

Towards a Compositional Typed Semantics for Universal Dependencies

Siva Reddy

School of Informatics
The University of Edinburgh

People



Mirella Lapata



Mark Steedman

People



Mirella Lapata



Mark Steedman



Oscar Täckström



Dipanjan Das



Tom Kwiatkowski



Michael Collins



Slav Petrov

Syntax helps Semantics

kotini	aratipandu	tinindi
<i>monkey</i>	<i>banana</i>	<i>eat</i>

Syntax helps Semantics

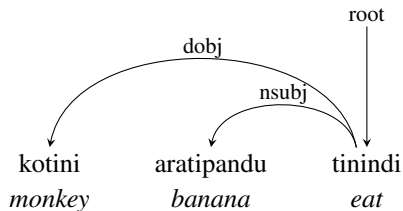
kotini
monkey

aratipandu
banana

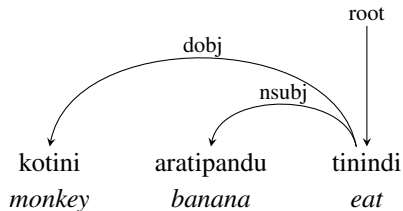
tinindi
eat



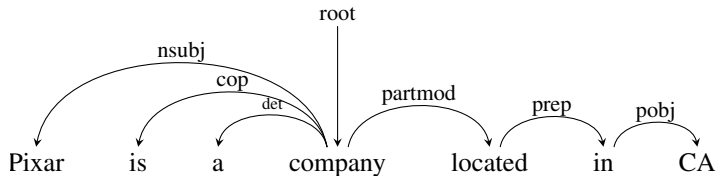
Syntax helps Semantics



Syntax helps Semantics

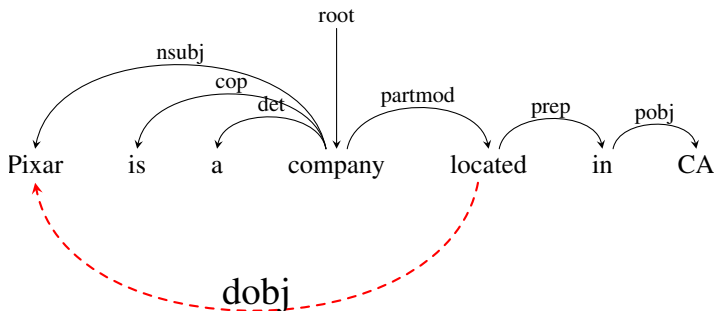


Dependencies to Logical Forms



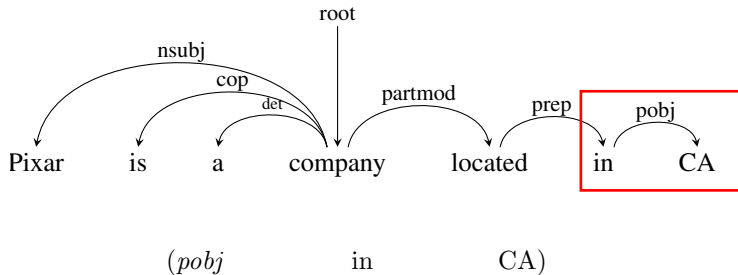
$\exists z. \text{company}(\text{Pixar}) \wedge \text{located}(z_e) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, \text{Pixar}) \wedge \text{arg}_{\text{in}}(z_e, \text{CA})$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

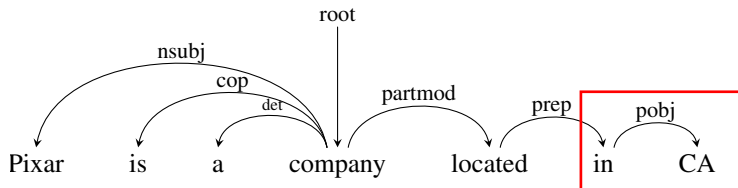


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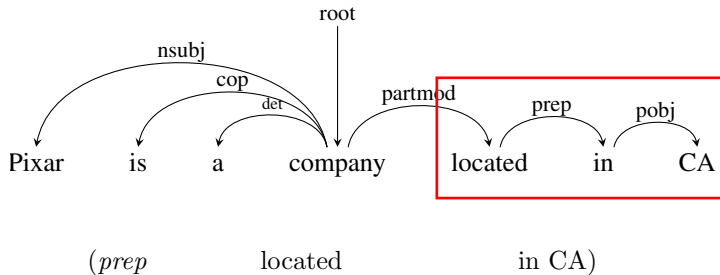


Dependencies to Logical Forms

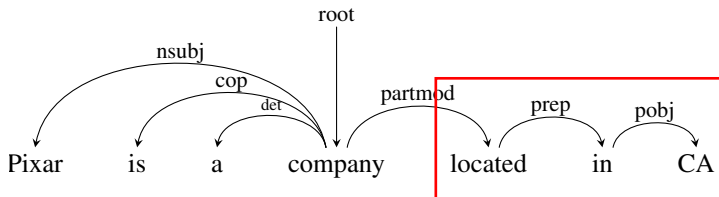


$$\begin{array}{c}
 (pobj \quad \quad \quad in \quad \quad \quad CA) \\
 \lambda f g z. \exists x. \quad \lambda x. empty(x) \quad \lambda x. CA(x_a) \\
 f(z) \wedge g(x) \\
 arg_{in}(z_e, x_a) \\
 \hline
 \lambda z. arg_{in}(z_e, x_a) \wedge CA(x_a)
 \end{array}$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms



