

# Data-driven Logic

or: type theory for the working engineer

Kokos

Logic & Language 20202021<sup>1</sup>

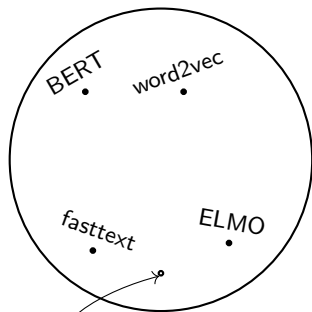
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<sup>1</sup>totally not the same slides as last year

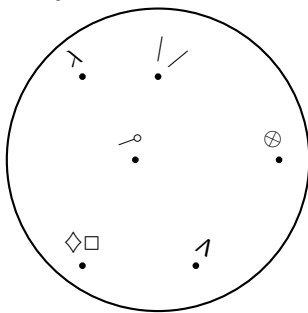
# The state of NLP affairs

## Semantic Models



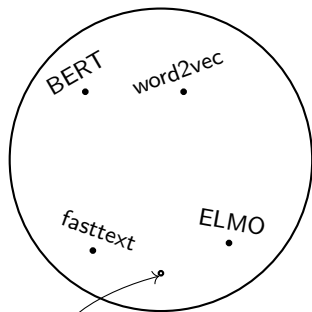
insert next big thing here

## Syntactic Theories



# The state of NLP affairs

## Semantic Models



insert next big thing here

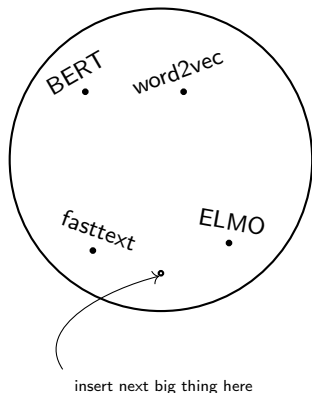
A curved arrow originates from the text "insert next big thing here" and points to a small tick mark on the lower-left boundary of the Semantic Models circle.

## Syntactic Theories



# The state of NLP affairs

## Semantic Models

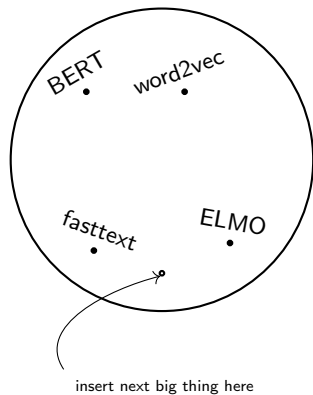


## Syntactic Theories

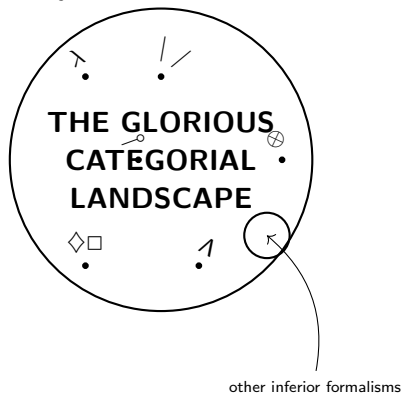


# The state of NLP affairs

## Semantic Models



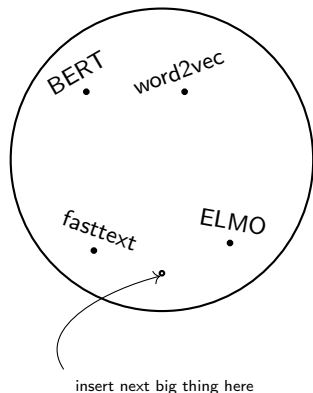
## Syntactic Theories



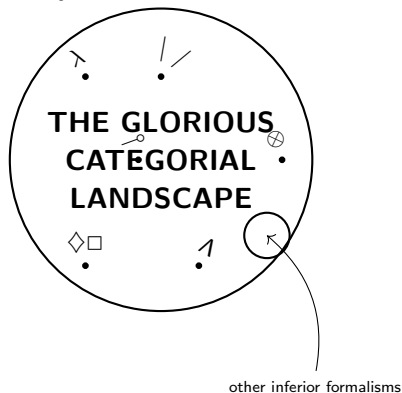
What's missing?

# The state of NLP affairs

## Semantic Models



## Syntactic Theories



## What's missing?

No (working) unifying theory or application.

# Neural Type-Driven Representations

The agenda:

- λ Choosing the logic
- λ Making a dataset: proofs and lexical type assignments
- λ Learning the type assignment process
- λ Navigating the proof space
- λ Syntax-aware & type-correct text representations

# Neural Type-Driven Representations

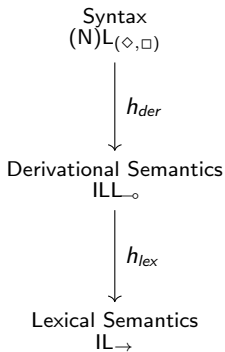
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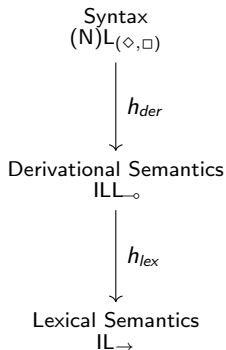
# Syntax-Semantics Interface

## Type-logical perspective

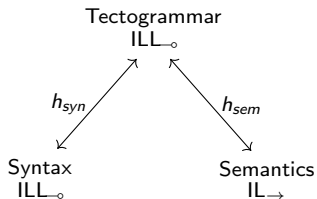


# Syntax-Semantics Interface

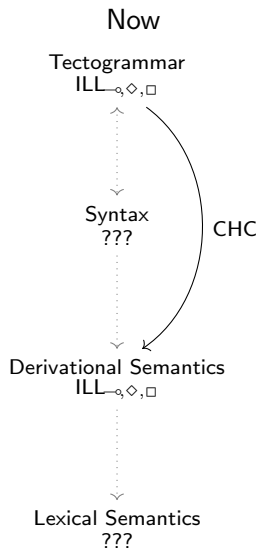
## Type-logical perspective



## ACG perspective



# A twist



# Abstract syntax with NLP

## Grammar

ILL<sub>o</sub> plus  $\Diamond, \Box$  modalities for *dependency domain demarkation*.

Types inductively defined by:

$$\mathcal{T} := A \mid T \multimap T' \mid \Diamond^d T \mid \Box^d T \quad A \in \mathcal{A}, T \in \mathcal{T}$$

## Rules

$$\frac{\Gamma \vdash s : A \multimap B \quad \Delta \vdash t : A}{\Gamma, \Delta \vdash s \, t : B} \multimap E$$

$$\frac{\Gamma \vdash t : A}{\langle \Gamma \rangle^d \vdash \Delta^d \, t : \Diamond^d A} \Diamond^d I$$

$$\frac{\langle X \rangle^d \vdash s : A}{X \vdash \blacktriangle^d s : \Box^d A} \Box^d I$$

$$\frac{\Gamma, x : A \vdash s : B}{\Gamma \vdash \lambda x. s : A \multimap B} \multimap I$$

$$\frac{Y \vdash s : \Diamond^d A \quad X[\langle x : A \rangle^d] \vdash t : B}{X[Y] \vdash t[\nabla^d s/x] : B} \Diamond^d E$$

$$\frac{X \vdash s : \Box^d A}{\langle X \rangle^d \vdash \blacktriangledown^d s : A} \Box^d E$$

