

Parsing with Tree-Adjoining Grammars

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High Level Overview

- 1st session
 - Specific motivations for Tree-Adjoining Grammars (TAGs)
 - Lexicalized TAG: definition, examples and extensions
 - Lexicalized TAGs from TreeBanks
 - Synchronous TAG

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High Level Overview

- 2nd session
 - Statistical parsing: generative models for TAG
 - TAG-based shallow parsing: SuperTagging and Stapling
 - Bootstrapping between CFG and LTAG parsers

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Preliminaries

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Formal Languages and NLP

Formal Language Theory	NLP
Language (possibly infinite)	Text Data, Corpus (finite)
Grammar	Grammar (usually inferred from data, produces infinite set)
Automata	Recognition/Generation algorithms

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Sentences as Strings

David	likes	peanuts
Noun	Verb	Noun

David	said	that	Mary	left
Noun	Verb	Comp	Noun	Verb

- Linear order: all important information is contained in the precedence information, e.g. useful “feature functions” are $w-2, w-1, t-2, t-1, w0, w+1, w+2, t+2, t+1$, etc.
- No hierarchical structure but every part-of-speech is lexicalized, e.g. **Verb** is lexicalized by [likes](#)
- Language (set of strings) generated by finite-state grammars

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Finite State Grammars

$A \rightarrow a A$

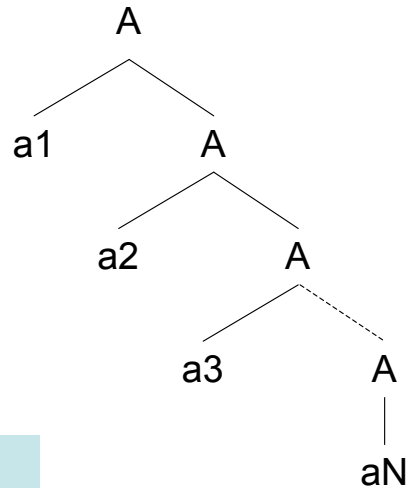
$A \rightarrow a$

$A^1 \Rightarrow a^1 A^2$

$\Rightarrow a^1 a^2 A^3$

$\Rightarrow a^1 a^2 a^3 A^4$

$\Rightarrow a^1 a^2 \dots a^N$



Terminal symbol: a
Non-terminal symbol: A

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Context-Free Grammars

$S \rightarrow NP VP$

$VP \rightarrow V NP \mid VP ADV$

$NP \rightarrow David \mid peanuts$

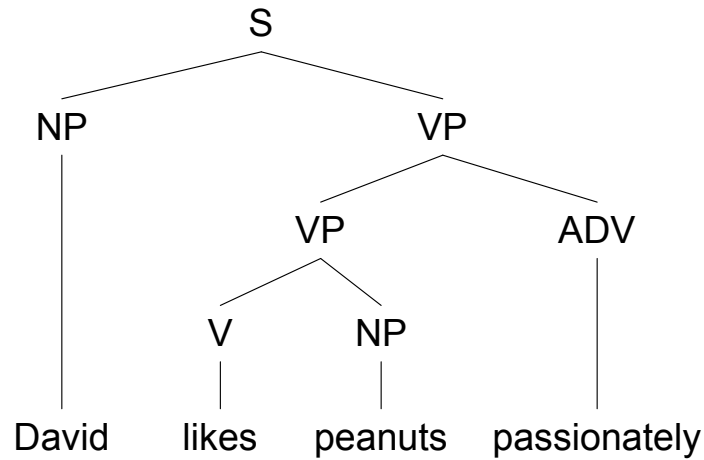
$V \rightarrow likes$

$ADV \rightarrow passionately$

- CFGs generate strings, e.g. language of G above is the set:
 { David likes peanuts,
 David likes peanuts passionately,
 ... }
- Lexical sensitivity is lost
- CFGs also generate trees: hierarchical structure produced is non-trivial

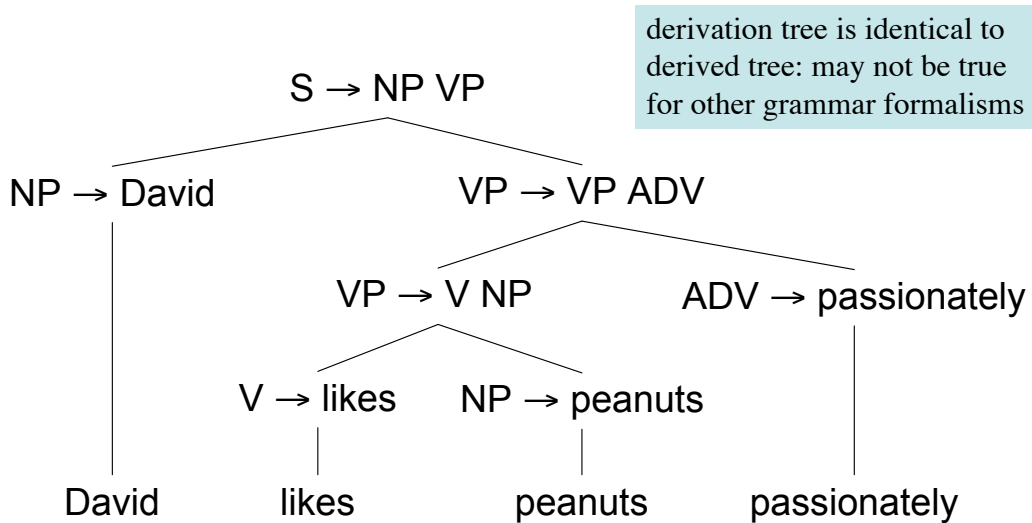
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CFG: Derived/Parse Tree



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CFG: Derivation Tree



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Preliminaries

- Rules of the kind $\alpha \rightarrow \beta$ where α, β are strings of terminals and non-terminals
- Chomsky hierarchy: regular, context-free, context-sensitive, recursively enumerable
- Automata: finite-state, pushdown, LBA, Turing machines (analysis of complexity of parsing)
- A rule $\alpha \rightarrow \beta$ in a grammar is lexicalized if β contains a terminal symbol
- Lexicalization is a useful property, e.g. a rule like $NP \rightarrow NP$ creates infinite valid derivations

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Motivation #1

Context-sensitive predicates on trees
bear less fruit than you think*

* borrowed from a title of a paper by A. Joshi

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Strong vs. Weak Generative Capacity

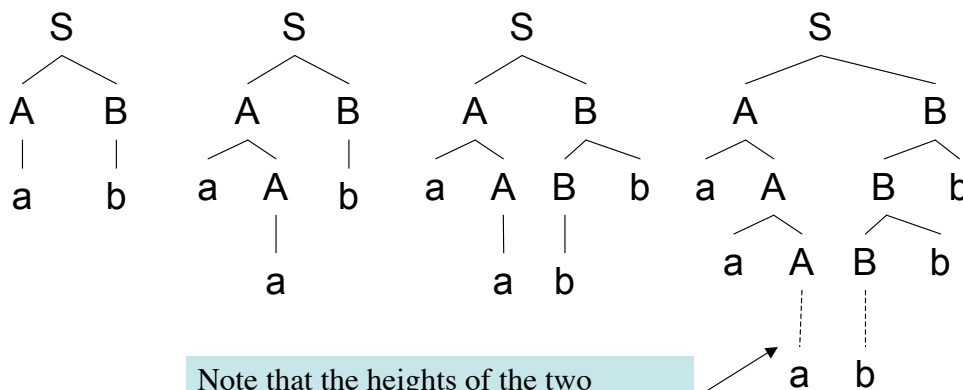
- A property of a formal grammar, e.g. of a regular grammar or a CFG
- **Weak Generative Capacity** of a grammar is the set of strings or the language
- **Strong Generative Capacity** of a grammar is the set of structures (usually the set of trees) produced by the grammar
- The tree for an utterance/sentence is the source of semantics, so the set of trees is more relevant for CL/NLP

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Tree Sets

$S \rightarrow AB$
 $A \rightarrow aA \mid a$
 $B \rightarrow Bb \mid b$

This grammar generates the tree set shown



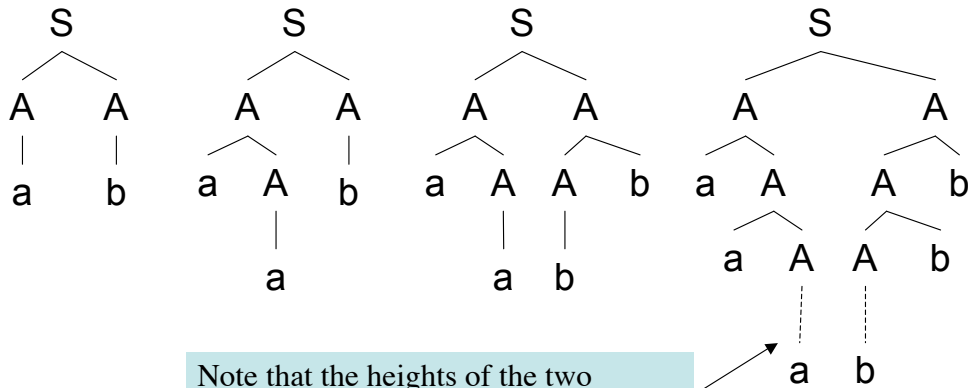
Note that the heights of the two branches do not have to be equal

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A Tree Set with no CFG

Claim: There is no CFG that can produce the tree set shown below:

~~$S \rightarrow A A$
 $A \rightarrow a A \mid a$
 $A \rightarrow A b \mid b$~~



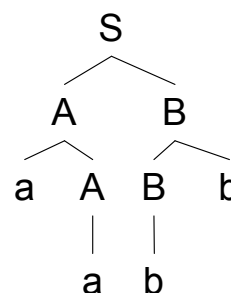
Note that the heights of the two branches do not have to be equal

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Generating Tree Sets

- A simple trick: start with a CFG that almost works
- Then re-label the node labels, map B to A to get the desired tree set
- But how can we directly generate the tree sets?
- We need a **generative device** that generates *trees*, not *strings*
- (Thatcher, 1967) and (Rounds, 1970) provided such a generative device

$S \rightarrow A B$
 $A \rightarrow a A \mid a$
 $B \rightarrow B b \mid b$



Map B to A

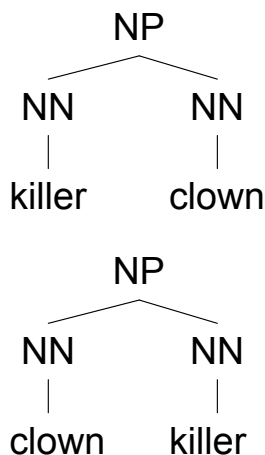
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Some definitions

- A **local set** is defined as the set of the set of trees generated by each CFG
- A **recognizable set** is the set of trees generated by each CFGs plus a re-labeling homomorphism
- The recognizable sets strictly contain the local sets
- Recognizable sets provide surprising connections between automata theory, decidability and logic
- They also provide insights into NLP tasks like parsing and syntax-based MT

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Regular Tree Grammars

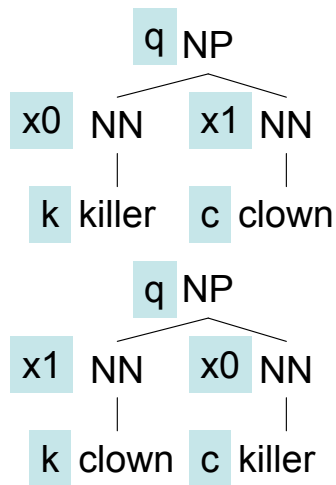


Example from (May & Knight, 2006)

- Consider a simple tree set with two trees for the strings { *killer clown*, *clown killer* }
- No CFG can recognize this simple tree set without also recognizing trees for *clown clown* and *killer killer*
- A Regular Tree Grammar recognizes this tree set (analogy with regular grammars on strings)

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Regular Tree Grammars



start state: q
 $q \rightarrow NP(x_0 x_1)$
 $q \rightarrow NP(x_1 x_0)$
 $x_0 \rightarrow NN(k)$
 $x_1 \rightarrow NN(c)$
 $k \rightarrow \text{killer}$
 $c \rightarrow \text{clown}$

note: can be a tree of any size!

