

Grammar induction in computers and people

Amy Perfors
IPAM 2007



Expressivity vs. learnability

A fundamental tradeoff

Low expressivity:
easy to learn



High expressivity:
hard to learn



Expressivity vs. learnability

Maps onto modeling choices

Low expressivity:
easy to learn



High expressivity:
hard to learn



Choice of
representation

Expressivity vs. learnability

Maps onto modeling choices

Low expressivity:
easy to learn



High expressivity:
hard to learn



Choice of learning
algorithm

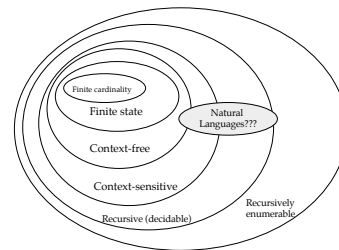
Learnability

Not just about the search algorithm

- Complexity of the space
- Nature of the input
- What constitutes "having learned"
... as well as the capabilities of the learner

Gold's Theorem

Based on positive evidence only, it is impossible to learn a class of languages other than those of finite cardinality



Gold (1967)

Gold's Theorem

Based on positive evidence only, it is impossible to learn a class of languages other than those of finite cardinality

1. Listener "hears" a string
2. Listener decides whether that string is consistent with the grammar they currently think is being used (if it's the first trial, they just pick one randomly).
3. If not, generate a new grammar and go to #2. If so, stay with current grammar and go to #2.

You have learned the language once you never change grammars

Gold (1967)

Gold's Theorem

Based on positive evidence only, it is impossible to learn a class of languages other than those of finite cardinality



You will eventually converge: the negative evidence will rule out incorrect grammars

Gold (1967)

Gold's Theorem

Based on positive evidence only, it is impossible to learn a class of languages other than those of finite cardinality



You will eventually converge: the negative evidence will rule out incorrect grammars



If you guessed a grammar that is too large, you'll never realize it and never change

Gold (1967)

Does this lead to problems?

Kids don't seem to receive (or notice) negative evidence!

Adults tend to only correct the truth of a child's utterance, not the syntax:

Child: Mama isn't boy, he a girl.
Adult: That's right.

When adults (rarely) try to correct a child's syntax, the kid doesn't get it

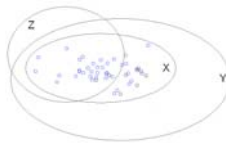
Child: Nobody don't like me.
Mother: No, say "Nobody likes me."
Child: Nobody don't like me.
[dialogue repeated 8 times]
Mother: Now listen carefully, say "NOBODY LIKES ME."
Child: Oh! Nobody don't likeS me.

Source: McNeil

Many ways to address this

(for both kids and computers)

- Change learning criterion
- Add some sort of inductive bias
 - Universal Grammar (what does this mean?)
- Change learning algorithm
 - Probabilistic learner: guaranteed in the limit (Hornig, 1969)




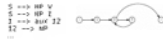


Hornig (1969), Solomonoff (1978)

But how about *not* in the limit?

Grammar induction in the real world





Grammar induction

Computational question at multiple levels

*	Grammar type	
<i>me</i>	←	Specific grammar structure
<i>Mark Johnson</i>	{	Parameters of specific grammar
		<div style="font-size: small; margin-bottom: 5px;"> $S \rightarrow NP V$ $I \rightarrow NP I$ $I2 \rightarrow NP I2$ </div> 
		<div style="font-size: x-small; margin-bottom: 5px;"> $NP \rightarrow NP V$ $NP \rightarrow NP I$ $NP \rightarrow NP I2$ </div> 
		Parsing, prediction of the dataset 

Grammar induction

Computational question at multiple levels

	Grammar type	
<i>This folk</i>	←	Specific grammar structure
<i>Johnson, Yuille</i>	{	Parameters of specific grammar
		<div style="font-size: small; margin-bottom: 5px;"> $S \rightarrow NP V$ $I \rightarrow NP I$ $I2 \rightarrow NP I2$ </div> 
		<div style="font-size: x-small; margin-bottom: 5px;"> $NP \rightarrow NP V$ $NP \rightarrow NP I$ $NP \rightarrow NP I2$ </div> 
		Parsing, prediction of the dataset 

