

A Rich Probabilistic Type Theory for the Semantics of Natural Language*

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Outline

Probabilistic Semantics

Rich Type Theory and Probabilistic Types

Compositional Semantics

Semantic Learning

Conclusions and Future Work

Classical Semantic Theories

- Classical semantic theories (Montague (1974)), as well as dynamic (Kamp and Reyle (1993)) and underspecified (Fox and Lappin (2010)) frameworks use categorical type systems.
- A type T identifies a set of possible denotations for expressions in T .
- The theory specifies combinatorial operations for deriving the denotation of an expression from the values of its constituents.
- These theories cannot represent the gradience of semantic properties that is pervasive in speakers' judgements concerning truth, predication, and meaning relations.

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Semantic Learning

- There is a fair amount of evidence indicating that language acquisition in general crucially relies on probabilistic learning (Clark and Lappin (2011)).
- It is not clear how a reasonable account of semantic learning could be constructed on the basis of the categorical type systems that either classical or revised semantic theories assume.
- Such systems do not appear to be efficiently learnable from the primary linguistic data (with weak learning biases).
- There is little (or no) psychological data to suggest that classical categorical type systems provide biologically determined constraints on semantic learning.

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Using Probability to Model Gradience and Learning

- A semantic theory that assigns probability rather than truth conditions to sentences is in a better position to deal with gradience and learning.
- Gradience is intrinsic to the theory by virtue of the fact that values are assigned to sentences in the continuum of real numbers $[0,1]$, rather than Boolean values in $\{0,1\}$.
- A probabilistic account of semantic learning is facilitated if the target of learning is a probabilistic representation of meaning.
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Two Strategies

- On a top-down approach one sustains classical categorical type and model theories, and then specifies a function that assigns probability values to the possible worlds that the model provides.
- The probability value of a sentence relative to a model M is the sum of the probabilities of the worlds in which it is true.
- On a bottom-up approach one defines a probabilistic type theory.
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A Top-Down Theory

- van Eijck and Lappin (2012) retain a classical type theory and the specification of intensions for each type as functions from worlds to extensions.
- They define a *probabilistic model* M as a tuple $\langle D, W, P \rangle$ with D a domain, W a set of worlds for that domain (predicate interpretations in that domain), and P a probability function over W , i.e., for all $w \in W$, $P(w) \in [0, 1]$, and $\sum_{w \in W} P(w) = 1$.
- An interpretation of a language L in a model $M = \langle D, W, P \rangle$ is given in terms of the standard notion $w \models \phi$:

$$\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^M := \sum_{w_i \in W \wedge w_i \models \phi} P(w_i)$$

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The Probability Calculus

- This definition of a model entails that $\llbracket \neg\phi \rrbracket^M = 1 - \llbracket \phi \rrbracket^M$.
- Also, if $\phi \models \neg\psi$, i.e., if $W_\phi \cap W_\psi = \emptyset$, then
$$\begin{aligned}\llbracket \phi \vee \psi \rrbracket^M &= \sum_{w \in W_{\phi \vee \psi}} P(w) = \\ &= \sum_{w \in W_\phi} P(w) + \sum_{w \in W_\psi} P(w) = \\ &= \llbracket \phi \rrbracket^M + \llbracket \psi \rrbracket^M.\end{aligned}$$
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Disadvantages of the Top-Down Approach

- It requires probabilities to be assigned to entire worlds in the model, with sentences receiving probability values derivatively from these assignments.
- Representing worlds (maximally consistent sets of propositions, or ultrafilters in a proof theoretic lattice of propositions) poses serious problems of tractability (Lappin (2014), Cooper et al. (2014)).
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A Bottom-Up Approach

- A bottom-up approach avoids the representability problem by assigning probabilities to individual type judgements as classifier applications.
- The probability of a sentence is determined relative to a bounded set of situation types, which can be learned as classifiers for situations.
- A bottom-up probabilistic semantics requires a probabilistic type theory.
- This theory provides the basis for an account of semantic learning in which situation type classifiers are acquired probabilistically through sampling and observation driven Bayesian inference.