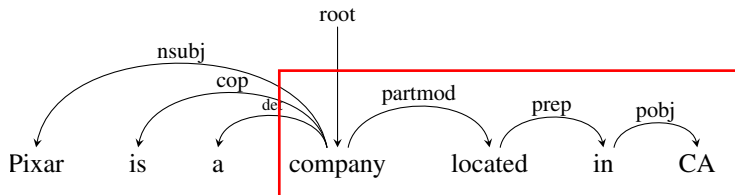
Dependencies to Logical Forms



$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 (prep & & \\
 \lambda f g z. \exists x. & \text{located} & \text{in CA}) \\
 f(z) \wedge g(x) \wedge & \lambda x. \text{located}(x_e) &
 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \frac{}{\lambda z. \text{arg}_{\text{in}}(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{CA}(x_a)}$$

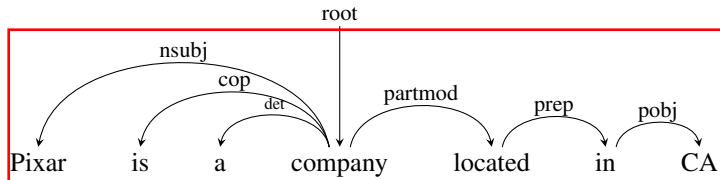
$$\lambda z. \text{located}(z_e) \wedge \text{CA}(x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_{\text{in}}(z_e, x_a)$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms



$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{l}
 (partmod \\
 \lambda f g x. \exists z. \\
 f(x) \wedge g(x) \wedge \\
 arg_2(z_e, x_a)
 \end{array}
 \quad
 \begin{array}{l}
 company \\
 \lambda x. compay(x_e)
 \end{array}
 \quad
 \begin{array}{l}
 located\ in\ CA) \\
 \hline
 \lambda g z. \exists x. located(z_e) \wedge CA(x_a) \wedge arg_{in}(z_e, x_a)
 \end{array}
 \\
 \hline
 \lambda x. \exists y z. company(x_a) \wedge located(z_e) \wedge CA(y_a) \wedge arg_2(z_e, x_a) \wedge arg_{in}(z_e, y_a)
 \end{array}$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms



$\exists z. \text{company}(\text{Pixar}) \wedge \text{located}(z_e) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, \text{Pixar}) \wedge \text{arg}_{\text{in}}(z_e, \text{CA})$

Why Logical Forms?

Logical forms are useful!

- ▶ **Semantic Parsing** [Zelle & Mooney, 1996; Zettlemoyer & Collins, 2005]
- ▶ **Simplification** [Narayan & Gardent, 2014]
- ▶ **Paraphrasing** [Pavlick et al., 2015]
- ▶ **Information Extraction** [Rocktäschel et al., 2015]
- ▶ **Summarization** [Liu et al., 2015]

Where do logical forms come from?

From rich linguistic formalisms

- ▶ CCG [Bos et al., 2004; Lewis & Steedman, 2013]
- ▶ HPSG [Copestake et al., 2001]
- ▶ LFG [Dalrymple et al., 1995]
- ▶ TAG [Joshi et al., 1995]

CCG has been a popular choice

- ▶ Tight integration between syntax and semantics
- ▶ No treebanks for many languages

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CCG has been a popular choice

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Why from dependencies?

Treebanks in more than 40 languages.

(e.g., Universal Dependencies [Nivre et al., 2016])

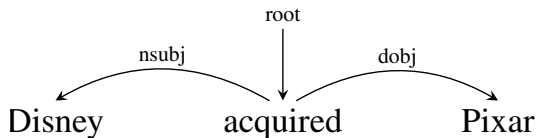
Very accurate parsers.

[Andor et al., 2016; Chen & Manning, 2014]

This Work

- ▶ Dependency structures to logical forms using lambda calculus
- ▶ We use these logical forms for Freebase Semantic Parsing
- ▶ State-of-the-art on Free917, and competitive results on WebQuestions QA datasets

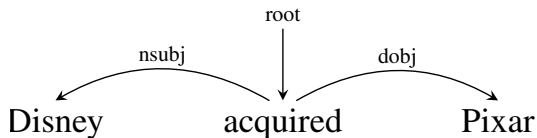
Dependencies to Logical Forms



$$\lambda z. \exists xy. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \wedge \text{Disney}(x_a) \wedge \\ \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

