

6.863J Natural Language Processing

Lecture 12: Featured attraction

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The Menu Bar

- Administrivia:

- 3a due Friday; Lab 3b out Weds; due after vacation

Agenda:

Parsing strategies: Honey, I shrank the grammar!

Features

Why: recover meaning from structure

John ate ice-cream \rightarrow ate(John, ice-cream)

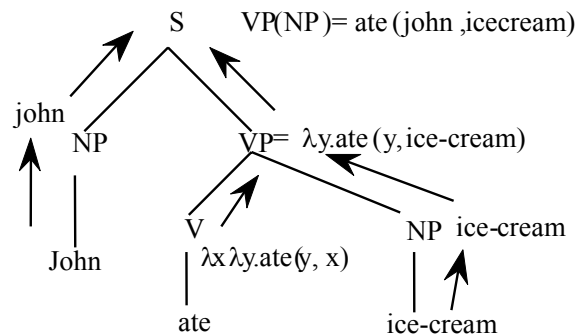
-This must be done from *structure*

-Actually want something like $\lambda x \lambda y$ ate(x,y)

How?

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Why: recover meaning from structure



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Two parts:

- Syntax: define hierarchical structure
- Semantics: interpret over hierarchical structure

- What are the constraints?

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Conclusion we will head to

- If we use too powerful a formalism, it lets us write 'unnatural' grammars
- This puts burden on the person writing the grammar – which may be ok.
- However, child doesn't presumably do this (they don't get 'late days')
- We want to strive for automatic programming – ambitious goal

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Key elements – part 1

- Establish basic phrase types: S, VP, NP, PP, ...
- Where do these come from???

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What *kinds* of phrases are there?

- Noun phrases, verb phrases, adjectival phrases (“green with envy”), adverbial phrases (“quickly up the hill”), prepositional phrases (“off the wall”), etc.
- In general: *grounded* on lexical items
- Shows us the *constraints* on context-free rules for *natural grammars*
- Example:

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Phrase types are constrained by lexical projection

Verb Phrase →

“is-a”

Noun Phrase

ball”

Prepositional Phrase →

in Noun Phrase

able”

Adjective Phrase →

Prep. Phrase

with envy”

Etc. ... what is the pattern?

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Function-argument relation

XP → X arguments, where X = Noun, Verb,
Preposition, Adjective (all lexical
categories in the language)

Like function-argument structure
(so-called “Xbar theory”)

Constrains what grammar rules *cannot* be:

Verb Phrase → Noun Noun Phrase

or even

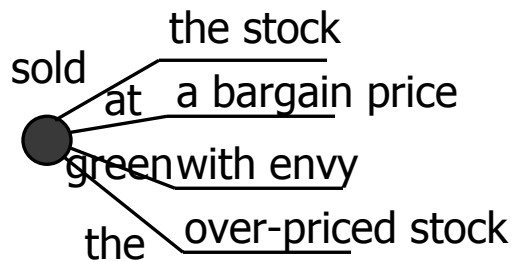
Verb Phrase → Noun Phrase Verb Noun Phrase

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English is function-argument form

function

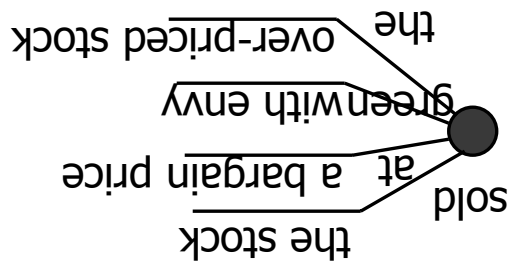
args



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Other languages are the mirror-inverse: arg-function

This is like Japanese



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Key elements – part 2

- Establish *verb subcategories*
- What are these?
 - Different verbs take different # arguments
 - 0, 1, 2 arguments ('complements')
 - Poirot thought; Poirot thought the gun; Poirot thought the gun was the cause.
 - Some verbs take certain sentence complements:
 - *I know who John saw/? I think who John saw*
 - propositional types:
 - Embedded questions: *I wonder whether...*
 - Embedded proposition: *I think that John saw Mary*

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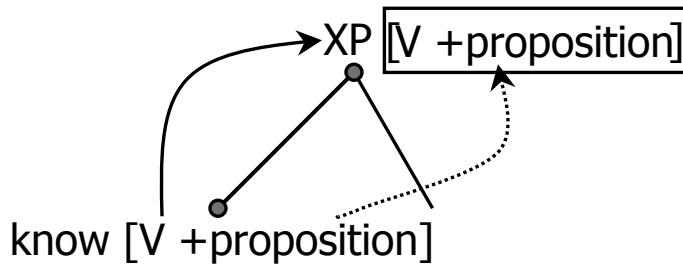
Key elements

- Subtlety to this
- Believe, know, think, wonder, ...
 - ? I believe why John likes ice-cream
 - I know why John likes ice-cream
 - I believe that John likes ice-cream
 - I believe (that) John likes ice-cream
- # args, type: Verb subcategories
- How many subcategories are there?
- What is the structure?

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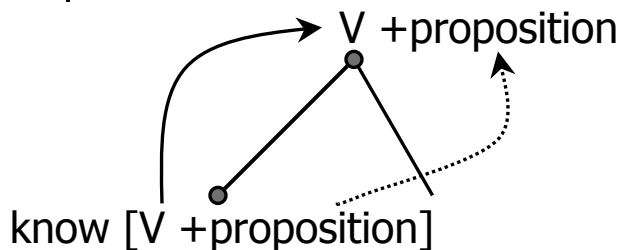
Idea for phrases

- They are based on 'projections' of words (lexical items) – imagine features 'percolating' up



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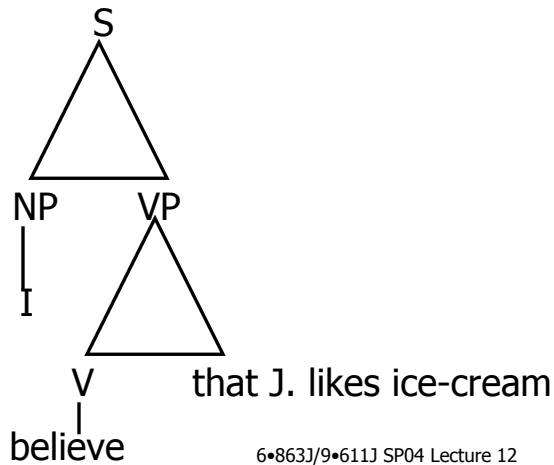
Heads of phrases



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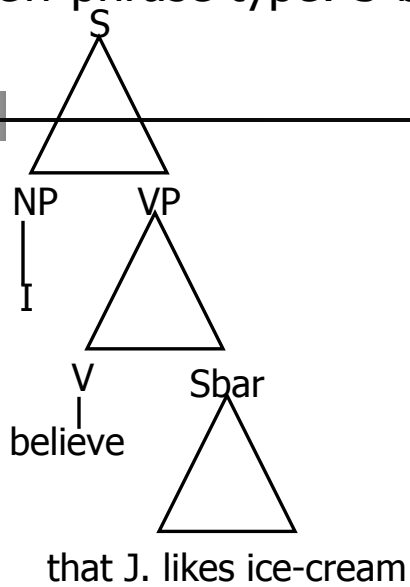
The parse structure for 'embedded' sentences

I believe (that) John likes ice-cream

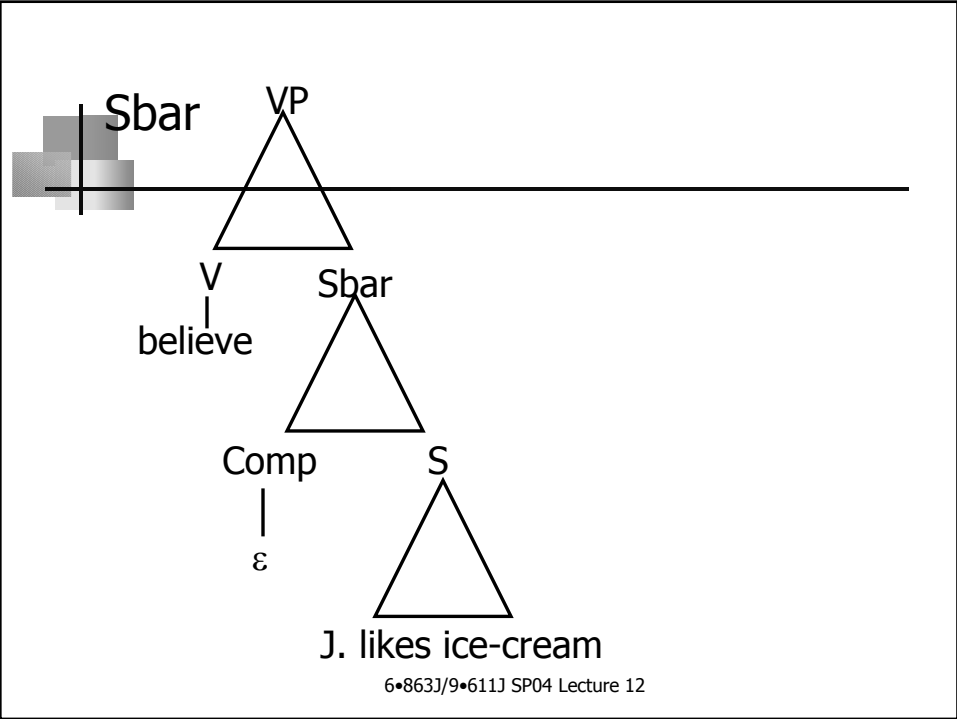
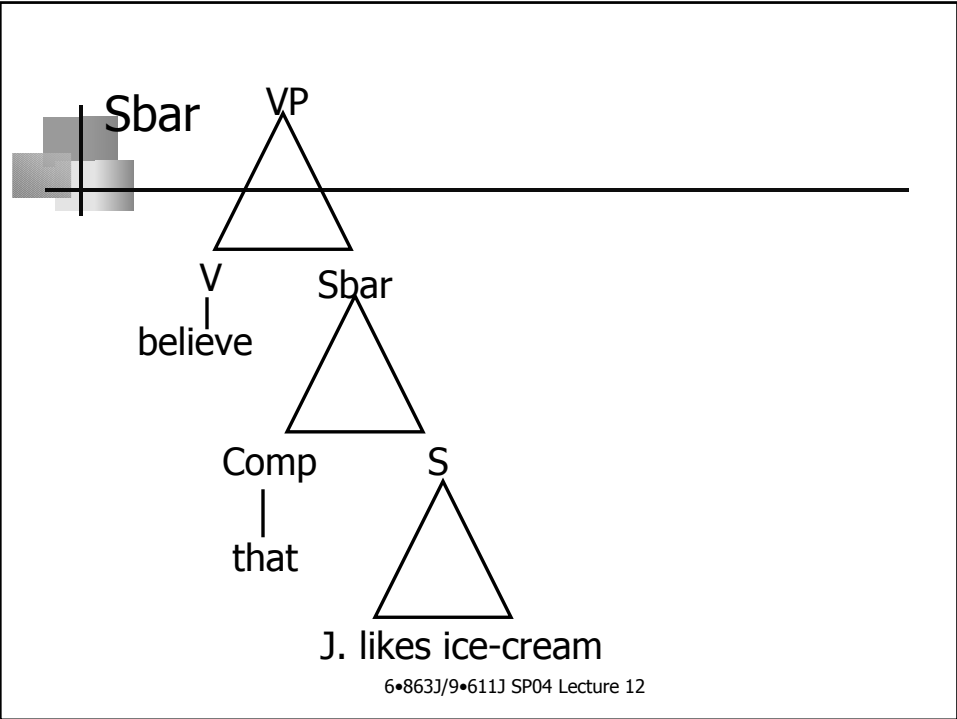


