

Questions and Answers on Dynamic Activities of Agents

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Primary goals

- to *logically* analyse *processes* and *activities*
 - so that the agents in a multiagent and multicultural world can ask on the participants of such activities.
- *Wh-questions* about and plausible *answers* on the participants of *dynamic activities* in different tenses, with time references and specified frequencies
- not only direct answers extracted from natural-language texts or agents' knowledge bases just by keywords; rather, we also want to derive *logical consequences* of such answers.

Tools and methods

- *hyperintensional approach* to natural-language processing
- *Transparent Intensional Logic (TIL)* with its *procedural semantics*
- Genzen's system of *natural deduction* adjusted for TIL and natural-language processing
- *Wh-questions* encode λ -terms with a free variable x ranging over entities of type α , which is the type of a possible direct answer.
- *answers* by suitable substitutions of the α -entities extracted from input sentences, the constituents of which match a given λ -term
- *semantic rules* rooted in the rich semantics of a natural language.
 - In particular, the agents can make use of the relations of *requisites* and *pre-requisites* between intensions, *factive verbs*, etc.

Content

1. Fundamentals of TIL
2. TIL technique of answering Wh-questions
3. The analysis of dynamic activities of agents
4. Wh-questions and answers on the participants of activities

TIL Basic tenets

- *an expression encodes the instruction on how, in any possible world w at any time t , to execute the **procedure encoded by the expression as its meaning**.*
- unlike sets, *procedures are algorithmically structured*; they consist of a finite number of steps (constituent sub-procedures) that can be *executed*, operated on, learnt, shared, followed, ...
- procedure is not only a sequence of instructions, because a sequence cannot be executed; rather, the **procedure itself is designed to be executed**
- Not only particular parts matter, but also the **way of combining these parts into one whole instruction** that can be followed, understood, executed, learnt, etc., matters.
 - Bernard Bolzano; *Wissenschaftslehre* (1837, §49)

Tichy's TIL vs. Montague's IL

Tichy's TIL and Montague style semantics have some features in common; TIL nevertheless deviates in four relevant respects from the version of λ -calculus made popular by Montague's Intensional Logic.

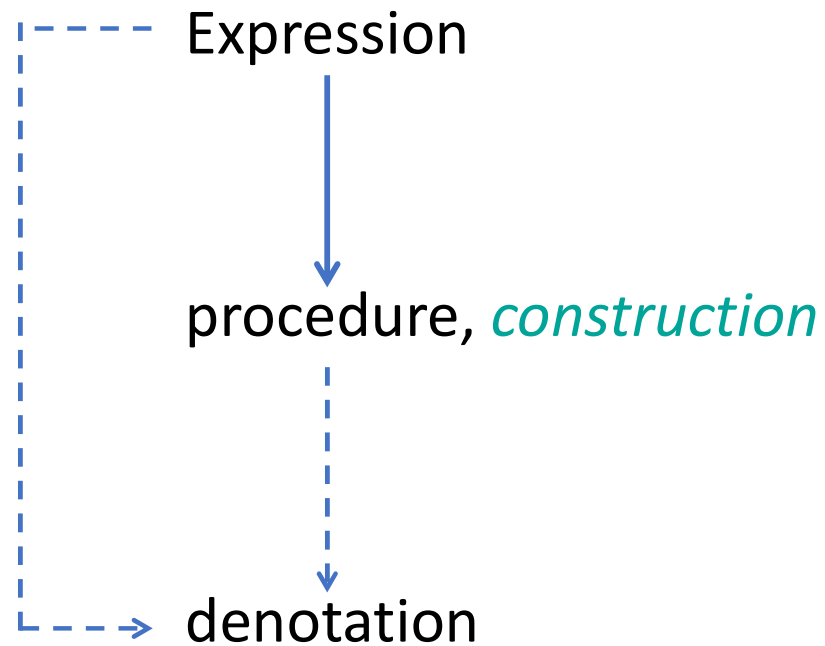
1. *First*, and most importantly, TIL comes with *procedural semantics*; meanings are not identified with (or modelled as) mappings from world/time pairs.
 - Montague-like meanings (i.e. mappings) are the products of our *meaning procedures* (TIL constructions).
 - We assent to the tenet of *structured meanings*, as procedures are algorithmically structured, unlike set-theoretical mappings; there is no trace of the meaning structure in such a mapping.
 - Thus, while Montague's system is an *intensional* logic operating on functions and their values, TIL is a *hyperintensional* logic operating on constructions of functions, functions, and their values.
 - As a result, in TIL we deal with *three kinds of context*,
 - hyperintensional level of procedures
 - intensional level of set-theoretic functions
 - extensional level of the functional values.

