Ling 566
Oct 5, 2023

Feature Structures
Headed Rules, Trees

Overview

- Review: problems with CFG, modeling
- Feature structures, unification (pizza)
- Features for linguistic description
- Reformulate grammar rules
- Notion of head/headedness
- Licensing of trees
- Reading questions

Our Goals

- Descriptive, generative grammar
  - Describing English (in this case)
  - Generating all possible well-formed sentences (and no ill-formed ones)
    - Assigning appropriate structures
- Design/discover an appropriate *type* of model (through incremental improvement)
- Create a particular model (grammar fragment) for English

Problems with Context-Free Grammar (atomic node labels)

- Potentially arbitrary rules
- Gets clunky quickly with cross-cutting properties
- Not quite powerful enough for natural languages

Solution: Replace atomic node labels with feature structures.

Cross-cutting Grammatical Properties

	3rd singular subject	plural subject
direct object NP	*denies*	*deny*
no direct object NP	*disappears*	*disappear*

Two Kinds of Language Models

- Speakers' internalized knowledge (their grammar)
- Set of sentences in the language

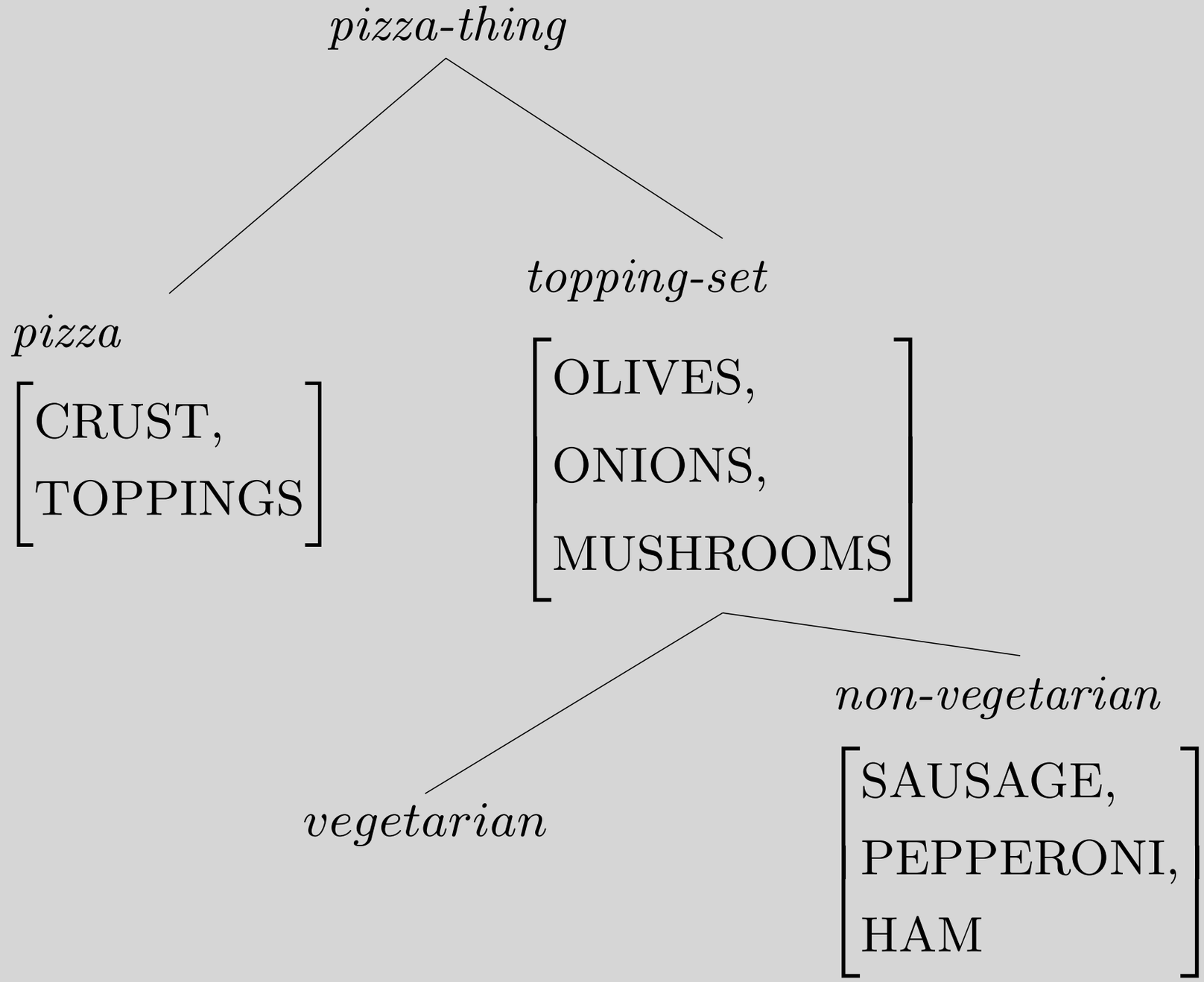
Things Involved in Modeling Language

- Real world entities (utterance types)
- Models (fully specified trees)
- Descriptions of the models (rules, principles, lexical entries)

