

A Uniform Meaning Representation for NLP Systems:

Lecture 1: Formal Foundations of UMR; Extensions beyond AMR

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Course Outline

- **Monday:** Lexical semantic representations: PropBank AMR and motivation for Uniform Meaning Representations
- **Tuesday:** UMR Mechanisms for Quantification and Discourse Anaphora
- **Wednesday:** Annotation in UMR for Multiple Languages
- **Thursday:** Extensions of AMR/UMR for Multimodal Communication and Situated Grounding
- **Friday:** AMR/UMR for Knowledge Grounding and Logical Inference

Do we need a new meaning representation?

- Existing meaning representations vary a great deal in their focus and perspective
 - Formal semantic representations for *logical inference* (e.g. MRS, DRT) focus on the proper representation of:
 - quantification
 - negation
 - tense
 - modality
 - Lexical semantic representations (e.g. TR, AMR) focus on the proper representation of:
 - core predicate-argument structures
 - word senses
 - named entities
 - co-reference

Do we need a new meaning representation?

- Existing meaning representations vary a great deal in the “semantic vocabulary” they use:
 - One extreme: no classification of named entities at all (MRS)
 - Other extreme: over 100 types of named entities (AMR)
- Existing meaning representations are often developed based on English / high-resource languages
 - Their structures and workflows therefore pose challenges for the annotation of typologically different languages

The MATTER Cycle

Pustejovsky and Stubbs (2012)

- (1) a. **Model:** Structural descriptions provide theoretically-informed attributes derived from empirical observations over the data;
- b. **Annotate:** Annotation scheme assumes a feature set that encodes specific structural descriptions and properties of the input data;
- c. **Train:** Algorithm is trained over a corpus annotated with the target feature set;
- d. **Test:** Algorithm is tested against held-out data;
- e. **Evaluate:** Standardized evaluation of results;
- f. **Revise:** Revisit the model, annotation specification, or algorithm, in order to make the annotation more robust and reliable.

MATTER and MAMA

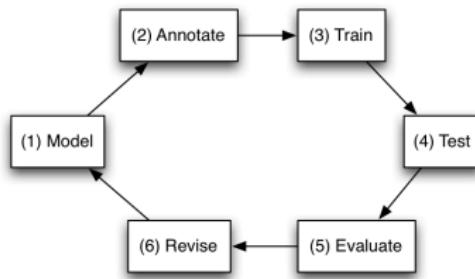


Figure: The MATTER Methodology

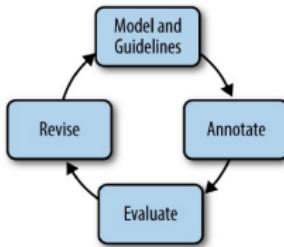


Figure: The MAMA Sub-cycle

Annotating Semantic Relations in Text

- PropBank/VerbNet
- FrameNet
- Minimal Recursion Semantics (MRS)
- Abstract Meaning Representation (AMR)

Minimal Recursion Semantics (MRS)

Copestake et al (2006)

- Expressive Adequacy. The framework must allow linguistic meanings to be expressed correctly.
- Grammatical Compatibility. Semantic representations must be linked cleanly to other kinds of grammatical information (most notably syntax).
- Computational Tractability. It must be possible to process meanings and to check semantic equivalence efficiently and to express relationships between semantic representations straightforwardly.
- Underspecifiability. Semantic representations should allow underspecification (leaving semantic distinctions unresolved), in such a way as to allow flexible, monotonic resolution of such partial semantic representations.

Sample MRS Representation

Every dog chases some white cat.

- (2) a. Existential quantifier has wider scope:
 - b. $\text{some}(y, \text{white}(y) \wedge \text{cat}(y), \text{every}(x, \text{dog}(x), \text{chase}(x, y)))$
 - c. h1: $\text{every}(x, h3, h4)$, h3: $\text{dog}(x)$, h7: $\text{white}(y)$, h7: $\text{cat}(y)$,
h5: $\text{some}(y, h7, h1)$, h4: $\text{chase}(x, y)$
- (3) a. Universal quantifier has wider scope:
 - b. $\text{every}(x, \text{dog}(x), \text{some}(y, \text{white}(y) \wedge \text{cat}(y), \text{chase}(x, y)))$
 - c. h1: $\text{every}(x, h3, h5)$, h3: $\text{dog}(x)$, h7: $\text{white}(y)$, h7: $\text{cat}(y)$,
h5: $\text{some}(y, h7, h4)$, h4: $\text{chase}(x, y)$
- (4) a. Underspecified representation:
 - b. h1: $\text{every}(x, h3, h8)$, h3: $\text{dog}(x)$, h7: $\text{white}(y)$, h7: $\text{cat}(y)$,
h5: $\text{some}(y, h7, h9)$, h4: $\text{chase}(x, y)$

Representing MRS Graphically

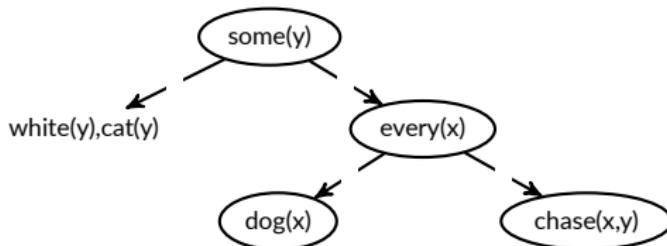


Figure: wide scope for existential quantifier

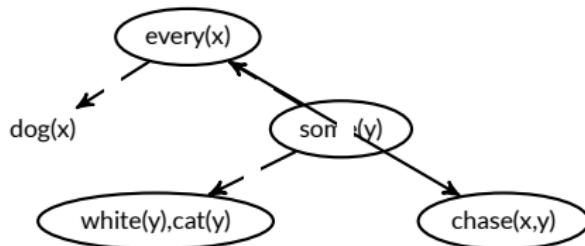


Figure: wide scope for universal quantifier

What MRS in practice does not Represent

- The predicate-structure aspect of the sentence semantics is often underdeveloped and never highlighted.
- No lexico-semantic support for how the arguments are labeled and what senses the predicates take.
- Quantifier scope is underspecified even when it can be disambiguated in context (DeepBank implementation).

Negatives for MRS as an Annotation Language

- Flat representation reveals no semantic core to annotate.
- While expressive, human annotation is cumbersome.
- Resulting annotation is difficult to interpret and inspect.