This distinction is important for a correct typing and valid substitutions. And, hyperintensionality is necessary for a plausible analysis of natural language.

Tichy's TIL vs. Montague's IL

2. *explicit intensionalisation* and *temporalisation*. Whereas Montague's IL combines worlds and times, TIL treats worlds and times as two distinct ground types, which enables separate variables ranging over these two different types.
 - We need this feature because, for instance, we need to differentiate between several degrees of necessity;
3. in TIL, *variables* are not linguistic items. The term '*y*' encodes an atomic procedure as its meaning and picks out the entity that an assignment function has assigned to *y* as its value. Furthermore, our variables can themselves occur as products of procedures placed higher up. It is essential in what follows, in particular for operations into hyperintensional contexts.
4. our λ -calculus is an inherently interpreted formal language, which serves as a device to directly denote (talk about) procedures; **TIL λ -terms denote** TIL constructions, i.e. meaning *procedures*.
 - Meaning procedures are studied through their structure and constituents as encoded in the λ -calculus of TIL in virtue of the isomorphism between formulae and the procedures.

TIL semantic schema



Stratified ontology of TIL: ramified hierarchy of types

Constructions

- *Variables* x, y, p, w, t, \dots v -construct
- *Trivialization* 0C constructs C (of any type)
 - a *fixed pointer* or *reference* to C
 - In order to operate on C , C needs to be grabbed, or ‘called’, referred to, first. Trivialization is such a grabbing mechanism.
- *Closure* $[\lambda x_1 \dots x_n X] \rightarrow (\beta \alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n)$

$$\begin{array}{cccc} & & & \beta \\ & & & \alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n \\ & \alpha_1 & \alpha_n & \end{array}$$
- *Composition* $[F X_1 \dots X_n] \rightarrow \beta$

$$\begin{array}{cccc} & & & \beta \\ & & & (\beta \alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n) \\ & (\beta \alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n) & \alpha_1 & \alpha_n \end{array}$$
- *Execution* 1X , *Double Execution* 2X

TIL Ontology (types of order 1)

(non-procedural objects)

- *Basic types*

truth-values {T, F} (**o**)

universe of discourse {individuals} (**ι**)

times or real numbers (**τ**)

possible worlds (**ω**)

- *Functional types* (**β α₁...α_n**)

partial functions $(\alpha_1 \times \dots \times \alpha_n) \rightarrow \beta$

PWS Intensions – entities of type **((ατ)ω)**; $\alpha_{\tau\omega}$

TIL Ontology (higher-order types)

- *Constructions of order 1* ($*_1$)
 - \rightarrow construct entities belonging to a type of order 1
 - / belong to $*_1$: *type of order 2*
- *Constructions of order 2* ($*_2$)
 - \rightarrow construct entities belonging to a type of order 2 or 1
 - / belong to $*_2$: *type of order 3*
- *Constructions of order n* ($*_n$)
 - \rightarrow construct entities belonging to a type of order $n \geq 1$
 - / belong to $*_n$: *type of order $n + 1$*

And so on, *ad infinitum*

- *Functional entities*: $(\beta \alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n)$ / belong to $*_n$
(n : the highest of the 'native' types to which $\beta, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n$ belong)

Displayed vs. Executed Procedures

- An occurrence of C is *displayed in D* if the execution of D does not involve the execution of this occurrence of C .

$$\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0 \text{Computes}_{wt} {}^0 \text{Tom } {}^0 [{}^0 \text{Cotg } {}^0 \pi]]$$

