

Natural Language Inference

Compositional Entailment

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Introduction

Ed didn't manage to remember to open the door.

Introduction

Ed didn't manage to remember to open the door.

Did Ed open the door?

Introduction

- ▶ build a theory of compositional entailment
- ▶ Principle of Compositionality:
The meaning of a compound expression is a function of the meanings of its parts.
- ▶ if two expressions differ by a single atomic edit, then the entailment relation between them depends on:
 - ▶ lexical entailment relation generated by edit
 - ▶ effect context of the expression has on the entailment relation
- ▶ atomic edits: substitution(SUBS), deletion (DEL), insertion (INS)

Lexical entailment relations

- x compound linguistic expression
red car
- $e(x)$ result of applying an atomic edit e to x
 $\text{SUB}(car, convertible) \Rightarrow$ red convertible
- $\beta(e)$ lexical entailment relation generated by e
car \sqsubset convertible
- $\beta(x, e(x))$ entailment relation between x and $e(x)$, depending on $\beta(e)$
and context of x
red car \sqsubset red convertible

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How can these entailment relations be computed?

Lexical Entailment

- ▶ lexical entailment relation generated by a substitution equals relation between the two terms: $\beta(\text{SUB}(a, b)) = \beta(a, b)$

Hyperonym:	car	⊃	convertible
Synonym:	forbid	≡	prohibit
Hyponym:	crow	⊂	bird
Antonym:	warm		cold

- ▶ relations can be acquired via WordNet

Entailments and Semantic Composition

- ▶ so far, we can determine entailment relations between isolated terms

hug \sqsubset touch
French | German

- ▶ but how do these entailment relations behave in a context?

doesn't hug ? doesn't touch
not French ? not German

Entailments and Semantic Composition

- ▶ so far, we can determine entailment relations between isolated terms

hug \sqsubset touch
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- ▶ but how do these entailment relations behave in a context?

doesn't hug \sqsubset doesn't touch
not French \smile not German

How is a relation **projected** through a context?

Monotonicity Calculus

- ▶ developed by Sánchez Valencia in 1995
- ▶ explains impact of semantic composition on \equiv , \sqsubset , \sqsupset , and $\#$
- ▶ three monotonicity classes:
 - ▶ UP projects entailment relations without change:
parrot \sqsubset bird \Rightarrow parrots talk \sqsubset some birds talk
 - ▶ DOWN swaps \sqsubset and \sqsupset
carp \sqsubset fish \Rightarrow no carp talk \sqsupset no fish talk
 - ▶ NON projects \sqsubset and \sqsupset as $\#$
human \sqsubset animal \Rightarrow most humans talk $\#$ most animals talk
- ▶ lacks handling of exclusion relations $\hat{\ } , | ,$ and \smile

Projectivity

- ▶ generalize the concept of monotonicity to a concept of **projectivity**
- ▶ specify how an entailment relation is projected through a semantic composition tree
- ▶ **Principle of Compositionality:**
The entailments of a compound expression are a function of the entailments of its parts

Projectivity of Logical Connectives: Negation

- ▶ projects \equiv and $\#$ without change
- ▶ is downward monotonic, therefore swaps \sqsubset and \sqsupset
- ▶ swaps $|$ and \smile

happy	\equiv	glad	\Rightarrow	not happy	\equiv	not glad
kiss	\sqsubset	touch	\Rightarrow	didn't kiss	\sqsupset	didn't touch
human	\wedge	nonhuman	\Rightarrow	not human	\wedge	not nonhuman
French	$ $	German	\Rightarrow	not French	\smile	not German
swimming	$\#$	hungry	\Rightarrow	not swimming	$\#$	not hungry

Projectivity of Logical Connectives: Conjunction

- ▶ “and” is upward monotone
- ▶ projects both $\hat{\quad}$ and $|\text{ as }|$
- ▶ intersective modification (by adjectives, adverbs) has the same projectivity

convertible	\sqsubset	car	\Rightarrow	red convertible	\sqsubset	red car
human	$\hat{\quad}$	nonhuman	\Rightarrow	living human	$ \text{ as } $	living nonhuman
French	$ \text{ as } $	Spanish	\Rightarrow	French wine	$ \text{ as } $	Spanish wine

Projectivity of Logical Connectives: Disjunction

- ▶ is upward monotone like conjunction
- ▶ unlike conjunction, projects both \wedge and \vee as \vee and projects $|$ as $\#$

waltzed	\sqsubset	danced	\Rightarrow	waltzed or sang	\sqsubset	danced or sang
human	\wedge	nonhuman	\Rightarrow	human or equine	$ $	nonhuman or equine
red	$ $	blue	\Rightarrow	red or yellow	$ $	blue or yellow

