

Syntactic Formalisms for Parsing Natural Languages

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Parsing with CCG

Outline

- 1 A-B categorial system
 - 2 Lambek calculus
 - 3 Extended Categorial Grammar
 - Variation based on Lambek calculus
 - Abstract Categorial Grammar, Categorial Type Logic
 - Variation based on Combinatory Logic
 - Combinatory Categorial Grammar (CCG)
 - Multi-modal Combinatory Categorial Grammar
- Categorial Grammar is
 - : a *lexicalized theory* of grammar along with other theories of grammar such as HPSG, TAG, LFG, ...
 - : linguistically and computationally attractive
 - language invariant combination rules, high efficient parsing

Main idea in CG and *application operation*

- All natural language consists of operators and of operands.
 - **Operator** (functor) and **operand** (argument)
 - Application: (**operator**(operand))
 - Categorial type: typed operator and operand

1. A-B categorial system

The product of the directional adaptation by Bar-Hillel (1953) of Ajdukiewicz's calculus of syntactic connection (Ajdukiewicz, 1935)

Definition 1 (AB categories).

Given A , a finite set of *atomic categories*, the **set of categories C** is the smallest set such that:

- $A \subseteq C$
- $(X \setminus Y), (X / Y) \in C$ if $X, Y \in C$

1. A-B categorial system

- **Categories** (type): primitive categories and derivative categories
 - Primitive: **S** for sentence, **N** for nominal phrase
 - Derivative: $S/N, N/N, (S \setminus N)/N, NN/N, S/S \dots$
- Forward($>$) and backward ($<$) **functional application**

$$\begin{aligned} a. X / Y Y &\Rightarrow X && (>) \\ b. Y X \setminus Y &\Rightarrow X && (<) \end{aligned}$$

1. A-B categorial system

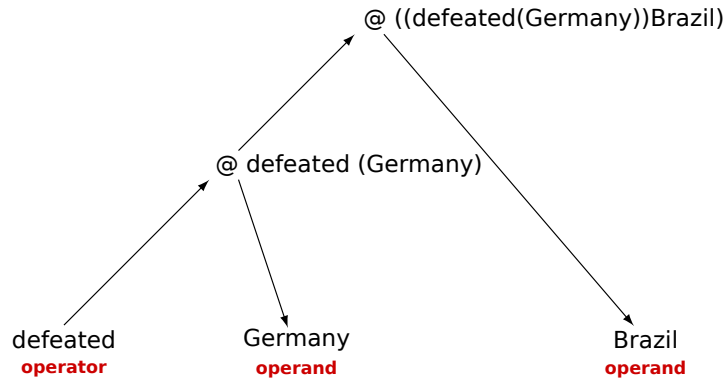
- **Calculus on types** in CG are analogue to **algebraic operations**

$$x / y y \rightarrow x \approx 3 / 5 * 5 = 3$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Brazil} & \text{defeated} & \text{Germany} \\ \hline n & (s \setminus n) / n & n \\ & \hline & s \setminus n & > \\ \hline & s & < \end{array}$$

1. A-B categorial system

Applicative tree of *Brazil defeated Germany*



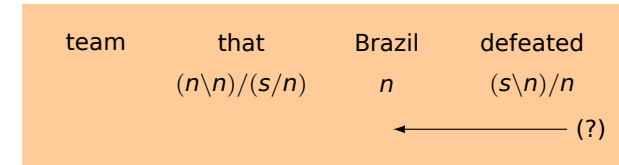
Limitation of AB system

1 Relative construction

- team_i that t_i defeated Germany
- team_i that Brazil defeated t_i

a'. that $(n \setminus n) / (s \setminus n)$ team [that] $_{(n \setminus n) / (s \setminus n)}$ [defeated Germany] $_{s \setminus n}$

b'. that $(n \setminus n) / (s \setminus n)$ team [that] $_{(n \setminus n) / (s \setminus n)}$ [Brazil defeated] $_{s \setminus n}$



3 Many others complex phenomena

- Coordination, object extraction, phrasal verbs, ...

