

# Universal Semantic Parsing

Siva Reddy  
Stanford University



Oscar Täckström



Slav Petrov



Mark Steedman



Mirella Lapata

Google and University of Edinburgh

# Dependency Trees help Semantics

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

# Dependency Trees help Semantics

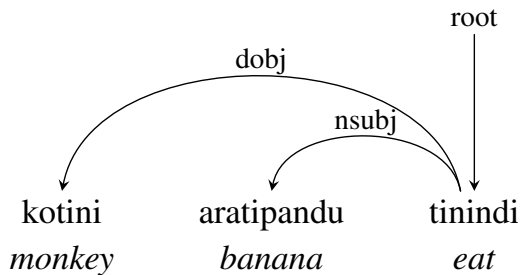
kotini  
*monkey*

aratipandu  
*banana*

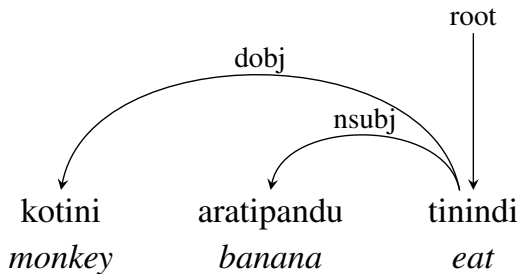
tinindi  
*eat*



# Dependency Trees help Semantics



# Dependency Trees help Semantics



# Universal Dependencies

Common syntactic representation in 50+ languages

Manning laws:

- ▶ Satisfactory linguistic analysis
- ▶ Easy to comprehend (e.g., 40 labels)
- ▶ Rapid and consistent annotations
- ▶ High accuracy parsing [Dozat et al. 2017]

# Dependency Tree to Semantics



Dependencies **lack** a formal theory of semantics

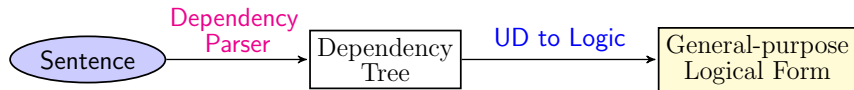
# Universal Semantic Parsing: Language-agnostic conversion of Universal Dependencies to Logical Forms



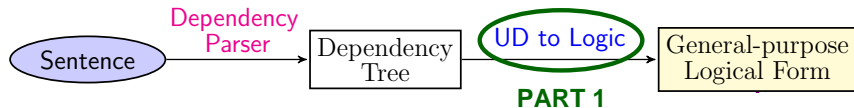
# This Talk



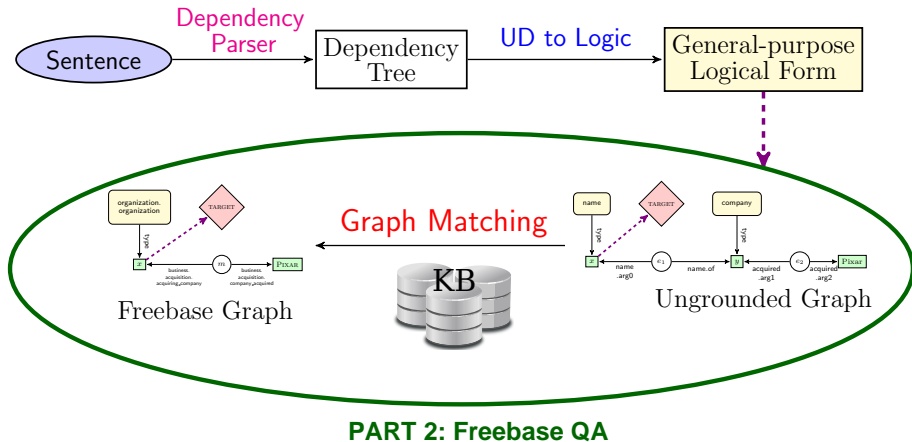
# This Talk



# This Talk



# This Talk



# This Talk: Contributions

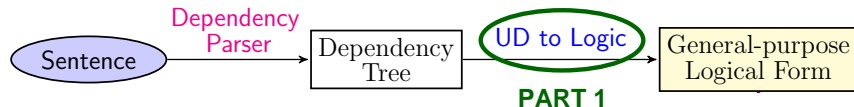
Universal Dependencies to **general-purpose** logical forms

A general solution that also works for **Dependency Graphs**

Multilingual evaluation of logical forms on **Freebase QA**

WebQuestions and GraphQuestions QA datasets in  
**German** and **Spanish**

# Part 1: Universal Semantic Parsing



# Dependency Tree to Semantics

**Principle of Compositionality:** the semantics of a complex expression is determined by the semantics of its constituent expressions and the rules used to combine them

# Dependency Tree to Semantics

**Principle of Compositionality:** the semantics of a **complex expression** is determined by the semantics of its constituent expressions and the rules used to combine them

**Complex expression** is the dependency tree



# Dependency Tree to Semantics

**Principle of Compositionality:** the semantics of a **complex expression** is determined by the semantics of its **constituent expressions** and the rules used to combine them

**Complex expression** is the dependency tree

**Constituent expressions** are subtrees

# Dependency Tree to Semantics

**Principle of Compositionality:** the semantics of a **complex expression** is determined by the semantics of its **constituent expressions** and the **rules** used to combine them

