

Formalizations and Implementations of Monotonicity Reasoning

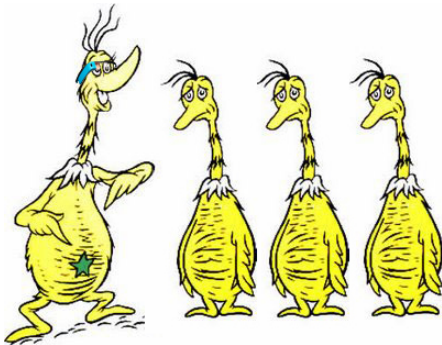
Larry Moss

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This is an entry for a United States
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on mathematics outreach for the general public.

Other examples of arrows



Some “givens”



animal
Sneetch
Star-Belly Sneetch



move
dance
waltz

Some “givens”



animal
Sneetch
Star-Belly Sneetch



move
dance
waltz

Let's talk about a situation where

all Sneetches dance.

Which one would be true?

- ▶ all Star-Belly Sneetches dance
- ▶ all animals dance

Some “givens”



animal
Sneetch
Star-Belly Sneetch



move
dance
waltz

- ▶ all Star-Belly Sneetches dance true
- ▶ all animals dance false

We write

all Sneetches↓ dance

Some “givens”



animal
Sneetch
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move
dance
waltz

all Sneetches ↓ dance

What arrow goes on “dance”?

- ▶ all Sneetches waltz
- ▶ all Sneetches move

Other examples of arrows

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We write

all Sneetches↓ dance↑

Some “givens”



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Let's put the arrows on the words **Sneetches** and **dance**.

- 1 No Sneetches dance.
- 2 Most Sneetches dance.
- 3 If you play loud enough music, any Sneetch will dance.
- 4 Any Sneetch in Zargonia would prefer to live in Yabistan.
- 5 If any Sneetch dances, McBean will dance, too.

Some “givens”



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Let's put the arrows on the words **Sneetches** and **dance**.

- 1 No Sneetches↓ dance↓.
- 2 Most Sneetches= dance↑. (no arrow)
- 3 If you play loud enough music, any Sneetch will dance.
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Arrows found by MonaLog: see Hai Hu's talk tomorrow

No[↑] man[↓] walks[↓]

Every[↑] man[↓] and[↑] some[↑] woman[↑] sleeps[↑]

Every[↑] man[↓] and[↑] no[↑] woman[↓] sleeps⁼

If[↑] some[↓] man[↓] walks[↓], then[↑] no[↑] woman[↓] runs[↓]

Every[↑] man[↓] does[↓] n't[↑] hit[↓] every[↓] dog[↑]

No[↑] man[↓] that[↓] likes[↓] every[↓] dog[↑] sleeps[↓]

Most[↑] men⁼ that⁼ every⁼ woman⁼ hits⁼ cried[↑]

Every[↑] young[↓] man[↓] that[↑] no[↑] young[↓] woman[↓] hits[↑] cried[↑]

The arrows are **sites for inference**

At this point, we might wonder:

- ▶ What would logic look like if simple inferences like the ones we've seen played a central role, not a supporting part.
- ▶ How much of human reasoning is monotonicity reasoning anyways?

The simplest logical system “of all”

Fix a set of **nouns**.

Sentences

all p q

for $p, q \in \text{nouns}$.

Semantics: models

A model \mathcal{M} is a set M together with an interpretation function

$$\llbracket \] : \text{nouns} \rightarrow \mathcal{P}(M).$$

(Here $\mathcal{P}(M)$ is the set of subsets of M .)

Then we say that

$$\mathcal{M} \models \text{all } p \ q \quad \text{iff} \quad \llbracket p \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket q \rrbracket.$$

The simplest logic “of all”: semantic notions

We use ϕ for sentences and Γ for sets thereof.

We say that

$$\mathcal{M} \models \Gamma$$

if $\mathcal{M} \models \phi$ for each $\phi \in \Gamma$.

We then say that

$$\Gamma \models \phi$$

if for all models \mathcal{M} ,

$$\mathcal{M} \models \Gamma \text{ implies } \mathcal{M} \models \phi.$$

The simplest logic “of all”

We have a logical system.