4 AB's generative power is too weak - *context-free*

2. Lambek calculus (Lambek, 1958, 1961)

the calculus of **syntactic types**
still *context-free*

The axioms of Lambek calculus are the following:

- $x \rightarrow x$
- $(xy)z \rightarrow x(yz) \rightarrow (xy)z$ (the axioms 1, 2 with inference rules, 3, 4, 5)
- If $xy \rightarrow z$ then $x \rightarrow z/y$, if $xy \rightarrow z$ then $y \rightarrow x \setminus z$;
- If $x \rightarrow z/y$ then $xy \rightarrow z$, if $y \rightarrow x \setminus z$ then $xy \rightarrow z$;
- If $x \rightarrow y$ and $y \rightarrow z$ then $x \rightarrow z$.

2. Lambek calculus (Lambek, 1958, 1961)

The rules obtained from the previous axioms are the following:

- Hypothesis: if x and y are types, then x/y and $y \setminus x$ are types.
- Application rules : $(x/y)y \rightarrow x, y(y \setminus x) \rightarrow x$
ex: *Poor John works.*
- Associativity rule : $(x \setminus y)/z \leftrightarrow x \setminus (y/z)$
ex: *John likes Jane.*
- Composition rules : $(x/y)(y/z) \rightarrow x/z, (x \setminus y)(y \setminus z) \rightarrow x \setminus z$
ex: *He likes him.*
 $s / (n \setminus s) n \setminus s / n$
- Type-raising rules : $x \rightarrow y / (x/y), x \rightarrow (y/x) \setminus y$

3. Combinatory Categorical Grammar

- Developed originally by M. Steedman (1988, 1990, 2000, ...)
- Combinatory Categorical Grammar (CCG) is a grammar formalism equivalent to Tree Adjoining Grammar, i.e.
 - it is lexicalized
 - it is parsable in polynomial time (See Vijay-Shanker and Weir, 1990)
 - it can capture cross-serial dependencies
- Just like TAG, CCG is used for grammar writing
- CCG is especially suitable for statistical parsing

3. Combinatory Categorical Grammar

- several of the **combinators which Curry and Feys** (1958) use to define **the λ -calculus** and applicative systems in general are of considerable syntactic interest (Steedman, 1988)
- The relationships of these combinators to terms of the λ -calculus are defined by the following equivalences (Steedman, 2000b):

a. **Bfg** $\equiv \lambda x.f(gx)$... composition

b. **Tx** $\equiv \lambda f.fx$... type-raising

c. **Sfg** $\equiv \lambda x.fx(gx)$... substitution

CCG categories

- Atomic categories: S, N, NP, PP, TV...
- Complex categories are built recursively from atomic categories and slashes
- Example complex categories for verbs:
 - intransitive verb: $S \backslash NP$ *walked*
 - transitive verb: $(S \backslash NP) / NP$ *respected*
 - ditransitive verb: $((S \backslash NP) / NP) / NP$ *gave*

Lexical categories in CCG

- An elementary syntactic structure – a lexical category – is assigned to each word in a sentence, eg:

walked: $S \backslash NP$ 'give me an NP to my left and I return a sentence'
- Think of the lexical category for a verb as a function: NP is the argument, S the result, and the slash indicates the direction of the argument

The typed lexicon item

- The CCG lexicon assigns categories to words, i.e. it specifies which categories a word can have.
- Furthermore, the lexicon specifies the semantic counterpart of the syntactic rules, e.g.:

love $(S \setminus NP) / NP \lambda x \lambda y. loves'xy$

- Combinatory rules determine what happens with the category and the semantics on combination

The typed lexicon item

- Attribution of types to lexical items: examples

Predicate

ex: *is* as an identifier of nominal

as an *operator of predication* from a nominal $\longrightarrow (S \setminus NP) / NP$

