

Universal Natural Language Understanding:

Combining Universal Dependencies, Glue Semantics, and machine learning

Jamie Findlay and Dag Haug

University of Oslo

Helgaker, 4 May 2022

Universal natural language understanding

- *Universal natural language understanding* is an (ambitiously named) RCN-funded project on computational semantics
- Four people involved:
 - Jamie Findlay (postdoc)
 - Dag Haug (PI)
 - Ahmet Yıldırım (programmer)
 - Saeedeh Salimifar (PhD fellow)

Formal and computational semantics

- 30 years ago, computational semantics would just be formal semantics implemented on a computer.
- Now the fields have drifted apart and the connections are often tangential.
- So why care about combining the two?
 - From the computational side, *natural language inference* is still an unsolved problem and machine learned models are often wrong, or at best right for the wrong reasons.
 - From the linguistic side, we get the chance to study large-scale rule systems and discover unexpected interactions.
- Also, we discover how much we take for granted as input to the semantics:
 - detailed syntax trees/LFs complete with empty categories, coindexation patterns, etc., etc.
 - rich information about lexical items (particularly for function words)

Natural language inference

- An in-demand NLP task: given a text, what follows?
 - Especially important for question-answering systems.

(1) The high price of corn affected the profits.
 \Rightarrow The price of corn is high.

- Can be straightforward given an appropriate logical representation of the premise:

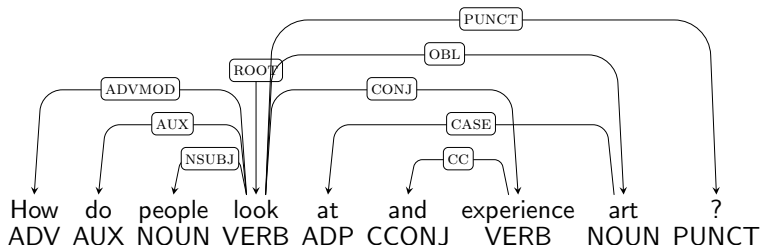
(2) $price(x) \wedge of(x, y) \wedge corn(y) \wedge high(x) \wedge profit^*(z) \wedge$
 $affect(e, x, z) \dots$

- But purely logical entailments are rare – we often need access to e.g. lexical information (Bos & Markert, 2005).

Natural language inference

- Modern computational approaches treat NLI as a classification problem over sentence pairs, without explicit modelling of semantic structure (e.g. Bowman et al. 2015; Jiang & de Marneffe 2019).
- Results can be good, but seem often to rely on quirks of the datasets to extract incorrect generalisations that are effective, but brittle and easily misled (e.g. by passivisation: see McCoy et al. 2019)
 - a combination of logical and statistical/neural methods
- An interesting approach is to teach neural nets to produce DRSs (van Noord et al., 2018).
- Our approach is to use a shallow, machine-learned syntactic representation, use rule-based methods to turn that into a DRS, and then enrich the result using machine-learning again.

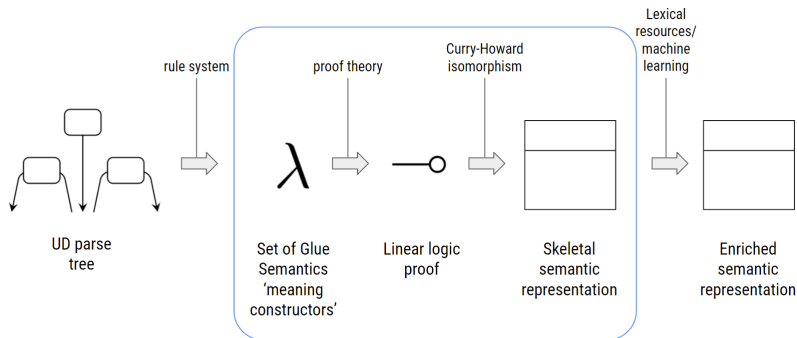
What you get from computational syntax



- This is a shallow syntactic representation, which is hard to convert into a meaningful semantics.
 - On the plus side, structures like this are available for 100+ languages
 - via the Universal Dependencies project (Nivre et al., 2016, 2020).
 - *Enhanced* Universal Dependencies add more semantically-relevant information, but have their limitations (Findlay & Haug, 2021).
- interest in deriving semantic representations from UD structures, ideally in a language-independent way.

