

Lecture 12: Dependency Parsing; Expressive Grammars

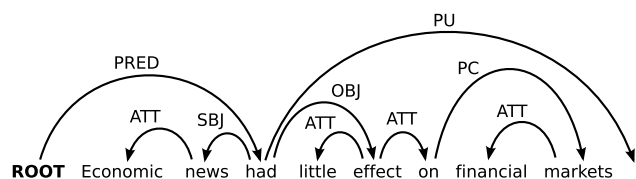
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Dependency Parsing

A dependency parse



Dependencies are (labeled) asymmetrical binary relations between two lexical items (words).

Parsing algorithms for DG

'Transition-based' parsers:

learn a sequence of actions to parse sentences

Models:

State = stack of partially processed items
+ queue/buffer of remaining tokens
+ set of dependency arcs that have been found already
Transitions (actions) = add dependency arcs; stack/queue operations

'Graph-based' parsers:

learn a model over dependency graphs

Models:

a function (typically sum) of local attachment scores
For dependency trees, you can use a minimum spanning tree algorithm

Transition-based parsing (Nivre et al.)

Transition-based parsing: assumptions

This algorithm works for **projective dependency trees**.

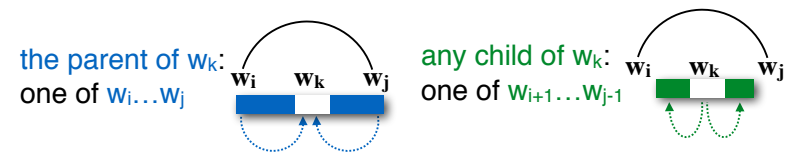
Dependency tree:

Each word has a single parent
(Each word is a **dependent of** [is attached to] **one other word**)

Projective dependencies:

There are **no crossing dependencies**.

For any i, j, k with $i < k < j$: if there is a dependency between w_i and w_j , the **parent of w_k** is a **word w_l between (possibly including) i and j : $i \leq l \leq j$** , while **any child w_m of w_k** has to occur **between (excluding) i and j : $i < m < j$**



Transition-based parsing

Transition-based shift-reduce parsing processes the sentence $S = w_0 w_1 \dots w_n$ from left to right.

Unlike CKY, it constructs a **single tree**.

Notation:

w_0 is a special ROOT token.

$V_S = \{w_0, w_1, \dots, w_n\}$ is the vocabulary of the sentence

R is a set of dependency relations

The parser uses three data structures:

σ : a **stack of partially processed words** $w_i \in V_S$

β : a **buffer of remaining input words** $w_i \in V_S$

A : a **set of dependency arcs** $(w_i, r, w_j) \in V_S \times R \times V_S$

Parser configurations (σ, β, A)

The **stack σ** is a list of **partially processed words**

We push and pop words onto/off of σ .

$\sigma|w$: w is on top of the stack.

Words on the stack are not (yet) attached to any other words.

Once we attach w , w can't be put back onto the stack again.

The **buffer β** is the **remaining input words**

We read words from β (left-to-right) and push them onto σ

$w|\beta$: w is on top of the buffer.

The **set of arcs A** defines the **current tree**.

We can add new arcs to A by attaching the word on top of the stack to the word on top of the buffer, or vice versa.

Parser configurations (σ, β, A)

We start in the **initial configuration** $([w_0], [w_1, \dots, w_n], \{\})$

(Root token, Input Sentence, Empty tree)

We can attach the first word (w_1) to the root token w_0 ,
or we can push w_1 onto the stack.

(w_0 is the only token that can't get attached to any other word)

We want to end in the **terminal configuration** $([], [], A)$

(Empty stack, Empty buffer, Complete tree)

Success!

We have read all of the input words (empty buffer) and have
attached all input words to some other word (empty stack)

Transition-based parsing

We process the sentence $S = w_0w_1\dots w_n$ from left to
right (“incremental parsing”)

In the parser configuration $(\sigma|w_i, w_j\beta, A)$:

w_i is on top of the stack. w_i may have some children

w_j is on top of the buffer. w_j may have some children

w_i precedes w_j ($i < j$)

We have to either attach w_i to w_j , attach w_j to w_i , or
decide that there is no dependency between w_i and w_j

If we reach $(\sigma|w_i, w_j\beta, A)$, all words w_k with $i < k < j$ have
already been attached to a parent w_m with $i \leq m \leq j$

Parser actions

(σ, β, A) : Parser configuration with stack σ , buffer β , set of arcs A

(w, r, w') : Dependency with head w , relation r and dependent w'

SHIFT: Push the next input word w_i from the buffer β onto the stack σ

$(\sigma, w_i\beta, A) \Rightarrow (\sigma|w_i, \beta, A)$

LEFT-ARC_r: ... $w_i \dots w_j$... (dependent precedes the head)

Attach dependent w_i (top of stack σ) to head w_j (top of buffer β)
with relation r from w_j to w_i . Pop w_i off the stack.