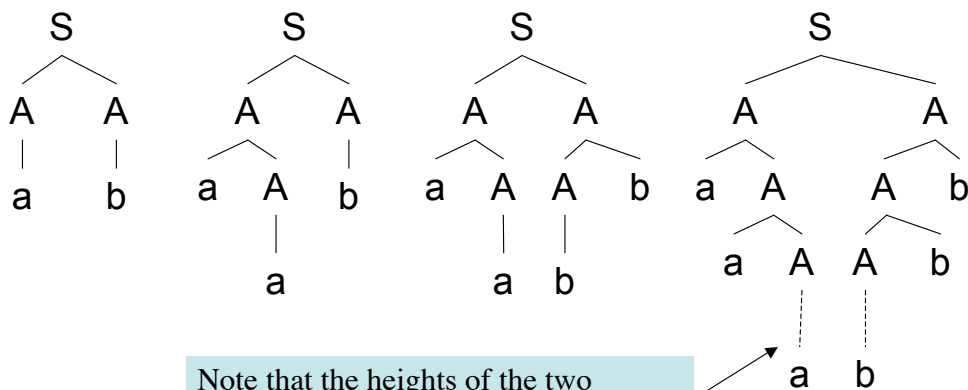
- RTGs = Top-down tree automata
- **Can generate infinite tree sets**
- **Currently used in syntax-based MT**
- for more: (Thatcher, 1967) (Rounds, 1970) (Graehl & Knight, 2004)

Example from (May & Knight, 2006)

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Another RTG Example

$q \rightarrow S(x_0 x_1)$
 $x_0 \rightarrow A(a x_0) \mid a$
 $x_1 \rightarrow A(x_1 b) \mid b$



Note that the heights of the two branches do not have to be equal

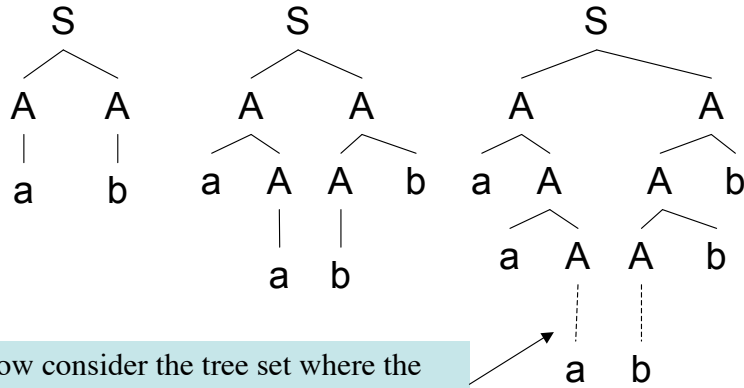
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A Tree Set with no RTG

Claim: There is no RTG that can produce the tree set shown below:

~~$q \rightarrow S(x_0 x_1)$
 $x_0 \rightarrow A(a x_0) \mid a$
 $x_1 \rightarrow A(x_1 b) \mid b$~~

RTG is like a regular grammar, the state cannot count how many times it was reached



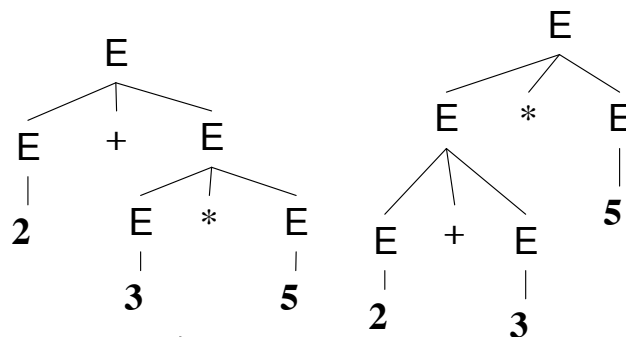
Now consider the tree set where the depth of the two branches is **equal**

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Tree Sets: Another Example

A more practical example

$E \rightarrow E + E$
 $E \rightarrow E * E$
 $E \rightarrow (E)$
 $E \rightarrow N$



$2+3*5$ is ambiguous
 either **17** or **25**

Ambiguity resolution: $*$
 has precedence over $+$
 cannot use RTGs!

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Tree Sets: Context-sensitivity

Eliminating ambiguity

$E \rightarrow E + E$

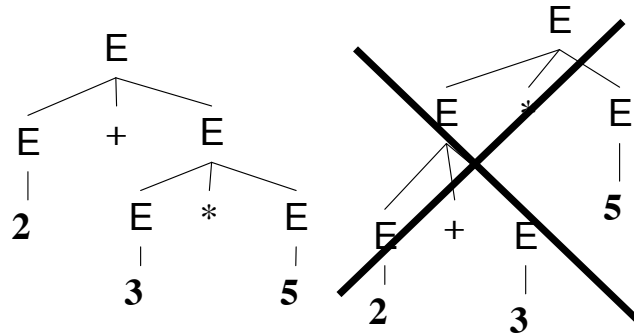
$\neg(+_)\wedge\neg(*_)\wedge\neg(_*)$

$E \rightarrow E * E$

$\neg(*_)$

$E \rightarrow (E)$

$E \rightarrow N$



similar to context-sensitive grammars!

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Context-sensitive Grammars

- Rules of the form $\alpha A \beta \rightarrow \alpha \gamma \beta$ where γ cannot be the empty string, also written as $A \rightarrow \gamma / \alpha _ \beta$
- CSGs are very powerful: they can generate languages like $\{ a^{2^i} : i > 0 \}$
- This kind of computational power is unlikely to be useful to describe natural languages
- Like other grammar formalisms in the Chomsky hierarchy CSGs generate string sets
- What if they are used to **recognize** tree sets?

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Context-sensitive predicates

- Consider each CSG rule $A \rightarrow \gamma / \alpha_ \beta$ to be a **predicate** (i.e. either true or false)
- Apply all the rules in a CSG as predicates on an input tree
- If all predicates are true then accept the tree, else reject the tree
- Can be easily extended to a set of trees
- So a CSG can be used to accept a tree set
- Can we precisely describe this set of tree languages?

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Peters-Ritchie Theorem

- The Peters-Ritchie Theorem (Peters & Ritchie, 1967) states a surprising result about the generative power of CSG predicates
- Consider each tree set accepted by CSG predicates
- **Theorem:** The string language of this tree set is a context-free language
- Each CSG when applied as a set of predicates can be converted into a weakly equivalent CFG
- See also: (McCawley, 1967) (Joshi, Levy & Yueh, 1972) (Rogers, 1997)

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Local Transformations

- This theorem was extended by (Joshi & Levy, 1977) to handle arbitrary boolean combinations and sub-tree / domination predicates
- Proof involves conversion of all CSG predicates into top-down tree automata that accept tree sets
- (Joshi & Levy, 1977) result shows that **local transformations** used in early linguistic formalisms can be all written down as weakly equivalent CFGs
- Important caveat: we assume some source generating trees which are then validated

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Locality of CSG predicates

- An analysis of the kinds of CSG grammars used to define linguistic analyses in practice showed an interesting fact
- All the CSG predicates were very local
- They did not include in the context various parts of the tree that were arbitrarily far apart
- Long distance dependencies were expressed by chaining together many local CSG predicates
- This insight can be used to generate trees from an input string and validate them using CSG predicates

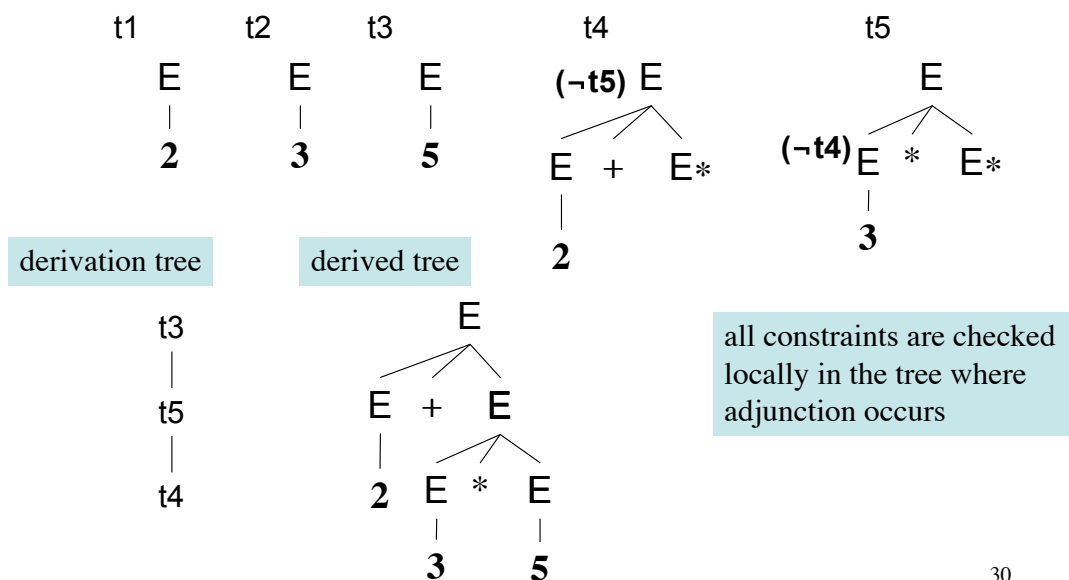
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Tree-Adjoining Grammars

- Construct a tree set out of tree fragments
- Each fragment contains only the structure needed to express the locality of various CSG predicates
- Each tree fragment is called an elementary tree
- In general we need to expand even those non-terminals that are not leaf nodes: leads to the notion of adjunction

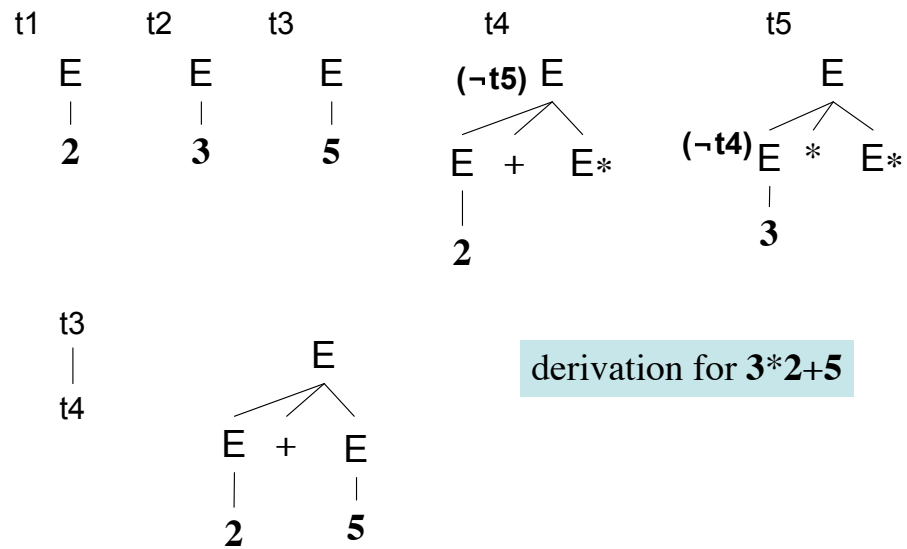
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Tree-Adjoining Grammars



