PARSING WITH PARADIGMS

A Relational-Realizational Architecture for Specifying and Learning Morphosyntactic Descriptions

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QUANTITATIVE MEASURES IN MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT
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Morphology and Syntax

Morphology and Syntax

"Morphology deviates in a number of important ways from the classical picture of word structure as simply the combinatory syntax of morphemes. [As we have seen,] morphology is best seen as a system that describes relations among word structural types in terms of the way the forms of words realize the properties that compose their content."

"In fact [...] much of what we normally think of as clearly part of syntax seems to have some of this same character. [...] Rather than being exclusively matters of the construction and manipulation of hierarchical constituent structure, a number of areas usually considered syntactic in character also turn out to be realizational, relational, and governed by a system of constraints rather than (solely) by rules of X-structure, displacement, and other manipulations of phrasal structure." (Anderson 2004)

My Contribution

The Idea

Applying the principles underlying W&P models to syntax

The Proposal

A Relational-Realizational (RR) modeling architecture

The Outcome

- Useful: Parsing less-configurational languages
- Interesting: Quantifying typological parameters

The Plan for Today

The Task:
Statistical Parsing

The Challenge:
Complex Form-Function Correspondence

The Method:
Following the footsteps of Morphology

The Proposal:
A Relational-Realizational Approach

$\Rightarrow$ A Stepping Stone
Towards computational typology and statistical UG

Part 1: The Task

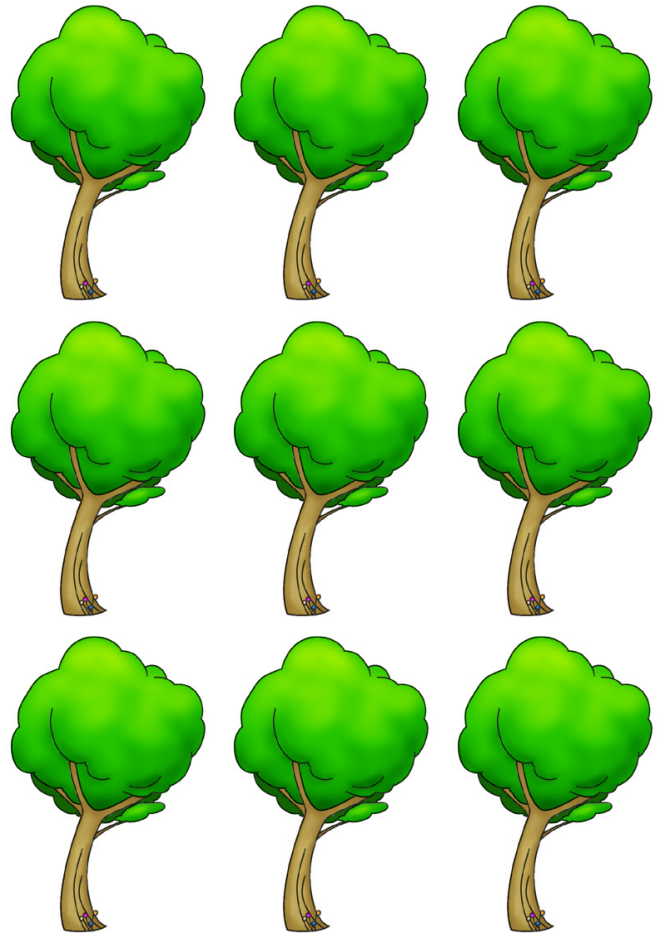
Statistical Parsing

Statistical Parsing

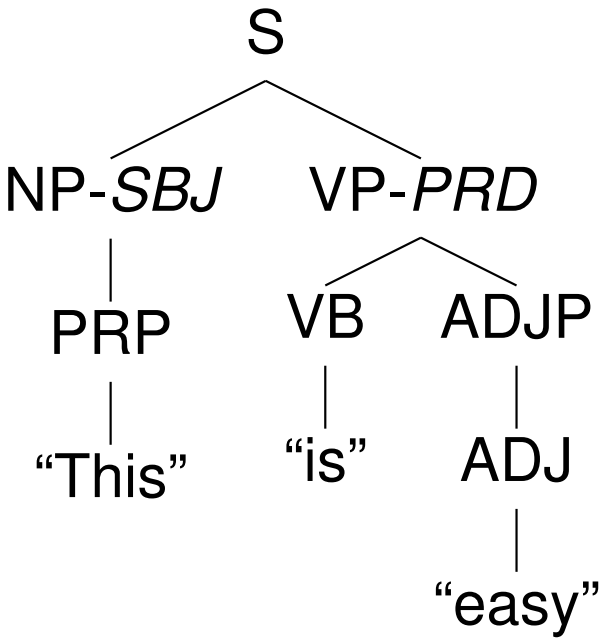
”This is easy”

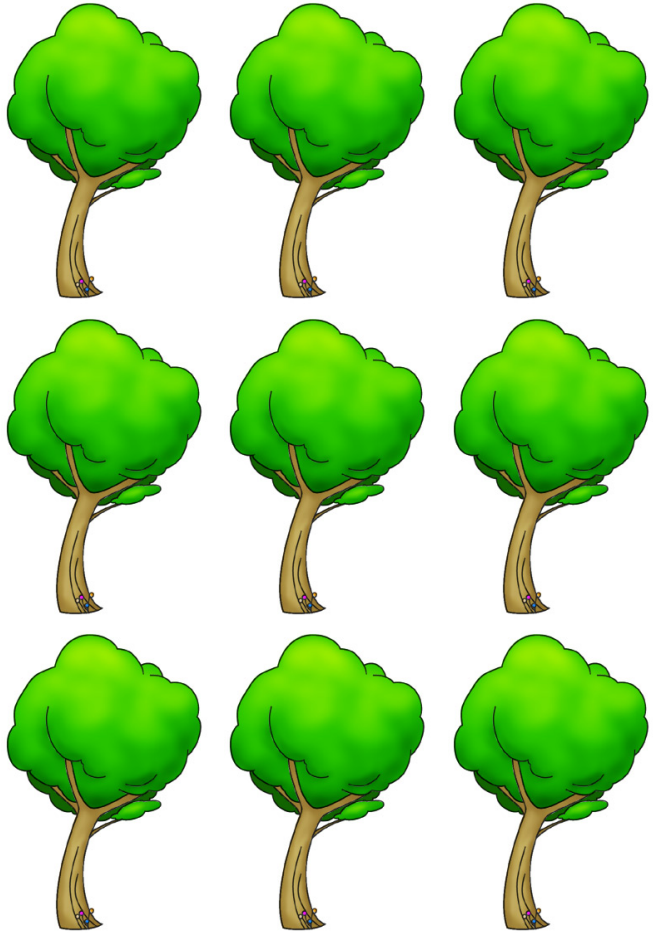
Statistical Parsing

”This is easy”