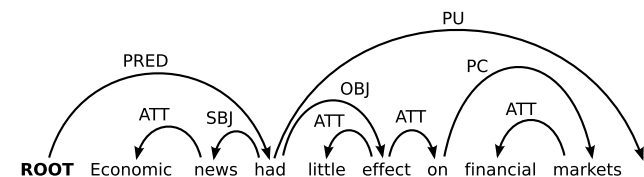
$(\sigma|w_i, w_j\beta, A) \Rightarrow (\sigma, w_j\beta, A \cup \{(w_j, r, w_i)\})$

RIGHT-ARC_r: ... $w_i \dots w_j$... (dependent follows the head)

Attach dependent w_j (top of buffer β) to head w_i (top of stack σ)
with relation r from w_i to w_j . Move w_i back to the buffer

$(\sigma|w_i, w_j\beta, A) \Rightarrow (\sigma, w_i\beta, A \cup \{(w_i, r, w_j)\})$

An example sentence & parse



Economic news had little effect on financial markets .

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Transition	Configuration
	([root], [Economic, . . . , .], \emptyset)

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RA _{PRED} \Rightarrow	[(.],	[root],	$A_9 = A_8 \cup \{(root, PRED, had)\}$

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SH \Rightarrow	([root, had],	[.],	A_7
RA _{PU} \Rightarrow	([root],	[had],	$A_8 = A_7 \cup \{(had, PU, .)\}$
RA _{PRED} \Rightarrow	([.],	[root],	$A_9 = A_8 \cup \{(root, PRED, had)\}$
SH \Rightarrow	([root],	[.],	A_9

Transition-based parsing in practice

Which action should the parser take under the current configuration?

We also need a **parsing model** that assigns a score to each possible action given a current configuration.

- Possible actions:

SHIFT, and for any relation r : LEFT-ARC _{r} , or RIGHT-ARC _{r}

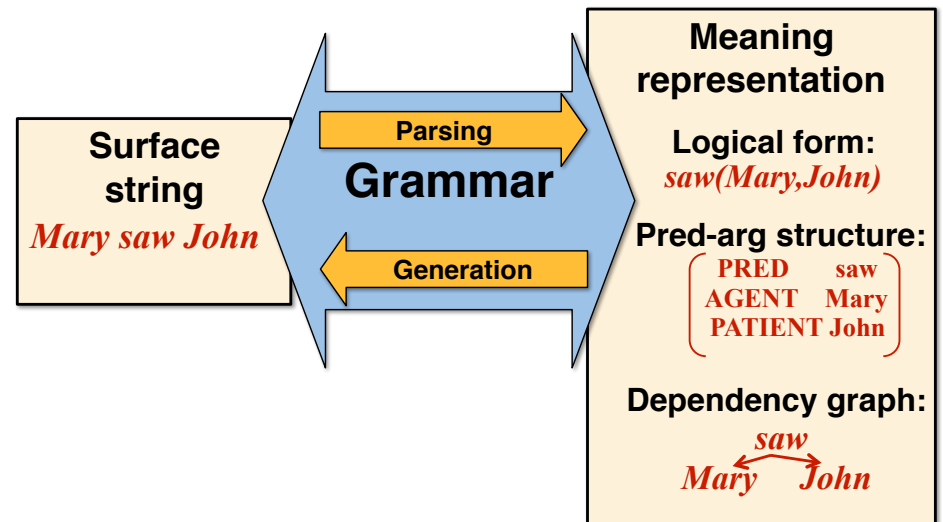
- Possible features of the current configuration:

The top {1,2,3} words on the buffer and on the stack, their POS tags, distances between the words, etc.

We can learn this model from a dependency treebank.

Expressive Grammars

Why grammar?



Grammar formalisms

Formalisms provide a **language** in which linguistic theories can be expressed and implemented

Formalisms define **elementary objects** (trees, strings, feature structures) and **recursive operations** which generate complex objects from simple objects.

