

Lecture 23: Syntax IV and Semantics

SYNTAX SO FAR

- We have discussed a handful of classes of grammars:
 - Regular grammars
 - Simple, easy to parse, but no recursion
 - Context-free grammars
 - Covers most (if not all) of natural language syntax
 - Combinatory categorial grammars (CCG)
- How do you parse non-context-free grammars?
 - How to parse CCG?
- What about more complex types of grammars?
- What about meaning (i.e., semantics)?

- Combinatory categorial grammar (CCG; Steedman 1987) is a grammar formalism that can be used to describe non-context-free grammars.
- Each item in the vocabulary is assigned a syntactic type or category.
 - A simple vocabulary containing 4 items:

$$\operatorname{the}: NP/N \qquad \operatorname{dog}: N \qquad \operatorname{John}: NP \qquad \operatorname{bit}: (S\backslash NP)/NP$$

$$rac{ ext{the}}{NP/N} \qquad rac{ ext{dog}}{N} \qquad \qquad rac{ ext{bit}}{(S \backslash NP)/NP} \qquad rac{ ext{John}}{NP}$$

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• Parsing 'I flew IcelandAir to Geneva and SwissAir to London'.

$$\frac{flew}{(VP/PP)/NP} = \frac{IcelandAir}{NP} \underbrace{\frac{Io}{PP/NP} \frac{Geneva}{NP}}_{NP} \underbrace{\frac{and}{CONJ}}_{NP} \underbrace{\frac{SwissAir}{NP}}_{NP} \underbrace{\frac{Io}{PP/NP} \frac{London}{NP}}_{NP} \underbrace{\frac{F}{VP/(VP/PP)/(VP/PP)/NP}}_{NP} \underbrace{\frac{F}{VP/(VP/PP)/NP}}_{VP/(VP/PP)/NP} \underbrace{\frac{F}{VP/NP}}_{VP/(VP/PP)/NP}}_{VP/(VP/PP)/NP} \underbrace{\frac{F}{VP/NP}}_{VP/(VP/PP)/NP}}_{VP/(VP/PP)/NP} \underbrace{\frac{F}{VP/NP}}_{VP/(VP/PP)/NP}}_{VP/(VP/PP)/NP}$$

PARSING CCG

- How to parse CCG?
- Since CCG operations are unary or binary, we can extend CKY parsing.
 - CCG is well-suited for bottom-up parsing.
 - Vijay-Shanker and Weir (1993) describe this algorithm and show that it has running time $O(n^6)$.
- This can be made practically faster using beam search and better heuristics (e.g., A*).
 - But better heuristics do not change the worst-case running time.
 - And beam search sacrifices exactness/accuracy.

CONTEXT-SENSITIVE GRAMMARS

• A context-sensitive grammar is one where all production rules have the form $\alpha A \gamma \rightarrow \alpha \beta \gamma$

where A is a nonterminal,

- α and γ are (possibly empty) sequences of terminals and nonterminals, and β is a non-empty sequence of terminals and nonterminals.
- This definition looks very similar to that of CFGs, with the addition of "context" requirements for each production rule.
 - In order to apply the rule for A, the additional "context" (i.e., α and γ) must match.

CONTEXT-SENSITIVE GRAMMARS

- Parsing context-sensitive grammars is PSPACE-complete.
 - PSPACE is the set of all problems that can be solved in polynomial space.
 - PSPACE is a superset of NP.
 - So PSPACE-complete is at least as difficult as NP-complete.
- Due to the computational cost of parsing, context-sensitive grammars are rarely used in practice.
- Although the question of whether the syntax of natural languages are context-free is debated by some linguists.
- The question of whether they are context-sensitive is not debated.

UNRESTRICTED GRAMMARS

An unrestricted grammar is one where all production rules have the form

$$\alpha \rightarrow \beta$$

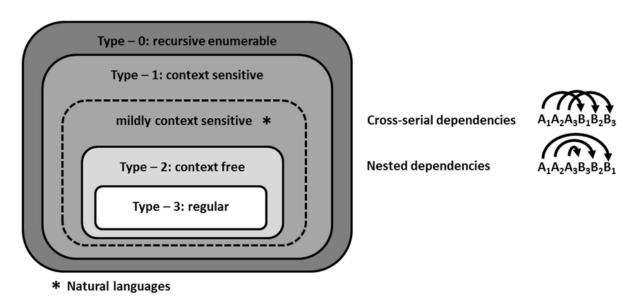
where α and β are sequences of terminals and nonterminals, and α is not empty.

