Grammar in a Landscape of Affordances

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2 Zoom into trees and treenodes





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what is the nature of grammar: the view from DS-TTR

• DS-TTR: blend of DS and TTR [Purver et al. (2010); Eshghi et al. (2013);

Hough (2015); Purver et al. (2011); Gregoromichelaki (2018); Gregoromichelaki et al. (2019b)]

- grammatical/metaphysical ontology of processes
 - rather than representations

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- grammatical/metaphysical ontology of processes
 - rather than representations
- incrementality, underspecification, and predictivity as properties of the grammar
- domain-general processes for multimodal interaction

[e.g., Yu et al. (2015, 2017); Yu et al., 2016)]

learnable from minimal data via Reinforcement Learning

[e.g.,Kalatzis et al. (2016); Eshghi et al. (2017b)]

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• Dynamic Syntax (DS) [Kempson et al. (2001); Gregoromichelaki et al. (2019b)]

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 - (inter)actions are all you need to talk about "syntax"
- syntactic structure over words (tree-structures) is at best epiphenomenal
- no separate syntactic level of representation:
 - no syntactic categories for strings of words;
 - no phrase-structure rules;
 - sequences of words are not sequences of symbols but sequences of affordance triggers

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- grammatical affordances are dynamic regularities extending over multiple time-steps

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• **TTR** [see e.g. Cooper (2012); Cooper and Ginzburg (2015)]: linking grammar to perception and high-order conceptualisation [cf.Bengio (2019)]

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- types (concepts) as (sets of) affordances
 - affordances are the possibilities for interaction in the sociomaterial environment to which agents are "attuned"
 - interaction with entities
 - agents can interact with aspects of entities without necessarily recognising the entity
 - learning affordances (sensorimotor contingencies) replaces the effort of building ontologies and writing rules
- types (concepts) as **time-extended processes** (incrementality, temporality)

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- at each time-step, affordances need to be **selected** from a landscape of possible affordances

• unit of analysis: a group-based distributed cognitive system

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- so-called common ground Stalnaker (1999); Clark (1996)] is a property of the relation of individual participants' affordances
- incrementality and temporality means that such fields are redefined and transformed with each utterance (verbal or otherwise)



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- actions (procedural 'know-how') the basis for syntax/semantics/pragmatics
- **interactions**: both comprehension and production modelled together in the same space
- syntactic or meaning procedures formulated as (probabilistic) transitions from states to states

the dynamics of interaction

 a specialised Propositional Dynamic Logic (PDL) with states as (NL string, context) and transition operators modelling basic actions and macros (packages) of such actions [Kempson et al. (2001)]

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- Dynamic Logics
 - have the means to model any type of action and event (physical, instrumental, epistemic, etc.) [e.g. Segerberg (1992)]: hence multimodal grammar definitions are seamless
 - model an internal perspective in a computation, an observer's view located at a state (node) considering the possibilities
 - potential to bring Dynamic Quantum Logic [Baltag and Smets (2012)] to interface with DS Vector Space Semantics

[Purver et al. (forthcoming); Sadrzadeh et al. (2018); Gregoromichelaki et al. (2019a)]

• however, ideally, the π -calculus might be more suitable

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(red path indicates the selected course of action)

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(red path indicates the selected course of action)



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(red path indicates the selected course of action)



Alice to Bob: "Boris!"

(red path indicates the selected course of action)



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actions first

- DS explains all allegedly syntactic phenomena as properties of processing mechanisms or the structuration of affordances into hierarchical structures
- (partial) **tree-structures** emerge as an intermediate structural bottleneck in the DS-TTR landscape of affordances
 - trees express the bifurcation of processes




• actions as first-class citizens

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 - actions can refer to actions (for, e.g. sloppy ellipsis)

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- actions as first-class citizens
 - actions can refer to actions (for, e.g. sloppy ellipsis)
 - the grammar can talk about the grammar (for, e.g., "metalinguistic" quotation)
- (if necessary,) representation as an aspect of successful interaction [Bickhard (2009)] via predictivity





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DS-TTR: parsing and generation

• from strings to conceptual structure (TTR) or vice-versa

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DS-TTR: parsing and generation

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John arrived.