# Abstract syntax with NLP

Lexicon  $\mathcal{L}$  assigning words types from:

# Abstract syntax with NLP

Lexicon  $\mathcal{L}$  assigning words types from:  $A$

animals, ducks, I :  $np$

$$\frac{\text{ducks}}{\text{ducks} : np} \mathcal{L}$$

# Abstract syntax with NLP

Lexicon  $\mathcal{L}$  assigning words types from:  $A \mid \Diamond^d T \multimap T'$

animals, ducks, l : np

like :  $\diamond^{obj} np \multimap \diamond^{obj} np \multimap s$

fly, swim :  $\Diamond^{su}np \multimap s$

$$\frac{\frac{\text{fly}}{\Diamond^{su} np \multimap s} \mathcal{L} \quad \frac{\frac{\text{ducks}}{np} \mathcal{L} \quad \langle \text{ducks} \rangle^{su} \vdash \Diamond^{su} np}{\langle \text{ducks} \rangle^{su} \text{ fly} \vdash s} \multimap E}{\langle \text{ducks} \rangle^{su} \text{ fly} \vdash s} \Diamond^{su} I$$

fly  $\triangle^{SU}$  ducks

# Abstract syntax with NLP

Lexicon  $\mathcal{L}$  assigning words types from:  $A \mid \Diamond^d T \multimap T' \mid \Box^d (T \multimap T')$

animals, ducks, I	: $np$	fly, swim	: $\Diamond^{su} np \multimap s$
like	: $\Diamond^{obj} np \multimap \Diamond^{obj} np \multimap s$	gracefully	: $\Box^{mod} (s \multimap s)$

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{\frac{\text{gracefully}}{\Box^{mod} (s \multimap s)} \mathcal{L}}{\langle \text{gracefully} \rangle^{mod} \vdash s \multimap s} \quad \Box^{mod} E \quad \frac{\vdots}{\langle \text{ducks} \rangle^{su} \text{ fly} \vdash s} \\
 \hline
 \langle \text{ducks} \rangle^{su} \text{ fly} \langle \text{gracefully} \rangle^{mod} \vdash s \quad \multimap E \\
 \hline
 \blacktriangledown^{mod} \text{gracefully} (\text{fly} \ \Delta^{su} \text{ducks})
 \end{array}$$



# Abstract syntax with NLP

Lexicon  $\mathcal{L}$  assigning words types from:  $A \mid \Diamond^d T \multimap T' \mid \Box^d (T \multimap T')$

animals, ducks, I :  $np$  fly, swim :  $\diamond^{su} np \multimap s$   
 like :  $\diamond^{obj} np \multimap \diamond^{obj} np \multimap s$  gracefully :  $\square^{mod} (s \multimap s)$   
 that :  $\diamond^{body} (\diamond^{su} np \multimap s) \multimap \square^{mod} (np \multimap np)$

[illegible]

# Why ILL<sub>o,◇,□</sub>?

## Why ILL<sub>o</sub>?

- ▶ Easier to extract from corpora
- ▶ Massive reduction in lexical ambiguity (more later)
- ▶ Abstract away from trivial word-order permutations
- ▶ Surface syntax matters little to semantics

# Why ILL<sub>o,◇,□</sub>?

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## Why ◇, □?

- ▶ More interpretation options
- ▶ Subsume dependency parsing
- ▶ More informative for semantics
- ▶ Modalities can regulate non-logical parsing

# Intermezzo: Proof Nets

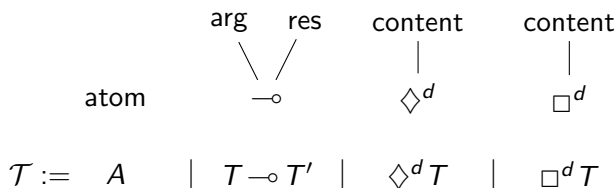
## Proof Nets

A graphical, diagrammatical representation of (intuitionistic) linear logic proofs.

# Intermezzo: Proof Nets

## Formula decomposition

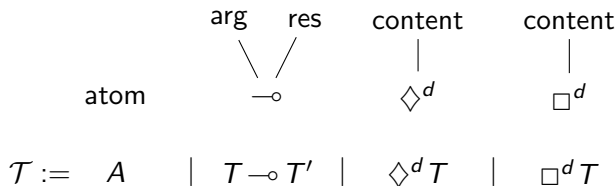
Type formation rules  $\equiv$  tree constructors



# Intermezzo: Proof Nets

## Formula decomposition

Type formation rules  $\equiv$  tree constructors



or, overloading  $\Diamond$  and  $\Box$  as binary operators for brevity

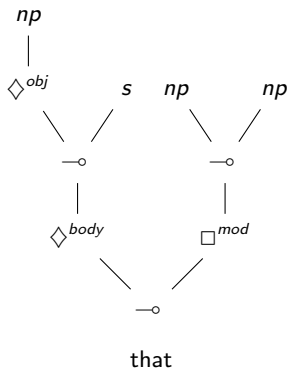


# Intermezzo: Proof Nets

## Tree Polarization

Let  $+$  stand for resources we *have*,  $-$  for ones we seek:

$- \circ$  is polarity preserving for the result, reversing for the argument

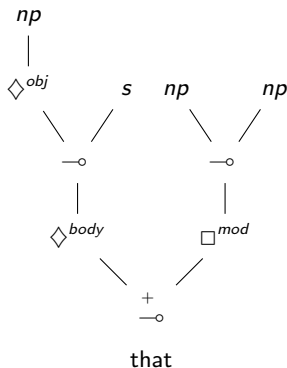


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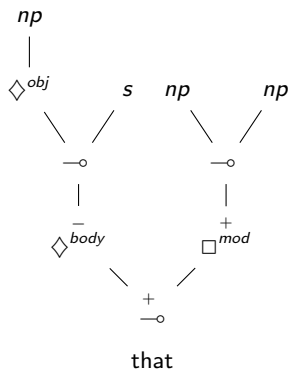


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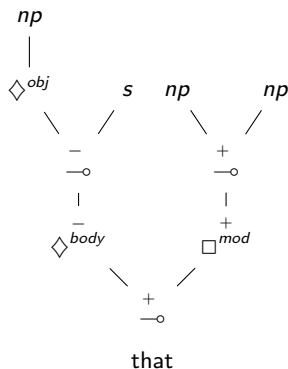


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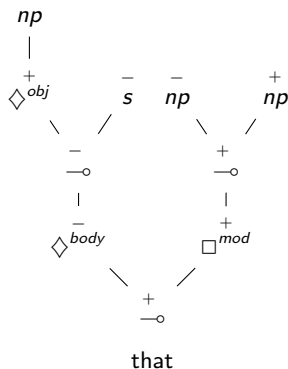


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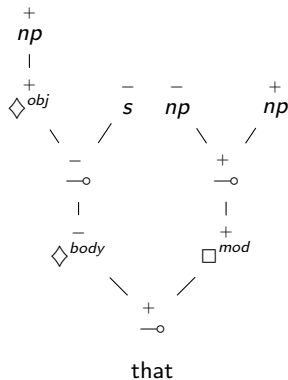