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Austinian Propositions

- We take probability to be distributed over situation types (Barwise and Perry (1983)).
- An Austinian proposition is a judgement that a situation is of a particular type, and we treat it as probabilistic.
- It expresses a subjective probability in that it encodes the belief of an agent concerning the likelihood that a situation is of that type.
- The core of an Austinian proposition is a type judgement of the form $s : T$, which is expressed probabilistically as $p(s : T) = r$, where $r \in [0, 1]$.

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Probabilistic TTR: Basic Types and PTypes

Our type system is based on Cooper's (2012) Type Theory with Records (TTR), and it includes the following types.

- **Basic Types** are not constructed out of other objects introduced in the theory.
 - If T is a basic type, $p(a : T)$ for any object a is provided by an assignment of probabilities to judgements involving basic types.
- **PTypes** are constructed from a *predicate* and an appropriate sequence of arguments.
 - $man(john, 18:10)$ is the type of situation where John is a man at time 18:10.
 - A probability model provides probabilities $p(e : r(a_1, \dots, a_n))$ for ptypes $r(a_1, \dots, a_n)$.
 - We take both common nouns and verbs to provide the components out of which PTypes are constructed.

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Meets and Joins

- **Meets and Joins** give, for T_1 and T_2 , the meet, $T_1 \wedge T_2$ and the join $T_1 \vee T_2$, respectively.
- $a : T_1 \wedge T_2$ just in case $a : T_1$ and $a : T_2$.
- $a : T_1 \vee T_2$ just in case either $a : T_1$ or $a : T_2$ (possibly both).
- The probabilities for meet and join types are defined by the classical Kolmogorov (1950) equations.
 - $p(a : T_1 \wedge T_2) = p(a : T_1)p(a : T_2 \mid a : T_1)$
(equivalently, $p(a : T_1 \wedge T_2) = p(a : T_1, a : T_2)$)
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Subtypes

- **Subtypes:** A type T_1 is a subtype of type T_2 , $T_1 \sqsubseteq T_2$, just in case $a : T_1$ implies $a : T_2$ no matter what we assign to the basic types.
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- These definitions also entail that $p(a : T_1 \wedge T_2) \leq p(a : T_1)$, and $p(a : T_1) \leq p(a : T_1 \vee T_2)$.

Subtypes

- **Subtypes:** A type T_1 is a subtype of type T_2 , $T_1 \sqsubseteq T_2$, just in case $a : T_1$ implies $a : T_2$ no matter what we assign to the basic types.
- If $T_1 \sqsubseteq T_2$ then $a : T_1 \wedge T_2$ iff $a : T_1$, and $a : T_1 \vee T_2$ iff $a : T_2$.
- Similarly, if $T_2 \sqsubseteq T_1$ then $a : T_1 \wedge T_2$ iff $a : T_2$, and $a : T_1 \vee T_2$ iff $a : T_1$.
- If $T_2 \sqsubseteq T_1$, then $p(a : T_1 \wedge T_2) = p(a : T_2)$, and $p(a : T_1 \vee T_2) = p(a : T_1)$.
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Generalized Probabilistic Meet

- Let $\bigwedge_{\rho} (a_0 : T_0, \dots, a_n : T_n)$ be *the conjunctive probability of judgements*
 $a_0 : T_0, \dots, a_n : T_n$.

- $\bigwedge_{\rho} (a_0 : T_0, \dots, a_n : T_n) =$

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- If $n = 0$, $\bigwedge_{\rho} (a_0 : T_0, \dots, a_n : T_n) = 1$.

- Universal quantification is an unbounded conjunctive probability, which is true if it is vacuously satisfied ($n = 0$) (Paris (2010)).