Projectivity of Logical Connectives: Conditionals

- ▶ the antecedent of a conditional is downward-monotone
- ▶ the consequent is upward-monotone
- ▶ the antecedent projects both \wedge and $|$ as $\#$
- ▶ the consequent projects both \wedge and $|$ as $|$

If he drinks tequila, he feels nauseous	\sqsupset	If he drinks liquor, he feels nauseous
If he drinks tequila, he feels nauseous	\sqsubset	If he drinks tequila, he feels sick
If it's sunny, we surf	$\#$	If it's not sunny, we surf
If it's sunny, we surf	$ $	If it's sunny, we don't surf

Projectivity of Quantifiers

- ▶ all quantifiers project \equiv and $\#$ as without change
- ▶ | is projected as $\#$

dog	□	animal	⇒	some dogs	□	some animals
car	□	convertible	⇒	no car	□	no convertible
human	^	nonhuman	⇒	most humans	#	most nonhumans
animal	⌋	non-ape	⇒	ex. one animal	#	ex. one non-ape

Projectivity of Verbs

- ▶ most verbs are upward-monotone
- ▶ many verbs project \wedge , \vee , and $|$ as $\#$

humans	\wedge	nonhumans	\Rightarrow	eats humans	$\#$	eats nonhumans
cats	$ $	dogs	\Rightarrow	eats cats	$\#$	eats dogs

Projectivity of Verbs

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- ▶ but:

Tom forgot to close the door	\models	The door isn't closed
Tom didn't forget to close the door	\models	The door is closed

Tom forgot that the door was closed	\models	The door is closed
Tom didn't forget that the door was closed	\models	The door is closed

Definition

Factive verbs

- ▶ carry same implication in both positive and negative contexts
- ▶ *admit that, forget that, believe that...*
- ▶ rather presuppose than entail truth of their complements, therefore not affected by negation

Implicative verbs

- ▶ implication depends on context
- ▶ *manage to, forget to, permit to, fail to, force to...*
- ▶ entail, rather than presuppose truth of their complements

Implication Signatures

- ▶ developed by Nairn et al. (2006)
- ▶ signatures model the directions of implications regarding the complements of verbs
 - ▶ positive (+), negative(-), null(\circ)

manage to (+ / -)

managed to escape \Rightarrow escaped

didn't manage to escape \Rightarrow didn't escape

refuse to (- / \circ)

refused to dance \Rightarrow didn't dance

didn't refuse to dance \Rightarrow unclear

Implication Signatures: Deletion and Insertion of Implicatives

signature	$\beta(DEL(\cdot))$	$\beta(INS(\cdot))$			
+/-	\equiv	\equiv	he managed to escape	\equiv	he escaped
-/+	\wedge	\wedge	he failed to pay	\wedge	he paid
o/-	\sqsupset	\sqsubset	he was permitted to live	\sqsupset	he lived
-/o	\mid	\mid	he refused to fight	\mid	he fought
+/o	\sqsubset	\sqsupset	he was forced to sell	\sqsubset	he sold
o/+	\smile	\smile	he hesitated to ask	\smile	he asked

Implication Signatures: Deletion and Insertion of Factives

signature	$\beta(DEL(\cdot))$	$\beta(INS(\cdot))$		
+/+	□	X	he admitted that he knew	□ he knew
-/-		X	he pretended he was sick	he was sick

Implication Signatures: Projectivity

Translating signatures into projectivity relations:

signature	example	monotonicity	≡	projectivity					
				□	□	^		∪	#
+ / -	<i>manage to</i>	UP	≡	□	□	^		∪	#
+ / o	<i>force to</i>	UP	≡	□	□			#	#
o / -	<i>permit to</i>	UP	≡	□	□	∪	#	∪	#
- / +	<i>fail to</i>	DOWN	≡	□	□	^	∪		#
- / o	<i>refuse to</i>	DOWN	≡	□	□		#		#
o / +	<i>hesitate to</i>	DOWN	≡	□	□	∪	∪	#	#
+ / +	<i>admit that</i>	UP	≡	□	□	^	^	#	#
- / -	<i>pretend that</i>	UP	≡	□	□	^	#	^	#
o / o	<i>believe that</i>	NON	#	#	#	#	#	#	#

Putting it all together

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Establish entailment relation between premise p and hypothesis h :

- 1 find a sequence of atomic edits $\langle e_1, \dots, e_n \rangle$ which transforms p into h with $h = (e_n \circ \dots \circ e_1)(p)$, $x_0 = p$, $x_n = h$, $x_i = e_i(x_{i-1})$ for $i \in [1, n]$