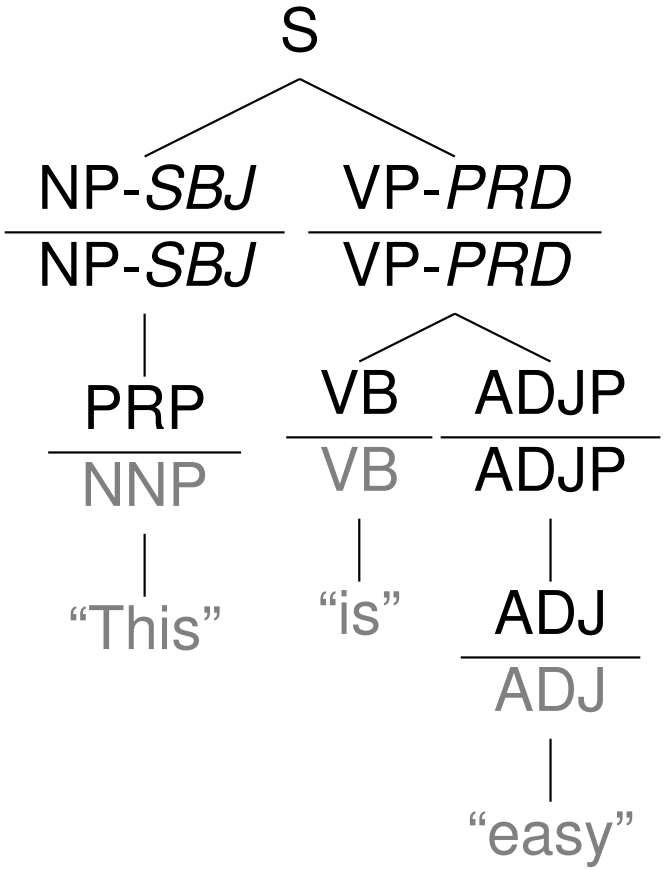


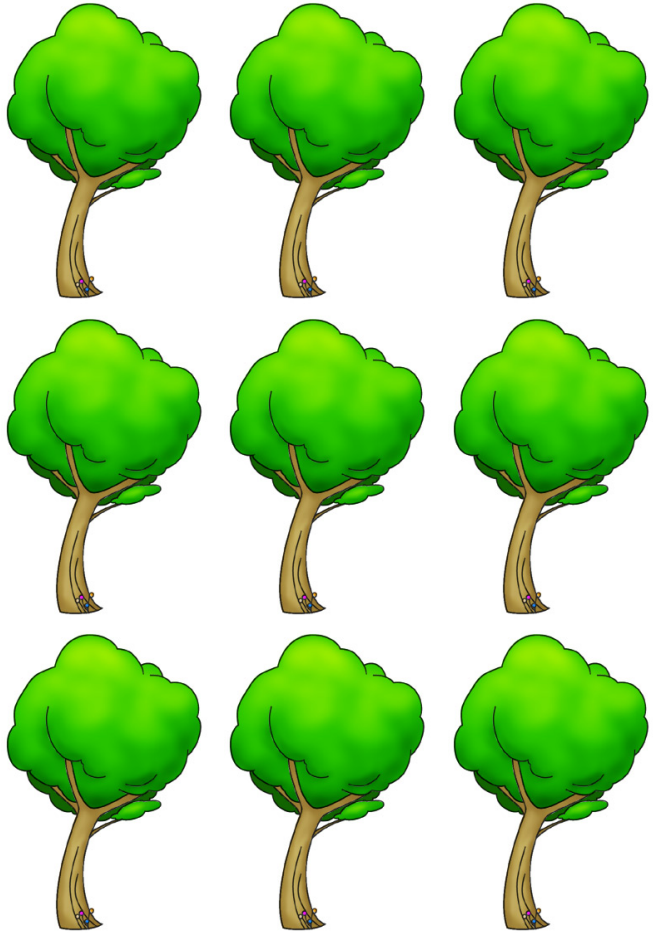
Statistical Parsing



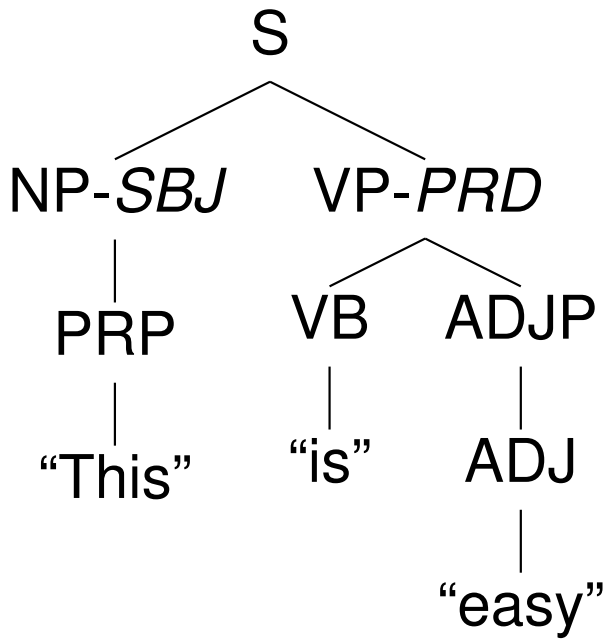


Statistical Parsing





Constituency-Based Supervised Statistical Parsing



Model	Study	F-Score
Treebank Grammar	Charniak 1996	75
Head-Driven	Collins 1997	88.6
Discriminative Reranking	Collins 2000	89.7
Discriminative-Reranking	Johnson & Charniak 2005	91.0
Self-Training	McClosky 2006	92.1
State-Splits	Petrov et al 2007	90.1
Forest Reranking	Liang Huang 2008	91.7

Constituency-Based Supervised Statistical Parsing

And what about this?

將水煮開後才使用。

And this?

إغلي الماء قبل استعماله

And this?

יש להרתיח את המים לפני השימוש.

And? ...

Language	Parser	F-Score
German	Rafferty & Manning 2008	79.2
Czech	Collins et al. 1999	79.3
Chinese	Levy & Manning 2003	78.8
Arabic	Maamouri, Bies & Kulick 2008	78.1
Hebrew	Tsarfaty & Sima'an 2007	74.4

So What Is Going On?

Often Considered

- Corpora Size
  E.g., For *Chinese* (Bikel & Chiang 2000)
- Annotation Idiosyncrasies
  E.g., For *Arabic* (Maamouri, Bies & Kulick 2008, 2009)
- Evaluation Matters
  E.g., For *German* (Rehiben & van Genabith 2007, Kübler 2008)

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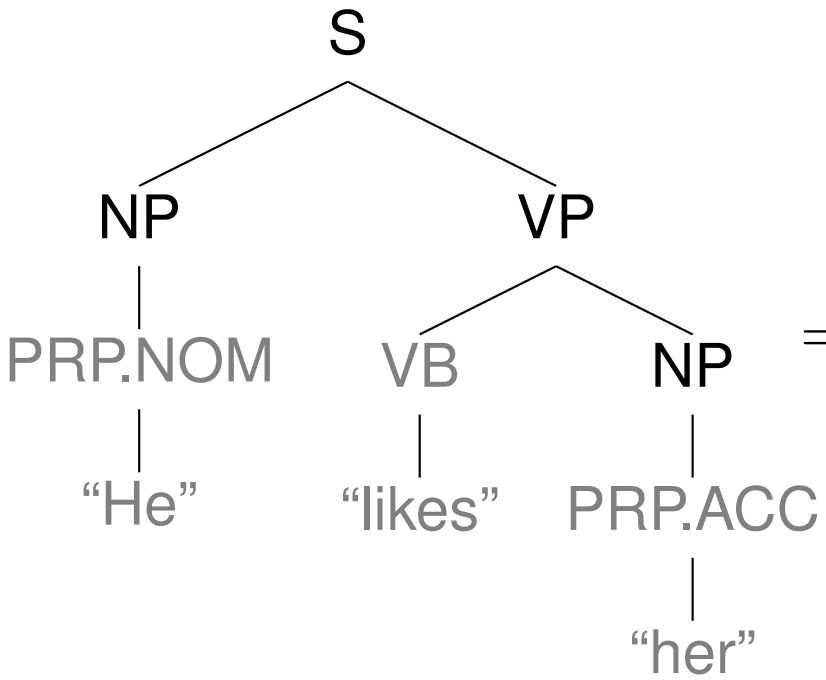
Not so often..

