

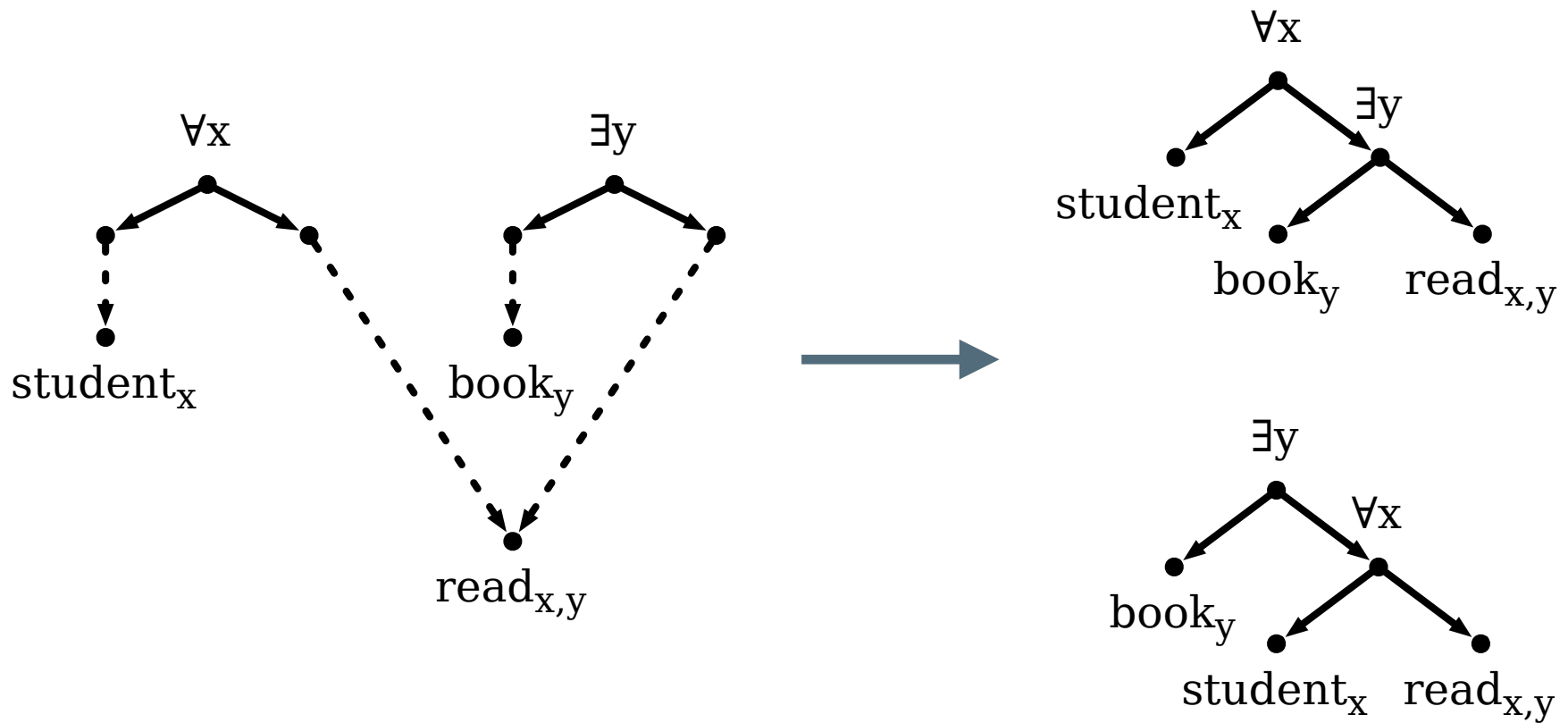
Computational Linguistics

Algorithms for Scope Underspecification

Clayton Greenberg
Stefan Thater

FR 4.7 Allgemeine Linguistik (Computerlinguistik)
Universität des Saarlandes
Summer 2015

What this lecture is about



Overview

- Some basic assumptions about sentence meaning
- Scope ambiguities
- Modelling scope ambiguities with dominance graphs
- An algorithm for solving dominance graphs