Formalisms may impose **constraints** (e.g. on the kinds of dependencies they can capture)

How do grammar formalisms differ?

Formalisms define different **representations**

Tree-adjoining Grammar (TAG):

Fragments of phrase-structure trees

Lexical-functional Grammar (LFG):

Annotated phrase-structure trees (c-structure) linked to feature structures (f-structure)

Combinatory Categorial Grammar (CCG):

Syntactic categories paired with meaning representations

Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG):

Complex feature structures (Attribute-value matrices)

The dependencies so far:

Arguments:

Verbs take arguments: subject, object, complements, ...

Heads subcategorize for their arguments

Adjuncts/Modifiers:

Adjectives modify nouns, adverbs modify VPs or adjectives,

PPs modify NPs or VPs

Modifiers subcategorize for the head

Typically, these are *local* dependencies: they can be expressed *within individual CFG rules*

VP → Adv Verb NP

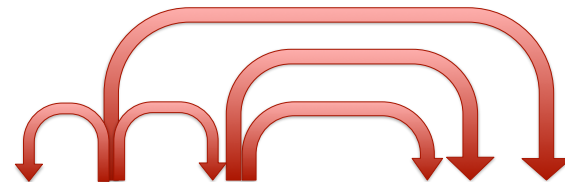


Context-free grammars

CFGs capture only **nested** dependencies

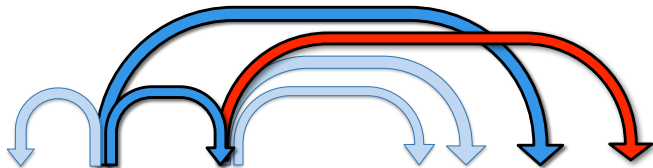
The dependency graph is a **tree**

The dependencies **do not cross**



Beyond CFGs: Nonprojective dependencies

Dependencies form a **tree with crossing branches**



Non-projective dependencies

(Non-local) scrambling: In a sentence with multiple verbs, the argument of a verb appears in a different clause from that which contains the verb (arises in languages with freer word order than English)

Die Pizza hat Klaus versprochen zu bringen
The pizza has Klaus promised to bring
Klaus has promised to bring the pizza

Extraposition: Here, a modifier of the subject NP is moved to the end of the sentence

The guy is coming who is wearing a hat
Compare with the non-extrapolated variant
The [guy [who is wearing a hat]] is coming

Topicalization: Here, the argument of the embedded verb is moved to the front of the sentence.

Cheeseburgers, I [thought [he likes]]

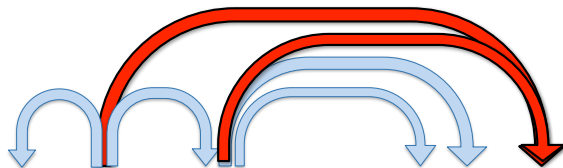
Beyond CFGs: Nonlocal dependencies

Dependencies form a **DAG**

(a node may have **multiple incoming edges**)

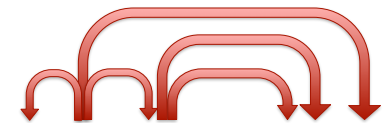
Arise in the following constructions:

- **Control** (*He has promised me to go*), **raising** (*He seems to go*)
- **Wh-movement** (*the man who you saw yesterday is here again*),
- **Non-constituent coordination**
(right-node raising, gapping, argument-cluster coordination)

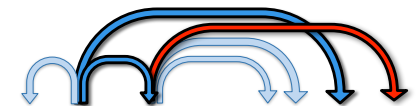


Dependency structures

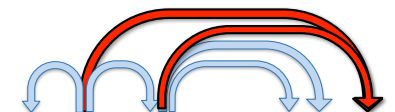
Nested (projective)
dependency trees
(CFGs)



Non-projective
dependency trees



Non-local dependency
graphs



Non-local dependencies

Long-range dependencies

Bounded long-range dependencies:

Limited distance between the head and argument

Unbounded long-range dependencies:

Arbitrary distance (within the same sentence) between the head and argument

Unbounded long-range dependencies cannot (in general) be represented with CFGs.