- Conditional Conjunctive Probabilities:**

$$\bigwedge_{\rho} (a_0 : T_0, \dots, a_n : T_n \mid a : T) =$$

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Function Types

- **Function Types** give, for any types T_1 and T_2 , the type $(T_1 \rightarrow T_2)$.
- This is the type of total functions with domain the set of all objects of type T_1 and range included in objects of type T_2 .
- The probability that a function f is of type $(T_1 \rightarrow T_2)$ is the probability that everything in its domain is of type T_1 , that everything in its range is of type T_2 , and that everything not in its domain which has some probability of being of type T_1 is *not*, in fact, of type T_1

- $$p(f : (T_1 \rightarrow T_2)) = \prod_{a \in \text{dom}(f)} p(a : T_1, f(a) : T_2) \left(1 - \prod_{a \notin \text{dom}(f)} p(a : T_1)\right)$$

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Function Types: Example 1

- Suppose that T_1 is the type of event where there is a flash of lightning, and T_2 is the type of event where there is a clap of thunder.
- Let f map lightning events to thunder events, and let f have as its domain all events which have been judged to have probability greater than 0 of being lightning events.
- Assume all putative lightning events are clear examples of lightning and are associated by f with clear events of thunder.
- If there are four such pairs of events, then the probability of f being of type $(T_1 \rightarrow T_2)$ is $(1 \times 1)^4 = 1$.

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Increasing the Size of the Domain of a Function Type

- If the probabilities of the antecedent and the consequent type judgements are higher than 0, the probability of the entire judgement on the existence of a functional type f will decline in proportion to the size of $\text{dom}(f)$.
- If, for example that there are k elements $a \in \text{dom}(f)$, where for each such a , $p(a : T_1) = p(f(a) : T_2) \geq .5$.
- Every a_i that is added to $\text{dom}(f)$ will reduce the value of $p(f : (T_1 \rightarrow T_2))$, even if it yields higher values for $p(a : T_1)$ and $p(f(a) : T_2)$.
- This is due to the fact that we are treating the probability of $p(f : (T_1 \rightarrow T_2))$ as the likelihood of there being a function that is satisfied by all objects in its domain.
- The larger the domain, the less probable that all elements in it fulfill the functional relation.

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Function Type Judgements as Universally Quantified Assertions

- We are interpreting a functional type judgement of this kind as a universally quantified assertion over the pairing of objects in $\text{dom}(f)$ and $\text{range}(f)$.
- The probability of such an assertion is given by the conjunction of assertions corresponding to the co-occurrence of each element a in f 's domain as an instance of T_1 with $f(a)$ as an instance of T_2 .
- Functions which leave out some of the objects with lower likelihood of being of type T_1 should also have a probability of being of type $(T_1 \rightarrow T_2)$.
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Negation and Instantiation of Types

- **Negation:** $\neg T$, of type T , is the function type $(T \rightarrow \perp)$, where \perp is a necessarily empty type and $p(\perp) = 0$.
- It follows from our rules for function types that $p(f : \neg T) = 1$ if $\text{dom}(f) = \emptyset$, (T is empty, and 0 otherwise).
- We also assign probabilities to judgements concerning the (non-)emptiness of a type, $p(T)$.
- Our account of negation entails that $p(T \vee \neg T) = 1$, and (ii) $p(\neg\neg T) = p(T)$.
- Therefore, we sustain classical Boolean negation and disjunction, in contrast to Martin-Löf's (1984) intuitionistic type theory.

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- Therefore, we sustain classical Boolean negation and disjunction, in contrast to Martin-Löf's (1984) intuitionistic type theory.

Negation and Instantiation of Types

- **Negation:** $\neg T$, of type T , is the function type $(T \rightarrow \perp)$, where \perp is a necessarily empty type and $p(\perp) = 0$.
- It follows from our rules for function types that $p(f : \neg T) = 1$ if $\text{dom}(f) = \emptyset$, (T is empty, and 0 otherwise).
- We also assign probabilities to judgements concerning the (non-)emptiness of a type, $p(T)$.
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- **Dependent Types** are functions from objects to types.
- Given appropriate arguments as functions they will return a type.
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Record Types

- **Record Types** are sets of ordered pairs (*fields*) whose first member is a label and whose second member is an object of some type, possibly itself a record, where records are functional on labels (each label in a record can only occur once in the record's left projection).
- If T is a record type, ℓ is a label not occurring in T , \mathcal{T} is a dependent type requiring n arguments, and $\langle \pi_1, \dots, \pi_n \rangle$ is an n -place sequence of paths in T , then $T \cup \{ \langle \ell, \langle \mathcal{T}, \langle \pi_1, \dots, \pi_n \rangle \rangle \}$ is a record type.
- $r : T \cup \{ \langle \ell, \langle \mathcal{T}, \langle \pi_1, \dots, \pi_n \rangle \rangle \}$ just in case $r : T$, $r.\ell$ is defined, and $r.\ell : \mathcal{T}(r.\pi_1, \dots, r.\pi_n)$.

