

# Universal Typed Semantic Parsing

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*joint work with*

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UDepLambda is based on work with  
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# Dependency Tree to Semantics



Dependencies **lack** a formal theory of semantics

# Existing Syntax Semantics interfaces

**CCG** [Steedman, 2000; Bos et al., 2004]

**HPSG** [Copestake et al., 2001]

**LFG** [Dalrymple et al., 1995]

**TAG** [Joshi et al., 1995]

|           |                    |           |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| Disney    | acquired           | Pixar     |
| <hr/>     | <hr/>              | <hr/>     |
| <i>NP</i> | <i>S \ NP / NP</i> | <i>NP</i> |

# CCG

|                 |   |                 |
|-----------------|---|-----------------|
| Disney          | acquired  | Pixar           |
| <hr/> <i>NP</i> | <hr/> <i>S \ NP / NP</i>                            | <hr/> <i>NP</i> |
| Disney          | $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e. \text{acquired}(e)$ | Pixar           |
|                 | $\wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x)$                         |                 |
|                 | $\wedge \text{arg}_2(e, y)$                         |                 |

## Lambda Calculus

$$(\lambda x.M)N = M[x := N]$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{sum}(2,3) &= (\lambda x \lambda y. (+ x y))(2)(3) \\ &= (\lambda y. (+ 2 y))(3) \\ &= (+ 2 3) \\ &= 5 \end{aligned}$$

$$\mathbf{TYPE}[\text{sum}] = \text{int} \rightarrow \text{int} \rightarrow \text{int}$$

$$\text{sum}(4, \text{sum}(2,3)) = 9$$

# CCG

|                 |   |                 |
|-----------------|---|-----------------|
| Disney          | acquired  | Pixar           |
| <hr/> <i>NP</i> | <hr/> <i>S \ NP / NP</i>                            | <hr/> <i>NP</i> |
| Disney          | $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e. \text{acquired}(e)$ | Pixar           |
|                 | $\wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x)$                         |                 |
|                 | $\wedge \text{arg}_2(e, y)$                         |                 |

# CCG

|        |   |       |
|--------|---|-------|
| Disney | acquired  | Pixar |
| $NP$   | $S \backslash NP / NP$  | $NP$  |
| Disney | $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e. \text{acquired}(e)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_2(e, y)$ | Pixar |
|        | $S \backslash NP$   | >     |



|   |   |       |
|---|---|-------|
| Disney  | acquired  | Pixar |
| $NP$  | $S \backslash NP / NP$  | $NP$  |
| Disney  | $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e. \text{acquired}(e)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_2(e, y)$ | Pixar |
| $S \backslash NP$ <span style="font-size: 2em;">&gt;</span>   |   |       |
| $\lambda x \lambda e. \text{acquired}(e)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e, \text{Pixar})$ |   |       |

|        |   |       |
|--------|---|-------|
| Disney | acquired  | Pixar |
| $NP$   | $S \setminus NP / NP$   | $NP$  |
| Disney | $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e. \text{acquired}(e)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_2(e, y)$ | Pixar |
|        | $S \setminus NP$ <span style="float: right;">&gt;</span>  |       |
|        | $\lambda x \lambda e. \text{acquired}(e)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e, \text{Pixar})$     |       |
|        | $S$ <span style="float: right;">&lt;</span>   |       |
|        | $\lambda e. \text{acquired}(e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(e, \text{Disney}) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e, \text{Pixar})$        |       |

|        |   |       |
|--------|---|-------|
| Disney | acquired  | Pixar |
| $NP$   | $S \backslash NP / NP$  | $NP$  |
| Disney | $\lambda y \lambda x \lambda e. \text{acquired}(e)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_2(e, y)$ | Pixar |
|        | $S \backslash NP$ <span style="float: right;">&gt;</span>   |       |
|        | $\lambda x \lambda e. \text{acquired}(e)$<br>$\wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e, \text{Pixar})$     |       |
|        | $S$ <span style="float: right;">&lt;</span>   |       |
|        | $\lambda e. \text{acquired}(e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(e, \text{Disney}) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e, \text{Pixar})$        |       |