It uses the following two rules:

$$\frac{}{\text{all } x \ x} \text{ AXIOM}$$

$$\frac{\text{all } x \ y \quad \text{all } y \ z}{\text{all } x \ z} \text{ BARBARA}$$

Recasting (BARBARA)

$$\text{all } x \downarrow y \uparrow$$

The simplest logic “of all”

We have a logical system.

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Recasting (BARBARA)

$$\text{all } x^{\downarrow} \ y^{\uparrow}$$

Theorem (Soundness/Completeness/Complexity)

$$\Gamma \models \phi \text{ iff } \Gamma \vdash \phi.$$

Moreover, this relation is decidable in polynomial time, and if $\Gamma \not\vdash \phi$, then there are “small counter-models”.

We can extend a number of orthogonal directions:

- ▶ by adding names.
- ▶ by adding **noun complements** \bar{p} , \bar{q} , ..., and then using these in sentences.
- ▶ by adding **verbs** (e.g., **see**), and then forming **terms**
 - ▶ see all p
 - ▶ see some p

Then these terms are a productive construct:
e.g., see all (like all cats)

and then the terms can be used in the basic sentences,
as in all (see some dog) (chase all cats)

A simple fragment

T is for “terms”; their denotations are sets

$S \rightarrow \text{DET } T \ T$

$T \rightarrow V \ \text{DET } T$

$T \rightarrow \text{dogs, cats, } \dots$

$\text{DET} \rightarrow \text{all, some, no}$

$V \rightarrow \text{see, chase, } \dots$

$S \rightarrow \text{DET T T}$

$T \rightarrow \text{V DET T}$

$T \rightarrow \text{dogs, cats, ...}$

$\text{DET} \rightarrow \text{all, some, no}$

$\text{V} \rightarrow \text{see, chase, ...}$

Examples

all skunks mammals

no skunks mammals

all skunks see all mammals

all skunks see all fear all mammals

Examples

all↑ skunks↓ mammals↑

no↑ skunks↓ mammals↓

all↑ skunks↓ see↑ some↑ mammals↑

all↑ skunks↓ see↑ all↑ fear↓ all↓ mammals↑

$S^\uparrow \rightarrow \text{all}^\uparrow T^\downarrow T^\uparrow \mid \text{some}^\uparrow T^\uparrow T^\uparrow \mid \text{no}^\uparrow T^\downarrow T^\downarrow$

$T^\uparrow \rightarrow V^\uparrow \text{all}^\uparrow T^\downarrow \mid V^\uparrow \text{some}^\uparrow T^\uparrow \mid V^\downarrow \text{no}^\uparrow T^\downarrow \mid \text{dogs}^\uparrow \mid \text{cats}^\uparrow \mid \dots$

$\text{DET}^\uparrow \rightarrow \text{all}^\uparrow \mid \text{some}^\uparrow \mid \text{no}^\uparrow$

$V^\uparrow \rightarrow \text{see}^\uparrow \mid \text{chase}^\uparrow \mid \dots$

$T^\downarrow \rightarrow V^\downarrow \text{all}^\downarrow T^\uparrow \mid V^\downarrow \text{some}^\downarrow T^\downarrow \mid V^\uparrow \text{no}^\downarrow T^\uparrow \mid \text{dogs}^\downarrow \mid \text{cats}^\downarrow \mid \dots$

$\text{DET}^\downarrow \rightarrow \text{all}^\downarrow \mid \text{some}^\downarrow \mid \text{no}^\downarrow$

$V^\downarrow \rightarrow \text{see}^\downarrow \mid \text{chase}^\downarrow \mid \dots$

Clearly it's a bit excessive to list similar things twice.
 So we use d as a variable ranging over $\text{Pol} = \{\uparrow, \downarrow\}$.

We also introduce an operation $- : \text{Pol} \rightarrow \text{Pol}$ in the obvious way.

And then our rules simplify to:

$$\begin{aligned}
 S^d &\rightarrow \text{all}^d T^{-d} T^d \mid \text{some}^d T^d T^d \mid \text{no}^d T^{-d} T^{-d} \\
 T^d &\rightarrow V^d \text{all}^d T^{-d} \mid V^d \text{some}^d T^d \mid V^{-d} \text{no}^d T^{-d} \mid \text{dogs}^d \mid \text{cats}^d \mid \dots \\
 \text{DET}^d &\rightarrow \text{all}^d \mid \text{some}^d \mid \text{no}^d \\
 V^d &\rightarrow \text{see}^d \mid \text{chase}^d \mid \dots
 \end{aligned}$$

Most Sneetches = dance[↑]

When we add **most**, we see the need for a third polarity =.