Feature Structure Descriptions

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{FEATURE}_1 & \text{VALUE}_1 \\ \text{FEATURE}_2 & \text{VALUE}_2 \\ \ldots & \\ \text{FEATURE}_n & \text{VALUE}_n \end{bmatrix}$$

A Pizza Type Hierarchy



TYPE	FEATURES/VALUES	IST
pizza-thing		
pizza	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CRUST} & \{\text{thick, thin, stuffed}\} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \textit{topping-set} \end{bmatrix}$	*pizza-thing*
topping-set	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & \{+, -\} \\ \text{ONIONS} & \{+, -\} \\ \text{MUSHROOMS} & \{+, -\} \end{bmatrix}$	*pizza-thing*
vegetarian		*topping-set*
non-vegetarian	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SAUSAGE} & \{+, -\} \\ \text{PEPPERONI} & \{+, -\} \\ \text{HAM} & \{+, -\} \end{bmatrix}$	*topping-set*

Type Hierarchies

A type hierarchy....

- ... states what kinds of objects we claim exist (the types)
- ... organizes the objects hierarchically into classes with shared properties (the type hierarchy)
- ... states what general properties each kind of object has (the feature and feature value declarations).

Pizza Descriptions and Pizza Models

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} & \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{vegetarian} & \\ \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{ONIONS} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

How many pizza models (by definition, fully resolved) satisfy this description?

Answer: 2

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} & \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{vegetarian} & \\ \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{ONIONS} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

{<CRUST , thick> , <TOPPINGS , { <OLIVES , + > , <ONIONS, +> , <MUSHROOMS, –>}>}

{<CRUST , thick> , <TOPPINGS , { <OLIVES , + > , <ONIONS, +> , <MUSHROOMS, +>}>}

Pizza Descriptions and Pizza Models

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} & \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{vegetarian} & \\ \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{ONIONS} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

How many pizzas-in-the-world do the pizza models correspond to?

Answer: A large, constantly-changing number.

Pizza Descriptions and Pizza Models

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} & \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{vegetarian} & \\ \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{ONIONS} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

‘type’/‘token’ distinction
applies to sentences as well

Combining Constraints

$$\begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{HAM} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{ONIONS} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Combining Constraints

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} & \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{ONIONS} & + \\ \text{HAM} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Combining Constraints

$$\begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{HAM} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thin} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{ONIONS} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$= \phi$$

Combining Constraints

$$\begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{HAM} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & vegetarian \end{bmatrix}$$

$$= \phi$$

Combining Constraints

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & + \\ \text{HAM} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thick} \\ \text{TOPPINGS} & \textit{vegetarian} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$= \phi$$

A New Theory of Pizzas

$$pizza: \begin{bmatrix} \text{CRUST} & \{\text{thick , thin , stuffed}\} \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \textit{topping-set} \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \textit{topping-set} \end{bmatrix}$$

Combining Constraints

$$\begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ONIONS} & + \\ \text{OLIVES} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ONIONS} & - \\ \text{OLIVES} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$=$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ONIONS} & + \\ \text{OLIVES} & - \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ONIONS} & - \\ \text{OLIVES} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Identity Constraints (tags)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} & \\ \text{CRUST} & \text{thin} \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{ONIONS} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{OLIVES} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{ONIONS} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Combining Constraints

$$\begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \boxed{1}\begin{bmatrix}\text{ONIONS} & + \\ \text{OLIVES} & -\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \begin{bmatrix}\text{MUSHROOMS} & - \\ \text{OLIVES} & -\end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$=$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} pizza \\ & \begin{bmatrix}\text{ONIONS} & + \\ \text{OLIVES} & - \\ \text{MUSHROOMS} & -\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}$$

Note

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} & \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \boxed{1}\begin{bmatrix} \text{ONIONS} & + \\ \text{OLIVES} & - \\ \text{MUSHROOMS} & - \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$=$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{pizza} & \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \boxed{1}\begin{bmatrix} \text{ONIONS} & + \\ \text{OLIVES} & - \\ \text{MUSHROOMS} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Combining Constraints