# Intermezzo: Proof Nets

## Tree Polarization

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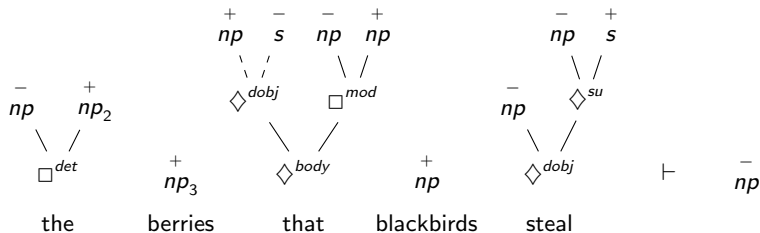
$\multimap$  is polarity preserving for the result, reversing for the argument



# Intermezzo: Proof Nets

## Proof Frame

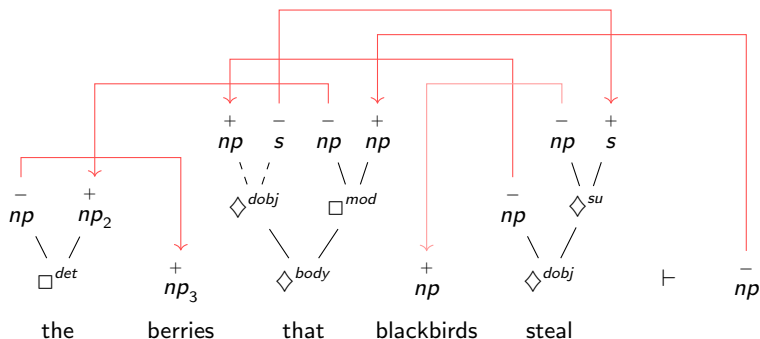
A sequence of polarized unfolded formulas



# Intermezzo: Proof Nets

## Proof Structure

A proof net together with **axiom links**: bijection between pos/neg atoms



# Intermezzo: Proof Nets

## Traversing a Proof Net

**positive (down) mode:** start from positive leaf, follow positive nodes to subtree root

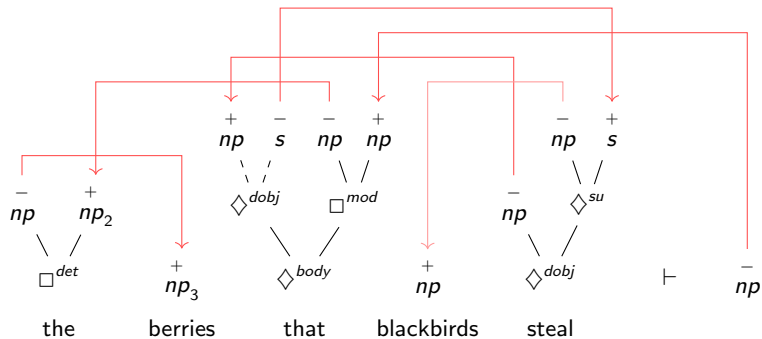
- wrap future with  $\blacktriangledown$
- ◇ wrap variable (context) with  $\nabla$
- each is an application
  - on reaching root, write word or variable name
  - and perform negative traversal on negative child of each —○

**negative (up) mode:** start from negative root, follow negatives to subtree leaf

- wrap future with  $\blacktriangle$
- ◇ wrap future with  $\triangle$
- each is an abstraction: assign a fresh variable to positive subtree
  - on reaching a leaf, cross the axiom link and switch to positive mode

start from conclusion in negative mode

# Intermezzo: Proof Nets





# From parse graphs to $ILL_{\rightarrow, \diamond, \square}$ types

algorithm: graph flooding on dags

init with maps

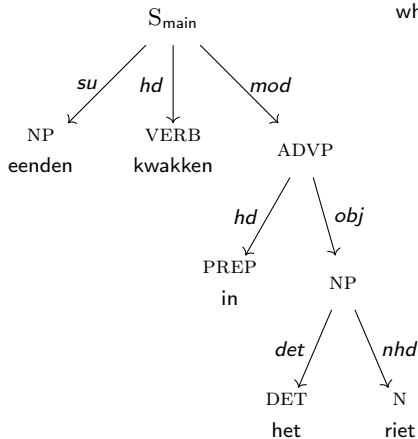
- from pos & phrasal categories to  $\mathcal{A}$   
e.g.  $NP \rightarrow np$ ,  $INF \rightarrow inf, \dots$
- from grammatical roles to  $\diamond$  (complements) and  $\square$  (adjuncts)  
e.g.  $su \rightarrow \diamond^{su}$ ,  $obj \rightarrow \diamond^{obj}$ ,  $\dots$ ,  $mod \rightarrow \square^{mod}$ ,  $det \rightarrow \square^{det}$

and a strict total order over  $\diamond$ ,

e.g.  $\diamond^{su} > \diamond^{obj}$

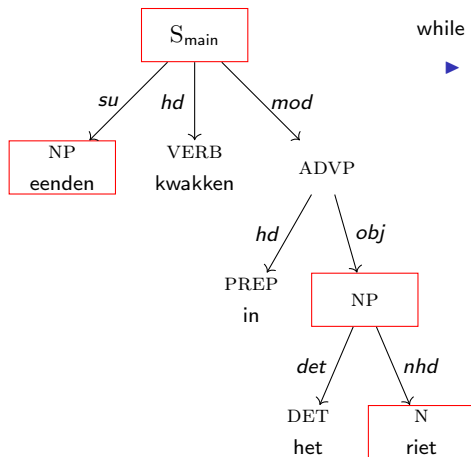
# Simple case: trees

while graph not fully typed, do:



“eenden kwakken in het riet”

# Simple case: trees

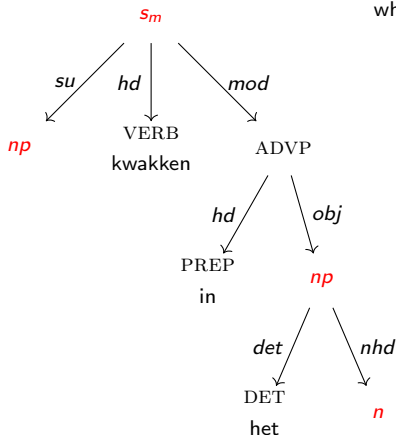


while graph not fully typed, do:

- ▶ assign **stand-alone nodes**  
no incoming adjunct or head edge

“eenden kwakken in het riet”

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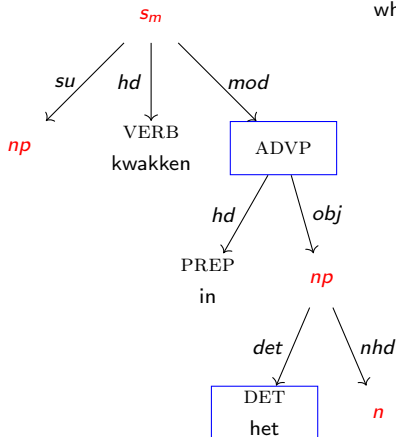


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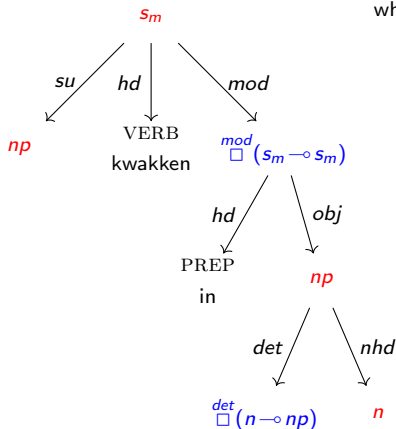