Abstract Meaning Representations (AMR)

- A rooted, acyclic, directed graph used to represent the meaning of English sentences.
- It builds on work annotating the argument structure of verbal and nominal predicates, using Propbank valency lexicon, where senses and their semantic roles are specified.
- Syntactically it uses the Penman notation and the semantic structure of each sentence closely resembles that of a dependency tree ...
- except when there is re-entrancy, where the same concept is an argument for multiple predicates.
- Since each argument of a predicate is labeled with a semantic role, interpretation does not depend on order in which it appears in the sentence, and abstracts away from its morpho-syntactic variations.

Abstract Meaning Representations (AMR)

NAACL-HLT Tutorial 2015

Nathan Schneider, Jeffrey Flanigan, and Tim O'Gorman

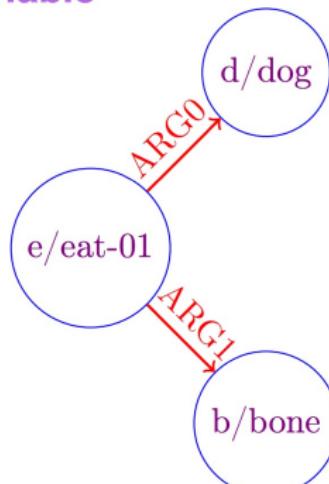
- The edges (ARG0 and ARG1) are **relations**
- Each node in the graph has a **variable**
- They are labeled with **concepts**
- d / dog** means “**d** is an instance of **dog**”

“The dog is eating a bone”

(**e** / **eat-01**

:**ARG0** (**d** / **dog**)

:**ARG1** (**b** / **bone**))



Abstract Meaning Representations (AMR)

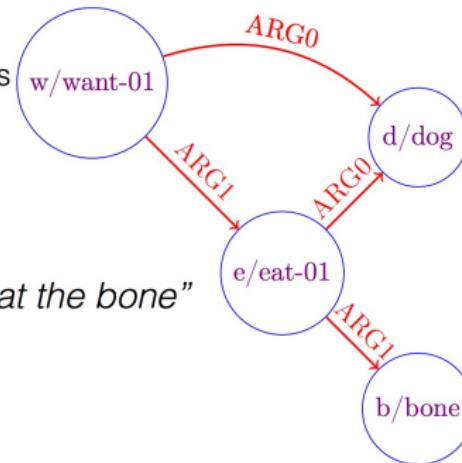
NAACL-HLT Tutorial 2015

Nathan Schneider, Jeffrey Flanigan, and Tim O'Gorman

- What if something is referenced multiple times?
- Notice how **dog** has two incoming roles now.
- To do this in PENMAN format, repeat the variable. We call this a **reentrancy**.

*"The dog **wants to** eat the bone"*

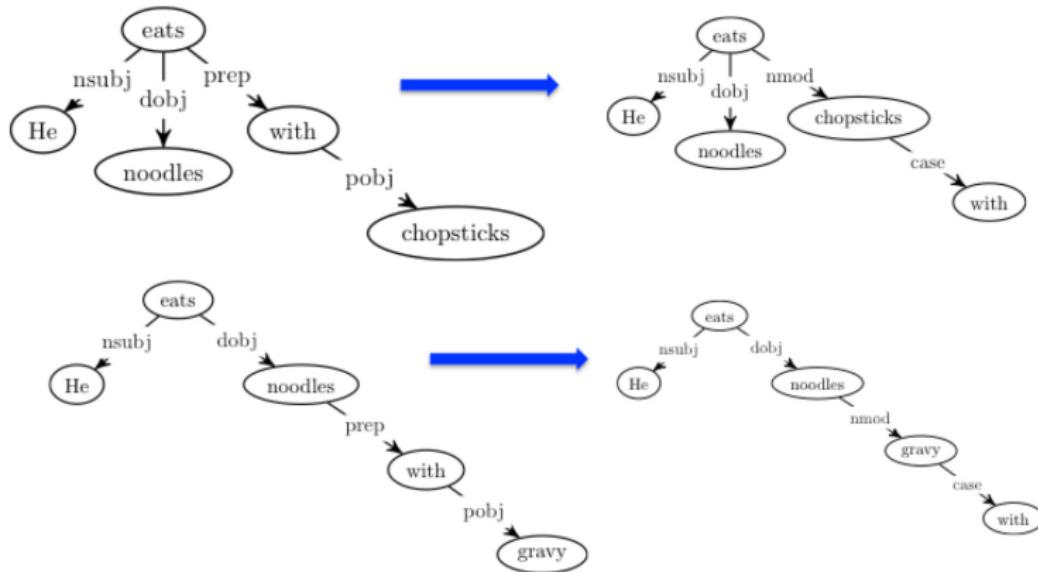
(want-01
 :ARG0 (**d / dog**)
 :ARG1 (e / eat-01
 :ARG0 **d**
 :ARG1 (b / bone)))



Universal Dependencies

- The primacy of content words: Dependency relations hold primarily between content words, rather than being indirect relations mediated by function words.
- Function words normally do not have dependents of their own. Multiple function words related to the same content words are typically siblings
- The dependency relations are described by a mixture of functional and structural notions: advmod vs nmod
- There is some machinery to account for word order variations: nsbj vs nsbjpass
- In coordination structures, the first conjunct is the head, and all other conjuncts depend on it. So are the coordinating conjunctions.

Primacy of Content Words



Comparison between UD, SDP and AMR

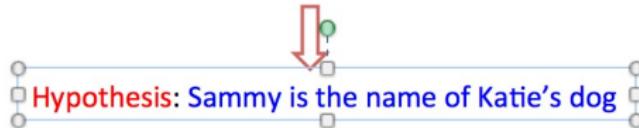
Attributes	SRL	UD	SDP	AMR
Normalizes syntactic variations	yes	no	yes	yes
Predicate sense	yes	no	no	yes
Primacy of content words	n/a	yes	yes	yes
Leaves function words unattached	no	no	yes	yes
A complete and connected structure for a sentence	no	yes	yes	yes
Allows re-entrancy (graph)	n/a	no	yes	yes
Named entities	no	no	no	yes
Relations between named entities	no	no	no	yes
Polarity and modality	no	no	no	yes

Why is abstraction good?

- “Normalizes” different realizations of the same meaning, supports similarity based inference that helps applications such as text comprehension.

Text: ... Katie also has a dog, but he does not like Bows.
... His name is Sammy. ...

