MRS

Ling 567
February 3, 2020

Overview

- Lab 5 preview
- MRS
  - Goals, design principles
  - Flat semantics
  - Underspecified quantifier scope
  - Linguistic questions
  - MRS in feature structures

MRS Preface

- Most of today's lecture covers stuff that is already implemented in the Matrix.
- The goal of this presentation is to increase your understanding of what's already there, and how to have your code interact with it.
- In the near term, you'll need to be able to look at the semantic representations and understand them.
- In later labs, you'll also be working on compositionality.

MRS: Goals

- The design of the MRS formalism answers the following four general goals:
  - Adequate representation of NL semantics
  - Grammatical compatibility
  - Computational tractability
  - Underspecifiability

MRS: Design Principles

- The design of the representations of particular linguistic phenomena follow the following general strategies/design principles
    - Represent all semantic distinctions which are syntactically or morphologically marked
    - Underspecify semantic distinctions which aren’t: These can be spelled-out/ambiguated if necessary in post-processing
    - Abstract away from non-semantic information (word order, case, ...)
    - Close paraphrases should have comparable or identical MRS representations
    - Aim for consistency across languages
    - Allow for semantic differences across languages

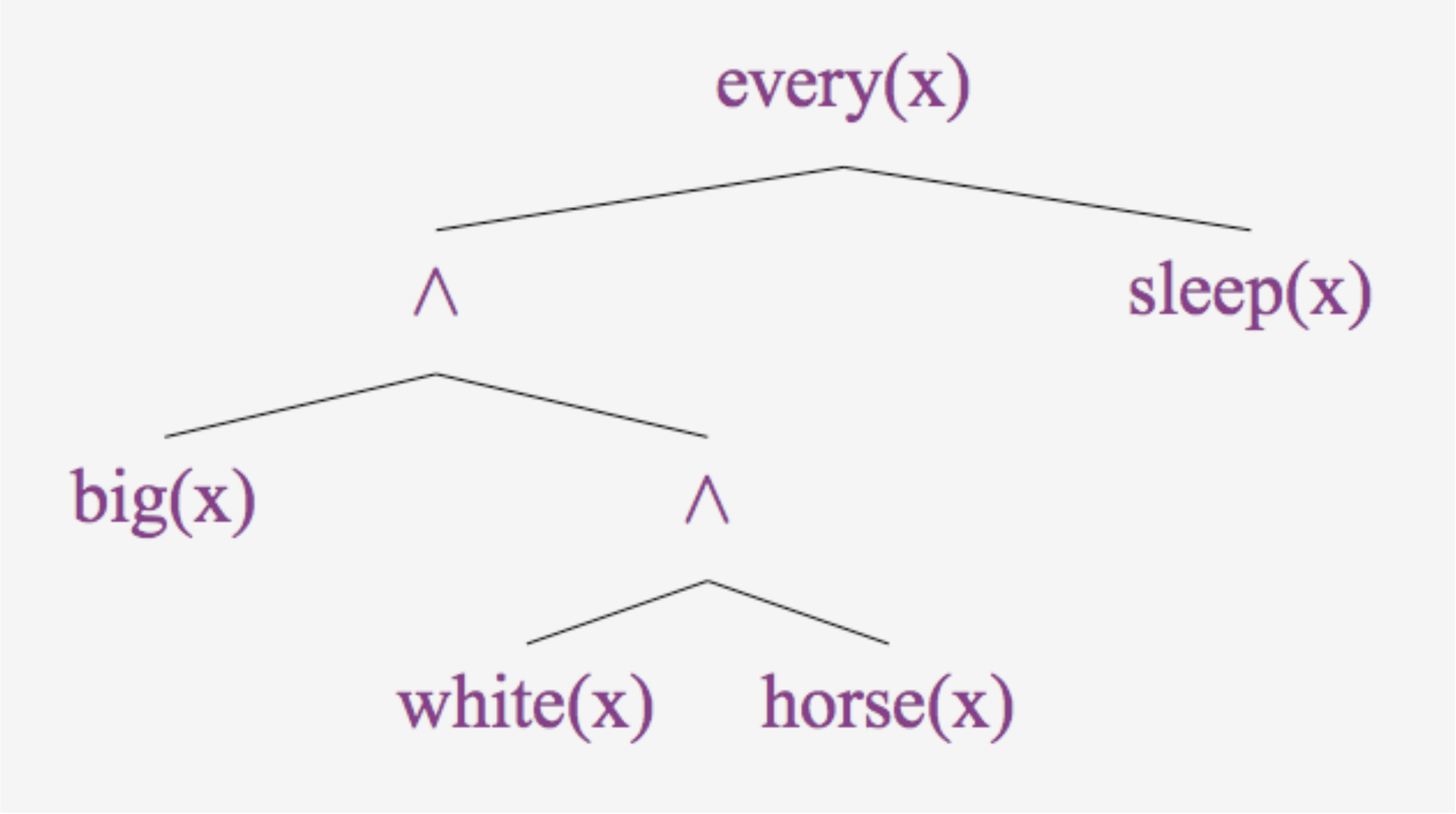
A quick reminder about quantifier scope

- Quantifiers (predicate logic or NL) take three arguments:
  - A variable to bind
  - A restriction
  - A body
- Every dog sleeps: $\forall x \ dog(x) sleep(x)$
- When one quantifier appears within the restriction or body of another, we say the second has wider scope: $\forall x \ dog(x) \ \exists y \ cat(y) \ see(x, y)$