- Languages of unrestricted grammars are called recursively enumerable.
- This is the set of all grammars.
- Parsing unrestricted grammars is undecideable:
 - There is no algorithm such that, for any input string *s*, the algorithm outputs whether *s* is in the language of the grammar.
 - I.e., recognition in unrestricted grammars is undecideable

WHERE DOES CCG BELONG?

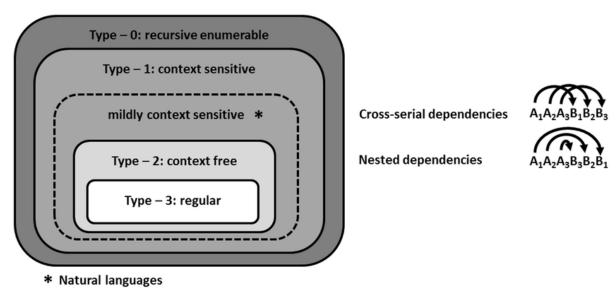
- CCG can describe non-context free languages.
- But there exists a polynomial time parsing algorithm (e.g., CKY).
- There are context-sensitive languages that cannot be described with CCG.
- CCG seems to belong to a category between context-free and contextsensitive grammars.
- There are other grammar formalisms that are shown to be equivalent to CCG.
 - I.e., they describe the same set of languages.
 - E.g., tree-adjoining grammar (TAG), linear indexed grammar, etc.
- This category is called mildly context-sensitive grammars.

- Chomsky (1956) proposed to organize grammars according to their complexity.
- Consider the set of all languages:



[Öttl et al, 2015]

- This is called the Chomsky hierarchy.
- Chomsky originally described 4 types:
 - Regular, context-free, context-sensitive, and recursively enumerable languages.

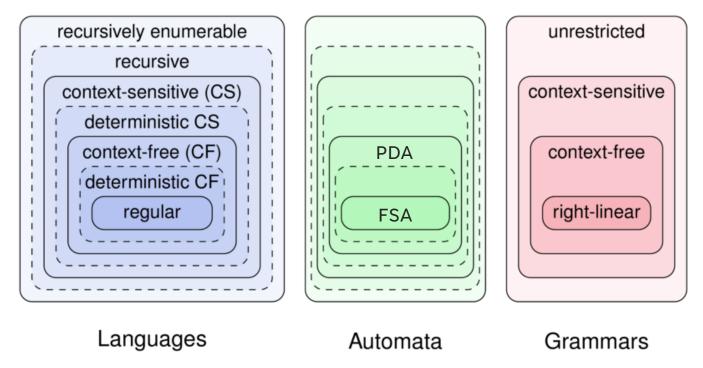


[Öttl et al, 2015]

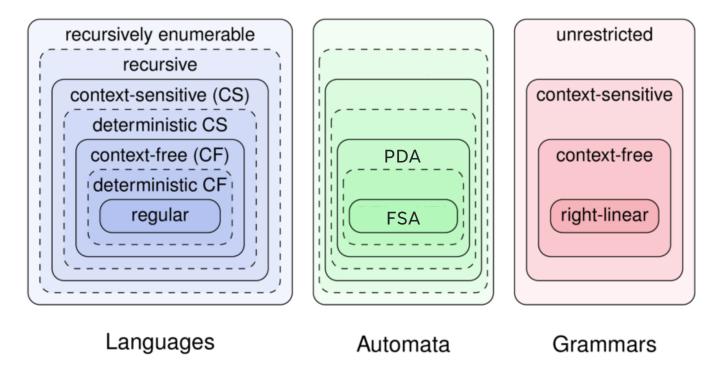
- This is called the Chomsky hierarchy.
- Chomsky originally described 4 types:
 - Regular, context-free, context-sensitive, and recursively enumerable languages.
 - Chomsky named them Type 3, Type 2, Type 1, and Type 0 languages, respectively.
 - But now there are many different categories of languages and grammars.
 - Some are not simple subsets of other categories.

 Each category in the Chomsky hierarchy can also be characterized by the computational expressiveness required to parse/recognize languages in that

category.