And then we would extend the $-$ operation by taking $- =$ to be $=$.

The extra productions which we want are

$$\begin{aligned} S^d &\rightarrow \text{most}^d T^= T^d \\ T^d &\rightarrow V^d \text{most}^d T^= \\ \text{DET}^d &\rightarrow \text{most}^d \end{aligned}$$

Moving to inference in language

- (1) some[↑] dog[↑] hit[↑] some[↑] cat[↑]
- (2) some[↑] dog[↑] kissed[↓] no[↑] cat[↓]
- (3) most[↑] dog⁼ hit[↓] no[↑] cat[↓]
- (4) no[↑] dog[↓] hit[↑] no[↓] cat[↑]
- (5) at most two[↑] dog[↓] chased[↑] at most three[↓] cats[↑]

knowledge base for nouns, transitive verbs,
determiners, and numbers

dog \leq animal

cat \leq animal

poodle \leq dog

siamese \leq cat

bird \leq scooter

kiss \leq touch

hit \leq touch

thrash \leq hit

hit vigorously \leq hit

hit lightly \leq hit

every \leq most

most \leq some

one \leq two

two \leq three

three \leq four

Is this valid?

All skunks are mammals

All who fear all who respect all skunks fear all who respect all mammals

It follows, using an interesting **antitonicity** principle:

*All **skunks** are **mammals***

*All **who respect all mammals** **respect all skunks***

What do you think?

It follows, using an interesting **antitonicity** principle:

$$\frac{\frac{\text{All } \textit{skunks} \textit{ are } \textit{mammals}}{\text{All who } \textit{respect all mammals} \textit{ respect all } \textit{skunks}}}{\text{All who } \textit{fear all who respect all } \textit{skunks} \textit{ fear all who } \textit{respect all } \textit{mammals}}$$

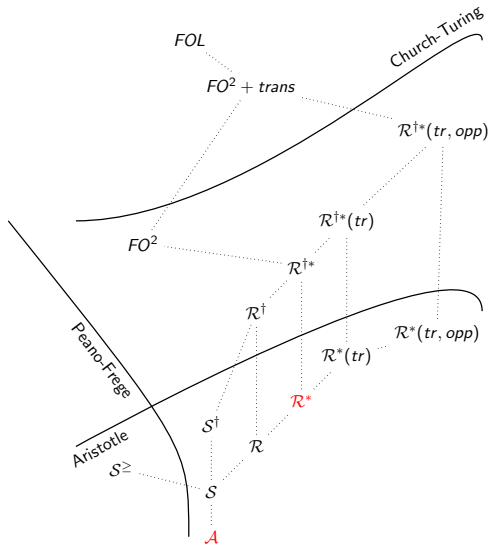
Indeed, in this logic it would be done in one step from the **axiom**

all (fear all (respect all skunks)) (fear all (respect all skunks[↑]))

and the background information

$$\text{skunks} \leq \text{mammals}$$

A Map of Natural Logics



first-order logic

$FO^2 + "R \text{ is trans}"$

$\mathcal{R}^{\dagger*}(tr, opp)$

FO^2

$\mathcal{R}^{\dagger*}(tr)$

$\mathcal{R}^{\dagger*}$

2 variable FO logic

\dagger adds full N -negation

$\mathcal{R}^*(tr) +$ opposites

$\mathcal{R}^* +$ (transitive)

comparative adjs

$\mathcal{R} +$ relative clauses

$S +$ full N -negation

$\mathcal{R} =$ relational syllogistic

S^{\geq} adds $|p| \geq |q|$

S : all/some/no p are q

\mathcal{A} : all p are q

But all of this is not so useful for real-world NLI

One of the many problems

Text doesn't come to us according to a grammar.

So to handle this in a way to have logic and semantics but not a simple form of grammar, we turn to **categoryal grammar**.

Indeed to use off-the-shelf parsers, we use CCG.

The last part of this talk is a very high-level description of **MonaLog**, and you'll hear more in Hai Hu's talk tomorrow.