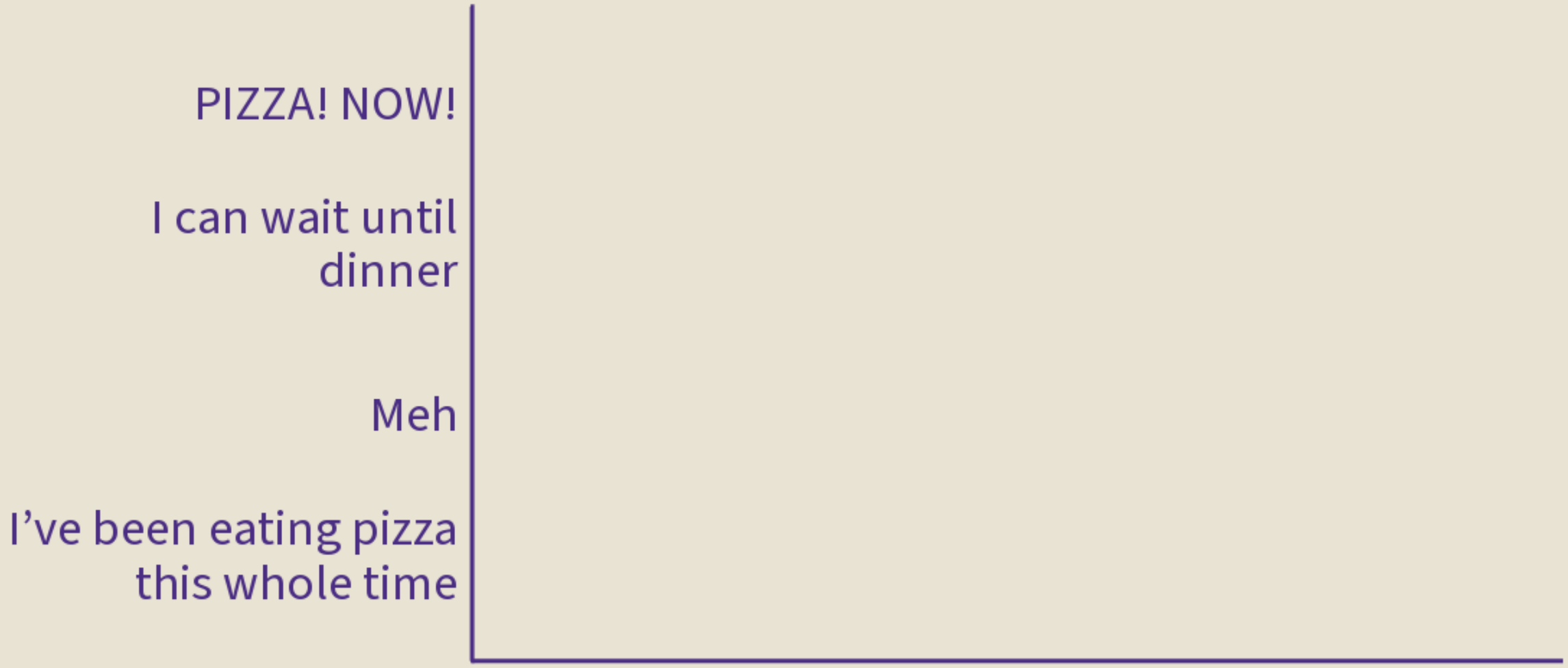
$$\begin{bmatrix} pizza & \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \boxed{1}\begin{bmatrix} \text{ONIONS} & + \\ \text{OLIVES} & + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OTHER-HALF} & \boxed{1}\ vegetarian \end{bmatrix} \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix} pizza & \\ \text{ONE-HALF} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SAUSAGE} & + \\ \text{HAM} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$= \phi$$

When poll is active, respond at **pollev.com/emb**

Text **EMB** to **22333** once to join

How badly do you want pizza now?



Total Results: 0

Why combine constraints?

- The pizza example illustrates how unification can be used to combine information from different sources.
- In our grammar, information will come from lexical entries, grammar rules, and general principles.

Linguistic Application of Feature Structures: Making the Mnemonic Meaningful

What do these CFG categories have in common?