Typing and Combinator Rules allow  
Synchronous Syntax-Semantics interface

# 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

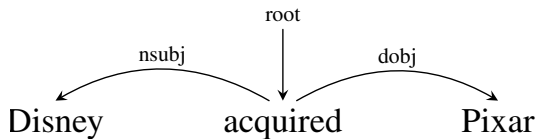
**Complex expression** is the dependency tree

**Constituent expressions** are subtrees

**Rules** are the dependency labels

# Composition Order

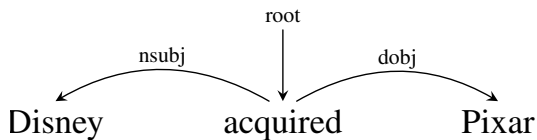
## Binarization



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

# Composition Order

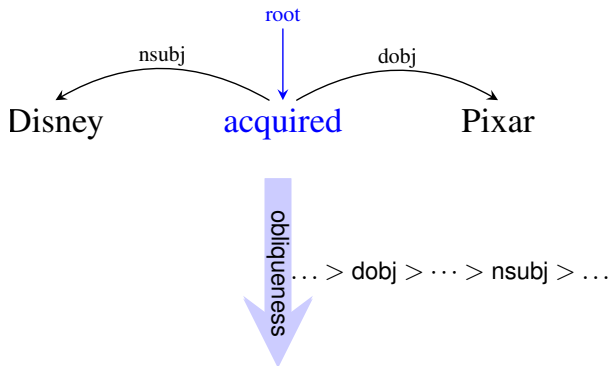
## Binarization



Dependency labels drive the composition

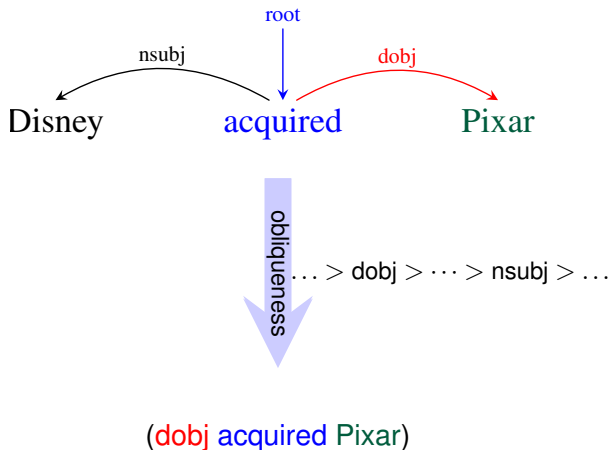
# Composition Order

Binarization



# Composition Order

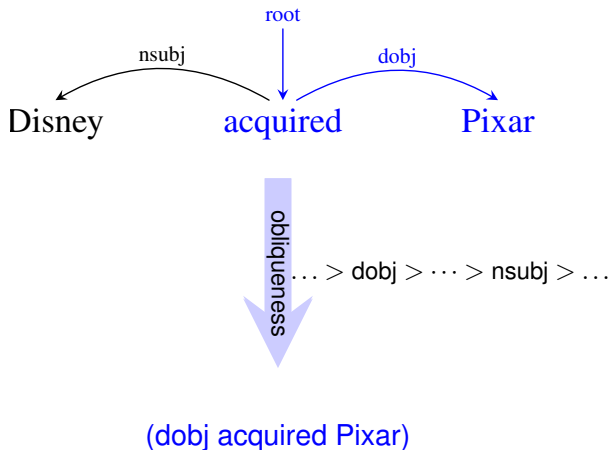
Binarization





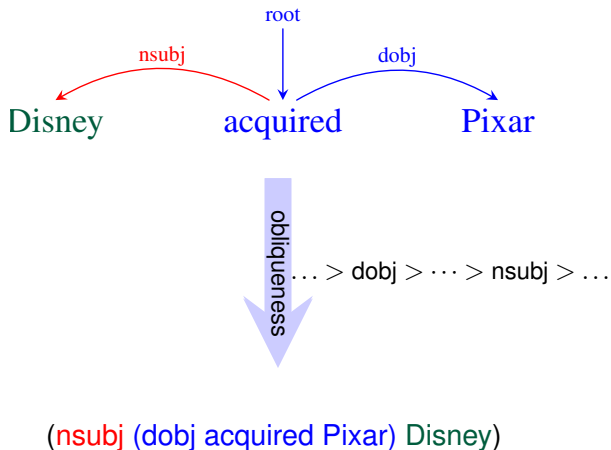
# Composition Order

Binarization



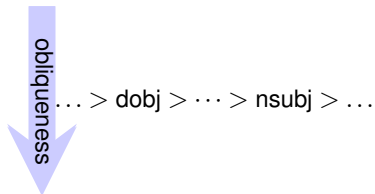
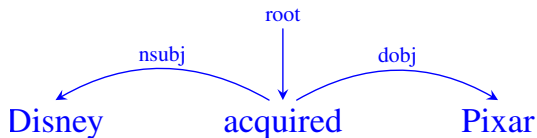
# Composition Order

Binarization



# Composition Order

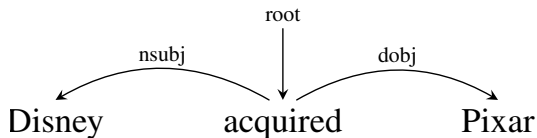
Binarization



(nsubj (dobj acquired Pixar) Disney)

# Composition Order

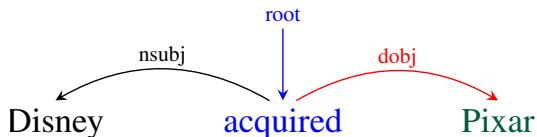
## Binarization



(nsubj (dobj acquired Pixar) Disney)

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

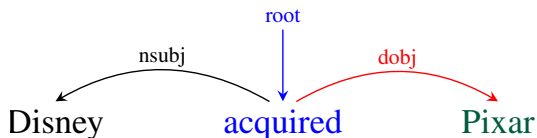