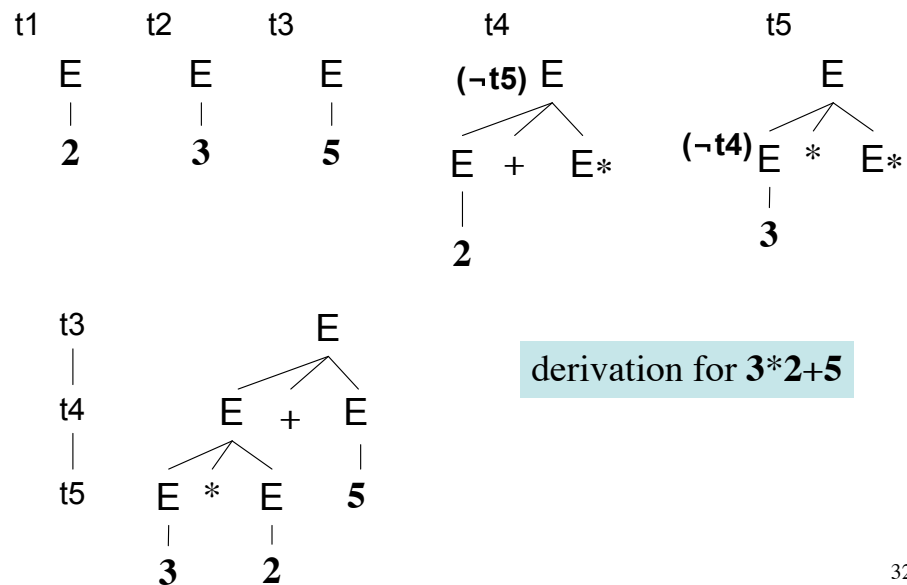
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Tree-Adjoining Grammars



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Tree-Adjoining Grammars



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Motivation #2

Lexicalization of Context-Free Grammars

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Lexicalization of Grammars

- We know that a CFG can be ambiguous: provide more than one parse tree for an input string
- A CFG can be infinitely ambiguous
- Structure can be introduced without influence from input string, e.g. the chain rule $\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{NP}$ has this effect
- Lexicalization of a grammar means that each rule or elementary object in the grammar is associated with some terminal symbol

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Lexicalization of Grammars

- Lexicalization is an interesting idea for syntax, semantics (in linguistics) and sentence processing (in psycho-linguistics)
- What if each word brings with it the syntactic and semantic context that it requires?
- Let us consider lexicalization of Context-free Grammars (CFGs)

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Lexicalization of CFGs

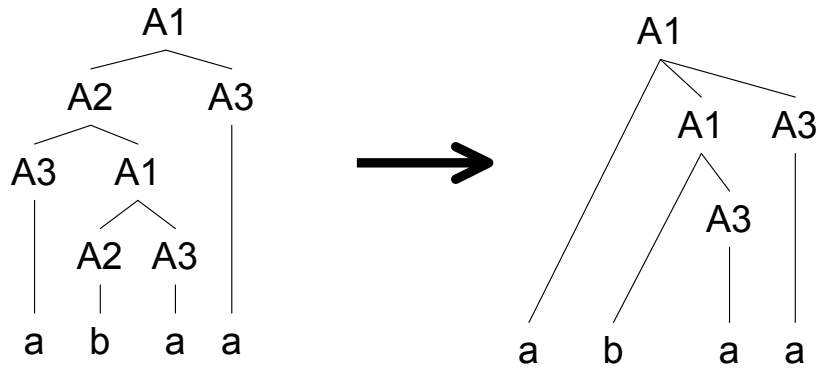
- A **normal form** is a grammar transformation that does not change the language of the grammar
- Can we transform every CFG to a normal form where there is guaranteed to be a terminal symbol on the right hand side of each rule
- Answer: yes - using Greibach Normal Form (GNF)
- GNF: every CFG can be transformed into the form $A \rightarrow a\alpha$ where A is a non-terminal, a is a terminal and α is a string of terminals and non-terminals

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$$T(G) \neq T(GNF(G))$$

$A1 \rightarrow A2 A3$
 $A2 \rightarrow A3 A1 \mid b$
 $A3 \rightarrow A1 A2 \mid a$

Greibach Normal Form does not provide a strongly equivalent lexicalized grammar: the original tree set is not preserved

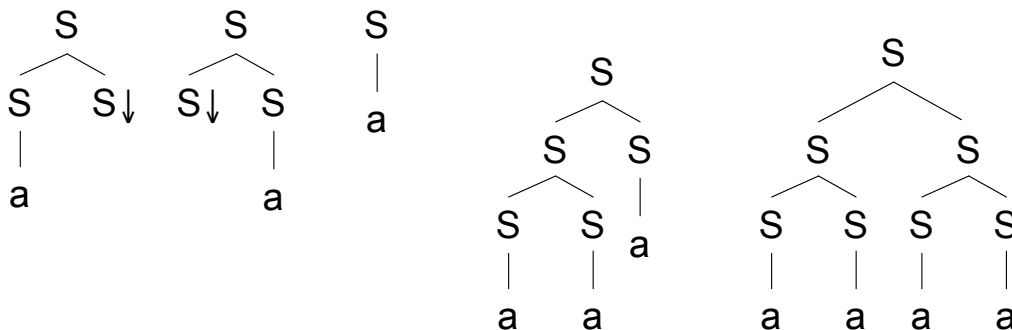


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Tree Substitution Grammar

$S \rightarrow S S$
 $S \rightarrow a$

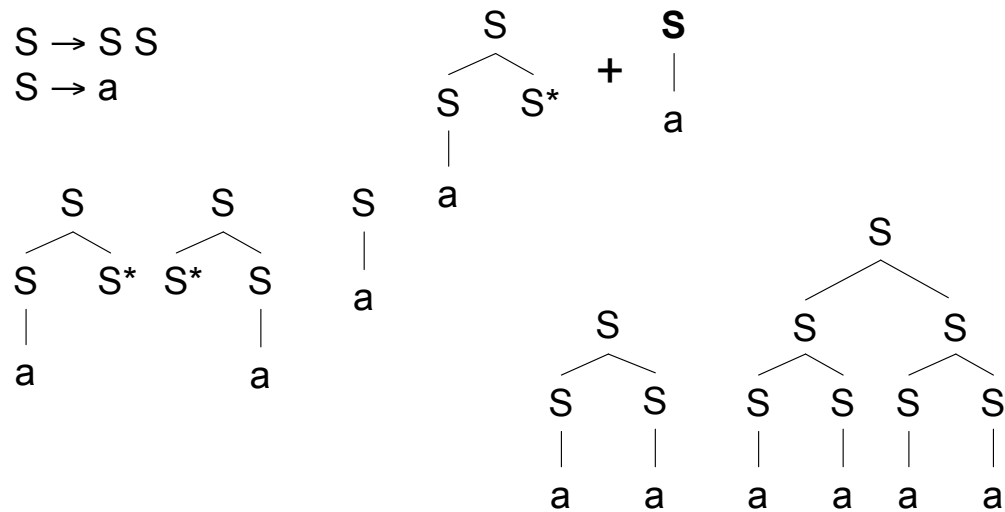
Consider a simple expansion of each context-free rule into a tree fragment where each fragment is lexicalized



this tree cannot be derived

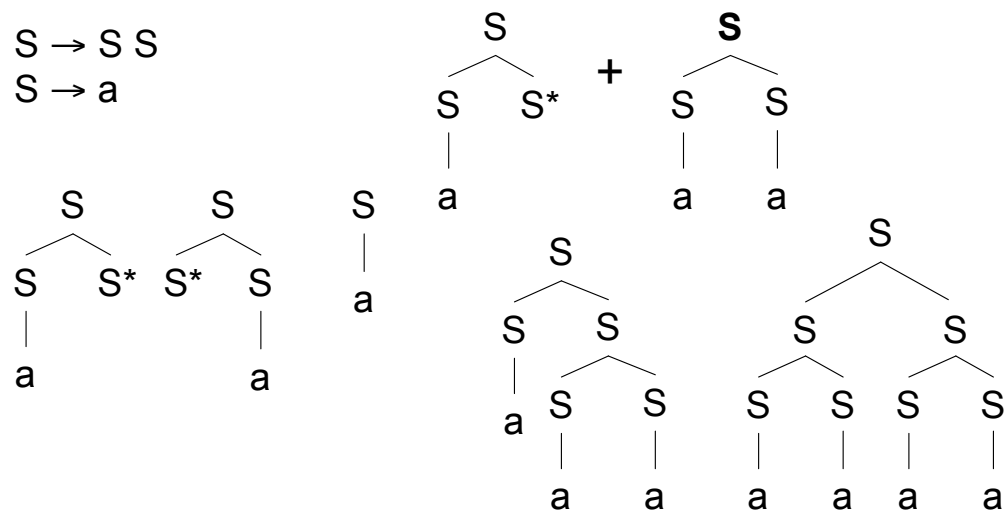
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Tree Adjoining Grammar



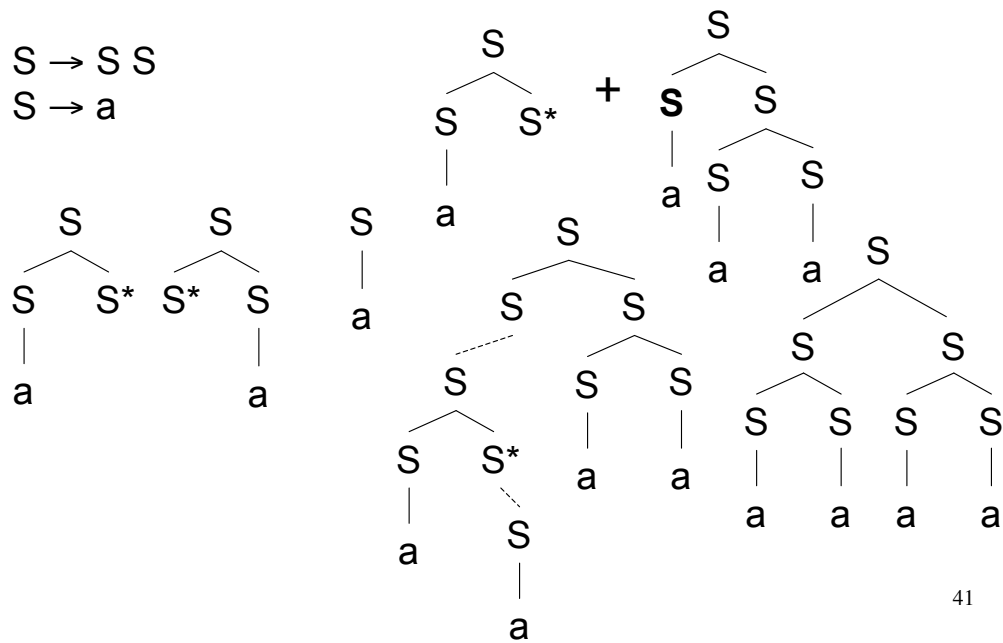
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Tree Adjoining Grammar