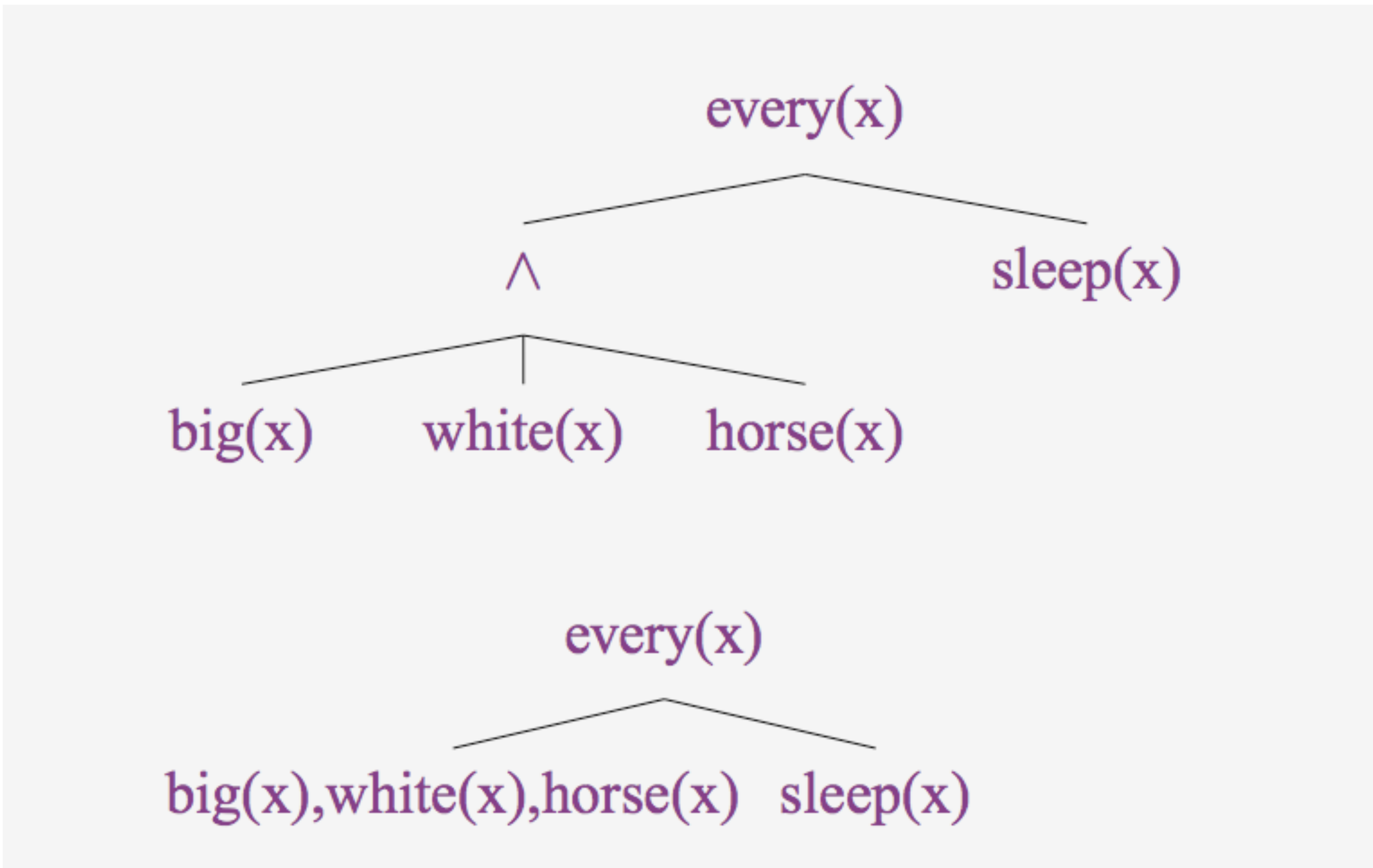
Working towards MRS (1/4)