- Parsers' Parameterization
- Language Variation

Parsers' Parameterization

Parsers' Parameterization

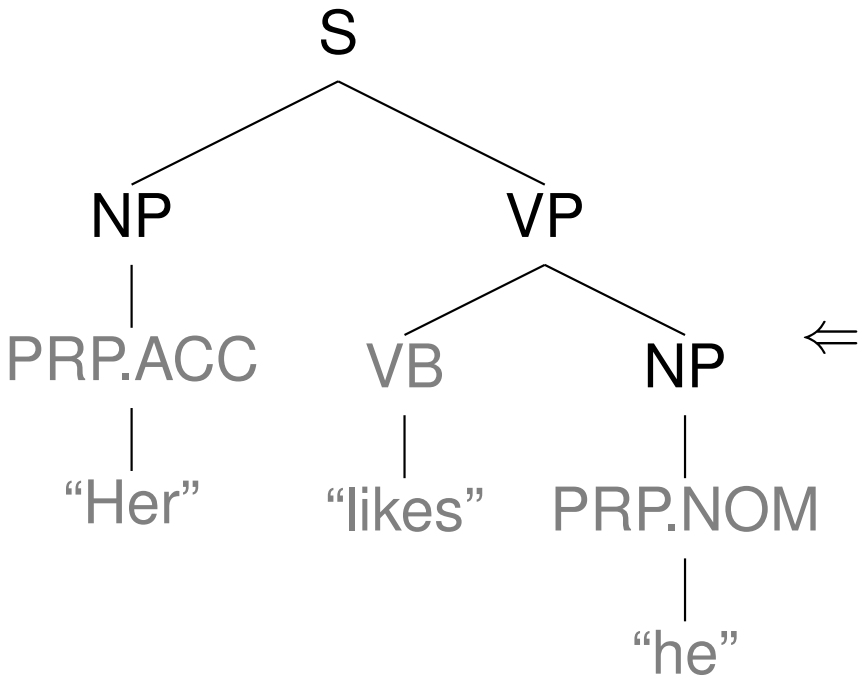


$\Rightarrow$

P(NP VP|S)	1
P(PRP.NOM|NP)	0.5
P(PRP.ACC|NP)	0.5
P(VB NP|VP)	1
P("He"|PRP.NOM)	1
P("likes"|VB)	1
P("her"|PRP.ACC)	1

P("He likes her")=P(NP VP|S)$\times$...$\times$P("her"|PRP.ACC)= 0.25

Parsers' Parameterization

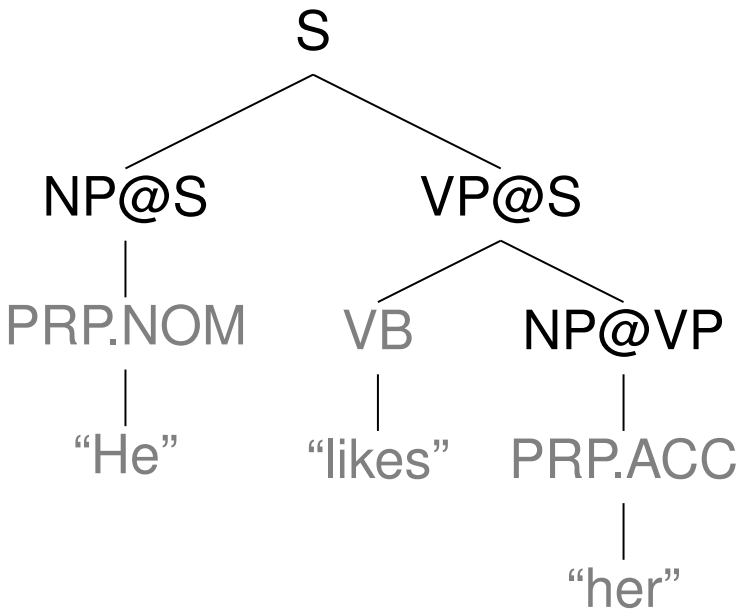


$\Leftarrow$

P(NP VP|S)	1
P(PRP.NOM|NP)	0.5
P(PRP.ACC|NP)	0.5
P(VB NP|VP)	1
P("He"|PRP.NOM)	1
P("likes"|VB)	1
P("her"|PRP.ACC)	1

P("Her likes he")=P(NP VP|S)$\times$...$\times$P("her"|PRP.ACC)= 0.25

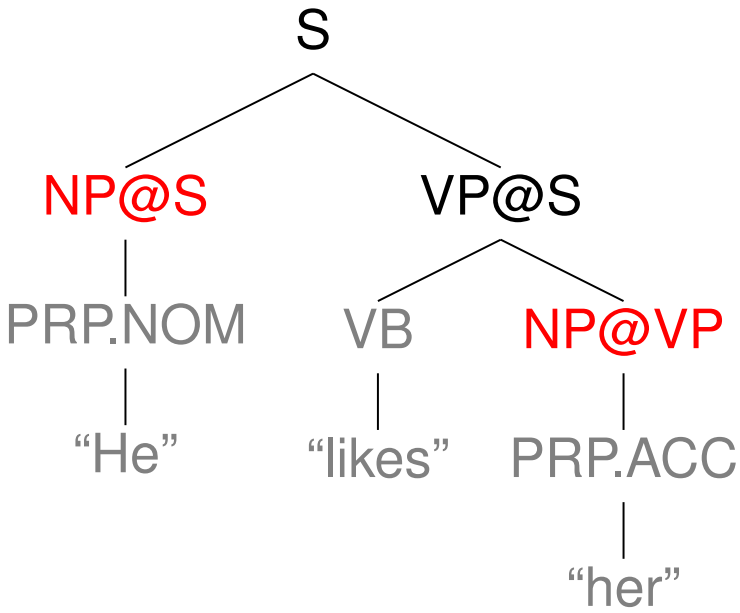
Example 1: Parent Encoding (Johnson 1998)



$\Rightarrow$

P(NP@S VP@S|S)	1
P(PRP.NOM |NP@S)	1
P(PRP.ACC |NP@VP)	1
P(VB NP@VP|VP@S)	1
P(”He”|PRP.NOM)	1
P(”likes”|VP)	1
P(”her”|PRP.ACC)	1

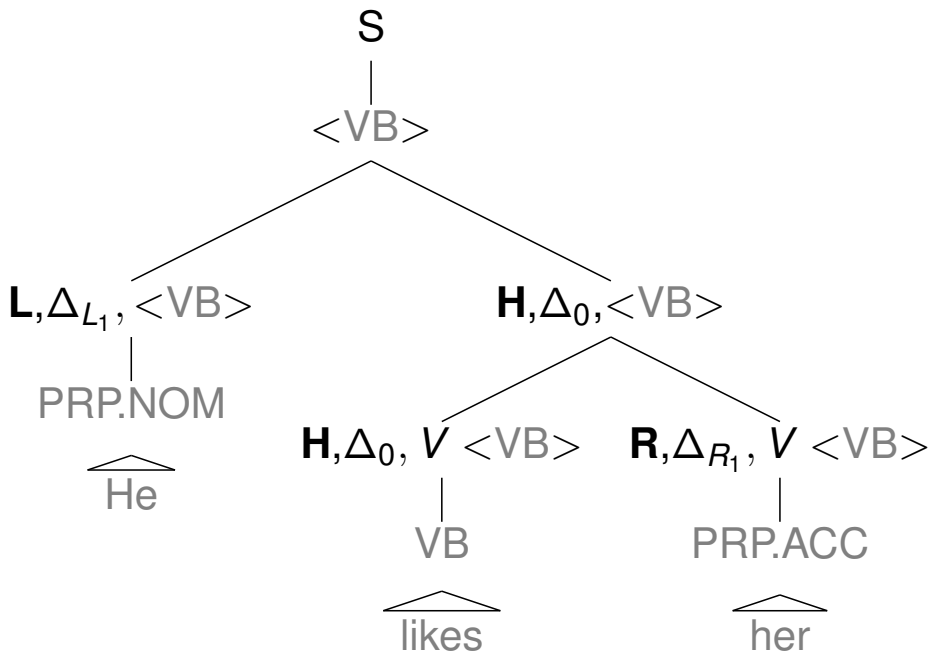
Example 1: Parent Encoding (Johnson 1998)



$\Rightarrow$

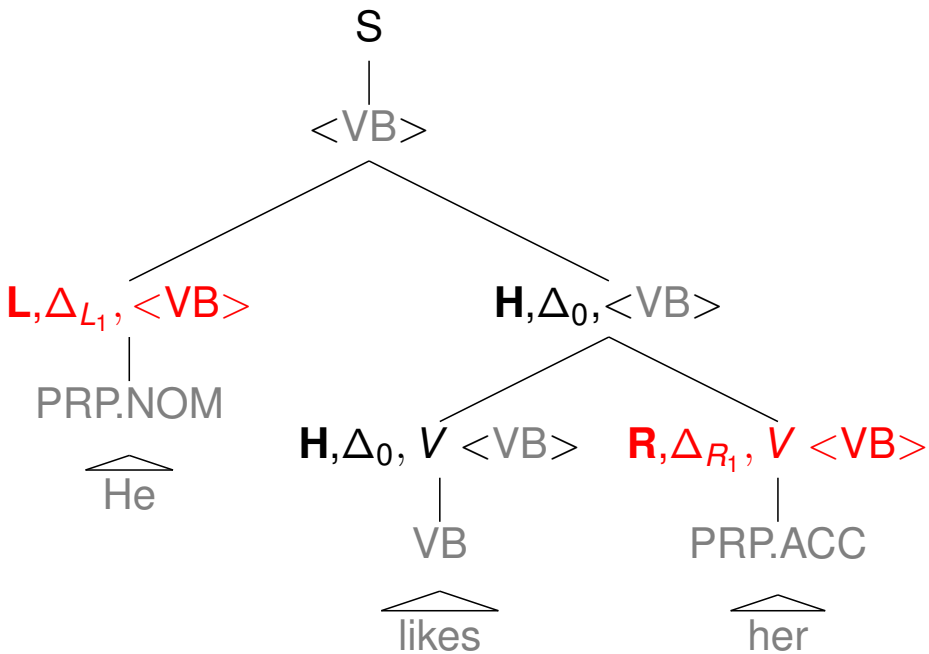
P(NP@S VP@S|S)	1
P(PRP.NOM |NP@S)	1
P(PRP.ACC |NP@VP)	1
P(VB NP@VP| VP@S)	1
P(”He”|PRP.NOM)	1
P(”likes”|VP)	1
P(”her”|PRP.ACC)	1