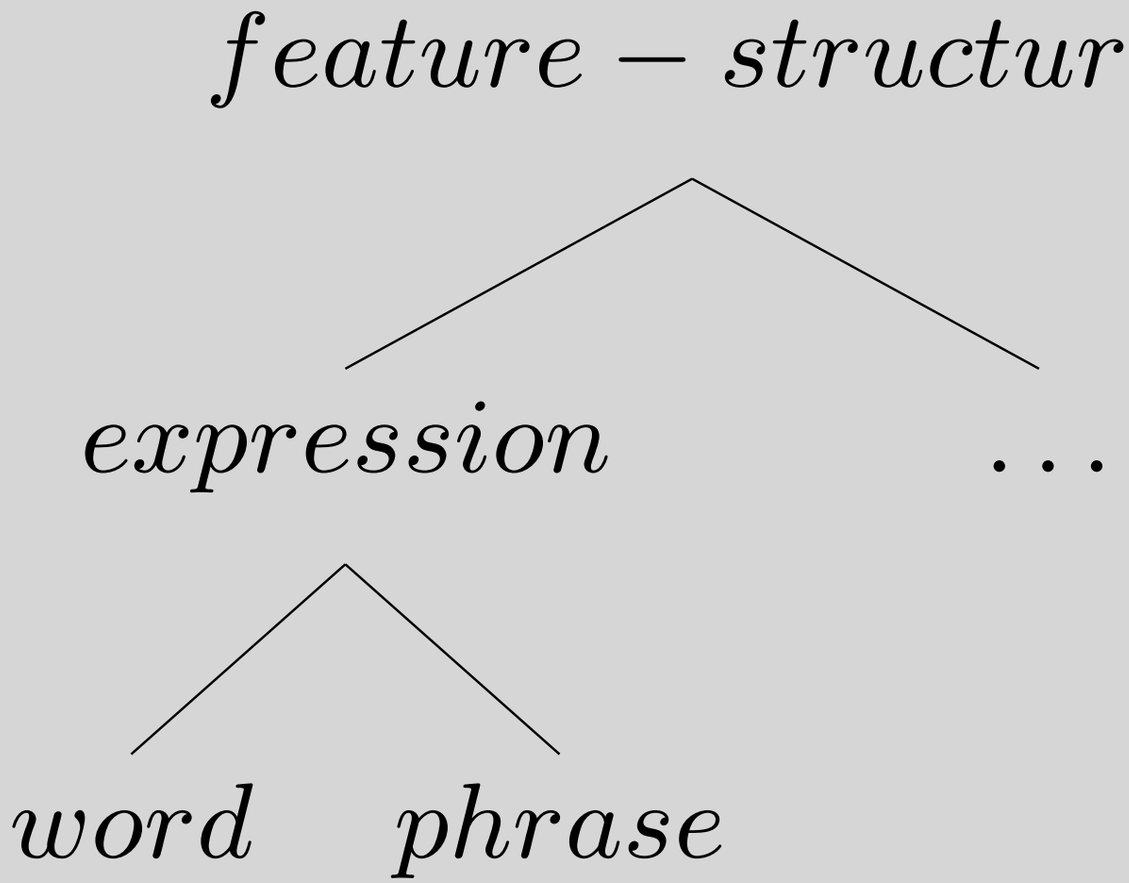
NP & VP: are both phrases

N & V: are both words

NP & N: are both ‘nouny’

VP & V: are both ‘verby’

The Beginnings of Our Type Hierarchy

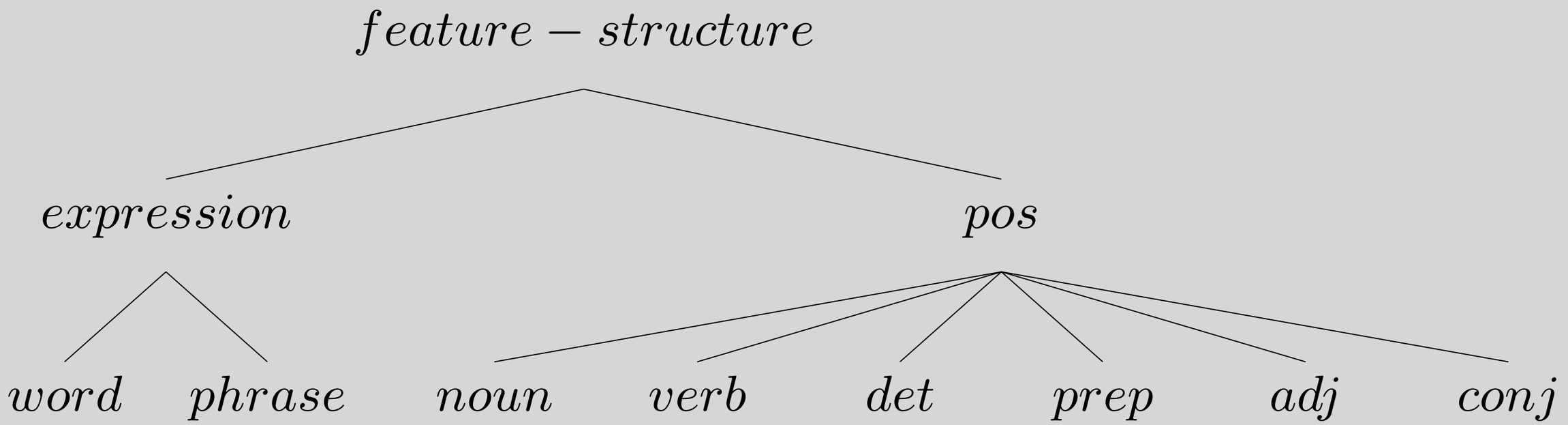


A Feature for Part of Speech

$$\text{NP} = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{noun} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\left\langle \text{bird} \ , \ \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{noun} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$$