A universal pipeline

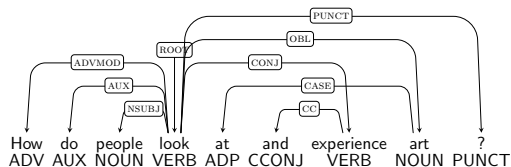
- For some languages there is detailed lexical information from VerbNets, WordNets, FrameNets etc., but for others there isn't.
 - So, for our universal pipeline, we postpone the use of lexical information as long as possible.



Target representations

- Our target representations for sentence meanings are DRSs.
- In particular, we have chosen the format produce by Boxer (Bos, 2008) in the Parallel Meaning bank.

From UD to DRT



e1	e2	*t1	*t2	x1	x2	x3
(x3 = '?')						
<i>Manner</i> (e1, x3)						
<i>Manner</i> (e2, x3)						
<i>manner.n.01</i> (x3)						
<i>Time</i> (e1, t1)						
<i>Time</i> (e2, t2)						
<i>person.n.01</i> (x1)						
<i>Agent</i> (e1, x1)						
<i>Theme</i> (e1, x2)						
<i>look_at.v.02</i> (e1)						
<i>Experiencer</i> (e2, x1)						
<i>Stimulus</i> (e2, x2)						
<i>experience.v.02</i> (e2)						
<i>art.n.01</i> (x2)						
(t2 = 'now')						
* <i>time.n.08</i> (t2)						
(t1 = 'now')						
* <i>time.n.08</i> (t1)						

Challenges

- Fundamental problems:
 - We do not have meanings for the words.
 - We do not know how to compose the words, since the tree is too flat.
- Solution: We map the words to Glue Semantics entries (*meaning constructors*), which consist of two things:
 - a meaning
 - a type, which specifies how the meaning combines with others

$$(3) \quad John \rightsquigarrow \lambda P. \frac{x}{Name(x, John)} + P(x) : (e_1 \multimap t_2) \multimap t_2$$

- Right-hand side:
 - the types of ordinary Montague grammar
 - plus indices to keep track of what combines with what

In this case 1 is the index of *John* and 2 is the index of its scope point.

How good does it get?

- The entry from *John* is predictable from the POS-tag + the tree topography (scope point is the root verb).
- Similarly, we can provide reasonable entries for common nouns, adjectives, verbs, manner adverbs.
- They won't be detailed but also not worse than $\llbracket \textit{life} \rrbracket = \textit{life}'$.
- The challenge lies in functional items and relations, and in constructional aspects of meaning.
- Two main approaches:
 - limited use of lemma-specific meanings for closed-class “logic words” (e.g. determiners, connectives etc.)
 - pass on the problem to post-processing with machine learning (e.g. the mapping from syntactic relations to semantic roles, multiword expressions that are not annotated as such in UD)
- Before we look at the details we need a little bit of Glue.

What is Glue? (Background)

- A theory of the syntax/semantics interface, originally developed for LFG (Dalrymple et al., 1993, 1999), and now the *de facto* standard there (Dalrymple et al., 2019, ch. 8.5).
 - (See Findlay 2021, sec. 3 for a survey of approaches to meaning representation in LFG.)
- Also combined with other frameworks:
 - HPSG (Asudeh & Crouch, 2002),
 - LTAG (Frank & van Genabith, 2001), and
 - Minimalism (Gotham, 2018).