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DS-TTR: parsing and generation

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 \dots [TENSE, \dots], COMPLETION



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- processing non-contiguous dependencies
 - e.g. 'Mary, John upset'

 $?Ty(t), \diamondsuit$

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A (1) > A (2) > A

(simplified) options for starting to parse/produce Mary, John upset



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utterance micro-events



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including contextual parameters



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 - they are agent-relative (perspectival) properties of the environment [(Chemero, 2010)]
- types are not paired instantaneously with labels: types induce fields of potential paths of interaction with patterns in the environment
 - "the whole system of input and output resonates to the external information" [Gibson, 1966: 5].

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DS-TTR

2 Zoom into trees and treenodes



4 Appendix

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• an NL is a set of actions describing the licensed transitions from an initial state to a result state

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- an NL is a set of actions describing the licensed transitions from an initial state to a result state
- states are partially ordered
- states are structured objects
 - e.g., in DS, states are decorated partial trees which map to more elaborate trees as you go along

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logical structure of DS: trees

NL: actions from an initial state to a result state

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logical structure of DS: trees

Gregoromichelaki, Eleni

- NL: actions from an initial state to a result state
 - in DS, states are partial trees (in the description language DU, they are accessed by means of modal operators)



logical structure of DS: treenodes

- DS **trees** are sets of states related by dominance (modal) operators
- in turn, each tree node is inhabited by a feature structure
 an instance of "fibred semantics" [Finger, Marcelo and Gabbay, Dov (1992)]
- feature structures are labelled directed graphs
- features (partial functions) like Fo, Tn, Ty, ...
 - nesting of features is possible
- values ("decorations") like e, eleni', 010, ...
- AVM notation:

$$tn_{01}$$
: $\left[egin{array}{ccc} Type & e
ightarrow t \ Formula & \lambda x Walk(x) \ TreeNode & 01 \end{array}
ight]$

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- each treenode is assigned a feature structure

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•
$$DU_F(?)$$
 language notation
 $\langle Tn \rangle(01) \bullet ? \langle Ty \rangle(e), ?\exists (\mathbf{x}) \langle Fo \rangle(\mathbf{x})$

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DS-TTR: TTR types as Fo values



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- in order to create such types incrementally



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moving along the subtype relation



- current versions of DS-TTR: each treenode is inhabited by a TTR type within the label equivalent to *Fo*
- however, we want to be able to zoom into such Fo values
 - decompose TTR record types
- in order to create such types incrementally
- we can exploit predictions to start from some empty or underspecified type to more elaborate types
- moving along the subtype relation
 - introduce requirements to impose further specification
- additionally, we can "internalise" trees in TTR types so that it is whole TTR types that are extended by DS actions



logical structure of TTR: version 1 (conservative)

- assign syntactic structure to record types
- typing judgements are propositions that hold at nodes
- fields are indexed



logical structure of TTR: version 2a

- a record type is a state (an initial, base, state)
- labels (discourse referents) are represented as modal operators (features)
- entities are nodes



logical structure of TTR: version 2b

- a **record type** is a state (an initial state)
- labels are represented as modal operators
- node names are nominals in Hybrid Logic [(Blackburn, 2000)]
 - this will bring us close to the Duesseldorf Frames implementation [Kallmeyer and Osswald (2013); Kallmeyer et al. (2015)]
- types are (predicates of) states:



ontology

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ontology

• *urelements* proper (*up*, entities)

ontology

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 - labels are entities in the world, at the same level as ordinary individuals

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logical structure of TTR: ptypes

• **ptypes** (predicative types) *P*(*a*₁, ..., *a_n*), are combinations of predicates and arguments of particular types

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- ptypes are assigned sets of entities, labelled sets: { $\langle \text{ pred }, P \rangle, \langle \arg_1, a_1 \rangle, \dots, \langle \arg_n, a_n \rangle$ }

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logical structure of TTR: version (4a)



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- formulas are closed by (at least) the standard Boolean operations
- a program is a regular language (represented by a regular expression / finite automaton) over the set of atomic programs and tests (where tests correspond to formulas)
- for each program α and each formula (tree, TTR-type) φ , $\langle \alpha \rangle \varphi$ or $\langle do(\alpha) \rangle \varphi$ is a formula
 - this means that there is an execution of program α that ends in a state where φ holds

• an NL is a set of actions (programs) describing the licensed transitions from an initial state to a result state

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- DS actions:
 - lexical
 - computational
 - pragmatic (Substitution, scope resolution, inference)

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in DS, an action constant (program) α determines a binary relation among decorated pointed partial trees (the models): (⟨PPTM, Tn⟩, ⟨PPTM, T'n'⟩)