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Record Types

The probability that an object r is of a record type T :

1. $p(r : \text{Rec}) = 1$ if r is a record, 0 otherwise
2. $p(r : T_1 \cup \{\langle \ell, T_2 \rangle\}) = \bigwedge_p (r : T_1, r.\ell : T_2)$
3. If $\mathcal{T} : (T_1 \rightarrow (\dots \rightarrow (T_n \rightarrow \text{Type}) \dots))$, then
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A Strategy for Computing Probability Values of Complex Expressions

- Montague (1974) determines the denotation of a complex expression by applying a function to an intensional argument (as in $\llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket(\llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket)$).
- We employ a variant of this general strategy by applying a probabilistic evaluation function $\llbracket \cdot \rrbracket_\rho$ to a categorical (non-probabilistic) semantic value.
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A Probabilistic Compositional Semantics

$$\llbracket [S \ S_1 \ \text{and} \ S_2] \rrbracket_\rho = p\left(\begin{array}{l} e_1: \llbracket S_1 \rrbracket \\ e_2: \llbracket S_2 \rrbracket \end{array}\right)$$

$$\llbracket [S \ S_1 \ \text{or} \ S_2] \rrbracket_\rho = p(e: \llbracket S_1 \rrbracket \vee \llbracket S_2 \rrbracket)$$

$$\llbracket [S \ \text{Neg} \ S] \rrbracket_\rho = \llbracket \text{Neg} \rrbracket_\rho(\llbracket S \rrbracket)$$

$$\llbracket [S \ \text{NP} \ \text{VP}] \rrbracket_\rho = \llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket_\rho(\llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket)$$

$$\llbracket [\text{NP} \ \text{Det} \ N] \rrbracket_\rho = \llbracket \text{Det} \rrbracket_\rho(\llbracket N \rrbracket)$$

$$\llbracket [\text{NP} \ N_{prop}] \rrbracket_\rho = \llbracket N_{prop} \rrbracket_\rho$$

$$\llbracket [\text{VP} \ V_t \ \text{NP}] \rrbracket_\rho = \llbracket V_t \rrbracket_\rho(\llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket)$$

$$\llbracket [\text{VP} \ V_i] \rrbracket_\rho = \llbracket V_i \rrbracket_\rho$$

A Probabilistic Compositional Semantics

$$\llbracket [\text{Neg } \text{"it's not true that"}] \rrbracket_\rho = \lambda T:\text{RecType}(\rho([e:\neg T]))$$

$$\llbracket [\text{Det } \text{"some"}] \rrbracket_\rho = \lambda Q:\text{Ppty}(\lambda P:\text{Ppty}(\rho([e:\text{some}(Q, P)])))$$

$$\llbracket [\text{Det } \text{"every"}] \rrbracket_\rho = \lambda Q:\text{Ppty}(\lambda P:\text{Ppty}(\rho([e:\text{every}(Q, P)])))$$

$$\llbracket [\text{Det } \text{"most"}] \rrbracket_\rho = \lambda Q:\text{Ppty}(\lambda P:\text{Ppty}(\rho([e:\text{most}(Q, P)])))$$

$$\llbracket [\text{N } \text{"boy"}] \rrbracket_\rho = \lambda r:[x:\text{Ind}](\rho([e:\text{boy}(r.x)]))$$

$$\llbracket [\text{N } \text{"girl"}] \rrbracket_\rho = \lambda r:[x:\text{Ind}](\rho([e:\text{girl}(r.x)]))$$

$$\llbracket [\text{Adj } \text{"green"}] \rrbracket_\rho = \lambda P:\text{Ppty}(\lambda r:[x:\text{Ind}](\rho([e:\text{green}(r.x, P)]))))$$

$$\llbracket [\text{Adj } \text{"imaginary"}] \rrbracket_\rho = \lambda P:\text{Ppty}(\lambda r:[x:\text{Ind}](\rho([e:\text{imaginary}(r.x, P)]))))$$