# Substitution



## Lambda Calculus Basic Types

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

# Substitution

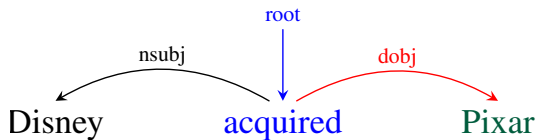


## Lambda Expression for words

*VERB*  $\Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{word}(x_e)$ , e.g., **acquired**  $\Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{acquired}(x_e)$

*PROPN*  $\Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{word}(x_a)$ , e.g., **Pixar**  $\Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{Pixar}(x_a)$

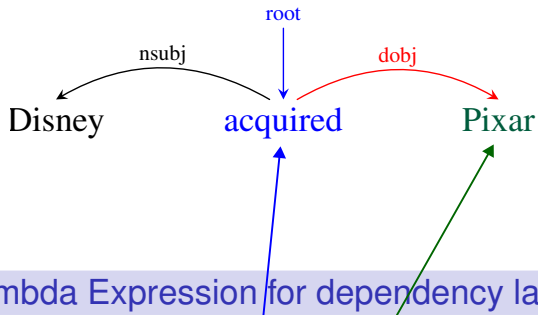
# Substitution



Lambda Expression for dependency labels

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

# Substitution

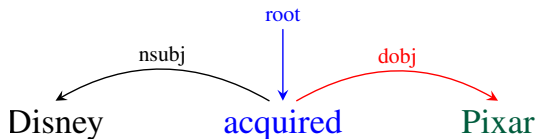


Lambda Expression for dependency labels

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

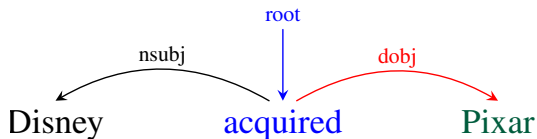


# Composition



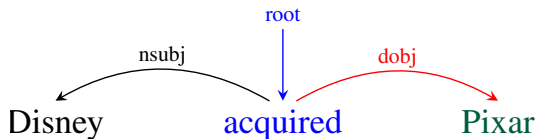
(**dobj**          **acquired**          **Pixar**)  
 $\lambda f \lambda g \lambda z. \exists y. \lambda z. \text{acquired}(z_e) \quad \lambda y. \text{Pixar}(y_a)$   
 $f(z) \wedge g(y) \wedge$   
 $\text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)$