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 - test[subtyping relation]
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 - . . .
- ACT, the set of basic actions, consists of action constants: $ACT = \{ ABORT, 1, make(\#), put(\Sigma), go(\#), merg(\#) \}$

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- \bullet the action modalities formulae $[\alpha]$ and $\langle \alpha \rangle$ are interpreted as follows:
 - $\langle \mathcal{PPTM}, \mathcal{Tn} \rangle \vDash [\alpha]\phi$

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- in DS, an action constant α determines a binary relation among decorated pointed partial trees (the models)
- \bullet the action modalities formulae $[\alpha]$ and $\langle \alpha \rangle$ are interpreted as follows:
 - $\langle \mathcal{PPTM}, \mathcal{T}n \rangle \vDash [\alpha]\phi$ iff for all $\mathcal{T}'n' \in PPTM$ such that $\alpha(\mathcal{T}n, \mathcal{T}'n')$ we have $\langle \mathcal{PPTM}, \mathcal{T}'n' \rangle \vDash \phi$

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 - $\langle \mathcal{PPTM}, \mathcal{T}n \rangle \vDash \langle \alpha \rangle \phi$ iff there is some $\mathcal{T}'n' \in PPTM$ such that $\alpha (\mathcal{T}n, \mathcal{T}'n')$ and $\langle \mathcal{PPTM}, \mathcal{T}'n' \rangle \vDash \phi$

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actions as modal operators in DS



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CLASP 02/12/20

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 given ACT, the set of basic actions consisting of ACT = {ABORT, 1, make(#), put(Σ), go(#), merg(#)}

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- to form $\mathcal{A}(ACT)$, the set of composite actions
- the set $\mathcal{A}(ACT)$ is the smallest set in $PPTM \times PPTM$ satisfying
- 1. $ACT \subseteq \mathcal{A}(ACT)$, and
- 2. for $\alpha, \alpha' \in \mathcal{A}(ACT), \Sigma(\bar{x}) \subseteq DU_F(?)$, where \bar{x} is a sequence of all variables occurring free in Σ , we have $\alpha; \alpha', \alpha + \alpha', \alpha^*, \langle \Sigma(\bar{x}), \alpha, \alpha' \rangle \in \mathcal{A}(ACT)$ where ; , +, * have their usual interpretation and $\langle \Sigma(\bar{x}), \alpha, \alpha' \rangle =$ $\{\langle \mathcal{T}n, \mathcal{T}'n' \rangle \in \alpha[\bar{t}/\bar{x}] | \bar{t} \in (\mathcal{D} \cup MV)^*, \langle \mathcal{PPTM}, \mathcal{T}n \rangle | = \Sigma[\bar{t}/\bar{x}] \}$ $\{\langle \mathcal{T}n, \mathcal{T}'n' \rangle \in \alpha' | \neg \exists \bar{t} \in (\mathcal{D} \cup MV)^*, \langle \mathcal{PPTM}, \mathcal{T}n \rangle = \Sigma[\bar{t}/\bar{x}] \}$

actions in DS: macros

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 - Substitution,
 - scope resolution
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- DS-TTR actions: use extended set of DS actions to build incrementally structured *Fo* values as shown earlier
 - each state is a (partial) TTR record type
 - described by a modal formula ("feature structure") concerning its structure and requirements
- with transitions licensed via the subtype relation (ordering \leq)
 - e.g. from an empty TTR type to a further specified TTR type

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- but remove maximal states from DS models
- remove restriction that elimination of requirements (predictions) is criterion of wellformedness
 - requirements are constantly generated and always present to guide further development

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 - (do_i(α)) φ means that agent i has the opportunity to perform the action α so that φ will result from this performance

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 - $\langle do_i(\alpha) \rangle \varphi$ means that agent *i* has the opportunity to perform the action α so that φ will result from this performance
- e.g., for coverbal gestures, exploit ASL formalisation of gesture formats and assign interpretations, e.g., social relation affordances instituted

 introduce a language L_{DS}(TTR) to serve as propositional language based on a set TTR of TTR-type structures (tree-structured?)