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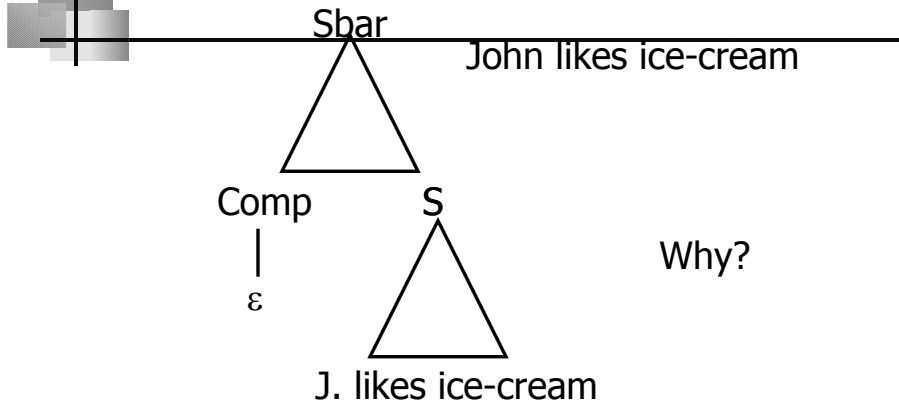
New phrase type: S-bar



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In fact, true for all sentences...




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What rules will we need?

- (U do it..)

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Verb types - continued

- What about:

Clinton admires honesty/Honesty admires Clinton

How do we encode these in a CFG?

Should we encode them?

- Colorless green ideas sleep furiously
- Revolutionary new ideas appear infrequently

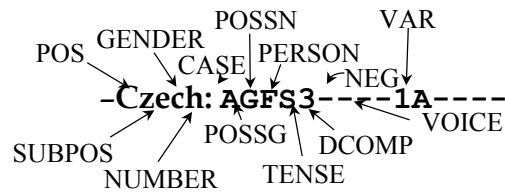
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Problems with this – how much info?

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Agreement gets complex...



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Other sentence types

- Questions:
 - Will John eat ice-cream?
 - Did John eat ice-cream?
- How do we encode this?

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'Empty' elements or categories

Where surface phrase is displaced from its canonical syntactic position

- Examples:
 - The ice-cream was eaten vs.
 - John ate the ice-cream
 - What did John eat?
 - What did Bill say that that John thought the cat ate?
 - For What x, did Bill say... the cat ate x
 - Bush is too stubborn to talk to
 - Bush is too stubborn [x to talk to Bush]
 - Bush is too stubborn to talk to the Pope
 - Bush is too stubborn [Bush to talk to the Pope]

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More interesting clause types

- Apparently "long distance" effects:
 - 'displacement' of phrases from their 'base' positions
- 1. So-called 'wh-movement':
What did John eat ?
- 2. Topicalization (actually the same)
On this day, it snowed two feet.
- 3. Other cases: so-called 'passive':
The eggplant was eaten by John
- How to handle this?

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We can think of this as 'fillers' and 'gaps'

- Filler= the displaced item
- Gap = the place where it belongs, as argument
- Fillers can be NPs, PPs, S's
- Gaps are *invisible* so hard to parse! (we have to guess)
- Can be complex:

Which book did you file__ without__ reading__ ?

Which violins are these sonatas difficult to play__ on

—

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Problems with this – how much info?

- Even verb subcategories not obvious
John gave Mary the book → NP NP
John gave the book to Mary → NP PP

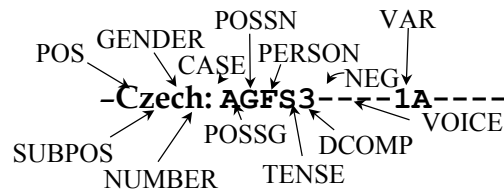
But:

John donated the book to the library

'Alternation' pattern – semantic? NO!

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Agreement gets complex...



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More interesting clause types

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'Empty' elements or categories

~~Where surface phrase is displaced from its canonical syntactic position & *nothing* shows on the surface~~

- Examples:
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 - What did John eat?
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'missing' or empty categories

- John promised Mary ___ to leave
- John promised Mary [John to leave]
- Known as 'control'

- John persuaded Mary [___ to leave]
- John persuaded Mary [Mary to leave]

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- Fillers can be NPs, PPs, S's
- Gaps are *invisible* so hard to parse! (we have to guess)
- Can be complex:

Which book did you file__ without__ reading__ ?
Which violins are these sonatas difficult to play__
on ____

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Gaps

- Pretend "kiss" is a pure transitive verb.
- Is "the president kissed" grammatical?
 - If so, what type of phrase is it?

- the sandwich that
- ~~I wonder what~~
- What else ~~has~~ _____

} the president kissed e
Sally said the president kissed e
Sally consumed the pickle with e
Sally consumed e with the pickle

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Gaps

Object gaps:

- the sandwich that
 - I wonder what
 - What else has
- the president kissed e
Sally said the president kissed e
Sally consumed the pickle with e
Sally consumed e with the pickle

[how could you tell the difference?]

Subject gaps:

- the sandwich that
 - I wonder what
 - What else has
- e kissed the president
Sally said e kissed the president

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Gaps

All gaps are really the same – a missing XP:

- the sandwich that
 - I wonder what
 - What else has
- the president kissed e
Sally said the president kissed e
Sally consumed the pickle with e
Sally consumed e with the pickle
e kissed the president
Sally said e kissed the president

Phrases with missing NP:

X[missing=NP]

or just X/NP for short

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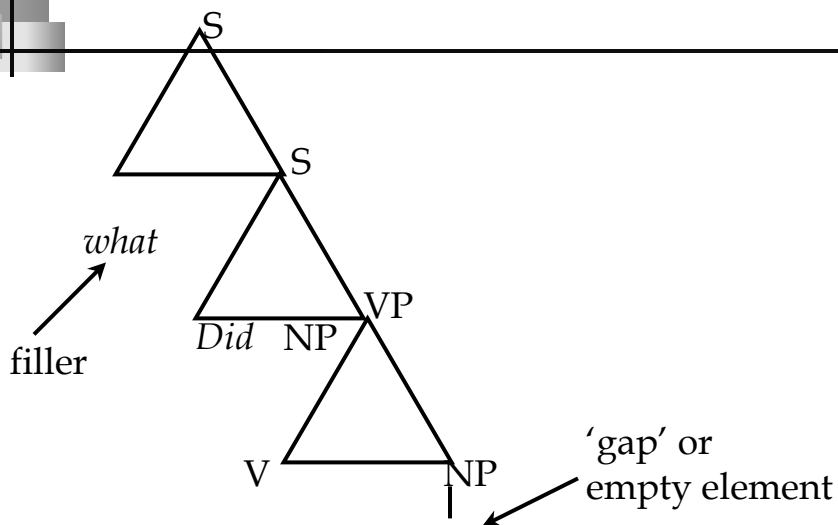
Representation & computation questions again

- How do we *represent* this displacement?
(difference between underlying & surface forms)
- How do we *compute* it? (I.e., parse sentences that exhibit it)
- We want to recover the *underlying* structural relationship because this tells us what the predicate-argument relations are – *Who did what to whom*
- Example: *What did John eat* → For which x, x a thing, did John eat x?
- Note how the eat-x predicate-argument is established

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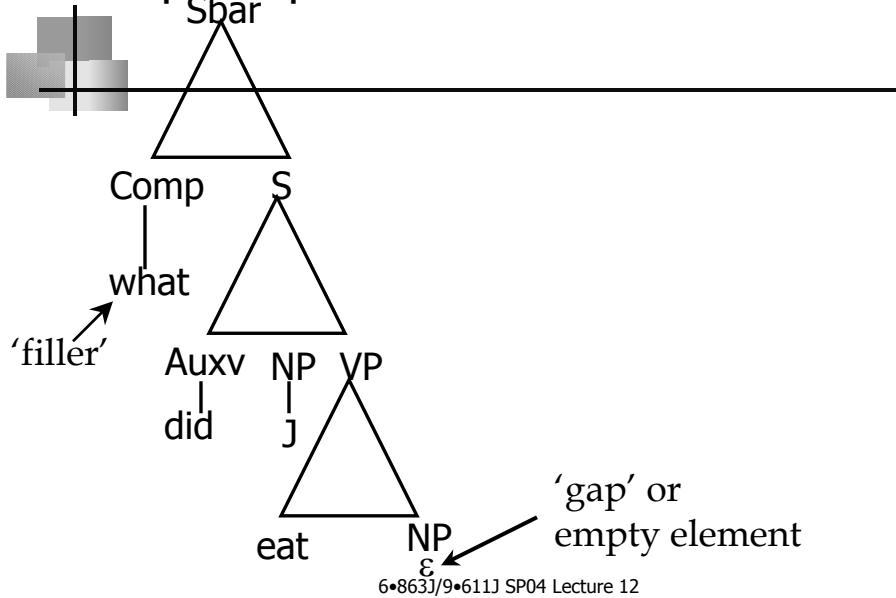
Representations with gaps

- Let's first look at a tree with gaps:



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Crisper representation:



Fillers can be arbitrarily far from gaps
they match with...

- What did John say that Mary thought that the cat ate___?

Fillers and gaps

- Since 'gap' is NP going to empty string, we could just add rule, $NP \rightarrow \epsilon$
- But this will *overgenerate* why?
- We need a way to distinguish between
 - What did John eat
 - Did John eat
- How did this work in the FSA case?

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So, what do we need?

- A rule to expand NP as the empty symbol; that's easy enough: $NP \rightarrow \epsilon$
- A way to make sure that NP is expanded as empty symbol iff there is a gap (in the right place) before/after it
- A way to link the filler and the gap
- We can do all this by futzing with the nonterminal names: Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG)

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Example: relative clauses

- What are they?
- Noun phrase with a sentence embedded in it:
 - The sandwich that the president ate
- What about it? What's the syntactic representation that will make the semantics *transparent*?

The sandwich_i that the president ate e_i

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OK, that's the output...what are the cfg rules?