**Complex expression** is the dependency tree

**Constituent expressions** are subtrees

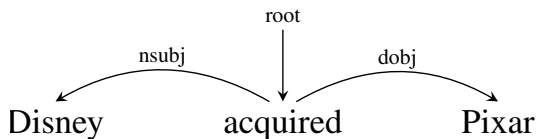
**Rules** are the dependency labels

# Universal Semantic Parsing: Objectives

Logical form must be built

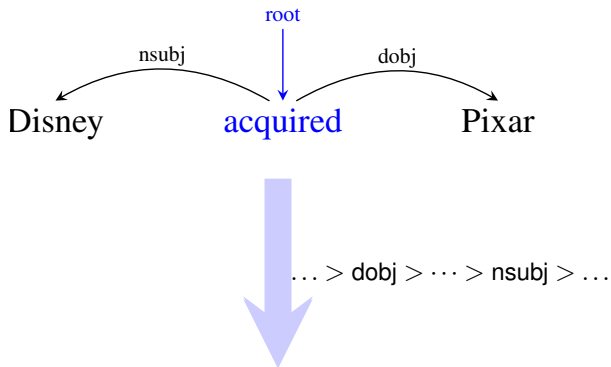
1. **compositionally** from the dependency tree
2. in a **language-agnostic** manner
  - ▶ Dependency labels and postags dictate the semantics, **not** the words

# Compositional

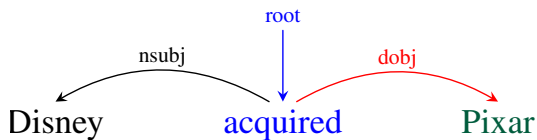


$$\lambda z. \exists xy. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \wedge \text{Disney}(x_a) \wedge \\ \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)$$

# Compositional



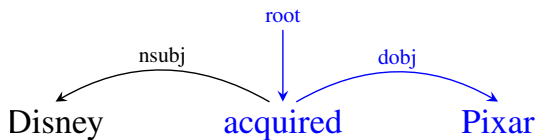
# Compositional



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

(dobj acquired Pixar)

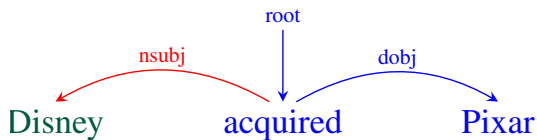
# Compositional



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

(dobj acquired Pixar)

# Compositional

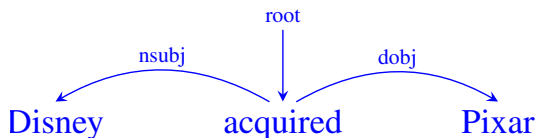


... > dobj > ... > nsubj > ...

(nsubj (dobj acquired Pixar) Disney)



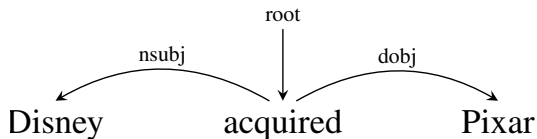
# Compositional



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

(nsubj (dobj acquired Pixar) Disney)

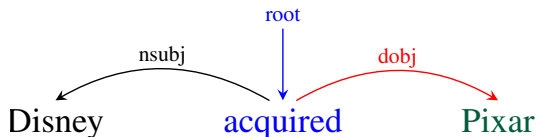
# Compositional



(nsubj (dobj acquired Pixar) Disney)

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

# Language-agnostic Conversion

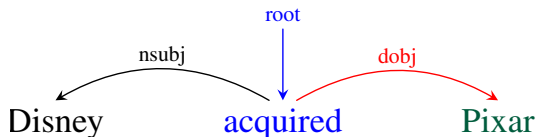


## Lambda Expression for words

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

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

# Language-agnostic Conversion

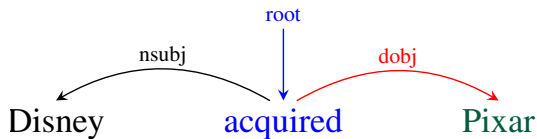


## Lambda Expression for words

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

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

# Language-agnostic Conversion

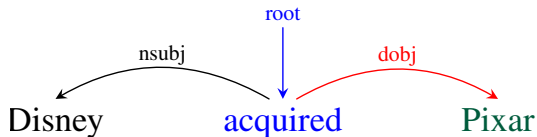


Lambda Expression for dependency labels

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

# Dependencies to Logical Forms

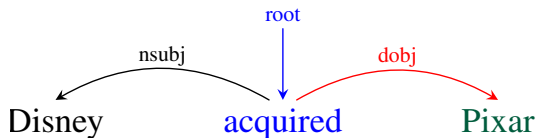
## Composition



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

# Dependencies to Logical Forms

## Composition



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

---

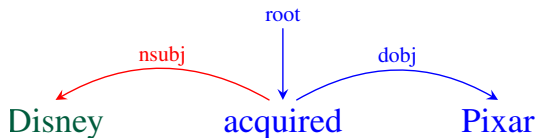

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \lambda g \lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge g(y) \\
 \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)
 \end{array}$$

---


$$\begin{array}{c}
 \lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \\
 \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)
 \end{array}$$

# Dependencies to Logical Forms

## Composition

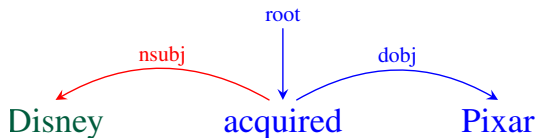


$$\begin{array}{c}
 (\text{nsubj} \quad (\text{dobj} \quad \text{acquired} \quad \text{Pixar}) \quad \text{Disney}) \\
 \lambda f \lambda g \lambda z. \exists x. \quad \frac{f(z) \wedge g(x) \wedge \arg_1(z_e, x_a)}{\lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a) \wedge \arg_2(z_e,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