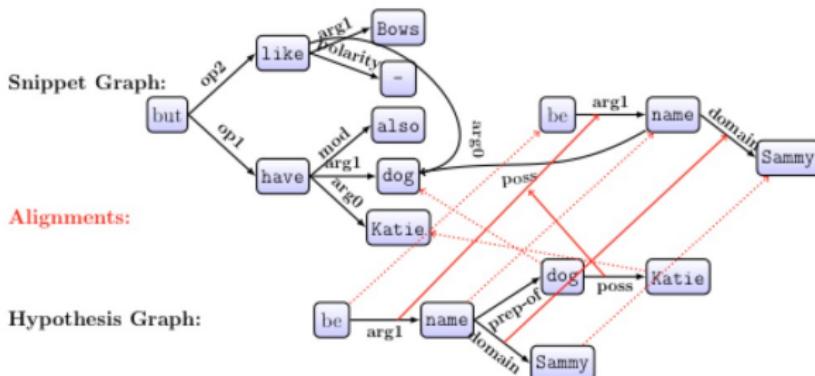
Question: What is the name of Sammy's dog? **Answer:** Sammy.



From (*Sachan and Xing 2016*)

Why is abstraction good?

- “Normalizes” different realizations of the same meaning, supports similarity based inference that helps applications such as text comprehension.

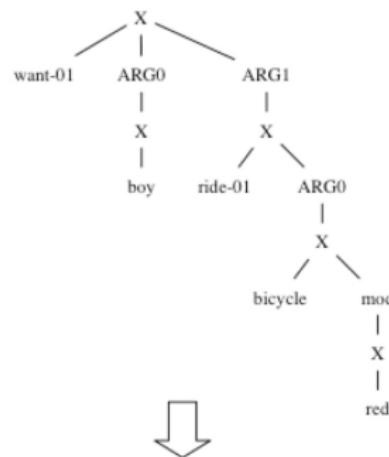
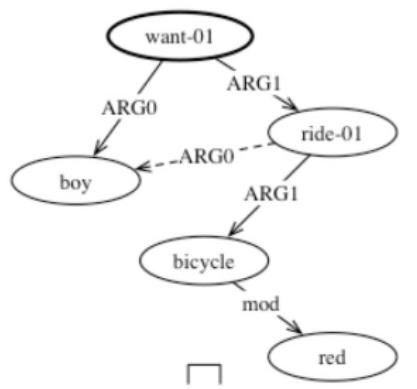


Hypothesis: Sammy is the name of Katie's dog.
Question: What is the name of Katie's dog. Answer: Sammy

From (*Sachan and Xing 2016*)

Why is abstraction good?

- Supports natural language generation

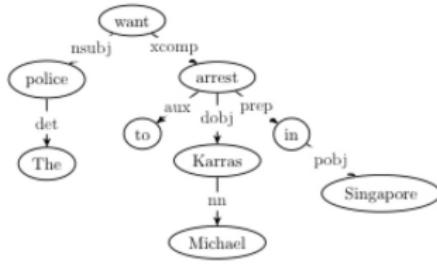


The boy wants to ride the red bicycle .

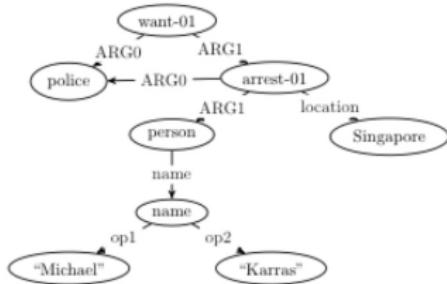
AMR parsing approaches

- Approaches that focus on addressing the “abstract” nature of AMR
 - Dependency Tree to AMR graph transduction (Wang et al 2015a, Wang et al 2015b, Wang et al 2016)
 - String to tree translation (Pust et al 2015)
- Approaches that focus on the “graph” aspect of the AMR
 - AMR parsing based on Synchronous Hyper-edge Replacement Grammar (SHRG) (Peng et al 2015)
 - MSCG: Maximum Spanning Connected Graph (Flanigan et al 2014)

Tree-to-AMR graph transduction



(a) Dependency tree



(b) AMR graph

The police wants to arrest Micheal Karras in Singapore.

Linguistically, there are many similarities between an AMR and the dependency structure of a sentence.

Tree-to-AMR graph transduction



(a) Dependency tree



(b) AMR graph

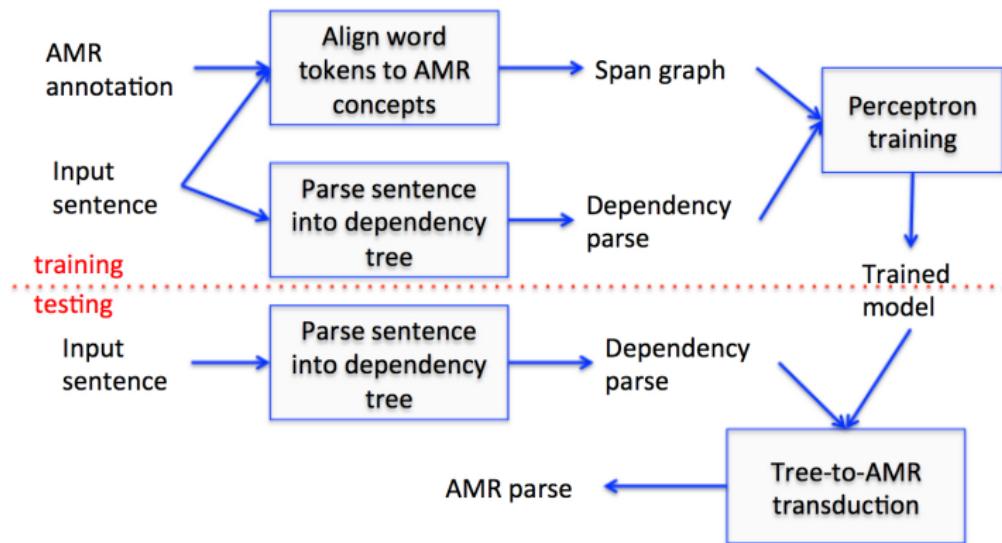
The police wants to arrest Micheal Karras in Singapore.

Wang et al, 2015a, 2015b

Why start with Dependency Structures?

- Significant similarity between a dependency structure and AMR in terms of the bare-bone structure
- Large amount of dependency data (converted from phrase structure trees in the case of English) already exists. State-of-the-art dependency parsers are already very accurate
- In contrast, the AMR Annotation Bank is relatively small.