- Need to expand the object of *eat* as an empty string
- So, need rule $NP \rightarrow \epsilon$
- But more, we need to link the head noun "the sandwich" to this position
- Let's use the fsa trick to 'remember' something – what is that trick???
- Remember?

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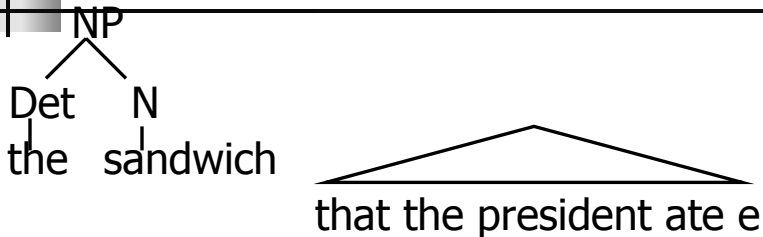
Memory trick

- Use state of fsa to remember
- What is state in a CFG?
- The nonterminal names
- We need something like vowel harmony – sequence of states = nonterminals

the sandwich that the president ate e

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As a parse structure

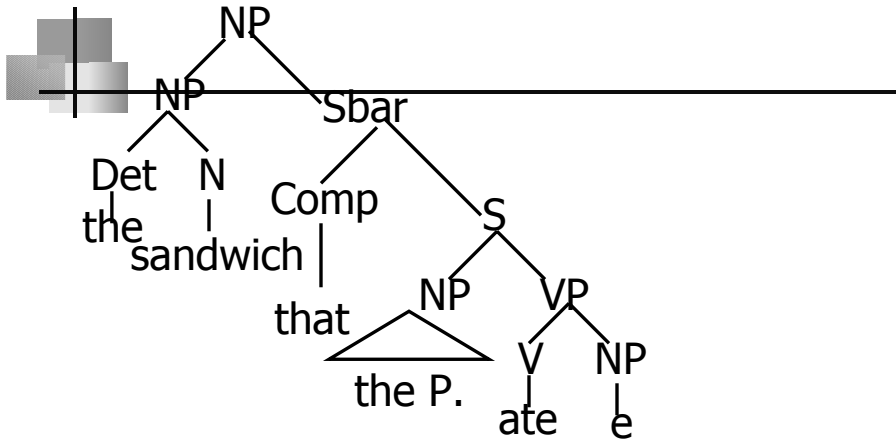


What's this? We've seen it before...

It's an Sbar = Comp+S

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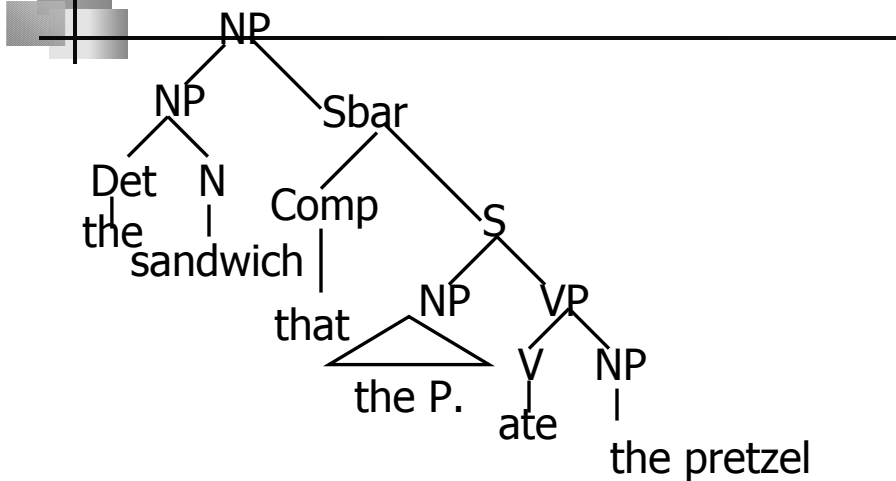
Parse structure for relative clause



But how to generate this and block this:

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Not OK!



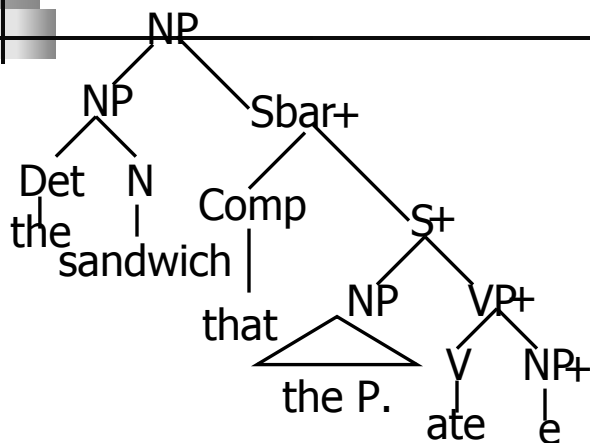
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In short..

- We can expand out to e iff there is a prior NP we want to link to
- So, we need some way of 'marking' this in the state – I.e., the nonterminal
- Further, we have to somehow co-index e and 'the sandwich'
- Well: let's use a mark, say, "+"

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The mark...



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But we can add + except this way:

- Add as part of atomic nonterminal name

- Before: NP → NP Sbar
Sbar → Comp S
S → NP VP
VP → VP NP
- After: NP → NP Sbar+
Sbar+ → Comp S+
S+ → NP VP+
VP+ → V NP+
NP+ → e

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Why does this work?

- Has desired effect of blocking 'the sandwich that the P. ate the pretzel'
- Has desired effect of allowing e exactly when there is no other object
- Has desired effect of 'linking' sandwich to the object (how?)
- Also: desired configuration between filler and gap (what is this?)

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Actual 'marks' in the literature

- Called a 'slash category'
- Ordinary category: Sbar, VP, NP
- Slash category: Sbar/NP, VP/NP, NP/NP
- "X/Y" is ONE atomic nonterminal
- Interpret as: Subtree X is missing a Y (expanded as e) underneath
- Example: Sbar/NP = Sbar missing NP underneath (see our example)

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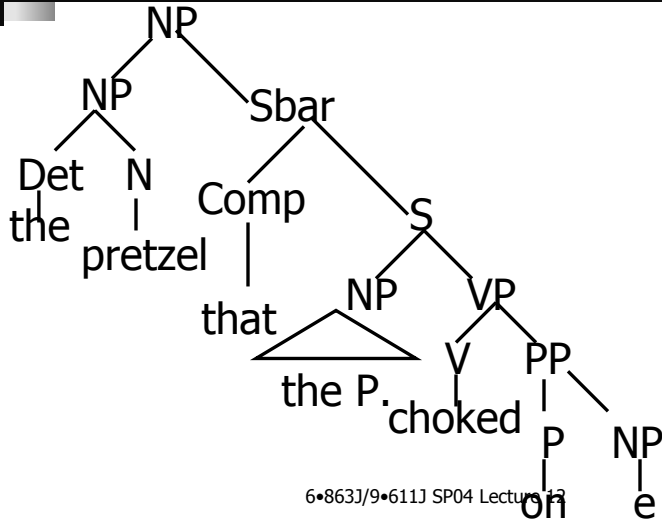


As for slash rules...

- We need slash category introduction rule, e.g., Sbar \rightarrow Comp S/NP
- We need 'elimination' rule NP/NP \rightarrow e
- These are paired (why?)
- We'll need other slash categories, e.g.,

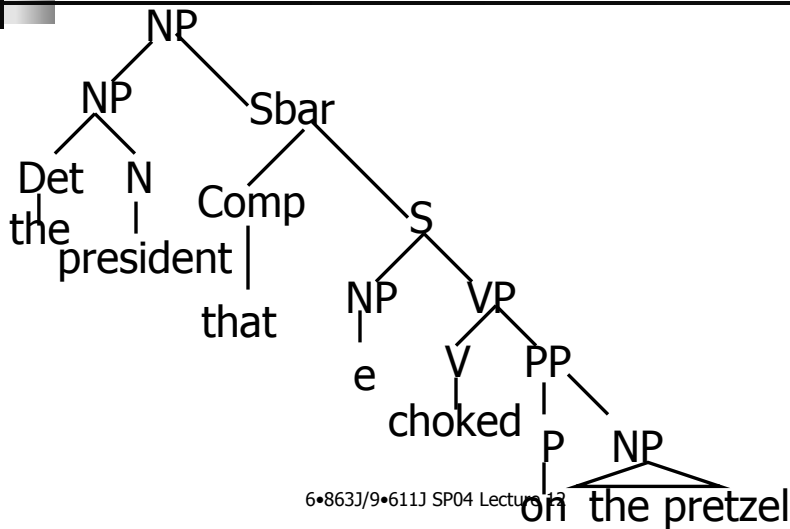
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Need PP/NP...



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Also have 'subject' gaps

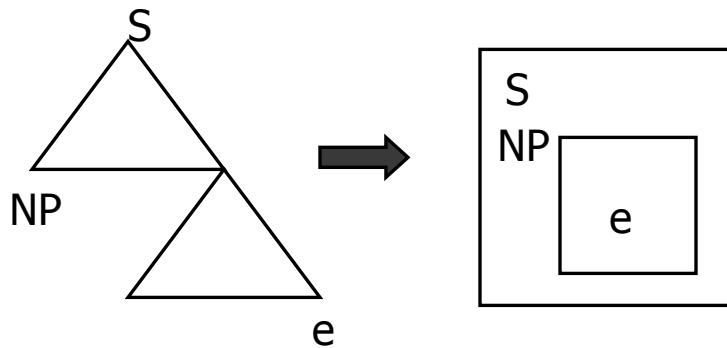


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How would we write this?