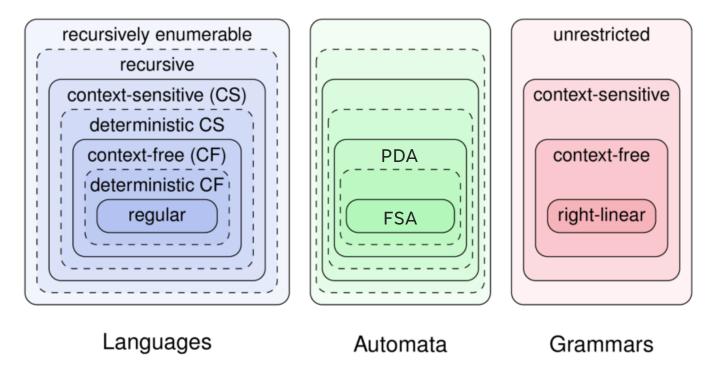


• There is a 1-to-1 correspondence between regular languages, regular grammars, and finite state automata (FSA).

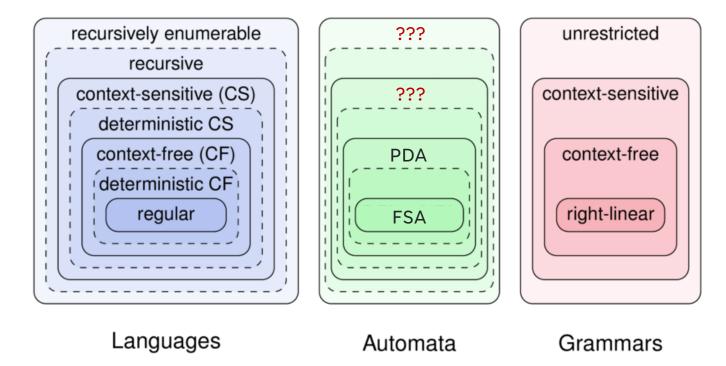


- There is a 1-to-1 correspondence between regular languages, regular grammars, and finite state automata (FSA).
 - For each regular language, there is a regular grammar that describes it.
 - For each regular language, there is an FSA that recognizes strings in that languages.
 - I.e., returns SUCCESS if an input string *s* belongs to the language, or FAIL otherwise.
 - For each FSA, the set of input strings for which the output is SUCCESS is a regular language.
 - Etc.

• There is a similar 1-to-1 correspondence between context-free languages, CFGs, and pushdown automata (PDA).



- But what about other language/grammar classes?
 - E.g., unrestricted grammars?



TURING MACHINES

- For any recursively enumerable language L, there exists a Turing machine that outputs SUCCESS for any input string s if and only if s is an element of L.
- For any Turing machine, if L is the set of input strings for which the output is SUCCESS, L is recursively enumerable.
- Okay, so what are Turing machines?
 - We can define Turing machines as an extension of FSMs and PDAs.
 - Recall that a PDA is defined as an FSM with the addition of a stack.
 - State transitions can push/pop elements to/from the top of the stack.
 - State transitions can also depend on the value at the top of the stack.

TURING MACHINES

- A Turing machine is an FSM with the addition of an infinite tape.
 - First described by Turing (1936).
- Each position on the tape stores a symbol.
 - A read/write head is located over the tape at one position.
- The state transitions in the FSM can write a new symbol on the tape at the position under the head.
 - They can also move the head one position to the left or right.
 - The state transitions can depend on the current symbol under the head.

Initially all tape cells are marked with $\mathbf{0}$.

State table for 3-state, 2-symbol busy beaver

Tape	Curr	Current state A			Current state B			Current state C		
symbol	Write symbol	Move tape	Next state	Write symbol	Move tape	Next state	Write symbol	Move tape	Next state	
0	1	R	В	1	L	Α	1	L	В	
1	1	L	С	1	R	В	1	R	HALT	



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Tape symbol	Current state A			Current state B			Current state C		
	Write symbol	Move tape	Next state	Write symbol	Move tape	Next state	Write symbol	Move tape	Next state
0	1	R	В	1	L	Α	1	L	В
1	1	L	С	1	R	В	1	R	HALT



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1	1	L	С	1	R	В	1	R	HALT

Current state: **HALT**



This example is a 3-state busy beaver Turing machine.
 (the Turing machine with 3 states that writes the most 1's to the tape and halts)