Transition-based AMR parsing



Dependency Tree to AMR Graph Transduction

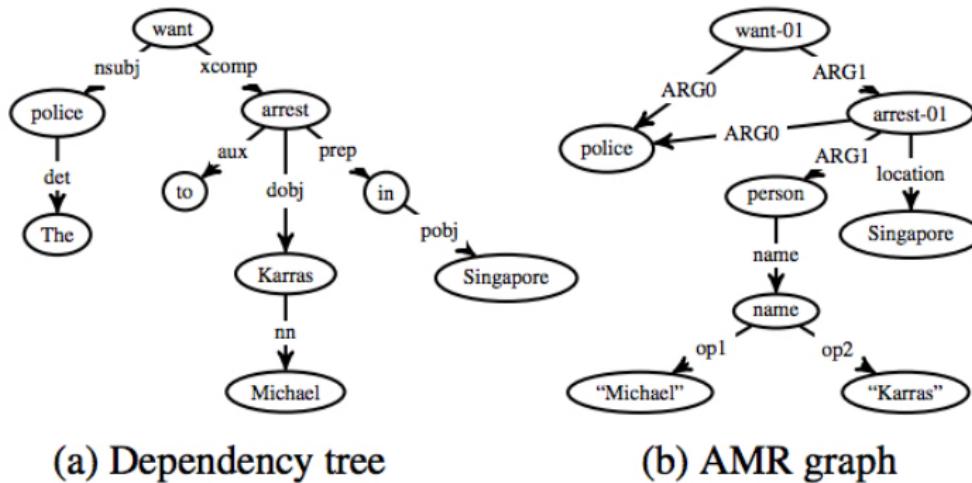


Figure 1: Dependency tree and AMR graph for the sentence, “The police want to arrest Micheal Karras in Singapore.”

Token-level AMR to sentence alignment

- Unlike dependency parses, there is no inherent alignment between concepts in an AMR graph and word tokens in a sentence
- AMR annotation (currently) has no explicit alignment to sentence
- Training data has whole sentence-AMR pairs
- So the first step is automatic alignment
- Rule-based and EM-based alignment

What AMR fails to Represent properly

AMR does not provide good support for logical inference because it does not yet properly handle scoping and other phenomena.

- quantifiers
- negation
- modality
- Aktionsarten and aspectual classes

Advantages of AMR-style Annotation

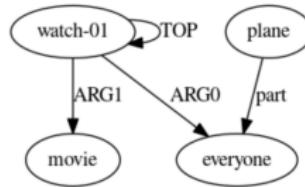
- Focuses on the intuitive *predicative core* of the sentence.
- Lower cognitive load for annotation by non-experts.
- Semantic relations are transparent in the graphical representation.

Quantifier Scope in AMR

- (5) a. Everyone in the room was listening to a talk.

$$\exists y[talk(y) \wedge \forall x[person(x) \wedge inRoom(x) \rightarrow listen(x, y)]]$$

- b. Everyone on the plane was watching a movie.

$$\forall x[[person(x) \wedge onPlane(x)] \rightarrow \exists y[movie(y) \wedge watch(x, y)]]$$


Quantifier Scope in AMR

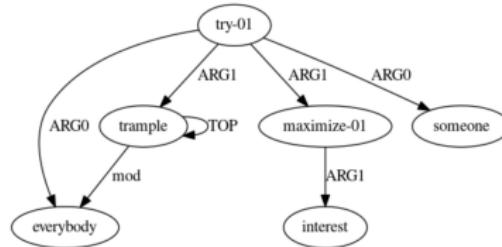
(6) Everyone drank a coffee at break.

b. $\forall x[person(x) \rightarrow \exists y[coffee(y) \wedge drink(x, y)]]$



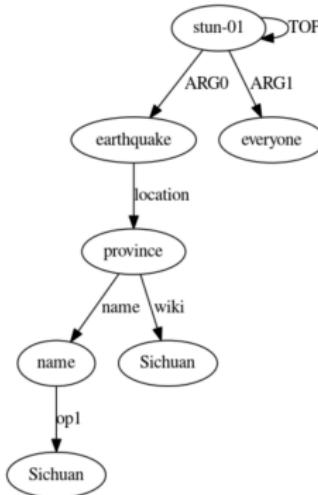
No Account for Quantifier Scope

- (7) Everybody tramples over someone trying to maximize their own interests.



No Account for Quantifier Scope

- (8) An earthquake in Sichuan stunned everyone.



- (9) a. Everyone here has had a COVID vaccine shot.
b. Everyone here has had the Moderna vaccine.

Towards a Uniform Meaning Representation (UMR)

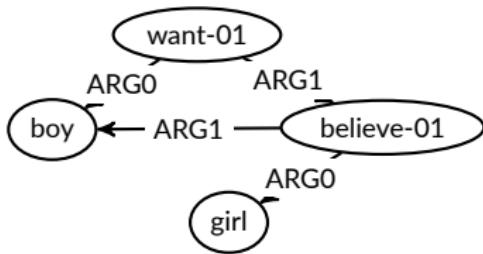
- A representation based primarily on AMR, but adds facility to properly represent scope so that it can support logical inference.
- We believe both lexical and logical inference are needed to support natural language applications, especially those that require deep natural language understanding.
- UMR is also intended to be cross-linguistically valid, meaning the concepts and relations posited for AMR will need to be validated based on principles in linguistic typology.
- New concepts and relations may need to be added and some concepts and relations may need to be revised against cross-linguistic evidence.

The UMR Project

- UMR (Uniform Meaning Representation) is an NSF-funded collaborative project between Brandeis University, University of Colorado, and University of New Mexico
- Our starting point is AMR, which has a number of attractive properties:
 - Easy to read
 - Scalable (does not rely on syntactic structures)
 - Information that is important to downstream applications (e.g., semantic roles, named entities and coreference)
 - Well-defined mathematical structure (single-rooted, directed, acylic graph)
- UMR augments AMR with meaning components that are missing and adapts it to cross-lingual settings