Plan

Unsupervised learning of grammars, by complexity

Finite-state grammars

- N-gram models (Goldwater, Griffiths, & Johnson, 2006)
 - Word segmentation and morphology
- HMMs: Bayesian model merging (Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994)
 - Phonetic learning
- HMMs: Dirichlet prior (Goldwater & Griffiths, 2007)
 - Syntactic categories

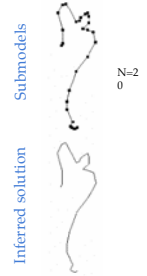
Structured grammars

- Bayesian model merging: PCFGs (Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994)
- Constituent-context model (Klein & Manning, 2002)
- Dependency grammars (Carroll & Charniak, 1992)
- Combined CCM & Dependency grammars (Klein & Manning, 2004)

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Basic idea

- Constructed from subcomponents
 - With only a little data, the subcomponents are the datapoints themselves (plus slight generalization)
 - Construct more complex models by merging pairs of simple components
- Merging...
 - Try to do efficiently by sacrificing as little likelihood as possible each time
 - Put prior so know when to stop



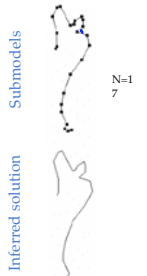
Submodels N=2
Inferred solution 0

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Basic idea

- Constructed from subcomponents
 - With only a little data, the subcomponents are the datapoints themselves (plus slight generalization)
 - Construct more complex models by merging pairs of simple components
- Merging...
 - Try to do efficiently by sacrificing as little likelihood as possible each time
 - Put prior so know when to stop



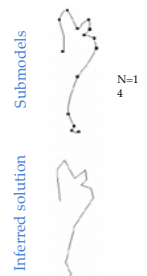
Submodels N=1
Inferred solution 7

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Basic idea

- Constructed from subcomponents
 - With only a little data, the subcomponents are the datapoints themselves (plus slight generalization)
 - Construct more complex models by merging pairs of simple components
- Merging...
 - Try to do efficiently by sacrificing as little likelihood as possible each time
 - Put prior so know when to stop



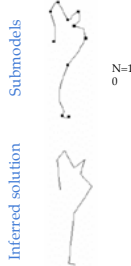
Submodels N=1
Inferred solution 4

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Basic idea

- Constructed from subcomponents
 - With only a little data, the submodels are the datapoints themselves (plus slight generalization)
 - Construct more complex models by merging pairs of simple components
- Merging...
 - Try to do efficiently by sacrificing as little likelihood as possible each time
 - Put prior so know when to stop



Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Notation

Set of states Q

Initial state q_I , Final state q_F



Set of probability parameters:

Transition probabilities $p(q \rightarrow q')$: the probability that state q' follows q

Emission probabilities $p(q | \sigma)$: the probability that symbol σ is emitted when in state q

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Model details

Likelihood: probability of a string x is the sum of the probabilities of all paths that generate x

$$P(x|M) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} \sum_{\sigma_1, \dots, \sigma_n} p(\sigma_1 | q_I) p(\sigma_2 | q_1) \dots p(\sigma_n | q_{n-1}) p(q_n | \sigma_n) p(q_n | q_F)$$

Prior: structural vs. parameter

Parameters: Dirichlet distribution over each set of multinomial parameters (transition and emission probabilities)

$$P(\theta_M^q | M_G, M_S^q) = \frac{1}{B(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_1)} \prod_{j=1}^{n_j^{(q)}} \theta_j^{\alpha_j - 1} \frac{1}{B(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)} \prod_{j=1}^{n_j^{(q)}} \theta_j^{\alpha_j - 1}$$

Structural: Favor smaller number of states Q

$$P(M_S) \propto C^{-|Q|}$$

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Algorithm

1) Construct an HMM M_0 that produces exactly the input strings

2) Loop:

- Compute set of candidate merges K among the states of current HMM, M_i
- For each candidate k , compute the merged model $k(M_i)$, and its posterior probability $p(k(M_i) | X)$
- Let k^* be the merge that maximizes $p(k | M_i | X)$. Then let $M_{i+1} = k^*(M_i)$
- If $P(M_{i+1} | X) < P(M_i | X)$, return M_i as the induced model

Merges combine pairs of states: combined emission and transition probabilities are weighted averages of the corresponding distributions for the states that have been merged