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incoming adjunct edge  
parent is typed

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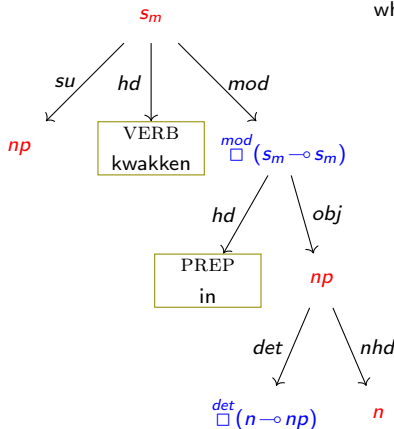


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parent is typed  
**type**  
if mod: boxed endofunctor of parent  
else: from comp sibs to parent

# Simple case: trees

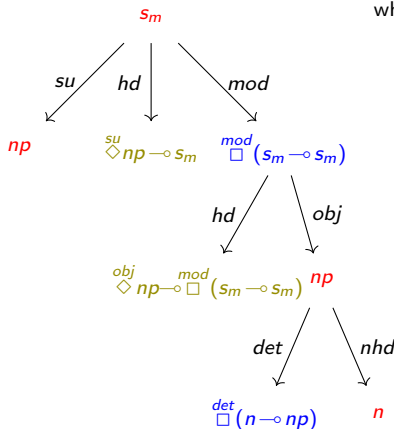


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- ▶ assign **heads**  
incoming head edge  
parent is typed  
no untyped complement sibs

“eenden kwakken in het riet”

# Simple case: trees



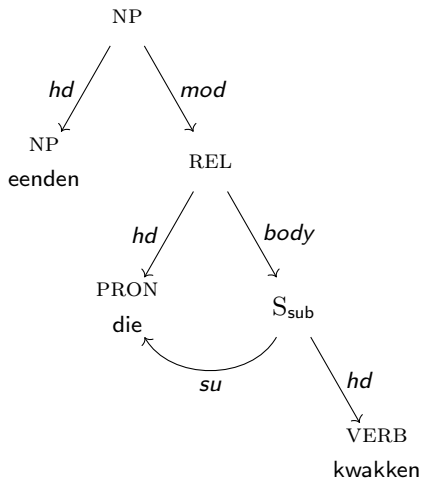
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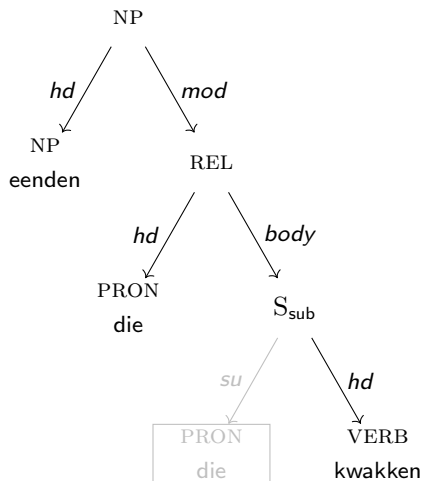


# Harder case: unbounded dependencies



"eenden die kwakken"

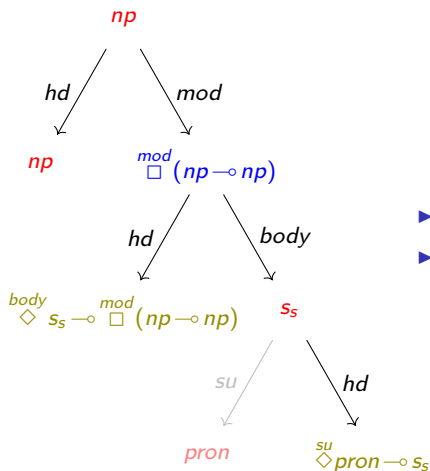
# Harder case: unbounded dependencies



► detach non-local dependencies

“eenden die kwakken”

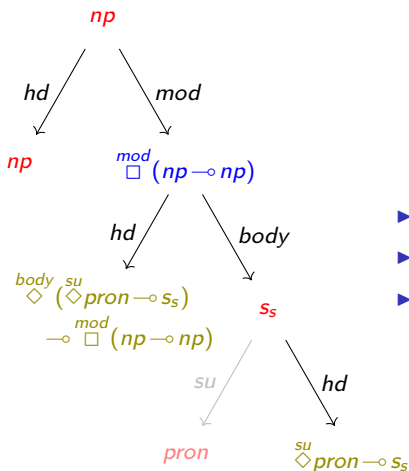
## Harder case: unbounded dependencies



- ▶ detach non-local dependencies
- ▶ type trees as before

“eenden die kwakken”

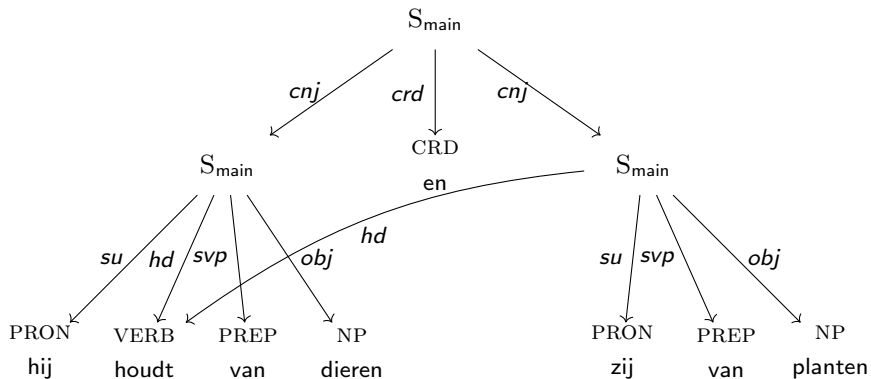
# Harder case: unbounded dependencies



- ▶ detach non-local dependencies
- ▶ type trees as before
- ▶ redact ghosts types from comp sibs

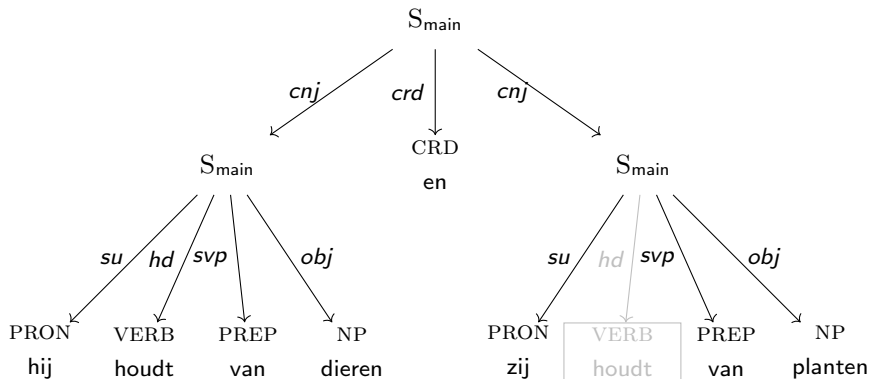
“eenden die kwakken”

# Hardest case: Ellipses



"hij houdt van dieren en zij van planten"