- Otherwise, C is *executed in D* , i.e. a *constituent part of D* ; C occurs extensionally or intensionally
- Procedures are displayed by Trivialization*, ${}^0 C$; yet, the effect of Trivialization can be cancelled by Double Execution: ${}^2 {}^0 C = C$
- C occurs *displayed in D* iff C occurs within the scope of Trivialization the effect of which is not cancelled by Double Execution

${}^0 [\dots C \dots] \rightarrow C$ is a displayed object;

${}^2 [\dots {}^0 [\dots C \dots] \dots] \rightarrow C$ can remain displayed, or become an executed constituent

Problem: within the scope of Double Execution it is not possible to determine at the syntactic level whether C is displayed or executed; *the decision must be postponed to the evaluation phase*

Example: *If P then C else D* ${}^2 [{}^0 * \lambda c [(P \wedge [c = {}^0 C]) \vee (\neg P \wedge [c = {}^0 D])]]$

Hyperintensionality

- was born out of a negative need, to **block invalid inferences**

a computes $2+5$; $2+5 = \sqrt{49} \vdash a$ computes $\sqrt{49}$

- *Carnap* (1947, §§13ff); there are contexts that are neither extensional nor intensional (attitudes)
- *Cresswell*; any context in which substitution of necessarily equivalent terms fails is hyperintensional
- We have defined hyperintensional contexts *positively*; the context of a displayed construction;
 - a context is *hyperintensional* if the very meaning *procedure* is an object of predication

Blocking invalid inferences is one side of the coin;

yet, there is naturally the other side, **which inferences are valid in hyperintensional contexts?**

Extensional logic of hyperintensions

- The same (extensional) logical rules are valid in all kinds of context;
 - Leibniz's substitution of identicals, existential quantification even *into* hyperintensional contexts, ...
- Only the types of objects these rules are applicable at differ according to a context
- *Application of the rules of a calculus is non-problematic when working with constituents, i.e. procedures that occur executed*
- For instance, we can easily quantify even *over a displayed procedure* using as a constituent Trivialization of that procedure

Tom is seeking an abominable snowman (but not Yeti)

Tom is seeking something

$\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0\text{Seek}_{wt} {}^0\text{Tom } {}^0[{}^0\text{Abominable } {}^0\text{Snowman}]]$

$\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0\exists \lambda c [{}^0\text{Seek}_{wt} {}^0\text{Tom } c]]$

$c \rightarrow *_n$

$\text{Abominable}/((o\iota)_{\tau\omega}(o\iota)_{\tau\omega})$: property modifier

Wh-questions

- the variety of possible answers to empirical Wh-questions is huge; depends on the *type* α of an α -intension the value of which is asked for.
- “Which Czech ladies are among the first fifty players in WTA ranking singles?” $\rightarrow (o1)_{\tau\omega}$
- Possible answer: {Barbora Krejčíková, Karolina Plíšková, Petra Kvitová, Karolína Muchová, Marketa Vondroušová} / (o1)
- “What is John’s salary?” $\rightarrow \tau_{\tau\omega}$

The technique of answering Wh-questions

1. $\lambda w \lambda t [[{}^0WTA\text{-}ranking_{wt} {}^0Barty] = {}^01]$
2. $\lambda w \lambda t [[{}^0WTA\text{-}ranking_{wt} {}^0Sabalenka] = {}^02]$
3. $\lambda w \lambda t [[{}^0WTA\text{-}ranking_{wt} {}^0Krejcikova] = {}^03]$
4. $\lambda w \lambda t [[{}^0WTA\text{-}ranking_{wt} {}^0Pliskova] = {}^04]$
5. $\lambda w \lambda t [[{}^0WTA\text{-}ranking_{wt} {}^0Muguruza] = {}^05]$

and so on ...

- The answer to the question “Who are the first three players in WTA tennis singles”?, i.e.

Q. $\lambda w \lambda t [\lambda x [[{}^0WTA\text{-}ranking_{wt} x] \leq {}^03]] \rightarrow (o1)_{\tau\omega}$

The technique of answering Wh-questions

is derived like this.