- Every big white horse sleeps

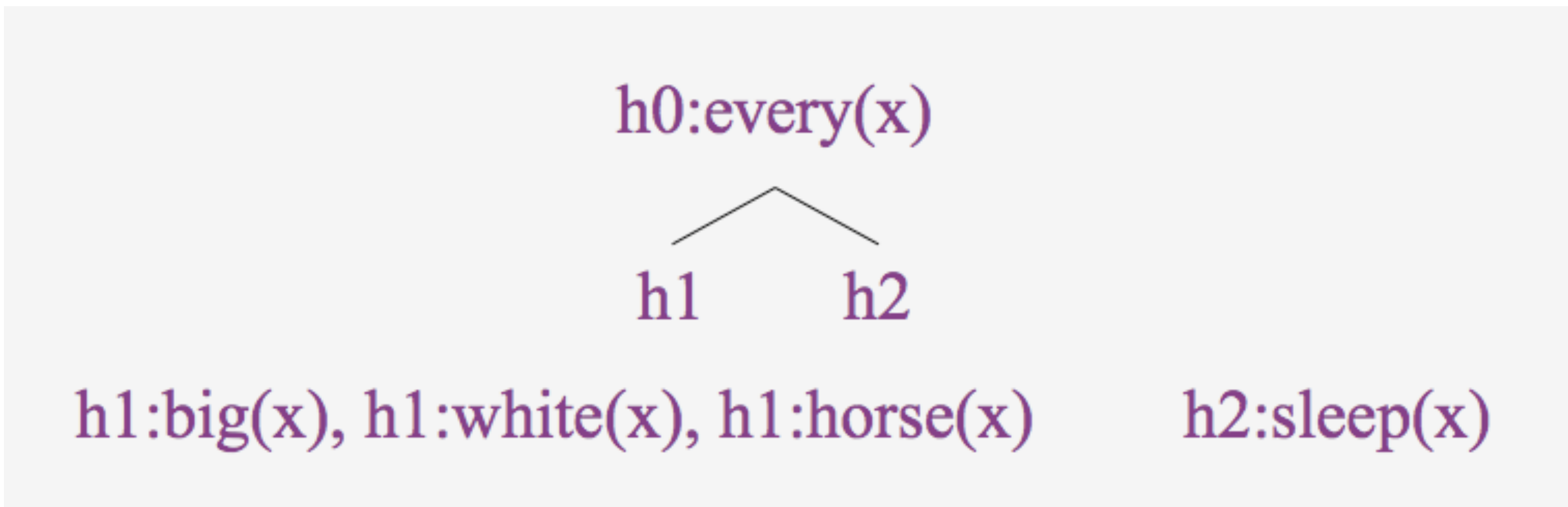
$$\text{every}(x, \wedge \text{big}(x), \wedge(\text{white}(x), \text{horse}(x))), \text{sleep}(x))$$



Working towards MRS (2/4)



Working towards MRS (3/4)



- And finally:

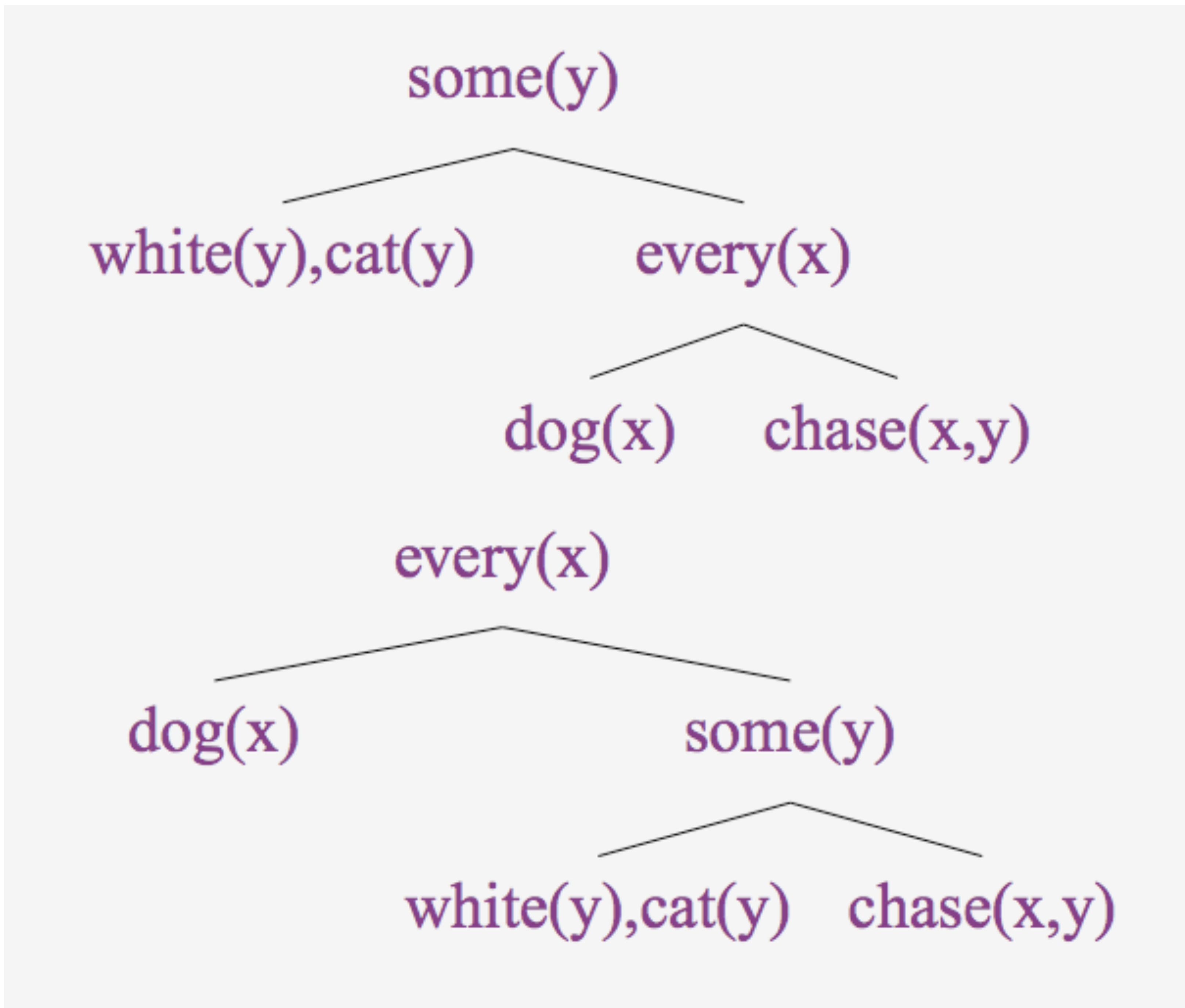
h0:every(*x, h1, h2*), *h1*:big(*x*), *h1*:white(*x*), *h1*:horse(*x*), *h2*:sleep(*x*)

Working towards MRS (4/4)

- This is a flat representation, which is a good start.
- Next we need to underspecify quantifier scope, and it's easier to see why with multiple quantifiers.
- At the same time, we want to be able to partially specify it, since this is required for adequate representations of NL semantics.