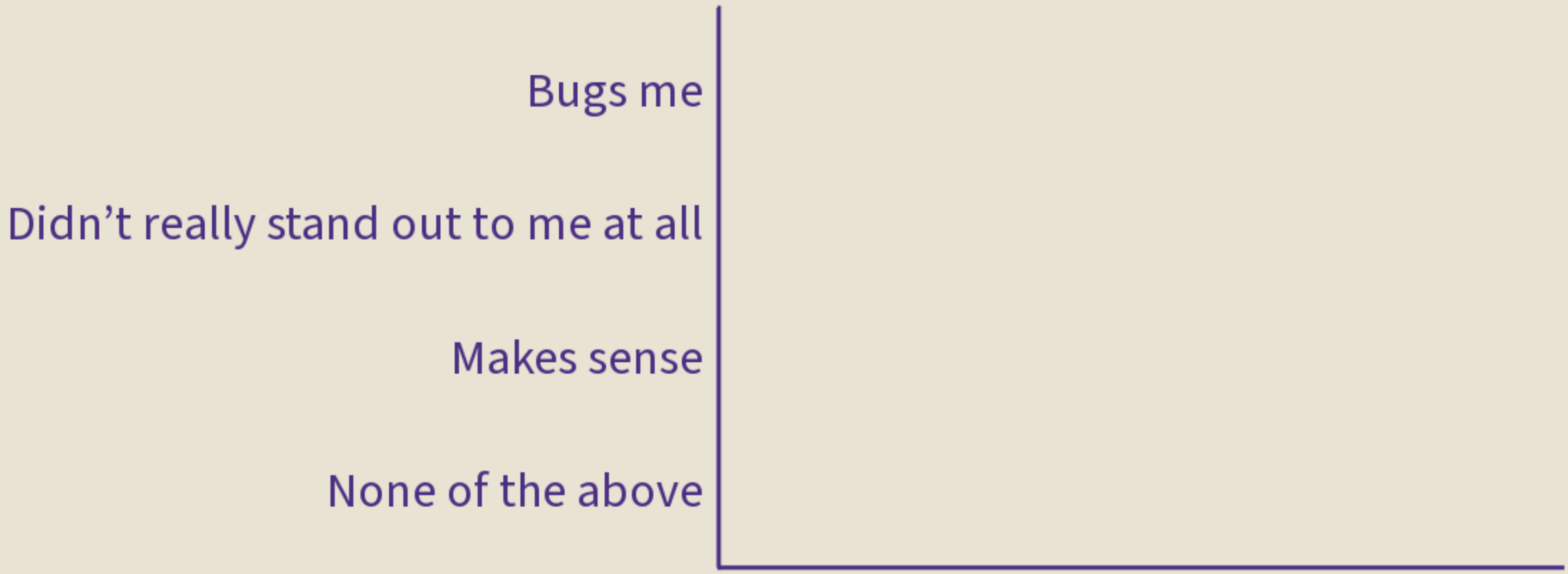
Type Hierarchy for Parts of Speech I



When poll is active, respond at **pollev.com/emb**

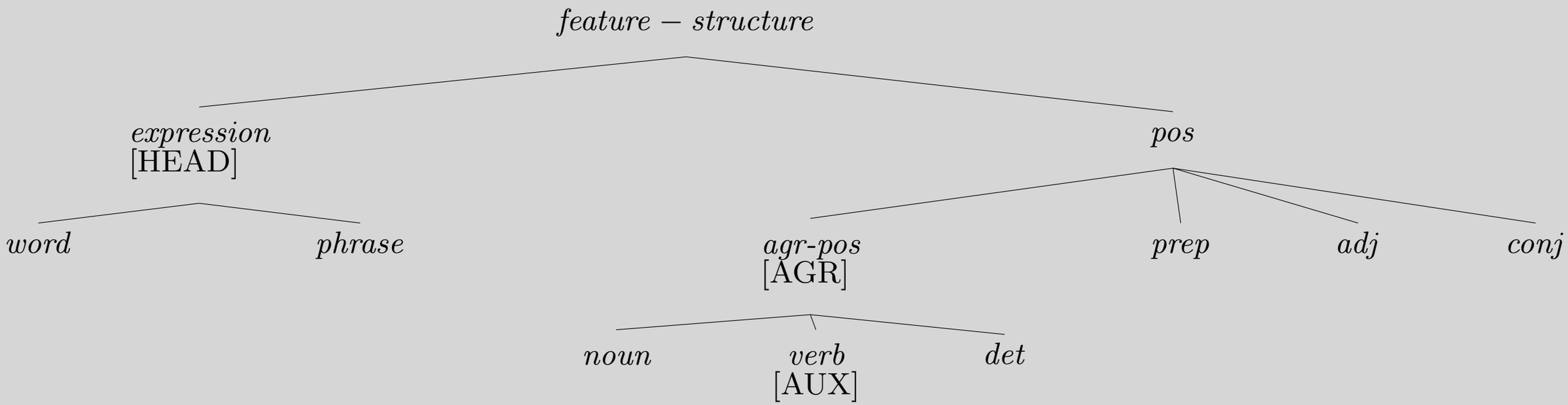
Text **EMB** to **22333** once to join

W Have 'expression' and 'pos' at the same level of that hierarchy



Total Results: 0

Type Hierarchy for Parts of Speech II



A Feature for Valence

$$\text{IV} = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{VAL} & [\text{COMPS} \quad \text{itr}] \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\text{TV} = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{VAL} & [\text{COMPS} \quad \text{str}] \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\text{DTV} = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{VAL} & [\text{COMPS} \quad \text{dtr}] \end{bmatrix}$$

Underspecification

$$\mathrm{V} = \begin{bmatrix} word & \\ \mathrm{HEAD} & verb \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\mathrm{VP} = \begin{bmatrix} phrase & \\ \mathrm{HEAD} & verb \end{bmatrix}$$

$$[\mathrm{HEAD} \quad verb\ ]$$

Another Valence Feature

$$\text{NP} = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{noun} \\ \text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\text{NOM} = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{noun} \\ \text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

SPR and Verbs

$$\mathrm{S} = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} & \\ \mathrm{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \mathrm{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \mathrm{COMPS} & \mathrm{itr} \\ \mathrm{SPR} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