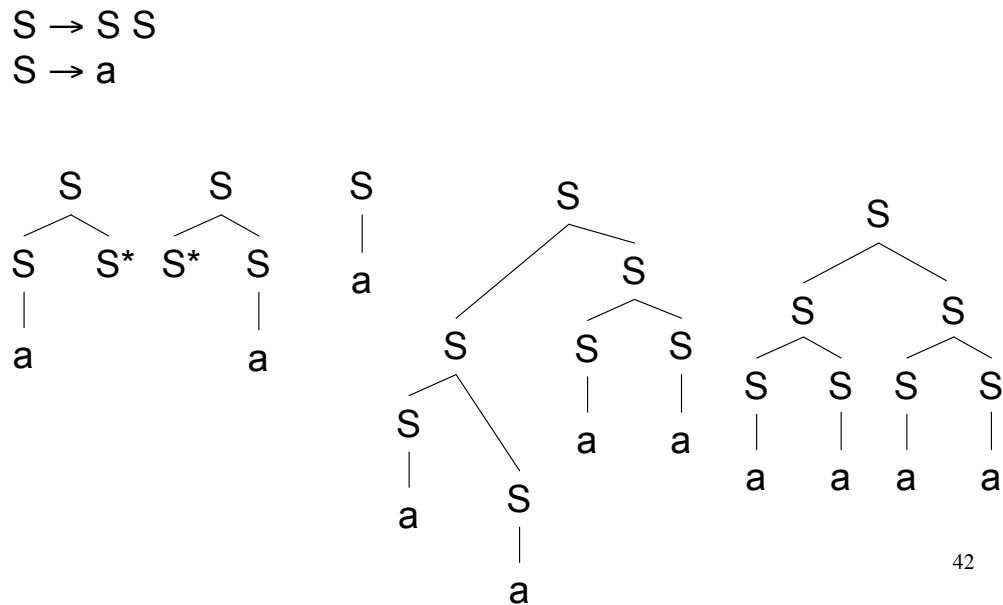


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Tree Adjoining Grammar



Tree Adjoining Grammar

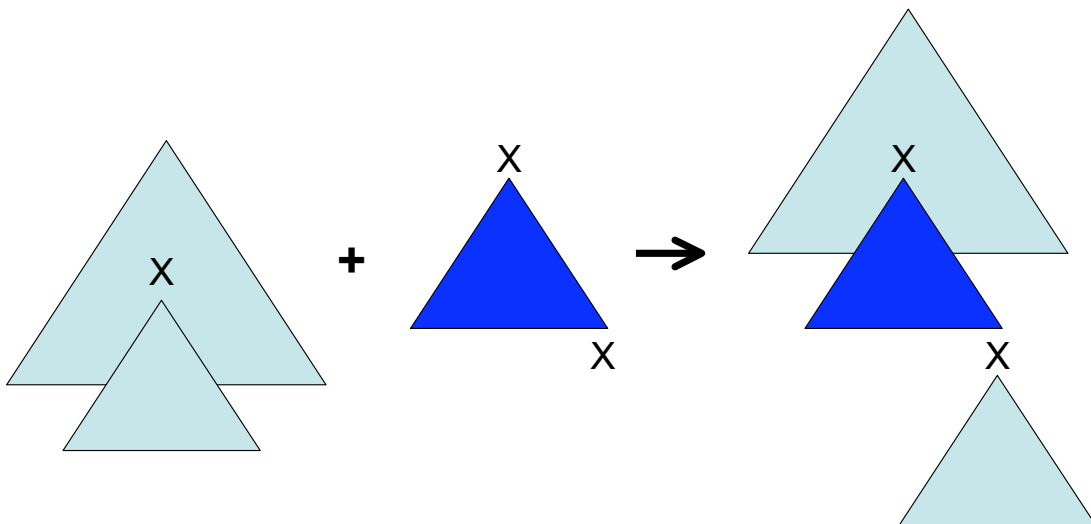


Lexicalization Through TAG

- This was an instructive example of how adjoining can be used to lexicalize CFGs while preserving the tree sets (strong generative capacity)
- (Joshi & Schabes, 1997) explain how every CFG can be strongly lexicalized by TAG
- (Joshi & Schabes, 1997) show that Tree-Adjoining Languages are closed under lexicalization: every TAL has a lexicalized TAG grammar

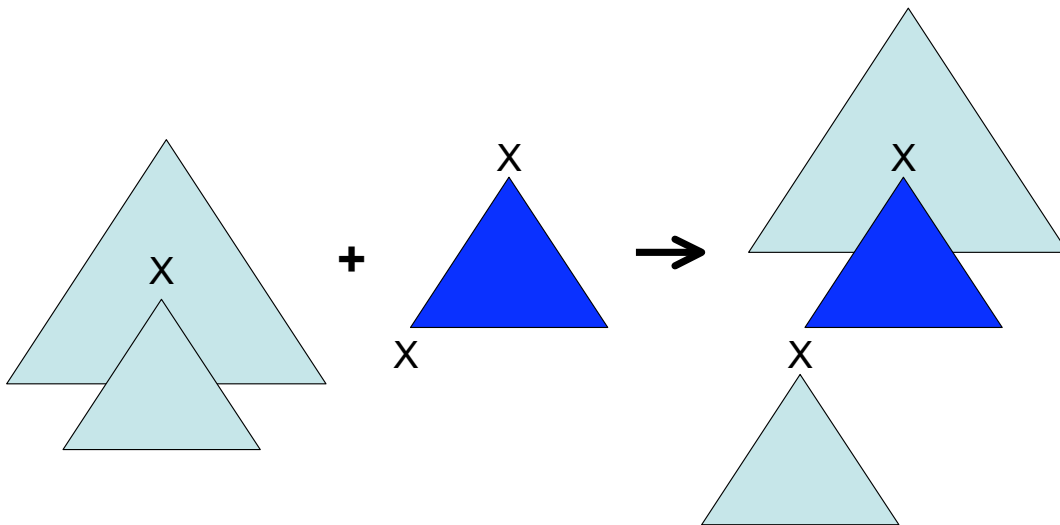
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Tree-Insertion with adjoining



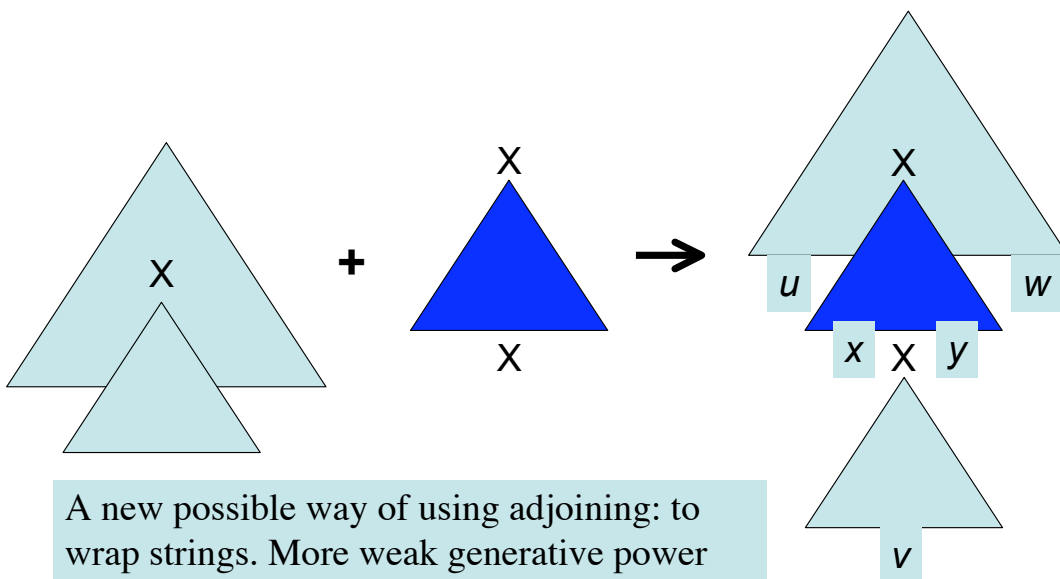
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Tree-Insertion with adjoining



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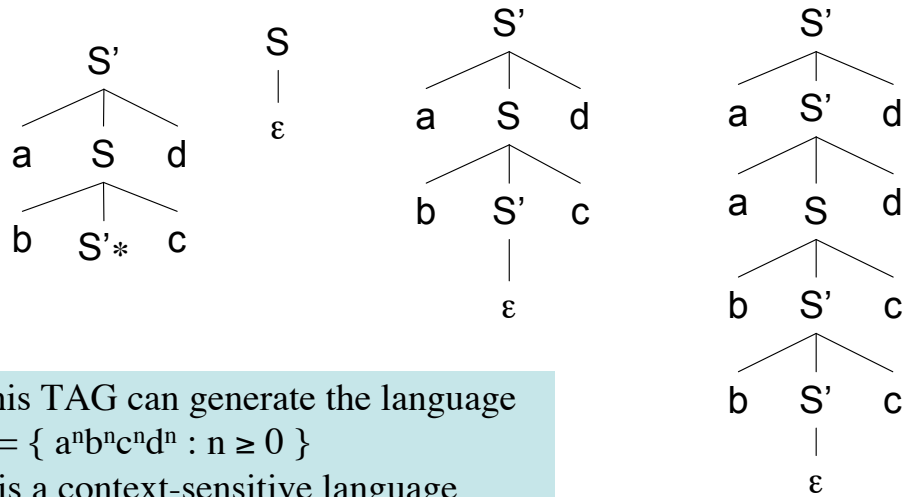
Wrapping with adjoining



A new possible way of using adjoining: to wrap strings. More weak generative power than concatenation possible in CFGs.

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Wrapping with Adjoining



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Motivation #3

Is Human Language Regular,
Context-free or Beyond?