$(Q_{wt}) [\lambda x [[{}^0WTA\text{-}ranking_{wt} x] \leq {}^03]]$ Question (raised in a given w and t)

- the algorithm searches a given knowledge base for those sentences the constituents of which match with (Q) .
 - In addition, basic algebraic operations can be applied.
- Thus, the first matching sentence is $[[{}^0WTA\text{-}Ranking_{wt} {}^0Barty] = {}^01]$, as $1 \leq 3$.
- β -conversion ${}^0Barty / x$ yields the answer $x = {}^0Barty$.
- “Who else”? $x = {}^0Sabalenka$ ($2 \leq 3$), $x = {}^0Krejckikova$ ($3 \leq 3$).

The technique of answering Wh-questions

“The dean regrets that John doesn’t know that *he* (the dean) is sick.”

“The dean is Mr Lee”

$$\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0\text{Regret}_{wt} {}^0\text{Dean}_{wt} {}^0[\lambda w \lambda t \neg [{}^0\text{Know}_{wt} {}^0\text{John} \\ [{}^0\text{Sub} [{}^0\text{Tr} {}^0\text{Dean}_{wt}] {}^0\text{he} {}^0[\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0\text{Sick}_{wt} \text{he}]]]]]] \\ \lambda w \lambda t [{}^0= {}^0\text{Dean}_{wt} {}^0\text{Lee}]$$

- *Regret*, *Know*/ $(\text{o}\iota^*{}_n)_{\tau\omega}$: hyperintensional factive attitudes; *Dean*/ $\iota_{\tau\omega}$: the office; *Tom*/ ι ; *Sick*/ $(\text{o}\iota)_{\tau\omega}$; *he* $\rightarrow \iota$: anaphoric variable.
- “Who is sick?”, “How is the dean?” or “What doesn’t John know?”.

(Q1) $\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0\text{Sick}_{wt} \text{who}]$

(Q2) $\lambda w \lambda t [\text{how}_{wt} {}^0\text{Dean}_{wt}]$

(Q3) $\lambda w \lambda t \neg [{}^0\text{Know}_{wt} {}^0\text{John} \text{what}]$

- Additional types. *who* $\rightarrow \iota$; *how* $\rightarrow (\text{o}\iota)_{\tau\omega}$; *what* $\rightarrow *{}_n$

The technique of answering Wh-questions

- the application of the rules rooted in the rich semantics of natural-language
- dealing with a hyperintensional context.

Factive rules; $a \rightarrow \iota$, $c \rightarrow *_n$, ${}^2c \rightarrow o_{\tau\omega}$.

$$[{}^0K_{wt} a c] \vdash {}^2c_{wt} \neg [{}^0K_{wt} a c] \vdash {}^2c_{wt}$$

- | | | |
|----|---|---------------------|
| 1. | $[{}^0Regret_{wt} {}^0Dean_{wt} {}^0[\lambda w\lambda t \neg [{}^0Know_{wt} {}^0John$
${}^0Sub [{}^0Tr {}^0Dean_{wt}] {}^0he {}^0[\lambda w\lambda t [{}^0Sick_{wt} he]]]]]$ | \emptyset |
| 2. | ${}^2[{}^0[\lambda w\lambda t \neg [{}^0Know_{wt} {}^0John [{}^0Sub [{}^0Tr {}^0Dean_{wt}] {}^0he {}^0[\lambda w\lambda t [{}^0Sick_{wt} he]]]]]]_{wt}$ | 1, F1 |
| 3. | $[{}^0[\lambda w\lambda t \neg [{}^0Know_{wt} {}^0John [{}^0Sub [{}^0Tr {}^0Dean_{wt}] {}^0he {}^0[\lambda w\lambda t [{}^0Sick_{wt} he]]]]]]_{wt}$ | 2, 2E |
| 4. | $\neg [{}^0Know_{wt} {}^0John [{}^0Sub [{}^0Tr {}^0Dean_{wt}] {}^0he {}^0[\lambda w\lambda t [{}^0Sick_{wt} he]]]]]$ | 3, β -red. |
| 5. | ${}^2[{}^0Sub [{}^0Tr {}^0Dean_{wt}] {}^0he {}^0[\lambda w\lambda t [{}^0Sick_{wt} he]]]_{wt}$ | 4, F2 |
| 6. | $[{}^0= {}^0Dean_{wt} {}^0Lee]$ | \emptyset |
| 7. | ${}^2[{}^0[\lambda w\lambda t [{}^0Sick_{wt} {}^0Lee]]]_{wt}$ | 5,6, <i>Sub, Tr</i> |
| 8. | $[{}^0[\lambda w\lambda t [{}^0Sick_{wt} {}^0Lee]]]_{wt}$ | 7, 2E |
| 9. | $[{}^0Sick_{wt} {}^0Lee]$ | 8, β -red. |