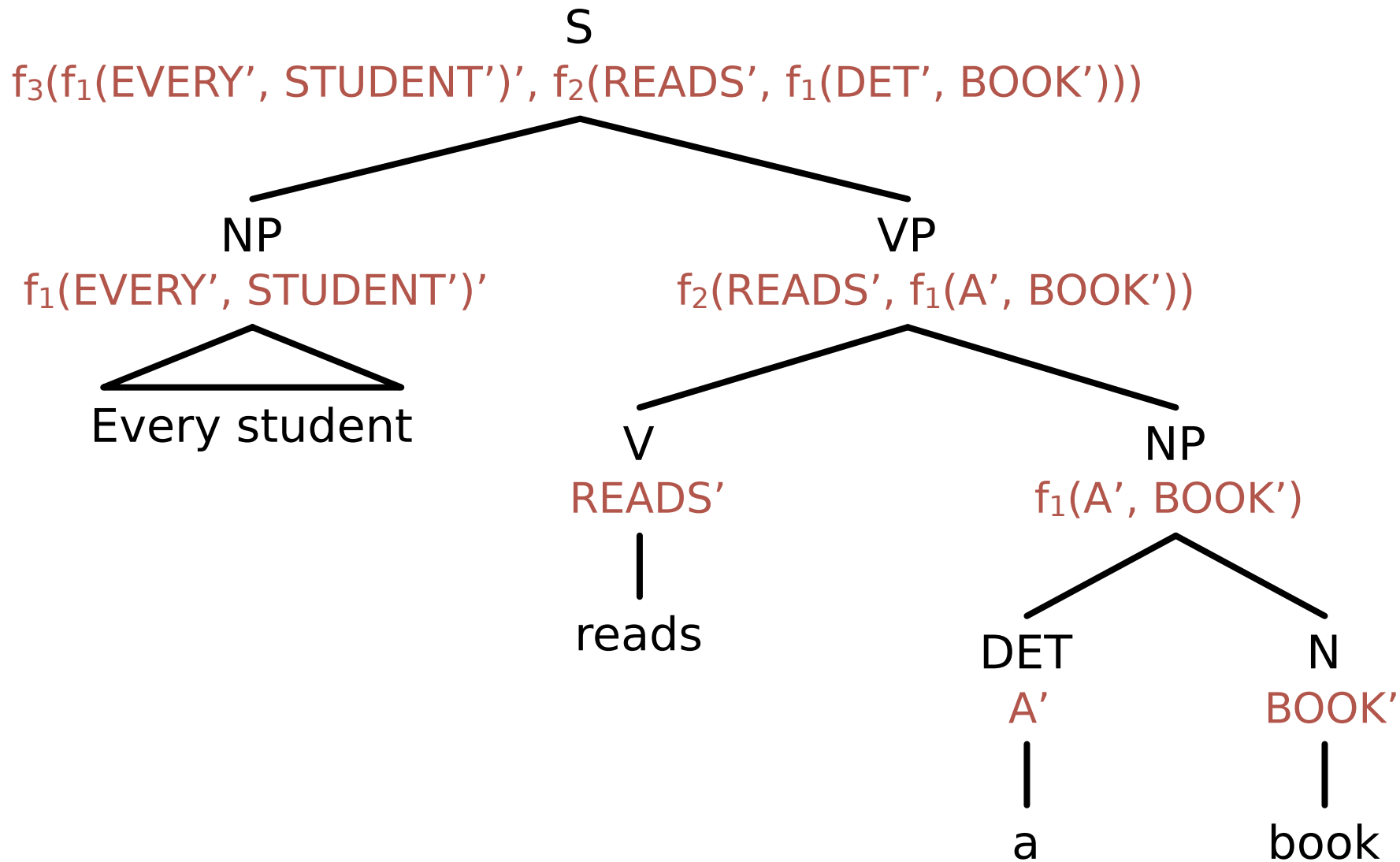
Sentence meaning – Assumptions

- **Truth-functional interpretation:** The meaning of a declarative sentence is given by its truth conditions
- \Rightarrow we can represent the meaning of natural language sentences by logical formula that “capture” the truth-conditions of the original sentence.
- *Every student works* $\mapsto \forall x(\text{student}'(x) \rightarrow \text{work}'(x))$

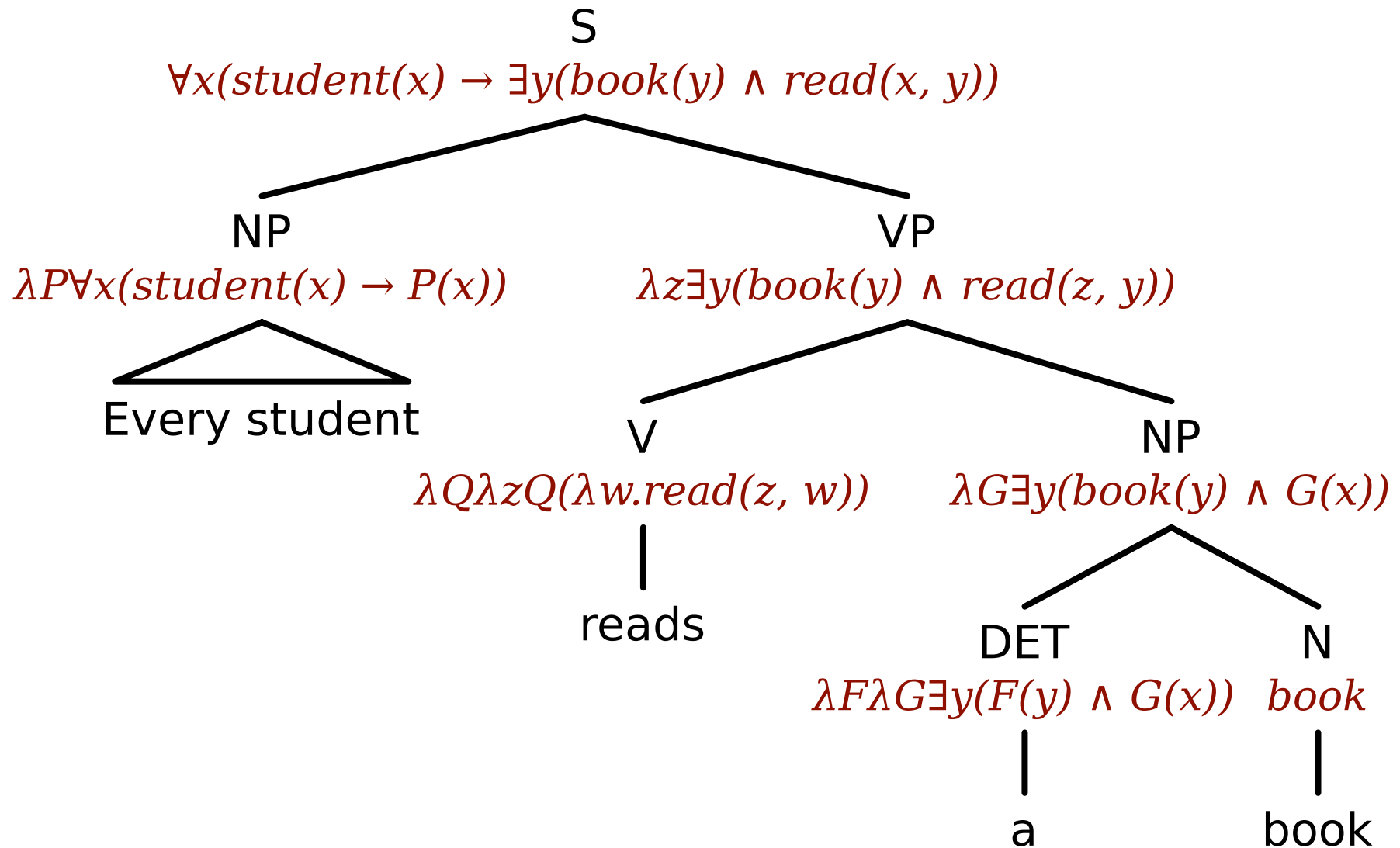
Sentence meaning – Assumptions

- **Compositionality:** The meaning of a complex expression is a function of the meanings of its parts and of the syntactic rules by which they are combined
- **Compositional semantic construction** based on the syntactic tree of the natural language expression
 - The semantic lexicon assigns meaning representations to lexical (leaf) nodes of the syntax tree.
 - The semantic representation of an inner node is computed by combining the representations of its child nodes.

Compositional Semantics Construction



Compositional Semantics Construction



Compositional Semantics Construction

- Compositionality: The meaning of a complex expression is **a function** of the meanings of its parts and of the syntactic rules by which they are combined
- ⇒ **Every syntax tree is mapped to a unique semantic representation**