Underspecified quantifier scope (1/2)

- Every dog chases some white cat.



Underspecified quantifier scope (2/2)

- *h1*:every(*x*,*h3*,*h4*), *h3*:dog(*x*), *h7*:white(*y*), *h7*:cat(*y*), *h5*:some(*y*,*h7*,*h1*), *h4*:chase(*x*,*y*)

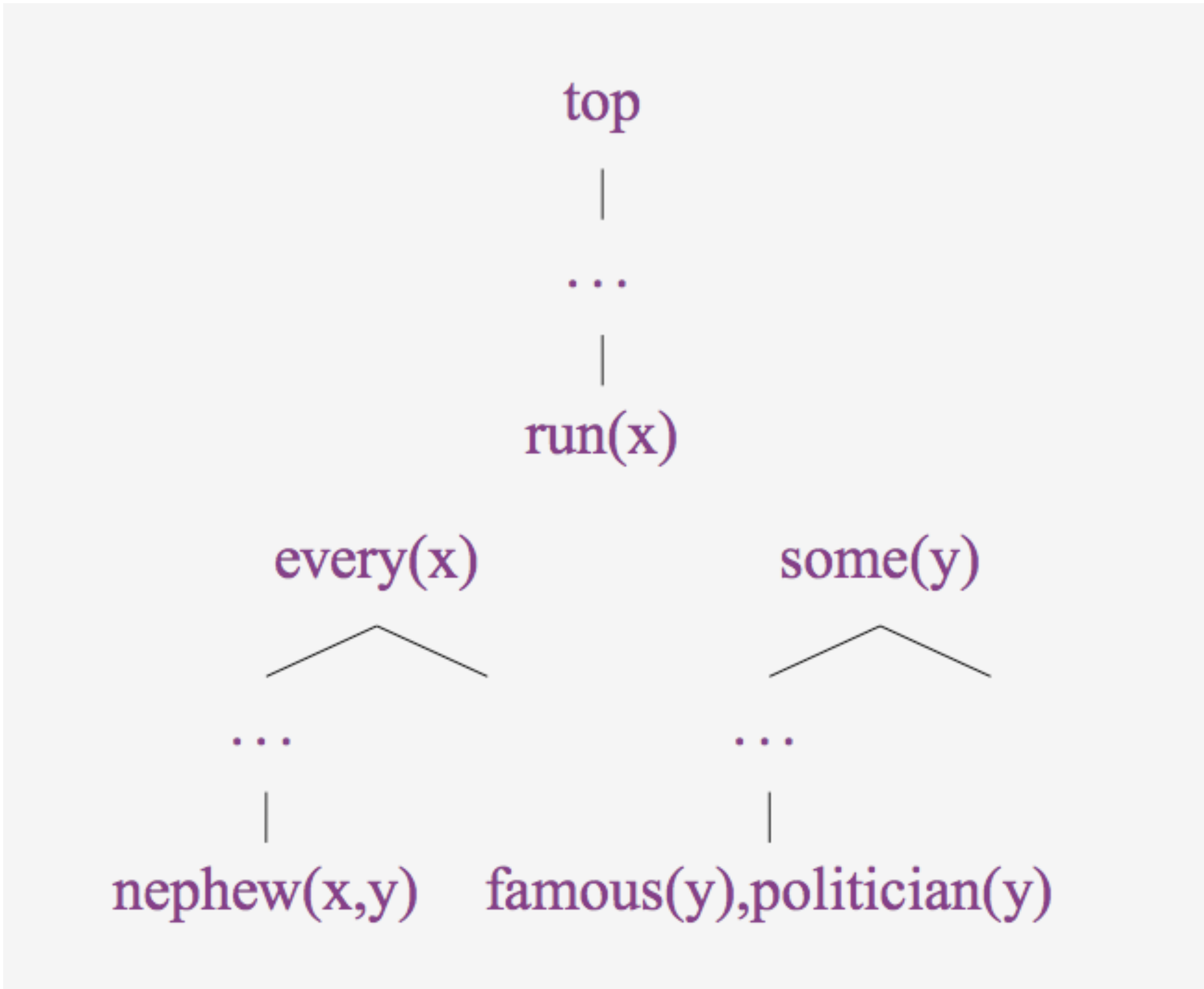
- *h1*:every(*x*,*h3*,*h5*), *h3*:dog(*x*), *h7*:white(*y*), *h7*:cat(*y*), *h5*:some(*y*,*h7*,*h4*), *h4*:chase(*x*,*y*)

- *h1*:every(*x*,*h3*,*hA*), *h3*:dog(*x*), *h7*:white(*y*), *h7*:cat(*y*), *h5*:some(*y*,*h7*,*hB*), *h4*:chase(*x*,*y*)

