text{AVForm} \cup \text{qAVForm})$$

$$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \forall\phi \text{ iff } \langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi \text{ for every } v \in V$$

$$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \exists\phi \text{ iff } \langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi \text{ for some } v \in V$$

For $x \notin \text{dom}(g)$ (= set of variables for which g is defined):

$$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \forall x \alpha \text{ iff } \langle V, \mathcal{I}, g' \rangle \models \alpha \text{ for every assignment } g' \text{ with} \\ \text{dom}(g') = \text{dom}(g) \cup \{x\} \text{ and} \\ g(v) = g'(v) \text{ for all } v \in \text{dom}(g)$$

$$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \exists x \alpha \text{ iff } \langle V, \mathcal{I}, g' \rangle \models \alpha \text{ for some assignment } g' \text{ with } \dots$$

Attribute-value formulas with quantifiers (qAVForm)

$$\forall\phi, \exists\phi \quad (\phi \in \text{AVDesc}) \quad \forall x\alpha, \exists x\alpha \quad (\alpha \in \text{AVForm} \cup \text{qAVForm})$$

$$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \forall\phi \text{ iff } \langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi \text{ for every } v \in V$$

$$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \exists\phi \text{ iff } \langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle, v \models \phi \text{ for some } v \in V$$

For $x \notin \text{dom}(g)$ (= set of variables for which g is defined):

$$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \forall x\alpha \text{ iff } \langle V, \mathcal{I}, g' \rangle \models \alpha \text{ for every assignment } g' \text{ with} \\ \text{dom}(g') = \text{dom}(g) \cup \{x\} \text{ and} \\ g(v) = g'(v) \text{ for all } v \in \text{dom}(g)$$

$$\langle V, \mathcal{I}, g \rangle \models \exists x\alpha \text{ iff } \langle V, \mathcal{I}, g' \rangle \models \alpha \text{ for some assignment } g' \text{ with } \dots$$

Note: $\forall\phi \equiv \forall x(x \cdot \phi)$, $\exists\phi \equiv \exists x(x \cdot \phi)$ (with x not occurring in ϕ)

Examples

(2) Every dog barked.

Examples

(2) Every dog barked.

$$\forall x(x \cdot \text{dog} \rightarrow \exists(\text{barking} \wedge \text{AGENT} \stackrel{\Delta}{=} x))$$

Examples

(2) Every dog barked.

$\forall x(x \cdot \text{dog} \rightarrow \exists(\text{barking} \wedge \text{AGENT} \hat{=} x))$

corresponding first-order formula: $\forall x(\text{dog}(x) \rightarrow \exists e(\text{barking}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, x)))$

Examples

(2) Every dog barked.

$$\forall x(x \cdot \text{dog} \rightarrow \exists(\text{barking} \wedge \text{AGENT} \stackrel{\Delta}{=} x))$$

corresponding first-order formula: $\forall x(\text{dog}(x) \rightarrow \exists e(\text{barking}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, x)))$

(3) Every man kissed some woman.

Examples

(2) Every dog barked.

$$\forall x(x \cdot \text{dog} \rightarrow \exists(\text{barking} \wedge \text{AGENT} \triangleq x))$$

corresponding first-order formula: $\forall x(\text{dog}(x) \rightarrow \exists e(\text{barking}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, x)))$

(3) Every man kissed some woman.

$$\forall x(x \cdot \text{man} \rightarrow \exists y(y \cdot \text{woman} \wedge \exists(\text{kissing} \wedge \text{AGENT} \triangleq x \wedge \text{THEME} \triangleq y))$$

Examples

(2) Every dog barked.

$$\forall x(x \cdot \text{dog} \rightarrow \exists(\text{barking} \wedge \text{AGENT} \triangleq x))$$

corresponding first-order formula: $\forall x(\text{dog}(x) \rightarrow \exists e(\text{barking}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, x)))$

(3) Every man kissed some woman.

$$\forall x(x \cdot \text{man} \rightarrow \exists y(y \cdot \text{woman} \wedge \exists(\text{kissing} \wedge \text{AGENT} \triangleq x \wedge \text{THEME} \triangleq y))$$

$$\exists y(y \cdot \text{woman} \wedge \forall x(x \cdot \text{man} \rightarrow \exists(\text{kissing} \wedge \text{AGENT} \triangleq x \wedge \text{THEME} \triangleq y))$$

Frame semantics: extensions

Examples

(2) Every dog barked.