Chomsky's solution:

Add null elements (and co-indexation)

Unbounded nonlocal dependencies

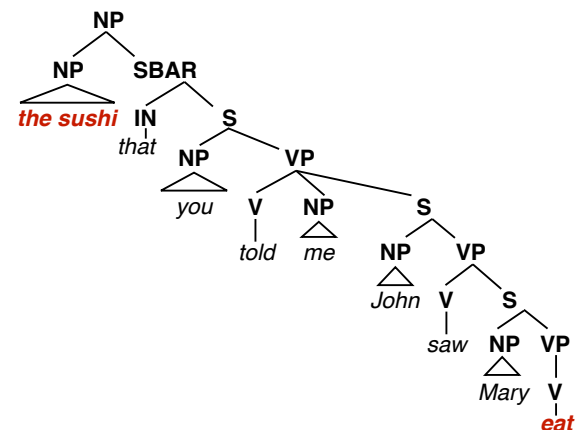
Wh-questions and relative clauses contain **unbounded nonlocal dependencies**, where the missing NP may be arbitrarily deeply embedded:

'the *sushi* that [you told me [John saw [*Mary eat*]]]'

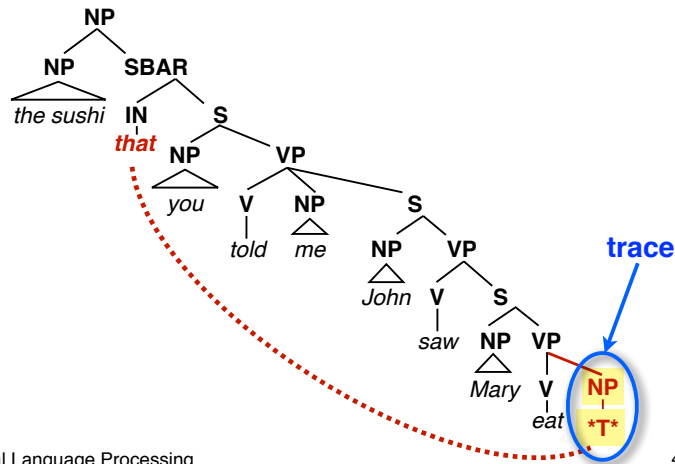
'*what* [did you tell me [John saw [*Mary eat*]]]?'

Linguists call this phenomenon **wh-extraction** (wh-movement).

Non-local dependencies in wh-extraction



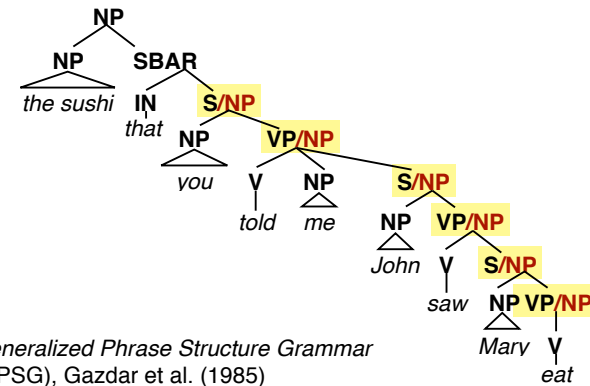
The trace analysis of *wh*-extraction



Slash categories for *wh*-extraction

Because only one element can be extracted, we can use **slash categories**.

This is still a CFG: the set of nonterminals is finite.



Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG), Gazdar et al. (1985)

German: center embedding

...daß ich [Hans schwimmen] sah
 ...that I Hans swim saw
 ...that I saw [Hans swim]

...daß ich [Maria [Hans schwimmen] helfen] sah
 ...that I Maria Hans swim help saw
 ...that I saw [Mary help [Hans swim]]

...daß ich [Anna [Maria [Hans schwimmen] helfen] lassen] sah
 ...that I Anna Maria Hans swim help let saw
 ...that I saw [Anna let [Mary help [Hans swim]]]

Dutch: cross-serial dependencies

...dat ik Hans zag zwemmen
 ...that I Hans saw swim
 ...that I saw [Hans swim]

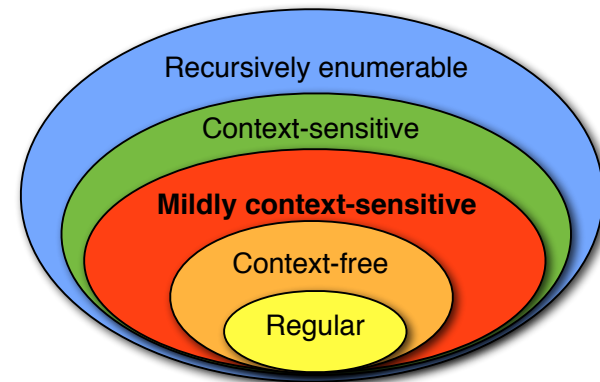
...dat ik Maria Hans zag helpen zwemmen
 ...that I Maria Hans saw help swim
 ...that I saw [Mary help [Hans swim]]