A Probabilistic Compositional Semantics

$$\llbracket [N_{prop} \text{ "Kim"}] \rrbracket_{\rho} = \lambda P:Ppty(\rho(P([x=kim])))$$

$$\llbracket [N_{prop} \text{ "Sandy"}] \rrbracket_{\rho} = \lambda P:Ppty(\rho(P([x=sandy])))$$

$$\llbracket [V_t \text{ "knows"}] \rrbracket_{\rho} = \lambda P:Quant(\lambda r_1:[x:Ind](\rho(\mathcal{P}(\lambda r_2:([e:know(r_1.x,r_2.x)]))))))$$

$$\llbracket [V_t \text{ "sees"}] \rrbracket_{\rho} = \lambda P:Quant(\lambda r_1:[x:Ind](\rho(\mathcal{P}(\lambda r_2:([e:see(r_1.x,r_2.x)]))))))$$

$$\llbracket [V_i \text{ "smiles"}] \rrbracket_{\rho} = \lambda r:[x:Ind](\rho([e:smile(r.x)]))$$

$$\llbracket [V_i \text{ "laughs"}] \rrbracket_{\rho} = \lambda r:[x:Ind](\rho([e:laugh(r.x)]))$$

A Probability Distribution for the Fragment

A probability distribution d for this fragment, based on a set of situations \mathcal{S} , is such that:

$$p_d(a : \text{Ind}) = 1 \text{ if } a \text{ is kim or sandy}$$

$$p_d(s : T) \in [0, 1] \text{ if } s \in \mathcal{S} \text{ and } T \text{ is a ptype}$$

$$p_d(s : T) = 0 \text{ if } s \notin \mathcal{S} \text{ and } T \text{ is a ptype}$$

$$p_d(a : [\tau P]) = p_d(P([x=a]))$$

$$p_d(\text{some}(P, Q)) = p_d([\tau P] \wedge [\tau Q])$$

$$p_d(\text{every}(P, Q)) = p_d([\tau P] \rightarrow [\tau Q])$$

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Probabilistic GQ Judgements

- The probability that an event e is of the type in which the relation *some* holds of the properties P and Q is the probability that e is of the conjunctive type $P \wedge Q$.
- The probability that e is of the *every* type for P and Q is the likelihood that it instantiates the functional type $P \rightarrow Q$.
- The likelihood that e is of the type *most* for P and Q is the likelihood that e is of type $P \wedge Q$, factored by the product of the contextually determined parameter θ_{most} and the likelihood that e is of type P , where this fraction is less than 1, and 1 otherwise.

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An Example

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \llbracket [S [NP [N_{prop} \text{Kim}]] [VP [V_i \text{smiles}]]] \rrbracket_{\rho} = \\
 & \lambda P:Ppty(\rho(P([x=\text{kim}]))) (\lambda r:[x:Ind]([e:\text{smile}(r.x)])) = \\
 & \rho(\lambda r:[x:Ind]([e:\text{smile}(r.x)])([x=\text{kim}])) = \\
 & \rho([e:\text{smile}(\text{kim})])
 \end{aligned}$$

An Example

- Suppose that $p_d(s_1:\text{smile}(\text{kim})) = .7$, $p_d(s_2:\text{smile}(\text{kim})) = .3$, $p_d(s_3:\text{smile}(\text{kim})) = .4$, and there are no other situations s_i such that $p_d(s_i:\text{smile}(\text{kim})) > 0$.
- Assume that these probabilities are independent of each other; that is, $p_d(s_3:\text{smile}(\text{kim})) = p_d(s_3:\text{smile}(\text{kim}) \mid s_1:\text{smile}(\text{kim}), s_2:\text{smile}(\text{kim}))$, and so on.