# Composition



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

# Composition



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

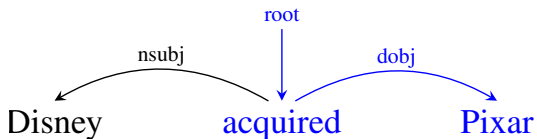
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$$\begin{array}{l} \lambda g \lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge g(y) \\ \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a) \end{array}$$

---

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

# Composition

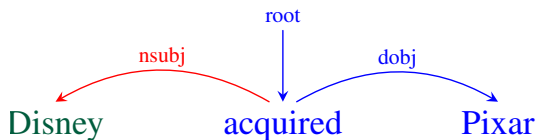


**(dobj acquired Pixar)**

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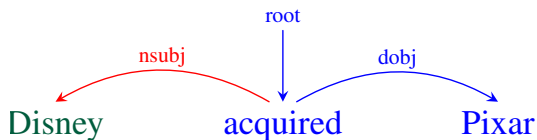
$\lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a)$   
 $\wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e, y_a)$

# Composition



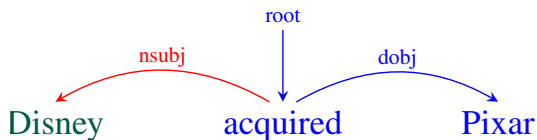
$$\begin{array}{ccc} (\mathbf{nsubj} & (\mathbf{dobj} & \mathbf{Disney}) \\ \lambda f \lambda g \lambda z. \exists x. & \frac{}{\lambda z. \exists y. \text{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \text{Pixar}(y_a)} & \lambda x. \text{Disney}(x_a) \\ f(z) \wedge g(x) \wedge & & \\ \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a) & \wedge \text{arg}_2(z_e,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

# Composition



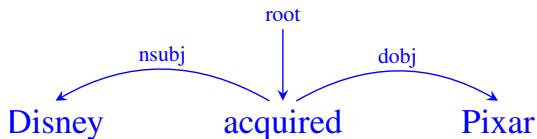
$$\frac{\begin{array}{l} (\mathbf{nsubj} \quad (\mathbf{dobj} \quad \mathbf{acquired} \quad \mathbf{Pixar}) \quad \mathbf{Disney}) \\ \lambda f \lambda g \lambda z. \exists x. \quad \frac{f(z) \wedge g(x) \wedge \arg_1(z_e, x_a)}{\lambda z. \exists y. \mathbf{acquired}(z_e) \wedge \mathbf{Pixar}(y_a)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

# Composition



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

# Composition



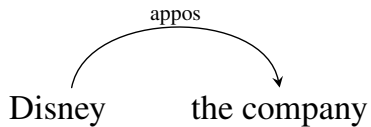
**(nsubj (dobj acquired Pixar) Disney)**