...dat ik Anna Maria Hans zag laten helpen zwemmen
 ...that I Anna Maria Hans saw let help swim
 ...that I saw [Anna let [Mary help [Hans swim]]]

Such **cross-serial** dependencies require **mildly context-sensitive grammars**

Two mildly context-sensitive formalisms: TAG and CCG

The Chomsky Hierarchy



Mildly context-sensitive grammars

Contain all context-free grammars/languages

Can be **parsed in polynomial time** (TAG/CCG: $O(n^6)$)

(*Strong* generative capacity) capture certain kinds of dependencies: **nested** (like CFGs) and **cross-serial** (like the Dutch example), but not the MIX language:

MIX: the set of strings $w \in \{a, b, c\}^*$ that contain equal numbers of as , bs and cs

Have the **constant growth** property:

the length of strings grows in a linear way

The power-of-2 language $\{a^{2^n}\}$ does not have the constant growth property.

TAG and CCG are lexicalized formalisms

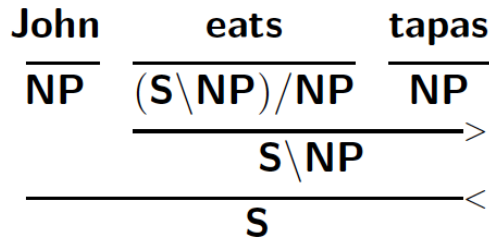
The lexicon:

- pairs words with elementary objects
- specifies all language-specific information (e.g. subcategorization information)

The grammatical operations:

- are universal
- define (and impose constraints on) recursion.

A (C)CG derivation



CCG categories are defined recursively:

- Categories are atomic (S, NP) or complex (S\NP, (S\NP)/NP)
- Complex categories (X/Y or X\Y) are functions:
X/Y combines with an adjacent argument to its right of category Y to return a result of category X.

Function categories can be composed, giving more expressive power than CFGs

More on CCG in one of our Semantics lectures!

Tree-Adjoining Grammar

(Lexicalized) Tree-Adjoining Grammar

TAG is a tree-rewriting formalism:

TAG defines operations (**substitution**, **adjunction**) on trees.
The **elementary objects** in TAG are trees (not strings)

TAG is lexicalized:

Each elementary tree is **anchored** to a lexical item (word)
“**Extended domain of locality**”:
The elementary tree contains all arguments of the anchor.
TAG requires a linguistic theory which specifies the shape of these elementary trees.

TAG is mildly context-sensitive:

can capture Dutch cross-serial dependencies
but is still efficiently parseable

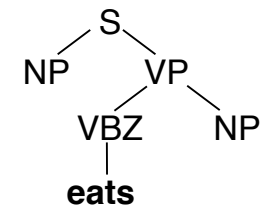
AK Joshi and Y Schabes (1996)
Tree Adjoining Grammars.
In G. Rosenberg and A. Salomaa,
Eds., Handbook of Formal
Languages 9

Extended domain of locality

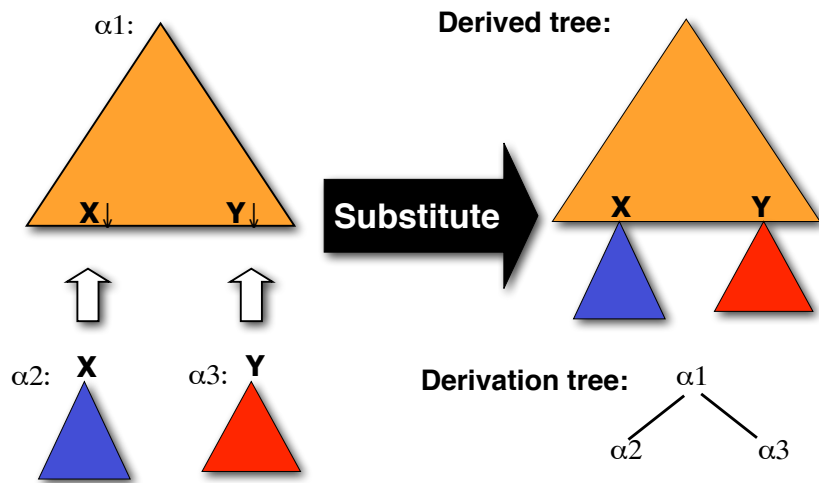
We want to capture **all arguments of a word**
in a **single elementary object**.