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- form the language $L^{DS-TTR}(L_{DS}(TTR), AG, ACT)$, based on the sets of propositions $(L_{DS}(TTR))$, agents (AG), and atomic DS actions (ACT)
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- the language contains:
 - (at least) the propositional connectives (plus TTR operations), the execution and result operator $\langle do_{-}(-) \rangle_{-}$, the ability operator AB_-, the action constructors:

```
confirm_ (confirmations/tests),
_;_ (sequential composition),
if _ then _ else _ (conditional composition) and
while_ do_ (repetitive composition)
```

the language $\mathrm{L}^{\mathrm{DS-TTR}}$

- introduce all the propositional connectives:
- $\varphi, \psi \in \mathcal{L}^{\mathrm{DS-TTR}}$ implies $\neg \varphi, \varphi \land \psi, \varphi \lor \psi, \varphi \rightarrow \psi, \varphi \leftrightarrow \psi, , \top, \bot \in \mathcal{L}^{\mathrm{DS-TTR}}$

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 - while ϕ do $\alpha \in \mathcal{A}(\mathsf{ACT})$: repetitive composition
- actions, outcomes, abilities, opportunities

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 - $\langle do_i(\alpha) \rangle \phi \in \mathcal{L}^{\mathrm{DS-TTR}}$ (agent *i* has the opportunity to execute α and ϕ will ensue)

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application: proper names in DS-TTR

(1a) DS

$\begin{array}{ll} \mathsf{IF} & ? Ty(e) \\ \mathsf{THEN} & \mathsf{put}(Ty(e)) \\ & \mathsf{put}(Fo(\mathsf{john}')) \\ \mathsf{ELSE} & \mathsf{abort} \end{array}$

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(1a) DS IF ?Ty(e)THEN put(Ty(e))put(Fo(john'))ELSE abort

(1b) DS-TTR

$$\begin{array}{ll} \mathsf{IF} & ?Ty(e) \\ \mathsf{THEN} & \mathsf{put}(Ty(e)) \\ & & \mathsf{put}(\mathsf{Fo}([x : john])) \\ \mathsf{ELSE} & \texttt{abort} \end{array}$$

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• Cooper (2018, in prep)

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- Cooper (2018, in prep)
- λx : Ind . Lex_{PropName} ("Eleni", x)

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- λx : Ind . Lex_{PropName} ("Eleni", x)

```
• \begin{bmatrix} sp-event : "Eleni" \\ cont = x : Ind \\ e: named(x, "Eleni") \end{bmatrix}
```



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• conservative version with indexed fields

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- conservative version with indexed fields
- fields are ordered pairs of (reserved) labels $\{f_1, f_2, ..., f_n\}$ and judgments

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 $\langle f_1, \langle label : Type \rangle \rangle$

record types are sets of fields

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- conservative version with indexed fields
- fields are ordered pairs of (reserved) labels $\{f_1, f_2, ..., f_n\}$ and judgments

 $\langle f_1, \langle label : Type \rangle \rangle$

- record types are sets of fields
- lexical entry for proper name:

IF $?Ty(e) \land \langle do_H(hear) \rangle$ "Eleni"

THEN
$$?\langle do_{S\&H}(\mathsf{make-go})\rangle(\langle f_1 \rangle)$$
; $\mathsf{put}(?\mathbf{AB}_{S\&H}([x:Ind]))$,
 $?\langle do_{S\&H}(\mathsf{make-go})\rangle(\langle f_2 \rangle)$; $\mathsf{put}?\mathbf{AB}_{S\&H}([\mathsf{s}_1:(\mathsf{named}(\mathsf{x}, ``Eleni'')]))$
 $?\langle do_{S\&H}(\mathsf{make-go})\rangle$; $\mathsf{put}?\mathbf{AB}_{S\&H}([\mathsf{s}_2:(\mathsf{acquainted}(\mathsf{speaker}, \mathsf{hearer}, \mathsf{x})])$
 $?\langle do_{S\&H}(\mathsf{make-go})\rangle(\langle f_2 \rangle)$; $\mathsf{put}?\mathbf{AB}_{S\&H}([\mathsf{s}_1:(\mathsf{named}(\mathsf{x}, ``Eleni'')])))$
 $?\langle do_{S\&H}(\mathsf{make-go})\rangle$; $\mathsf{put}?([\mathsf{s}_3:(\mathsf{scared}(\mathsf{Pipkin}, \mathsf{x})])))$
 $?\langle do_{Pipkin}(\mathsf{run})\rangle \top \land [do_{Pipkin}(\mathsf{avoid-Eleni})] \bot$

ELSE abort

. . .

- holistic view of **grammar** as guiding (production) or characterising (comprehension) behaviours
 - via distributed knowledge of sensorimotor contingencies [Noë (2004)]
 - without necessarily building internal models of the world

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Thank you for your attention!

CLASP 02/12/20

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DS-TTR

2 Zoom into trees and treenodes





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