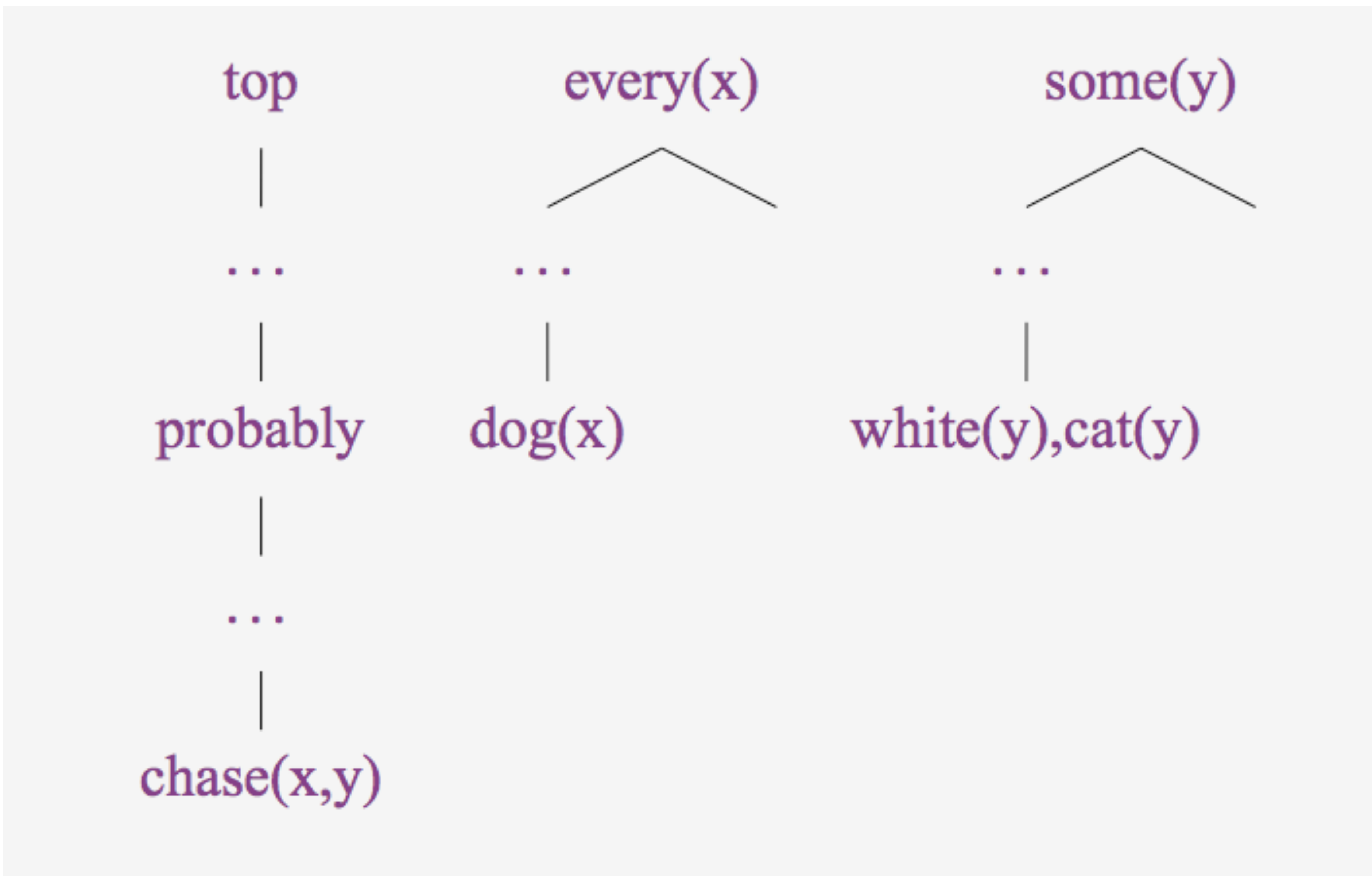
Partially constrained quantifier scope (1/4)

- For the BODY of quantifiers, we have no particular constraints to add.
- In turns out that the RESTRICTION needs to have partially underconstrained scope:
  - Every nephew of some famous politician runs.
    - every(x,some(y,famous(y) $\wedge$ politician(y), nephew(x,y)) run(x))
    - some(y,famous(y) $\wedge$ politician(y), every(x, nephew(x,y),run(x)))
  - But not:
    - every(x,run(x),some(y,famous(y) $\wedge$ politician(y), nephew(x,y)))
    - ‘Everyone who runs is a nephew of a famous politician.’

Partially constrained quantifier scope (2/4)



Partially constrained quantifier scope (3/4)



Partially constrained quantifier scope (4/4)

$$\langle h0, \{h2 : \text{every}(x, h3, h4), h5 : \text{nephew}(x, y),$$
$$h6 : \text{some}(y, h7, h8), h9 : \text{politician}(y), h9 : \text{famous}(y),$$
$$h10 : \text{run}(x)\},$$
$$\{h0 =_q h10, h7 =_q h9, h3 =_q h5\}\rangle$$

$$\langle h0, \{h1 : \text{every}(x, h2, h3), h4 : \text{dog}(x),$$
$$h5 : \text{probably}(h6), h7 : \text{chase}(x, y),$$
$$h8 : \text{some}(y, h9, h10), h11 : \text{white}(y), h11 : \text{cat}(y)\},$$
$$\{h0 =_q h5, h2 =_q h4, h6 =_q h7, h9 =_q h11\}\rangle$$

We’ve arrived at MRS!