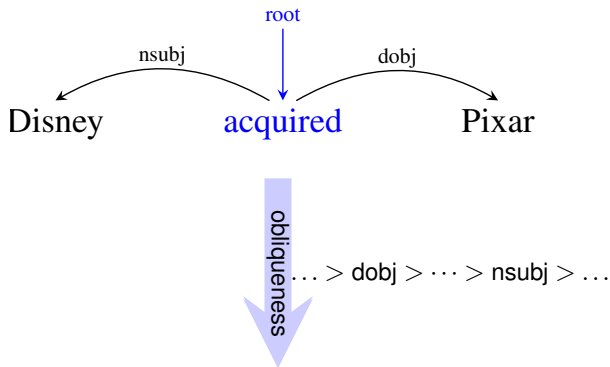
Our Approach



Let dependency labels drive the composition

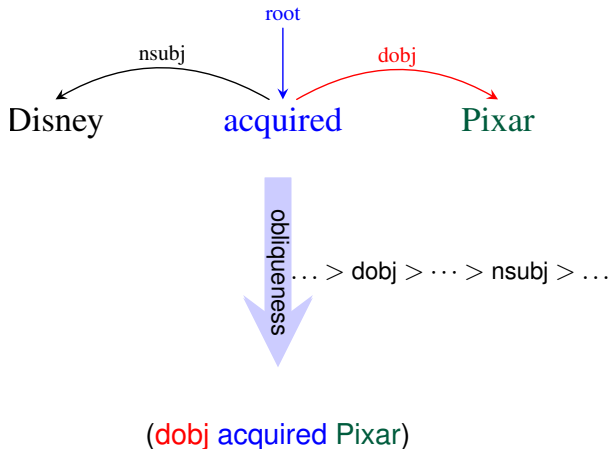
Dependencies to Logical Forms

Our Approach



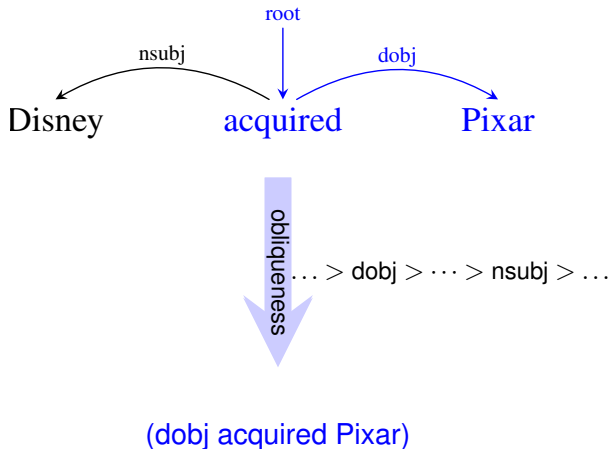
Dependencies to Logical Forms

Our Approach



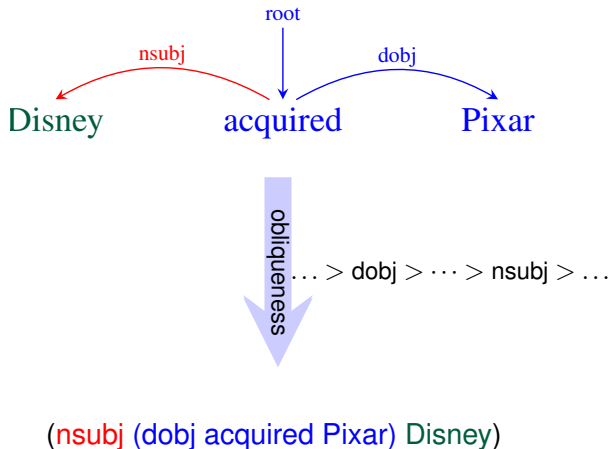
Dependencies to Logical Forms

Our Approach



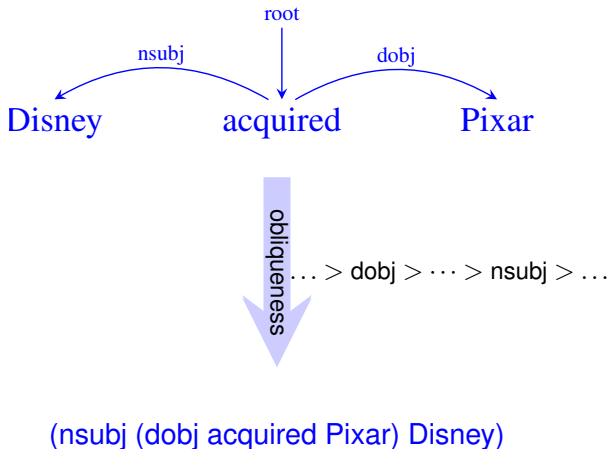
Dependencies to Logical Forms

Our Approach



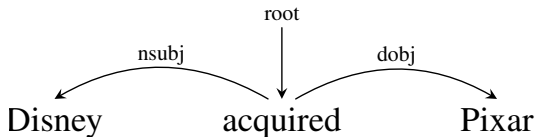
Dependencies to Logical Forms

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Dependencies to Logical Forms

Our Approach

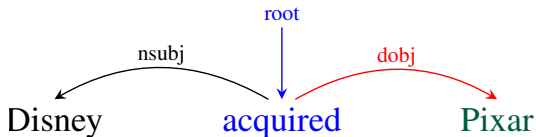


(nsubj (dobj acquired Pixar) Disney)

$$\lambda z. \exists xy. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \wedge \text{Disney}(x_a) \wedge \\ \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Lambda Calculus

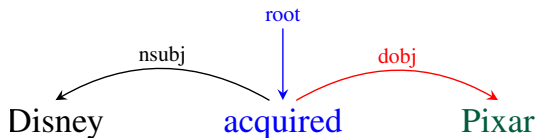


Lambda Calculus Basic Types

- ▶ Individuals: **Ind** (also denoted by $.a$)
- ▶ Events: **Event** (also denoted by $.e$)
- ▶ Truth values: **Bool**

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Lambda Calculus



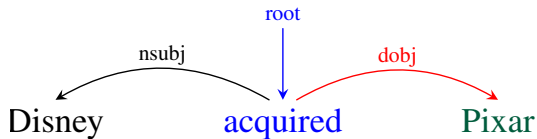
Lambda Expression for words

acquired $\Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{acquired}(x_e)$

Pixar $\Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{Pixar}(x_a)$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Lambda Calculus

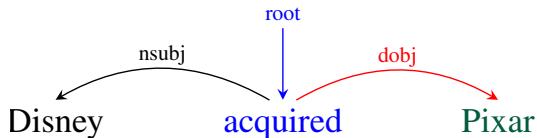


Lambda Expression for dependency labels

$$\text{dobj} \Rightarrow \lambda f \ g \ z . \exists \mathbf{x} . f(\mathbf{z}) \wedge g(\mathbf{x}) \wedge \text{arg}_2(\mathbf{z}_e, \mathbf{x}_a)$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Lambda Calculus



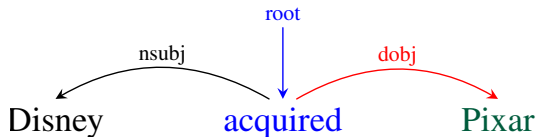
Lambda Expression for dependency labels

$$\text{dobj} \Rightarrow \lambda f \ g \ z . \exists \mathbf{x} . f(\mathbf{z}) \wedge g(\mathbf{x}) \wedge \text{arg}_2(\mathbf{z_e}, \mathbf{x_a})$$