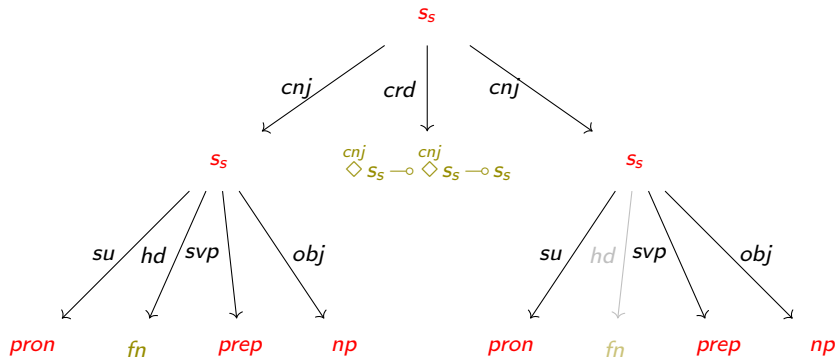
# Hardest case: Ellipses



"hij houdt van dieren en zij van planten"

- detach and type trees as usual

# Hardest case: Ellipses

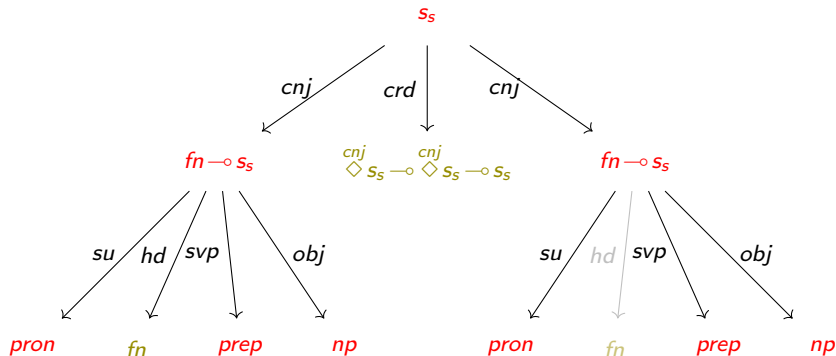


“hij houdt van dieren en zij van planten”

- detach and type trees as usual

$$fn := \overset{svp}{\diamond} prep \rightarrow \overset{obj}{\diamond} np \rightarrow \overset{su}{\diamond} pron \rightarrow S_S$$

# Hardest case: Ellipses



"hij houdt van dieren en zij van planten"

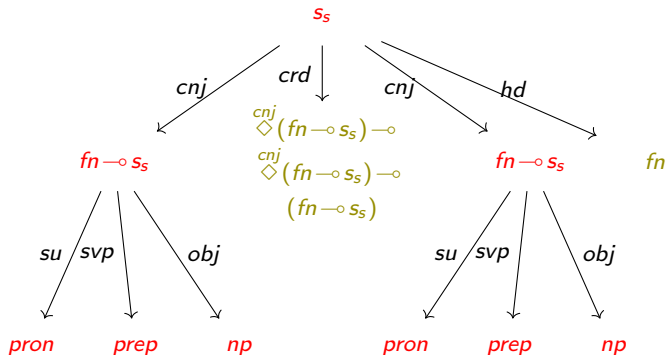
- ▶ detach and type trees as usual
- ▶ redact missing types from **both** conjuncts

$$fn := \diamond^{svp} prep \rightarrow \diamond^{obj} np \rightarrow \diamond^{su} pron \rightarrow S_S$$



- ▶ each conjunct represents a tuple of types  
 $c = (t_1, t_2, \dots, t_n) \equiv t_1 \otimes t_2 \otimes \dots \otimes t_n$
- ▶ encoded as the higher-order function  $(c \multimap r) \multimap r$  and curried into  
 $(t_1 \multimap t_2 \multimap \dots \multimap t_n \multimap r) \multimap r$

# Hardest case: Ellipses



“hij houdt van dieren en zij van planten”

- ▶ detach and type trees as usual
- ▶ redact missing types from **both** conjuncts
- ▶ update coord type & attach copies at top level

$$fn := \overset{svp}{\Diamond} prep \rightarrow \overset{obj}{\Diamond} np \rightarrow \overset{su}{\Diamond} pron \rightarrow S_S$$

# A glimpse at a higher universe

Second-order IL (system  $F$  or polymorphic  $\lambda$ -calculus)

$$\frac{\Gamma \vdash M : \forall \alpha. \sigma}{\Gamma \vdash M\tau : \sigma[\tau/\alpha]}$$

$$\frac{\Gamma \vdash M : \sigma}{\Gamma \vdash \Lambda \alpha. M : \forall \alpha. \sigma}$$

# A glimpse at a higher universe

Second-order IL (system  $F$  or polymorphic  $\lambda$ -calculus)

$$\frac{\Gamma \vdash M : \forall \alpha. \sigma}{\Gamma \vdash M\tau : \sigma[\tau/\alpha]} \qquad \frac{\Gamma \vdash M : \sigma}{\Gamma \vdash \Lambda \alpha. M : \forall \alpha. \sigma}$$

In that universe, modifiers and coordinators are polymorphic types:

$$\text{mod} := \Lambda \alpha. \mathbf{w} : \forall \alpha. \square^{mod} (\alpha \multimap \alpha)$$

and

$$\text{crd} := \Lambda \alpha. \mathbf{w} : \forall \alpha. \diamond^{cnj} \alpha \multimap \diamond^{cnj} \alpha \multimap \alpha$$

# Coordinators as derived types

Elliptical coordinators can also be seen as a transformation of basic types.

If  $c = (t_1 \otimes t_2 \otimes \dots \otimes t_N)$  the conjoined tuples,

$$crd = c \multimap c \multimap c$$

$$\xrightarrow{vr} c \multimap c \multimap (c \multimap s) \multimap s$$

$$\xrightarrow{ar^0} ((c \multimap s) \multimap s) \multimap c \multimap (c \multimap s) \multimap s$$

$$\xrightarrow{ar^1} ((c \multimap s) \multimap s) \multimap ((c \multimap s) \multimap s) \multimap (c \multimap s) \multimap s$$

$$\equiv ((t_1 \multimap t_2 \multimap \dots \multimap t_n \multimap s) \multimap s) \multimap \\ ((t_1 \multimap t_2 \multimap \dots \multimap t_n \multimap s) \multimap s) \multimap \\ (t_1 \multimap t_2 \multimap \dots \multimap t_n \multimap s) \multimap s$$

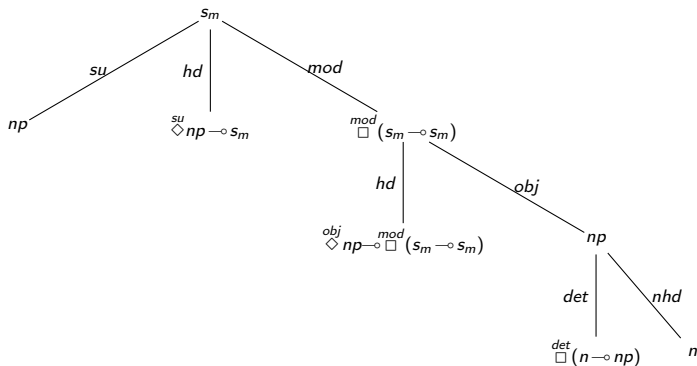
$$\diamond^{cnj} S_{main} \multimap \diamond^{cnj} S_{main} \multimap S_{main}$$

$$\xrightarrow{vr^*} \diamond^{cnj} S_{main} \multimap \diamond^{cnj} S_{main} \multimap fn \multimap S_{main}$$

$$\xrightarrow{ar^1} \diamond^{cnj} (fn \multimap S_{main}) \multimap \diamond^{cnj} S_{main} \multimap fn \multimap S_{main}$$