Preorder enrichment of grammar

To derive the \uparrow and \downarrow polarities, we need to change the entire architecture of CG,
and indeed to change everything about the semantics,
going from **sets** to **preorders**.

(For preorders and their theory, see the end of this slide set.)

For example, standard CG has function types $X \rightarrow Y$.

In the preorder enrichment, we have

- ▶ $X \xrightarrow{+} Y$ (monotone functions)
- ▶ $X \xrightarrow{-} Y$ (antitone functions)
- ▶ $X \xrightarrow{\cdot} Y$ (all functions)

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We start with

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbb{P}_e &= \text{the flat order on some set} \\ \mathbb{P}_t &= 2 \\ \mathbb{P}_{num} &= \mathbb{N} \end{aligned}$$

By flatness, $e \rightarrow t$ is the same as $e \xrightarrow{+} t$ and $e \xrightarrow{-} t$

item	category	type
Fido, Felix	NP	e
cat, dog	N	$pr = (e \rightarrow t)$
swim, run	IV = S \ NP	pr
chase, see, hit, kiss	TV = IV / NP	$e \rightarrow pr$
every	DET = NP / N	$pr \xrightarrow{-} np^{+}$
some	NP / N	$pr \xrightarrow{+} np^{+}$
no	NP / N	$pr \xrightarrow{-} np^{-}$
most	NP / N	$pr \xrightarrow{+} np^{+}$
didn't	IV / IV TV / TV	$pr \xrightarrow{-} pr$ $(e \rightarrow pr) \xrightarrow{-} (e \rightarrow pr)$
and	X / (X \ X)	$x \xrightarrow{+} (x \xrightarrow{+} x)$
one, two, three	NUM	num
more than	DET / NUM	$num \xrightarrow{-} (pr \xrightarrow{+} np^{+})$
less than	DET / NUM	$num \xrightarrow{+} (pr \xrightarrow{-} np^{-})$
if ... then ...	(S \ S) / S	$t \xrightarrow{-} (t \xrightarrow{+} t)$

Polarizing the CCG rules

Unpolarized rules

$$\frac{u : x \rightarrow y \quad v : x}{uv : y} > \quad \frac{u : x}{Tu : (x \rightarrow y) \rightarrow y} \text{ T} \quad \frac{u : x \rightarrow y \quad v : y \rightarrow z}{Buv : (x \rightarrow z)} \text{ B}$$

Polarized rules

$$\frac{u^d : x \xrightarrow{m} y \quad v^{md} : x}{(uv)^d : y} > \quad \frac{u^{md} : x}{(Tu)^d : (x \xrightarrow{m} y) \xrightarrow{+} y} \text{ T} \quad \frac{u^{md} : x \xrightarrow{n} y \quad v^{md} : y \xrightarrow{n} z}{(Buv)^d : (x \xrightarrow{mn} z)} \text{ B}$$

$$\frac{u^{md} : e \rightarrow b}{(r_m u)^d : np^m \xrightarrow{+} b} \text{ K} \quad \frac{u^d : x \xrightarrow{m} y}{u^d : x \xrightarrow{\cdot} y} \text{ M} \quad \frac{u^{\cdot} : x \xrightarrow{m} y}{u^d : x \xrightarrow{m} y} \text{ W}$$

Polarizing the CCG rules

Unpolarized rules

$$\frac{u : x \rightarrow y \quad v : x}{uv : y} > \quad \frac{u : x}{\top u : (x \rightarrow y) \rightarrow y} \top \quad \frac{u : x \rightarrow y \quad v : y \rightarrow z}{Buv : (x \rightarrow z)} B$$

Polarized rules

$$\frac{u^d : x \xrightarrow{m} y \quad v^{md} : x}{(uv)^d : y} > \quad \frac{u^{md} : x}{(\top u)^d : (x \xrightarrow{m} y) \xrightarrow{+} y} \top \quad \frac{u^{md} : x \xrightarrow{n} y \quad v^{md} : y \xrightarrow{n} z}{(Buv)^d : (x \xrightarrow{mn} z)} B$$

$$\frac{u^{md} : e \rightarrow b}{(r_m u)^d : np^m \xrightarrow{+} b} K \quad \frac{u^d : x \xrightarrow{m} y}{u^d : x \xrightarrow{\cdot} y} M \quad \frac{u^{\bar{=}} : x \xrightarrow{m} y}{u^d : x \xrightarrow{m} y} W$$

The $>$ in the application rule is function application.