TURING MACHINES

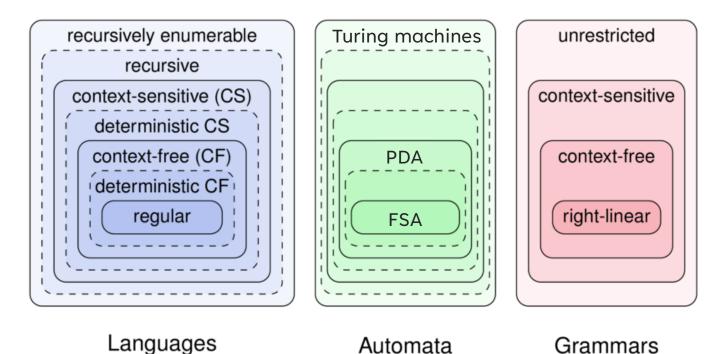
- Why are Turing machines important?
- Church-Turing thesis:
 - Any computable function can be written as a Turing machine.
 - Every Turing machine expresses a computable function.
- Any algorithm can be expressed as a Turing machine, and vice versa.
- Halting problem:
 - There is no algorithm that can compute for any Turing machine and any input, whether the Turing machine will halt.

TURING MACHINES

- How are Turing machines related to recursively enumerable languages or unrestricted grammars?
- For any recursively enumerable language L, we can write a Turing machine that will output SUCCESS if and only if the input string s is an element of L.
- However, for any given input *s*, it is impossible to determine whether the Turing machine will halt, or output SUCCESS eventually.
- This the problem of recognition is not only computationally expensive,
 - It is undecidable.

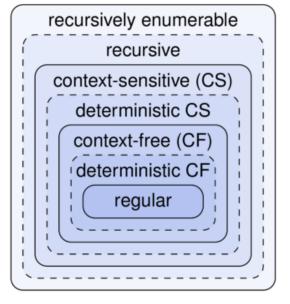
CHOMSKY HIERARCHY

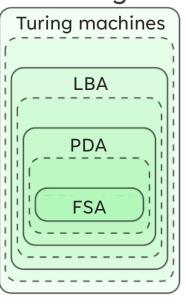
- What about context-sensitive languages?
 - The equivalent automata is a linear-bounded automata.

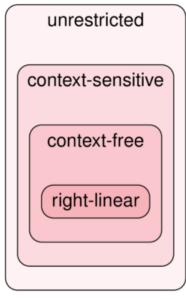


CHOMSKY HIERARCHY

- What about context-sensitive languages?
 - The equivalent automata is a linear-bounded automata.
 - A linear-bounded automaton is a Turing machine with a finite tape.







ML MODELS AND THE CHOMSKY HIERARCHY

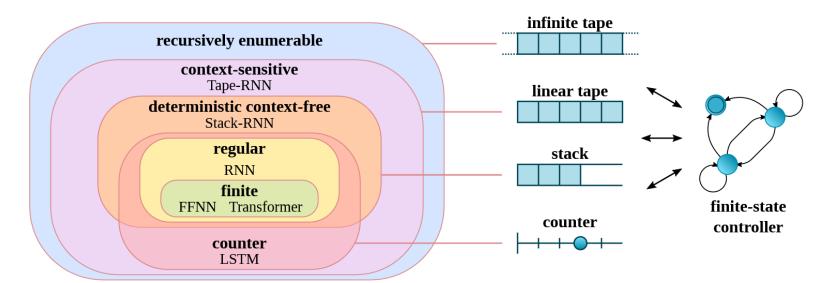
- Where do ML/NLP models fit in the Chomsky hierarchy?
- In an earlier lecture, we saw that there exists regular languages that transformers are unable to learn.
 - But they are able to learn some non-regular languages.
- Delétang and Ruoss (2023) trained various neural architectures on different kinds of languages,
 - They tested whether each model could generalize out-of-distribution on each language.