What is Glue? (Theory)

- Expressions in some meaning language are paired with linear logic formulae (Girard, 1987) as *meaning constructors*.
- You can think of the linear logic as providing a categorial grammar/Lambek calculus over meanings (ignoring word order).
- Technically, semantic composition is linear logic deduction mediated by the Curry-Howard isomorphism (Curry & Feys, 1958; Howard, 1980).
- Linear logic deduction is a computationally well-understood process (Hepple, 1996; Lev, 2007) with an efficient implementation (Messmer & Zymla, 2018) that we have also contributed to.

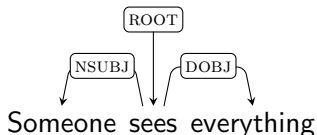
Scope ambiguity as an example

(4) Someone sees everything.

- Two interpretations:

- 1 There is someone who sees everything. (surface scope, $\exists > \forall$)
- 2 Everything is seen. (inverse scope, $\forall > \exists$)

- This is often seen as a syntactic ambiguity, but the dependency tree is compatible with both interpretations because there is no VP constituent:



- Syntax *constrains* what combines with what, but doesn't *determine* it.

What you need from syntax

LABEL	e_1	e_3	t_2
ASSIGNED TO	the subject argument of sees	the object argument of sees	the sentence as a whole
	<i>someone</i>	<i>everything</i>	

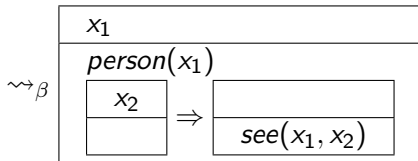


$\lambda v. \lambda u. [\text{see}(u, v)] : e_3 \multimap (e_1 \multimap t_2)$	type $e \rightarrow (e \rightarrow t)$
$\lambda Q. [x_1 \mid \text{person}(x_1)]; Q(x_1) : (e_1 \multimap t_2) \multimap t_2$	type $(e \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t$
$\lambda P. [[x_1]] \Rightarrow P(x_1) : (e_3 \multimap t_2) \multimap t_2$	type $(e \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t$

- An informal explanation:
 - $\llbracket \text{sees} \rrbracket$ applies to e_3 , then applies to e_1 , to form t_2 .
 - $\llbracket \text{someone} \rrbracket$ applies to (something that applies to e_1 to form t_2) to form t_2 .
 - $\llbracket \text{everything} \rrbracket$ applies to (something that applies to e_3 to form t_2) to form t_2 .
- There's more than one way to put $\llbracket \text{someone} \rrbracket$, $\llbracket \text{sees} \rrbracket$ and $\llbracket \text{everything} \rrbracket$ together, while obeying these constraints, to form t_2 .
- The different ways:
 - Give the different interpretations of (4).
 - Correspond to different proofs from the same premises in linear logic.

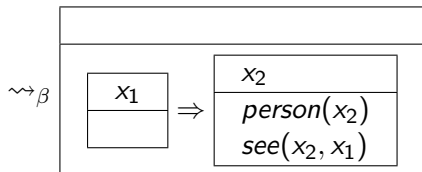
Surface scope interpretation

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{[sees]} : \\
 \frac{e_3 \multimap (e_1 \multimap t_2) \quad [z : e_3]^1}{\text{[sees]}(z) : e_1 \multimap t_2} \multimap E \quad \frac{\text{[sees]}(z)(w) : t_2 \quad [w : e_1]^2}{\text{[sees]}(z)(w) : t_2} \multimap E \\
 \text{[everything]} : \\
 \frac{(e_3 \multimap t_2) \multimap t_2 \quad \frac{\text{[sees]}(z)(w) : t_2}{\lambda z. \text{[sees]}(z)(w) : e_3 \multimap t_2} \multimap I,1}{\text{[everything]}(\lambda z. \text{[sees]}(z)(w)) : t_2} \multimap E \\
 \text{[someone]} : \\
 \frac{(e_1 \multimap t_2) \multimap t_2 \quad \frac{\text{[everything]}(\lambda z. \text{[sees]}(z)(w)) : t_2}{\lambda w. \text{[everything]}(\lambda z. \text{[sees]}(z)(w)) : e_1 \multimap t_2} \multimap I,2}{\text{[someone]}(\lambda w. \text{[everything]}(\lambda z. \text{[sees]}(z)(w))) : t_2} \multimap E
 \end{array}$$