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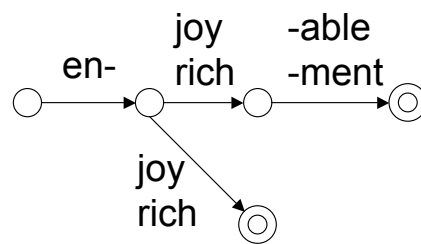
Natural Language & Complexity

- One notion of computational complexity: the complexity of various recognition and generation algorithms
- Another notion: the complexity of the description of human languages
- What is the lowest upper bound on the description of all human languages? regular, context-free or beyond?
- Describes a class of languages, including closure properties such as union, intersection, etc.
- Automata theory provides recognition algorithms, determinization, and other algorithms

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Grammar Size

- Consider the set of strings that includes *enjoy*, *enrich*, *enjoyable*, *enrichment* but not **joyable*, **richment*
- The CFG is clearly more compact
- Argument from learning: if you already know *enjoyment* then learning *rich* means you can generate *enrichment* as well



$V \rightarrow X$
 $A \rightarrow X \text{ -able} \mid X \text{ -ment}$
 $X \rightarrow \text{en- } NA$
 $NA \rightarrow \text{joy} \mid \text{rich}$

Regular grammars can be exponentially larger than equivalent CFGs

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Sufficient Generative Capacity

- Does a formal grammar have sufficient generative capacity?
- Two cases: **weak** and **strong** generative capacity
- For strong GC: does the grammar permit the right kind of dependencies, e.g. nested dependencies
- For weak GC: usually requires some kind of homomorphism into a formal language whose weak GC can be determined (the formal language class should be closed under homomorphisms)

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Is NL regular: strong GC

- Regular grammars cannot derive nested dependencies
- Nested dependencies in English:
 - the shares that the broker recommended were bought
N1 N2 V2 V1
 - the moment when the shares that the broker recommended were bought has passed
N1 N2 N3 V3 V2 V1
- Can you provide an example with 4 verbs?
- Set of strings has to be infinite: competence vs. performance

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Is NL regular: strong GC

- Assume that in principle we could process infinitely nested dependencies:
competence assumption
 - $S \rightarrow a S b$
 - $S \rightarrow \epsilon$
- The reason we cannot is because of lack of memory in pushdown automata: **performance** can be explained
 - $S1 \Rightarrow a1 S2 b1$
 - $\Rightarrow a1 a2 S3 b2 b1$
 - $\Rightarrow a1 a2 \dots aN S bN \dots b2 b1$
 - $\Rightarrow a1 a2 \dots aN bN \dots b2 b1$
- CFGs can easily obtain nested dependencies

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Is NL regular: Weak GC

- Consider the following set of strings (sentences):
 - $S = \text{if } S \text{ then } S$
 - $S = \text{either } S \text{ or } S$
 - $S = \text{the man who said } S \text{ is arriving today}$
- Map *if*, *then* to *a* and *either*, *or* to *b*
- Map everything else to the empty string
- This results in strings like *abba*, *abaaba*, or *abbaabba*

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Is NL regular: Weak GC

- The language is the set of strings
$$L = \{ ww' : w \text{ from } (a|b)^* \text{ and } w' \text{ is reversal of } w \}$$
- L can be shown to be non-regular using the pumping lemma for regular languages
- L is context-free

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Is NL context-free: Strong GC

- CFGs cannot handle crossing dependencies
- Dependencies like $aN... a2 a1 bN... b2 b1$ are not possible using CFGs
- But some widely spoken languages have clear cases of crossing dependencies
 - Dutch (Bresnan et al., 1982)
 - Swiss German (Shieber, 1984)
 - Tagalog (Rambow & MacLachlan, 2002)
- Therefore, in terms of strong GC, NL is not context-free

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Is NL context-free: Weak GC

- Weak GC of NL being greater than context-free was harder to show, cf. (Pullum, 1982)
- (Huybregts, 1984) and (Shieber, 1985) showed that weak GC of NL was beyond context-free using examples with explicit case-marking from Swiss-German

mer	d' chind	em Hans	es huus	lönd	hälfed	aastriiche
we	children- acc	Hans- dat	house- acc	let- acc	help- dat	paint- acc
[({	}])	}

this language is not context-free

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Generating Crossing Dependencies

1: $S \rightarrow S B C$	$S_1 \Rightarrow \mathbf{S_2 B_1 C_1}$ (1)
2: $S \rightarrow a C$	$\Rightarrow \mathbf{S_3 B_2 C_2}$ B1 C1 (1)
3: $a B \rightarrow a a$	$\Rightarrow \mathbf{a_3 C_3}$ B2 C2 B1 C1 (2)
4: $C B \rightarrow B C$	$\Rightarrow a_3 \mathbf{B_2 C_3}$ C2 B1 C1 (4)
5: $B a \rightarrow a a$	$\Rightarrow \mathbf{a_3 a_2}$ C3 C2 B1 C1 (3)
6: $C \rightarrow b$	$\Rightarrow a_3 a_2 C_3 \mathbf{B_1 C_2}$ C1 (4)
	$\Rightarrow a_3 a_2 \mathbf{B_1 C_3}$ C2 C1 (4)
	$\Rightarrow a_3 \mathbf{a_2 a_1}$ C3 C2 C1 (3)
	$\Rightarrow a_3 a_2 a_1 \mathbf{b_3}$ C2 C1 (6)
	$\Rightarrow a_3 a_2 a_1 b_3 \mathbf{b_2}$ C1 (6)
	$\Rightarrow a_3 a_2 a_1 b_3 b_2 \mathbf{b_1}$ (6)

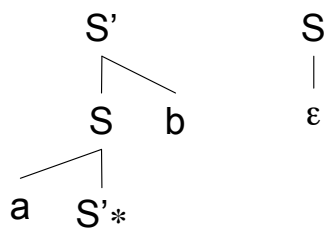
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Simple Generation of Crossing Dependencies

- Instead of using powerful swapping operations (corresponding to more powerful automata)
- We instead build local dependencies into elementary trees
- Strong GC: Crossing dependencies arise by simple composition of elementary trees
- The context-sensitive part is built into each elementary tree: the remaining composition is “context-free”
- Weak GC: Crossing dependencies = string wrapping

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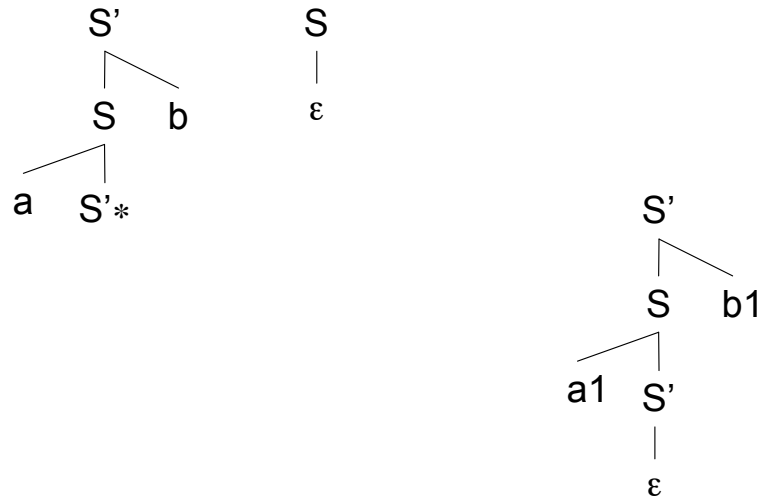
Crossing Dependencies with Adjoining



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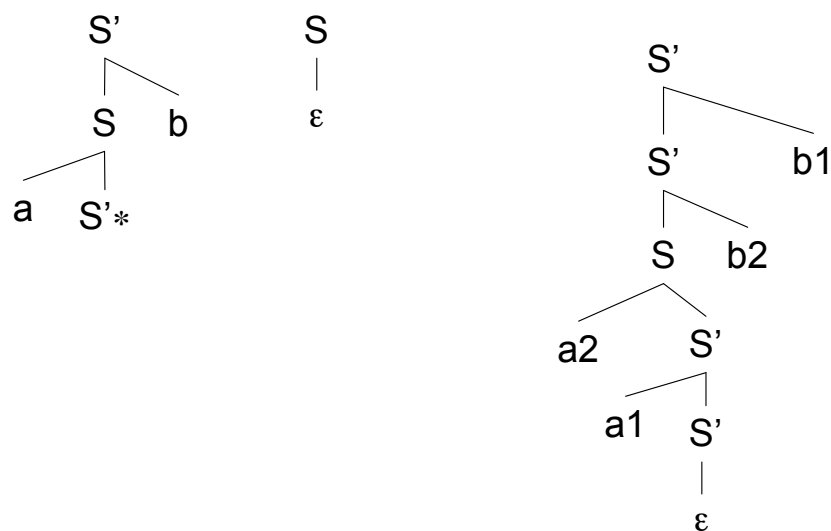
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Crossing Dependencies with Adjoining



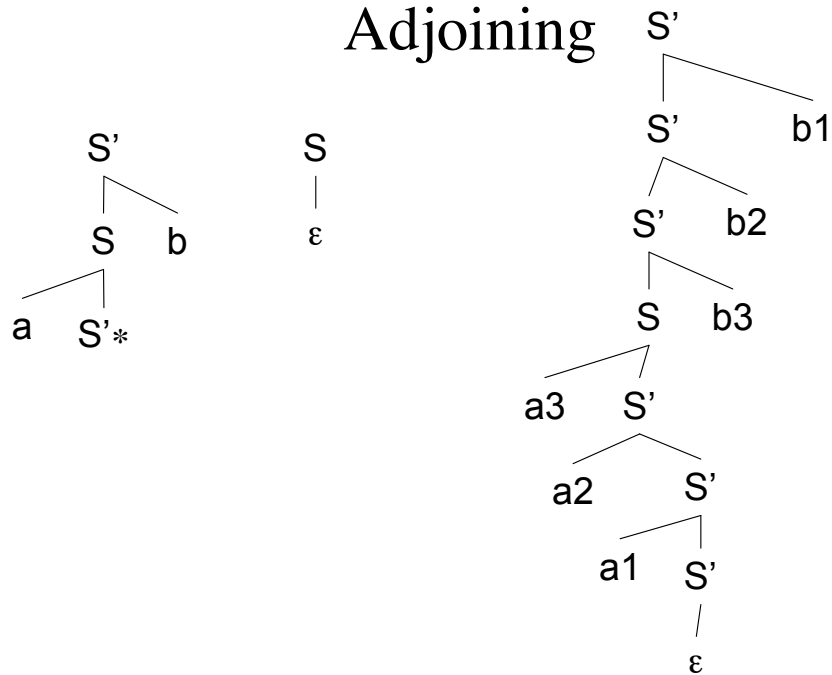
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Crossing Dependencies with Adjoining



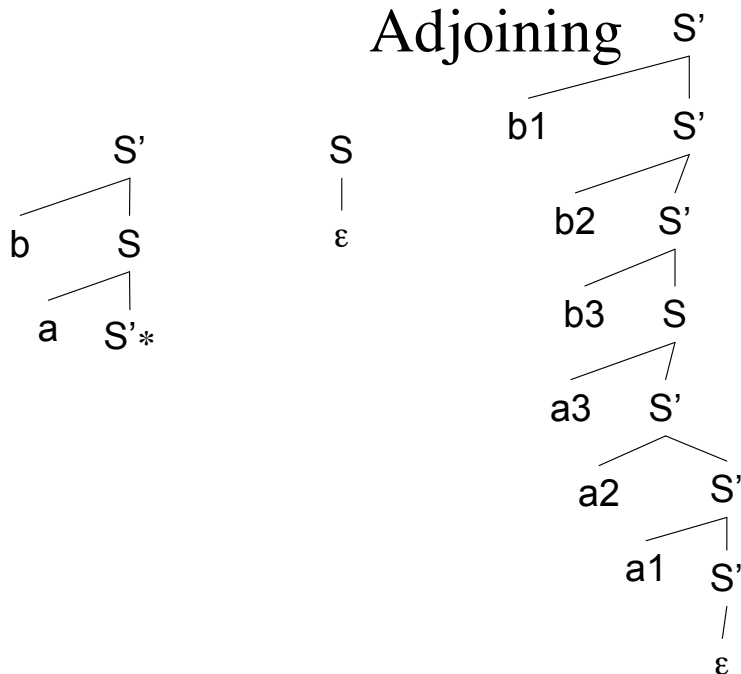
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Crossing Dependencies with Adjoining



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Nested Dependencies with Adjoining



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Tractable Descriptions

- Why not use context-sensitive grammars?
- For G , given a string x what is the complexity of an algorithm for the question: is x in $L(G)$?
 - Unrestricted Grammars/Turing machines: undecidable
 - Context-sensitive: NSPACE[n] linear non-deterministic space
 - Indexed Grammars: NP-complete
 - Tree-Adjoining Grammars: $O(n^6)$
 - Context-free: $O(n^3)$
 - Regular: $O(n)$

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Tractable Descriptions

- Another route to lexicalization of CFGs: categorial grammars (CG is not strongly equivalent to CFGs but can lexicalize them)
- Several different mathematically precise formal grammars were proposed to deal with the motivations presented here
- Some examples: head grammars (HG does string wrapping); combinatory categorial grammars (CCG; extends CG); linear indexed grammars (LIG; less powerful than indexed grammars)
- Using formal methods introduced with TAG, (Vijay-Shanker, 1987) and (Weir, 1988) showed that HG, CCG, LIG and TAG are all *weakly equivalent*!