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Filler-gap configuration



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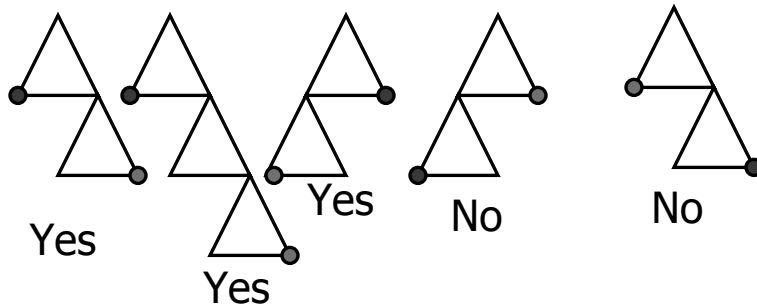
Filler-gap configuration

- Equivalent to notion of 'scope' for natural languages (scope of variables) \approx Environment frame in Scheme/binding environment for 'variables' that are empty categories
- Formally: Fillers c-command gaps (constituent command)
- Definition of c-command:

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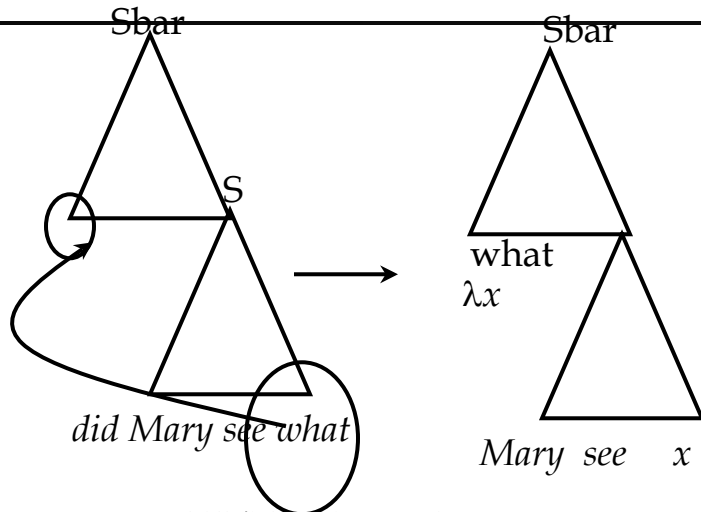
C-command

- A phrase α c-commands a phrase β iff the first branching node that dominates α also dominates β (blue = filler, green = gap)



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Natural for λ abstraction



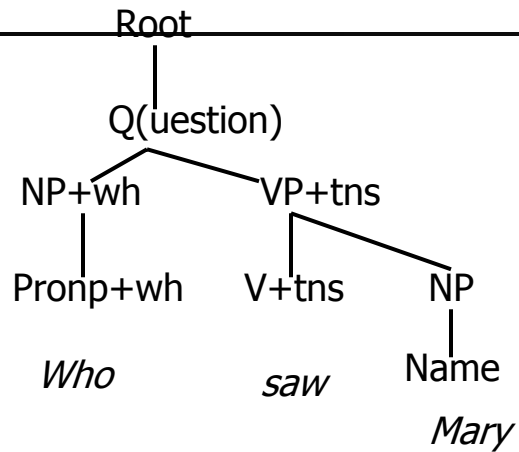
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Puzzle:

- Who saw Mary?

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Idea 1: WYSIG syntax

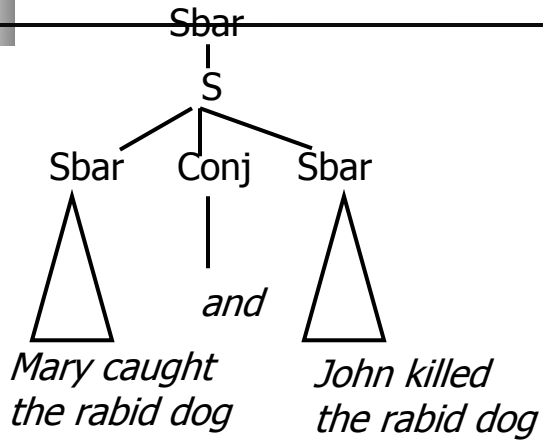


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Is this right?

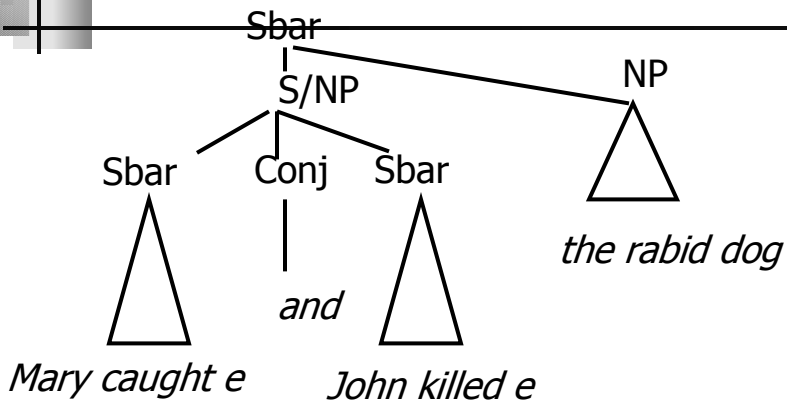
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Another example




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What if we move the object?



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Why not read off the rules?

- Why can't we just build a machine to do this?
- We could induce rules from the structures
- But we have to know the right representations (structures) to begin with
- Penn treebank has structures – so could use learning program for that
- This is, as noted, a *construction based* approach
- We have to account for various *constraints*, as noted

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So what?

- What about multiple fillers and gaps?
- Which violins are these sonatas difficult to play these sonatas or which violins ?

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How many context-free rules?

- For every displaced phrase, what do we do to the 'regular' context-free rules?
- How many kinds of displaced rules are there?
Which book and Which pencil did Mary buy?
*Mary asked who and what bought
- Well, how many???
- Add in agreement...

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And then..

- John saw more horses than bill saw cows or Mary talked to
- John saw more horses than bill saw cows or mary talked to cats
- The kennel which Mary made and Fido sleeps in has been stolen
- The kennel which Mary made and Fido sleeps has been stolen

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CFG Solution

- Encode constraints into the non-terminals
 - Noun/verb agreement
 - $S \rightarrow SgS$
 - $S \rightarrow PIS$
 - $SgS \rightarrow SgNP SgVP$
 - $SgNP \rightarrow SgDet SgNom$
 - Verb subcategories:
 - $IntransVP \rightarrow IntransV$
 - $TransVP \rightarrow TransV NP$
 - Complex nonterminal names

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How big can the grammar get???

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- But this means huge proliferation of rules...

- An alternative:

- View terminals and non-terminals as complex objects with associated features, which take on different values
- Write grammar rules whose application is constrained by tests on these features, e.g.
 $S \rightarrow NP VP$ (only if the NP and VP agree in number)

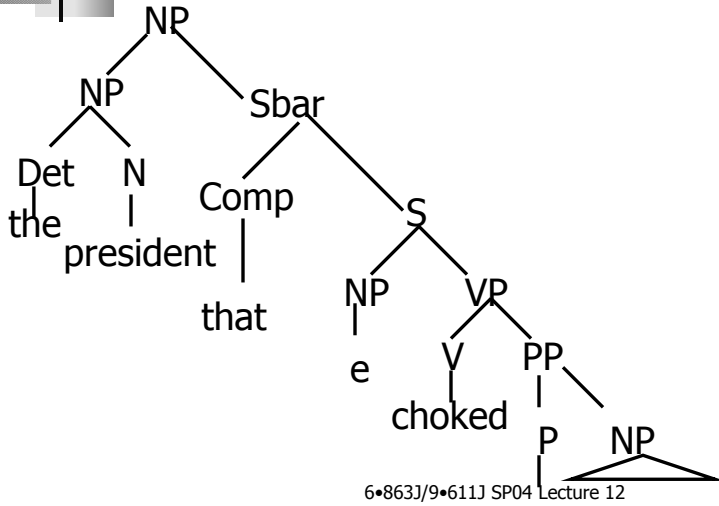
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Design advantage

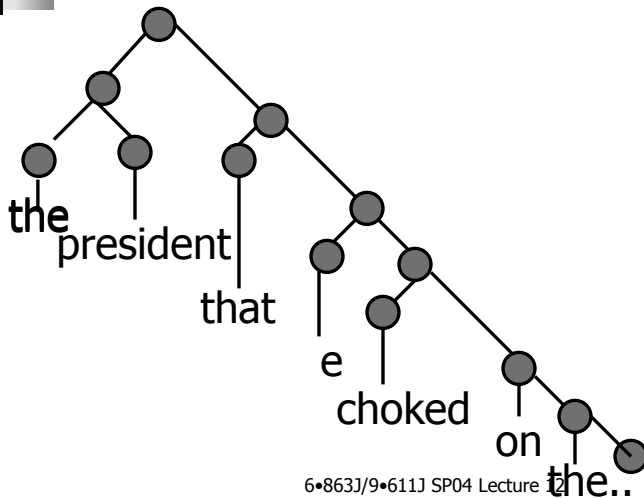
- Decouple skeleton syntactic structure from lexicon
- In fact, the syntactic structure really is a skeleton:

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From this...



To this



Features are everywhere

morphology of a single word:

Verb[head=thrill, tense=present, num=sing, person=3,...] → thrills

projection of features up to a bigger phrase

VP[head= α , tense= β , num= γ ...] → V[head= α , tense= β , num= γ ...] NP
provided α is in the set TRANSITIVE-VERBS

agreement between sister phrases:

S[head= α , tense= β] → NP[num= γ ,...] VP[head= α , tense= β , num= γ ...]
provided α is in the set TRANSITIVE-VERBS

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Better approach to factoring linguistic knowledge

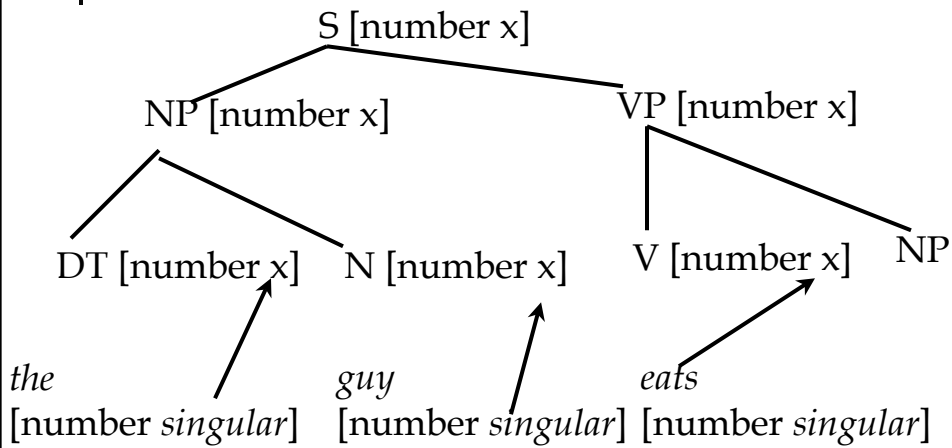
- Use the *superposition* idea: we superimpose one set of constraints on top of another:

1. Basic skeleton tree
2. Plus the added feature constraints

• S	→	NP	VP
[num x]		[num x]	[num x]
		<i>the guy</i>	<i>eats</i>
		[num singular]	[num singular]

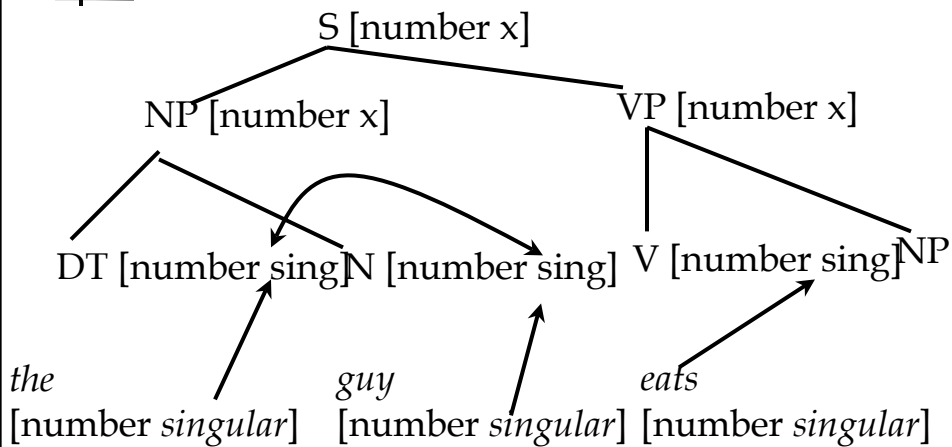
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Or in tree form:



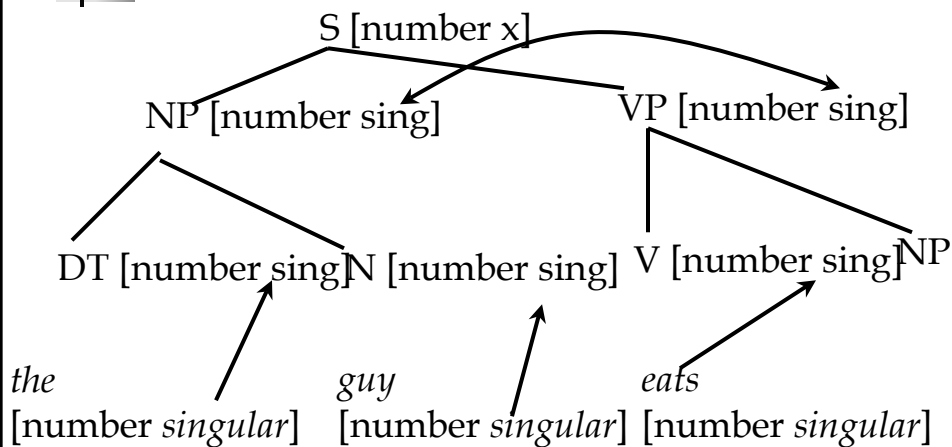
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Values trickle up



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Checking features



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What sort of power do we need here?

- We have [*feature value*] combinations so far
- This seems fairly widespread in language
 - We call these atomic feature-value combinations
 - Other examples:
 1. In English:
 - person feature (1st, 2nd, 3rd);
 - Case feature (degenerate in English: nominative, object/accusative, possessive/genitive): I know *her* vs. I know *she*;
 - Number feature: plural/sing; definite/indefinite
 - Degree: comparative/superlative

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Other languages; formalizing features

- Two kinds:
 1. Syntactic features, purely grammatical function
Example: Case in German (NOMinative, ACCusative, DATive case) – relative pronoun must agree w/
Case of verb with which it is construed
Wer nicht stark is, muss klug sein
Who not strong is, must clever be
NOM NOM
Who isn't strong must be clever

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Continuing this example

Ich nehme, wen du mir empfiehlst
I take whomever you me recommend
ACC ACC ACC
I take whomever you recommend to me

**Ich nehme, wen du vertraust*
I take whomever you trust
ACC ACC DAT

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Other class of features

2. Syntactic features w/ meaning – example, number, def/indef., adjective degree

Hungarian

Akart egy könyvet

He-wanted a book

-DEF -DEF

egy könyv amit akart

A book which he-wanted

-DEF -DEF

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Feature Structures

- Sets of feature-value pairs where:
 - Features are atomic symbols
 - Values are atomic symbols or feature structures
 - Illustrated by attribute-value matrix

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How to formalize?

- Let F be a finite set of feature names, let A be a set of feature values
- Let ρ be a function from feature names to permissible feature values, that is,
 $\rho: F \rightarrow 2^A$
- Now we can define a *word category* as a triple $\langle F, A, \rho \rangle$
- This is a partial function from feature names to feature values

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Example

$F = \{\text{CAT}, \text{PLU}, \text{PER}\}$

- ρ :

$\rho(\text{CAT}) = \{V, N, AD\}$

$\rho(\text{PER}) = \{1, 2, 3\}$

$\rho(\text{PLU}) = \{+, -\}$

$\text{sleep} = \{[\text{CAT } V], [\text{PLU } -], [\text{PER } 1]\}$

$\text{sleep} = \{[\text{CAT } V], [\text{PLU } +], [\text{PER } 1]\}$

$\text{sleeps} = \{[\text{CAT } V], [\text{PLU } -], [\text{PER } 3]\}$

Checking whether features are compatible is relatively simple here...how bad can it get?

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Operations on Feature Structures

- What will we need to do to these structures?
 - Check the compatibility of two structures
 - Merge the information in two structures
- We can do both using unification
- We say that two feature structures can be unified if the component features that make them up are compatible
 - $[\text{Num SG}] \cup [\text{Num SG}] = [\text{Num SG}]$
 - $[\text{Num SG}] \cup [\text{Num PL}]$ fails!
 - $[\text{Num SG}] \cup [\text{Num []}] = [\text{Num SG}]$

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- $[\text{Num SG}] \cup [\text{Pers 3}] =$
- Structures are compatible if they contain no ~~features that are incompatible~~
- Unification of two feature structures:
 - Are the structures compatible?
 - If so, return the union of all feature/value pairs
- A failed unification attempt

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Feature unification examples

1) [agreement: [number: singular
 person: first]]

(2) [agreement: [number: singular
 case: nominative]]

(4) [agreement: [number: singular
 person: third]]

• (2) & (4) can unify, yielding (5):

(5) [agreement: [number: singular
 person: third]
 case: nominative]

• BUT (1) and (4) cannot unify because their values conflict on <agreement person>

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• To enforce subject/verb number agreement