Ambiguities

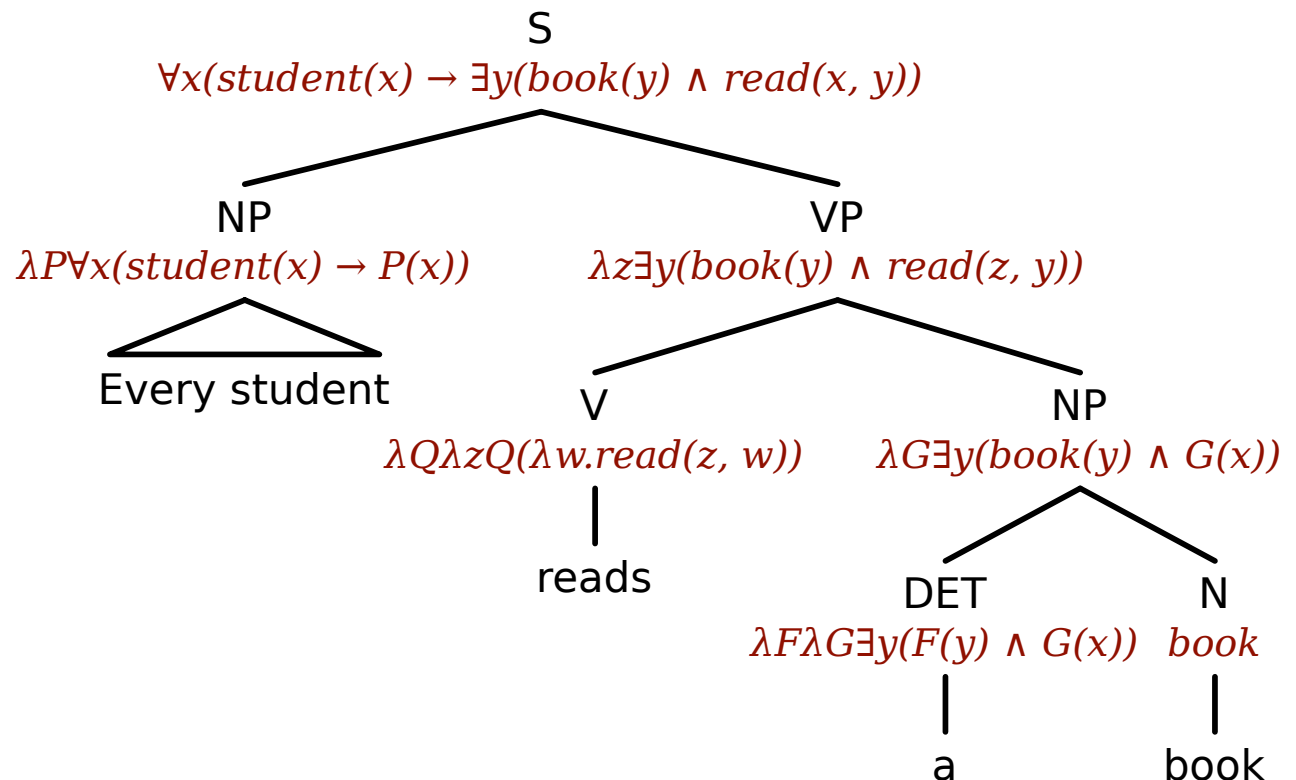
- Natural language is ambiguous: a sentence can have more than one interpretation (“reading”).
- **Lexical ambiguities**
 - *Iraqi head seeks arms*
- **Structural ambiguities**
 - *Enraged cow injures farmer with axe*
 - *The salesman sold the dog biscuits*
 - *Every student reads a book*

Scope Ambiguities

- Scope ambiguities can arise when a sentence contains two or more quantifiers and/or other scope-taking operators (negations, modal expressions, etc.)
- *Every student reads a book*
 - $\forall x(\text{student}'(x) \rightarrow \exists y(\text{book}'(y) \wedge \text{read}'(x, y)))$ [EA] \exists]
 - $\exists y(\text{book}'(y) \wedge \forall x(\text{student}'(x) \rightarrow \text{read}'(x, y)))$ [EA] \forall]

Scope Ambiguities – Problem #1

- The approach outlined before will give us just one reading (the “surface scope reading”)
- **Problem:** How to compute the $\exists\forall$ reading?



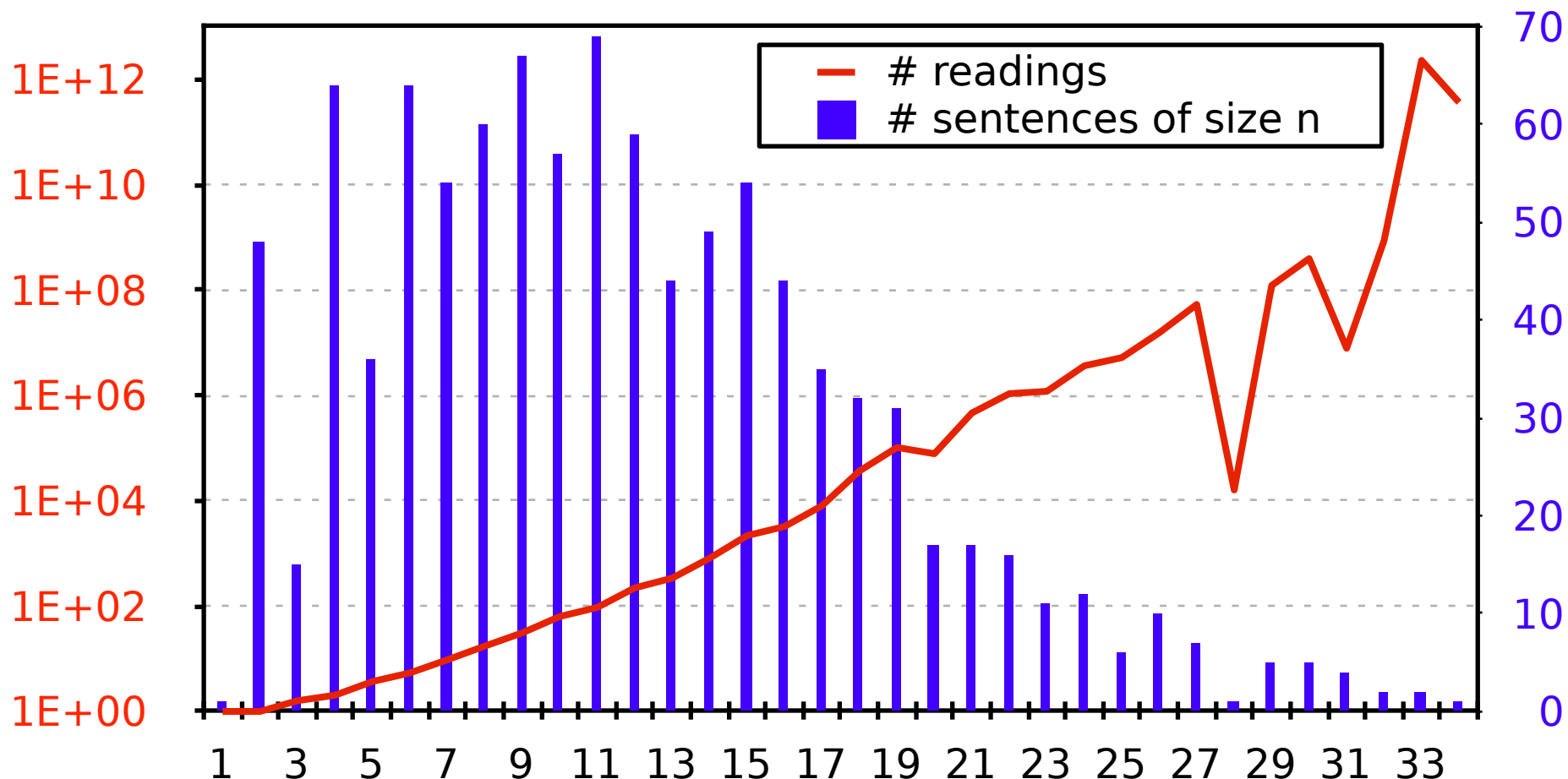
Scope Ambiguities – Problem #2

- **Combinatorial explosion of readings:** The number of readings of a sentence can grow exponentially in the number of scope-taking operators it contains.
- *Every student reads a book* ⇒ 2 readings
- *Every student reads a book about an interesting topic* ⇒ 5 readings (some of which are logically equivalent)
- *We quickly put up the tents in the lee of a small hillside and cook for the first time in the open* ⇒ 480 readings* (most of which are logically equivalent)