- $p_d(\text{smile}(\text{kim})) =$

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$$.4 \bigvee_d p_d(s_1 : \text{smile}(\text{kim}), s_2 : \text{smile}(\text{kim})) =$$

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- $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_{p_d}$ is the result of computing $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_p$ with respect to the probability distribution d .
- $p_d(\llbracket e:\text{smile}(\text{kim}) \rrbracket) = .874$.
- Hence $\llbracket [S [NP [N_{prop} \text{Kim}]] [VP [V_i \text{smiles}]]] \rrbracket_{p_d} = .874$.

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Probabilistic Austinian Propositions

- *Probabilistic Austinian propositions* are records of type

$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{sit} & : \text{Sit} \\ \text{sit-type} & : \text{Type} \\ \text{prob} & : [0,1] \end{array} \right]$$

- They assert that the probability that a situation s is of type *Type* with the value of *prob*.
- The definition of $\llbracket \cdot \rrbracket_p$ specifies a compositional procedure for generating an Austinian proposition (record) of this type from the meanings of the syntactic constituents of a sentence.

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Observations as Type Judgements

- We assume that agents track observed situations and their types, modelled as probabilistic Austinian propositions.
- An observation of a red object might yield the following Austinian proposition for some $a:Ind$, $s_1:red(a)$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} \\ \text{sit-type} \\ \text{prob} \end{array} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ref} = a \\ c_{\text{red}} = s_1 \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ref} : Ind \\ c_{\text{red}} : \text{red}(\text{ref}) \end{array} \right] \\ 0.7 \end{array} \right] \right]$$

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Computing the Probability of a Type Judgement

- When an agent A encounters a new situation s and wants to know if it is of type T or not, he/she uses probabilistic reasoning to determine the value of $p_{A,\mathfrak{S}}(s : T)$.
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Priors on Type Judgements

- An agent, A , makes judgements based on a finite string of probabilistic Austinian propositions, \mathfrak{S} .
- For a type, T , \mathfrak{S}_T represents that set of Austinian propositions j such that $j.\text{sit-type} \sqsubseteq T$.
- If T is a type and \mathfrak{S} a finite string of probabilistic Austinian propositions, then $\|T\|_{\mathfrak{S}}$ represents the sum of all probabilities associated with T in \mathfrak{S} ($\sum_{j \in \mathfrak{S}_T} j.\text{prob}$).
- $\mathcal{P}(\mathfrak{S})$ is the sum of all probabilities in \mathfrak{S} ($\sum_{j \in \mathfrak{S}} j.\text{prob}$).
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Priors on Type Judgements

- An agent, A , makes judgements based on a finite string of probabilistic Austinian propositions, \mathfrak{S} .
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A Type Theoretic Bayesian Rule for Conditional Probability

- $p_{A, \mathfrak{J}}(s : T_1 \mid s : T_2)$ is the probability that agent A assigns with respect to prior judgements \mathfrak{J} to s being of type T_1 , given that A judges s to be of type T_2 .
- A computes these conditional probabilities with the equation

$$p_{A, \mathfrak{J}}(s : T_1 \mid s : T_2) = \frac{\|T_1 \wedge T_2\|_{\mathfrak{J}}}{\|T_2\|_{\mathfrak{J}}}, \text{ if } \|T_2\|_{\mathfrak{J}} \neq 0.$$

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Learning a TTR Bayes Classifier from Evidence

- A classifies a new situation s based on the prior judgements \mathfrak{J} , and the evidence that A acquires about s .
- This evidence has the form

$$p_{A,\mathfrak{J}}(s : T_{e_1}), \dots, p_{A,\mathfrak{J}}(s : T_{e_n}),$$

where T_{e_1}, \dots, T_{e_n} are the *evidence types*.