Example 2: Head-Driven Processes (Collins 1999)



$\Rightarrow$	
P(<VB>|S)	1
P(**L**Δ_{L_1},**H**Δ_0| <VB>,S)	1
P(PRP.NOM|**L**,Δ_{L_1},<VB>,S)	1
P(VP|**H**,Δ_0,<VB>,S)	1
P(<VB>|VP)	1
P(PRP.ACC|**R**,Δ_{R_1},<VB>,S)	1
P(VB|**H**,Δ_0,<VB>,S)	1
P("He"|PRP.NOM)	1
P("likes"|VB)	1
P("her"|PRP.ACC)	1

Example 2: Head-Driven Processes (Collins 1999)



⇒	
P(<VB>|S)	1
P(**L**Δ_{L_1},**H**Δ_0| <VB>,S)	1
P(PRP.NOM|**L**,Δ_{L_1},<VB>,S)	1
P(VP|**H**,Δ_0,<VB>,S)	1
P(<VB>|VP)	1
P(PRP.ACC|**R**,Δ_{R_1},<VB>,S)	1
P(VB|**H**,Δ_0,<VB>,S)	1
P(”He”|PRP.NOM)	1
P(”likes”|VB)	1
P(”her”|PRP.ACC)	1

So What Is Going On?

An Observation

- Parsers for configurational languages:
  $\rightsquigarrow$ Parameters use configurations to approximate functions
- Parsers for less-configurational languages:
  $\rightsquigarrow$ Parameters need to explicitly relate functions to forms

A Question

What kind of form-function correspondence patterns
our parser needs to learn from the data?

Part 2: The Challenge

Modeling Form-Function Correspondence

Language Types

Language Types

Typological Dimensions of Variation

Basic Word-Order Typology

(Greenberg 1966, Mithun 1992)

Morphological Typology

(Sapir 1921, Greenberg 1954)

Nonconfigurationality

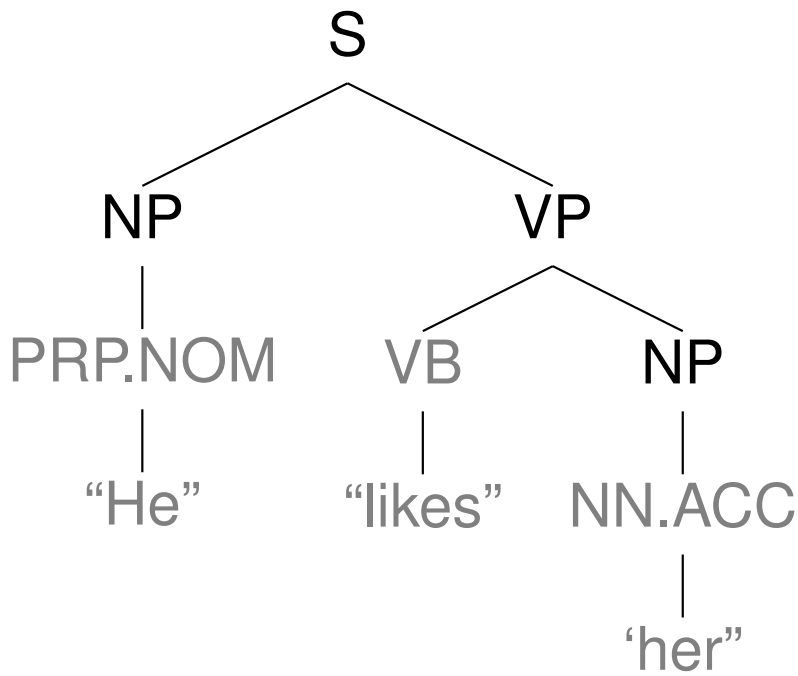
(Hale 1983, Austin and Bresnan 1996)

Nonconfigurationality as Misalignment

Predicate-Argument Relations

‘SBJ’ did ‘PRD’ to ‘OBJ’

Syntactic Configuration

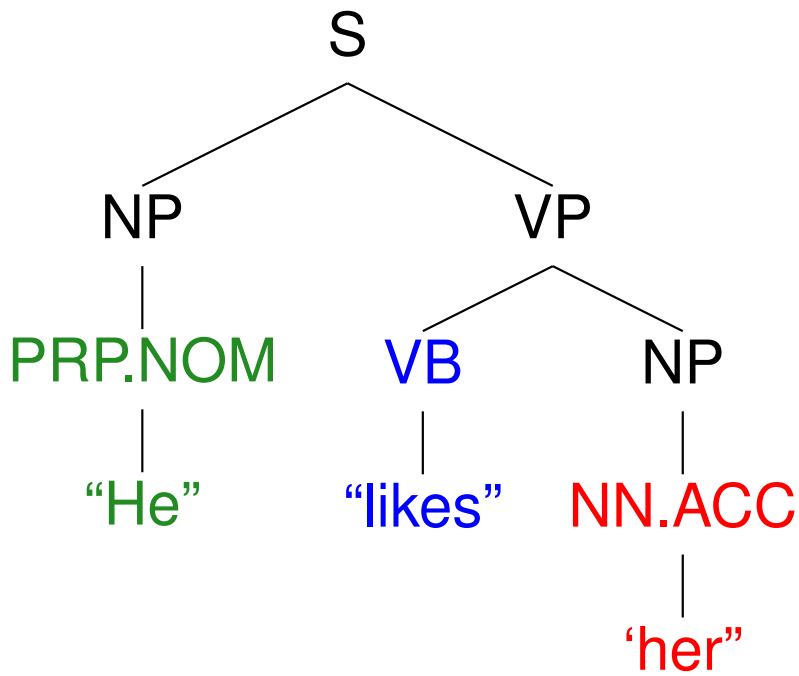


Nonconfigurationality as Misalignment

Predicate-Argument Relations

‘SBJ’ did ‘PRD’ to ‘OBJ’

Configurational Languages

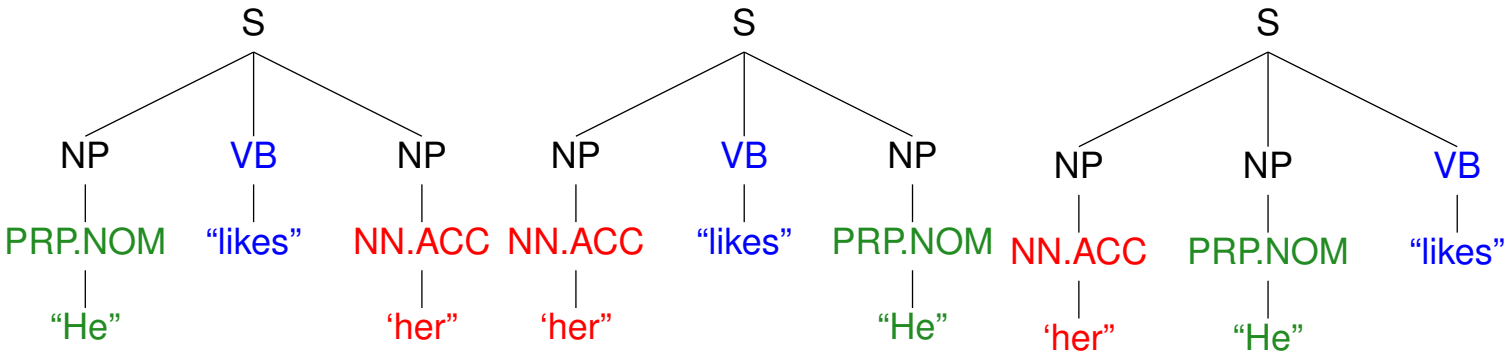


Nonconfigurationality as Misalignment

Predicate-Argument Relations

‘SBJ’ did ‘PRD’ to ‘OBJ’