* according to the English Resource Grammar

Scope Ambiguities – Problem #2

- Number of readings in a “real-live” corpus according to the English Resource Grammar (Koller & al., ACL 2008)



Coping with scope – Options

(1) Ignore scope ambiguities

- for instance, always compute the “surface scope” reading

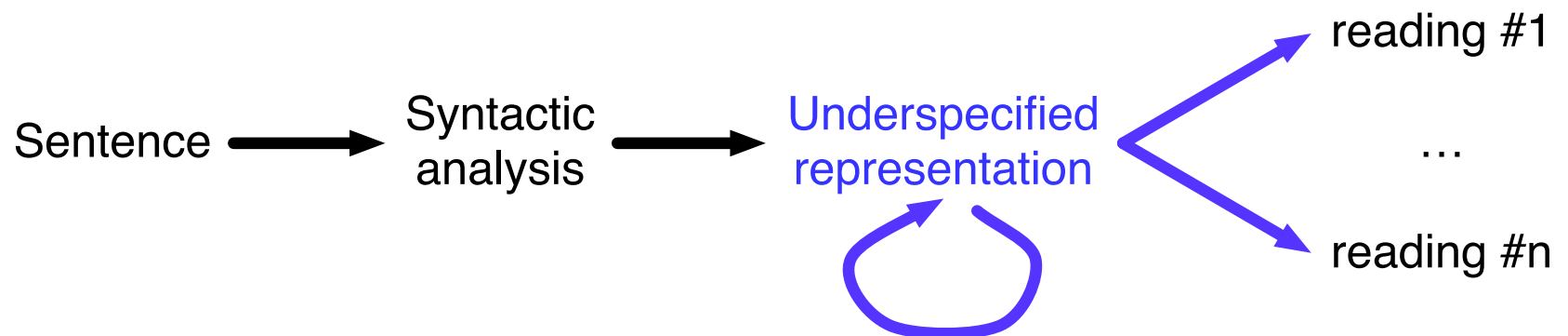
(2) Enumerate all readings and then select the “right” one

- we need more complex semantics construction rules and a method to choose the “right” reading
- computationally very expensive, since sentences can easily have millions of readings

(3) Use scope underspecification

Scope Underspecification

- Don't explicitly enumerate readings
- Instead, represent all readings of a sentence by a single compact underspecified representation (USR).
- The individual readings can be enumerated from the underspecified representation if needed (this lecture).
- We can perform inferences directly on the level of underspecified representations (next lecture).



A notational change

- *Every student reads a book*
 - $\forall x(\text{student}(x), \exists y(\text{book}(y), \text{read}(x, y)))$
 - $\exists y(\text{book}(y), \forall x(\text{student}(x), \text{read}(x, y)))$
- Abbreviations:
 - $\forall x(X, Y)$ abbreviates $\forall x(X \rightarrow Y)$
 - $\exists x(X, Y)$ abbreviates $\exists x(X \wedge Y)$

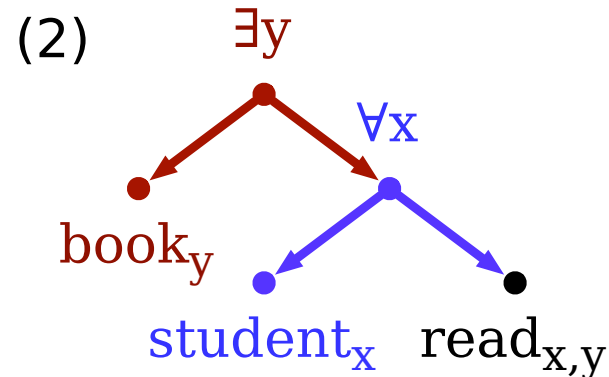
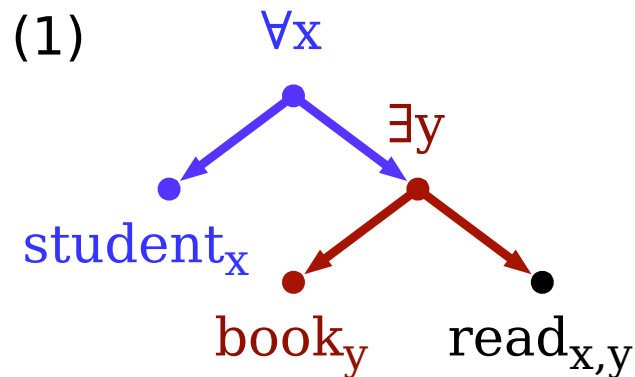
Readings = Trees

- *Every student reads a book*

(1) $\forall x(\text{student}(x), \exists y(\text{book}(y), \text{read}(x, y)))$

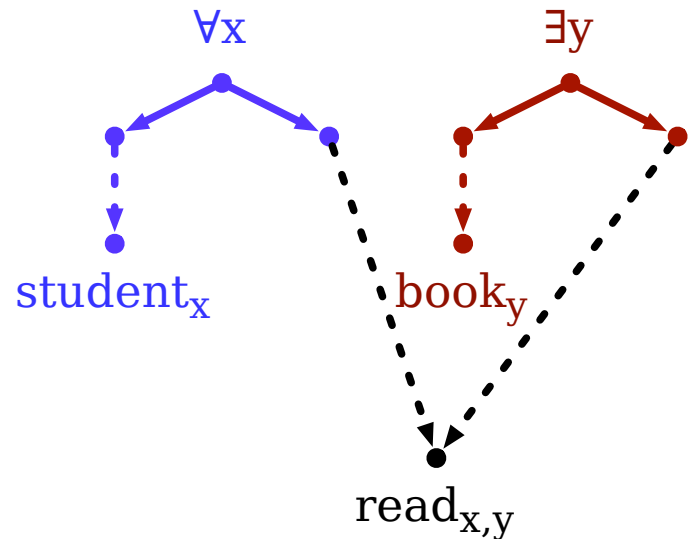
(2) $\exists y(\text{book}(y), \forall x(\text{student}(x), \text{read}(x, y)))$

- Represent readings as trees:



Dominance Graphs (informal)