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

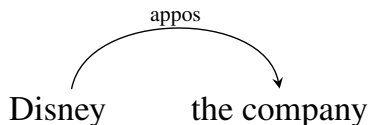


# Composition

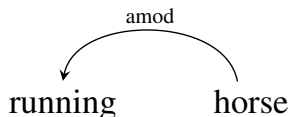


$$\textit{appos} = \lambda f \lambda g \lambda x. f(x) \wedge g(x)$$

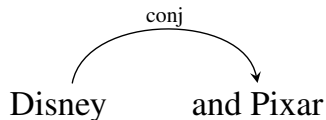
# Composition



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



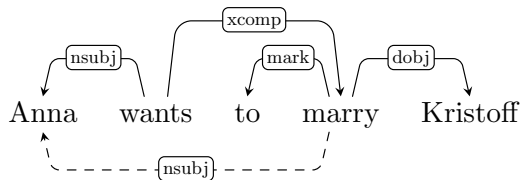
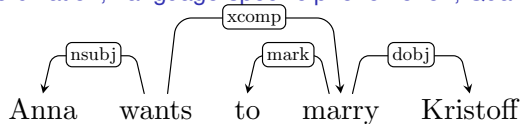
$$\begin{aligned} \text{amod} = \\ \lambda f \lambda g \lambda x. \exists z. f(x) \wedge g(z) \wedge \\ \text{amod}^i(z_e, x_a) \end{aligned}$$



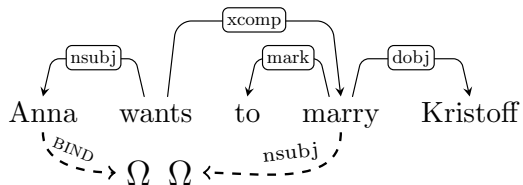
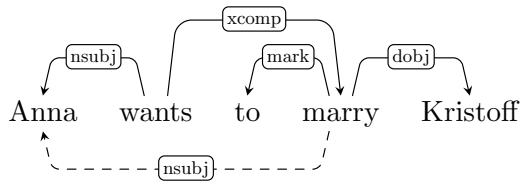
$$\begin{aligned} \text{conj} = \\ \lambda f \lambda g \lambda z. \exists xy. f(x) \wedge g(y) \wedge \\ \text{coord}(z, x, y) \end{aligned}$$

# Enhancement

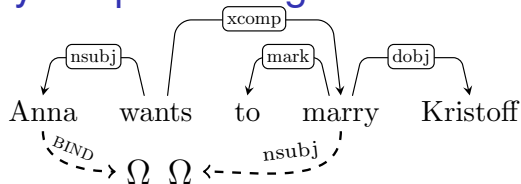
Long distance, Coordination, Language-specific phenomenon, Quantifiers



# Dependency Graphs to Logical Forms



# Dependency Graphs to Logical Forms



## Substitution Expressions

BIND =  $\lambda f \lambda g \lambda x. f(x) \wedge g(x)$

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

$\omega$  =  $\lambda x. \text{EQ}(x, \omega)$

## Final Expression:

$\lambda z. \exists xyw. \text{wants}(z_e) \wedge \text{Anna}(x_a) \wedge \text{arg}_1(z_e, x_a)$   
 $\wedge \text{marry}(y_e) \wedge \text{xcomp}(z_e, y_e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(y_e, x_a)$   
 $\wedge \text{Kristoff}(w_a) \wedge \text{arg}_2(y_e, w_a).$

# Quantifiers and Negation Scope

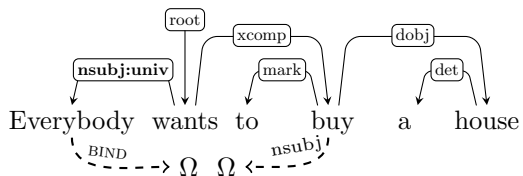
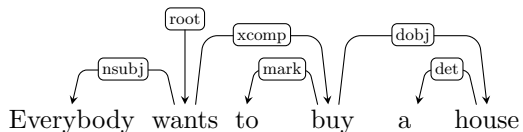
(Fancellu et al. 2017, Reddy et al. 2017)