# Dependencies to Logical Forms

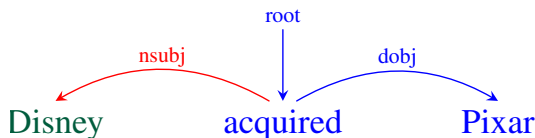
## Composition



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

# Dependencies to Logical Forms

## Composition

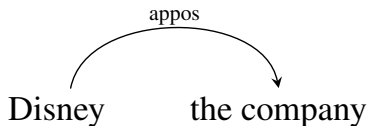


(nsubj (dobj acquired Pixar) Disney)

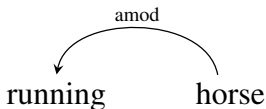
---

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

# Dependencies to Logical Forms



$$\begin{aligned} \textit{appos} = \\ \lambda f \lambda g \lambda x. f(x) \wedge g(x) \end{aligned}$$



$$\begin{aligned} \textit{amod} = \\ \lambda f \lambda g \lambda x. \exists z. f(x) \wedge g(z) \wedge \\ \textit{amod}^i(z_e, x_a) \end{aligned}$$

## UD labels are insufficient in few cases

UD may conflate different semantic phenomenon

- ▶ DET could mean a determiner or a question word  
e.g., *what* vs *the*

## UD labels are insufficient in few cases

UD may conflate different semantic phenomenon

- ▶ DET could mean a determiner or a question word  
e.g., *what* vs *the*

UD does not have long-distance dependencies

e.g., in control constructions

## UD labels are insufficient in few cases

UD may conflate different semantic phenomenon

- ▶ DET could mean a determiner or a question word  
e.g., *what* vs *the*

UD does not have long-distance dependencies

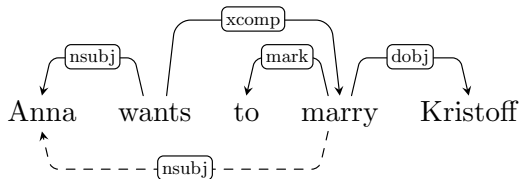
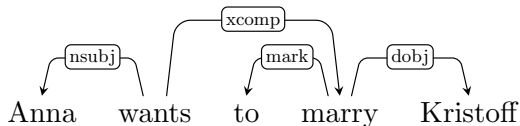
e.g., in control constructions

**Solution:** **Enhancement step**, a lightweight preprocessing

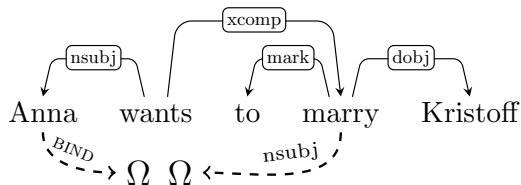
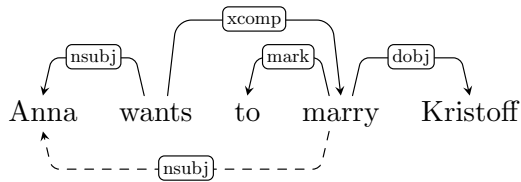
[Schuster and Manning 2016]

# Enhancement Step

Question Words, Long-distance, Language-specific labels, Quantifiers

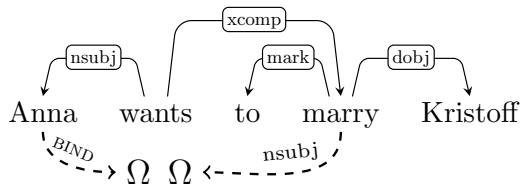


# Dependency Graphs to Logical Forms





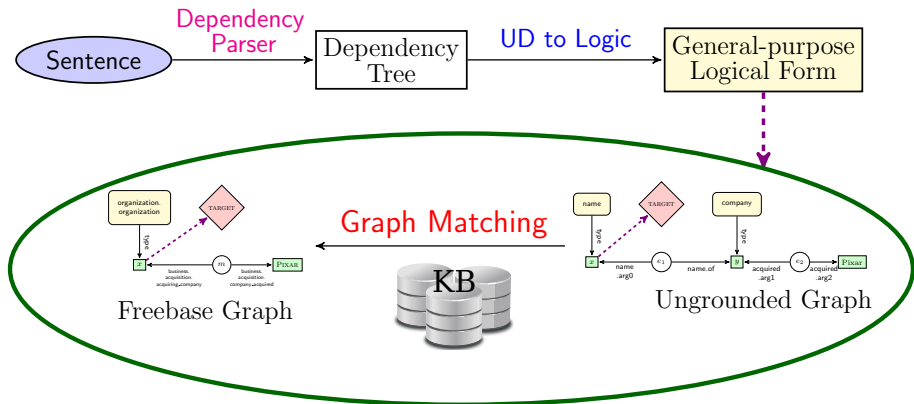
# Dependency Graphs to Logical Forms



## Lambda Expressions

BIND	=	$\lambda f \lambda g \lambda x. f(x) \wedge g(x)$
xcomp	=	$\lambda f g x. \exists y. f(x) \wedge g(y) \wedge \text{xcomp}(x_e, y_e)$
$\Omega$	=	$\lambda x. \text{EQ}(x, \omega)$

## Part 2: Question Answering



### PART 2: Freebase QA

# Knowledge-base Question Answering

[Zelle and Mooney 1996, Berant et al. 2013, Kwiatkowski et al. 2013]

## Question


Which company acquired Pixar?