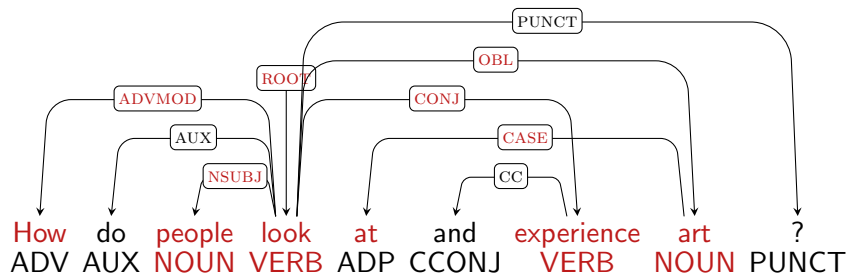


Inverse scope interpretation

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \llbracket \text{sees} \rrbracket : \\
 \frac{\llbracket \text{someone} \rrbracket : \quad \frac{e_3 \multimap (e_1 \multimap t_2) \quad [z : e_3]^1}{\llbracket \text{sees} \rrbracket(z) : e_1 \multimap t_2} \multimap E}{(e_1 \multimap t_2) \multimap t_2 \quad \llbracket \text{sees} \rrbracket(z) : e_1 \multimap t_2} \multimap E \\
 \frac{\llbracket \text{everything} \rrbracket : \quad \frac{\llbracket \text{someone} \rrbracket(\llbracket \text{sees} \rrbracket(z)) : t_2}{\lambda z. \llbracket \text{someone} \rrbracket(\llbracket \text{sees} \rrbracket(z)) : e_3 \multimap t_2} \multimap I,1}{\llbracket \text{everything} \rrbracket(\lambda z. \llbracket \text{someone} \rrbracket(\llbracket \text{sees} \rrbracket(z))) : t_2} \multimap E
 \end{array}$$



A worked example



$$\lambda V. \lambda F. V(\lambda E. ([X], [(X = '?'), \text{advmod}(E, X)]]) + F(E)) :$$

$$(x_4 \multimap x_4)$$

$$\lambda Q. \lambda V. \lambda F. (Q(\lambda X. (V(\lambda E. ([], [\text{nsbj}(E, X)]]) + F(E)))) :$$

$$(((e_3 \multimap p_4) \multimap p_4) \multimap (x_4 \multimap x_4))$$

$$\lambda X. ([], [\text{person}(X)]) :$$

How far did we get?

<i>e</i> ₁	<i>e</i> ₂	<i>x</i> ₁	<i>x</i> ₂	<i>x</i> ₃
<i>person</i> (<i>x</i> ₁)				
<i>art</i> (<i>x</i> ₂)				
<i>look</i> (<i>e</i> ₁)				
<i>experience</i> (<i>e</i> ₂)				
<i>at</i> (<i>e</i> ₁ , <i>x</i> ₂)				
(<i>x</i> ₃ = '?')				
<i>advmod</i> (<i>e</i> ₁ , <i>x</i> ₃)				
<i>nsubj</i> (<i>e</i> ₁ , <i>x</i> ₁)				

Missing information

- “look at” as MWE
- purely syntactic roles
- no time information
- no roles for second conjunct