- Flat structure
- Underspecification & partial specification of quantifier scope are possible

Linguistic Questions

- How do we build MRS representations compositionally?
- Is it linguistically adequate to insist that no process suppress relations?
- Under what circumstances do NLs (partially) constrain scope?
- Is it linguistically adequate to give scopal elements (esp. quantifiers, but also scopal modifiers) center-stage?

MRS in feature structures

- RELS: List (diff-list) of relations
- HCONS: List (diff-list) of handle constraints
- ICONS: List (diff-list) of individual constraints
- HOOK: Collection of features ‘published’ for further composition: INDEX, LTOP, XARG
- ARGn: Roles within relations

Quick comparison to 566

- SWB RESTR = Matrix RELS
- SWB INDEX = Matrix HOOK.INDEX
- New here:
  - HCONS, ICONS
  - HOOK.LTOP, HOOK.XARG
  - C-CONT

Anatomy of an MRS

- An MRS consists of:
  - A top handle
  - A list of relations, each labeled by a handle
  - A list of handle constraints
  - (A list of individual constraints)
  - An (underspecified) MRS is well-formed iff the constraints can be resolved to form one or more trees (singly-rooted, connected, directed acyclic graphs).

Anatomy of a relation

- A relation has:
  - A predicate (string or type)
  - A label (handle)
  - One or more arguments: ARG0-n (ARG0 canonically being the event or individual introduced by the relation)

- The value of each ARGn is either:
  - An index, canonically identified with the ARG0 of another relation
  - A handle: identified with the label of another relation, the HARG of a handle constraint, or not identified with anything

Anatomy of a handle constraint

- Current sole handle constraint type: qeq
- ‘Equal modulo quantifiers’
- Features: HARG, LARG
- → Unless some quantifier scopes in between, the value of this ARGn is the same as the label of that relation.
- When the label of a relation is the value of an ARGn, this corresponds to a branch in an MRS tree.
- When the value of an ARGn is qeq the label of a relation, this corresponds to a ‘dotted’ branch – i.e., a dominance relation.

When else are handles identified?

- Relations with the same handle value share the same scope.
- Typically, we see this with non-scopal modifiers (adverbs, adjectives, PPs) which share their handles with their modifiees.

Composition: Overview

- RELS and HCONS (and ICONS) on mother nodes
- HOOK, LKEYS
- ARGn <> indices
- ARGn <> handles
- LBL <> LBL
- Building *qeqs*

RELS and HCONS on mother nodes

- The RELS and HCONS (and ICONS) value of the mother is the append of the values from the daughter(s) and the C-CONT of the mother.

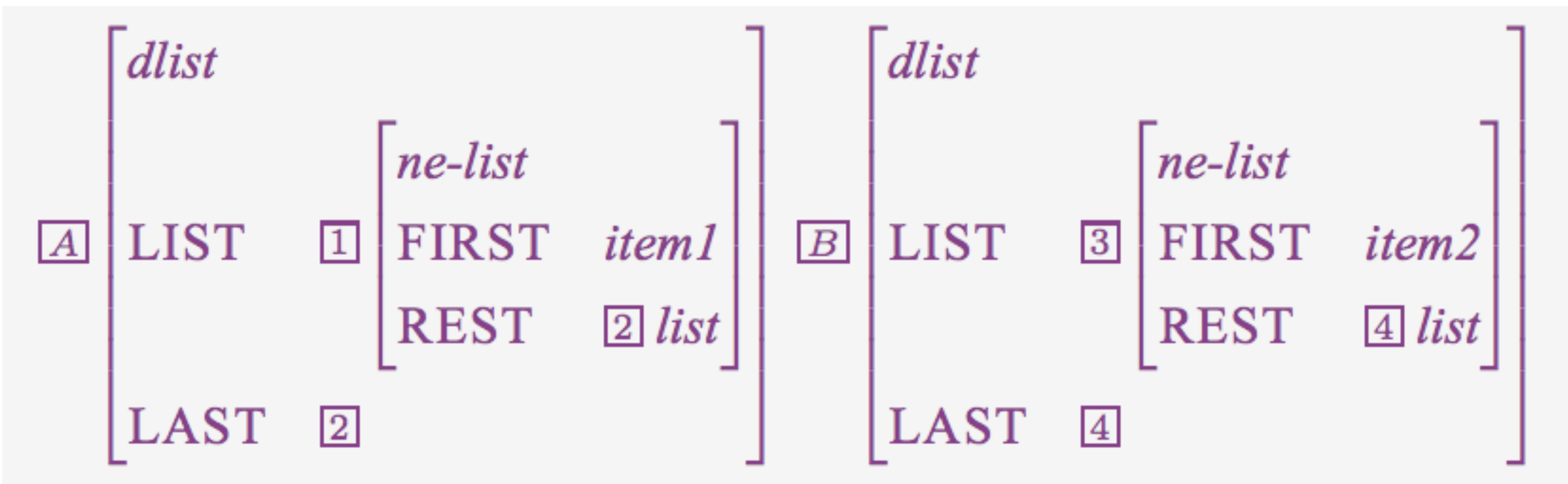
- C-CONT is the ‘constructional content’: allows phrase structure rules to introduce relations.