## Answer

{The Walt Disney Company}

### Pixar






Computer animation company



**Acquisition date:** 2006

**Parent organizations:** [The Walt Disney Company](#), [THX](#), [Walt Disney Studios](#)

**Films produced** View 45+ more

 <p><b>Cars</b> 2006</p>	 <p><b>Toy Story</b> 1995</p>	 <p><b>Inside Out</b> 2015</p>	 <p><b>Finding Dory</b> 2016</p>	 <p><b>Piper</b> 2016</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

# Knowledge-base Question Answering

[Zelle and Mooney 1996, Berant et al. 2013, Kwiatkowski et al. 2013]

## Question

Which company acquired Pixar?

## Grounded Logical Form

$\lambda x. \exists e. \text{organization}(x) \wedge$   
 $\text{acquisition}(e) \wedge$   
 $\text{acquiring\_company}(e, x) \wedge$   
 $\text{company\_acquired}(e, \text{Pixar})$


Latent

## Answer

{The Walt Disney Company}

### Pixar

Computer animation company




**Acquisition date:** 2006


**Parent organizations:** [The Walt Disney Company](#), [THX](#), [Walt Disney Studios](#)

#### Films produced


[View 45+ more](#)




Cars  
2006




Toy Story  
1995



Inside Out  
2015



Finding Dory  
2016



Piper  
2016

## Freebase QA as Graph Matching [Reddy et al. 2014, 2016]

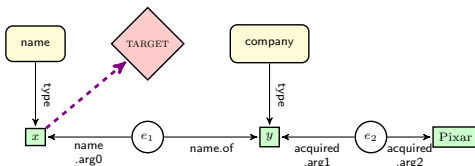
*What is the name of the company that acquired Pixar?*

$$\begin{aligned} \lambda x. \exists e_1 e_2 y. & \text{name}(x) \wedge \text{name.arg}_0(e_1, x) \wedge \text{name.of}(e_1, y) \\ & \wedge \text{company}(y) \wedge \text{acquired.arg}_1(e_2, y) \wedge \\ & \text{acquired.arg}_2(e_2, \text{Pixar}) \end{aligned}$$

# Freebase QA as Graph Matching [Reddy et al. 2014, 2016]

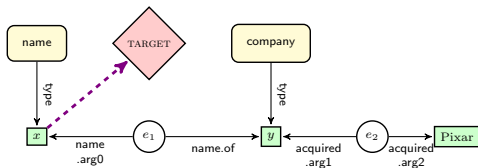
*What is the name of the company that acquired Pixar?*

$$\lambda x. \exists e_1 e_2 y. \text{name}(x) \wedge \text{name.arg}_0(e_1, x) \wedge \text{name.of}(e_1, y) \\ \wedge \text{company}(y) \wedge \text{acquired.arg}_1(e_2, y) \wedge \\ \text{acquired.arg}_2(e_2, \text{Pixar})$$

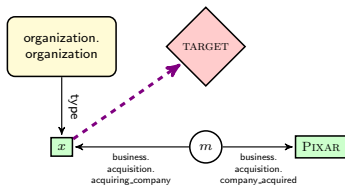


Ungrounded Graph

# Freebase QA as Graph Matching [Reddy et al. 2014, 2016]

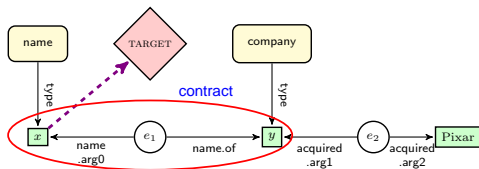


Ungrounded Graph

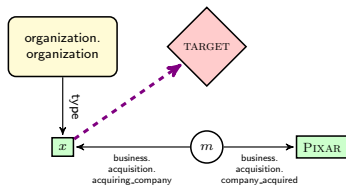


Freebase Graph

# Freebase QA as Graph Matching [Reddy et al. 2014, 2016]



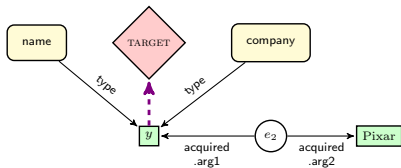
Ungrounded Graph



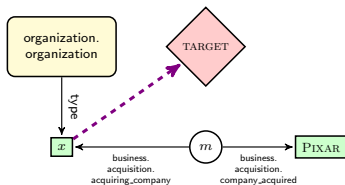
Freebase Graph



# Freebase QA as Graph Matching [Reddy et al. 2014, 2016]

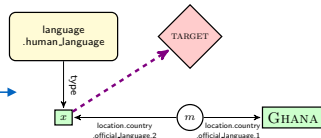
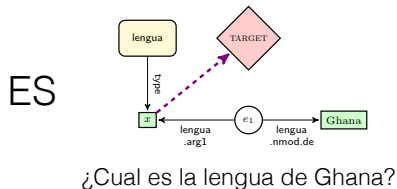
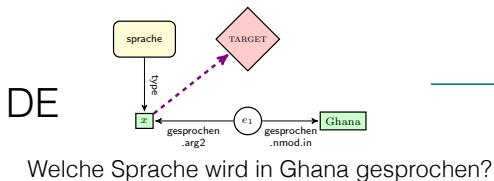
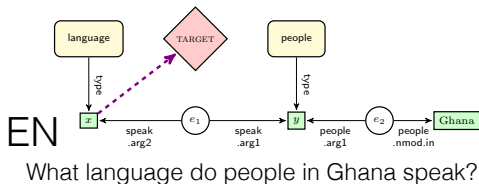