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Tree-Adjoining Grammars: Definition and Application to NL

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Tree-Adjoining Grammars

- A TAG $G = (N, T, I, A, S)$ where
 - N is the set of non-terminal symbols
 - T is the set of terminal symbols
 - I is the set of initial or non-recursive trees built from N , T and domination predicates
 - A is the set of recursive trees: one leaf node is a non-terminal with same label as the root node
 - S is set of start trees (has to be initial)
 - I and A together are called *elementary trees*

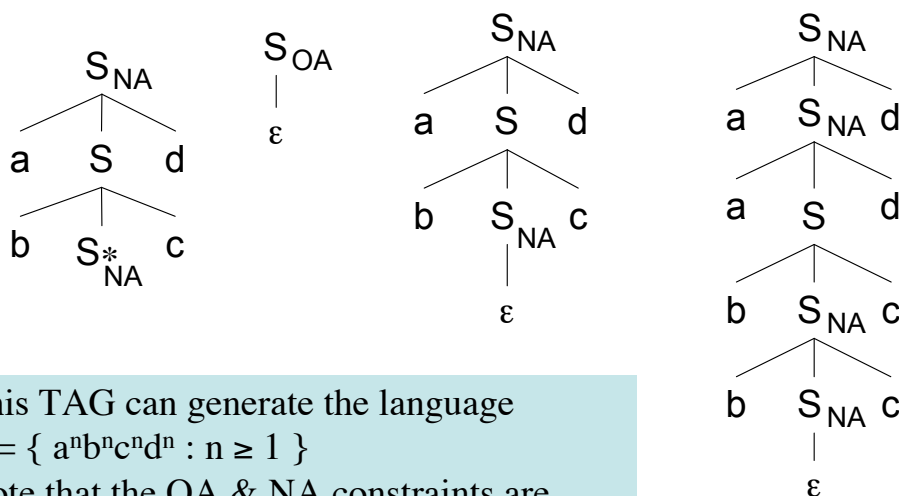
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Adjunction Constraints

- Adjunction is the rewriting of a non-terminal in a tree with an auxiliary tree
- We can think of this operation as being “context-free”
- Constraints are essential to control adjunction: both in practice for NLP and for formal closure properties
- Three types of constraints:
 - null adjunction (NA): no adjunction allowed at a node
 - obligatory adjunction (OA): adjunction must occur at a node
 - selective adjunction (SA): adjunction of a pre-specified set of trees can occur at a node

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Adjunction Constraints

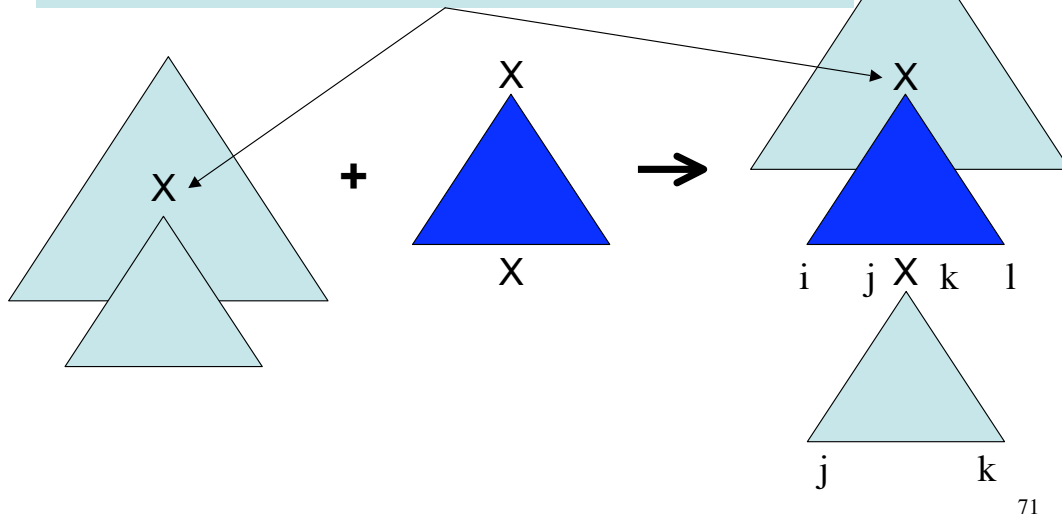


This TAG can generate the language
 $L = \{ a^n b^n c^n d^n : n \geq 1 \}$
 Note that the OA & NA constraints are
 crucial to obtain the correct language

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Parsing Complexity: CKY for TAG

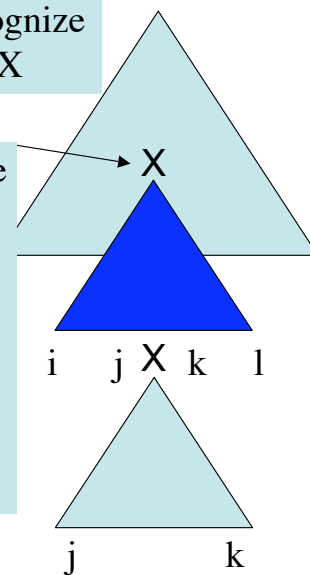
To recognize X with span (i,l) , we need to recognize span (j,k) and also deduce the span (i,j,k,l) for X



Parsing Complexity: CKY for TAG

To recognize X with span (i,l) , we need to recognize span (j,k) and also deduce the span (i,j,k,l) for X

- Each substring (i,l) can be a constituent, there are $O(n^2)$ substrings,
- For each of them we need to check for each non-terminal if it dominates an adjunction span (i,j,k,l)
- There are $O(n^4)$ such spans
- Hence we have complexity of recognizing membership of a string in a TAG to be $O(n^6)$



TAG Formal Properties

(Vijay-Shanker, 1987)

- Membership is in P: $O(n^6)$
- Tree-Adjoining Languages (TALs) are closed under *union*, *concatenation*, *Kleene closure* (*), *h*, *h*⁻¹, *intersection with regular languages*, and *regular substitution*
- There is also a pumping lemma for TALs
- TALs are a full abstract family of languages (AFL)
- TALs are not closed under intersection, intersection with CFLs, and complementation

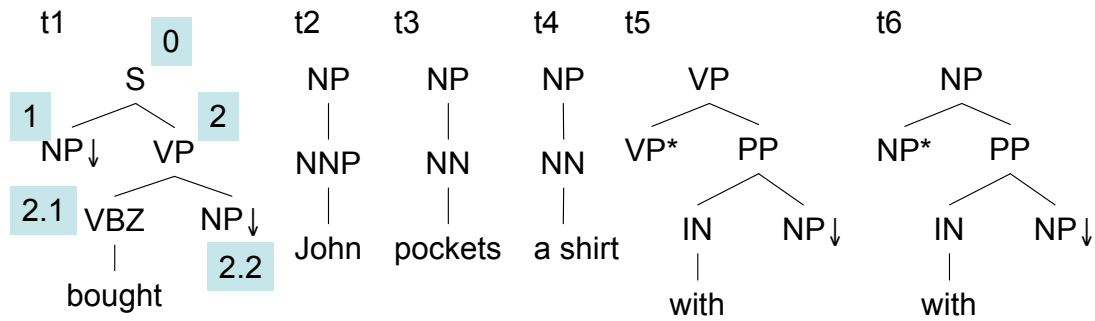
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Lexicalized TAG

- A Lexicalized TAG (LTAG) is a TAG where each elementary tree has at least one terminal symbol as a leaf node
- A non-lexicalized TAG can always be converted to a lexicalized TAG (Joshi & Schabes, 1997)
- Lexicalization has some useful effects:
 - finite ambiguity: corresponds to our intuition about NL ambiguities,
 - statistical dependencies between words can be captured which can improve parsing accuracy

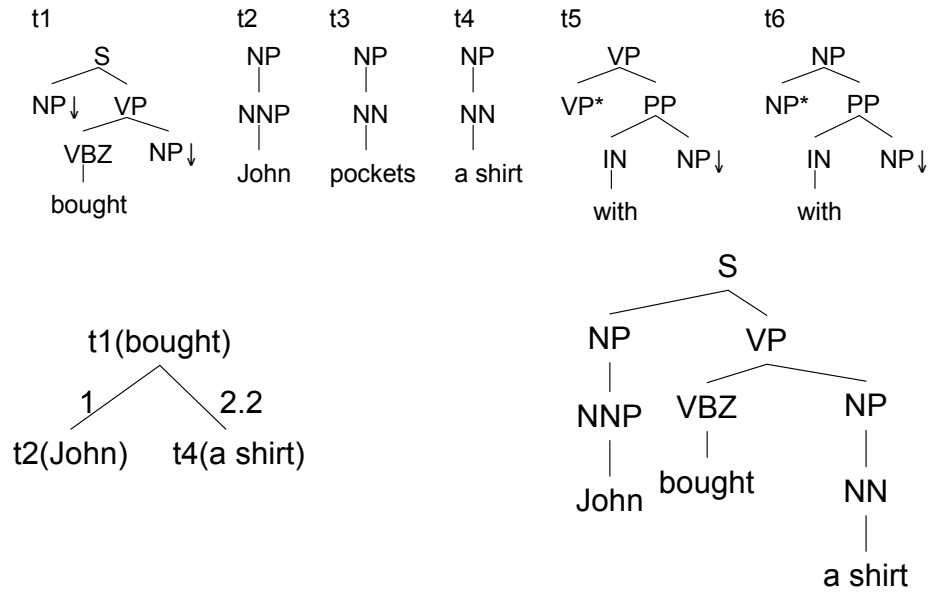
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Lexicalized TAG: example