<i>e</i> ₁	<i>e</i> ₂	* <i>t</i> ₁	* <i>t</i> ₂	<i>x</i> ₁	<i>x</i> ₂	<i>x</i> ₃
(x3 = '?')						
<i>Manner</i> (<i>e</i> ₁ , <i>x</i> ₃)						
<i>Manner</i> (<i>e</i> ₂ , <i>x</i> ₃)						
<i>manner.n.01</i> (<i>x</i> ₃)						
<i>Time</i> (<i>e</i> ₁ , <i>t</i> ₁)						
<i>Time</i> (<i>e</i> ₂ , <i>t</i> ₂)						
<i>person.n.01</i> (<i>x</i> ₁)						
<i>Agent</i> (<i>e</i> ₁ , <i>x</i> ₁)						
<i>Theme</i> (<i>e</i> ₁ , <i>x</i> ₂)						
<i>look_at.v.02</i> (<i>e</i> ₁)						
<i>Experiencer</i> (<i>e</i> ₂ , <i>x</i> ₁)						
<i>Stimulus</i> (<i>e</i> ₁ , <i>x</i> ₂)						
<i>experience.v.02</i> (<i>e</i> ₂)						
<i>art.n.01</i> (<i>x</i> ₂)						
(t2 = 'now')						
* <i>time.n.08</i> (<i>t</i> ₂)						
(t1 = 'now')						
* <i>time.n.08</i> (<i>t</i> ₁)						

Using machine learning (ML)

- Machine learning learns patterns from data
- Latest deep learning models enable us to train a model to obtain DRT of a sentence
- Training an ML model for this task is very similar to training an ML model for machine translation (i.e. translating an English sentence to Norwegian)
- Doing this requires many examples of sentence-DRT pairs.
- The model extract patterns from the pairs
- When we use the model, we show the model a sentence and based on the knowledge of previous examples in training, it produces a DRT for the sentence

Using machine learning - Example

How do people look at and experience art?

ML Model

```

SNEW REF
$0 Location @5 @0
$0 Name @0 "?"
$0 how "n.01" @0
SNEW REF
$0 Location @5 @0
$0 Name @0 "?"
$0 how "n.01" @0
$-1 REF
$-1 REF
$-1 EQU @-1 "now"
$-1 EQU @0 "now"
$-1 Time @2 @-1
$-1 time "n.08" @-1
$-1 time "n.08" @0
$0 Time @3 @0
$-1 REF
$-1 person "n.01" @0
$-1 REF
$-1 Agent @0 @-1
$-1 look at "v.01" @0
$-1 CONTINUATION $0
$0 REF
$0 experience_art "n.01" @0

b1 REF r1
b1 Location r6 r1
b1 Name r1 "?"
b1 how "n.01" r1
b2 REF r2
b2 Location r7 r2
b2 Name r2 "?"
b2 how "n.01" r2
b1 REF r3
b1 REF r4
b1 EQU r3 "now"
b1 EQU r4 "now"
b1 Time r6 r3
b1 time "n.08" r3
b1 time "n.08" r4
b2 Time r7 r4
b1 REF r5
b1 person "n.01" r5
b1 REF r6
b1 Agent r6 r5
b1 look_at "v.01" r6
b1 CONTINUATION b2
b2 REF r7
b2 experience_art "n.01" r7
  
```

r1 r2 r3 r4 r5 r6 r7

how.n.01(r1)
how.n.01(r2)
Name(r1, '?')
Name(r2, '?')
Location(r6, r1)
Location(r7, r2)
experience_art.n.01(r7)
look_at.v.01(r6)
person.n.01(r5)
Agent(r6, r5)
(r3 = 'now')
(r4 = 'now')
Time(r6, r3)
Time(r7, r4)
time.n.08(r3)
time.n.08(r4)

r1 r2 r3 r4 r5 r6 r7

how.n.01(r1)
how.n.01(r2)
Name(r1, '?')
Name(r2, '?')
Location(r6, r1)
Location(r7, r2)
experience_art.n.01(r7)
look_at.v.01(r6)
person.n.01(r5)
Agent(r6, r5)
(r3 = 'now')
(r4 = 'now')
Time(r6, r3)
Time(r7, r4)
time.n.08(r3)
time.n.08(r4)

*e1 e2 *t1 *t2 x1 x2 x3*

(x3 = '?')
Manner(e1, x3)
Manner(e2, x3)
manner.n.01(x3)
Time(e1, t1)
Time(e2, t2)
person.n.01(x1)
Agent(e1, x1)
Theme(e1, x2)
look_at.v.02(e1)
Experiencer(e2, x1)
Stimulus(e1, x2)
experience.v.02(e2)
art.n.01(x2)
(t2 = 'now')
**time.n.08(t2)*
(t1 = 'now')
**time.n.08(t1)*