The \top in the type-raising rule is the Montague lift.

The B in the type-raising rule is function composition, backwards.

The r_m in the K rule is from our refinement of the Justification Theorem.

In the M rule, we have a trivial inclusion.

The W rule is trivial.

Polarizing the CCG rules

Unpolarized rules

$$\frac{u : x \rightarrow y \quad v : x}{uv : y} > \quad \frac{u : x}{Tu : (x \rightarrow y) \rightarrow y} T \quad \frac{u : x \rightarrow y \quad v : y \rightarrow z}{Buv : (x \rightarrow z)} B$$

Polarized rules

$$\frac{u^d : x \xrightarrow{m} y \quad v^{md} : x}{(uv)^d : y} > \quad \frac{u^{md} : x}{(Tu)^d : (x \xrightarrow{m} y) \xrightarrow{+} y} T \quad \frac{u^{md} : x \xrightarrow{n} y \quad v^{md} : y \xrightarrow{n} z}{(Buv)^d : (x \xrightarrow{mn} z)} B$$

$$\frac{u^{md} : e \rightarrow b}{(r_m u)^d : np^m \xrightarrow{+} b} K \quad \frac{u^d : x \xrightarrow{m} y}{u^d : x \xrightarrow{\cdot} y} M \quad \frac{u^{\cdot} : x \xrightarrow{m} y}{u^d : x \xrightarrow{m} y} W$$

We combine markings and polarities as in the table below:

md	+	-	.
↑	↑	↓	=
↓	↓	↑	=
=	=	=	=

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{\text{Fido}^\uparrow : e}{\text{Fido didn't chase every cat}^\uparrow : t} < \\
 \frac{\frac{\text{didn't}^\uparrow : pr \rightarrow pr}{\text{didn't chase every cat}^\uparrow : pr} >}{\text{chase every cat}^\downarrow : pr} > \\
 \frac{\frac{\frac{\text{chase}^\downarrow : e \xrightarrow{+} pr}{\text{chase}^\downarrow : np^+ \xrightarrow{+} pr} \text{K} \quad \frac{\text{every}^\downarrow : pr \rightarrow np^+ \quad \text{cat}^\uparrow : pr}{\text{every cat}^\downarrow : np^+} >}{\text{chase every cat}^\downarrow : pr} >}{\text{didn't}^\uparrow : pr \rightarrow pr} >
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{\text{some}^\uparrow : pr \xrightarrow{+} np^+ \quad \text{dog}^\uparrow : pr}{\text{some dog}^\uparrow : pr \xrightarrow{+} t} > \\
 \frac{\frac{\text{chased}^\downarrow : e \xrightarrow{+} pr}{\text{chased}^\uparrow : np^- \xrightarrow{+} pr} \text{K} \quad \frac{\text{no}^\uparrow : pr \rightarrow np^- \quad \text{cat}^\downarrow : pr}{\text{no cat}^\uparrow : np^-} >}{\text{chased no cat}^\uparrow : pr} > \\
 \frac{\text{some dog}^\uparrow : pr \xrightarrow{+} t}{\text{some dog chased no cat}^\uparrow : t} >
 \end{array}$$

Dowty's armadillos

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{\text{ch}^\uparrow : e \xrightarrow{+} pr}{\text{ch}^\uparrow : np^+ \xrightarrow{+} pr} \text{K} \quad \frac{\text{some cat}^\uparrow : np^+ \quad \frac{\text{and} : np^+ \xrightarrow{+} (np^+ \xrightarrow{+} np^+) \quad \text{some arm}^\uparrow : np^+}{\text{and some arm} : np \xrightarrow{+} np} >}{\text{some cat and some armadillo}^\uparrow : np} < \\
 \frac{F^\uparrow : e \quad \text{chased some cat and some armadillo}^\uparrow : pr}{\text{Fido chased some cat and some armadillo}^\uparrow : t} < >
 \end{array}$$

Definition

A **preorder** is a pair $\mathbb{P} = (P, \leq)$ consisting of a set P together with a relation \leq which is **reflexive** and **transitive**.