Transitioning from AMR

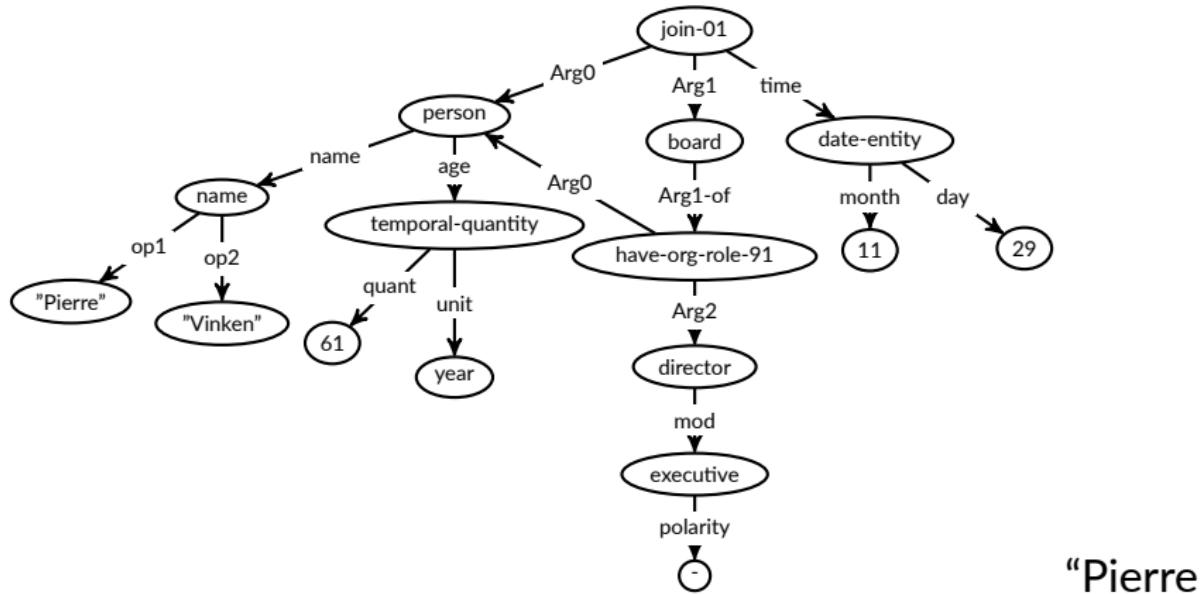
- Single-rooted, directed, acyclic graph
- Nodes are concepts (sense-disambiguated predicates, named entity types, plain lemmas)
- Edges are relations (participant roles, other semantic relations)



(w / want-01
:ARG0 (b / boy)
:ARG1 (b2 / believe-01
:ARG0 (g / girl)
:ARG1 b))

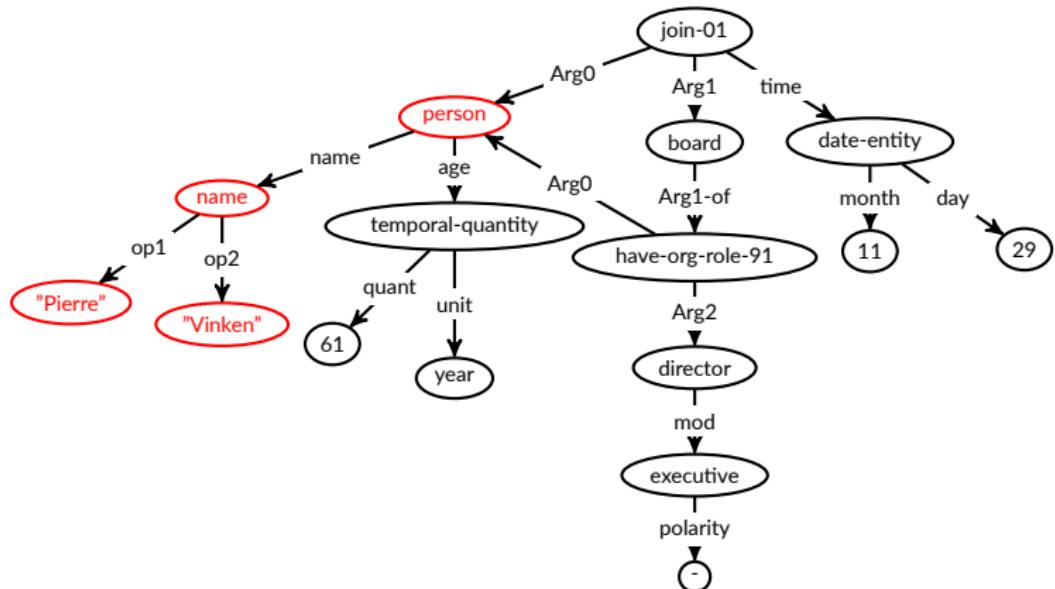
"The boy wants the girl to believe him."
Banarescu et al. (2013)

Transitioning from AMR



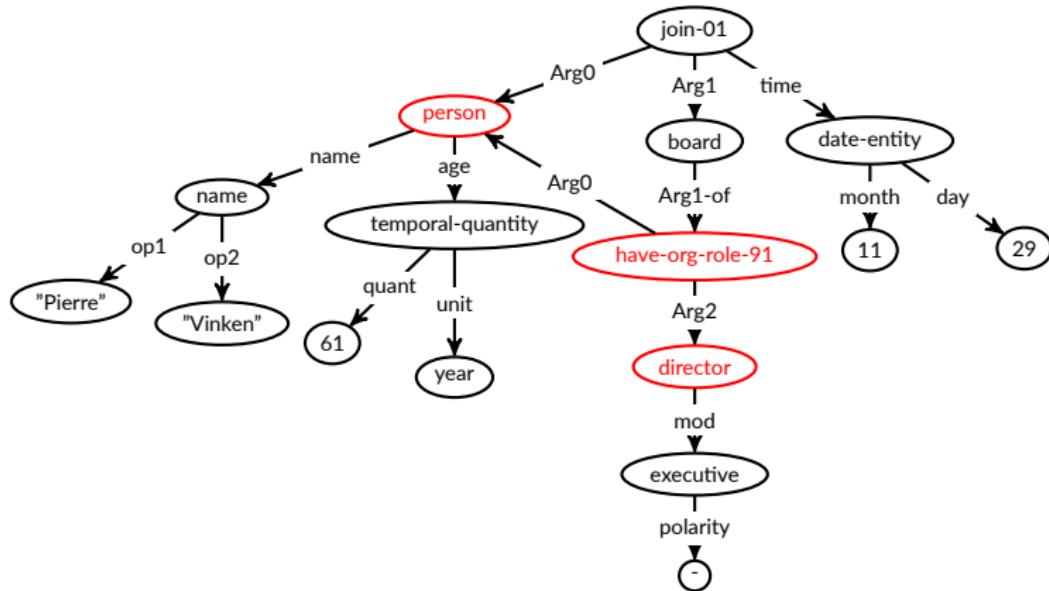
Vinken , 61 years old , will join the board as a nonexecutive director Nov. 29 .