We also want to retain certain syntactic structures
(e.g. VPs).

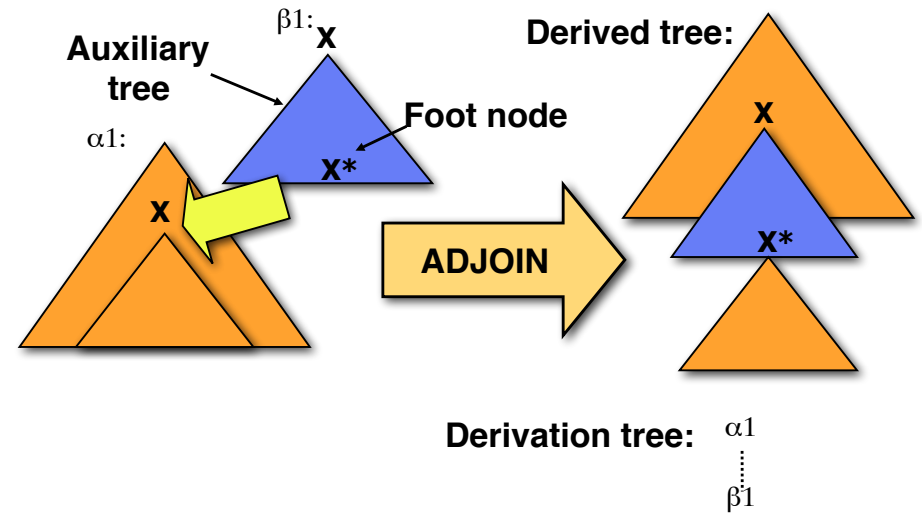
Our elementary objects are tree fragments:



TAG substitution (arguments)



TAG adjunction



The effect of adjunction

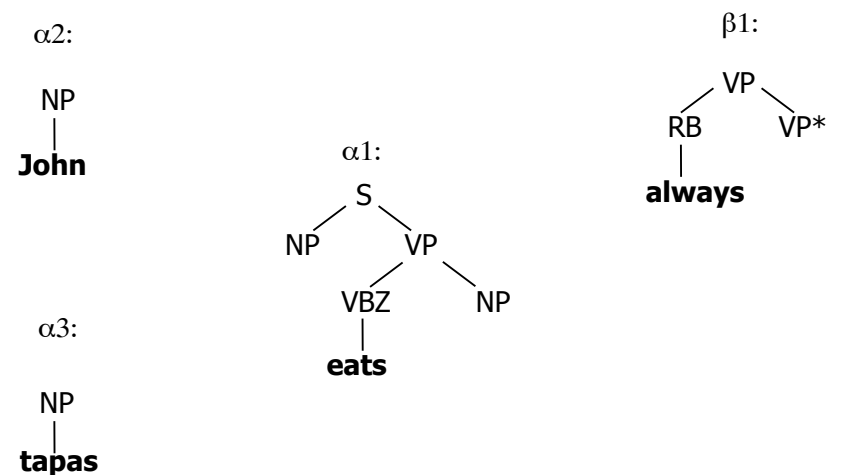


No adjunction: TSG (Tree substitution grammar)
TSG is context-free

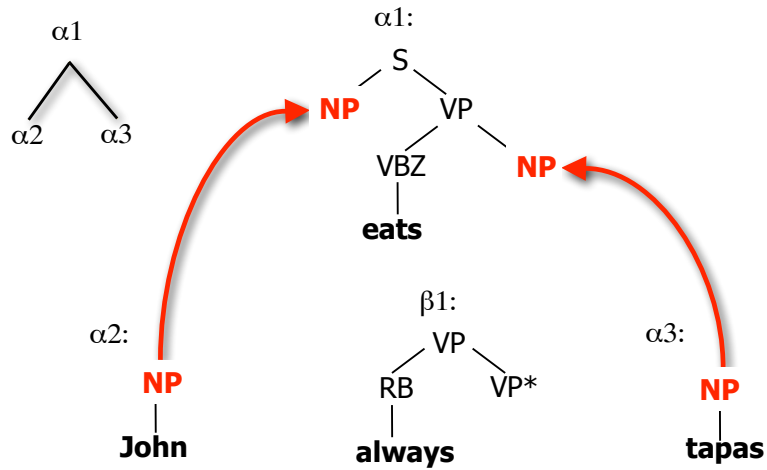
Sister adjunction: TIG (Tree insertion grammar)
TIG is also context-free, but has a linguistically more adequate treatment of modifiers