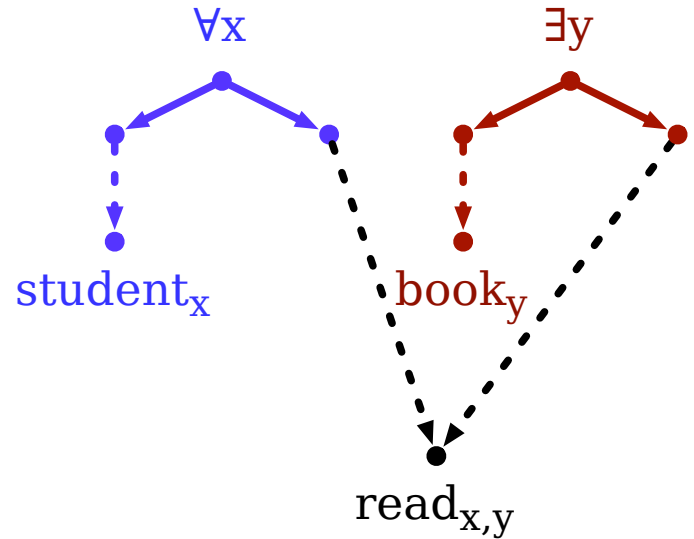
- Dominance graphs consist of
 - **“tree fragments”** connected by
 - **dominance edges**



- Tree fragments (solid lines) specify the “semantic material” that is common to all readings
- Dominance edges (dotted lines) specify constraints: The upper node must dominate the lower one.
- Subclass of “normal” dominance graphs: dominance edges always go from leaves (“holes”) to roots.

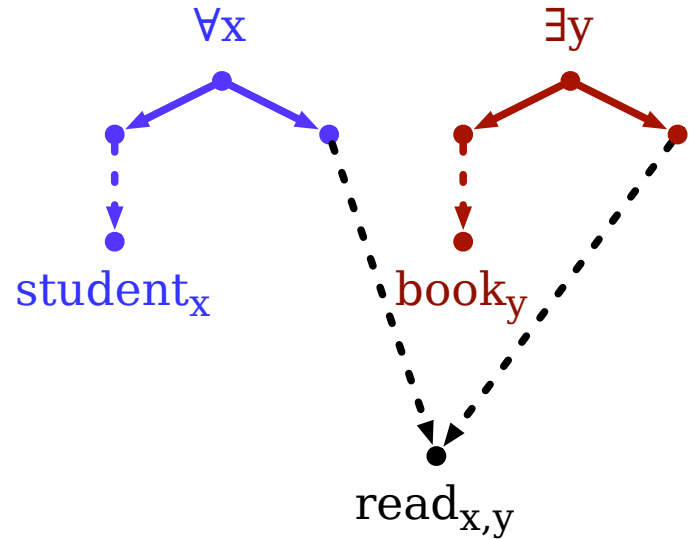
Normal Dominance Graphs

- A **normal dominance graph** is a graph $G = \langle V, E \cup D \rangle$ such that
 - the subgraph $\langle V, E \rangle$ is a collection of node disjoint trees where the height of each tree is ≤ 1
we call the roots in $\langle V, E \rangle$ **roots** and all other nodes **holes**
 - if $\langle v_1, v_2 \rangle \in D$, then v_1 is a hole and v_2 a root
 - every hole has at least one outgoing dominance edge.



Normal Dominance Graphs

- **A labelled dominance graph** is a graph $\langle V, E \cup D, L \rangle$ such that
 - $\langle V, E \cup D \rangle$ is a (normal) dominance graph and
 - L is a labelling function that assigns a node v a label with arity n iff v is a root with n outgoing tree edges



Solved Forms

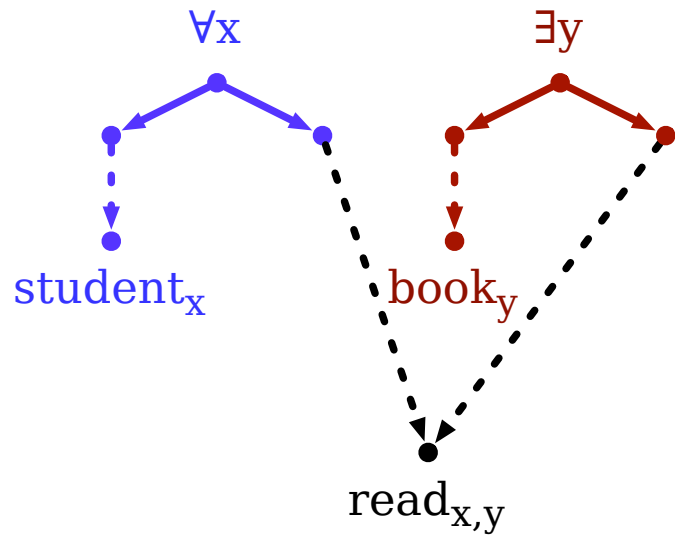
- A dominance graph G **is in solved form** if G is a forest
- Let $G = \langle V, E \cup D \rangle$ and $G' = \langle V, E \cup D' \rangle$

We say that G' **is a solved form of** G if G' is in solved form and the reachability relation of G' extends that of G

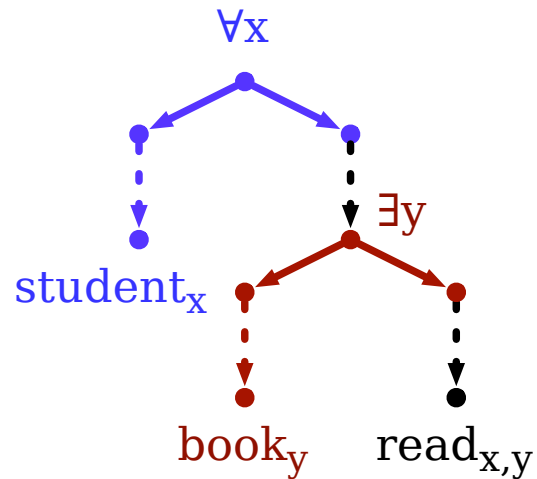
That is: whenever v_1 and v_2 are connected by some dominance edge in G' , there must be a directed path from v_1 to v_2 in G .

- Note that dominance graphs and their solved forms differ only in their sets of dominance edges.
- Note also that the solved forms of connected dominance graphs are always trees.