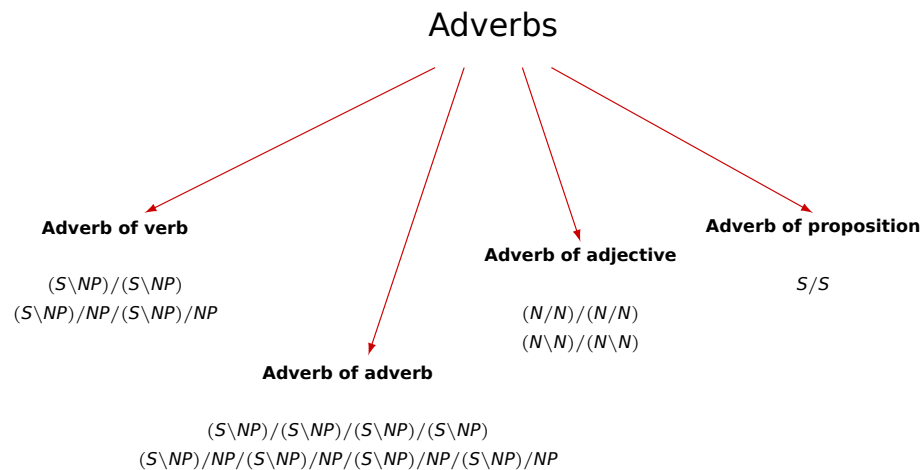
from an adjective $\longrightarrow (S \setminus NP) / (N / N)$

from an adverb $\longrightarrow (S \setminus NP) / (S \setminus NP) \setminus (S \setminus NP)$

from a preposition $\longrightarrow (S \setminus NP) / ((S \setminus NP) \setminus (S \setminus NP) / NP)$

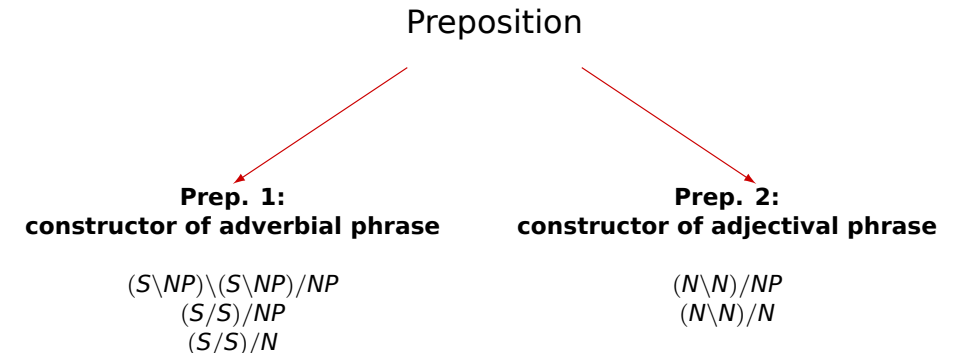
ex: verbs $\begin{cases} \longrightarrow \text{unary } (S \setminus NP) \\ \longrightarrow \text{binary } (S \setminus NP) / NP \\ \longrightarrow \text{ternary } (S \setminus NP) / NP / NP \end{cases}$

The typed lexicon item



Adverb: operator of determination of type (X/X)

The typed lexicon item



Preposition: constructor of determination of type (X/X)

Dictionary of typed words

Syntactic categories	Syntactic types	Lexical entries
Nom.	N	<i>Olivia, apple...</i>
Completed nom.	NP	<i>an apple, the school</i>
Pron.	NP	<i>She, he...</i>
Adj.	$(N/N), (N \setminus N)$	pretty woman,...
Adv.	$(N/N)/(N/N),$ $(S \setminus NP) \setminus (S \setminus NP)...$	very delicious,...
Vb	$(S \setminus NP), (S \setminus NP)/NP...$	<i>run, give...</i>
Prep.	$(S \setminus NP) \setminus (S \setminus NP)/NP$ $(NP \setminus NP)/NP...$	<i>run in the park,</i> <i>book of John, ...</i>
Relative	$(S \setminus NP)/S...$	<i>I believe that...</i>

Combinatorial categorial rules

- Functional application ($>, <$)
- Functional composition ($> \mathbf{B}, < \mathbf{B}$)
- Type-raising ($< \mathbf{T}, > \mathbf{T}$)
- Distribution ($< \mathbf{S}, > \mathbf{S}$)
- Coordination ($< \Phi, > \Phi$)

Functional application (FA)