Less-Configurational Languages



Morphosyntactic Exponence in Hebrew

Word-Order

(1) a. dani natan et hamatana ledina
Dani gave ACC the-present to-Dina
"Dani gave the present to Dina" (SVO)

b. et hamatana natan dani ledina
ACC the-present gave Dani to-Dina
"Dani gave the present to Dina" (OVS)

c. natan dani et hamatana ledina
gave Dani ACC the-present to-Dina
"Dani gave the present to Dina" (VSO)

d. ledina natan dani et hamatana
to-dina gave Dani ACC the-present
"Dani gave the present to Dina" (VSO)

Exponence Relations in Hebrew (1:1)

Case-Assigning Prepositions

(2) a. dani natan et hamatana ledina
Dani gave ACC DEF-present DAT-Dina

b. et hamatana natan dani ledina
ACC DEF-present gave Dani DAT-Dina

c. natan dani et hamatana ledina
gave Dani ACC DEF-present DAT-Dina

d. ledina natan dani et hamatana
DAT-dina gave Dani ACC DEF-present

Exponence Relations in Hebrew (1:many)

Differential Object-Marking

(3) a. dani natan et hamatana ledina
Dani gave ACC DEF-present to-Dina

b. et hamatana natan dani ledina
ACC DEF-present gave Dani to-Dina

c. natan dani et hamatana ledina
gave Dani ACC DEF-present to-Dina

d. ledina natan dani et hamatana
to-dina gave Dani ACC DEF-present

Exponence Relations in Hebrew (1:many)

Feature Spreading (Danon, 2007)

(4) a. dani natan [et matnat yom hahuledet] ledina
Dani gave [ACC present day DEF-birth] to-Dina

b. [et matnat yom hahuledet] natan dani ledina
[ACC present day DEF-birth] gave Dani to-Dina

c. natan dani [et matnat yom hahuledet] ledina
gave Dani [ACC present day DEF-birth] to-Dina

d. ledina natan dani [et matnat yom hahuledet]
to-dina gave Dani [ACC present day DEF-birth]

Exponence Relations in Hebrew (1:many)

Agreement

(5) a. dani natan et hamatana ledina
Dani.MS gave.3MS ACC DEF-present DAT-Dina

b. et hamatana natan dani ledina
ACC DEF-present gave.3MS Dani.MS DAT-Dina

c. natan dani et hamatana ledina
gave.MS Dani.3MS ACC DEF-present DAT-Dina

d. ledina natan dani et hamatana
DAT-dina gave.3MS Dani.MS ACC DEF-present

Exponence Relations in Hebrew (many:1)

Clitics and Null Anaphors

(6) a. dani natan et hamatana ledina
Dani.MS gave.3MS ACC DEF-present DAT-Dina
"Dani gave the present to Dina"

b. natati et hamatana ledina
gave.1S ACC DEF-present DAT-Dina
"I gave the present to Dina"

c. natatiha ledina
gave.1S.ACC.3FS DAT-Dina
"I gave it to Dina"

Language Types and Morphosyntactic Exponence

Recap:

CONFIGURATIONAL ——— NONCONFIGURATIONAL
1:1 ——————————————— many : many

- Exponence relations relate grammatical functions to the formal means that realize them in the syntactic structure
- Configurationality is a special case of a 1:1 mapping between grammatical functions to configurational positions

Question:

How can we model and statistically learn generally complex, many-to-many, form-function correspondence in syntax?

Part 3: The Proposal

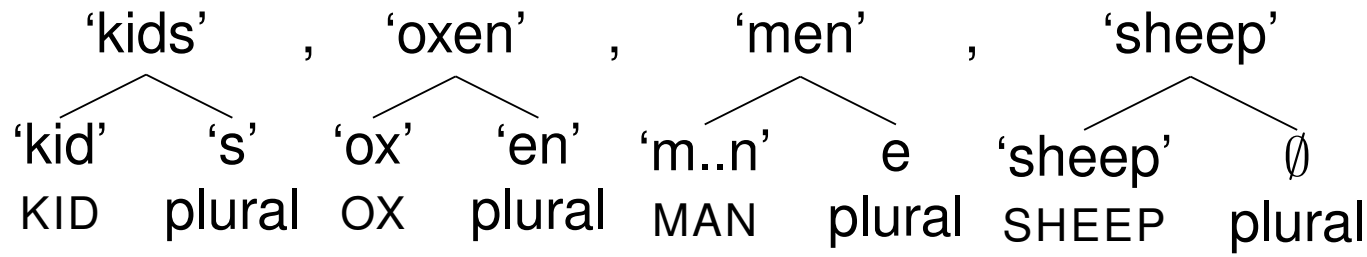
Following the footsteps of morphology

Modeling Morphology (i): Terminology

Morphological Exponence (Matthews 1991)

- Simple Exponence (1:1)
- Cumulative Exponence (many:1)
- Extended Exponence (1:many)

Morpheme-Based Morphology (Bloomfield, 1933)



Modeling Morphology (II): Assumptions (Stump 2001)

LEXICAL vs. INFERENTIAL Approaches

- LEXICAL:
  morphemes are primary, properties stored in the lexicon
- INFERENTIAL:
  properties are primary, forms are computed

INCREMENTAL vs. REALIZATIONAL Approaches

- INCREMENTAL:
  morphemes/properties are accumulated incrementally
- REALIZATIONAL:
  property-bundles are pre-condition for spell-out

Modeling Morphology (III): A Taxonomy

	LEXICAL	INFERENTIAL
INCREMENTAL	Item & Arrangement (Bloomfield 1933) (Lieber 1992)	Item & Processes (Hocket 1954) (Steele 1995)
REALIZATIONAL	Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993) Lexical Phonology	(Extended) Word & Paradigm (Matthews 1972), (Anderson 1992) (Stump 2001), (Blevins 2006)

Table: A Taxonomy of Models for Morphology (Stump 2001)

The Strategy (IV): (Extended) Word-and-Paradigm

Paradigmatic Organization

/EAT/	1Sing	2Sing	3Sing	1Pl	2Pl	3Pl
Past	1SingPast	2SingPast	3SingPast	1PlPast	2PlPast	3PlPast
Present	1SingPres	2SingPres	3SingPres	1PlPres	2PlPres	3PlPres
Perfect	1SingPerf	2SingPerf	3SingPerf	1PlPerf	2PlPerf	3PlPerf

Realization Rules

/EAT/ +1SingPast | ‘ate’ , /EAT/ +3SingPast | ‘ate’ , /EAT/ +1SingPres | ‘eats’ , /EAT/ +3SingPres | ‘eat’

The Proposal (I): “Lifting” the Terminology

Morphological Exponence : Properties $\rightsquigarrow$ Words

- Simple (1:1)
- Cumulative (many:1)
- Distributed/Extended (1:many)

Morphosyntactic Exponence : Relations $\rightsquigarrow$ Positions

- Simple (1:1, e.g., SBJ $\rightsquigarrow$ nominative)
- Cumulative (many:1, e.g., PRD,OBJ $\rightsquigarrow$ clitics)
- Distributed/Extended (1:many, e.g., SBJ $\rightsquigarrow$ agreement)

The Proposal (II): Modeling Assumptions

Configurational vs. Relational Approaches

- Configurational:
  configurations are primary, relations are derived
- Relational:
  relations are primary, configurations are computed

Incremental vs. Realizational Approaches

- Incremental:
  constructive operations,
  incrementally define/add relations
- Realizational:
  interpretive operations,
  sets of relations are precondition to realization

The Proposal (III): A Taxonomy

	CONFIGURATIONAL	RELATIONAL
INCREMENTAL	X-Bar Theory Head-Driven Grammars	Dependency Grammar
REALIZATIONAL	Tree Adjoining Grammar Combinatory-Categorial Grammar Construction Grammar	

Table: A Taxonomy of Syntactic Frameworks (Tsarfaty 2010)

The Proposal (III): A Taxonomy

	CONFIGURATIONAL	RELATIONAL
INCREMENTAL	X-Bar Theory Head-Driven Grammars	Dependency Grammar
REALIZATIONAL	Tree Adjoining Grammar Combinatory-Categorial Grammar Construction Grammar	⟨ This Work ⟩

Table: A Taxonomy of Syntactic Frameworks (Tsarfaty 2010)

The Proposal (IV): Relational-Realizational Modeling

The *Relational* Assumption

- Paradigms organize the syntactic domain
- Cells in paradigms define sets of relations
- Sets of relations are realized in different configurations

The *Realizational* Assumption

- Sets of relations (Arg-St) are primitives
- Rules interpret sets of relations as surface orms
- Rules can refer to multiple relations and span clauses

Realization in Syntax is Recursive!