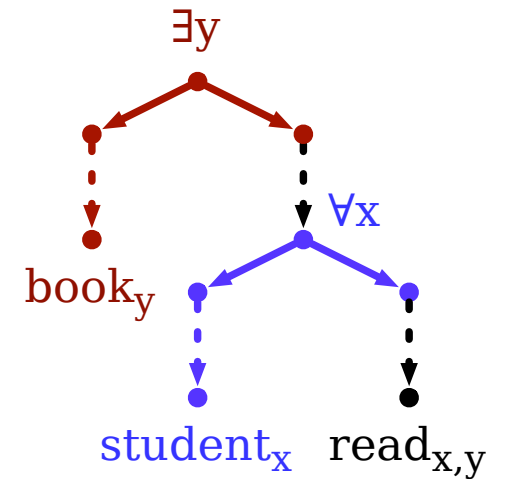
Solved Forms - Example



dominance graph

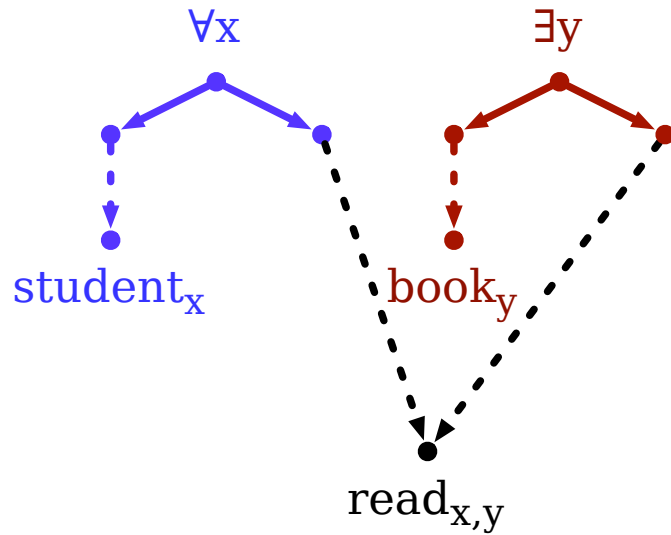


solved form #1

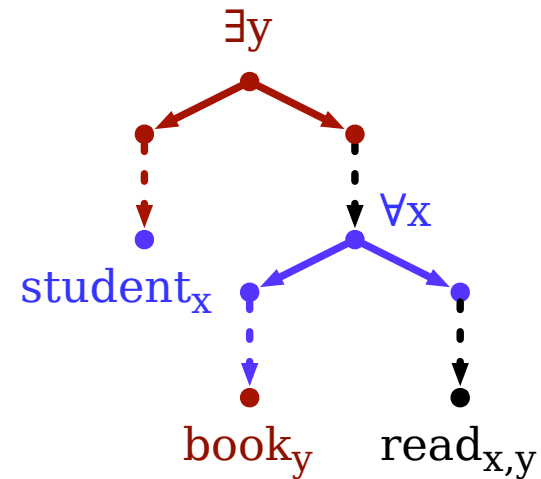


solved form #2

Not a solved form of



dominance graph G



not a solved form of G

Computational Questions

- **The solvability problem:**

Does a given dominance graph have any solved forms?

- **The enumeration problem:**

Given a dominance graph, enumerate all its (minimal) solved forms.

- We will discuss the algorithm by Bodirsky &al. (2004)

- To keep things simple, we restrict the presentation to *connected* dominance graphs.

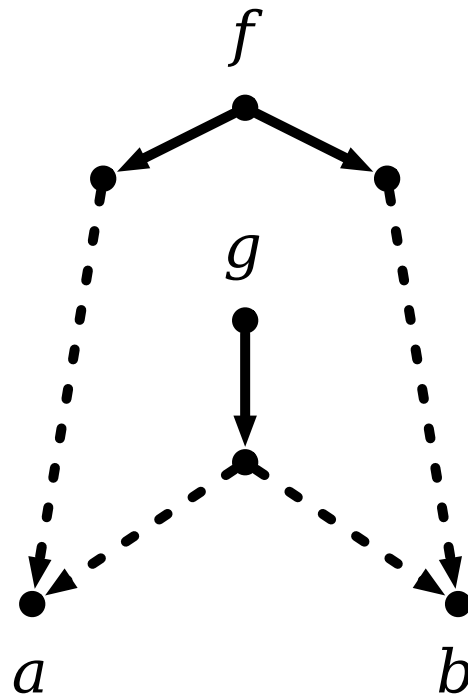
Solving dominance graphs

- The algorithm of Bodirsky &al. (2004) constructs a solved form of a dominance graph G as follows:
 1. nondeterministically choose a “free fragment” F from G
 2. remove F from G ; this decomposes the graph G into weakly connected components G_1, \dots, G_k
 3. recursively compute a solved form for G_1, \dots, G_k
 4. attach the solved form of G_i under the corresponding hole of the free fragment F (for $1 \leq i \leq k$)

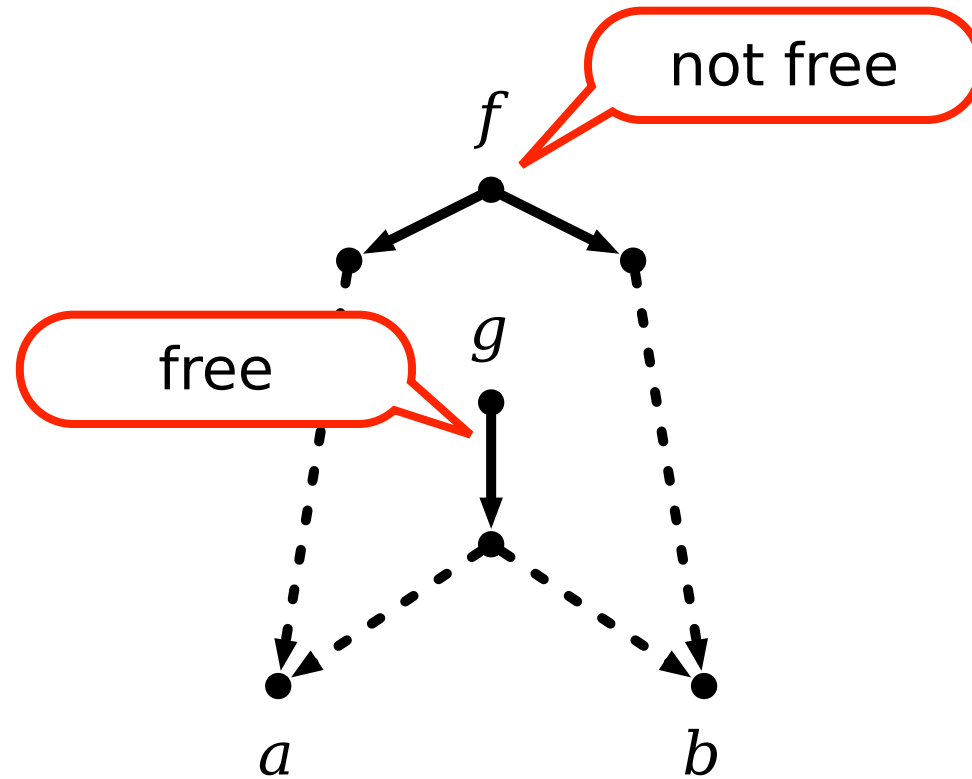
Free Fragments

- The workhorse of the algorithm is the notion of a “free fragment.”
- We say that a fragment **F is free in a** normal dominance graph **G** iff
 - the root of F has no incoming dominance edges, and
 - no distinct holes of F are connected by an undirected path in the graph G' obtained from G by removing the root of F
- It can be shown that the following statements are equivalent if G is solvable (normal) dominance graph:
 - F is a free fragment in G
 - G has a solved form with top-most fragment F