The technique of answering Wh-questions

10. $[{}^0\text{Sick}_{wt} \text{who}]$ **Q1**
11. $\text{who} = {}^0\text{Dean}_{wt}$ 9,10 unif.
12. $[\text{how}_{wt} {}^0\text{Dean}_{wt}]$ **Q2**
13. $\text{how} = {}^0\text{Sick}_{wt}$ 6,9 unif.
14. $\neg[{}^0\text{Know}_{wt} {}^0\text{John what}]$ **Q3**
15. $\text{what} = [{}^0\text{Sub} [{}^0\text{Tr} {}^0\text{Dean}_{wt}] {}^0\text{he} [{}^0\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0\text{Sick}_{wt} \text{he}]]]$ 4,14 unif.
16. $\text{what} = [{}^0\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0\text{Sick}_{wt} {}^0\text{Lee}]]$ 6,15, *Sub, Tr*
- We derived the direct answers to the three questions as follows. “Who is sick?”: the dean; “How is the dean?”: sick; “What does John not know?”: that Lee, i.e., the dean is sick.

Dynamic activities

- A large number of Wh-questions concerns the *participants of activities*;
- Yet, these participants often belong to just one logical type, mostly ι or τ , which is too coarse-grained.
- We need a more detailed classification of their types. Our specification of *activities* is based on the linguistic theory of *verb valency frames* and on their logical analysis.

“John (the agent) is going (the activity) to Brussel (Dir3) by car (Inst) at an average speed of 50 miles per hour (Man).”

- “What is John doing?”
- “Who is going to Brussel?”
- “How quickly does John go to Brussel?”, etc.

Dynamic activities

frequent *kinds of participants*:

- Pat – the object affected by the activity
- Ben – beneficent (somebody (or something) who has a benefit from the activity)
- Manner – the manner of the activity execution (measure, speed etc.)
- Inst – instrument
- Time – when the activity takes place
- Time1 (the time when the activity starts)
- Time2 (the time when the activity ends)
- Loc – the place of activity
- Dir1 – the direction of activity – *from where*
- Dir2 – the direction of activity – *which way*
- Dir3 – the direction of activity – *where to*

Dynamic activities

- Logical specification draws on the ideas of Tichý (1980)
- general pattern for analysing an activity $P \rightarrow \pi$ with the actor $A \rightarrow \iota$ and participants $X_1^{kind-1}, \dots, X_n^{kind-n}$

$$\lambda w \lambda t \left[[{}^0Do_{wt} A P] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} P {}^0X_1^{kind-1}] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} P {}^0X_2^{kind-2}] \wedge \dots \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} P {}^0X_n^{kind-n}] \right]$$

- “John builds a house in Bali”

$$\lambda w \lambda t \left[[{}^0Do_{wt} {}^0John {}^0Build] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build {}^0House^{Pat}] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build {}^0Bali^{Loc}] \right]$$

- “When and for whom does John build a house in Bali?”

$$\lambda w \lambda t \lambda when \lambda whom \left[[{}^0Do_{wt} {}^0John {}^0Build] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build {}^0House^{Pat}] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build {}^0Bali^{Loc}] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build when^{Time}] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build whom^{Ben}] \right]$$

Dynamic activities – in past or future

- “When did John build a house in Bali for Marie”?