Wrapping adjunction: TAG (Tree-adjointing grammar)
TAG is mildly context-sensitive

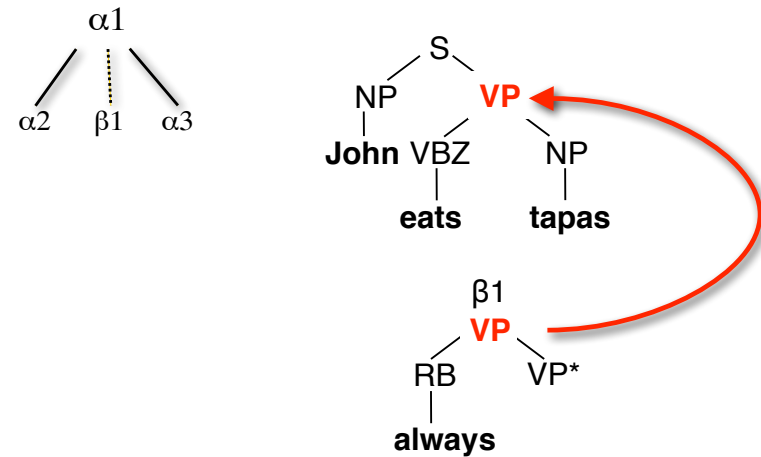
A small TAG lexicon



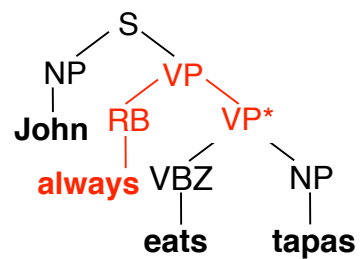
A TAG derivation



A TAG derivation



A TAG derivation

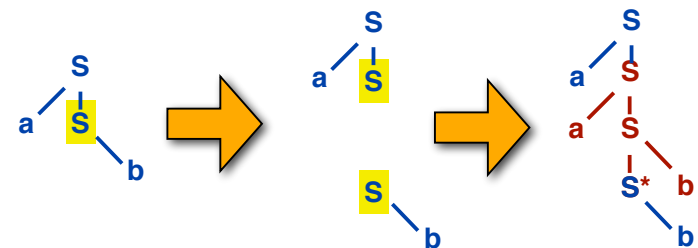


$a^n b^n$: Cross-serial dependencies

Elementary trees:



Deriving $aabb$



Feature Structure Grammars

Simple grammars overgenerate

$S \rightarrow NP VP$
 $VP \rightarrow Verb NP$
 $NP \rightarrow Det Noun$
 $Det \rightarrow the | a | these$
 $Verb \rightarrow eat | eats$
 $Noun \rightarrow cake | cakes | student | students$

This generates ungrammatical sentences like
“*these student eats a cakes*”

We need to capture (number/person) agreement

Refining the nonterminals

$S \rightarrow NP_{sg} VP_{sg}$
 $S \rightarrow NP_{pl} VP_{pl}$
 $VP_{sg} \rightarrow VerbSg NP$
 $VP_{pl} \rightarrow VerbPl NP$
 $NP_{sg} \rightarrow DetSg NounSg$
 $DetSg \rightarrow the | a$

... ..

This yields **very large grammars**.

What about person, case, ...?

Difficult to capture **generalizations**.

Subject and verb have to have number agreement

NP_{sg} , NP_{pl} and NP are three distinct nonterminals

Feature structures

Replace atomic categories with feature structures:

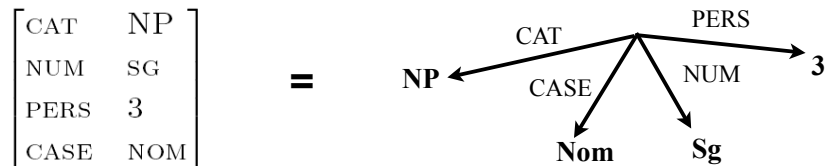
[CAT	NP]		[CAT	VP]
	NUM	SG				NUM	SG	
	PERS	3				PERS	3	
	CASE	NOM				VFORM	FINITE	

A **feature structure** is a list of **features** (= attributes),
e.g. CASE, and **values** (eg NOM).