Higher-order type system

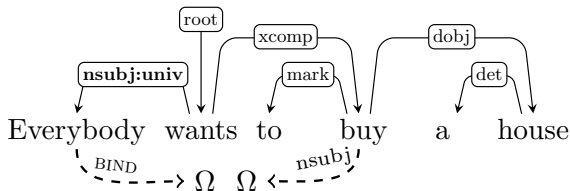
Fine-grained dependency labels

# Quantifiers and Negation Scope

Fancellu et al. 2017, Reddy et al. 2017



# Quantifiers and Negation Scope



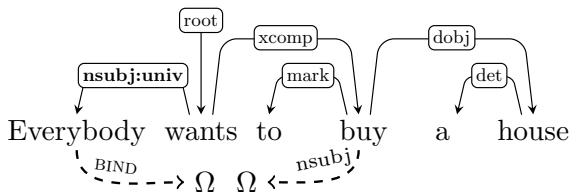
## Type System

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

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



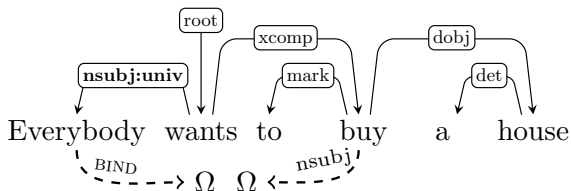
# Quantifiers and Negation Scope



## Type System

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

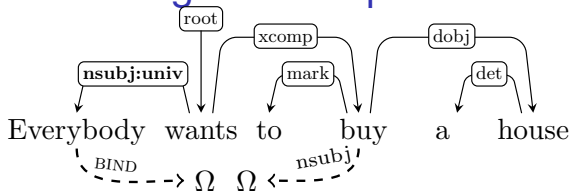
# Quantifiers and Negation Scope



## Type System

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

# Quantifiers and Negation Scope



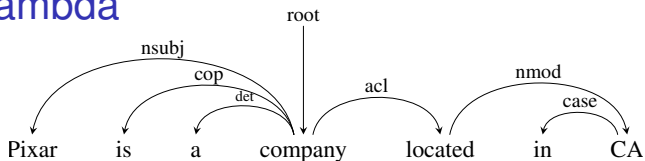
## Old Expression:

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

## New Expression:

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

# UDepLambda



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

|     |   |  |  |  |   |                              |                                |       |
|-----|---|--|--|--|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| ... | $(acl$<br>$\lambda f g x. \exists z.$<br>$f(x) \wedge g(z) \wedge$<br>$arg_2(z_e, x_a)$ | $company$<br>$\lambda x. company(x_a)$ | $(nmod$<br>$\lambda f g z. \exists x.$<br>$f(z) \wedge g(x)$<br>$arg_{in}(z_e, x_a)$ | $located$<br>$\lambda x. located(x_e)$ | $(case$<br>$\lambda f g x. f(x)$<br><hr style="width: 100%;"/> $\lambda x. CA(x_a)$ | $CA$<br>$\lambda x. CA(x_a)$ | $in)$<br>$\lambda x. empty(x)$ | ))... |
|-----|---|--|--|--|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|

lambda expression composition

$$\exists z. company(Pixar) \wedge located(z_e) \wedge arg_2(z_e, Pixar) \wedge arg_{in}(z_e, CA)$$

## UDepLambda in a nutshell

Dependency tree is a series of **compositions**

Dependency label defines the **composition function**

Each function takes two **typed**-semantic sub-expressions

Returns typed-semantics of the larger expression

## Limitation 1: Delexicalized Semantics

Context-sensitive semantics of dependency labels, e.g., *nsubj* could mean either agent or patient

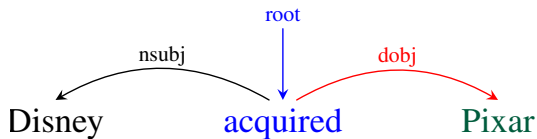
- ▶ John broke the window
- ▶ The window broke

Delexicalized context is not sufficient, e.g., quantifiers vs determiners

### Solution

Learn context-specific semantics from corpus annotated with meaning representation

## Limitation 2: Single Type System

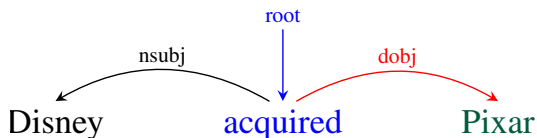


### Lambda Expression for words

$VERB \Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{word}(x_e), e.g., \text{acquired} \Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{acquired}(x_e)$  (1)