$X/Y : f \quad Y : a \Rightarrow X : fa$ (forward functional application, $>$)
 $Y : a \quad X \setminus Y : f \Rightarrow X : fa$ (backward functional application, $<$)

- Combine a function with its argument:

$\frac{NP \quad S \setminus NP}{S} \leftarrow$
Mary sleeps \rightarrow (sleeps (Mary))
 $\frac{NP \quad (S \setminus NP)/NP \quad NP}{S \setminus NP} \leftarrow$
 $\frac{S \setminus NP}{S} \leftarrow$
John likes Mary \rightarrow ((likes (Mary))John)

- Direction of the slash indicates position of the argument with respect to the function

Derivation in CCG

- The combinatorial rule used in each derivation step is usually indicated on the right of the derivation line
- Note especially what happens with the semantic information

$\frac{NP : John' \quad (S \setminus NP)/NP : \lambda x \lambda y. loves' xy \quad NP : Mary'}{S \setminus NP : \lambda y. loves' Mary' y} >$
 $\frac{S \setminus NP : \lambda y. loves' Mary' y}{S : loves' Mary' John'} <$

Function composition (FC)

Generalized forward composition ($> Bn$)

$$X/Y : f \quad Y/Z : g \Rightarrow_B X/Z : \lambda x.f(gx) \quad (> B)$$

- Functional composition composes two complex categories (two functions):

$$(S \backslash NP) / PP \quad (PP / NP) \Rightarrow_B (S \backslash NP) / NP$$

$$S / (S \backslash NP) \quad (S \backslash NP) / NP \Rightarrow_B S / NP$$

<u>birds</u>		<u>like</u>		<u>bugs</u>
NP		$(S \backslash NP) / NP$		NP
$\frac{NP}{S / (S \backslash NP)} > T$				$\frac{NP}{NP} > T$
$\frac{S / (S \backslash NP)}{S / NP} > B$				$\frac{(S \backslash NP) / NP}{S \backslash NP} > B$
$\frac{S / NP}{S} >$				

Function composition (FC)

Generalized backward composition ($< Bn$)

$$Y \backslash Z : f \quad X \backslash Y : g \Rightarrow_B X \backslash Z : x.f(gx) \quad (< B)$$

<u>The referee gave</u>		<u>Unsal</u>		<u>a card</u>		<u>and</u>		<u>Rivaldo</u>		<u>the ball</u>	
$(s/np)/np$		np		np		$(X \backslash X) / X$		np		np	
$\frac{(s/np)/np}{(s/np) \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < T$		$\frac{np}{s \backslash (s/np)} < T$		$\frac{np}{(s/np) \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < T$		$\frac{(X \backslash X) / X}{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < T$		$\frac{np}{s \backslash (s/np)} < T$		$\frac{np}{(s/np) \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < T$	
$\frac{(s/np) \backslash ((s/np)/np)}{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < B$		$\frac{s \backslash (s/np)}{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < B$		$\frac{(s/np) \backslash ((s/np)/np)}{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < B$		$\frac{(X \backslash X) / X}{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < B$		$\frac{s \backslash (s/np)}{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < B$		$\frac{(s/np) \backslash ((s/np)/np)}{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < B$	
$\frac{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)}{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < \Phi >$					$\frac{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)}{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)} < \Phi >$						
$\frac{s \backslash ((s/np)/np)}{s} <$											

Type-raising (T)

Forward type-raising ($> T$)

$$X : a \Rightarrow T / (T \backslash X) : \lambda f.f a \quad (> T)$$

- Type-raising turns an argument into a function (e.g. for case assignment)

$$NP \Rightarrow S / (S \backslash NP) \text{ (nominative)}$$

<u>birds</u>		<u>fly</u>
NP		$S \backslash NP$
$\frac{NP \quad S \backslash NP}{S} <$		

<u>birds</u>		<u>fly</u>
NP		$S \backslash NP$
$\frac{NP \quad S \backslash NP}{S / (S \backslash NP)} > T$		
$\frac{S / (S \backslash NP)}{S} >$		

Example of functional composition ($> B$) and type-raising (T)