AMR: Named Entities



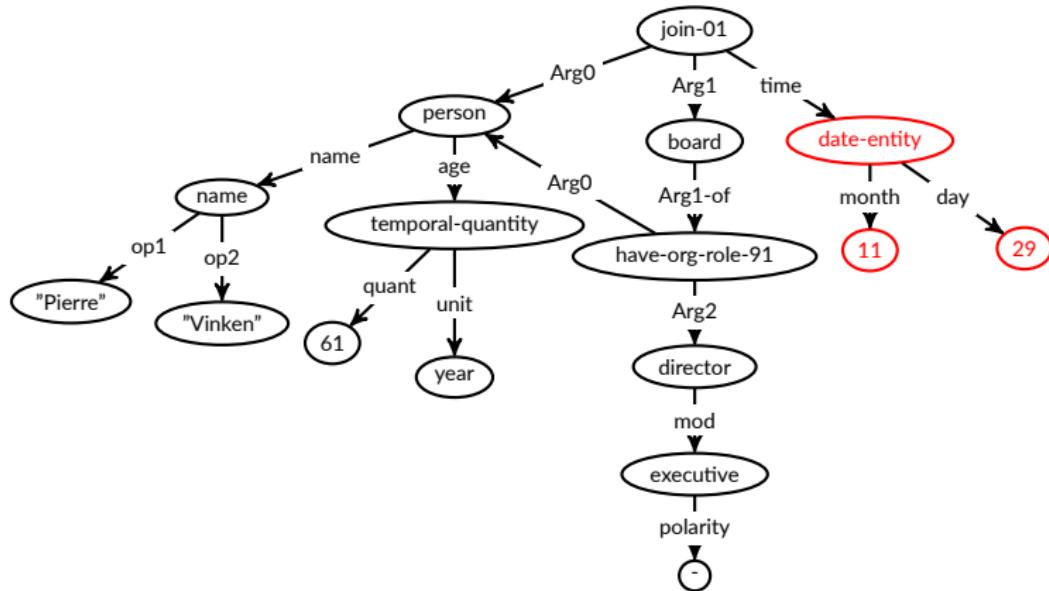
"Pierre Vinken , 61 years old , will join the board as a nonexecutive director Nov. 29 ."

AMR: Relations



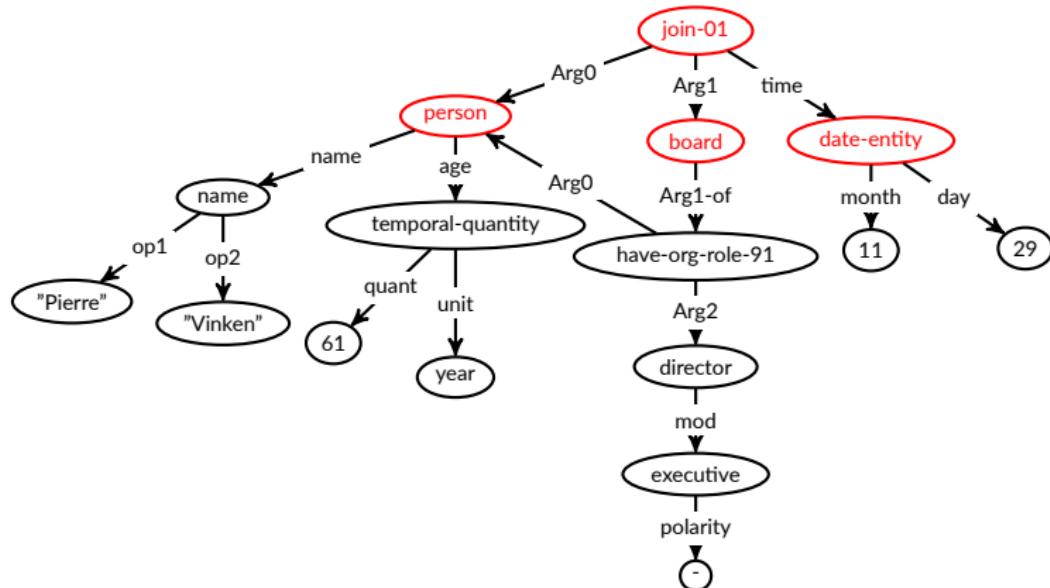
"Pierre Vinken , 61 years old , will join the board as a
nonexecutive director Nov. 29 ."

AMR: Date entities



"Pierre Vinken , 61 years old , will join the board as a nonexecutive director **Nov. 29** ."

AMR: Word sense and semantic roles



"Pierre Vinken , 61 years old , will **join the board** as a nonexecutive director Nov. 29 ."

Defining UMR

(Van Gysel et al., 2021)

- To make UMR cross-linguistically applicable, it:
 - defines a set of language-independent abstract concepts and participant roles,
 - uses lattices to accommodate linguistic variability,
 - provides meaning-based guidelines for the identification of events,
 - designs specifications for complicated mappings between words and UMR concepts,
 - is organized as a road map so that languages at different stages of documentation and description can use UMR at an appropriate level of detail.

Defining UMR

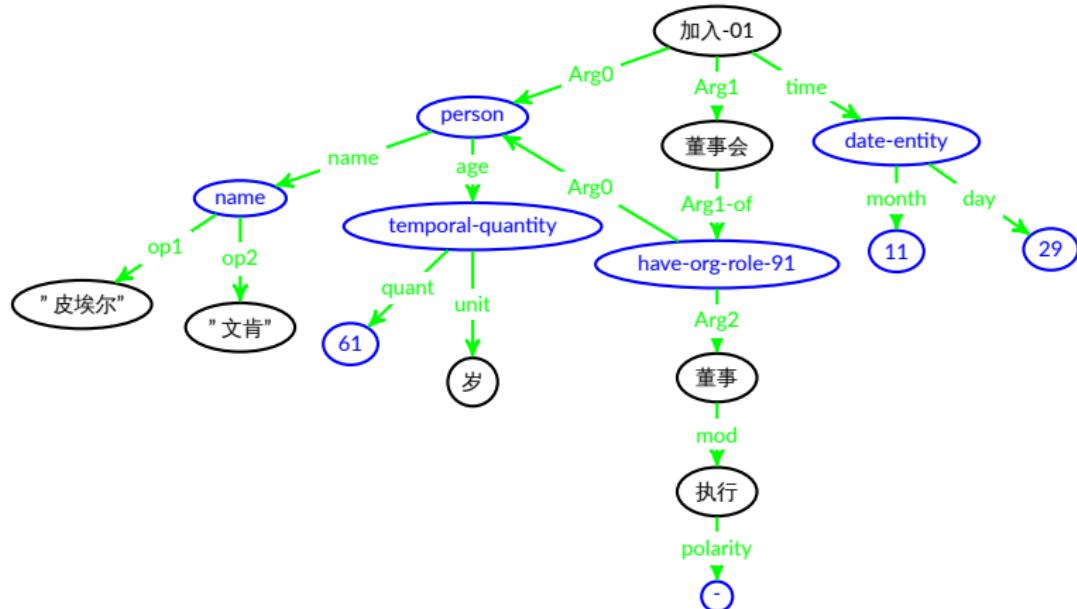
(Van Gysel et al., 2021)