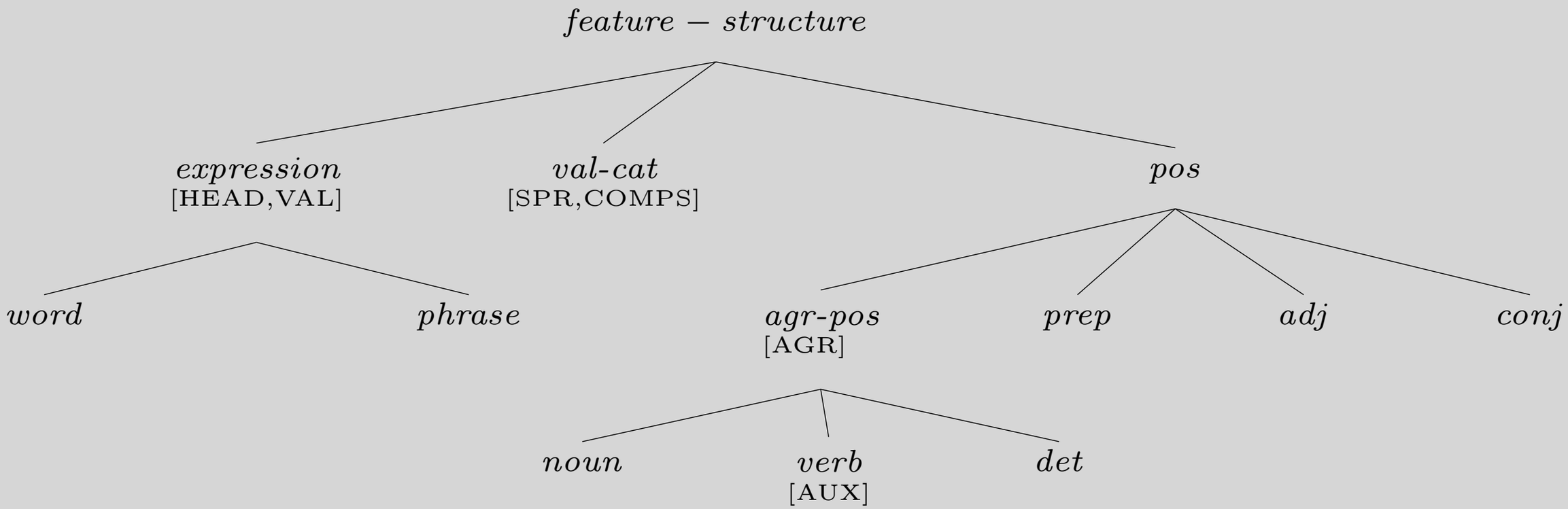
$$\mathrm{VP} = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} & \\ \mathrm{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \mathrm{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \mathrm{COMPS} & \mathrm{itr} \\ \mathrm{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

S and NP

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

- We created a monster
- our creation of a monster

Type Hierarchy So Far



Reformulating the Grammar Rules I
Which Ch 2 rules do these correspond to?

Head-Complement Rule 1:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Head Complement Rule 2:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{str} \\ \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \text{ NP}$$

Head Complement Rule 3:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{dtr} \\ \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \text{ NP NP}$$

Reformulating the Grammar Rules II

Head-Specifier Rule 1:

$$\begin{bmatrix} phrase \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \overset{\text{NP}}{\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGR} \quad \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}} \quad \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} phrase \\ \text{HEAD} \quad \begin{bmatrix} verb \\ \text{AGR} \quad \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Head-Specifier Rule 2:

$$\begin{bmatrix} phrase \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{D} \quad \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} phrase \\ \text{HEAD} & noun \\ \text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Reformulating the Grammar Rules III

Non-Branching NP Rule

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} \\ \text{HEAD} \quad \textit{noun} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Head-Modifier Rule

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \text{PP}$$

Coordination Rule

$$\boxed{1} \rightarrow \boxed{1}^{+} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} \\ \text{HEAD} \quad \textit{conj} \end{bmatrix} \boxed{1}$$

Advantages of the New Formulation

- Subject-verb agreement is stipulated only once (where?)
- Common properties of verbs with different valences are expressed by common features (for example?)
- Parallelisms across phrase types are captured (for example?)

Disadvantages of the New Formulation

- We still have three head complement rules
- We still have two head specifier rules
- We only deal with three verb valences (Which ones? What are some others?)
- The non-branching rule doesn't really do any empirical work
- Others?

Heads

- Intuitive idea: A phrase typically contains a word that determines its most essential properties, including
  - where it occurs in larger phrases, and
  - what its internal structure is
- This is called the head
- The term “head” is used both for the head word in a phrase and for all the intermediate phrases containing that word
- NB: Not all phrases have heads

Formalizing the Notion of Head

- Expressions have a feature HEAD
- HEAD's values are of type *pos*
- For HEAD values of type *agr-pos*, HEAD's value also includes the feature AGR
- Well-formed trees are subject to the Head Feature Principle

The Head Feature Principle

- Intuitive idea: Key properties of phrases are shared with their heads
- The HFP: In any headed phrase, the HEAD value of the mother and the head daughter must be identical.
- Sometimes described in terms of properties "percolating up" or "filtering down", but this is just metaphorical talk