This operation mirrors the tree structure

Dependencies to Logical Forms

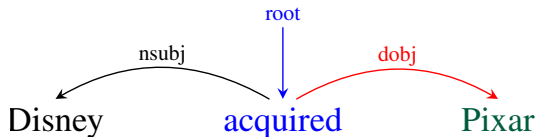
Composition



(dobj	acquired	Pixar)
$\lambda f g z. \exists y.$	$\lambda z. \text{acquired}(z_e)$	$\lambda y. \text{Pixar}(y_a)$
$f(z) \wedge g(y) \wedge$		
$\text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)$		

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Composition

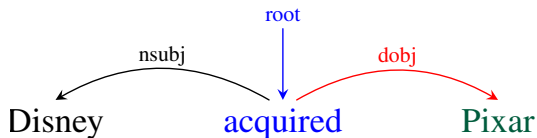


$$\begin{array}{ccc} (\text{dobj} & \text{acquired} & \text{Pixar}) \\ \lambda f g z. \exists y. & \lambda z. \text{acquired}(z_e) & \lambda y. \text{Pixar}(y_a) \\ f(z) \wedge g(y) \wedge & & \\ \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a) & & \end{array}$$

$$\lambda g z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge g(y) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

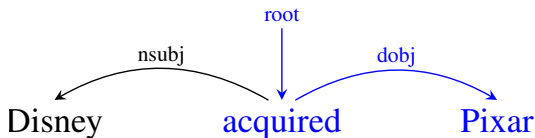
Composition



$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 (\text{dobj} & \text{acquired} & \text{Pixar}) \\
 \lambda f g z. \exists y. & \lambda z. \text{acquired}(z_e) & \lambda y. \text{Pixar}(y_a) \\
 f(z) \wedge g(y) \wedge & & \\
 \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a) & &
 \end{array} \\
 \hline
 \lambda g z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge g(y) \\
 \quad \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a) \\
 \hline
 \lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \\
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Dependencies to Logical Forms

Composition

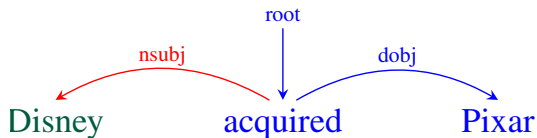


(dobj acquired Pixar)

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Dependencies to Logical Forms

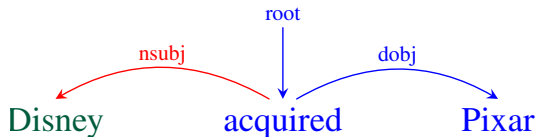
Composition



$$\begin{array}{c}
 (\text{nsubj} \quad (\text{dobj} \quad \text{acquired} \quad \text{Pixar}) \quad \text{Disney}) \\
 \lambda f g z. \exists x. \quad \frac{f(z) \wedge g(x) \wedge \arg_1(z_e, x_a)}{\lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \wedge \arg_2(z_e, y_a)} \quad \lambda x. \text{Disney}(x_a)
 \end{array}$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

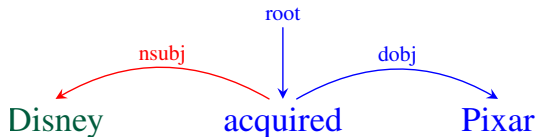
Composition



$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{ccc}
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 \lambda f g z. \exists x. & & \\
 f(z) \wedge g(x) \wedge & & \\
 \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) & & \lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \\
 & & \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)
 \end{array} \\
 \hline
 \lambda g z. \exists x y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \wedge g(x) \wedge \\
 \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)
 \end{array}
 \quad
 \begin{array}{c}
 \text{Disney} \\
 \lambda x. \text{Disney}(x_a)
 \end{array}$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

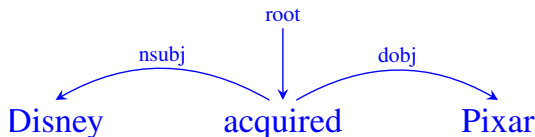
Composition



$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 (\text{nsubj} & (\text{dobj} & \text{acquired} & \text{Pixar}) & \text{Disney}) \\
 \lambda f g z. \exists x. & \frac{}{\lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a)} & \lambda x. \text{Disney}(x_a) \\
 f(z) \wedge g(x) \wedge & & \\
 \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) & \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a) &
 \end{array} \\
 \hline
 \lambda g z. \exists x y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \wedge g(x) \wedge \\
 \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a) \\
 \hline
 \lambda z. \exists x y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \wedge \text{Disney}(x_a) \wedge \\
 \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)
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Dependencies to Logical Forms

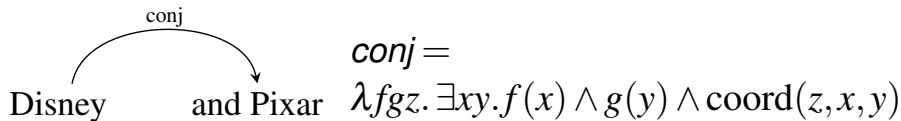
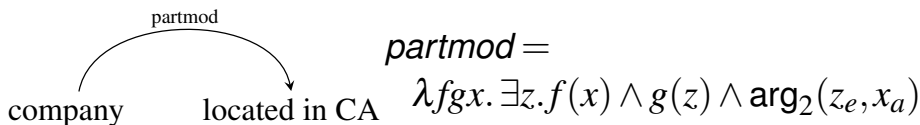
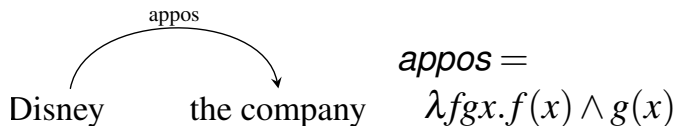
Composition



(nsubj (dobj acquired Pixar) Disney)

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$$\text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms



Comparison with CCG

CCG

Lexicalized semantics

$S \backslash NP / NP : \lambda f_2 f_1 x. \exists yz. \text{acquired}(x) \wedge f_1(y) \wedge f_2(z) \wedge \text{arg}_1(x, y) \wedge \text{arg}_2(x, z)$