Ungrounded Graph



Freebase Graph

# Multilingual Freebase QA



Freebase Graph

# Experimental Setup

69 lambda calculus rules

BiLSTM Parser [Kipperwiser and Goldberg 2016]

# Multilingual WebQuestions and GraphQuestions

---

## WebQuestions

---

en What language do the people in Ghana speak?  
de Welche Sprache wird in Ghana gesprochen?  
es ¿Cuál es la lengua de Ghana?

---

## GraphQuestions

---

en NASA has how many launch sites?  
de Wie viele Abschussbasen besitzt NASA?  
es ¿Cuántos sitios de despegue tiene NASA?

# Models

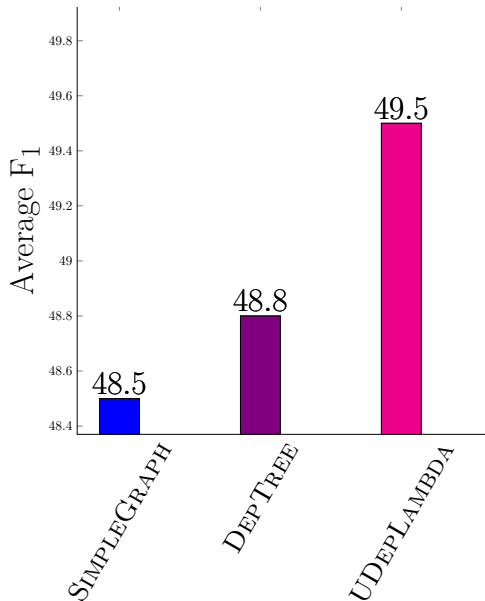
**SIMPLEGRAPH** : All entities connected to a single event  
bag of words