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Bayes' Rule

- Bayes' rule of conditional probability defines the conditional probability of a conclusion $r : T_c$, given evidence $r : T_{e_1}, r : T_{e_2}, \dots, r : T_{e_n}$.
- It does this in terms of conditional probabilities of the form $p(s_i : T_{e_i} | s_i : T_c)$, $1 \leq i \leq n$, and *priors* for conclusion and evidence.
- We formulate Bayes' rule of conditional probability as

$$p_{A,\mathfrak{J}}(r : T_c | r : T_{e_1}, \dots, r : T_{e_n}) =$$

$$\text{prior}_{\mathfrak{J}}(T_c) \frac{p_{A,\mathfrak{J}}(s : T_{e_1} | s : T_c) \dots p_{A,\mathfrak{J}}(s : T_{e_n} | s : T_c)}{\text{prior}_{\mathfrak{J}}(T_{e_1}) + \dots + \text{prior}_{\mathfrak{J}}(T_{e_n})} =$$

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The Posterior Probabilities of Conclusions

- We also want the *posterior* probability of the judgement above (the probability of the judgement in light of the evidence.)
- We obtain the posterior probabilities of the different possible conclusions by factoring in the probabilities of the evidence.

$$p_{A,\mathcal{J}}(r : T_c) = p_{A,\mathcal{J}}(r : T_c \mid r : T_{e_1}, \dots, r : T_{e_n}) p_{A,\mathcal{J}}(r : T_{e_1}) \dots p_{A,\mathcal{J}}(r : T_{e_n})$$

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Defining the Classifier Function

- Associated with the classifier is a collection of evidence types $T_{e_1}, T_{e_2}, \dots, T_{e_n}$ and a collection of possible conclusion types $T_{c_1}, T_{c_2}, \dots, T_{c_m}$
- We define a TTR Bayes classifier as a function from a situation s to a set of probabilistic Austinian propositions, defining a probability distribution over the possible conclusion types.

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- The classifier function is specified as follows.

$$\kappa: \text{Sit} \rightarrow \text{Set} \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} \quad : \quad \text{Sit} \\ \text{sit-type} : \quad \text{Type} \\ \text{prob} \quad : \quad [0,1] \end{array} \right)$$

such that if $s:\text{Sit}$ then

$$\kappa(\mathbf{s}) = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sit} \quad = \quad \mathbf{s} \\ \text{sit-type} = \quad T \\ \text{prob} \quad = \quad \begin{array}{l} p_{A,\mathfrak{J}}(s : T \mid s : T_{e_1}, \dots, s : T_{e_n}) \\ p_{A,\mathfrak{J}}(s : T_{e_1}) \dots p_{A,\mathfrak{J}}(s : T_{e_n}) \end{array} \end{array} \right\} \parallel T \in \langle T_{c_1}, \dots, T_{c_m} \rangle$$

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Bayes Classifiers and Bayesian Networks

- We are using a type theoretic variant of the standard Bayesian formula for conditional probabilities:

$$p(A | B) = \frac{|A \& B|}{|B|}.$$

- Instead of counting categorical instances, we sum the probabilities of judgements, because our “training data” consists of probabilistic observational type judgements.
- By using an observer’s previous type judgements as the prior for the rule that computes the probability of a new event being of a given type, we have, in effect, compressed information that properly belongs in a Bayesian network (Pearl (1990)) into our specification of a TTR Bayes classifier.
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Conclusions

- Our probabilistic formulation of a rich type theory with records provides the basis for a compositional semantics in which functions apply to categorical semantic objects in order to return functions from categorical interpretations to probabilistic judgements.
- For sentences, the rules generate probabilistic Austinian propositions.
- This framework differs from classical model theoretic semantics, *inter alia*, in that the basic types and type judgements at the foundation of the type system correspond to perceptual judgements concerning objects and events in the world, rather than to entities in a model and set theoretic constructions defined on them.

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- We have offered a schematic view of semantic learning in which observations of situations in the world support the acquisition of Bayes Classifiers.
- The basic probabilistic types of our type theoretical semantics are extracted from these classifiers.
- The proposed type theory specifies the interface between observation-based learning of classifiers for objects and situations, and the computation of complex semantic values for the expressions of a natural language.
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Future Work

- Bayesian reasoning from observation provides the incremental basis for learning and refining predicative types.
- In future work we will explore implementations of our learning theory in order to study the viability of our probabilistic type theory as an interface between perceptual judgement and compositional semantics.
- We hope to show that, in addition to its cognitive and theoretical interest, our proposed framework will yield results in robotic language learning, and dialogue modelling.

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