Words drive composition

Argument adjunct distinction

$S \backslash NP / PP / NP$ vs. $(S \backslash NP) \backslash (S \backslash NP) / NP$

With “complex types” comes power

$(S[dcl] \backslash NP) / (S[to] \backslash NP_x) / NP_x$

DepLambda

Simple lexical semantics

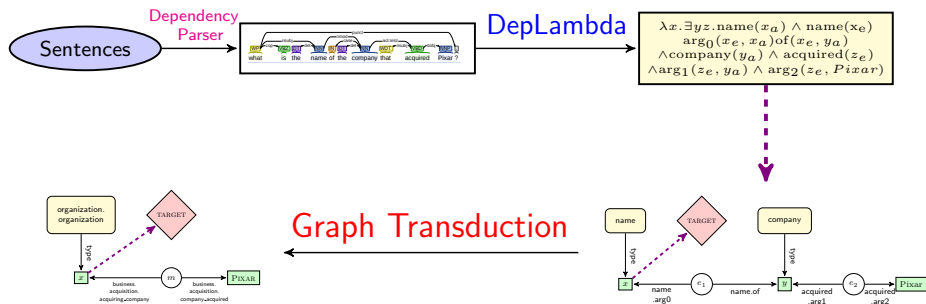
$\lambda x. \text{acquired}(x_e)$

Dependencies drive composition

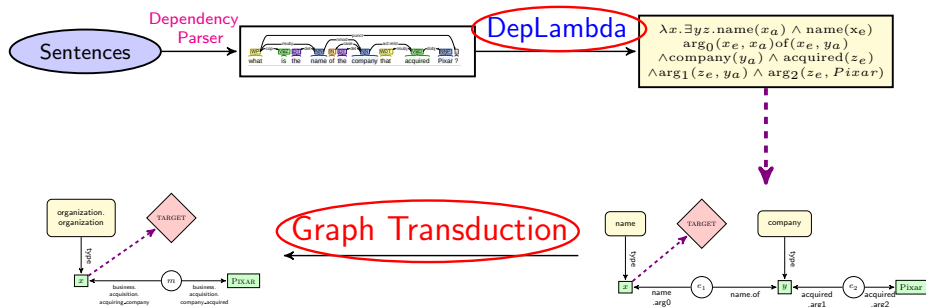
Every dependent is an adjunct

Hard time for few constructions

Freebase Semantic Parsing [Reddy et al., 2014]



Freebase Semantic Parsing [Reddy et al., 2014]



Baselines

SIMPLEGRAPH: All entities connected to a single event

- ▶ Does not handle compositional questions

CCGGGRAPH: CCG logical forms

DEPTREE: Directly transduce a dependency tree to target graph

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Baselines

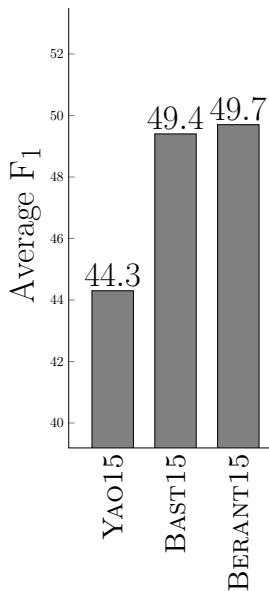
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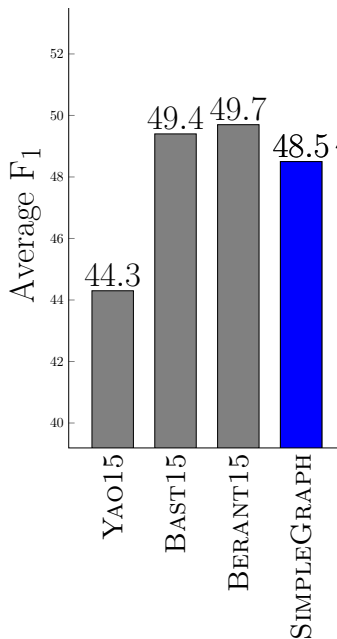
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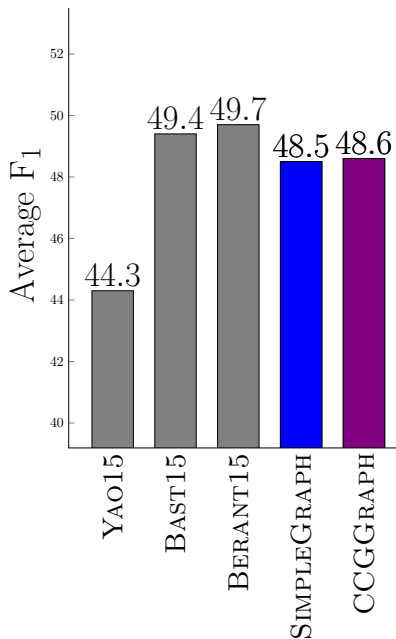
Results on WebQuestions