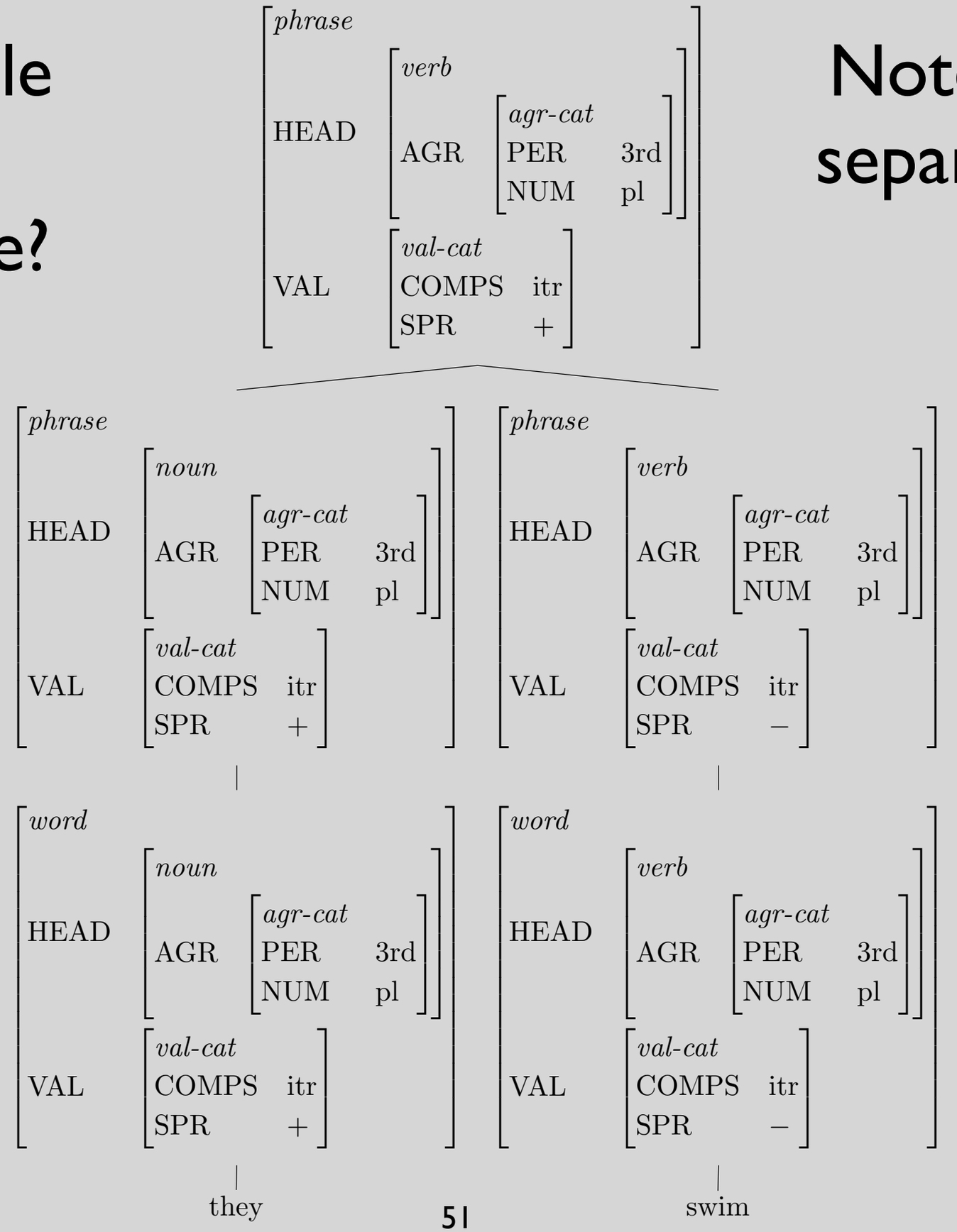
A Tree is Well-Formed if …

- It and each subtree are licensed by a grammar rule or lexical entry
- All general principles (like the HFP) are satisfied.
- NB: Trees are part of our model of the language, so all their features have values (even though we will often be lazy and leave out the values irrelevant to our current point).

Question:

Do phrases that are not headed have HEAD features?

Which rule licenses each node?



Note the three separate uses of DAGs

A Question:

Since the lexical entry for swim below has only [NUM pl] as the value of AGR, how did the tree on the previous slide get [PER 3rd] in the AGR of swim?

$$\left\langle \text{swim} \ , \begin{bmatrix} word & & \\ \text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} verb & \\ \text{AGR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{NUM} & \text{pl} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \text{itr} \\ \text{SPR} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$$

Overview

- Review: problems with CFG
- Modeling
- Feature structures, unification (pizza)
- Features for linguistic description
- Reformulate grammar rules
- Notion of head/headedness
- Licensing of trees
- Next time: Valence and agreement

RQs: Verbiness of S

- Why is VP the head of S?

RQs: Type hierarchy

- What's the point of feat-struc, since it has no constraints?
- In the trees licensed by the grammar, it seems that only word and phrase could be the tree nodes and other types could just be values of some features inside the tree nodes even if some of the types are higher up in the type hierarchy than word and phrase, e.g. val-cat, agr-cat. I am wondering how we should interpret this. Is there any connection between the type hierarchy and the structures of the trees licensed by the grammar with the type hierarchy?

RQs: HEAD v VAL

- Why are HEAD and VALENCE in separate dimensions? Can one list the VAL feature as part of the value of HEAD (like in AGR)? Then we only need the Head Feature Principle to allow the unsaturated COMPS/SPR to project up. And the Valence Principle may not be needed?

- Why is valence its own individual feature. I know it is a feature structure containing features related to combinatorics, but why can't the features contained within the VAL feature structure just be direct features of an expression?