S → NP VP

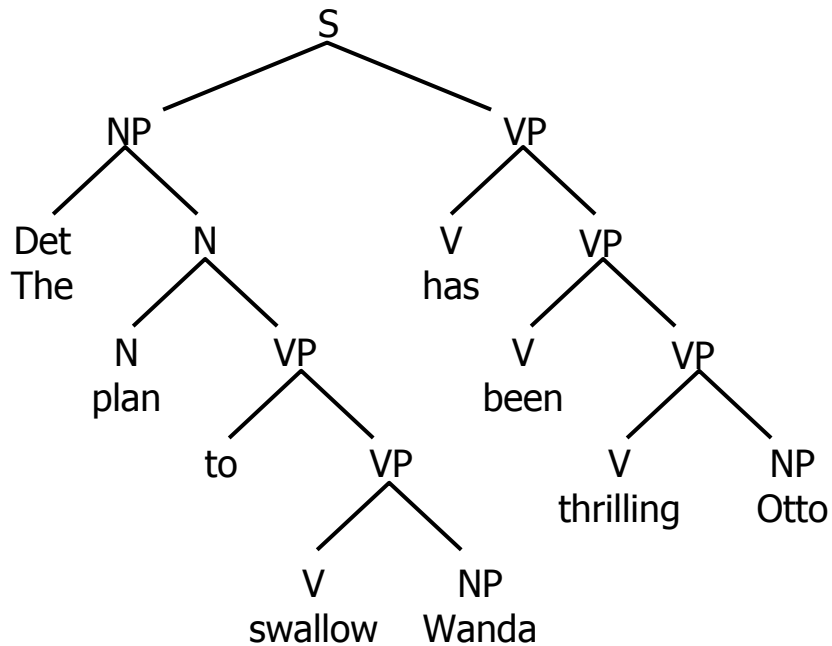
<NP NUM> = <VP NUM>

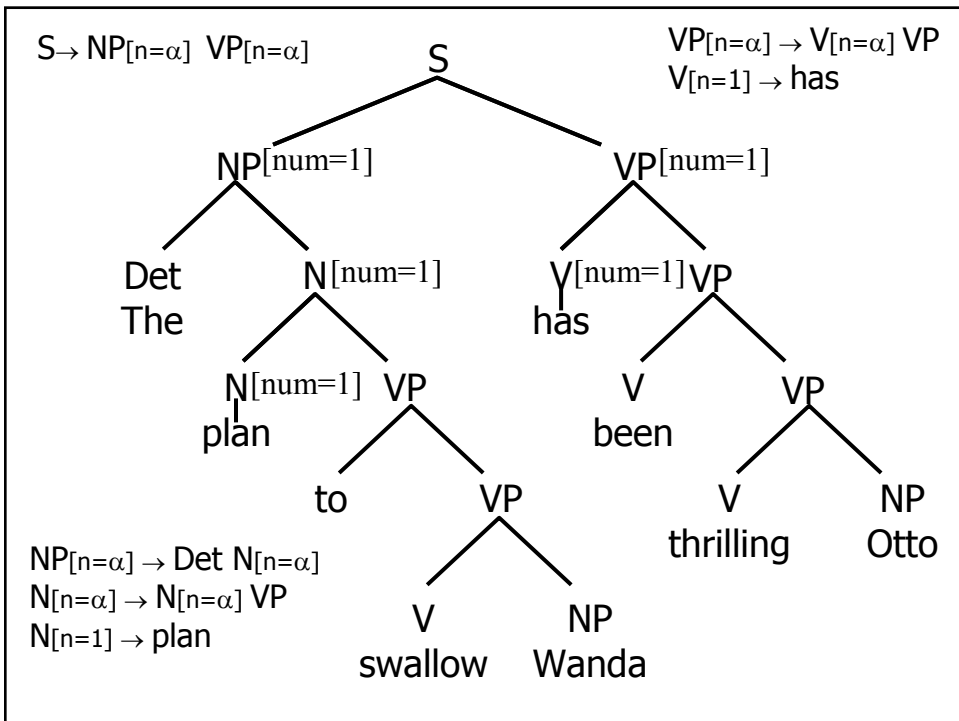
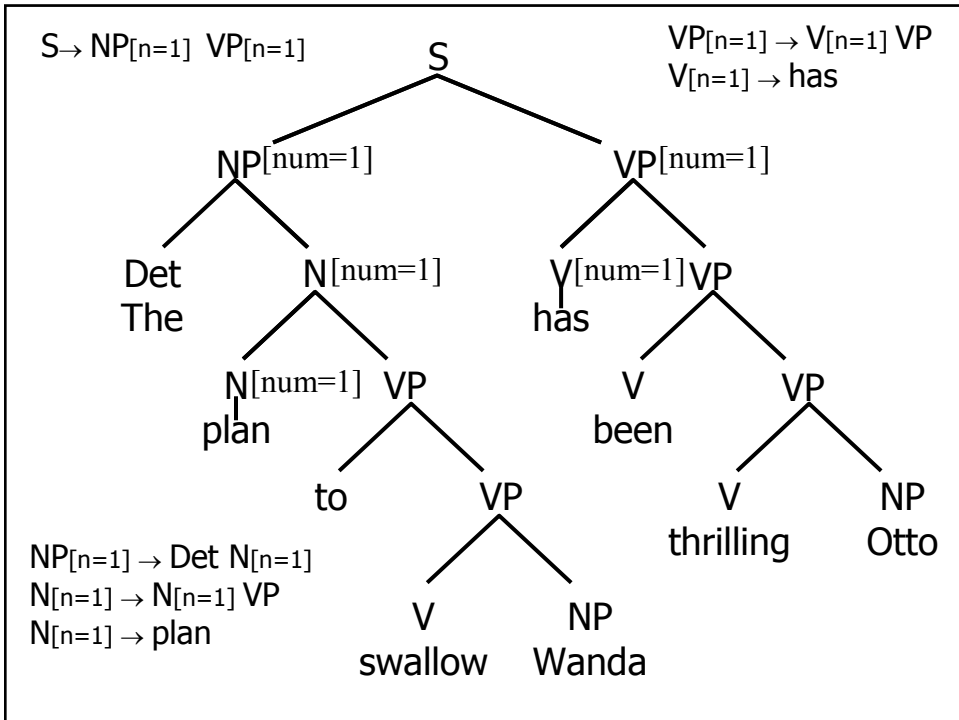
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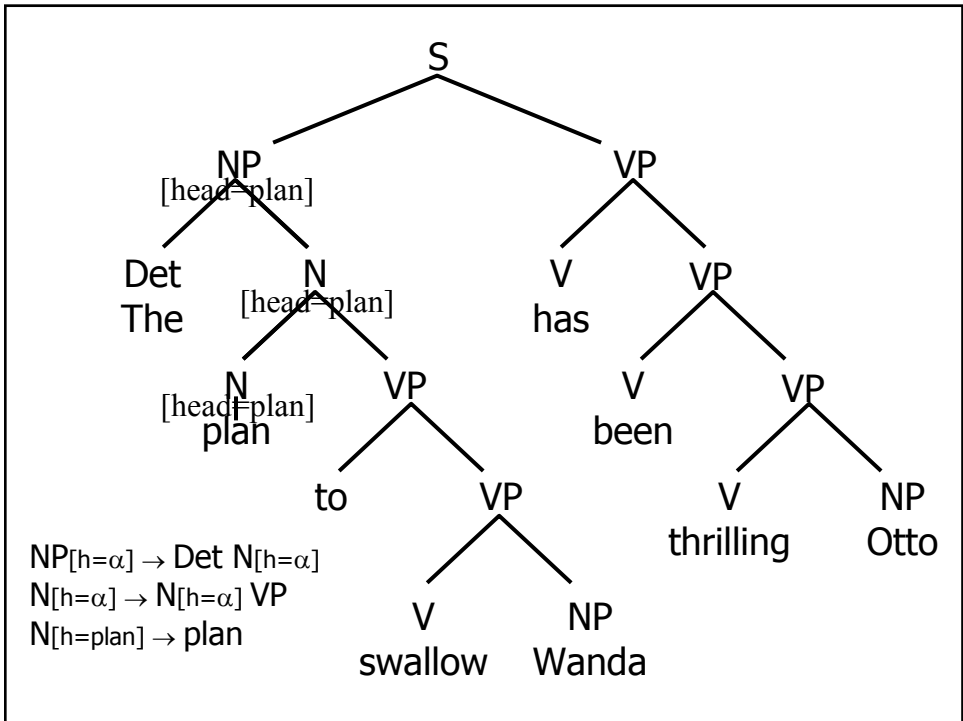
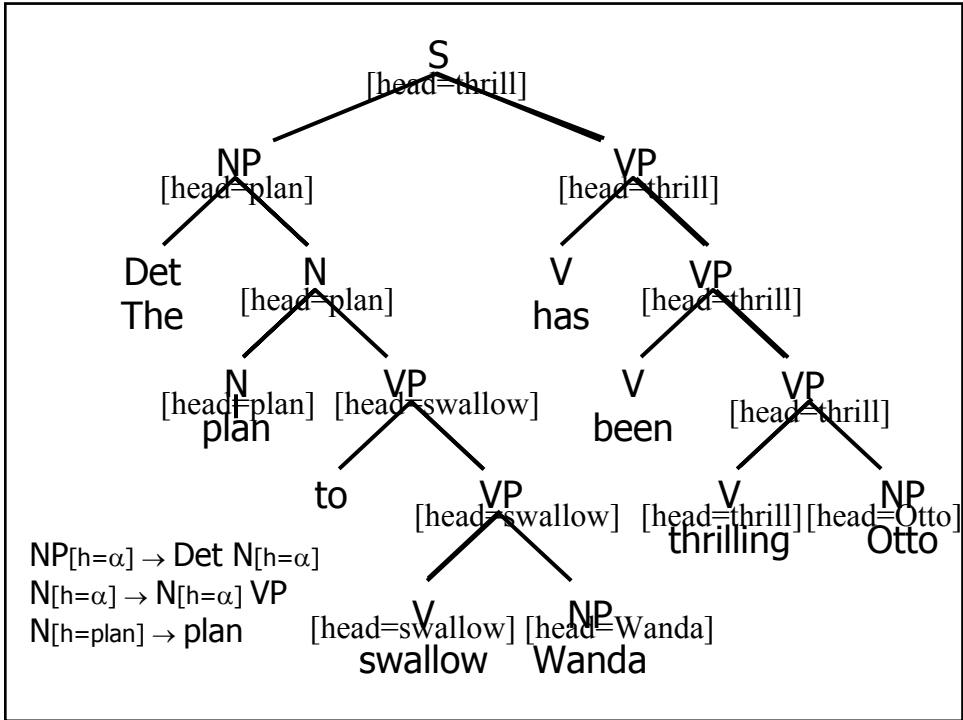
Head Features

- Features of most grammatical categories are copied from head child to parent (e.g. from V to VP, Nom to NP, N to Nom, ...)
- These normally written as 'head' features, e.g.
 - VP → V NP
 - <VP HEAD> = <V HEAD>
 - NP → Det Nom
 - <NP HEAD> = <Nom HEAD>
 - <Det HEAD AGR> = <Nom HEAD AGR>
 - Nom → N
 - <Nom HEAD> = <N HEAD>

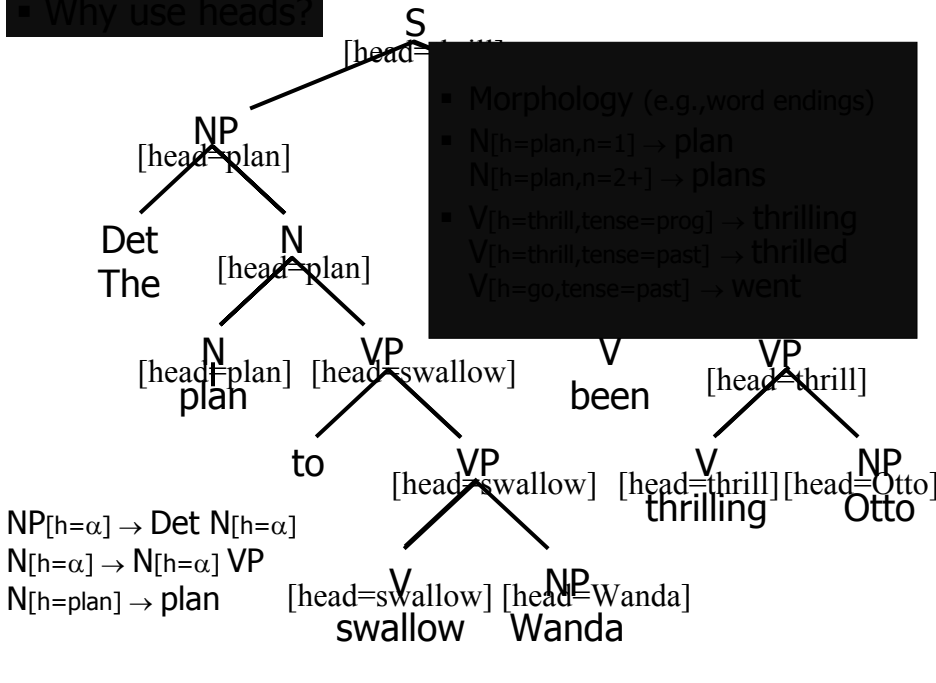
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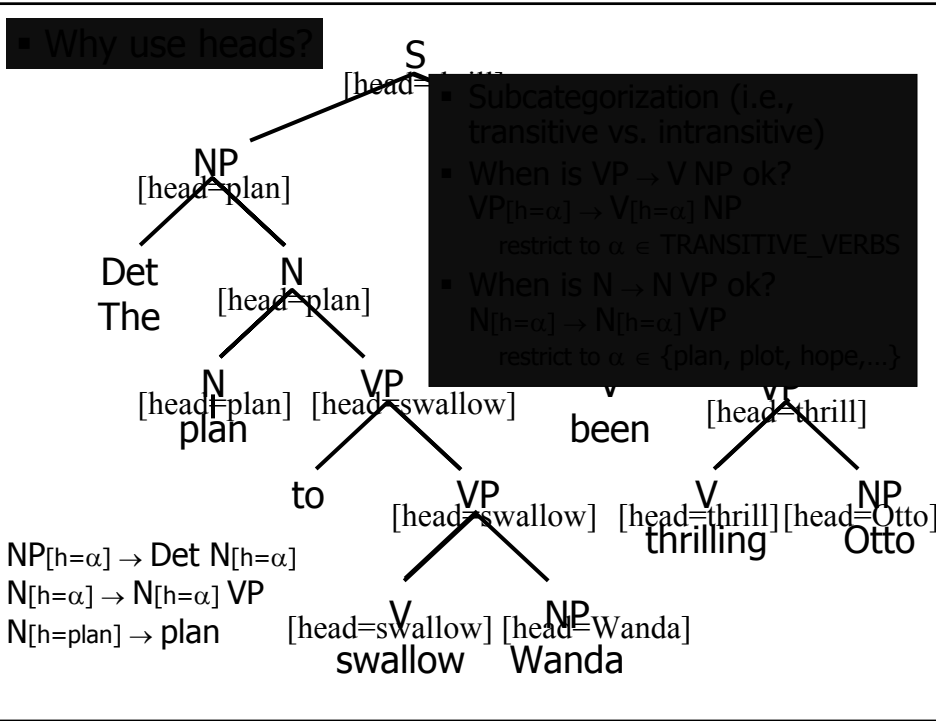




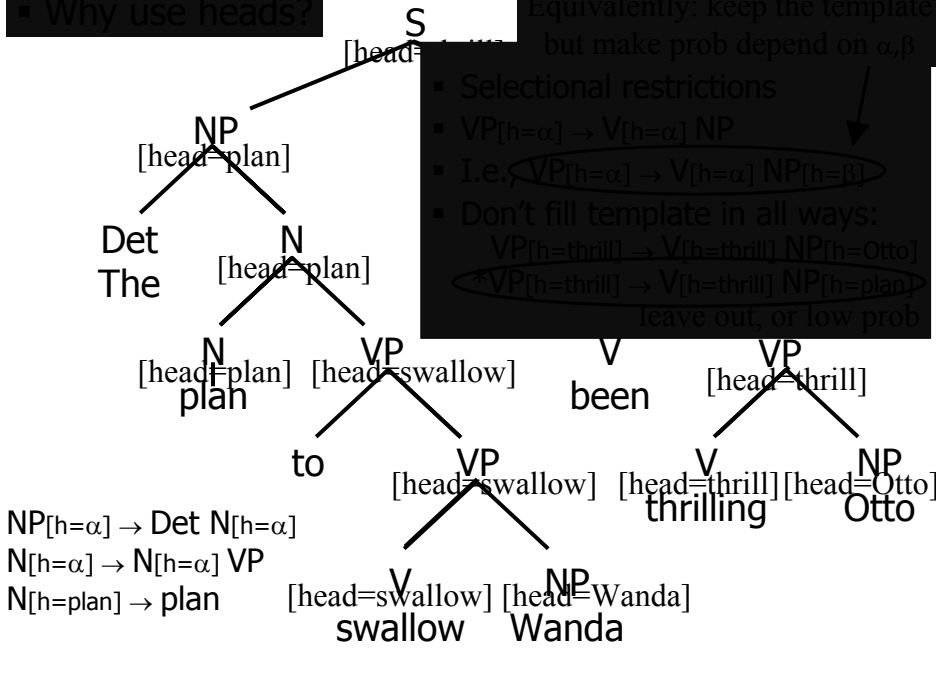
• Why use heads?