What's next in the rules system

- We have basic coverage of adjuncts and arguments, including clausal complementation and relativization
- Coordination is covered for the most important categories (nouns, verbs, adjectives)
- We now need to look at harder phenomena, including various sorts of “constructions” given ad hoc analyses in UD
 - ellipsis
 - resumption
 - multiword expressions
 - ...
- Basic tense coverage should also be doable

What the rules won't cover

x_1 e_1
<i>named</i> (x_1 , <i>Peter</i>)
<i>arrive</i> (e_1)
<i>theme</i> (e_1 , x_1)

- What kind of θ -role is 'nsubj'?
 - A syntactic name, lifted from the arc label.
 - In and of itself, uninformative.
- What we have in the DRS above is as much information as can be extracted from the UD tree alone, without lexical knowledge.
- The theoretical challenges do not lie in depth of analysis, but in universality of coverage
- To get further, we either need reliable lexical databases, or use ML to learn patterns in the assignment of thematic roles
- A similar approach would be useful to deal with e.g. presupposition

How to combine with ML

- Pointwise enrichment of conditions?
- Or feed structured data into the ML encoder–decode set up?
- But how to present hierarchical data to neural nets?

how	$(x_3 = '?')$ $advmod(e_1, x_3)$
people	$person(x_1)$ $nsubj(e_1, x_1)$
look	$look(e_1)$
and	
experience	$experience(e_2)$
art	$art(x_2)$
at	$at(e_1, x_2)$

Conclusions

- NLI is a big unsolved problem in NLP, both for logic-based and ML-based approaches
- Our approach is primarily logic-based, but is based on a shallow syntax which is available for more languages than e.g. CCG parsers that previous logic-based approaches use
- Interesting to see how wide coverage we can achieve in this setup
- Interaction with ML definitely needed for post-processing

References I

- Asudeh, Ash & Richard Crouch. 2002. Glue Semantics for HPSG. In Frank van Eynde, Lars Hellan & Dorothee Beermann (eds.), *Proceedings of the 8th international HPSG conference*, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Bos, Johan. 2008. Wide-coverage semantic analysis with Boxer. In *Proceedings of the 2008 conference on semantics in text processing STEP '08*, 277–286. Stroudsburg, PA, USA: Association for Computational Linguistics.
<http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=1626481.1626503>.
- Bos, Johan & Katja Markert. 2005. Recognising textual entailment with logical inference. In *Proceedings of human language technology conference and conference on empirical methods in natural language processing*, 628–635. Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada: Association for Computational Linguistics.
<https://aclanthology.org/H05-1079>.

References II

- Bowman, Samuel R., Gabor Angeli, Christopher Potts & Christopher D. Manning. 2015. A large annotated corpus for learning natural language inference. In *Proceedings of the 2015 conference on empirical methods in natural language processing*, 632–642. Lisbon, Portugal: Association for Computational Linguistics. doi:10.18653/v1/D15-1075.
<https://aclanthology.org/D15-1075>.
- Curry, Haskell B. & Robert Feys. 1958. *Combinatory logic: volume I*. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Dalrymple, Mary, Vineet Gupta, John Lamping & Vijay Saraswat. 1999. Relating resource-based semantics to categorial semantics. In Mary Dalrymple (ed.), *Semantics and syntax in Lexical Functional Grammar*, 261–280. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

References III

- Dalrymple, Mary, John Lamping & Vijay Saraswat. 1993. LFG semantics via constraints. In Steven Krauwer, Michael Moortgat & Louis des Tombe (eds.), *EACL 1993*, 97–105.
- Dalrymple, Mary, John J. Lowe & Louise Mycock. 2019. *The Oxford reference guide to Lexical Functional Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Findlay, Jamie Y. 2021. Meaning in LFG. In I. Wayan Arka, Ash Asudeh & Tracy Holloway King (eds.), *Modular design of grammar: linguistics on the edge*, 340–374. Oxford University Press.
- Findlay, Jamie Y. & Dag T. T. Haug. 2021. How useful are Enhanced Universal Dependencies for semantic interpretation? In *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Dependency Linguistics (Depling, SyntaxFest 2021)*, 22–34. Sofia: Association for Computational Linguistics. <https://aclanthology.org/2021.depling-1.3>.