$$\lambda w \lambda t \lambda when \exists t' [[[^0Do_{wt}, ^0John \ ^0Build] \wedge [t' \leq t]] \wedge [[^0Asgn_{wt} \ ^0Build \ ^0House^{Pat}] \wedge [^0Asgn_{wt} \ ^0Build \ ^0Bali^{Loc}] \wedge [^0Asgn_{wt} \ ^0Build \ when^{Time}] \wedge [^0Asgn_{wt} \ ^0Build \ ^0Marie^{Ben}]]]]$$

- The situation gets more complicated if a sentence in past or future comes with a *time reference* T when this or that happened or will happen.
 - the sentence is associated with a *presupposition* that the current time t is in the proper relation with respect to the reference time T .
- Moreover, the sentence can also convey information on the *frequency* of the process to be executed in the reference time T

Dynamic activities

- a strict definition of the *If-then-else-fail* function that complies with the compositionality constraint

If **Presupposition** P then C else *Fail* (to produce a truth-value)

$^2[\textit{The-only } \lambda c [P \wedge [c = \textit{ }^0C]]]$

- *two-phase instruction* \rightarrow Double Execution
 1. *Checking whether P is true; if so, then the procedure C is selected, otherwise no truth value*
 2. *Execution of C*
 - **The-only** is a singulariser function ($*_n (o*_n)$) that returns the only construction, the member of a singleton; **otherwise undefined**
 - $c \rightarrow *_n$: a variable ranging over **procedures**;
 - $\textit{ }^0C$: **procedure C** is an object to operate on;
 - **Hyperintensional logic is needed to deal with procedures, not only with their products.**

Dynamic activities – time reference

“John has built a house in Bali in 2020”

presupposes that the time t in which the truth conditions are being evaluated comes after the end of 2020. If it is not so, the sentence has *no truth value*.

$$\lambda w \lambda t \text{ [If } [t \geq_{\tau} {}^02020] \text{ then}$$
$$[\exists t' [{}^0Do_{wt}, {}^0John {}^0Build] \wedge [{}^02020 t']] \wedge$$
$$[{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build {}^0House^{Pat}] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build {}^0Bali^{Loc}] \wedge$$
$$[{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build {}^02020^{Time}]]$$
$$\text{else fail}]$$

Dynamic activities – frequency

- The method of analysis also takes account of the *frequency* of the activity to be executed in the reference time interval *In-Time*.
- The general analytic schema for sentences *S* in past tenses is this.

$$\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0\text{Past}_t [{}^0\text{Frequency}_w S] {}^0\text{In-Time}] =$$

$$\lambda w \lambda t \text{ If } [{}^0\text{In-Time} \leq_\tau t] \text{ then } [{}^0\text{Frequency}_w S] {}^0\text{In-Time} \text{ else fail}$$

- \leq_τ means that the reference interval *In-Time*/($\circ\tau$) comes before time *t*, or, in general, in a proper relation with respect to time *t*.
- *Past, Future* / (($\circ(\circ(\circ\tau))(\circ\tau)$)) τ);
- *S* is the proposition to be evaluated;
- *Frequency* / (($\circ(\circ\tau)$)) $\circ_{\tau\omega}\omega$) is the frequency of time intervals in which the proposition *S* takes the truth-value **T** in world *w*.

Dynamic activities – frequency

John often built houses in Bali in 2007

$$\lambda w \lambda t [{}^0Past_t [{}^0Often_w \lambda w \lambda t [[{}^0Do_{wt} {}^0John {}^0Build] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build {}^0House^{Pat}] \wedge [{}^0Asgn_{wt} {}^0Build {}^0Bali^{Loc}]]] {}^02007]$$

- The frequency modifier *Often* denotes a world-dependent function that takes a proposition $p \rightarrow o_{\tau\omega}$ to the class of those intervals $d \rightarrow (o\tau)$ which are contained in the chronology of p (i.e. $p_w \rightarrow (o\tau)$).
- Letting aside vagueness of the term ‘often’, be it three or five times a year, if these intervals are frequent in 2007, the proposition is evaluated to **T**.

references

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Thank you for your attention

*If questions
then answers
else fail*