RQs: SPR

- Why is "needs a determiner" represented by a minus (-) and "doesn't need a determiner" represented by a plus (+)? Seems like it should be the other way around?
- Since one of the purposes of SPR is to specify the need for a determiner, why is SPR still necessary to include in the feature structure for 'D'?

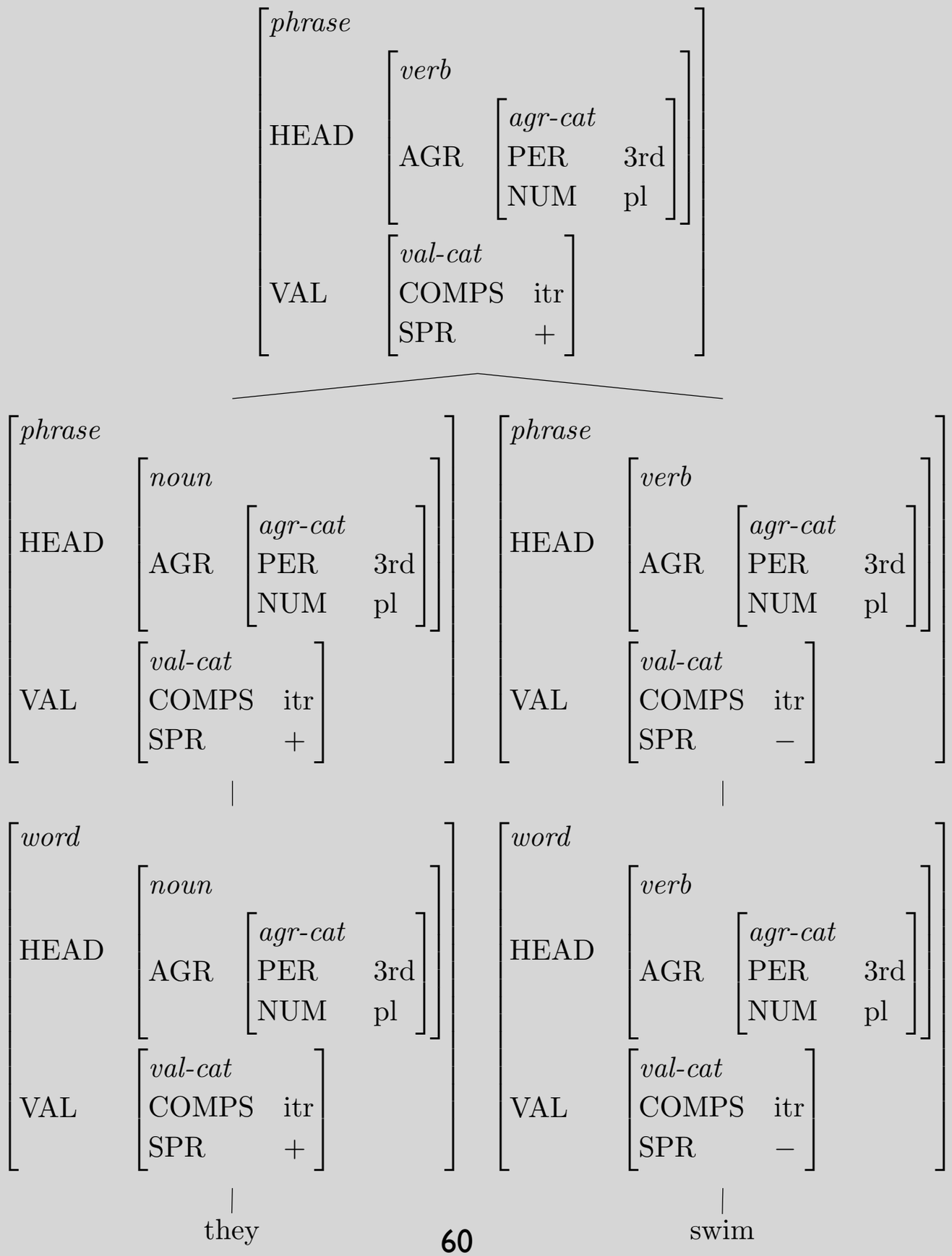
RQs: COMPS

- Why is it necessary to specify the COMPS feature as intransitive for phrase structures if, according to page 65, phrases can never combine with more complements (since they already contain their head's complements)? Is it a result of our domain definition of the val-cat features?

RQs: Underspecified grammar entities v. fully specific trees

- On page 69, "all of the categories of type phrase licensed by our grammar are [COPMS itr], so so specifying the head daughter's type as phrase is sufficient to get the effect of (46a, b) without adding a COMPS value." Then why [COMPS itr] still displays on S, NP, and VP in (45)?

- How are lexical entries and word structures different? On page 79 it seems like the only difference is the presence of categories such as agr-cat even though PER and NUM were represented in both.



RQs: Underspecified grammar entities v. fully specific trees

- On page 70, the feature structures of NP and N are basically the same. Do both have to be written out or is there notation to avoid rewriting largely redundant feature structures?

- Feature hierarchy trees sometimes occur together with their corresponding categories, as used in a CFG (Context-Free Grammar), as illustrated in (68), where we find the root node S and its associated feature structure. When asked to draw a feature hierarchy, is it customary to also specify the category that a structure represents?