Gorn tree address: an index for each node in the tree

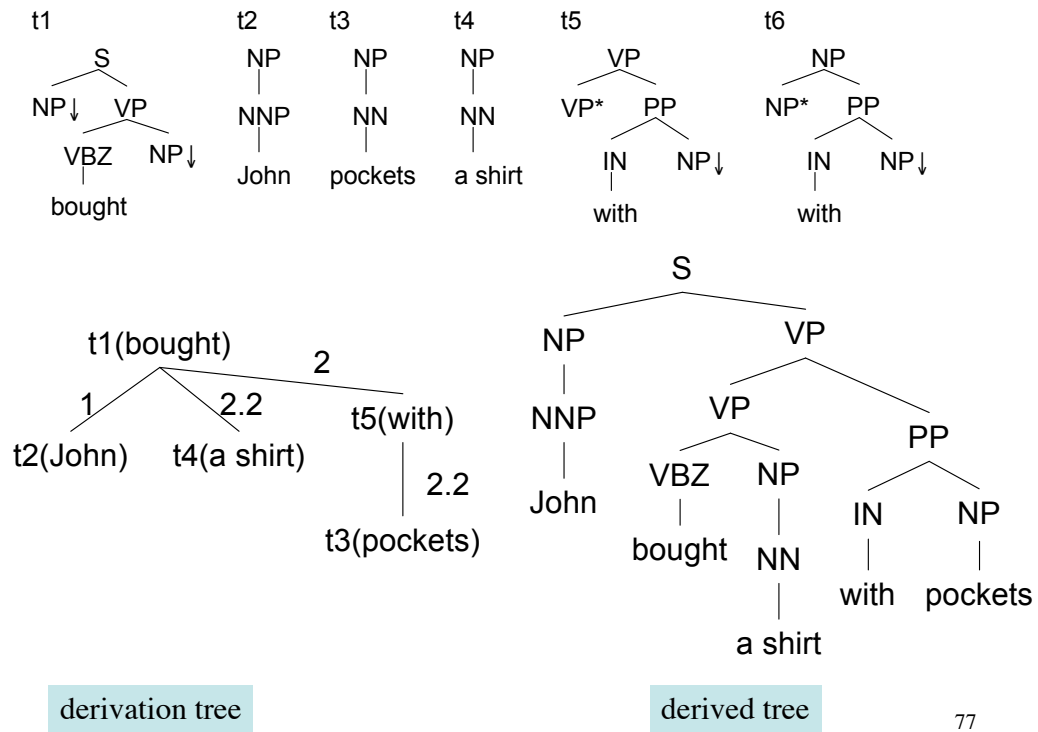
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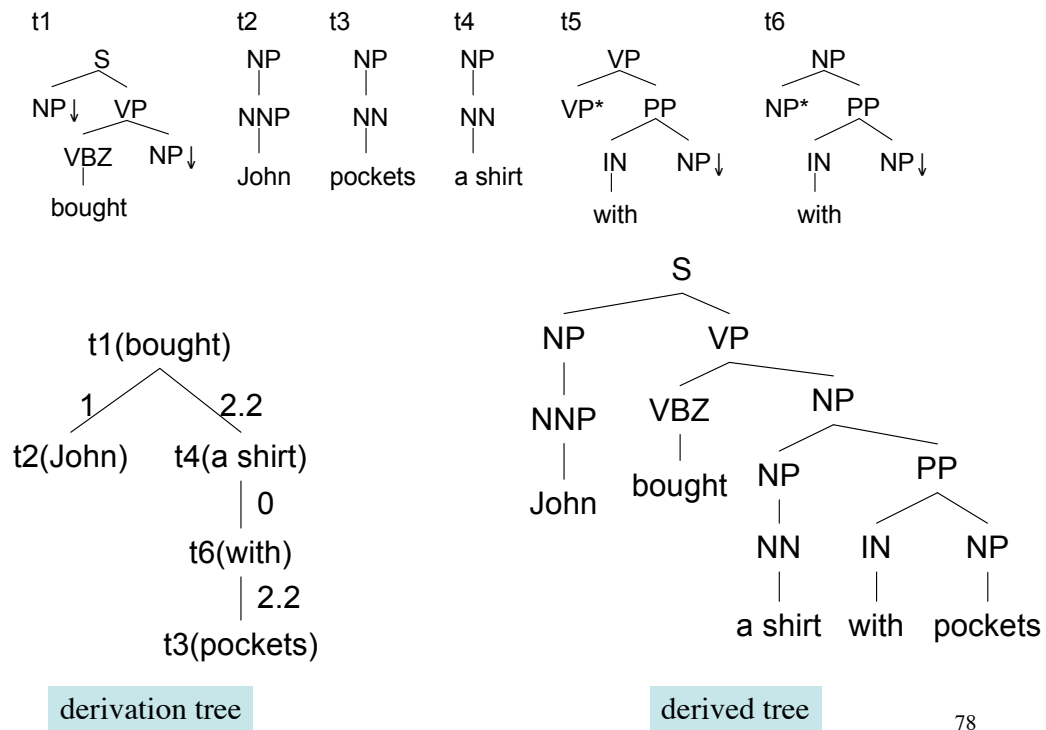
derivation tree

derived tree

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77



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Comparison with Dependency Grammar

- Compare the derivation tree with the usual notion of a dependency tree
- Note that a TAG derivation tree is a formal representation of the derivation
- In a Lexicalized TAG, it can be interpreted as a particular kind of dependency tree
- Different dependencies can be created by changing the elementary trees
- LTAG derivations relate dependencies between words to detailed phrase types and constituency

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Localization of Dependencies

- Syntactic
 - agreement: person, number, gender
 - subcategorization: *sleeps* (null), *eats* (NP), *gives* (NP NP)
 - filler-gap: *who_i did John ask Bill to invite t_i*
 - word order: within and across clauses as in scrambling, clitic movement, etc.

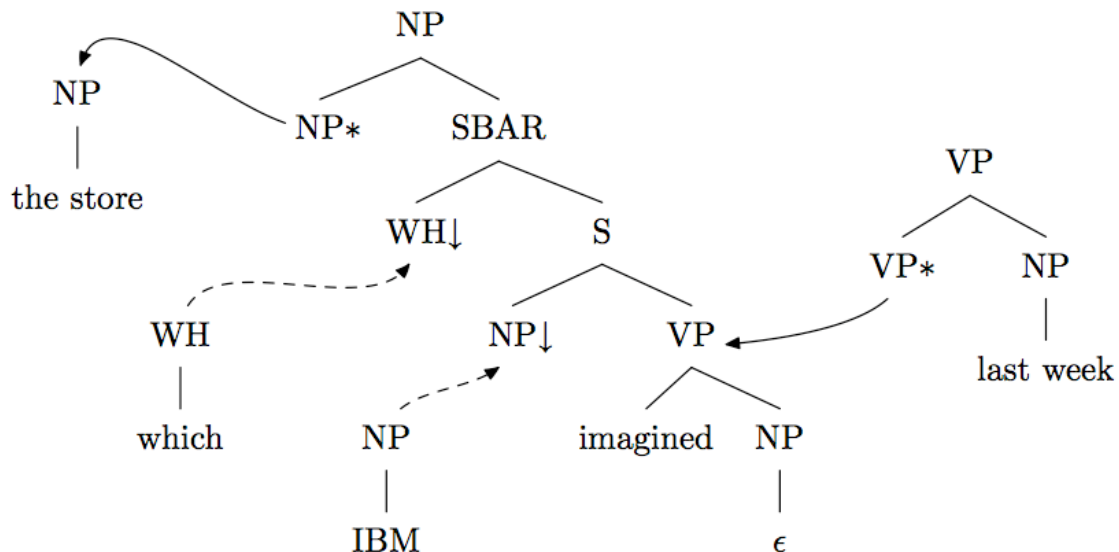
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Localization of Dependencies

- Semantic
 - function-argument: all arguments of the word that lexicalizes the elementary tree (also called the *anchor* or *functor*) are localized
 - word clusters (word idioms): non-compositional meaning, e.g. *give a cold*
shoulder to, take a walk
 - word co-occurrences, lexical semantic aspects of word meaning

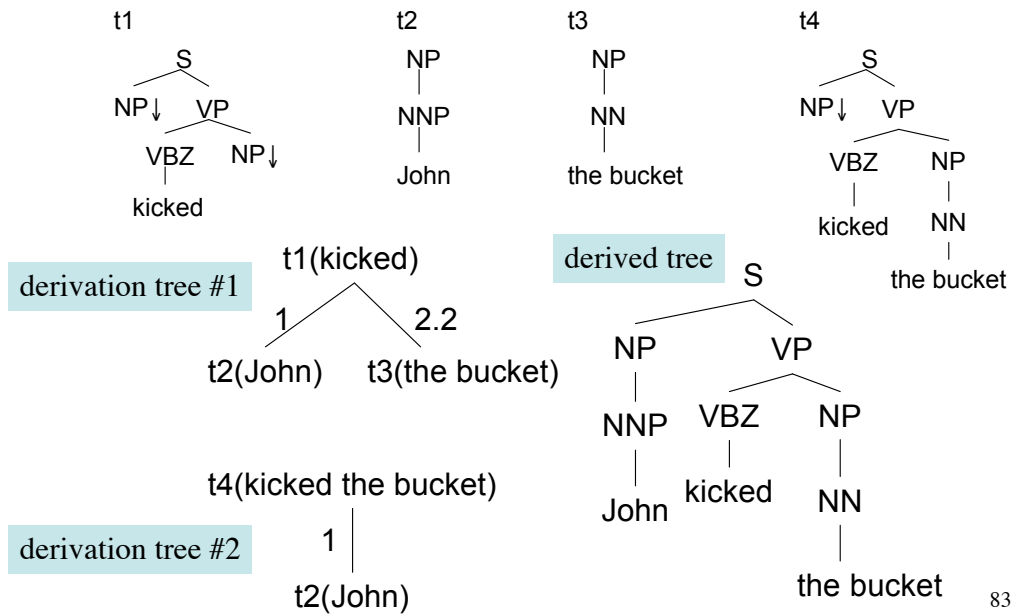
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Localization of Dependencies

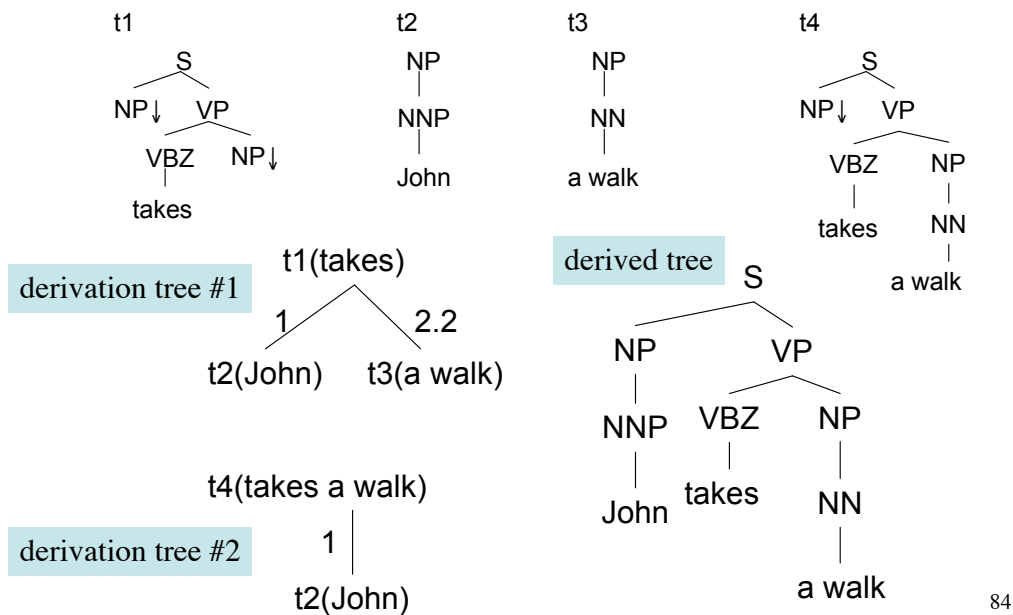


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Idioms



Phrasal/Light Verbs



TAG and Generation

- TAG has some useful properties with respect to the problem of NL generation
- Adjunction allows a generation planning system to add useful lexical information to existing constituents
- Makes planning for generation output more flexible
 - e.g. if the system has a constituent *the book*, it can choose to add new information to it: *the red book*, if there is a distractor for that entity for the hearer
- cf. Matthew Stone's SPUD system

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Mapping a TreeBank into Lexicalized TAG derivations