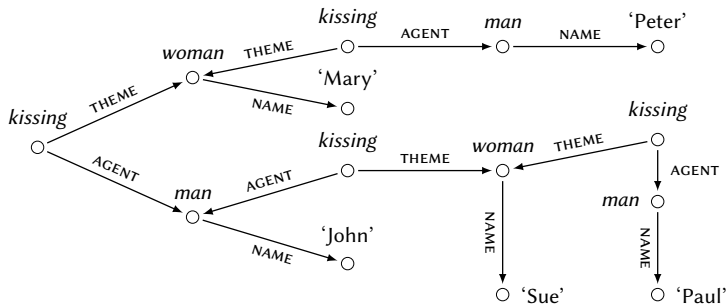
$$\forall x(x \cdot \text{dog} \rightarrow \exists(\text{barking} \wedge \text{AGENT} \triangleq x))$$

corresponding first-order formula: $\forall x(\text{dog}(x) \rightarrow \exists e(\text{barking}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, x)))$

(3) Every man kissed some woman.

$$\forall x(x \cdot \text{man} \rightarrow \exists y(y \cdot \text{woman} \wedge \exists(\text{kissing} \wedge \text{AGENT} \triangleq x \wedge \text{THEME} \triangleq y))$$

$$\exists y(y \cdot \text{woman} \wedge \forall x(x \cdot \text{man} \rightarrow \exists(\text{kissing} \wedge \text{AGENT} \triangleq x \wedge \text{THEME} \triangleq y))$$



Examples

(4) Every man walked into some house.

$$\begin{aligned} \forall x(x \cdot \text{man} \rightarrow \exists z(z \cdot \text{house} \wedge \exists(\text{locomotion} \wedge \text{MANNER} : \text{walking} \\ \wedge \text{ACTOR} \triangleq x \wedge \text{MOVER} \doteq \text{ACTOR} \\ \wedge \text{GOAL} \triangleq z \wedge \text{PATH} : (\text{path} \wedge \text{ENDP} : \text{region}) \\ \wedge [\text{PATH ENDP}, \text{GOAL IN-REGION}] : \text{part-of}))) \end{aligned}$$

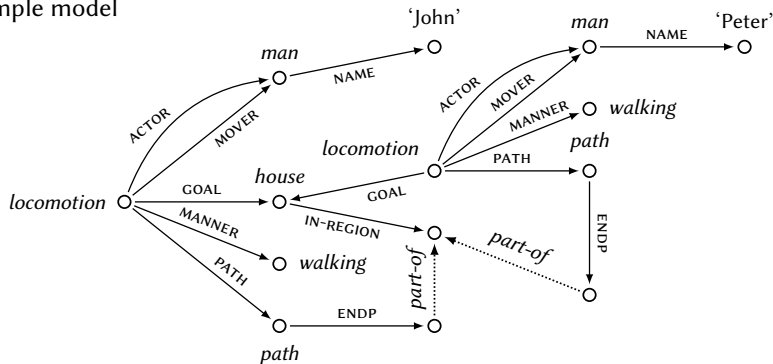
Frame semantics: extensions

Examples

(4) Every man walked into some house.

$$\forall x(x \cdot \text{man} \rightarrow \exists z(z \cdot \text{house} \wedge \exists(\text{locomotion} \wedge \text{MANNER} : \text{walking} \\ \wedge \text{ACTOR} \triangleq x \wedge \text{MOVER} \doteq \text{ACTOR} \\ \wedge \text{GOAL} \triangleq z \wedge \text{PATH} : (\text{path} \wedge \text{ENDP} : \text{region}) \\ \wedge [\text{PATH ENDP}, \text{GOAL IN-REGION}] : \text{part-of})))$$

Example model

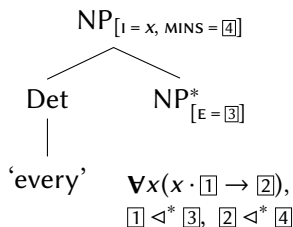


Frame semantics: extensions

An alternative approach to the syntax-semantics interface:

- elementary trees + frames \rightsquigarrow
elementary trees + underspecified AV formulas with
scope constraints
- unification of frames \rightsquigarrow construction of AV formulas

Example

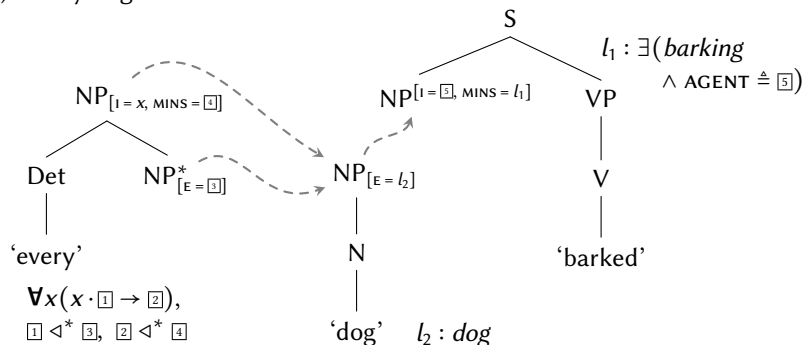


($h \triangleleft^* l$ means that expression l is a **subexpression** of h .)

Frame semantics: extensions

AV logic with quantifiers + underspecification (“hole semantics”)

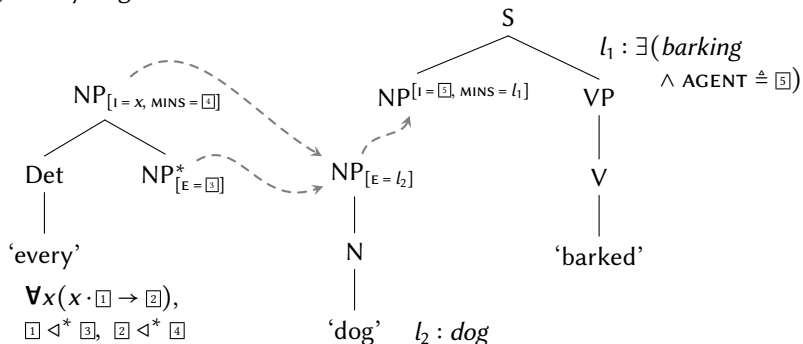
(5) Every dog barked.



Frame semantics: extensions

AV logic with quantifiers + underspecification (“hole semantics”)

(5) Every dog barked.

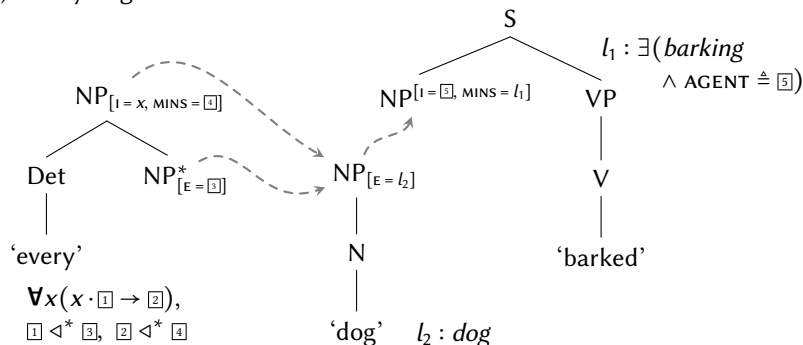


$\rightsquigarrow \mathbf{\forall}x(x \cdot \boxed{1} \rightarrow \boxed{2}), l_2 : \textit{dog}, l_1 : \exists(\textit{barking} \wedge \textit{AGENT} \triangleq x), \boxed{1} \triangleleft^* l_2, \boxed{2} \triangleleft^* l_1$

Frame semantics: extensions

AV logic with quantifiers + underspecification (“hole semantics”)

(5) Every dog barked.