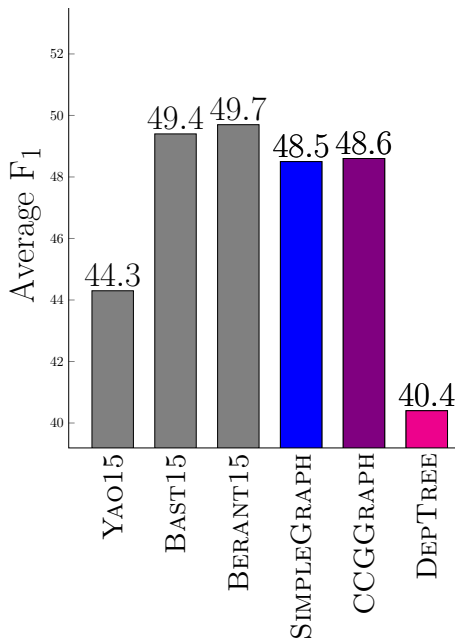
Results on WebQuestions



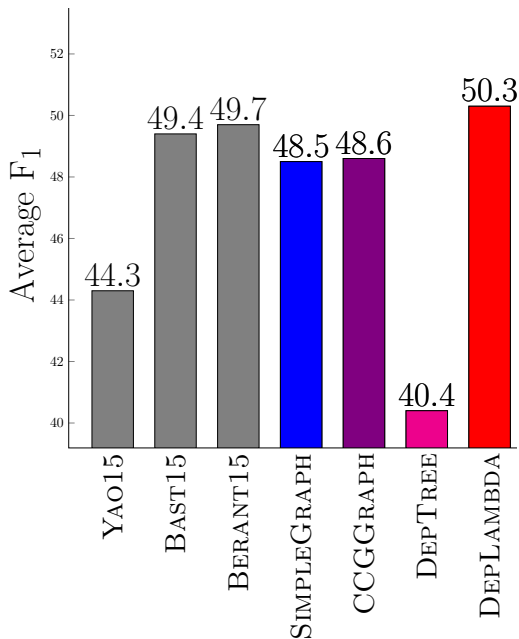
Results on WebQuestions



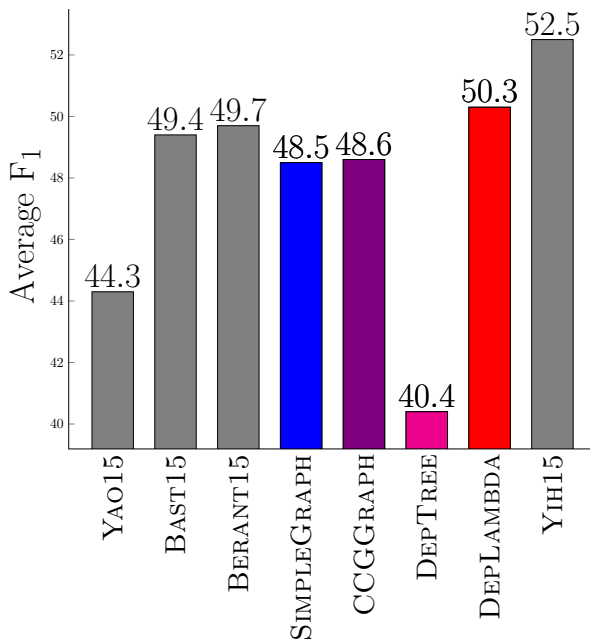
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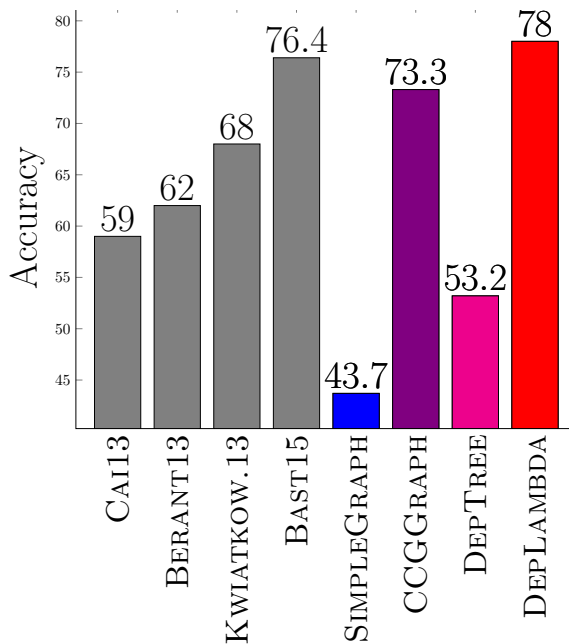
Results on WebQuestions



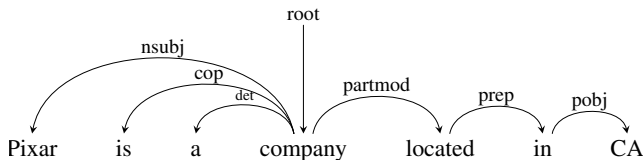
Results on WebQuestions



Results on Free917



Recap



... > dobj > ... > nsubj > ...

<i>(partmod</i>	<i>company</i>	<i>(prep</i>	<i>located</i>	<i>(pobj</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>CA)</i>
$\lambda f g x. \exists z.$	$\lambda x. \text{company}(x_a)$	$\lambda f g z.$	$\lambda x. \text{located}(x_e)$	$\lambda f g z. \exists x.$	$\lambda x. \text{empty}(x)$	$\lambda x. \text{CA}(x_a)$
$f(x) \wedge g(z) \wedge$		$f(z) \wedge g(z)$		$f(z) \wedge g(x)$		
$\text{arg}_2(z_e, x_a)$				$\text{arg}_{\text{in}}(z_e, x_a)$		

lambda expression composition

$\exists z. \text{company}(\text{Pixar}) \wedge \text{located}(z_e) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, \text{Pixar}) \wedge \text{arg}_{\text{in}}(z_e, \text{CA})$

Summary

- ▶ Lambda Calculus for converting Dependencies to Logical Forms
- ▶ Semantic parsing as Graph Transduction
- ▶ State-of-the-art results on Free917 and competitive results on WebQuestions
- ▶ Work in progress: DepLambda for multiple languages

Rules available from

<https://github.com/sivareddy/deplambda>

Thank You!

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- ▶ Lambda Calculus for converting Dependencies to Logical Forms
- ▶ Semantic parsing as Graph Transduction
- ▶ State-of-the-art results on Free917 and competitive results on WebQuestions
- ▶ Work in progress: DepLambda for multiple languages

Rules available from

<https://github.com/sivareddyg/deplambda>

Thank You!