References IV

- Frank, Anette & Josef van Genabith. 2001. GlueTag: Linear logic-based semantics for LTAG—and what it teaches us about LFG and LTAG. In Miriam Butt & Tracy Holloway King (eds.), *Proceedings of the LFG01 conference*, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Girard, Jean-Yves. 1987. Linear logic. *Theoretical Computer Science* 50(1). 1–101. doi:10.1016/0304-3975(87)90045-4.
- Gotham, Matthew. 2018. Making Logical Form type-logical. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 41(5). 511–556. doi:10.1007/s10988-018-9229-z.
- Hepple, Mark. 1996. A compilation-chart method for linear categorial deduction. In *COLING 1996 Volume 1: The 16th International Conference on Computational Linguistics*, .
- Howard, W.A. 1980. The formulae-as-types notion of construction. In J.P. Seldin & J.R. Hindley (eds.), *To H.B. Curry*, 479–490. New York: Academic Press.

References V

- Jiang, Nanjiang & Marie-Catherine de Marneffe. 2019. Evaluating BERT for natural language inference: A case study on the CommitmentBank. In *Proceedings of the 2019 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing and the 9th International Joint Conference on Natural Language Processing (EMNLP-IJCNLP)*, 6086–6091. Hong Kong, China: Association for Computational Linguistics. doi:10.18653/v1/D19-1630. <https://aclanthology.org/D19-1630>.
- Lev, Iddo. 2007. *Packed computation of exact meaning representations*: Stanford University dissertation.
- McCoy, R. Thomas, Ellie Pavlick & Tal Linzen. 2019. Right for the wrong reasons: diagnosing syntactic heuristics in natural language inference. In *proceedings of the 57th annual meeting of the association for computational linguistics*, .

References VI

- Messmer, Moritz & Mark-Matthias Zymla. 2018. The glue semantics workbench: A modular toolkit for exploring linear logic and glue semantics. In Miriam Butt & Tracy Holloway King (eds.), *Proceedings of the lfg'18 conference, university of vienna*, 249–263. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/LFG/2018/lfg2018-messmer-zymla.pdf>.
- Nivre, Joakim, Marie-Catherine de Marneffe, Filip Ginter, Yoav Goldberg, Jan Hajič, Christopher D. Manning, Ryan McDonald, Slav Petrov, Sampo Pyysalo, Natalia Silveira, Reut Tsarfaty & Daniel Zeman. 2016. Universal Dependencies v1: A multilingual treebank collection. In Nicoletta Calzolari, Khalid Choukri, Thierry Declerck, Marko Grobelnik, Bente Maegaard, Joseph Mariani, Asuncion Moreno, Jan Odijk & Stelios Piperidis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2016)*, 1659–1666. Portorož,

References VII

- Sl: European Language Resources Association (ELRA). http://www.lrec-conf.org/proceedings/lrec2016/pdf/348_Paper.pdf.
- Nivre, Joakim, Marie-Catherine de Marneffe, Filip Ginter, Jan Hajic, Christopher Manning, Sampo Pyysalo, Sebastian Schuster, Francis Tyers & Daniel Zeman. 2020. Universal Dependencies v2: an evergrowing multilingual treebank collection. In *Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2020)*, 4034–4043. Marseille: European Language Resources Association. <https://aclanthology.org/2020.lrec-1.497>.
- van Noord, Rik, Lasha Abzianidze, Antonio Toral & Johan Bos. 2018. Exploring neural methods for parsing discourse representation structures. *Transactions of the Association for Computational Linguistics* 6. 619–633.