- At the sentence level, UMR adds:
 - An *Aspect* attribute to eventive concepts
 - *Person* and *Number* attributes for pronouns and other nominal expressions
 - A principled set of discourse relations
 - Quantification scope between quantified expressions
- At the document level UMR adds:
 - Temporal dependencies in lieu of tense
 - Modal dependencies in lieu of modality
 - Coreference relations beyond sentence boundaries

UMR is a cross-lingual meaning representation

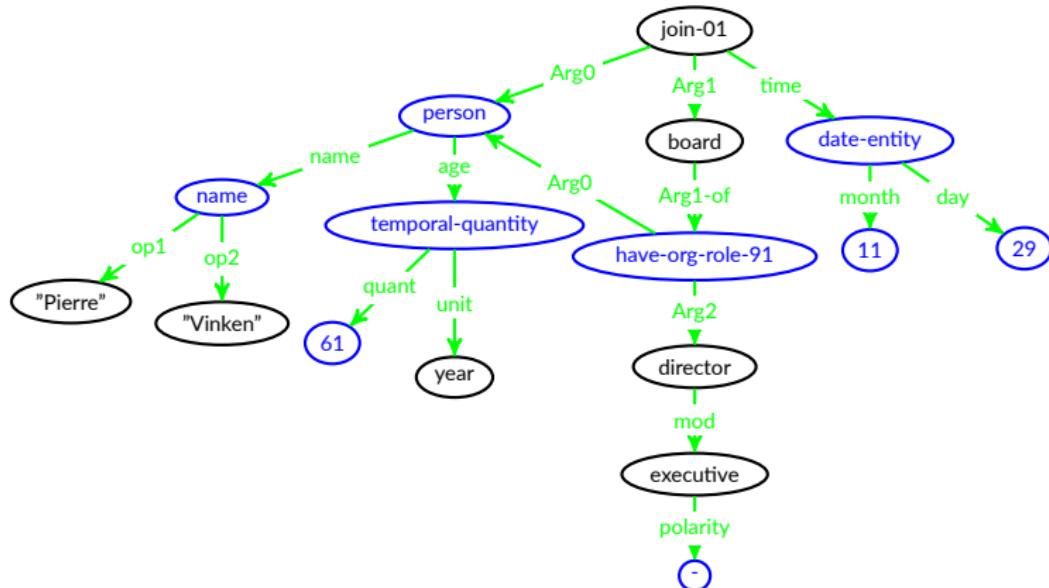
- Abstract concepts (e.g., *person*, *thing*, *have-org-role-91*) are uniform across languages
 - Concepts that do not always have explicit lexical support but can be inferred from context
- UMR defines a set of general participant roles (e.g., *agent*, *theme*, *causer*) and non-participant relations that are uniform across languages
- But UMR is still not an Interlingua:
 - Lexical concepts include sense-disambiguated lemmas or simple lemmas and are language-specific (e.g., Mandarin 加 $\lambda.01$ vs. English *join-01* vs. Sanapaná *empahlkay'a*)
 - Languages can define their own lexicalized participant roles (e.g., :ARG0 of 加 $\lambda.01$)
- In general, grammatical meaning is language-independent while lexical meaning is language-specific

Language-independent vs language-specific aspects



“61 岁的 Pierre Vinken 将于 11 月 29 日加入董事会，担任非执行董事。”

Language-independent vs language-specific aspects



"Pierre Vinken , 61 years old , will join the board as a nonexecutive director Nov. 29 ."

Abstract concepts in UMR

- Abstract concepts inherited from AMR:
 - Standardization of quantities, dates etc.: *have-name-91*, *have-frequency-91*, *have-quant-91*, *temporal-quantity*, *date-entity*...
- New concepts for abstract events: “non-verbal” predication.
- New concepts for abstract entities: entity types are annotated for named entities and implicit arguments.
- Scope: scope concept to disambiguate scope ambiguity to facilitate translation of UMR to logical expressions (see sentence-level structure).
- Discourse relations: concepts to capture sentence-internal discourse relations (see sentence-level structure).

Where do we find abstract eventive concepts?

Semantic type and information packaging (Croft 2001):

	Reference	Modification	Predication
Entities	UNMARKED NOUNS	relative clauses, PPs on nouns	predicate nominals, complements
States	deadjectival nouns	UNMARKED ADJECTIVES	predicate adjectives, complements
Processes	event nominals, complements, infinitives, gerunds	participles, relative clauses	UNMARKED VERBS

Where do we find abstract eventive concepts?

- Sentence-level information packaging is not always predicational:
 - *I have a book* - “thetic”, “presentational”, all new information
 - *The book belongs to me* - “predicative”, possessee is known information
- AMR does not distinguish these meanings, UMR does only in typically “non-verbal” contexts:
 - Possession
 - Location
 - Object/Property predication

Where do we find abstract eventive concepts?

- Languages use different strategies to express these meanings:
 - Overt predication: English *I have a book*

Where do we find abstract eventive concepts?

- Languages use different strategies to express these meanings:

- Juxtaposition: Tiwi

ngawa mantani teraka

our friend wallaby

'Our friend has a wallaby,
lit. [as for] our friend, wallaby.'

Where do we find abstract eventive concepts?

- Languages use different strategies to express these meanings:

- Predicativized possessum: Yukaghir

pulun-die jowje-n'-i
old.man-DIM net-PROP-3SG.INTR

'The old man has a net,
lit. The old man net-has.'

- UMR trains annotators to recognize the semantics of these constructions and select the appropriate abstract predicate and its participant roles
 - UMR does not require alignment between concepts and words

Sample abstract events

Clause type	Predicate	ARG0	ARG1	ARG2
thetic poss.	have-91	possessor	possessum	
pred. poss.	belong-91	possessum	possessor	
thetic loc.	exist-91	location	theme	
pred. loc.	have-location-91	theme	location	
property pred.	have-mod-91		theme	property
object pred.	have-role-91	theme	ref. point	object category
equational	identity-91	theme	equated referent	

Example abstract events

an-yetn-eye' ko'o vakka-hak ah-angkok
2/3F-exist-V1.NFUT 1SG:PRO cow-old/broken 1SG-POS
'I have a book.' lit. 'My book exists.'