- Examples?

- From a semantic point of view, the C-CONT is just another daughter.

Appending lists with unification

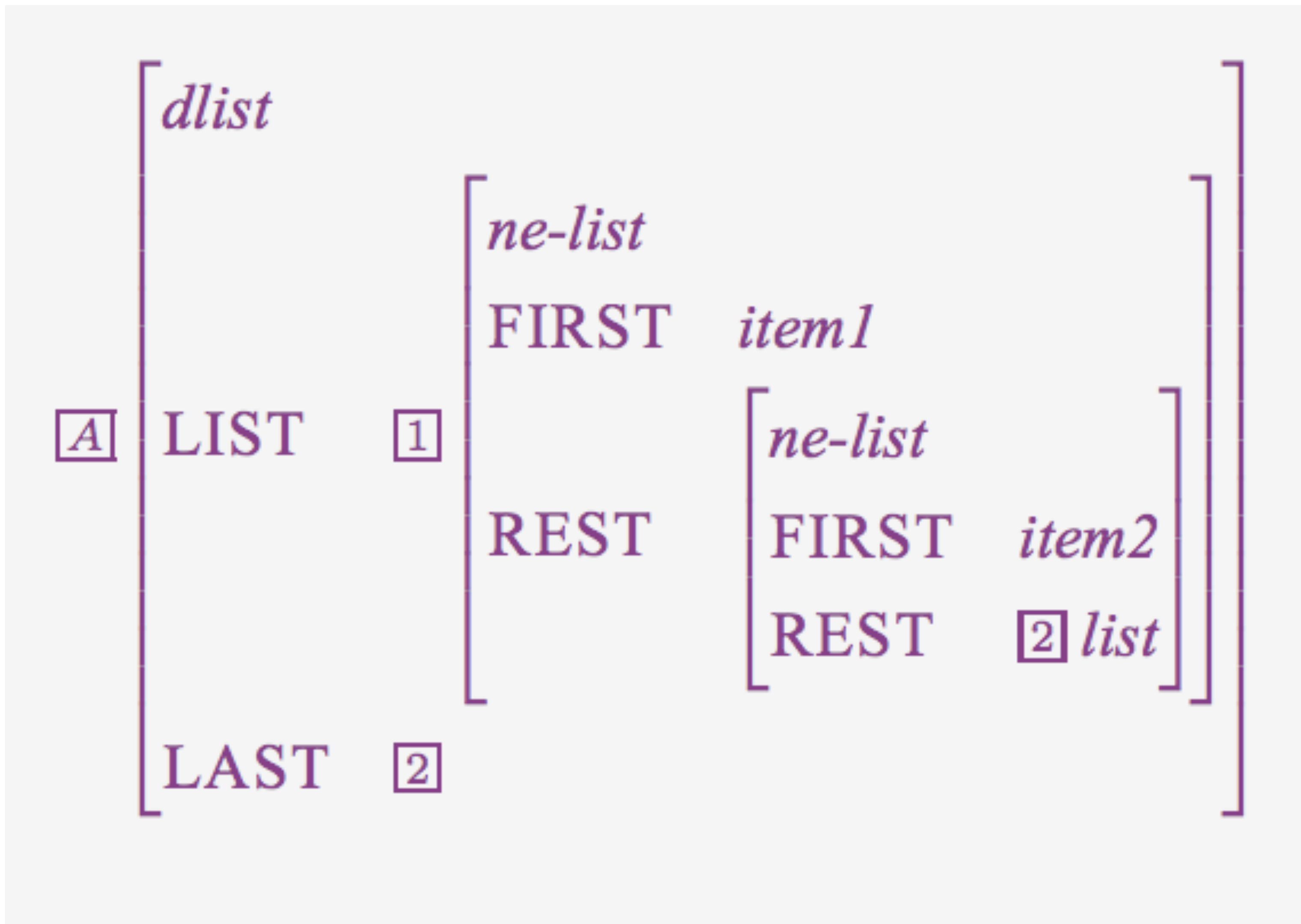
- A diff-list embeds an open-ended list into a container structure providing a ‘pointer’ to the end of the ordinary list.



- To append : (i) unify the front of [B] (i.e. the value of its LIST feature) into the tail of [A] (its LAST value) and

- (ii) use the tail of difference list [B] as the new tail for the result of the concatenation.

Result of appending lists



Matrix type: dl-append

- NB: **Not** for direct use in the grammar; this type is just meant as reference

```
dl-append := avm & [APPARG1 [LIST #first,
                              LAST #between],
                    APPARG2 [LIST #between,
                              LAST #last],
                    RESULT  [LIST #first,
                              LAST #last]].
```

Diff-lists: practicalities

- Typically errors with diff-lists involve circularity and not direct unification failure.
- If the LKB complains about circular feature structures, check your difference lists.
- Don’t try to constrain the length of a difference list.
- Unifying structures which include diff lists in an append relation can result in diff lists constrained to be empty.

Returning to our regularly scheduled programming...

- Why do we need diff-lists?
- Why do we need append?