Learning Model

Structured Perceptron: Ranks a pair of grounded and ungrounded graph

$$(\hat{g}, \hat{u}) = \arg \max_{g, u} \Phi(g, u, q, KB) \cdot \theta$$

Features: Φ is defined over sentence, grounded and ungrounded graph

Training: Use a surrogate graph (dynamic oracle) to update weights

$$\theta \leftarrow \theta + \Phi(g^+, u^+, q, KB) - \Phi(\hat{g}, \hat{u}, q, KB)$$

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Learning Model

Oracle Graphs: Search for all the grounded graphs reachable via the ungrounded graph.

Pick all the graphs with minimal F_1 -loss against the gold answer.

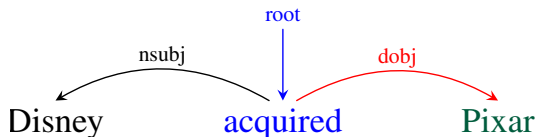
Surrogate Gold Graph:

$$(u^+, g^+) = \arg \max_{(u, g) \in O_{KB, A}(q)} \theta^t \cdot \Phi(u, g, q, KB),$$

Beam Search: Limit the predictions to 100 graph pairs, and choose the best prediction for update.

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Single Type System

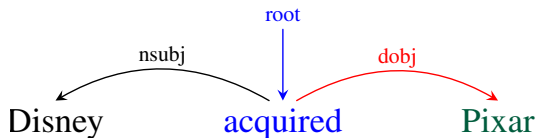


All constituents are of the same lambda expression type

$\text{TYPE}[\text{acquired}] = \text{TYPE}[\text{Pixar}] = \text{TYPE}[(\text{dobj } \text{acquired } \text{Pixar})]$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Single Type System

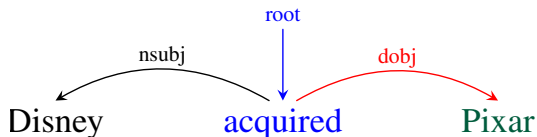


All **words** have a *lambda expression* of type η

- ▶ $\text{TYPE}[\text{acquired}] = \eta$
- ▶ $\text{TYPE}[\text{Pixar}] = \eta$
- ▶ $\text{TYPE}[(\text{dobj acquired Pixar})] = \eta$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Single Type System

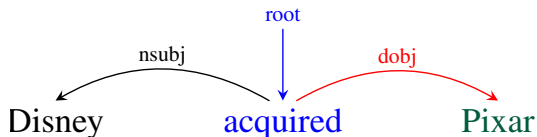


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Dependencies to Logical Forms

Single Type System



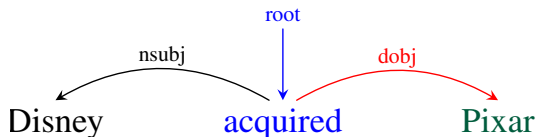
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$\implies \text{TYPE}[\text{dobj}] = \eta \rightarrow \eta \rightarrow \eta$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Lambda Calculus for Single Type System



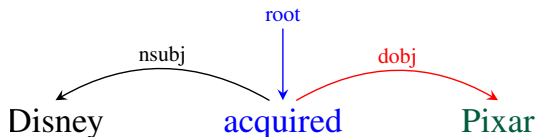
Lambda Expression for words

acquired $\Rightarrow \lambda x_e. \text{acquired}(x_e)$

Pixar $\Rightarrow \lambda x_a. \text{Pixar}(x_a)$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Lambda Calculus for Single Type System



Lambda Expression for words

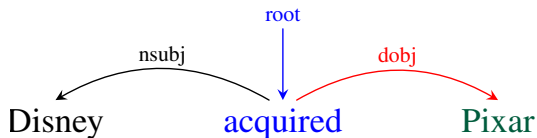
acquired $\Rightarrow \lambda x_e. \text{acquired}(x_e)$ $\Rightarrow \text{TYPE} = \text{Event} \rightarrow \text{Bool}$

Pixar $\Rightarrow \lambda x_a. \text{Pixar}(x_a)$ $\Rightarrow \text{TYPE} = \text{Ind} \rightarrow \text{Bool}$

Here $\text{TYPE}[\text{acquired}] \neq \text{TYPE}[\text{Pixar}]$ ❌

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Lambda Calculus for Single Type System



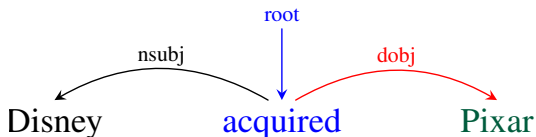
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Dependencies to Logical Forms

Lambda Calculus for Single Type System



Lambda Expression for words

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Here $\eta = \text{TYPE}[\text{acquired}] = \text{TYPE}[\text{Pixar}] \checkmark$

Lambda calculus for “*Single Type*” System

More dependency labels

- ▶ (appos Disney the_company)

$$appos = \lambda fgx. f(x) \wedge g(x)$$

This function unifies two nodes

- ▶ (partmod a_company acquired_by_Disney)

$$partmod = \lambda fgx. \exists z. f(x) \wedge g(z) \wedge \arg_1(z_e, x_a)$$

This function reverses the dependency arc direction, but still returns the head

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Lambda calculus for “*Single Type*” System

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- ▶ (conj Disney_and Pixar)

$$conj = \lambda fgz. \exists xy. f(x) \wedge g(y) \wedge \mathbf{coord}(z, x, y)$$

This function creates a struct with two variables

- ▶ (rcmod Disney which_acquired_Pixar)

(rcmod Disney
 (wh-dobj (BIND *f* (nsubj (dobj acquired *f*) Pixar))
 which))

Lambda calculus for “*Single Type*” System

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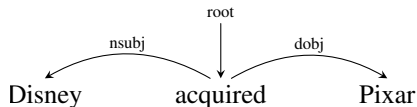
CCG to Logical Forms