• Why use heads?



Why use heads?



$NP[h=\alpha] \rightarrow Det N[h=\alpha]$
 $N[h=\alpha] \rightarrow N[h=\alpha] VP$
 $N[h=plan] \rightarrow plan$

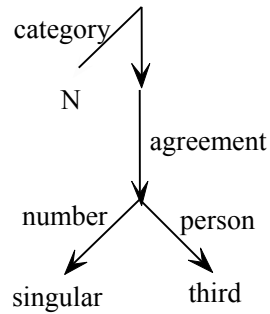
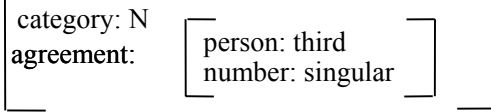
$V[h=swallow] \rightarrow to$
 $NP[h=Wanda] \rightarrow V[h=swallow] NP[h=Wanda]$
 $V[h=swallow] \rightarrow swallow$
 $NP[h=Wanda] \rightarrow Wanda$

Equivalently: keep the template but make prob depend on α, β

- Selectional restrictions
- $VP[h=\alpha] \rightarrow V[h=\alpha] NP$
- I.e., $VP[h=\alpha] \rightarrow V[h=\alpha] NP[h=\beta]$
- Don't fill template in all ways:
 $VP[h=thrill] \rightarrow V[h=thrill] NP[h=Otto]$
 $*VP[h=thrill] \rightarrow V[h=thrill] NP[h=plan]$
 leave out, or low prob

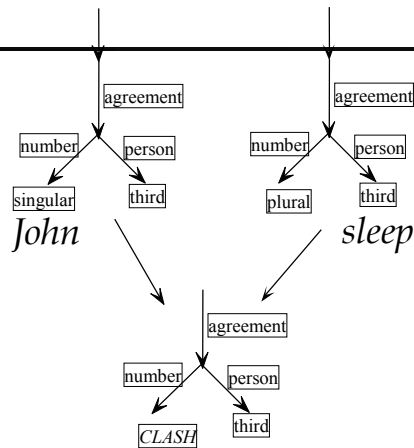
- How do we define 3pINP?
- How does this improve over the CFG solution?
- Feature values can be feature structures themselves
- Useful when certain features commonly co-occur, e.g. number and person
- Feature path: path through structures to value (e.g. Agr \rightarrow Num \rightarrow SG)

Features and grammars



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Feature checking by unification



**John sleep*

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Our feature structures

- NP[agr ?B] -> DET[agr ?B] N[agr ?B]
- VP[fin ?A, agr ?B] -> V2[fin ?A, agr ?B] NP
- Maria NAME[agr [person 3, plural -]]

Kimmo entry for Verb (eg, 'coge' after analysis):

- +e Suffix "[fin +, agr [tense pres, mode ind, person 3, plural -]]"

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How can we parse with feature structures?

- Unification operator: takes 2 features structures and returns *either* a merged feature structure or *fail*
- Input structures represented as DAGs
 - Features are labels on edges
 - Values are atomic symbols or DAGs
- Unification algorithm goes through features in one input DAG₁ trying to find corresponding features in DAG₂ – if all match, success, else fail
- WE WILL USE MUCH SIMPLER kind of feature structure

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Features and Earley Parsing

- Goal:

 - Use feature structures to provide richer representation
 - Block entry into chart of ill-formed constituents
- Changes needed to Earley
 - Add feature structures to grammar rules, & lexical entries
 - Add field to states containing set representing feature structure corresponding to state of parse, e.g.
S → • NP VP, [0,0], [], Set= [Agr [plural -]]

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- Add new test to Completer operation
 - Recall: Completer adds new states to chart by finding states whose • can be advanced (i.e., category of next constituent matches that of completed constituent)
 - Now: Completer will only advance those states if their feature structures unify
- New test for whether to enter a state in the chart
 - Now feature structures may differ, so check must be more complex
 - Suppose feature structure is more specific than existing one tied to this state? Do we add it?

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Evidence that you don't need this much power

- Linguistic evidence: looks like you just check whether features are *nondistinct*, rather than equal or not – variable *matching*, not variable substitution
- Full unification lets you generate unnatural languages:
a^{*n*}, s.t. *n* a power of 2 – e.g., *a*, *aa*, *aaaa*, *aaaaaaaa*, ...
why is this 'unnatural' – another (seeming) property of natural languages:

Natural languages seem to obey a *constant growth* property

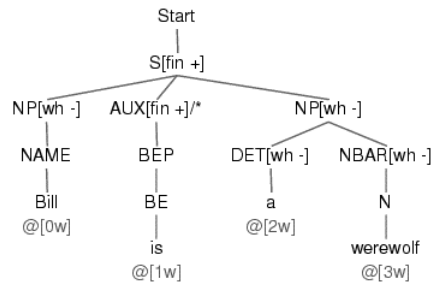
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Parsing with features – hook from kimmo to earley

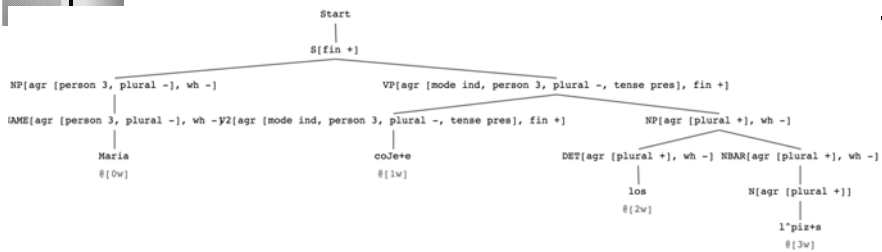
- Features written in this form (in Kimmo)
- `+as Suffix "[fin +, agr [tense pres, mode ind, person 2, plural -]]"`
- In general:
[feature value, feature [feature val, ..., feature val]]

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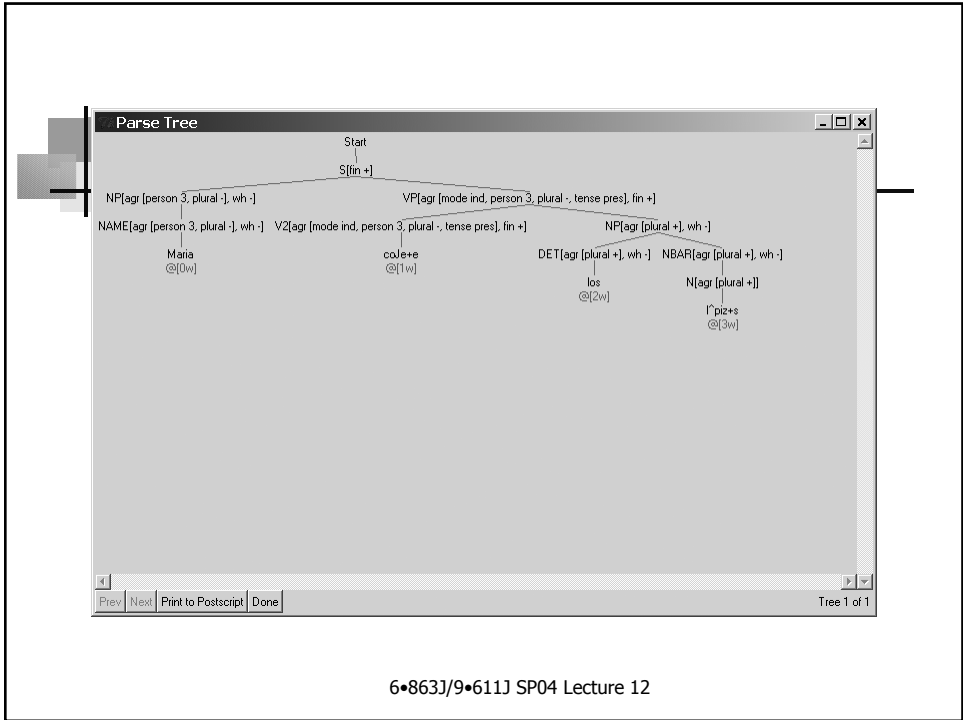
Where wolf