ML MODELS AND THE CHOMSKY HIERARCHY

Level	Task	RNN	Stack-RNN	Tape-RNN	Transformer	LSTM
R	Even Pairs	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.4	100.0
	Modular Arithmetic (Simple)	100.0	100.0	100.0	24.2	100.0
	Parity Check [†]	100.0	100.0	100.0	52.0	100.0
	Cycle Navigation [†]	100.0	100.0	100.0	61.9	100.0
DCF	Stack Manipulation	56.0	100.0	100.0	57.5	59.1
	Reverse String	62.0	100.0	100.0	62.3	60.9
	Modular Arithmetic	41.3	96.1	95.4	32.5	59.2
	Solve Equation°	51.0	56.2	64.4	25.7	67.8
CS	Duplicate String	50.3	52.8	100.0	52.8	57.6
	Missing Duplicate	52.3	55.2	100.0	56.4	54.3
	Odds First	51.0	51.9	100.0	52.8	55.6
	Binary Addition	50.3	52.7	100.0	54.3	55.5
	Binary Multiplication $^{ imes}$	50.0	52.7	58.5	52.2	53.1
	Compute Sqrt	54.3	56.5	57.8	52.4	57.5
	Bucket Sort [†] ★	27.9	78.1	70.7	91.9	99.3

ML MODELS AND THE CHOMSKY HIERARCHY

- Their results led them to assign various ML models to different parts of the Chomsky hierarchy.
 - This assignment is not perfect, as they only tested a handful of languages within each level.
 - E.g., transformers performed well on one context-sensitive task.



DOES CHAIN-OF-THOUGHT HELP?

- Merrill and Sabharwal (2024) showed that for any Turing machine,
 There exists a parameterization of a transformer that can simulate it.
- They proved this fact by construction:
 - They constructed a transformer that simulates one iteration of a Turing machine per forward pass.
 - Each output token represents a "diff" of the Turing machine tape.
 - The transformer can combine the diffs to reconstruct the symbol value under the read/write head.
- Implication: With CoT, transformers can express any algorithm.
- Not addressed: Can transformers learn any algorithm?



HOW TO MODEL MEANING?

- How do we model the meaning of natural language utterances?
- Language can convey lots of different kinds of meaning:
 - Truth-functional: 'Cats are mammals', 'Fish are not mammals.'
 - Modality:
 - 'You must follow the law.'
 - 'Compute the average of the list of numbers.'
 - Emphasis/topicalization:
 - 'It wasn't them who robbed the bank yesterday.'
 - 'The bank wasn't what they robbed yesterday.'
 - 'It wasn't yesterday that they robbed the bank.'
 - This is not a comprehensive list.

FORMAL SEMANTICS

- Formal semantics is the study of formal representations of meaning.
- Ideally, a good model of meaning can capture all semantic information.
- For simplicity, we will focus on truth-functional meaning.
 - We can interpret the meaning of each sentence as a function.
 - The input to the function is a possible world (or "model").
 - The output is TRUE or FALSE.
- E.g., 'All insects have six legs'
 - If the input possible world is one in which every instance of an insect has six legs, the output value is TRUE.
 - If the input possible world has an insect that does not have six legs, the output value is FALSE.

HOW TO MODEL MEANING?

- Truth-functional meaning representations are useful for tasks that require complex reasoning.
- For example:
 - Question answering
 - Especially multi-hop QA
 - Mathematical reasoning
 - Code generation
- Logic provides a natural way to represent meaning in these applications.

PROPOSITIONAL LOGIC

- Propositional logic or propositional calculus is a logic that describes propositions and relations between them.
 - Propositions are represented as symbols or variables.
 - Each proposition can either be TRUE or FALSE.
- E.g., the logical form of 'Sally is a cat' is sally_is_cat = TRUE.
 - 'Sally is a cat and Bob likes dogs'
 - sally_is_cat & bob_likes_dogs
 - sally_is_cat \(\) bob_likes_dogs
 - 'Sally is a cat or Bob likes dog'
 - sally_is_cat | bob_likes_dogs
 - sally_is_cat V bob_likes_dogs

PROPOSITIONAL LOGIC

- Propositional logic has the following operators/relations:
 - Conjunction ("and"):
 - A & B is true if and only if both A and B are true
 - Disjunction ("or"):
 - A | B is true if either A or B are true
 - Negation ("not"):
 - ~A or !A or -A or ¬A is true if A is false
 - Implication ("if-then", "implies"):
 - A -> B or A => B or A ⊃ B is true if B is true whenever A is true

PROPOSITIONAL LOGIC

- One common problem in reasoning is deduction.
 - Given some premises, prove whether a conclusion is TRUE or FALSE.
 - E.g., Given sally_is_cat and bob_likes_dogs,
 - Prove: (sally_is_cat & bob_likes_dogs) | charlie_has_wings
- This is equivalent to proving that in any possible world where the premises are true, the conclusion is necessarily true.
 - In propositional logic, we can search over all possible truth value assignments to the propositions.
 - Exponential running time
 - Inference in propositional logic can be shown to be NP-complete.