<u>team</u>		<u>that</u>		<u>I</u>		<u>thought</u>		<u>that</u>		<u>Brazil</u>		<u>defeated</u>		
n		$(n \backslash n) / (s / np)$		np		$(s \backslash np) / s$		s / s		np		$(s \backslash np) / np$		
$\frac{n}{(n \backslash n) / (s / np)} > T$		$\frac{np}{(s \backslash np) / s} > T$		$\frac{s / s}{s / (s \backslash np)} > T$		$\frac{np}{s \backslash (s \backslash np)} > T$		$\frac{s / s}{s / (s \backslash np)} > T$		$\frac{np}{s \backslash (s \backslash np)} > T$		$\frac{(s \backslash np) / np}{s \backslash (s \backslash np)} > T$		
$\frac{(n \backslash n) / (s / np)}{s / s} > B$		$\frac{(s \backslash np) / s}{s / s} > B$		$\frac{s / (s \backslash np)}{s / s} > B$		$\frac{s \backslash (s \backslash np)}{s / s} > B$		$\frac{s / (s \backslash np)}{s / s} > B$		$\frac{s \backslash (s \backslash np)}{s / s} > B$		$\frac{(s \backslash np) / np}{s \backslash (s \backslash np)} > B$		
$\frac{s / s}{s / np} > B$					$\frac{s / (s \backslash np)}{s / np} > B$					$\frac{s \backslash (s \backslash np)}{s / np} > B$				
$\frac{s / np}{s / np} > B$														
$\frac{s / np}{n \backslash n} >$														
$\frac{n \backslash n}{n} <$														

- This must be used e.g. in the case of WH-questions

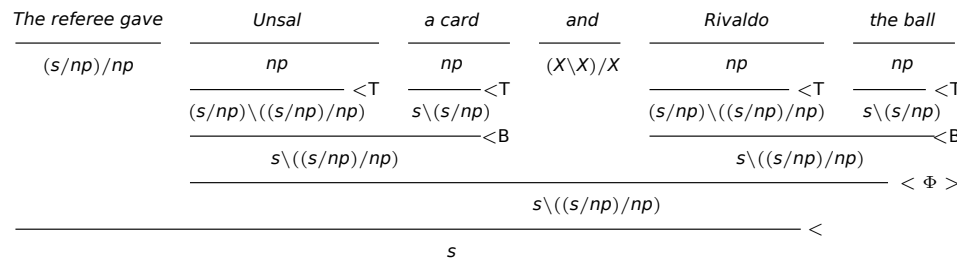
Example of functional composition ($> B$) and type-raising (T)

Backward type-raising ($< T$)

$$X : a \Rightarrow T \setminus (T/X) : \lambda f.f.a \quad (< T)$$

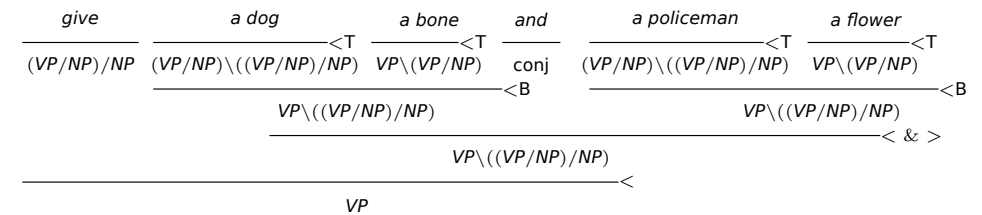
- Type-raising turns an argument into a function (e.g. for case assignment)

$$NP \Rightarrow (S \setminus NP) \setminus ((S \setminus NP) / NP) \text{ (accusative)}$$



Coordination (&)

$$X \text{ CONJ } X \Rightarrow_{\Phi} X \quad (\text{Coordination}(\Phi))$$



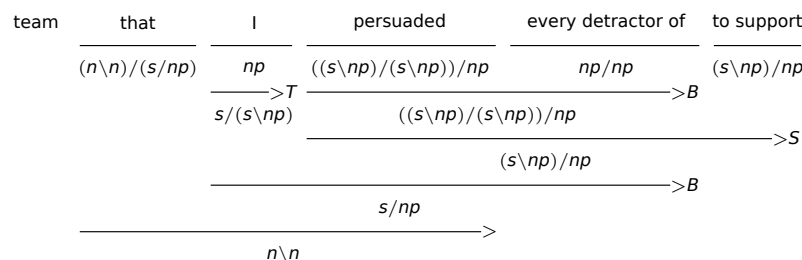
Substitution (S)