Free Fragments: An Example



Free Fragments: An Example



Solving dominance graphs

solve($G = \langle V, E \uplus D \rangle$) = (*)

choose a free fragment F of G **else fail**

let G_1, \dots, G_k be the WCCs of $G \setminus F$

let $\langle V_i, E_i \uplus D_i \rangle = \text{solve}(G_i)$

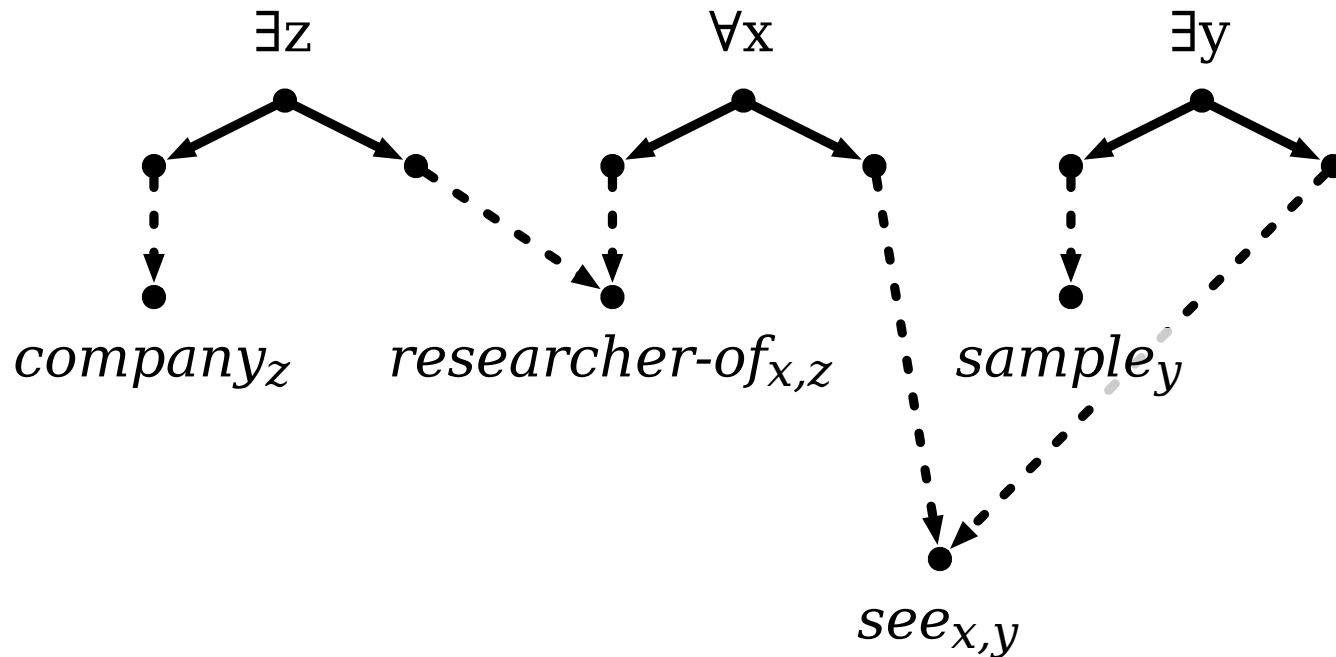
return $\langle V, E \uplus D_1 \uplus \dots \uplus D_k \uplus D' \rangle$

where D' are dominance edges that connect the holes of F with the solved form of one of the corresponding G_i

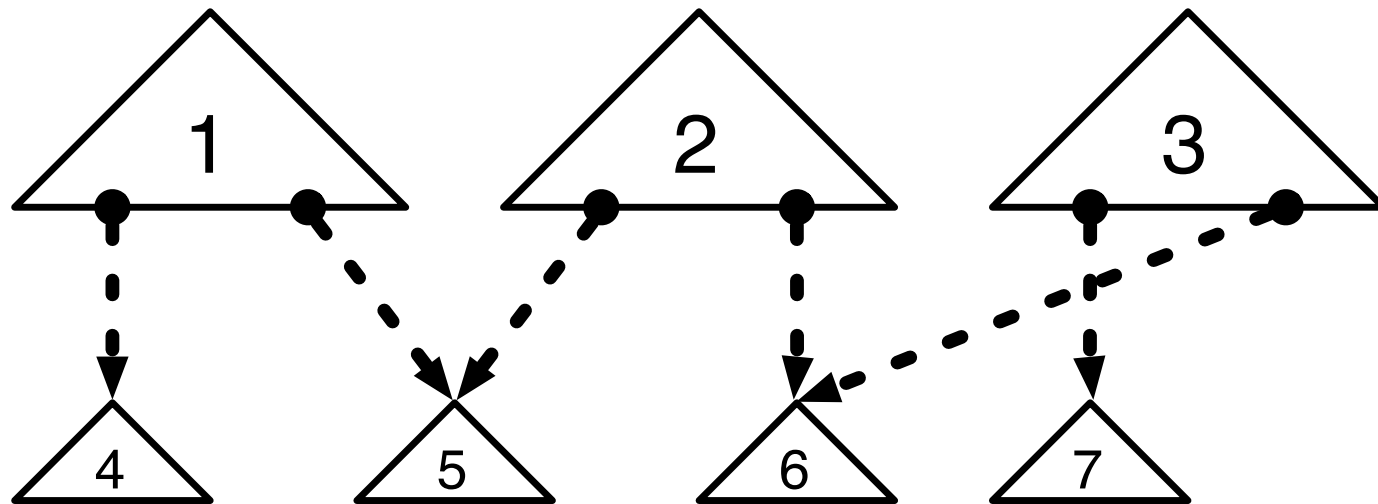
(*) slightly simplified version, works only for connected normal dominance graphs

An Example

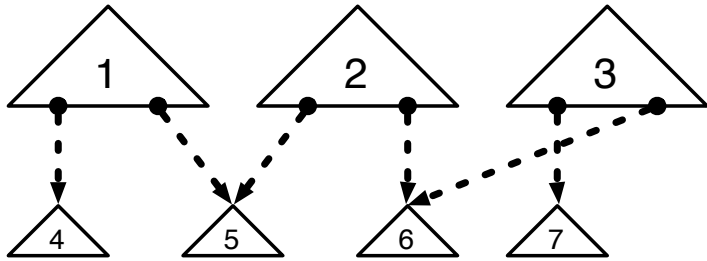
- Underspecified representation for the sentence “every researcher of a company sees a sample:”