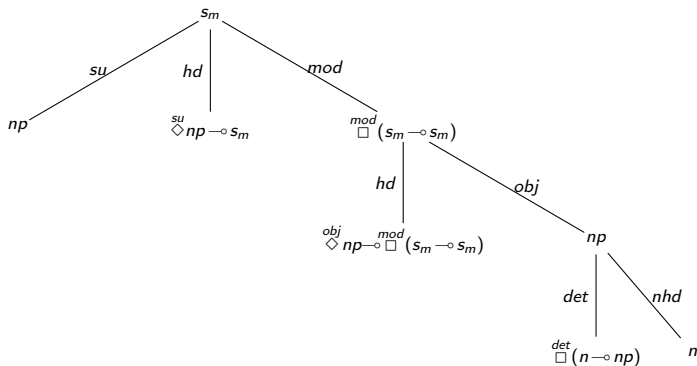
$$\xrightarrow{ar^2} \diamond^{cnj} (fn \multimap S_{main}) \multimap \diamond^{cnj} (fn \multimap S_{main}) \multimap fn \multimap S_{main}$$

# From graphs to proofs



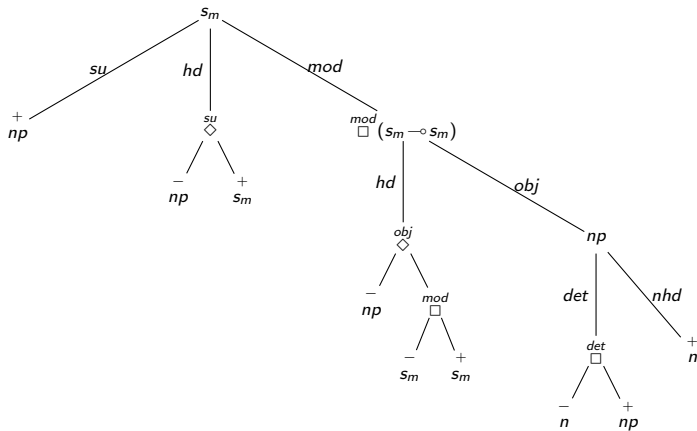
given a typed graph:

# From graphs to proofs



(1) convert types to binary trees and assign polarities

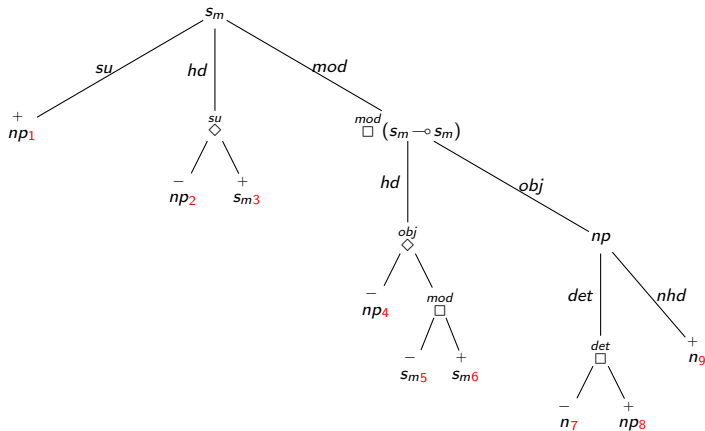
# From graphs to proofs



(2) assign identifying indices



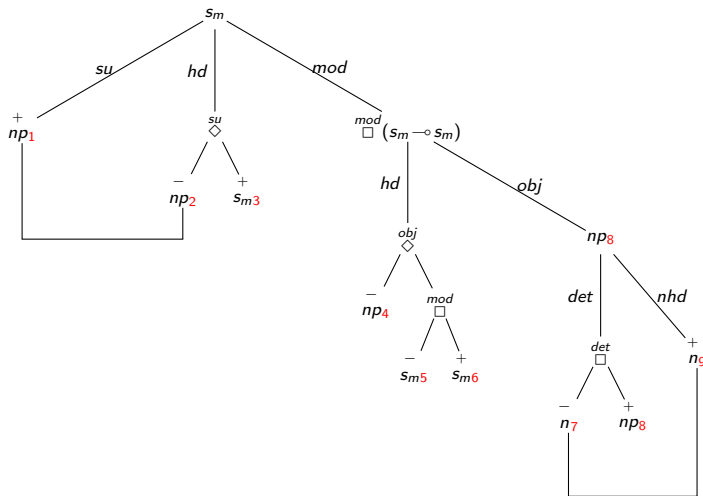
# From graphs to proofs



(3) traverse upwards, identifying pos/neg atoms and propagating indices

$$\{2 \mapsto ?, 4 \mapsto ?, 5 \mapsto ?, 7 \mapsto ?\}$$

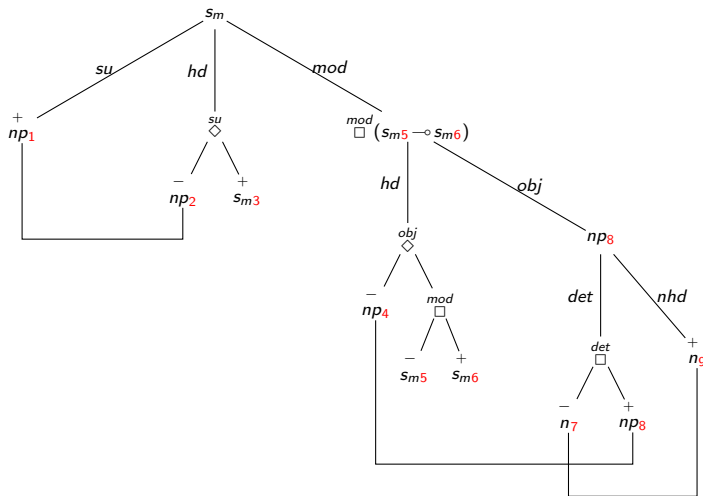
# From graphs to proofs



(3) traverse upwards, identifying pos/neg atoms and propagating indices

$\{2 \mapsto 1, 4 \mapsto ?, 5 \mapsto ?, 7 \mapsto 9\}$

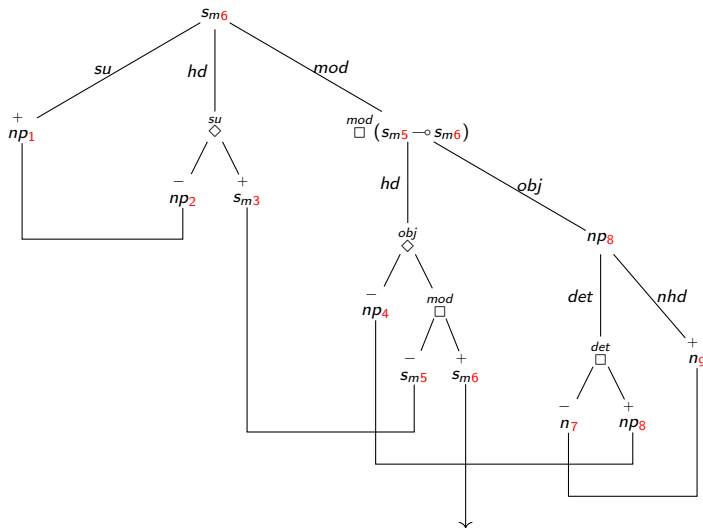
# From graphs to proofs



(3) traverse upwards, identifying pos/neg atoms and propagating indices

$\{2 \mapsto 1, 4 \mapsto 8, 5 \mapsto ?, 7 \mapsto 9\}$

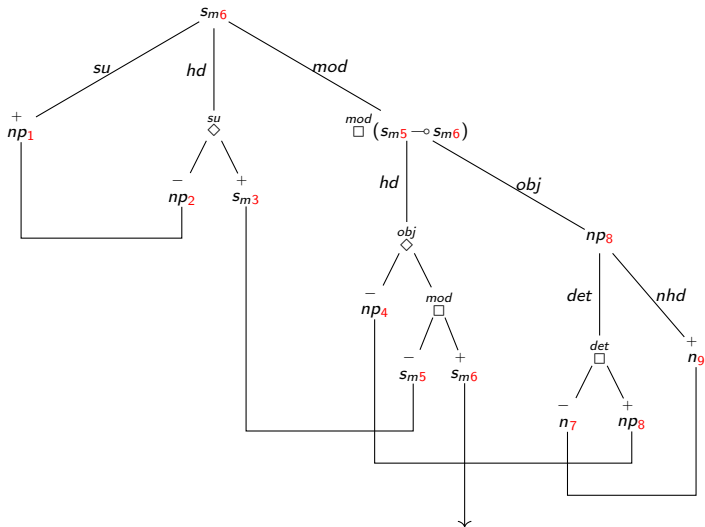
# From graphs to proofs



(3) traverse upwards, identifying pos/neg atoms and propagating indices

$\{2 \mapsto 1, 4 \mapsto 8, 5 \mapsto 3, 7 \mapsto 9\}$

# From graphs to proofs



the resulting structure is a *proof net*

$$\nabla^{mod} \left( in \triangle^{obj} \left( \nabla^{det} het \ riet \right) \right) \quad (kwakken \triangle^{su} eenden)$$

# ..continuing

The agenda:

- λ Choosing the logic
- λ Making a dataset: proofs and lexical type assignments
- λ Learning the type assignment process
- λ Navigating the proof space
- λ Syntax-aware & type-correct text representations

# Lexical type ambiguity

Type assignments are often *ambiguous* and context-dependent:

very realistic lexicon		
running ::	$\overset{mod}{\square} (np \multimap np)$ $\quad \quad \quad \inf$	<i>running dog</i> <i>I like running</i>
like ::	$\overset{obj}{\diamond} np \multimap \overset{su}{\diamond} np \multimap s_m$ $\overset{obj}{\diamond} np \multimap \overset{su}{\diamond} pron \multimap s_m$ $\overset{obj}{\diamond} inf \multimap \overset{su}{\diamond} np \multimap s_m$ $\overset{obj}{\diamond} inf \multimap \overset{su}{\diamond} pron \multimap s_m$ $\overset{obj}{\diamond} np \multimap \overset{mod}{\square} (s_m \multimap s_m)$ $\quad \quad \quad \dots$	<i>ducks like seeds</i> <i>I like ducks</i> <i>ducks like swimming</i> <i>I like swimming</i> <i>I swim like a duck</i>

# Lexical type ambiguity

generally:

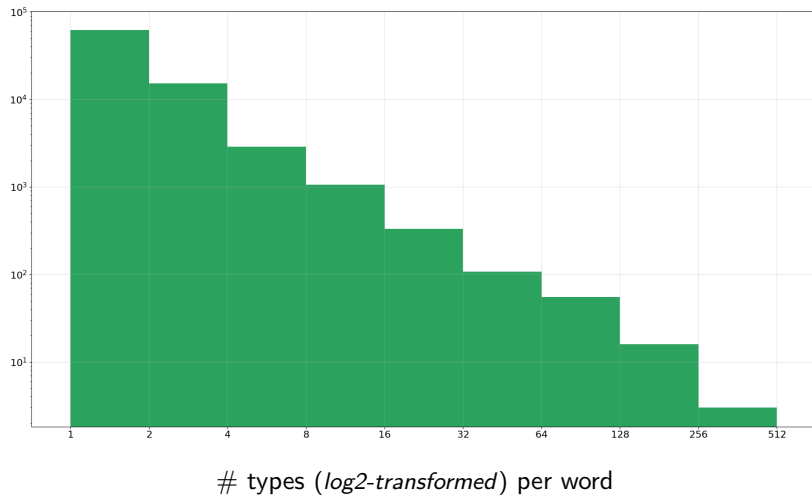
$$w :: t_1 \& t_2 \& t_3 \& \dots \& t_n$$

more refined grammar  $\implies$

- ☹ harder lexical disambiguation (more  $n$  per word)
- ☺ easier parsing (*if* one starts from correct type)



# Lexical type ambiguity



# Supertagging

## General idea

Given a sentence  $w_1, w_2, \dots, w_n$

find the type sequence  $t_1, t_2, \dots, t_n$  that maximizes

$$p(t_1, t_2, \dots, t_n | w_1, w_2, \dots, w_n, \theta)$$

where  $\theta$  the trainable parameter space

## Independence Assumption

$$\max(p(t_1, t_2, \dots t_n | w_1, w_2, \dots w_n, \theta)) \approx \prod_{i=1}^n \max(p(t_i, w_i, \theta))$$

Implemented as naive bayes/maximum entropy models, later using feed-forward networks on distributional vectors

- ☹ Beats hand-writing a lexicon
- ☹ Small (if any) context/receptive field
- ☹ No domain generalization
- ☹ Severe sample sparsity when using windows

# Discriminative approach

## Markov assumption

$$p(t_1, t_2, \dots t_n | w_1, w_2, \dots w_n, \theta) \\ \approx \prod_{i=1}^n p(t_i | w_1, w_2, \dots w_n, \theta)$$

Implemented as contextualized token classification using RNNs

- ☹ global context (lossy)
- ☹ domain generalization
- ☹ single answer
- ☹ sample sparsity
- ☹ no codomain generalization (closed world assumption)

# Generative approach

## Markov assumption

$$p(t_1, t_2, \dots, t_n | w_1, w_2, \dots, w_n, \theta) \\ \approx \prod_{i=1}^n p(t_i | t_1, t_2, \dots, t_{i-1}, w_1, w_2, \dots, w_n, \theta)$$

(could be) implemented as a transducer/seq2seq model

- 😊 global context (lossless)
- 😊 many answers
- 😞 sample sparsity
- 😞 no codomain generalization

# Generative approach: one more step

The type syntax:

$$\text{cod}(\mathcal{L}) := A \mid \overset{d}{\Diamond} T \multimap T' \mid \overset{d}{\Box} (T \multimap T')$$

corresponds to a **simple cfg** (in prefix notation) with meta-rules:

$$S \rightarrow A \qquad \forall A \in \mathcal{A}$$

$$S \rightarrow \overset{d}{\Diamond} S S \qquad \forall d \in \text{comps}$$

$$S \rightarrow \overset{d}{\Box} S S \qquad \forall d \in \text{adjns}$$

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$$\begin{aligned} & p(t_1, t_2, \dots, t_n \mid w_1, w_2, \dots, w_n, \theta) \\ & \approx \prod_{i=1}^n p(\sigma_i \mid \sigma_1, \sigma_2, \dots, \sigma_{i-1}, w_1, w_2, \dots, w_n, \theta) \end{aligned}$$