BETTER MODEL OF REASONING?

- Searching over all possible truth assignments is not a good model of human reasoning.
 - And it may not be a good model of reasoning more generally if we want to design systems that can solve complex reasoning problems.
- Can we model reasoning as a step-by-step process?
- We can define inference rules that tell us how to deduce new true facts.

$$\frac{A \ true \quad B \ true}{A \wedge B \ true} \ \wedge I$$

- In this rule, given the premises A is true and B is true,
 - We can conclude that A & B is true.

• In addition to conjunction introduction, we can define a conjunction elimination rule.

$$\frac{A \wedge B \ true}{A \ true} \ \wedge E$$

• We can similarly define inference rules for other logical connectives:

$$\frac{A \ true}{A \lor B \ true} \ \lor I$$

$$\frac{A \ true}{A \ true} \ u \ \frac{B \ true}{B \ true} \ w$$

$$\vdots \qquad \vdots \qquad proof-by-cases$$

$$\frac{A \lor B \ true}{C \ true} \ C \ true$$

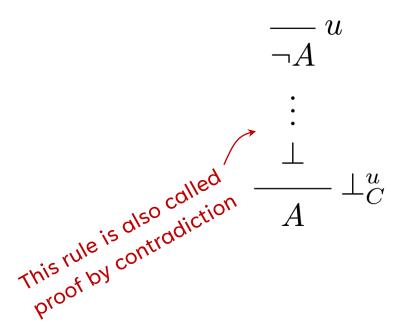
$$\frac{C \ true}{C \ true} \ \lor E^{u,w}$$

• We can similarly define inference rules for other logical connectives:

$$\frac{A \supset B \ true \quad A \ true}{B \ true} \supset E$$
This rule is also called this ponens''

$$egin{array}{c} \overline{A \ true}^{\ u} \ & dots \ \overline{B \ true}^{\ A \supset B \ true} \end{array} \supset I^{v}$$

• We can similarly define inference rules for other logical connectives:



$$\frac{\neg A \ true}{C \ true} \xrightarrow{A \ true} \neg E$$

- We can use proofs to solve the earlier reasoning example:
 - E.g., Given sally_is_cat and bob_likes_dogs,
 - Prove: (sally_is_cat & bob_likes_dogs) | charlie_has_wings

```
sally_is_cat & bob_likes_dogs &I

sally_is_cat & bob_likes_dogs | I

(sally_is_cat & bob_likes_dogs) | charlie_has_wings
```

- The step-by-step proof also provides a better model of chain-of-thoughtstyle reasoning in LMs.
- The above is an example of a depth-2 proof.

PROPOSITIONAL LOGIC LIMITATIONS

- Propositional logic does not cover the meaning of all natural language.
- E.g., 'All states have capitals' or 'There is a city on the river.'
- In propositional logic, we can only express statements about specific objects.
 - In order to represent the above sentences, we need a way to express statements over all objects.
- Propositional logic can be extended by adding variables and quantifiers.
 - 'All states have capitals'
 - ∀x(state(x) -> ∃y(capital(y) & has(x,y)))
 - 'There is a city on the river'
 - $\exists x(city(x) \& on(x,the_river))$

FIRST-ORDER LOGIC

- First-order logic (FOL) is the logic containing propositional logic with universal and existential quantifiers.
- To enable reasoning with first-order logic, we can define additional inference rules for the quantifiers:

$$\frac{[a/x]A \ true}{\forall x. \ A \ true} \forall \mathbf{I}^a$$

$$\frac{\forall x. \ A \ true}{[t/x]A \ true} \, \forall \mathbf{E}$$

• [a/x] A denotes the result of substituting x with a in A.