We often represent feature structures as
attribute value matrices (AVM)

Usually, values are **typed** (to avoid CASE:SG)

Feature structures as directed graphs



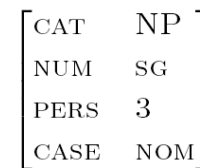
Complex feature structures

We distinguish between **atomic** and **complex** feature values.

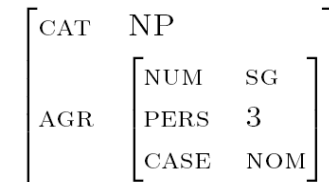
A complex value is a feature structure itself.

This allows us to capture better generalizations.

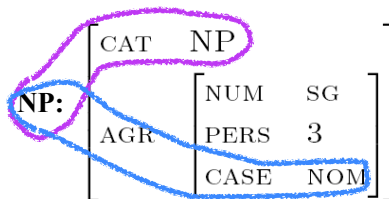
Only atomic values:



Complex values:



Feature paths



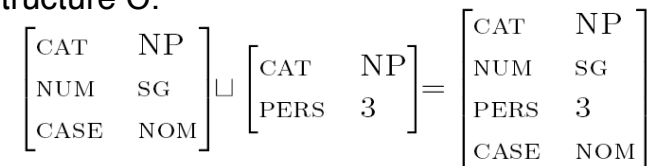
A **feature path** allows us to identify particular values in a feature structure:

$\langle \text{NP CAT} \rangle = \text{NP}$

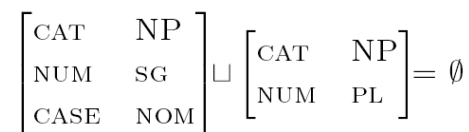
$\langle \text{NP AGR CASE} \rangle = \text{NOM}$

Unification

Two **feature structures A and B unify** ($A \sqcup B$) if they can be merged into one consistent feature structure C:



Otherwise, unification **fails**:



PATR-II style feature structures

CFG rules are augmented with constraints:

$$A_0 \rightarrow A_1 \dots A_n$$

{set of constraints}

There are two kinds of constraints:

Unification constraints:

$$\langle A_i \text{ feature-path} \rangle = \langle A_j \text{ feature-path} \rangle$$

Value constraints:

$$\langle A_i \text{ feature-path} \rangle = \text{atomic value}$$

A grammar with feature structures

S	\rightarrow	NP VP	Grammar rule
		$\langle \text{NP NUM} \rangle = \langle \text{VP NUM} \rangle$	Constraints
		$\langle \text{NP CASE} \rangle = \text{nom}$	
NP	\rightarrow	DT NOUN	Grammar rule
		$\langle \text{NP NUM} \rangle = \langle \text{NOUN NUM} \rangle$	Constraints
		$\langle \text{NP CASE} \rangle = \langle \text{NOUN CASE} \rangle$	
NOUN	\rightarrow	<i>cake</i>	Lexical entry
		$\langle \text{NOUN NUM} \rangle = \text{sg}$	Constraints

With complex feature structures

S	\rightarrow	NP VP	Grammar rule
		$\langle \text{NP AGR} \rangle = \langle \text{VP AGR} \rangle$	Constraints
		$\langle \text{NP CASE} \rangle = \text{nom}$	
NP	\rightarrow	DT NOUN	Grammar rule
		$\langle \text{NP AGR} \rangle = \langle \text{NOUN AGR} \rangle$	Constraints
NOUN	\rightarrow	<i>cake</i>	Lexical entry
		$\langle \text{NOUN AGR NUM} \rangle = \text{sg}$	Constraints

Complex feature structures capture better generalizations (and hence require fewer constraints) — cf. the previous slide

Attribute-Value Grammars and CFGs

If every feature can only have a **finite set of values**, any attribute-value grammar can be compiled out into a (possibly huge) context-free grammar

Going beyond CFGs

The power-of-2 language: $L_2 = \{w^i \mid i \text{ is a power of } 2\}$

L_2 is a (fully) context-sensitive language.

(Mildly context-sensitive languages have the **constant growth property** (the length of words always increases by a constant factor c))

Here is a feature grammar which generates L_2 :

$$A \rightarrow a$$
$$\langle A F \rangle = 1$$
$$A \rightarrow A_1 A_2$$
$$\langle A F \rangle = \langle A_1 \rangle$$
$$\langle A F \rangle = \langle A_2 \rangle$$

Today's key concepts

Transition-based dependency parsing
for projective dependency trees

Going beyond projective dependencies:
non-projective dependencies
non-local dependencies

Expressive Grammars

TAG

CCG

Feature-Structure Grammars