$PROPN \Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{word}(x_a), e.g., \text{Pixar} \Rightarrow \lambda x. \text{Pixar}(x_a)$  (2)

## Limitation 2: Single Type System

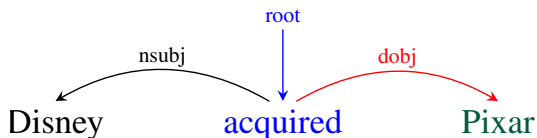


All **words** have a *lambda expression* of type  $\eta$

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



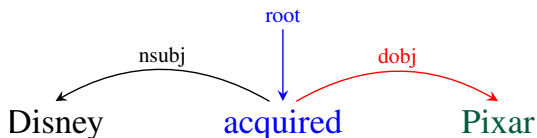
## Limitation 2: Single Type System



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

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

## Limitation 2: Single Type System



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

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

▶  $\text{TYPE}[\text{Pixar}] = \eta$

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

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

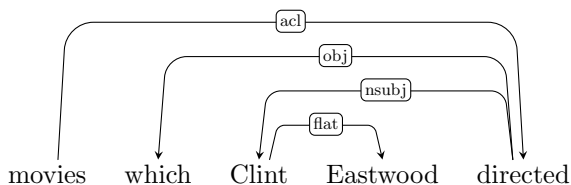
## Limitation 2: Single Type System

**TYPE[word] = TYPE[constituent] =  $\eta$**

### Solutions

1. Rely on enhancements and stick to single type *or*
2. Context sensitive types for dependency trees

# Context sensitive types



movies =  $e \rightarrow t : \lambda x. \text{movies}(x)$

which =  $(e_{\text{obj}} \rightarrow X) \rightarrow (e_{\text{obj}} \rightarrow X) : \lambda f. f$

Clint =  $e_{\text{nsubj}} : \text{Clint}$

Eastwood =  $e : \text{Eastwood}$

directed =  $e_{\text{nsubj}} \rightarrow e_{\text{obj}} \rightarrow t$   
 $: \lambda xy. \exists e. \text{directed}(e) \wedge \text{arg}_1(e, x) \wedge \text{arg}_2(e, y)$

nsubj = Function Application (i.e.  $\lambda fg. f(g); \lambda gf. g(f)$ )

obj = Function Application (i.e.  $\lambda fg. f(g); \lambda gf. g(f)$ )

acl =  $(e \rightarrow t) \rightarrow (e \rightarrow t) \rightarrow (e \rightarrow t)$   
 $: \lambda fgx. f(x) \wedge g(x)$

flat =  $e_x \rightarrow e \rightarrow e_x : \lambda xy. x\_y$  (concatenation)

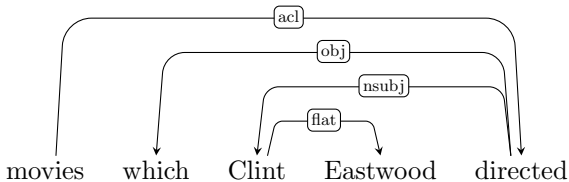
## Limitation 3: Binarization

conj (sentential) < nsubj < conj (phrasal) < obj < conj (verbal)

### Solution: Deduction/Derivation

- ▶ Use context-sensitive types and dependency tree to guide derivation
- ▶ More restricted than Glue

# Deduction



1. (acl movies  
    (obj (nsubj directed (flat Clint Eastwood)) which))
2. (acl movies  
    (nsubj (obj directed which) (flat Clint Eastwood)))

## Advantage: Universal Meaning Banks

Build this for one language

Natural projection to other languages

Automatic semantic meaning banks for several languages

Community provides lexical level corrections

# Questions

- ▶ Where can we learn types from?
- ▶ What is the target meaning representation?