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FIRST-ORDER LOGIC

- In the worst-case, reasoning in first-order logic is significantly more computationally expensive than in propositional logic.
- In fact, the problem of determining whether a given logical form is true in first-order logic is undecidable.
- However, FOL is also highly expressive.
- Mathematics can largely be written in FOL.
 - See Zermelo-Fraenkel set theory.
 - The most common "foundation of mathematics."

• Han et al (2024) create a dataset of FOL reasoning problems, written in both natural language and logic.

A FOLIO example based on the Wild Turkey Wikipedia page: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wild_turkey

NL premises

- 1. There are six types of wild turkeys: Eastern wild turkey, Osceola wild turkey, Gould's wild turkey, Merriam's wild turkey, Rio Grande wild turkey, and the Ocellated wild turkey.
- 2. Tom is not an Eastern wild turkey.
- 3. Tom is not an Osceola wild turkey.
- 4. Tom is also not a Gould's wild turkey.
- 5. Tom is neither a Merriam's wild turkey, nor a Rio Grande wild turkey.
- 6. Tom is a wild turkey.

FOL Premises

- 1. $\forall x (\text{WildTurkey}(x) \rightarrow (\text{EasternWildTurkey}(x) \lor \text{OsceolaWildTurkey}(x) \lor \text{GouldsWildTurkey}(x))$
- $\lor \mathsf{MerriamsWildTurkey}(x) \lor \mathsf{RiograndeWildTurkey}(x) \lor \mathsf{OcellatedWildTurkey}(x)))$
- 2. ¬EasternWildTurkey(tom)
- 3. \neg OsceolaWildTurkey(tom))
- 4. ¬GouldsWildTurkey(tom)
- 5. \neg MerriamsWildTurkey $(tom) \land \neg$ RiograndeWildTurkey(tom)
- 6. WildTurkey(tom)

NL Conclusions -> Labels

- A. Tom is an Ocellated wild turkey. -> True
- B. Tom is an Eastern wild turkey. -> False
- C. Joey is a wild turkey. -> Unknown

FOL conclusions -> Labels

- A. OcellatedWildTurkey $(tom) \rightarrow True$
- B. EasternWildTurkey(tom) -> False
- C. WildTurkey(joey) -> Unknown

• They use Wikipedia as the source of their examples.

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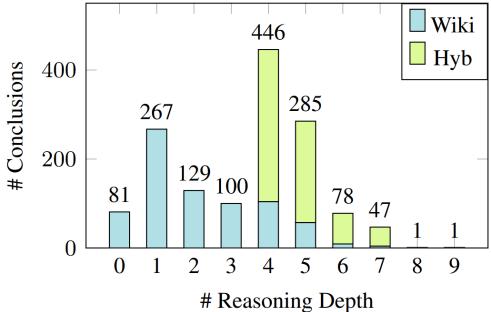
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- They find LLMs perform decently.
 - But data contamination may confound their results.

Model	Size	Acc (%)
majority baseline	-	38.5%
random probability	-	33.3 %
Fully supervised fine-tune		
BERT-base	110M	56.8
BERT-large	340M	59.0
RoBERTa-base	110M	56.8
RoBERTa-large	340M	62.1
Flan-T5-Large	783M	65.9
0-shot NL Prompt		
GPT-3.5-Turbo	-	53.1
GPT-4	-	61.3

8-shot NL Prompt		
LLama-13B	13B	33.6
LLama-70B LLama-70B - CoT LLama-70B - ToT	70B 70B 70B	44.0 47.8 48.4
text-davinci-002 GPT-3.5-Turbo GPT-4 GPT-4 - CoT (2022b) GPT-4 - CoT with SC (2023) GPT-4 ToT (2023)	- - - -	49.5 58.3 64.2 68.9 69.5 70.0
LR-specific Methods		
Logic-LM (2023) LINC (2023) DetermLR (2023)	- - -	78.1 73.1 77.5

- They find LLMs perform decently.
 - But data contamination may confound their results.
 - The complexity of their examples is rather limited.



[Han et al, 2004] # Reasoning Depth 64

HOW DO WE CONVERT NL INTO LF?

- We have described two logics to represent the meaning of natural language sentences:
 - Propositional logic
 - First-order logic
- How do you actually convert a sentence into logical form?
- Is FOL a good representation for meaning in natural language?
 - 'Mark drives' can be parsed as drive(mark),
 - But how would you parse 'Mark drives quickly'?
- We will discuss these questions further next time.