(h / **have-91**

:ARG0 (p / person
 :ref-person 1st
 :ref-number Singular)
:ARG1 (v/ vakkahak 'book')
:aspect State)

Named entities in UMR are hierarchically organized

Class	Type	Subtype
animal, plant, language, nationality, person, cultural-activity, award, food-dish, computer-program, variable		
social-group	family, ethnic-group, regional-group, religious-group, clan organization	international-organization, business, company, government-organization, political-organization, criminal-organization, armed-organization, academic-organization, association, sports-organization, religious-organization

Named entities in UMR are hierarchically organized

Class	Type	Subtype
geographic-entity	ocean, sea, lake, river, gulf, bay, strait, canal, peninsula, mountain, volcano, valley, canyon, island, desert, forest	
celestial-body	moon, planet, star, constellation	
region	local-region, country-region, world-region	
geo-political-entity	city, city-district, county, state, province, territory, country	
facility	airport, station, port, tunnel, bridge, road, railway-line, canal, building, theater, museum, palace, hotel, worship-place, market, sports-facility, park, zoo, amusement-park	
vehicle	ship, aircraft, aircraft-type, spaceship, car-make	

Named entities in UMR are hierarchically organized

Class	Type	Subtype
cultural-artifact	work-of-art, picture, music, literature, dance, show, broadcast-program	
	publication	book, newspaper, magazine, journal
event	incident, natural-disaster, earthquake, war, conference, game, festival, ceremony	
notational-system	writing-script, music-key, musical-note	
biomedical-entity	molecular-physical-entity, small-molecule, protein, protein-family, protein-segment, amino-acid, macro-molecular-complex, enzyme, nucleic-acid, pathway, gene, dna-sequence, cell, cell-line, species, taxon, disease, medical-condition	

Road Map

- Lexical resources and grammatical analysis is not available for many languages
- UMR aims to be available for semantic annotation of languages from the very beginning of analysis. It is therefore structured as a “Road Map”
 - Early stages of Road Map must not rely on availability of resources or analysis
 - Annotations at earlier stages must still be compatible with more fine-grained annotations at later stages

Road Map

- Participant Roles:
 - Stage 0: General participant roles
 - Stage 1: Language-specific frame files
 - UMR-Writer allows for the creation of lexicon with argument structure information during annotation
- Morphosemantic Tests:
 - Stage 0: Identify one concept per word
 - Stage 1: Apply more fine-grained tests to identify concepts
- Annotation Categories with Lattices:
 - Stage 0: Use grammatically encoded categories (more general if necessary)
 - Stage 1: Use (overtly expressed) fine-grained categories
- Modal Dependencies:
 - Stage 0: Use simplified modal annotation
 - Stage 1: Fill in lexically based modal strength values

Language-independent vs -specific participant roles

- Core participant roles are defined in a set of frame files (valency lexicon, see Palmer et al. 2005). The semantic roles for each sense of a predicate are defined:
 - E.g. boil-01: *apply heat to water*
ARG0-PAG: *applier of heat*
ARG1-PPT: *water*
- Most languages do not have frame files
 - But see e.g. Hindi (Bhat et al. 2014), Chinese (Xue 2006)
- UMR defines language-independent participant roles
 - Based on ValPaL data on co-expression patterns of different micro-roles (Hartmann et al., 2013)

Language-independent roles: An incomplete list

UMR Annotation	Definition
Actor	Animate entity that initiates the action
Undergoer	Entity (animate or inanimate) affected by the action
Theme	Entity (animate or inanimate) moving from one entity to another, spatially or metaphorically
Recipient	Animate entity that gains possession (or at least temporary control) of another entity
Force	Inanimate entity that initiates the action
Causer	Animate entity that acts on another animate entity to initiate the action
Experiencer	Animate entity that cognitively or sensorily experiences a stimulus
Stimulus	Entity (animate or inanimate) that is experienced by an experiencer

Language-independent vs language-specific participant roles

- Language-independent participant roles are assigned independent of grammatical relations in a language
 - [She]_{actor} ate.
 - [She]_{undergoer} fell.
- As lexical resources are developed for a language, annotations with language-independent participant roles can be linked to predicate-specific numbered argument roles:
 - E.g. Sanapaná Stage 0 – entoma: eat
Actor: eater
Undergoer: food
 - Sanapaná Stage 1 – entoma-01: eat
ARG0: Actor
ARG1: Undergoer

Argument structure alternations

- Information-packaging alternations (e.g., passives) are not distinguished by the participant role annotation
- Semantic alternations (e.g., causatives, reflexives) are reflected in the participant role annotation

Kukama

Berber (Guerssel 1986:52)

T-ttw-asy tfirast.

3F.SG-DETR-pick.up pear

'The pear was picked up.'

(t/ tttwasy-00 'pick up'

:undergoer (t2/ tafirast 'pear'

:ref-number Singular)

:aspect Performance

:modstr FullAff)

nai kurata-ta churan=ui uni=pu
grandmother drink-CAUS kid=PST water=INS
'Grandmother made the kid drink the water.'

(k/ kuratata 'make drink'

:causer (p/ person

:ARG0-of (h/ have-rel-role-91

:ARG2 (n/ nai 'grandmother'))

:ref-number Singular)

:actor (c/ churan 'kid')

:ref-number Singular

:undergoer (u/ uni 'water')

:aspect Performance

:modstr FullAff)

How UMR accommodates cross-linguistic variability

- Not all languages grammaticalize/overtly express the same meaning contrasts:
 - English: *I* (1SG) vs. *you* (2SG) vs. *she/he* (3SG)
 - Sanapaná: *as-* (1SG) vs. *an-/ap-* (2/3SG)
- However, there are typological patterns in how semantic domains get subdivided:
 - A 1/3SG person category would be much more surprising than a 2/3SG one
- UMR uses lattices for abstract concepts, attribute values, and relations to accommodate variability across languages.
 - Languages with overt grammatical distinctions can choose to use more fine-grained categories

Category Lattices

- Semantic categories are organized in “lattices” to achieve cross-lingual compatibility while accommodating variability
 - Lattices for Aspect, Modal Strength, Person, Number, Discourse Relations, Modification Relations