Realization of a cells refers to function cells in other paradigms

The Proposal (IV): Relational-Realizational Modeling

S⟨PRED⟩ FEATS ARG-ST	Affirmative	Interrogative	Imperative
intransitive	S_{affirm}+{SBJ,PRD}	S_{inter}+{SBJ,PRD}	S_{imper}+{SBJ,PRD}
transitive	S_{affirm}+{SBJ,PRD,OBJ}	S_{inter}+{SBJ,PRD,OBJ}	S_{imper}+{SBJ,PRD,OBJ}
ditransitive	S_{affirm}+{SBJ,PRD,OBJ,COM}	S_{inter}+{SBJ,PRD,OBJ,COM}	S_{imper}+{SBJ,PRD,OBJ,COM}

Figure: Paradigmatic Organization

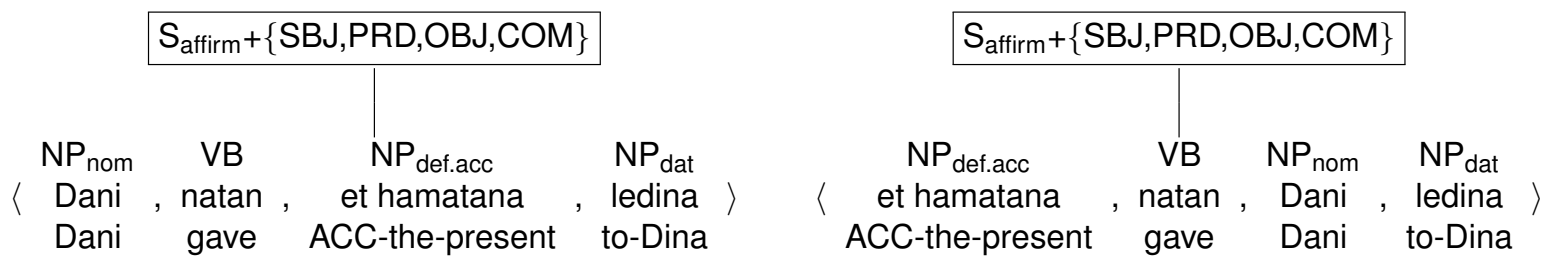
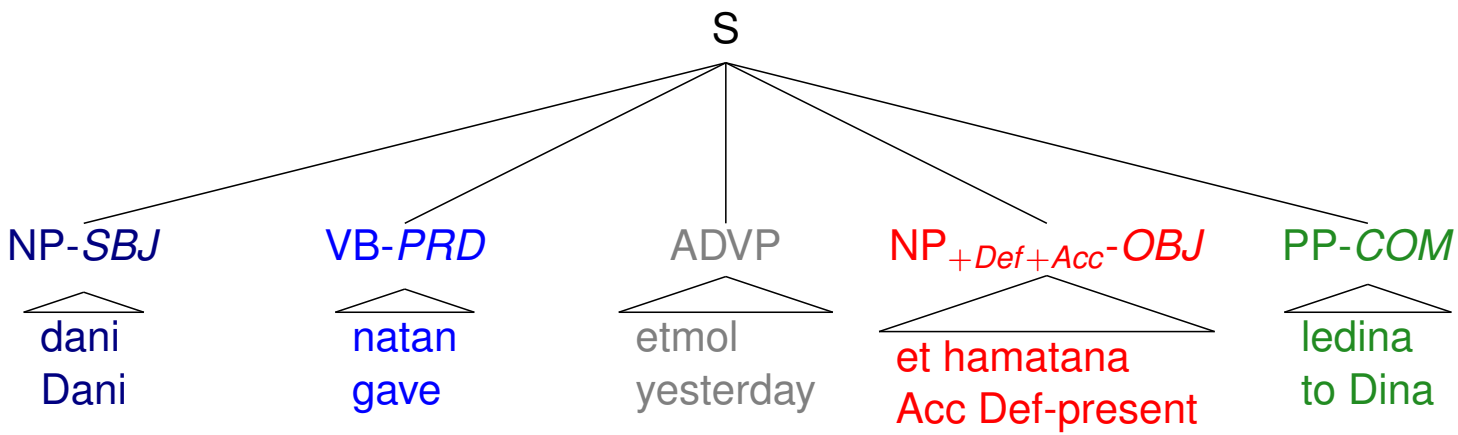