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- 2 for each atomic edit e_i
 - 1 determine the lexical entailment relation $\beta(e_i)$ generated by e_i

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 - 2 project $\beta(e_i)$ through the semantic composition tree of expression x_{i-1} to find $\beta(x_{i-1}, x_i)$ (atomic entailment relation for edit e_i)

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- 3 join atomic entailment relations across the sequences of edits:

$$\beta(p, h) = \beta(x_0, x_n) = \beta(x_0, e_1) \bowtie \dots \bowtie \beta(x_{i-1}) \bowtie \dots \bowtie \beta(x_{n-1}, e_n)$$

A first example

i	e_i	$x_i = e_i(x_{i-1})$	$\beta(e_i)$	$\beta(x_{i-1}, e_i)$	$\beta(x_0, x_i)$
		Stimpy is a cat.			
1	SUB(<i>cat</i> , <i>dog</i>)				
		Stimpy is a dog.			
2	INS(<i>not</i>)		^	^	□
		Stimpy is not a dog.			
3	SUB(<i>dog</i> , <i>poodle</i>)		□	□	□
		Stimpy is not a poodle.			

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- ▶ Result: *Stimpy is a cat* □ *Stimpy is not a poodle*

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		Stimpy is a dog.			
2	INS(<i>not</i>)		^	^	□
		Stimpy is not a dog.			
3	SUB(<i>dog</i> , <i>poodle</i>)		□	□	□
		Stimpy is not a poodle.			

- Result: *Stimpy is a cat* □ *Stimpy is not a poodle* ✓

An example including a verb

i	e_i	$x_i = e_i(x_{i-1})$	$\beta(e_i)$	$\beta(x_{i-1}, e_i)$	$\beta(x_0, x_i)$
	We were not permitted to smoke.				
1	DEL(<i>permitted to</i>)		□	□	□
	We did not smoke.				
2	DEL(<i>not</i>)		^	^	
	We smoked.				
3	INS(<i>Cuban cigars</i>)		□	□	
	We smoked Cuban Cigars.				

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► Result:

We were not permitted to smoke. | *We smoked Cuban cigars.*

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	We smoked Cuban Cigars.				

▶ Result:

We were not permitted to smoke. | *We smoked Cuban cigars.* ✓

Example: De Morgan's Laws

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De Morgan's Laws for Quantifiers

$$\neg(\forall x P(x)) \Leftrightarrow \exists x (\neg P(x))$$

$$\neg(\exists x P(x)) \Leftrightarrow \forall x (\neg P(x))$$

Example: De Morgan's Laws

De Morgan's Laws for Quantifiers

$$\neg(\forall x P(x)) \Leftrightarrow \exists x (\neg P(x))$$

$$\neg(\exists x P(x)) \Leftrightarrow \forall x (\neg P(x))$$

p Not all birds fly.

h Some birds do not fly.

Obviously, $p \equiv h$.

Example: De Morgan's Laws

i	e_i	$x_i = e_i(x_{i-1})$	$\beta(e_i)$	$\beta(x_{i-1}, e_i)$	$\beta(x_0, x_i)$
		Not all birds fly.			
1	DEL(<i>not</i>)		\wedge	\wedge	\wedge
		All birds fly.			
2	SUB(<i>all, some</i>)		\sqsubset	\sqsubset	\smile
		Some birds fly.			
3	INS(<i>not</i>)		\wedge	\smile	$\equiv \sqsubset \sqsubset \smile \#$
		Some birds don't fly.			

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		Some birds fly.			
3	INS(<i>not</i>)		\wedge	\smile	$\equiv \sqsubset \sqsupset \smile \#$
		Some birds don't fly.			

- ▶ for all 6 possible orderings of the edits, the result is the union relation $\cup\{\equiv, \sqsubset, \sqsupset, \smile, \#\}$
- ▶ omits only \wedge and $|$, can therefore be seen as **non-exclusion** relation
- ▶ not incorrect, as \equiv is included, but far less informative

Putting it all together: Limitations

- ▶ join operation tends toward less informative entailment relations (union sets of relations)
- ▶ so far no knowledge about how a sequence connecting h and p can be established
- ▶ in case there are several possible sequences, which one to choose?
- ▶ no mechanism for combining information from more than one premise at a time
- ▶ lacks inference rules of classical logic, like modus ponens, modus tollens, or disjunction elimination

Conclusion

- ▶ inference method that is able to produce desired entailment relations
- ▶ covers broad variety of example problems
- ▶ not complete, leads to loss of information
- ▶ application in the *NatLog System*