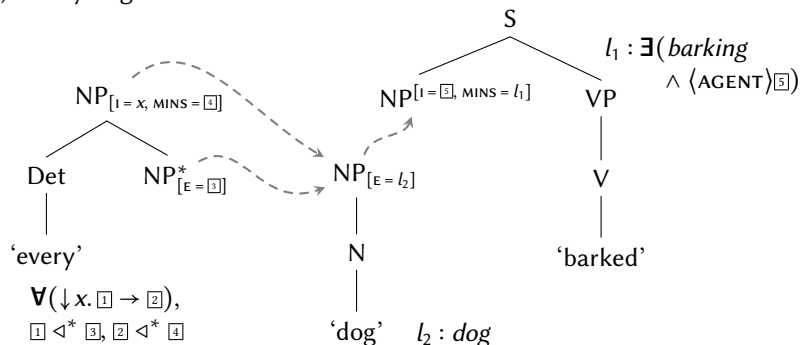
$\rightsquigarrow \forall x(x \cdot 1 \rightarrow 2), l_2 : \textit{dog}, l_1 : \exists(\textit{barking} \wedge \textit{AGENT} \triangleq x), 1 \triangleleft^* l_2, 2 \triangleleft^* l_1$

$\rightsquigarrow \forall x(x \cdot \textit{dog} \rightarrow \exists(\textit{barking} \wedge \textit{AGENT} \triangleq x))$

Frame semantics: extensions

Alternative: **Hybrid Logic + underspecification** (“hole semantics”)

(6) Every dog barked.

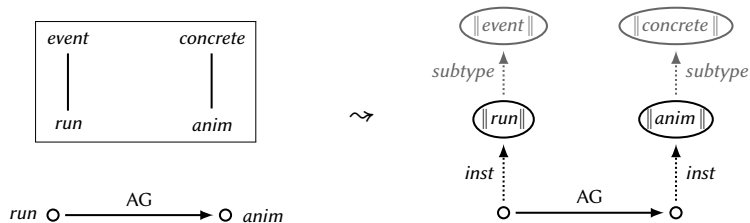


[from Kallmeyer/Osswald/Pogodalla 2016]

Frame types (sketch)

Frame types (sketch)

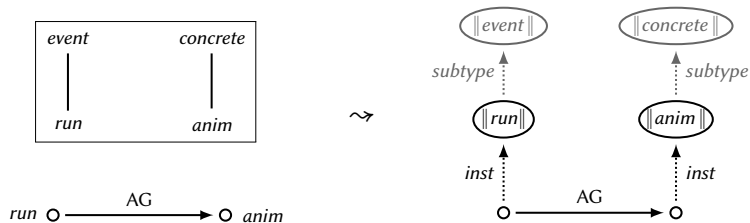
Types as elements of the universe/model



$\|event\|$, $\|run\|$, etc.: type names (nominals)

Frame types (sketch)

Types as elements of the universe/model

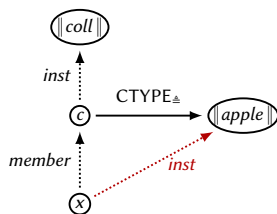


||event||, *||run||*, etc.: type names (nominals)

Types as values of attributes

Example: collections of elements of type *T*

$c \cdot \text{CTYPE} \triangleq T \wedge x \text{ member } c \rightarrow x \text{ inst } T$



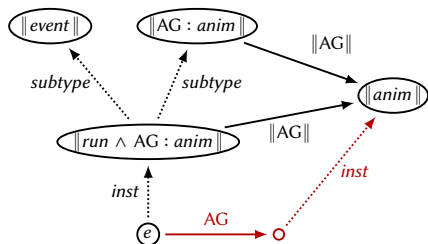
Frame types (sketch)

Complex frame types

Introduce **frame types** like $\|P : t\|$

Frame types can have (canonical) attributes, e.g., $\|P : t\| \cdot \|P\| \triangleq \|t\|$

$n \text{ inst } \|P : t\| \leftrightarrow n \cdot P \text{ inst } \|t\|$



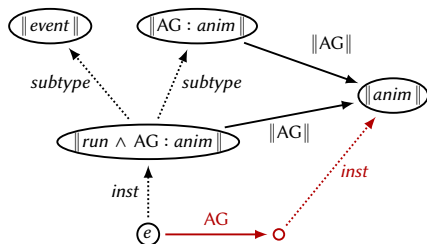
Frame types (sketch)

