New Type-Theoretic Tools in Natural Language Semantics: Program Teaser

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Thanks to Our Guest Speakers!

Chris Barker (NYU)

Daisuke Bekki (Ochanomisu)

Dylan Bumford (UCLA)

Simon Charlow (Rutgers)

Stergios Chatzikyriakidis (Gothenburg)

Type-Theoretic Tools

1. Dependent Types
   - Tutorial by Zawadowski
   - Dynamic Semantics (Bekki, Grudzinska)
   - Common Nouns-as-Types, other applications (Chatzikyriakidis)
   - Computational Semantics (Chatzikyriakidis)

2. Monads and Comonads
   - Tutorial by Awodey
   - Monads
     - Dynamic Semantics,.... (Tutorial by Bumford and Charlow)
     - Quantifier Scope Ambiguities (Barker)
   - Comonads (Zwanziger)

Dependent Types: History

- Types which depend on terms of (other) types
- Dependent type theory developed by Per Martin-Löf, circa 1970's
- Applied to natural language by Sundholm (1986, 1989), Ranta (1994)
- Further work by Asher, Bekki, Chatzikyriakidis, Grudzinska et al., Luo, ... Now a community of researchers.

Dependent Types: Dynamic Semantics/Anaphora

Problem: Donkey Sentences

Consider the sentence: "Every farmer who owns a donkey beats it." What is its logical translation?

Pronouns are interpreted as variables, so "beats it" is interpreted as:

$$\lambda x(B(x, y))$$

Relative clauses are interpreted intersectionally, so "Every farmer who owns a donkey" is interpreted as:

$$\lambda P(\forall x(F(x) \wedge \exists y(D(y) \wedge O(x, y)) \rightarrow P(x)))$$

If we combine these, we get as the interpretation of the whole sentence:

$$\forall x(F(x) \wedge \exists y(D(y) \wedge O(x, y)) \rightarrow B(x, y)) \quad (???)$$

Dependent Types: Dynamic Semantics/Anaphora, Continued

Problem: Donkey Sentences

Solution: Dependent Types!! (Sundholm 1986)

The advantages of dependent type theory in tracking anaphoric dependencies have been developed into a full-fledged approach to dynamic semantics.
Talks by Bekki and Grudzkinska on this topic!

Further Applications of Dependent Types

What are the other applications and particularities of the DTT framework?

- Common nouns-as-types: Like natural language, DTT has bounded quantification. But to exploit this, we must view common nouns as types, not predicates on a type of entities.
- Uses for adjectival and adverbial modification (Chatzikyriakidis and Luo 2014,...)
- Lexical Semantics (Asher 2011)
  Talk by Chatzikyriakidis on topics in dependently-typed semantics!

Dependent Types in Computational Semantics

- Dependent Types are implemented in interactive theorem provers (e.g. Coq, Agda, Lean)
- These provide ready-made tools for computational semantics Further talk by Chatzikyriakidis on using Coq for computational semantics!

Monads and Comonads

- Specific kinds of type operators (or endofunctors on a category)

  Arose in category theory (1958)
  Applied to type theory in 1990's (Moggi, Benton et al.,...)

- A monad (resp. comonad) T takes a type A to a type $T(A)$ of "enriched outputs" (resp. "inputs"). Using a monad or comonad allows us to enrich our semantics modularly on top of the compositional semantics.

Monads and Comonads: Background

- Monads applied to natural language in 2000's (from Barker 2000, Shan 2000)

  Dynamic Semantics
  Quantifier Scope ambiguities

- Comonads applied to natural language in 2010's (from Awodey et al. 2015)

  Intensionality (a la Montague)

Talks: Bumford and Charlow on monads in NL, Barker on current issues using monads to model scope ambiguities, and Zwanziger on intensionality!

Thanks!