- ☺ each type contains many subtypes (less sparsity)
- ☺ any valid types can be inductively constructed (open codomain)

# Supertagging today

? types are **trees** – but tree transduction requires trees decoded in isolation



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# Supertagging today

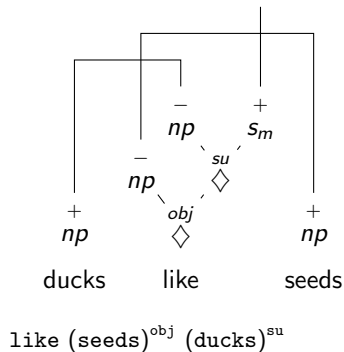
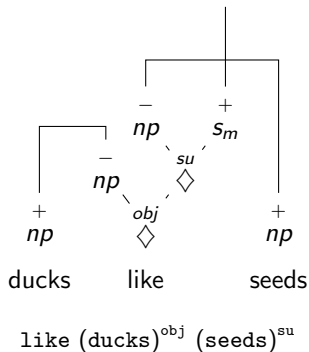
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- ? harder to train: the system has to learn a grammar within the grammar
- ? left-right decoding does not make use of *easy* types first
- ? logical constraints are not easy to integrate with neural decoding
- ! new possibilities for parsing and meaning representation

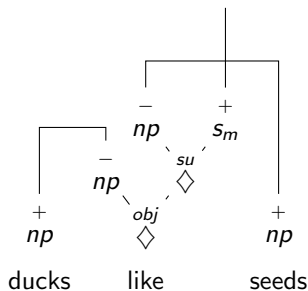
# Proof Ambiguity

The type system (being non-directional) permits too many parses:

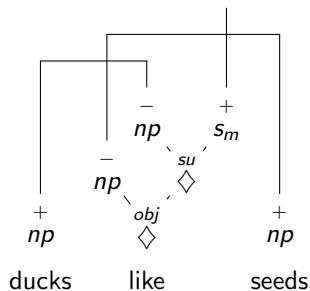


# Proof Ambiguity

The type system (being non-directional) permits too many parses:



like (ducks)<sup>obj</sup> (seeds)<sup>su</sup>



like (seeds)<sup>obj</sup> (ducks)<sup>su</sup>

How can we select the correct one?

# Neural Proof Nets

the berries that blackbirds steal

1. pass the sentence through the supertagger



# Neural Proof Nets

$\square^{det}, np, np, \#, np, \#, \diamond^{body}, \diamond^{dobj}, np, s, \square^{mod}, np, np, \#, \diamond^{dobj}, np, \diamond^{su}, np, s$

the

berries

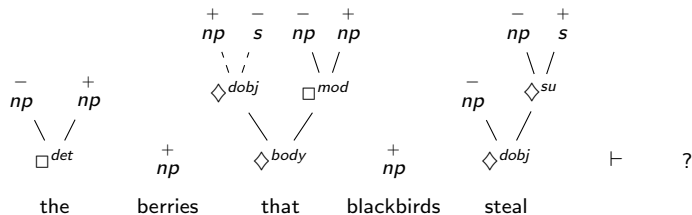
that

blackbirds

steal

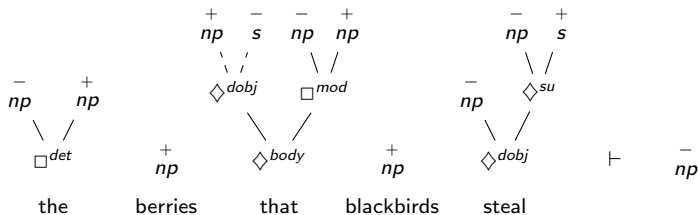
2. parse types to trees and assign polarity information

# Neural Proof Nets



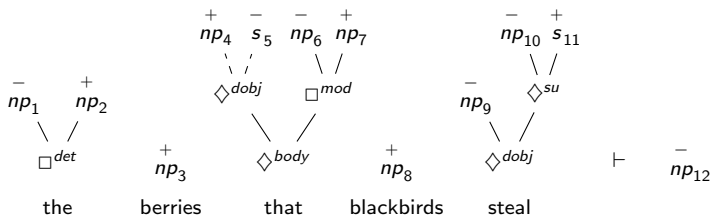
3. find conclusion as the singleton  $\mathcal{A}^+ - \mathcal{A}^-$

# Neural Proof Nets



4. index pos/neg occurrences and arrange in a table

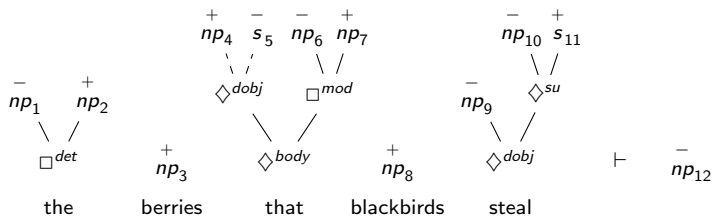
# Neural Proof Nets



5. fill table with pair-wise agreement scores

	2	3	4	7	8
1					
6					
np 9					
10					
12					

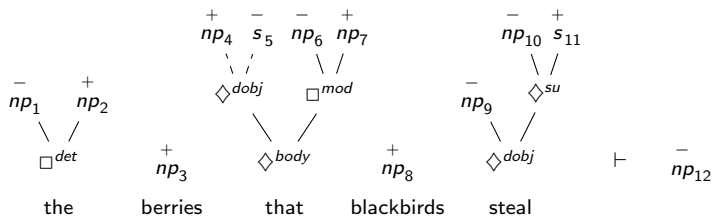
# Neural Proof Nets



6. discretize result with Sinkhorn

	2	3	4	7	8
1					
6					
np 9					
10					
12					

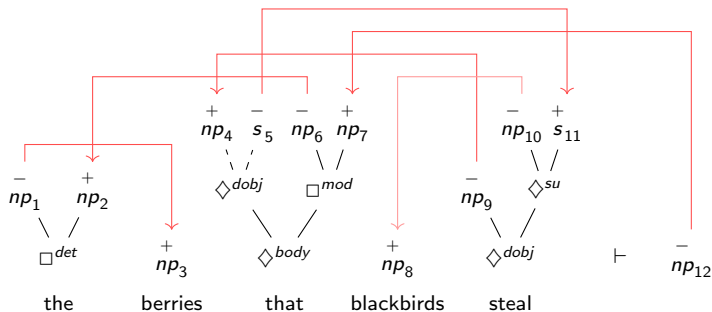
# Neural Proof Nets



7. train against ground-truth axiom links

	2	3	4	7	8
1					
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np 9					
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# Neural Proof Nets



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# The future

- λ Choosing the logic
- λ Making a dataset: proofs and lexical type assignments
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# The future

- λ Choosing the logic
- λ Making a dataset: proofs and lexical type assignments
- λ Learning the type assignment process
- λ Navigating the proof space
- λ Syntax-aware & type-correct text representations
  - meaning representation from proofs: graph traversal/encoding
  - types as recipes/functions on word embeddings, pure interpretations of the system
  - ...
  - [your project/internship/thesis idea here]

diy: [github.com/konstantinosKokos/neural-proof-nets](https://github.com/konstantinosKokos/neural-proof-nets)