Complex frame types

Introduce **frame types** like $\|P : t\|$

Frame types can have (canonical) attributes, e.g., $\|P : t\| \cdot \|P\| \triangleq \|t\|$

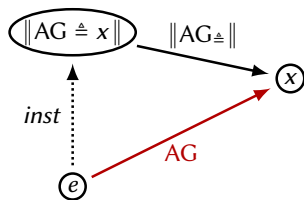
$n \text{ inst } \|P : t\| \leftrightarrow n \cdot P \text{ inst } \|t\|$



Dependent frame types

$n \text{ inst } \|P \triangleq x\| \leftrightarrow n \cdot P \triangleq x$

($\|P \triangleq x\|$ frame type “dependent” on x)

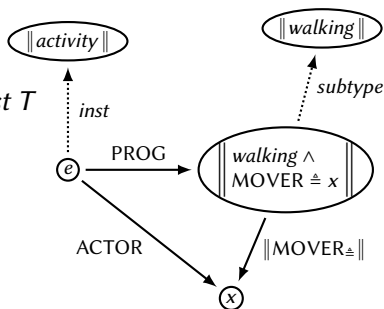


Frame types (sketch)

Example event progression

$$e \cdot \text{PROG} \triangleq T \wedge e' \text{ segment } e \rightarrow e' \text{ inst } T$$

$$e \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{activity} \\ \text{ACTOR } x \\ \text{PROG} \left[\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{walking} \\ \text{MOVER } x \end{array} \right] \right] \end{array} \right]$$

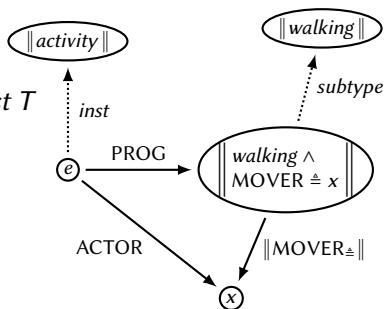


Frame types (sketch)

Example event progression

$$e \cdot \text{PROG} \triangleq T \wedge e' \text{ segment } e \rightarrow e' \text{ inst } T$$

$$e \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{activity} \\ \text{ACTOR } x \\ \text{PROG} \left[\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{walking} \\ \text{MOVER } x \end{array} \right] \right] \end{array} \right]$$



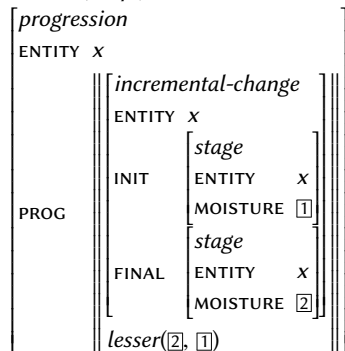
Example scalar change

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{progression} \\ \text{ENTITY } x \\ \text{PROG} \left[\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{incremental-change} \\ \text{ENTITY } x \\ \text{INITIAL} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{stage} \\ \text{ENTITY } x \\ \text{LENGTH } \boxed{0} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{FINAL} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{stage} \\ \text{ENTITY } x \\ \text{LENGTH } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{lesser}(\boxed{1}, \boxed{0}) \end{array} \right]$$

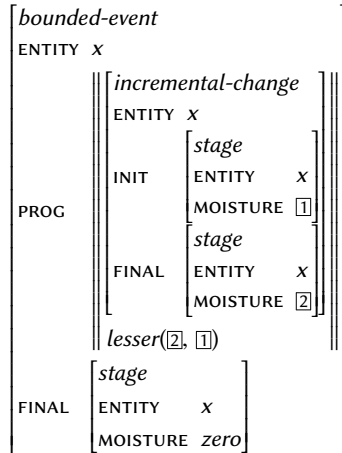
Frame types (sketch)

Application atelic and telic interpretation of degree achievements

szárad ('dry')



meg-szárad ('dry')



$$\text{FINAL} : \textit{stage} \wedge \text{PROG} \parallel \text{FINAL} \parallel \triangleq T \Rightarrow \text{FINAL } \textit{inst} T$$