Steedman, 2000, 2012; Bos et al., 2004; Lewis & Steedman, 2013; Reddy et al., 2014

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{Disney} & \text{acquired} & \text{Pixar} \\
 \hline
 NP & S \backslash NP / NP & NP
 \end{array} \\
 \text{Disney} \quad \lambda y \lambda x. \exists e. \text{acquired}(e) & & \text{Pixar} \\
 \quad \wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x) & & \\
 \quad \wedge \text{arg}_2(e, y) & & \\
 \hline
 & S \backslash NP & > \\
 & \lambda x. \exists e. \text{acquired}(e) & \\
 & \wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e, \text{Pixar}) & \\
 \hline
 & S & < \\
 \exists e. \text{acquired}(e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(e, \text{Disney}) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e, \text{Pixar})
 \end{array}$$

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Challenges



The obvious idea

if proper noun then

assign $\lambda x.\text{word}(x)$

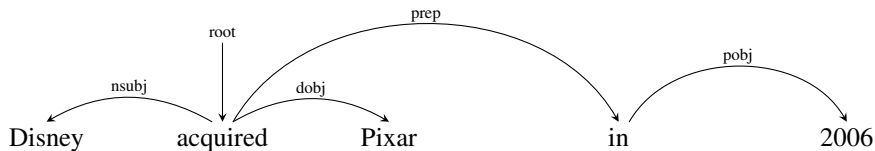
else if verb with subject and object then

assign $\lambda fge.\exists xy.f(x) \wedge g(y) \wedge \text{word}(e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(e,x) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e,y)$

end if

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Challenges



The obvious idea

if *proper noun* **then**

assign $\lambda x.\text{word}(x)$

else if *verb with subject and object* **then**

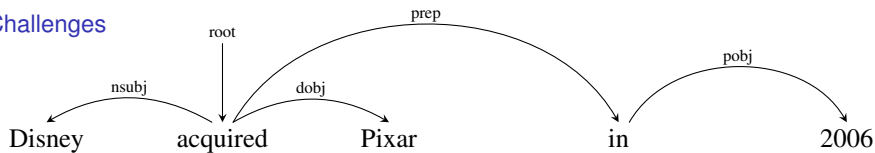
assign $\lambda fge.\exists xy.f(x) \wedge g(y) \wedge \text{word}(e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(e,x) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e,y)$

end if

But, what about?

Dependencies to Logical Forms

Challenges



Problems

1. Rules \propto dependency label permutations
2. Complex lexical semantics
3. Highly sensitive to parse errors
4. Prone to type collisions

Comparison with CCG

Handling of control verbs is painful.

Sentence:

John persuaded Jim to acquire Pixar.

Binarized Tree:

(nsubj (xcomp (dobj persuaded Jim) to_acquire_Pixar) John)

Elegant handling in CCG

persuaded: $((S[dcl] \backslash NP) / (S[to] \backslash NP_x)) / NP_x$

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Conjunctions

Sentence:

Eminem signed to Interscope and discovered 50 Cent.

Binarized tree:

(nsubj (conj-vp (cc s_to_I and) d_50) Eminem)

Substitution:

conj-vp $\Rightarrow \lambda fgx. \exists yz. f(y) \wedge g(z) \wedge \text{coord}(x, y, z)$

Logical Expression:

$\lambda w. \exists xyz. \text{Eminem}(x_a) \wedge \text{coord}(w, y, z)$
 $\wedge \text{arg}_1(w_e, x_a) \wedge \text{s_to_I}(y) \wedge \text{d_50}(z)$

Post processing:

$\lambda e. \exists xyz. \text{Eminem}(x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_1(y_e, x_a)$
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Relative Clause

following Moortgat (1988); Pereira (1990); Carpenter (1998)

Sentence:

Apple which Jobs founded

Binarized tree:

(rcmod Apple
 (wh-dobj (BIND f (nsubj (dobj founded f) Jobs))
 which))

Substitution:

wh-dobj $\Rightarrow \lambda fgz.f(z)$

rcmod $\Rightarrow \lambda fgz.f(z) \wedge g(z)$

Logical Expression:

$\lambda u. \exists xy. \text{founded}(x_e) \wedge \text{Jobs}(y_a)$
 $\wedge \arg_1(x_e, y_a) \wedge \arg_2(x_e, u_a) \wedge \text{Apple}(u_a)$

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Expressivity

How isomorphic are the representations compared to Knowledge Graph?

Average Oracle F_1 Table.

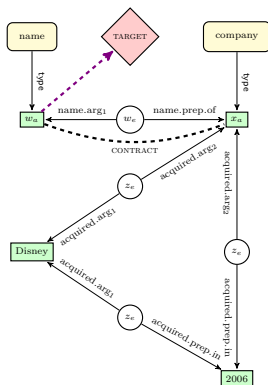
Search Space

How many ways to reach an answer?

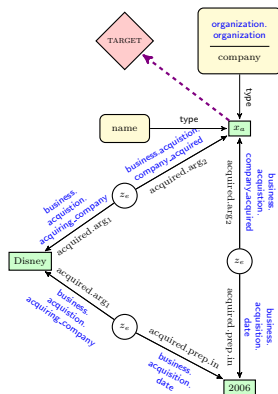
Average Oracle F_1 Table.

Graph Transformation: CONTRACT operation

What is the **name of the company** which Disney acquired in 2006?



Ungrounded graph



Grounded graph

Graph Mismatch: EXPAND operation

What to do Washington DC December?

Before EXPAND

- ▶ $\lambda z. \exists xyw. \text{TARGET}(x_a) \wedge \text{do}(z_e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge$
 $\text{Washington_DC}(y_a) \wedge \text{December}(w_a)$

After EXPAND

- ▶ $\lambda z. \exists xyw. \text{TARGET}(x_a) \wedge \text{do}(z_e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge$
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