Semantic compositionality in action

```
basic-unary-phrase := phrase &
  [ SYNSEM.LOCAL.CONT [ RELS [ LIST #first,
                               LAST #last ]],
    C-CONT [ RELS [ LIST #mid,
                    LAST #last ]],
    ARGS < sign & [ SYNSEM.LOCAL
               [ CONT [ RELS [ LIST #first,
                               LAST #mid ]]]]>].
```

Now what?

- Phrase structure rules (and lexical rules) gather up RELS and HCONS from daughters.
- Phrase structure rules also (optionally) introduce further RELS and HCONS.
- How do we link the ARGn positions of the relations to the right things?
- How do we link the HARG/LARG of qeqs to the right things?

HOOK

- The CONT.HOOK is the information that a given sign exposes for further composition.
- By hypothesis, this includes only:
  - INDEX (the individual or event denoted by the sign, linked to some ARG0)
  - LTOP (the local top handle of the sign)
  - XARG (the external argument of the sign)
- The HOOK of a sign is identified its with the C-CONT.HOOK.
- The C-CONT.HOOK in turn is identified with the semantic head daughter, if there is one.
- Otherwise, the LTOP, INDEX, and XARG inside C-CONT.HOOK need to be constrained appropriately.

LKEYS

- The feature LKEYS houses pointers to important relations on the RELS list, most notably LKEYS.KEYREL.
- Only appropriate for lexical items.
- Serves as a uniform place to state linking constraints.
- Linking constraints: equality between HOOK.INDEX or HOOK.LTOP of arguments/modifiees and LKEYS.KEYREL.ARGn.

```
norm-ltop-lex-item := lex-item &
  [ SYNSEM [ LOCAL.CONT [ HOOK [ LTOP #ltop ],
                          RELS.LIST.FIRST #keyrel ],
             LKEYS.KEYREL #keyrel & [ LBL #ltop ] ] ].
```

ARGn <> indices

```
intransitive-lex-item := basic-one-arg-no-hcons &
  [ ARG-ST < [ LOCAL.CONT.HOOK.INDEX ref-ind &
                                      #ind ] >,
    SYNSEM.LKEYS.KEYREL.ARG1 #ind ].

intersective-mod-lex := no-hcons-lex-item &
  [ SYNSEM [ LOCAL.CAT.HEAD.MOD
                    < [ ..INDEX #ind ]] >,
             LKEYS.KEYREL.ARG1 #ind ] ].
```

ARGn <> handles (1/2)

```
clausal-second-arg-trans-lex-item := basic-two-arg &
[ ARG-ST < [ LOCAL.CONT.HOOK.INDEX ref-ind & #ind ],
           [ LOCAL.CONT.HOOK.LTOP #larg ] >,
  SYNSEM [ LOCAL.CONT.HCONS <! qeq &
                              [ HARG #harg,
                                LARG #larg ] !>,
           LKEYS.KEYREL [ ARG1 #ind,
                          ARG2 #harg ] ] ].
```

ARGn <> handles (2/2)

```
basic-determiner-lex := norm-hook-lex-item &
  [ SYNSEM [ LOCAL
     [ CAT [ HEAD det,
             VAL..HOOK [ INDEX #ind,
                         LTOP #larg ]],
       CONT [ HCONS <! qeq &
                     [ HARG #harg,
                       LARG #larg ] !>,
              RELS <! relation !> ] ],
       LKEYS.KEYREL quant-relation &
                    [ ARG0 #ind,
                      RSTR #harg ] ] ].
```

LBL <> LBL

```
isect-mod-phrase :=
  head-mod-phrase-simple &
  head-compositional &
  [ HEAD-DTR.SYNSEM.LOCAL.CONT.HOOK.LTOP #hand ],
    NON-HEAD-DTR.SYNSEM.LOCAL.CONT.HOOK.LTOP #hand
```

- The rule for non-scopal modifiers identifies the LTOP of the two daughters, and thus the LBL of the main relation introduced by each.
- The HOOK value of the whole thing comes from the syntactic head, thanks to the type head-compositional.

Scopal modifiers (1/2)

```
scopal-mod-phrase :=
   head-mod-phrase-simple &
  [ NON-HEAD-DTR.SYNSEM.LOCAL
     [ CAT.HEAD.MOD < [ LOCAL scopal-mod ] >,
       CONT.HOOK #hook ],
    C-CONT [ HOOK #hook,
             HCONS <! !> ] ].
```

- No identification of LTOPs.
- Non-head (adjunct) daughter is the semantic head.

Scopal modifiers (2/2)

```
scopal-mod-lex := lex-item &
  [ SYNSEM [ LOCAL [
     CAT.HEAD.MOD < [ LOCAL scopal-mod &
                          [ ..LTOP #larg ]] >,
     CONT.HCONS <! qeq &
                   [ HARG #harg,
                     LARG #larg ] !> ],
     LKEYS.KEYREL.ARG1 #harg ]].
```

- Builds qeq between its ARG1 and the MOD's LTOP

Building qeqs

- Determiners
- Scopal adverbs
- Clausal complement verbs (and nouns, adjectives, adpositions...)

Summary

- Phrase structure and lexical rules:
  - ... gather up RELS and HCONS (and ICONS)
  - ... potentially add further RELS and HCONS
  - ... unify elements on valence/mod lists with signs
  - ... pass up and/or modify HOOK information
- Lexical entries:
  - ... orchestrate the linking between valence/mod lists and the ARGn positions in the relations they contribute
  - ... expose certain information in the HOOK

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