**DEPTREE**: Transduce a dependency tree to target graph

**UDEPLAMBDA**: Logical forms from Universal Dependencies

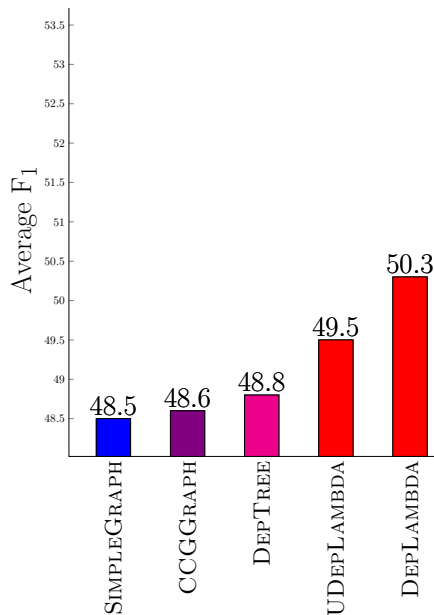
# Results on Multilingual WebQuestions

English



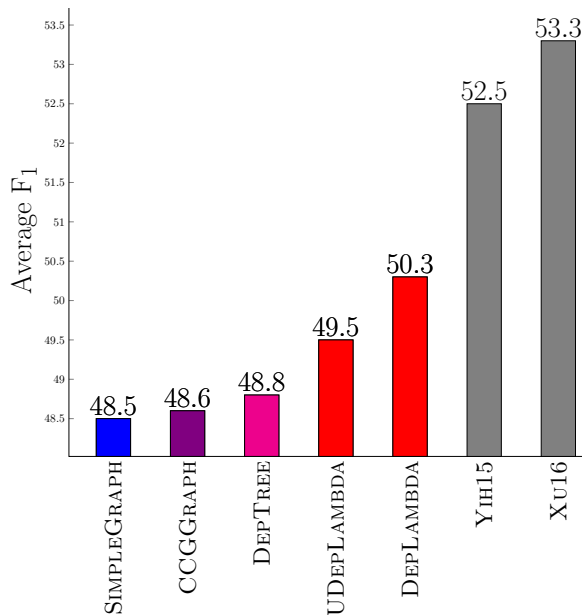
# Results on Multilingual WebQuestions

English



# Results on Multilingual WebQuestions

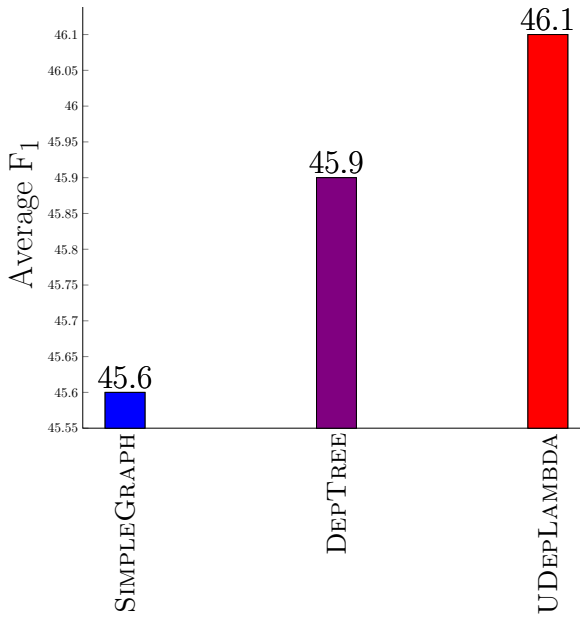
English





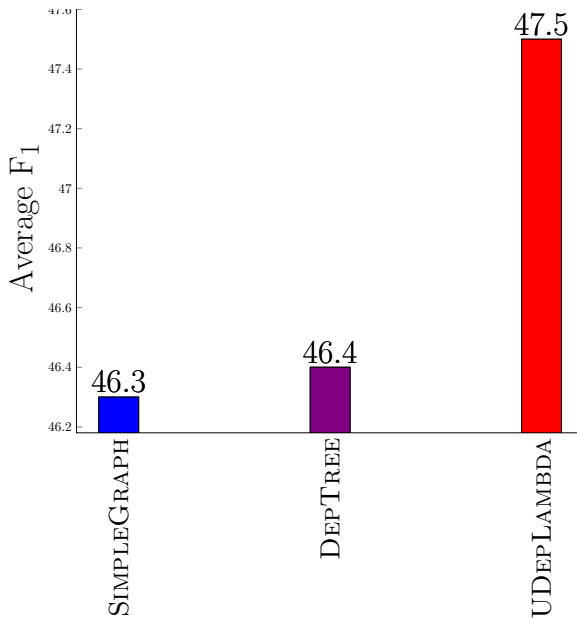
# Results on Multilingual WebQuestions

German



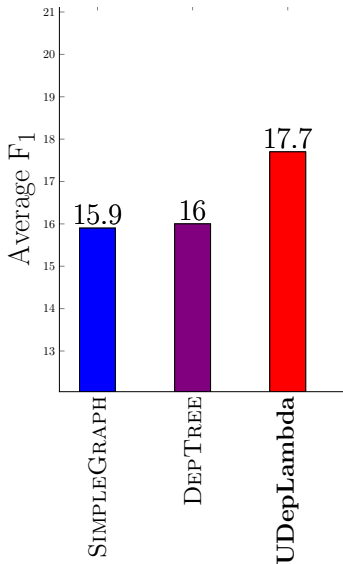
# Results on Multilingual WebQuestions

Spanish



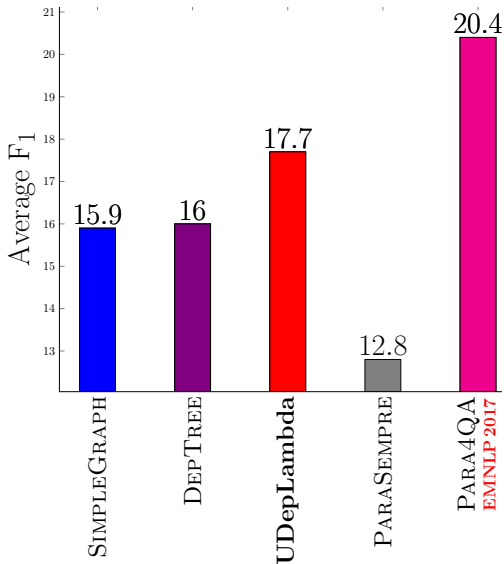
# Results on Multilingual GraphQuestions

English



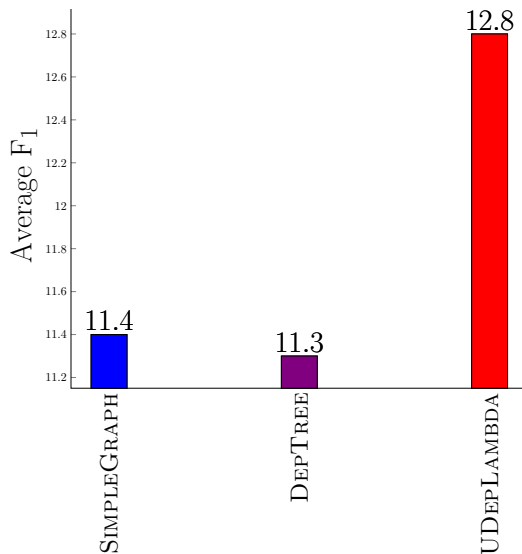
# Results on Multilingual GraphQuestions

English



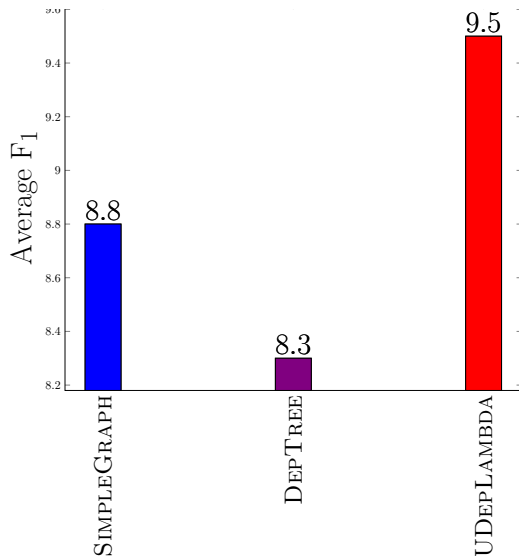
# Results on Multilingual GraphQuestions