This means that the following hold:

- ▶ $p \leq p$ for all $p \in P$.
- ▶ If $p \leq q$ and $q \leq r$, then $p \leq r$.

The **set of truth values** $\mathcal{2} = \{T, F\}$ is a preorder, with $F \leq T$.

The **set of real numbers** \mathbb{R} is a preorder, with the usual \leq .

Definition

For any preorder \mathbb{P} and any set X ,
we have a new preorder called $X \rightarrow \mathbb{P}$.

The domain of this preorder is the **function set**

$$X \rightarrow P$$

The order on \mathbb{P}^X is the **pointwise order**:

$$f \leq g \text{ iff for all } x \in X, f_x \leq_{\mathbb{P}} g_x.$$

Three more constructions of preorders

Definition

For any preorder \mathbb{P} , there is an **opposite preorder** \mathbb{P}^{op} .
Its domain set is P , the same domain set as for \mathbb{P} .

$$p \leq q \text{ in } \mathbb{P}^{op} \quad \text{iff} \quad q \leq p \text{ in } \mathbb{P}$$

Definition

For any preorder \mathbb{P} , there is an **flattened version** \mathbb{P}^b .
Its domain set is P , the same domain set as for \mathbb{P} .

$$p \leq q \text{ in } \mathbb{P}^b \quad \text{iff} \quad p = q$$

Definition

For any preorders \mathbb{P} and \mathbb{Q} , there is a **product preorder** $\mathbb{P} \times \mathbb{Q}$.
Its domain set is the cartesian product $P \times Q$.

$$(p, q) \leq (p', q') \text{ in } \mathbb{P} \times \mathbb{Q} \quad \text{iff} \quad p \leq p' \text{ in } \mathbb{P}, \text{ and } q \leq q' \text{ in } \mathbb{Q}$$

An algebraic expression like

$$z - (v + |w|)$$

is **increasing** in z , and **decreasing** in v , and
there's nothing we can say about w .

If we assume

- ▶ $z_1 \leq z_2$
- ▶ $v_2 \leq v_1$
- ▶ $w_2 = w_1$

Then we are entitled to conclude

$$z_1 - (v_1 + w_1) \leq z_2 - (v_2 + w_2)$$

We had

$$z - (v + |w|)$$

We would write

$$\frac{v \downarrow \quad w = \quad z \uparrow}{(z - (v + |w|)) \uparrow} \quad (1)$$

The responsible parties here are the facts that

$+$: $\mathbb{R} \times \mathbb{R} \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ is increasing (monotone) in both arguments

$-$: $\mathbb{R} \times \mathbb{R} \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ is increasing in the first argument
and decreasing (antitone) in the second argument

$|\cdot|$: $\mathbb{R} \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ is neither

And we can write (1) as

$v, w, z \mapsto z - (v + |w|)$ is an increasing function

$$\mathbb{R}^{op} \times \mathbb{R}^b \times \mathbb{R} \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$$

Historical influences on this project

- ▶ van Benthem 1986, 1991: combine vanilla CG with inference
- ▶ Nairn, Condoravdi, and Karttunen 2006:
something similar (!),
but not noticed as such,
not using CG, and not aimed at the same issues
- ▶ Steedman: CCG, a working system
- ▶ Dowty 1994: internalization of inferential features
in the type system
- ▶ MacCartney and Manning 2009: get something to work.

Logic-based approaches to NLI

- ▶ Tableau (Muskens, [Abzianidze](#))
- ▶ Translation to a richer logical form, then call a theorem prover
(Bekki, Martinez-Gomez, Mineshima, [Yanaka](#))
- ▶ Using a Graphical Knowledge Representation Parser
(Crouch, de Paiva, [Kalouli](#))
- ▶ Natural Logic: monotonicity calculus + special rules
(Icard, Pratt-Hartmann, M., [Hu](#))

My wonderful collaborators on these topics

Jörg Endrullis

Jason Hemann

Hai Hu

Thomas Icard

Katerina Kalouli

Alex Kruckman

Tri Lai

Valeria de Paiva

Ian Pratt-Hartmann

Charlotte Raty

Livy Real

Cameron Swords

Selcuk Topal

Will Tune

Chloe Urbanski

Michael Wollowski

I hope you find our workshop to be stimulating!