## Options

- ▶ AMR is too far away from UD
- ▶ GMB is semi-supervised CCG. No UD trees. Small?
- ▶ Enhanced UD with semantic inclination



# 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.

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 $\wedge \text{arg}_1(w_e, x_a) \wedge \text{s\_to\_I}(y) \wedge \text{d\_50}(z)$

## Post processing:

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

# Reduced relatives: Object extraction in CCG

1            2            3                            4                            5  
the    movie   Spielberg                            directed                            brilliantly  
 $\overline{NP_x/N_x}$      $\overline{N_2}$      $\overline{NP_3}$      $\overline{(S_4[dcl]\backslash NP_y)/NP_z}$      $\overline{(S_e\backslash NP_y)\backslash(S_e\backslash NP_y)}$

# Reduced relatives: Object extraction in CCG

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{ccccc}
 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
 \text{the} & \text{movie} & \text{Spielberg} & \text{directed} & \text{brilliantly} \\
 \hline
 NP_x/N_x & N_2 & NP_3 & (S_4[dcl] \setminus NP_y)/NP_z & (S_e \setminus NP_y) \setminus (S_e \setminus NP_y) \\
 \hline
 \xrightarrow{NP_2; x=2} & & & \xrightarrow{(S_4 \setminus NP_y)/NP_z; e=4} & \xleftarrow{\mathbf{B}_x}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

# Reduced relatives: Object extraction in CCG

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{cc}
 \frac{1}{\text{the}} & \frac{2}{\text{movie}} \\
 \hline
 NP_x/N_x & N_2
 \end{array} \\
 \hline
 NP_2; x = 2
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \xrightarrow{\text{I}} \\
 \frac{3}{\text{Spielberg}} \\
 \hline
 NP_3
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \xrightarrow{\text{I}} \\
 \frac{4}{\text{directed}} \\
 \hline
 (S_4[dcl] \setminus NP_y) / NP_z
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \frac{5}{\text{brilliantly}} \\
 \hline
 (S_e \setminus NP_y) \setminus (S_e \setminus NP_y) \\
 \hline
 \langle \mathbf{B}_x
 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \xrightarrow{\text{I}} \\
 \frac{5}{\text{brilliantly}} \\
 \hline
 (S_4 \setminus NP_y) / NP_z; e = 4
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \xrightarrow{\text{I}} \\
 \frac{5}{\text{brilliantly}} \\
 \hline
 (S_e \setminus NP_y) \setminus (S_e \setminus NP_y) \\
 \hline
 \langle \mathbf{B}_x
 \end{array}$$

# Reduced relatives: Object extraction in CCG

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{ccccc}
 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
 \text{the} & \text{movie} & \text{Spielberg} & \text{directed} & \text{brilliantly} \\
 \hline
 NP_x/N_x & N_2 & NP_3 & (S_4[dcl] \setminus NP_y) / NP_z & (S_e \setminus NP_y) \setminus (S_e \setminus NP_y) \\
 \hline
 NP_2; x = 2 & & & (S_4 \setminus NP_y) / NP_z; e = 4 & \langle \mathbf{B}_x \rangle
 \end{array} \\
 \xrightarrow{\mathbf{T}} \\
 \begin{array}{c}
 S_u / (S_u \setminus NP_3) \\
 \hline
 S_4 / NP_z; u = 4, y = 3 \\
 \hline
 \rangle \mathbf{B}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

# Reduced relatives: Object extraction in CCG

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{ccccc}
 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
 \text{the} & \text{movie} & \text{Spielberg} & \text{directed} & \text{brilliantly} \\
 \hline
 NP_x/N_x & N_2 & NP_3 & (S_4[dcl] \setminus NP_y) / NP_z & (S_e \setminus NP_y) \setminus (S_e \setminus NP_y) \\
 \hline
 NP_2; x = 2 & & & (S_4 \setminus NP_y) / NP_z; e = 4 & \langle \mathbf{B}_x \rangle
 \end{array} \\
 \xrightarrow{\mathbf{T}} \\
 \begin{array}{c}
 S_u / (S_u \setminus NP_3) \\
 \hline
 S_4 / NP_z; u = 4, y = 3 \\
 \hline
 NP_z \setminus NP_z \\
 \text{lex}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \xrightarrow{\mathbf{B}}
 \end{array}$$



# Reduced relatives: Object extraction in CCG