An Example

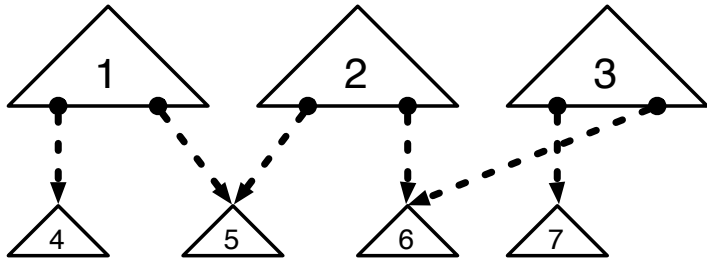


An Example

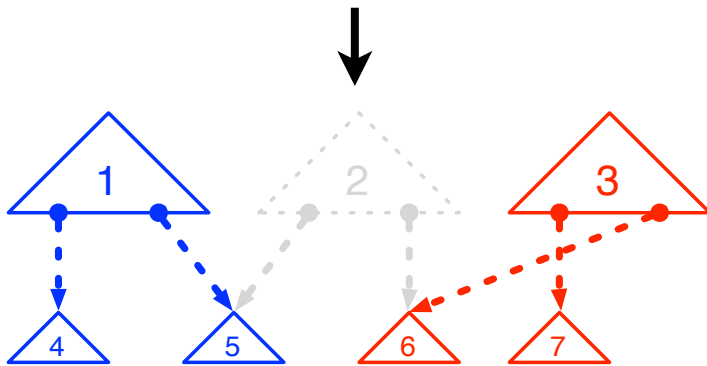


subgraph	free	wccs
----------	------	------

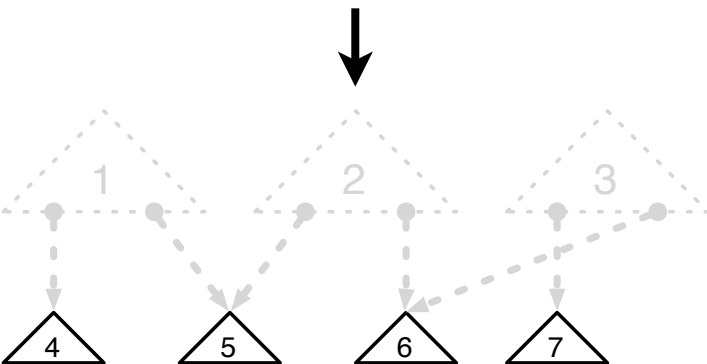
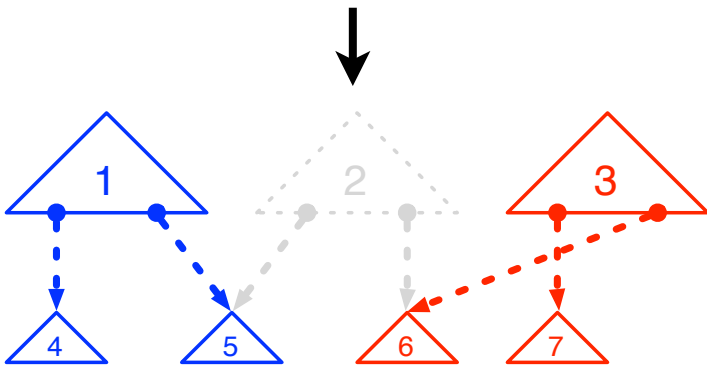
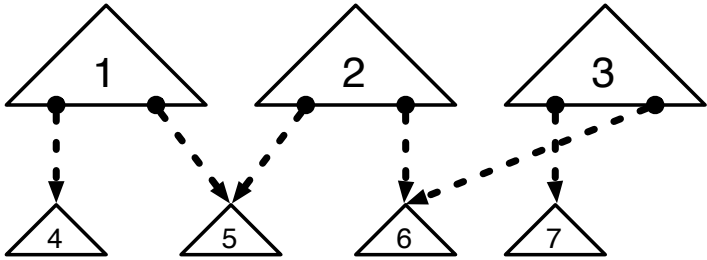
An Example



subgraph	free	wccs
$\{1, \dots, 7\}$	2	$\{1, 4, 5\}$, $\{3, 6, 7\}$



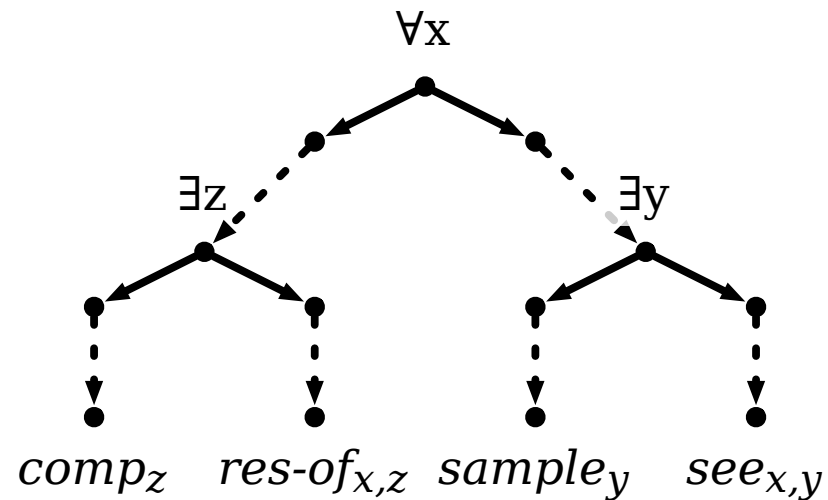
An Example



subgraph	free	wccs
$\{1, \dots, 7\}$	2	$\{1, 4, 5\}$, $\{3, 6, 7\}$
$\{1, 4, 5\}$	1	$\{4\}$, $\{5\}$
$\{3, 6, 7\}$	3	$\{6\}$, $\{7\}$

The final solved form

- $\forall x(\exists z(\text{comp}(z), \text{res-of}(x,z)), \exists y(\text{sample}(y), \text{see}(x, y)))$



Properties of the solver

- It can be shown that the following statements are equivalent:
 - `solve(G)` fails for some nondeterministic choice
 - `G` is not solvable
 - `solve(G)` fails for all nondeterministic choices

Properties of the solver

- We can test whether a fragment is free in time $O(n + m)$
 - where n is the number of nodes and
 - m the number of edges in a dominance graph G .
- The overall running time of $\text{solve}(G)$ is in $O(n \cdot (n + m))$ per solved-form.

Literature

- Alexander Koller, Manfred Pinkal, and Stefan Thater. Scope Underspecification with Tree Descriptions: Theory and Practice [\[PDF\]](#). In: Resource Adaptive Cognitive Processes. Ed. by Matthew Crocker and Jörg Siekmann. Cognitive Technologies Series. Berlin: Springer. 2009.
- Manuel Bodirsky, Denys Duchier, Joachim Niehren, and Sebastian Miele (2004). A new algorithm for normal dominance constraints [\[PDF\]](#). In the proceedings of the Symposium on Discrete Algorithms (SODA04), 59-67.