Figure: Realization Rules

Realization Rules

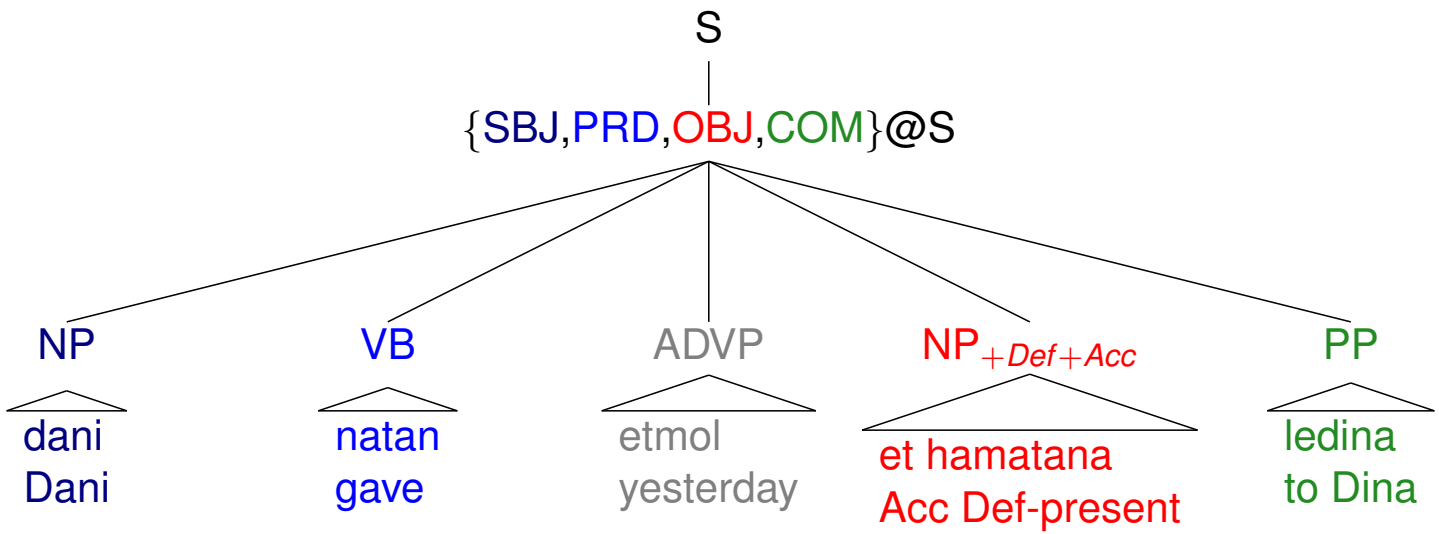
Realization Rules

Segmentation and Classification



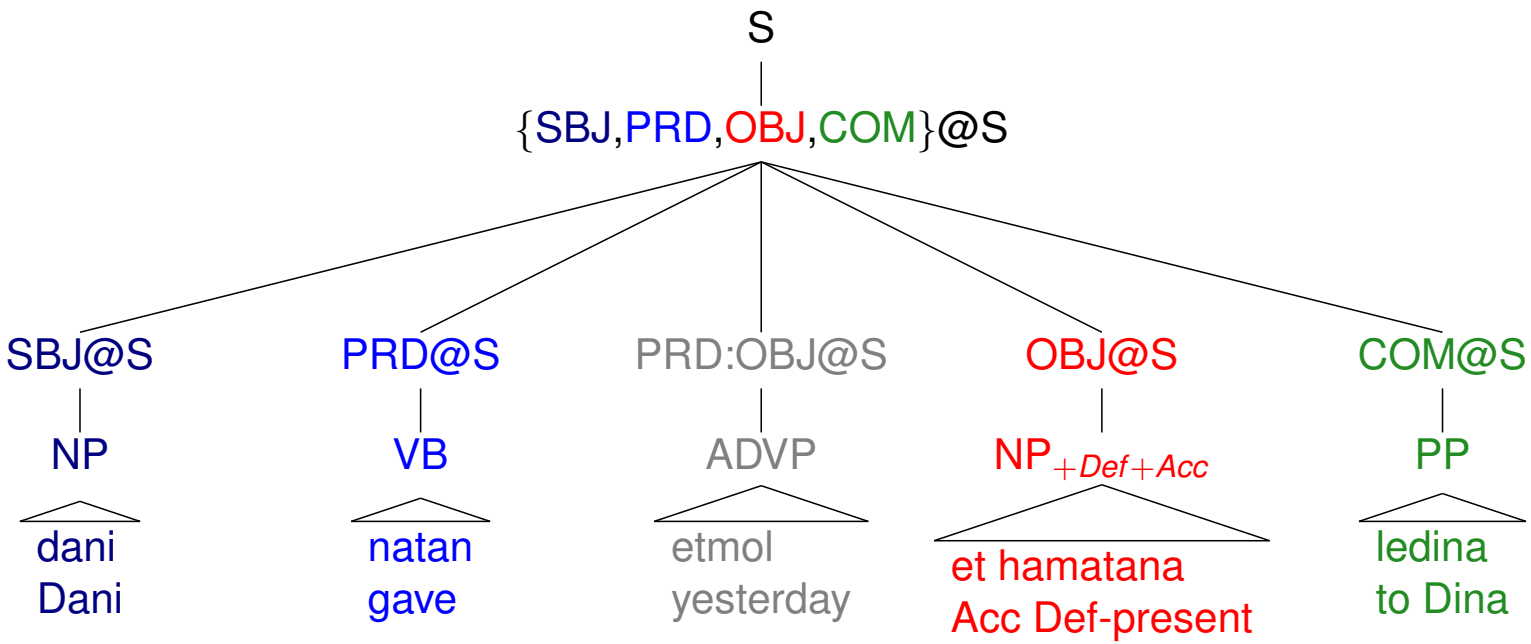
Realization Rules

Form-Function Separation

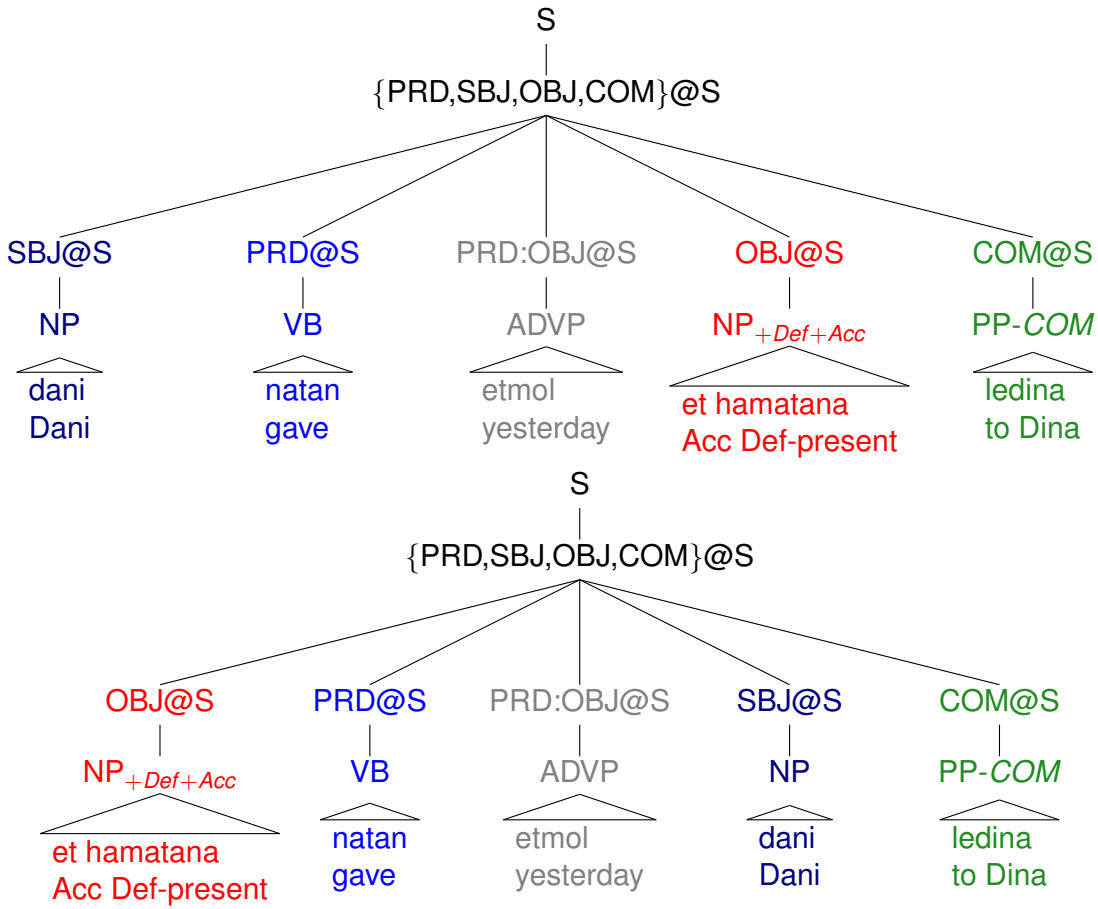


Realization Rules

Morphological and Syntactic Realization

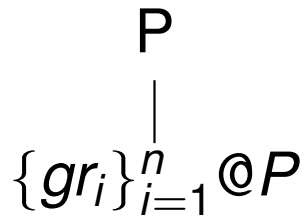


Realization Rules: Economy and Generalization

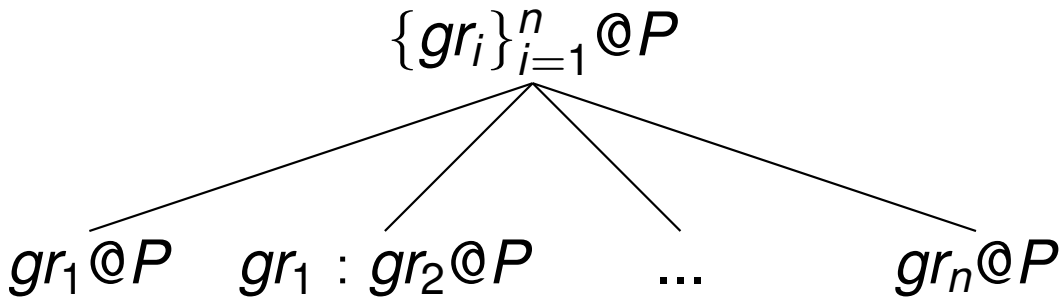


The Generative Model

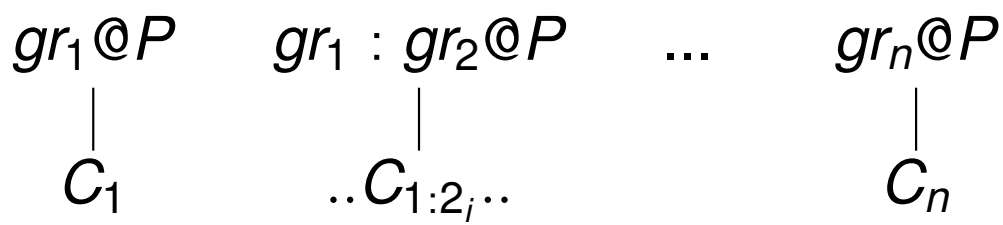
Projection:



Configuration:



Realization:



The Probabilistic Model

The RR Probabilities:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\mathbf{P_{RR}}(r) = & \\
\textit{Projection} & \mathbf{P_p}(\{gr_i\}_{i=1}^{n}|P) \times \\
\textit{Configuration} & \mathbf{P_c}(\langle gr_0 : gr_1, g_1, \ldots\rangle|\{gr_i\}_{i=1}^{n}, P) \times \\
\textit{Realization} & \prod_{i=1}^{n} \mathbf{P_{r_1}}(C_i|gr_i, P) \times \\
 & \mathbf{P_{r_2}}(\langle C_{0_1}, \ldots, C_{0_{m_0}}\rangle|gr_0 : gr_1, P) \times \\
 & \prod_{i=1}^{n} \mathbf{P_{r_2}}(\langle C_{i_1}, \ldots, C_{i_{m_i}}\rangle|gr_i : gr_{i+1}, P)
\end{array}
$$

The RR Parser:

$$\pi^* = argmax_\pi P(\pi) = argmax_\pi \prod_{r\in\pi} \mathbf{P_{RR}}(r)$$

Part IV: Applications

- Parsing Modern Hebrew
- Quantifying Universal Grammar

Application I: Parsing Modern Hebrew

Data

The Modern Hebrew Treebank v2, head annotated.
6500 sentences, 500/5500/500 dev/train/test split

Models

- Grammatical Functions: PRD, SBJ, OBJ, COM, CNJ
- Morphological Splits: **PoS/Def/Acc/Gender**

Estimation

Relative Frequency + Simple Unknown Words Smoothing

Parsing

Exhaustive Viterbi Parsing (using BitPar, Schmid 2004)

Evaluation

PARSEVAL (i) Overall, and (ii) Per Category Evaluation

A Taxonomy of PCFG-based Parsers

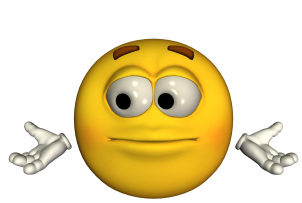
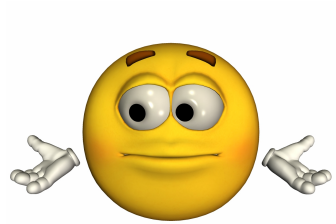
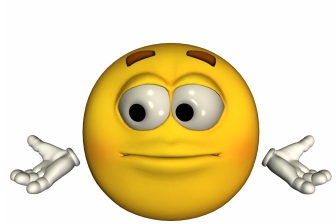
	CONFIGURATIONAL	RELATIONAL
INCREMENTAL	Head-Driven Parsing (Collins 1999) 	
REALIZATIONAL		Relational-Realizational (Tsarfaty et al. 2009) 

Table: A Taxonomy of PCFG-Based Parsing Frameworks

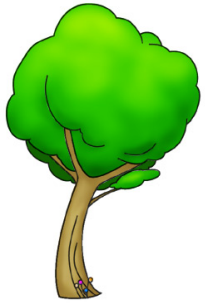
Overall Results

		
74.66/74.35 (7385)	73.52/74.84 (21399)	**76.32/76.51 (13618)**

Overall Results

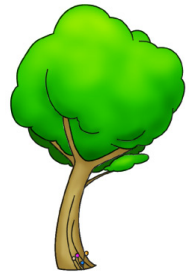
		
74.66/74.35 (7385)	73.52/74.84 (21399)	**76.32/76.51 (13618)**

Results Per Category



NP	77.39 / 74.32	77.94 / 73.75	**78.96** / **76.11**
PP	71.78 / 71.14	71.83 / 69.24	**74.4** / **72.02**
SBAR	55.73 / 59.71	53.79 / 57.49	**57.97** / **61.67**
ADVP	71.37 / 77.01	72.52 / 73.56	**73.57** / **77.59**
ADJP	**79.37** / **78.96**	78.47 / 77.14	78.69 / 78.18
S	**73.25** / **79.07**	71.07 / 76.49	72.37 / 78.33
SQ	36.00 / **32.14**	30.77 / 14.29	**55.56** / 17.86
PREDP	36.31 / 39.63	**44.74** / 39.63	44.51 / **46.95**

Results Using Gold Standard Input

		
∅	83.06	**83.49**
	(5914)	**(6688)**
gender	82.18	**83.70**
	(10765)	**(10063)**
case/*def*	79.53	**83.66**
	(12700)	**(12386)**
gender/*case*/*def*	80.89	**84.13**
	(13028)	**(13618)**

Application II: Probabilistic Computational Typology

Application II: Probabilistic Computational Typology

1: Apply the model to different languages, e.g.,

- **Hebrew:** a Semitic Language
- **Swedish:** a Germanic Language

2: Learn the distribution of model parameters

- RR-Projection
- RR-Configuration
- RR-Realization

3: Instantiate typological parameters for UG

Parameter 1: Basic Word-Order (Greenberg 1963)

Basic Word-Order Parameter in Hebrew: P(< *configuration* >|{SBJ,PRD,OBJ}@S)

Probability	*Configuration*
35.3%	SBJ PRD OBJ □
15.6%	SBJ PRD □ OBJ □
12.3%	□ PRD SBJ OBJ □
10.3%	SBJ □ PDR OBJ □
6.5%	□ SBJ PRD OBJ □
4.1%	SBJ □ PRD □ OBJ □
3.7%	□ PRD SBJ □ OBJ □
3%	OBJ PRD SBJ □
1.7%	□ SBJ PRD □ OBJ □
1.7%	□ PRD OBJ SBJ □
1.3%	SBJ □ PRD OBJ □
1 %	□ PRD □ SBJ OBJ □

Parameter 1: Basic Word-Order (Greenberg 1963)

Basic Word-Order Parameter in Swedish: P(< *configuration* >|{SBJ,PRD,OBJ}@S)

Probability	*Configuration*
35.5%	SBJ PRD OBJ □
18.9%	SBJ PRD □ OBJ □
13.9%	□ PRD SBJ PBJ □
8.1%	SBJ PRD OBJ
4.7%	□ PRD SBJ □ OBJ
3.5%	OBJ PRD SBJ
2.6%	SBJ PRD OBJ □
1.7%	OBJ PRD SBJ COM □
1.6%	PRD SBJ OBJ □
1.6%	□ PRD SBJ OBJ
1%	□ PRD SBJ □ OBJ

Parameter 2: Inflectional Systems

The Object-Marking Parameter in Hebrew: P(< *morphosyntactic representation* >| OBJ@S)

Probability	Realization
43.5%	NP.⟨*NN*⟩
14.7%	NP.DEF.ACC⟨*NN*⟩
8.8%	NP⟨*NNT*⟩
7.4%	NP.DEF.ACC⟨*NNP*⟩
6.7%	NP.DEF.ACC⟨*NN.DEF*⟩
6.5%	NP.DEF.ACC⟨*NNT*⟩
5.8%	NP.DEF.ACC⟨*PRP*⟩

Parameter 2: Inflectional Systems

The Object-Marking Parameter in Swedish: P(< *morphosyntactic representation* >| OBJ@S)

Probability	Realization
46%	NP.IND.NOM
20%	NP.DEF.NOM
13.4%	S
7.3%	NP.DEF.NOM-OBJ
4.9%	VP
3.6%	NP.IND
2.8%	NP.NOM

Towards Computational Typology and Statistical UG

We can potentially use the RR parameters to...

- Quantify Intra-Language Variation
- Quantify Cross-Linguistic Variation
- Quantify Nonconfigurationality
- Learn Probabilistic P&P

Conclusion

We presented a Relational-Realizational Architecture for Specifying and Learning Morphosyntactic Descriptions

- Simple
- Formal
- Robust
- Implementable
- Interpretable
- Explanatory

$\Rightarrow$ Paradigms augmented with realization rules constitute a useful and powerful modeling strategy also for (Morpho)Syntax.

Thank You!

Questions?

For more Information

Relational-Realizational Parsing

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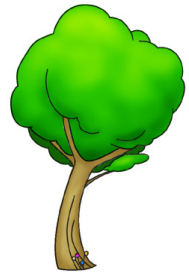
PhD Thesis, 2010

Swedish Parsing Results Using Gold Standard Input

		
∅	78.65	**77.71**
	(8696)	**(10099)**
gender	73.20	**78.09**
	(11382)	**(12593)**
case/*def*	74.90	**79.09**
	(11239)	**(13912)**
gender/*case*/*def*	68.97	**77.89**
	(13347)	**(14991)**