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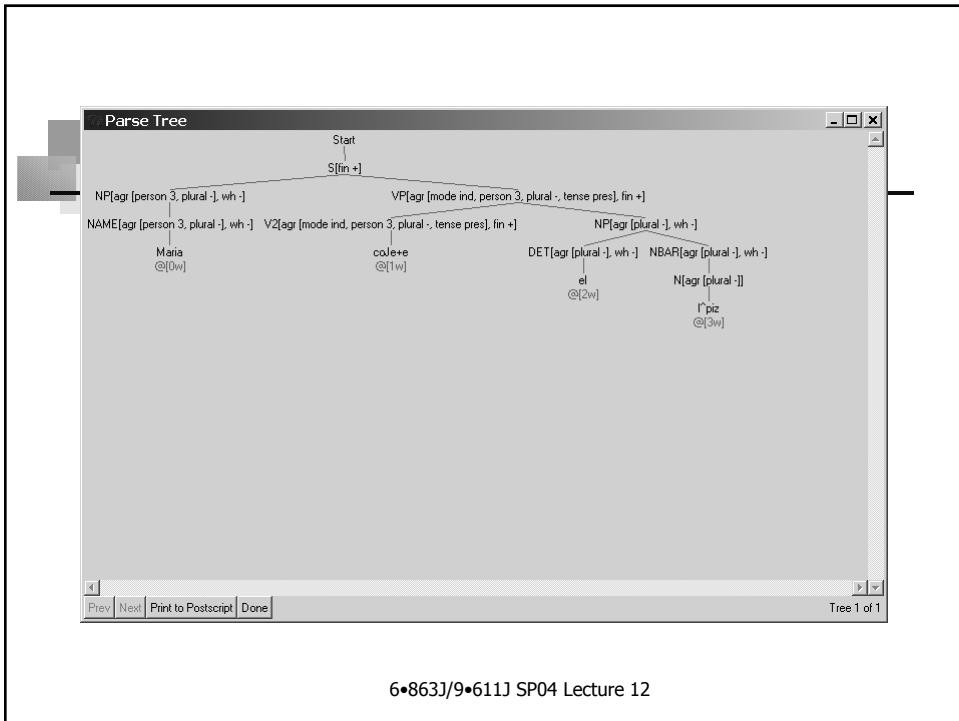
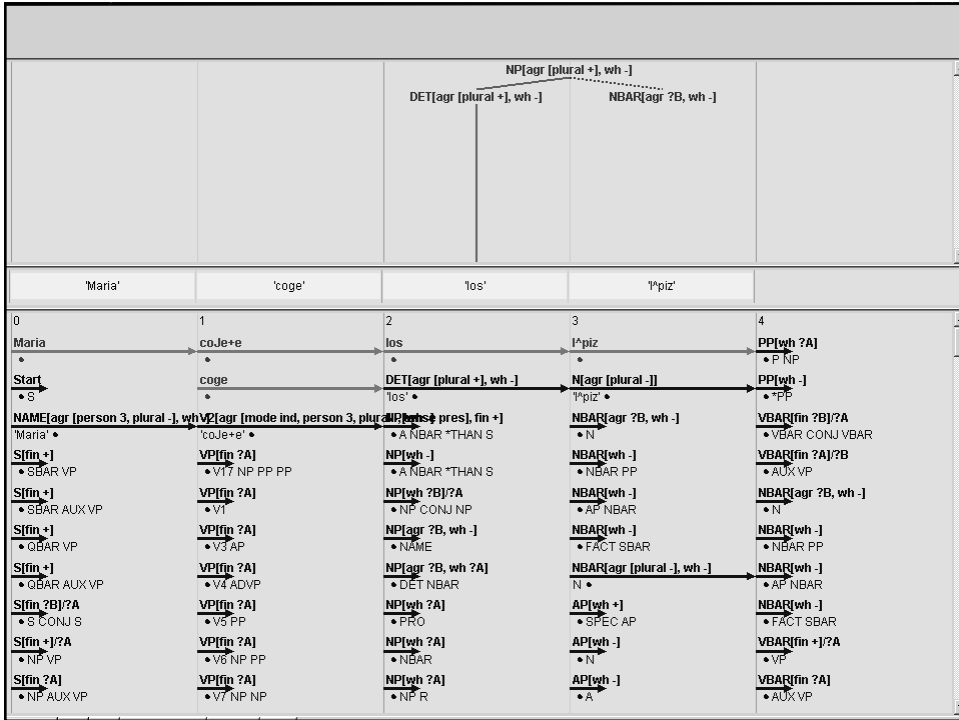


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		NP[agr [plural +], wh -]		
		DET[agr [plural +], wh -]	NBAR[agr ?B, wh -]	
'Maria'	'cogee'	'los'	'piz'	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SBAR AUX VP S[fin +] • QBAR VP S[fin +] • QBAR AUX VP S[fin ?B]?A • S CONJ S S[fin +]?A • NP VP S[fin ?A] • NP AUX VP S[fin ?A] • NP AUX S[fin ?A] • NP AUX NP S[fin ?A] • NP AUX AP S[fin ?A] • NP AUX PP S[fin ?A]?B • NP AUX VP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • VT VP[fin ?A] • V3 AP VP[fin ?A] • V4 ADVP VP[fin ?A] • V5 PP VP[fin ?A] • V6 NP PP VP[fin ?A] • V7 NP NP VP[fin ?A] • V8 SBAR VP[fin ?A] • V9 S VP[fin ?A] • V10 QBAR VP[fin ?A] • V11 NP QBAR VP[fin ?A] • V12 PP QBAR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NP CONJ NP NP[agr ?B, wh -] • NAME NP[agr ?B, wh ?A] • DET NBAR NP[wh ?A] • PRO NP[wh ?A] • NBAR NP[wh ?A] • NP R NP[agr [plural +], wh -] DET • NBAR NBAR[agr ?B, wh -] • N NBAR[wh -] • NBAR PP NBAR[wh -] • AP NBAR NBAR[wh -] • FACT SBAR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP NBAR NBAR[wh -] • FACT SBAR NBAR[agr [plural -], wh -] N • AP[wh +] • SPEC AP AP[wh -] • N AP[wh -] • A AP[wh -] • AP A AP[wh ?B]?A • AP CONJ AP AP[wh ?A] • ADVP A AP[wh ?A] • AP VBAR NBAR[wh -] NBAR • PP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N NBAR[wh -] • NBAR PP NBAR[wh -] • AP NBAR NBAR[wh -] • FACT SBAR VBAR[fin +]?A • VP VBAR[fin ?A] • AUX VP VBAR[fin +] • VP AUX[fin ?A]?A • MODALP AUX[fin ?A]?A • MODALP HAVEP AUX[fin ?A]?A • MODALP BEP AUX[fin ?A]?A • MODALP HAVEP BEP



Constant growth property

Claim: \exists Bound k on the 'distance gap' between any two consecutive sentences in this list, which can be specified in advance (fixed)

- 'Intervals' between valid sentences cannot get too big – cannot grow w/o bounds
- We can do this a bit more formally

Constant growth

- Dfn. A language L is semilinear if the number of occurrences of each symbol in any string of L is a linear combination of the occurrences of these symbols in some fixed, finite set of strings of L .
- Dfn. A language L is constant growth if there is a constant c_0 and a finite set of constants C s.t. for all $w \in L$, where $|w| > c_0 \exists w' \in L$ s.t. $|w'| = |w| + c$, some $c \in C$
- Fact. (Parikh, 1971). Context-free languages are semilinear, and constant-growth
- Fact. (Berwick, 1983). The power of 2 language is non constant-growth

General feature grammars – how violate these properties

- Take example from so-called “lexical-functional grammar” but this applies as well to any general unification grammar
- Lexical functional grammar (LFG): add checking rules to CF rules (also variant HPSG)

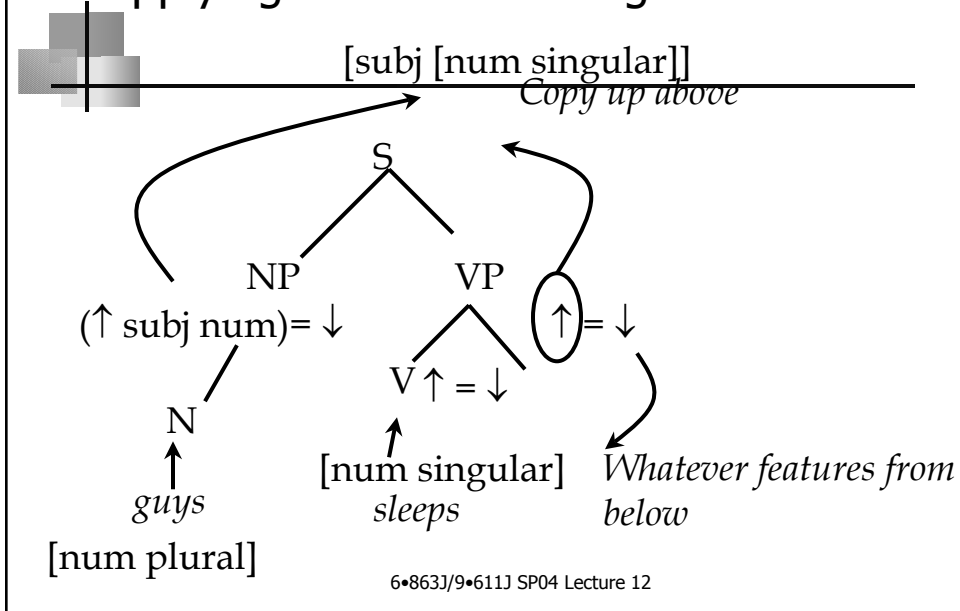
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Example LFG

- Basic CF rule:
 $S \rightarrow NP VP$
- Add corresponding ‘feature checking’
 $S \rightarrow \quad NP \quad \quad \quad VP$
 $(\uparrow \text{ subj num}) = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow$
- What is the interpretation of this?

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Applying feature checking in LFG



Alas, this allows non-constant growth, unnatural languages

- Can use LFG to generate power of 2 language

- Very simple to do

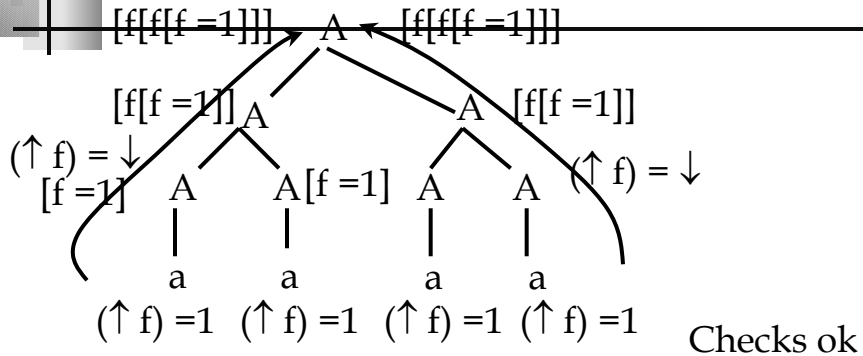
- $A \rightarrow A \quad A$
 $(\uparrow f) = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow f) = \downarrow$

$$A \rightarrow a$$

$$(\uparrow f) = 1$$

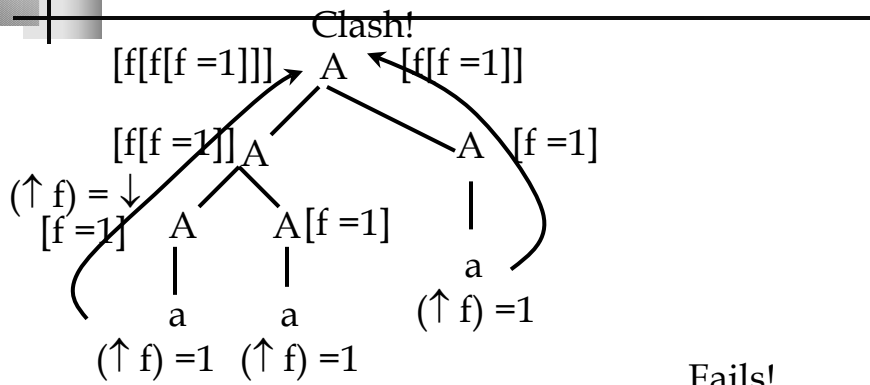
Lets us 'count' the number of embeddings on the right & the left – make sure a power of 2

Example



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If mismatch anywhere, get a feature clash...



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Conclusion then

- If we use too powerful a formalism, it lets us write 'unnatural' grammars
- This puts burden on the person writing the grammar – which may be ok.
- However, child doesn't presumably do this (they don't get 'late days')
- We want to strive for automatic programming – ambitious goal