Forward substitution ($> S$)

$$(X/Y)/Z \ Y/Z \Rightarrow_S X/Z$$

- Application to parasitic gap such as the following:

a. *team* that I persuaded *every detractor* of to support



Substitution (S)

Backward crossed substitution ($< S \times$)

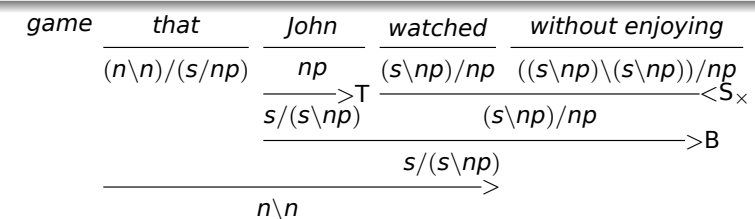
$$Y/Z \ (X \setminus Y) / Z \Rightarrow_S X/Z$$

- Application to parasitic gap such as the following:

a. John watched *without enjoying the game* between Germany and Paraguay.

b. *game* that John watched *without enjoying*

game that John [watched] _{$(s \setminus np) / np$} [without enjoying] _{$((s \setminus np) \setminus (s \setminus np)) / np$}



Limit on possible rules

- The Principle of Adjacency:

Combinatory rules may only apply to entities which are linguistically realised and adjacent.

- The Principle of Directional Consistency:

All syntactic combinatory rules must be consistent with the directionality of the principal function. ex: $X \backslash Y \ Y \neq \Rightarrow X$

- The Principle of Directional Inheritance:

If the category that results from the application of a combinatory rule is a function category, then the slash defining directionality for a given argument in that category will be the same as the one defining directionality for the corresponding arguments in the input functions. ex: $X/Y \ Y/Z \neq \Rightarrow X \backslash Z$.

Semantic in CCG

- CCG offers a syntax-semantics interface.
- The lexical categories are augmented with an explicit identification of their semantic interpretation and the rules of functional application are accordingly expanded with an explicit semantics.
- Every syntactic category and rule has a semantic counterpart.
- The lexicon is used to pair words with syntactic categories and semantic interpretations:

love $(S \backslash NP) / NP \Rightarrow \lambda x \lambda y. loves'xy$

Semantic in CCG

- The semantic interpretation of all combinatory rules is fully determined by the **Principle of Type Transparency**:
 - **Categories**: All syntactic categories reflect the semantic type of the associated logical form.
 - **Rules**: All syntactic combinatory rules are type-transparent versions of one of a small number of semantic operations over functions including application, composition, and type-raising.

Semantic in CCG

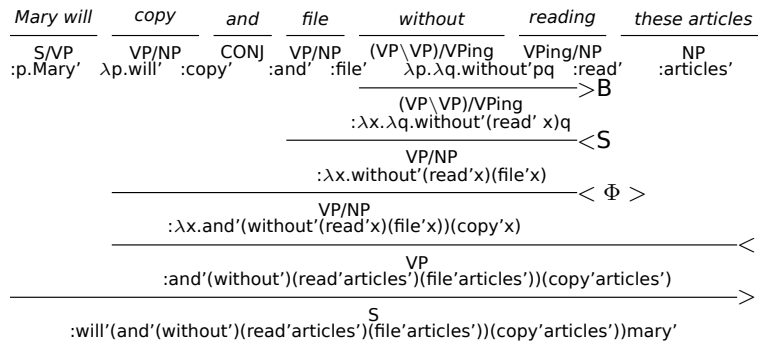
proved := $(S \backslash NP_{3S}) / NP : \lambda x \lambda y. prove'xy$

- the semantic type of the reduction is the same as its syntactic type, here functional application.