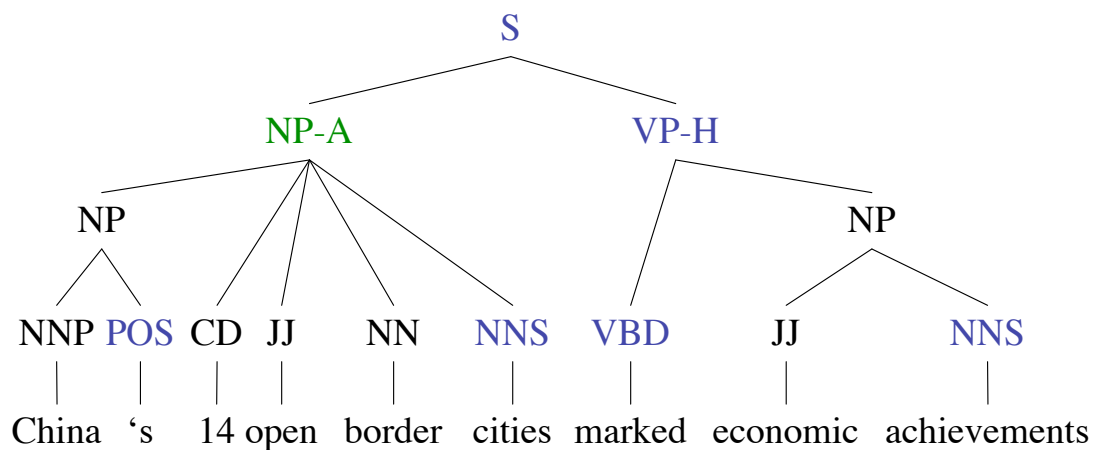
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LTAG Derivations from TreeBanks

- TreeBanks contain phrase structure trees or dependency trees
- Converting dependency trees into LTAG is trivial
- For phrase structure trees: exploit head percolation rules (Magerman, 1994) and argument-adjunct heuristic rules
- First mark TreeBank tree with head and argument information
- Then use this information to convert the TreeBank tree into an LTAG derivation
- More sophisticated approaches have been tried in (Xia, 1999) (Chiang, 2000) and (Chen, 2000)

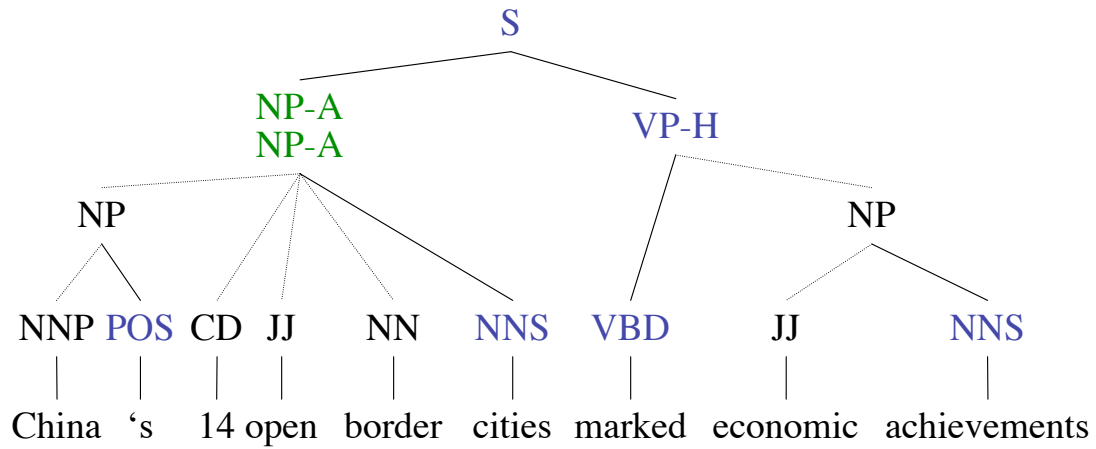
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LTAG derivations from TreeBanks



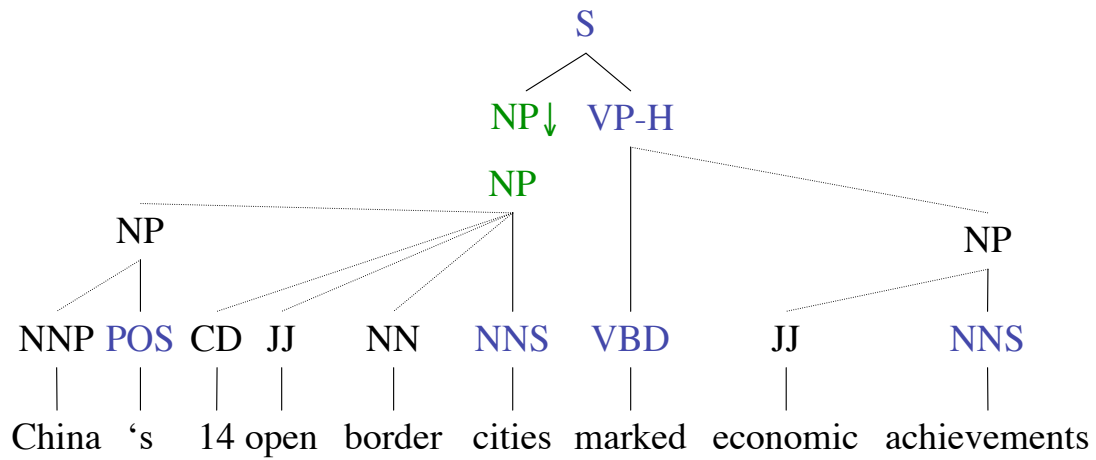
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LTAG derivations from TreeBanks



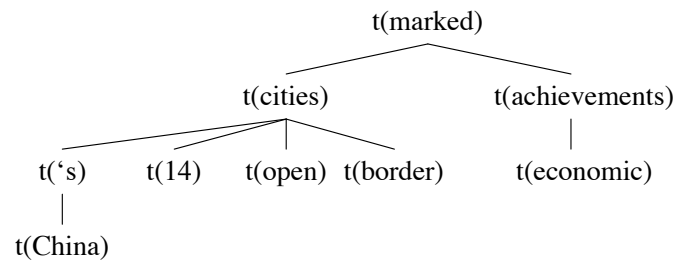
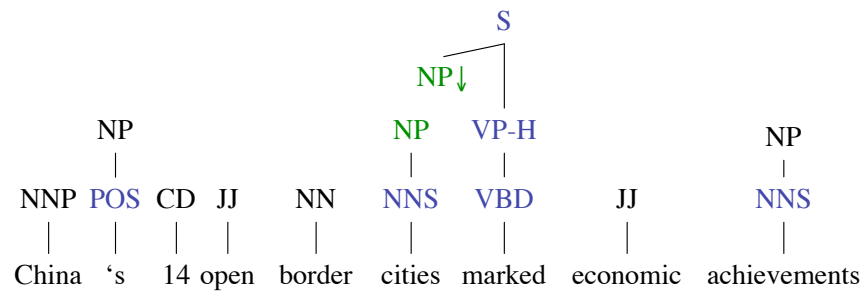
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LTAG derivations from TreeBanks



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LTAG derivations from TreeBanks



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Synchronous TAG

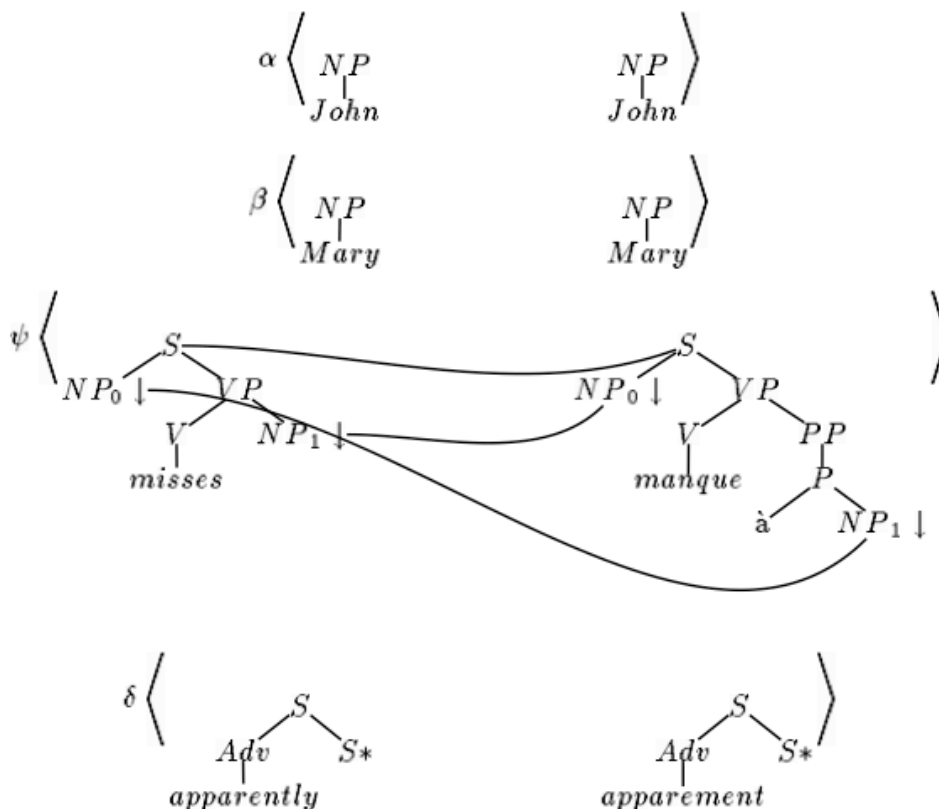
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Synchronous TAG

(Shieber, 1994)

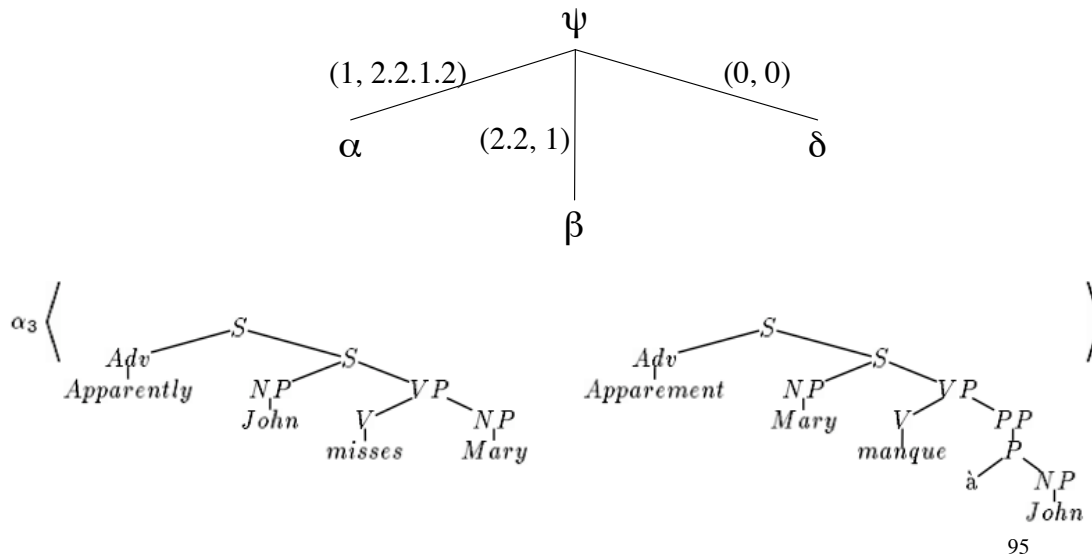
- Just like TAG we have derivation trees
- Except each node in the derivation is not a single elementary tree but rather a pair of trees
- The derivation tree now can be used to build a pair of derived trees
- Synchronous TAG can be used to generate a pair of derived trees or map a source input string to target output string
- Applications: NL semantics (scope ambiguity, etc.) and syntax-based machine translation

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Synchronous TAG



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