Spanish



# Results on Multilingual GraphQuestions

German



# Error Analysis / Limitations

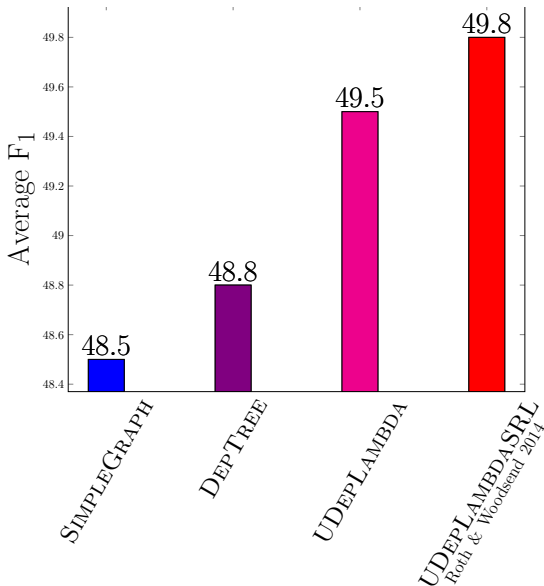
Context-sensitive semantics of dependency labels, e.g., *nsubj* is **not** always agent ( $\text{arg}_1$ )

- ▶ John broke the window ✓
- ▶ The window broke ✗

**Solution:** Semantic Role labeling [Palmer et al. 2010]

# Results on Multilingual WebQuestions

English





# Summary

Language-agnostic method for converting  
Universal Dependencies to Logical forms

New Freebase evaluation datasets in German and Spanish

Ongoing Work: Richer Type System and Scoped Semantics

Code: [github.com/sivareddyg/UDepLambda](https://github.com/sivareddyg/UDepLambda)

Demo: [sivareddy.in/udeplambda.html](http://sivareddy.in/udeplambda.html)

Thank You!

# Experimental Setup

69 lambda calculus rules

BiLSTM Parser [Kipperwiser and Goldberg 2016]

- ▶ English: 81.8
- ▶ German: 74.7
- ▶ Spanish: 82.2

# Quantifiers and Negation Scope

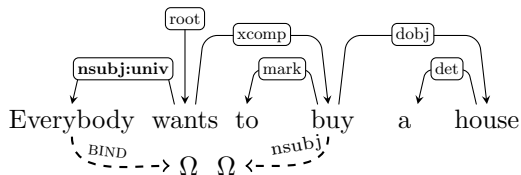
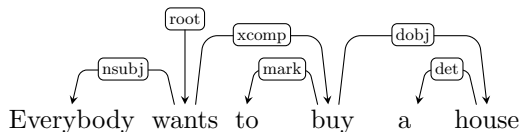
(Fancellu et al. 2017, Reddy et al. 2017)

Higher-order type system

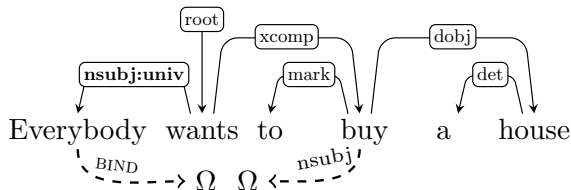
Fine-grained dependency labels

# Quantifiers and Negation Scope

Fancellu et al. 2017, Reddy et al. 2017



# Quantifiers and Negation Scope

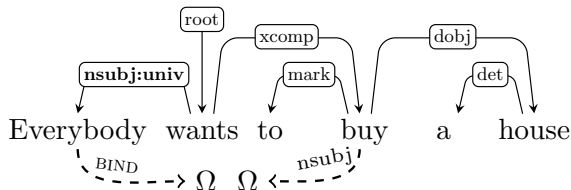


## Type System

everybody =  $\lambda x. \text{everybody}(x_a)$  [Old Type]  
=  $\lambda f. \forall x. \text{person}(x) \rightarrow f(x)$  [New Type]

wants =  $\lambda x. \text{wants}(x_e)$  [Old Type]  
=  $\lambda f. \exists x. \text{wants}(x_e) \wedge f(x)$  [New Type]

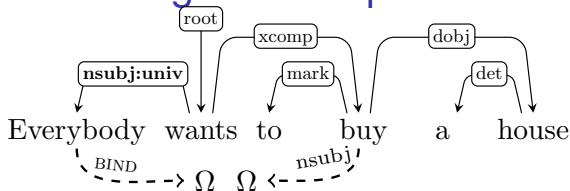
# Quantifiers and Negation Scope



## Type System

<b>nsubj</b>	$= \lambda fgx. \exists y. f(x) \wedge g(y) \wedge \text{arg}_1(x_e, y_a)$	[Old]
<b>nsubj:univ</b>	$= \lambda PQf. Q(\lambda y. P(\lambda x. f(x) \wedge \text{arg}_1(x_e, y_a)))$	[New]
<b>dobj</b>	$= \lambda fgx. \exists y. f(x) \wedge g(y) \wedge \text{arg}_2(x_e, y_a)$	[Old]
	$= \lambda PQf. P(\lambda x. f(x) \wedge Q(\lambda y. \text{arg}_2(x_e, y_a)))$	[New]

# Quantifiers and Negation Scope



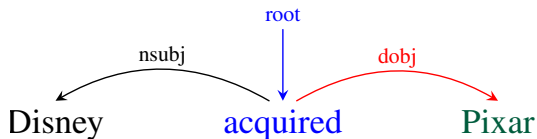
## Old Expression:

(3)  $\lambda z. \exists xyw. \text{wants}(z_e) \wedge \text{everybody}(x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{buy}(y_e) \wedge \text{xcomp}(z_e, y_e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(y_e, x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_1(x_e, y_a) \wedge \text{house}(w_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(y_e, w_a).$

## New Expression:

(6)  $\lambda f. \forall x. \text{person}(x_a) \rightarrow [\exists zyw. f(z) \wedge \text{wants}(z_e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{buy}(y_e) \wedge \text{xcomp}(z_e, y_e) \wedge \text{house}(w_a) \wedge \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, w_a)].$

# Single Type System

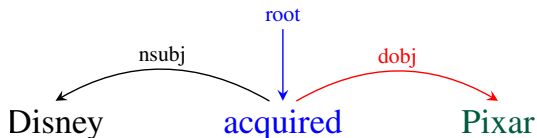


All constituents are of the same lambda expression type

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



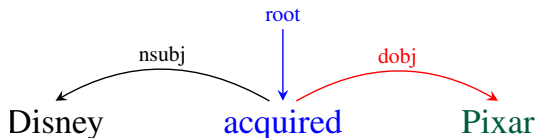
# Single Type System



All **words** have a *lambda expression* of type  $\eta$

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

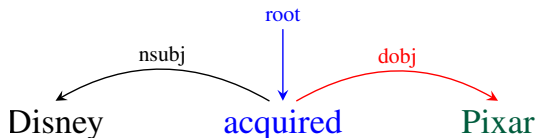
# Single Type System



All **constituents** have a *lambda expression* of type  $\eta$

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

# Single Type System

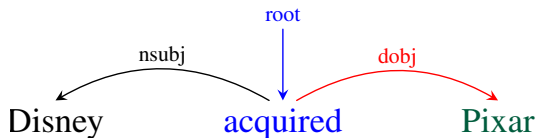


All **constituents** have a *lambda expression* of type  $\eta$

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

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

# Single Type System

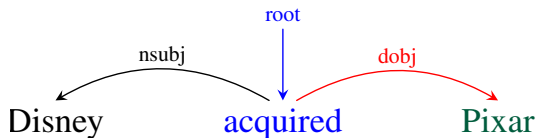


## Lambda Expression for words

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

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

# Single Type System



## Lambda Expression for words

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

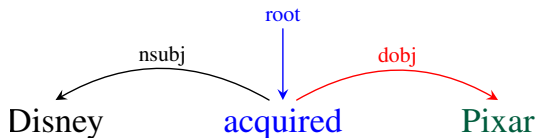
$\Rightarrow \text{TYPE} = \mathbf{Event} \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$

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

$\Rightarrow \text{TYPE} = \mathbf{Ind} \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$

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

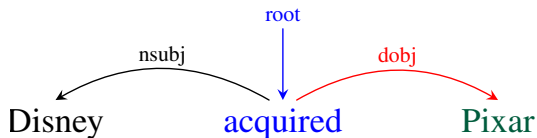
# Single Type System



## Lambda Expression for dependency labels

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

# Single Type System

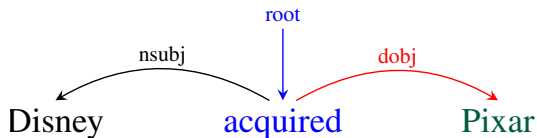


## Lambda Expression for dependency labels

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

This operation mirrors the tree structure

# Single Type System



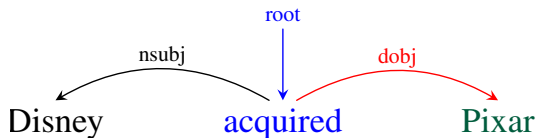
## Lambda Expression for words

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

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



# Single Type System



## Lambda Expression for words

**acquired**  $\Rightarrow \lambda \mathbf{x_a} x_e. \text{acquired}(x_e)$   $\Rightarrow \text{TYPE} = \mathbf{Ind} \times \mathbf{Event} \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$

**Pixar**  $\Rightarrow \lambda x_a \mathbf{x_e}. \text{Pixar}(x_a)$   $\Rightarrow \text{TYPE} = \mathbf{Ind} \times \mathbf{Event} \rightarrow \mathbf{Bool}$

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

# Conjunctions

## **Sentence:**

Eminem signed to Interscope and discovered 50 Cent.

## **Binarized tree:**

(nsubj (conj-vp (cc s\_to\_l and) d\_50) Eminem)

# 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:

$\lambda w. \exists xyz. \text{Eminem}(x_a) \wedge \text{coord}(w, y, z)$   
 $\wedge \text{arg}_1(w_e, x_a) \wedge \text{s\_to\_I}(y) \wedge \text{d\_50}(z)$

# 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:

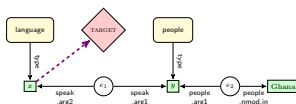
$\lambda w. \exists xyz. \text{Eminem}(x_a) \wedge \text{coord}(w, y, z)$   
 $\wedge \text{arg}_1(w_e, x_a) \wedge \text{s\_to\_I}(y) \wedge \text{d\_50}(z)$

## Post processing:

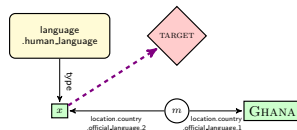
$\lambda e. \exists xyz. \text{Eminem}(x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_1(y_e, x_a)$   
 $\wedge \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) \wedge \text{s\_to\_I}(y) \wedge \text{d\_50}(z)$

# Graph Transformation: CONTRACT operation

What language do the people in Ghana speak?



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

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