$$\frac{\frac{\frac{Marcel}{NP_{3sm} : marcel'} \quad \frac{proved}{(S \backslash NP_{3S}) / NP : \lambda x \lambda y. prove'xy} \quad \frac{completeness}{NP : completeness'}}{S \backslash NP_{3S} : \lambda y. prove'completeness'y} >}{S : prove'completeness'marcel'} <$$

Semantic in CCG

CCG with semantics : *Mary will copy and file without reading these articles*



Parsing a sentence in CCG

Step 1: tokenization

Step 2: tagging the concatenated lexicon

Step 3:

- calculate on types attributed to the concatenated lexicons by applying the adequate combinatorial rules
- eliminate the applied combinators (we will see how to do on next week)

Step 4: finding the parsing results presented in the form of an operator/operand structure (predicate -argument structure)

Parsing a sentence in CCG

Example: *I requested and would prefer musicals*

STEP 1 : tokenization/lemmatization → ex) POS Tagger, tokenizer, lemmatizer

- a. *I-requested-and-would-prefer-musicals*
- b. *I-request-ed-and-would-prefer-musical-s*

STEP 2 : tagging the concatenated expressions → ex) Supertagger, Inventory of typed words

<i>I</i>	NP
<i>Requested</i>	(S\NP)/NP
<i>And</i>	CONJ
<i>Would</i>	(S\NP)/VP
<i>Prefer</i>	VP/NP
<i>musicals</i>	NP

Parsing a sentence in CCG

STEP 3 : categorial calculus

- a. apply the type-raising rules \longrightarrow *Subject Type-raising* ($> T$)
 $NP : a \Rightarrow T/(T\backslash NP) : Ta$
- b. apply the functional composition rules \longrightarrow *Forward Composition*: ($> B$)
 $X/Y : f \quad Y/Z : g \Rightarrow X/Z : Bfg$
- c. apply the coordination rules \longrightarrow *Coordination*: ($< \& >$)
 $X \text{ conj } Y \Rightarrow X$

	I-	requested-	and-	would-	prefer-	musicals	
1/	NP	(S\NP)/NP	CONJ	(S\NP)/VP	VP/NP	NP	
2/	S/(S\NP)	(S\NP)/NP	CONJ	(S\NP)/VP	VP/NP	NP	(>T)
3/	S/(S\NP)	(S\NP)/NP	CONJ	(S\NP)/NP	VP/NP	NP	(>B)
4/	S/(S\NP)	(S\NP)/NP		(S\NP)/NP	VP/NP	NP	(> Φ)
5/	S/(S\NP)	(S\NP)/NP		(S\NP)/NP	VP/NP	NP	(>B)
6/	S/NP					NP	(>)
7/							S

Parsing a sentence in CCG

STEP 4 : semantic representation (predicate-argument structure)

I requested and would prefer musicals

1/ *i'* :request' :and' : will' :prefer' : musicals'

2/ : $\lambda f.f I'$

3/ : $\lambda x.\lambda y.will'(prefer'x)y$

4/ : $\lambda x\lambda y.and'(will'(prefer'x)y)(request'xy)$

5/ : $\lambda x\lambda y.and'(will'(prefer'x)y)(request'xy)$

6/ : $\lambda y.and'(would'(prefer' musicals')y)(request' musicals' y)$

7/S: $and'(will'(prefer' musicals') i')(request' musicals' i')$

Variation of CCG : Multi-modal CCG (Baldrige, 2002)

- Modalized CCG system
- Combination of Categorical Type Logic (CTL, Morrill, 1994; Moortgat, 1997) into the CCG (Steedman, 2000)
- Rules restrictions by introducing the modalities: *, x, •, \diamond
- Modalized functional composition rules

$$\begin{aligned} (> B) \quad X/\diamond Y \quad Y/\diamond Z &\Rightarrow X/\diamond Z \\ (< B) \quad X\backslash\diamond Y \quad Y\backslash\diamond Z &\Rightarrow X\backslash\diamond Z \end{aligned}$$

- Invite you to read the paper “Multi-Modal CCG” of (Baldrige and M.Kruijff, 2003)

The positions of several formalisms on the Chomsky hierarchy