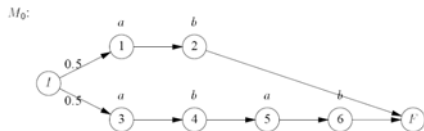
Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Example

Language: $\{ab\}^+$

Sentences: $ab, abab$



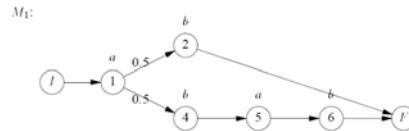
Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Example

Language: $\{ab\}^+$

Sentences: $ab, abab$

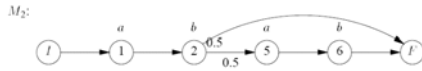


Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Example

Language: $\{ab\}^+$
Sentences: $ab, abab$

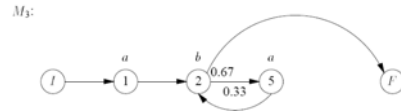


Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Example

Language: $\{ab\}^+$
Sentences: $ab, abab$

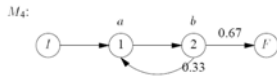


Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Example

Language: $\{ab\}^+$
Sentences: $ab, abab$



Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Why are simpler models favored?

Occam factor: Models with fewer states have fewer parameters, and therefore they make tighter predictions.

More effective data: When two states are merged, their probabilities are combined – so each state gets to effectively “see” more data

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Application: Phonetic data

TIMIT: Collection of hand-labeled speech samples compiled for the purpose of training speaker-independent phonetic recognition systems

Contains acoustic data segmented by words and aligned with discrete labels from an alphabet of 62 phones

Goal is to construct a probabilistic model for each word in the database, representing its phonetic structure as accurately as possible



Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Application: Phonetic data

Initial HMM

Realizations of the word “often”

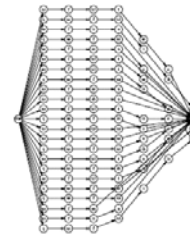


Figure 10.1 Initial HMM structure for 17 frames of the word often. The number of states in the graph is 17 times the number of states in the HMM.

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: HMMs

Application: Phonetic data

Learned HMM

Realizations of the word "often"

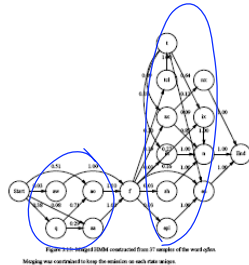


Figure 10.10: HMM learned from 17 samples of the word often. We have circled in blue the states in each realization.

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

More recent models of HMM learning

Application: Part-of-speech (POS) tagging

More recent models of HMM learning

Application: Part-of-speech (POS) tagging

Identifies a distribution over latent variables directly, without ever fixing particular values for the model parameters:

$$P(\mathbf{t}|\mathbf{w}) = \int P(\mathbf{t}|\mathbf{w}, \theta) P(\theta|\mathbf{w}) d\theta$$

w = the linguistic input; v = parameters; t = the hidden structure

Symmetric Dirichlet prior over the transition and output distributions

$$\begin{aligned} t_i | t_{i-1} = t, t_{i-2} = t', \tau^{(t,t')} &\sim \text{Mult}(\tau^{(t,t')}) \\ w_i | t_i = t, \omega^{(t)} &\sim \text{Mult}(\omega^{(t)}) \\ \tau^{(t,t')} | \alpha &\sim \text{Dirichlet}(\alpha) \\ \omega^{(t)} | \beta &\sim \text{Dirichlet}(\beta) \end{aligned}$$

Goldwater & Griffiths, 2007

More recent models of HMM learning

POS tagging: Results

Variation of information (VI): The VI between two clusterings C (the gold standard) and C' (the found clustering) of a set of data points is a sum of the amount of information lost in moving from C to C'

$$VI(C,C') = H(C) + H(C') - 2I(C,C')$$

(High VI indicates different clustering relative to C)

Vary the tag information given to the model: Contains tag information only for words that appear at least d times in the training corpus (the first 24K words of the WSJ corpus)

Goldwater & Griffiths, 2007

More recent models of HMM learning

POS tagging: Results

Accuracy	Value of β \rightarrow tag information					
	1	2	3	5	10	∞
random	69.6	56.7	51.0	45.2	38.6	
MLHMM	83.2	70.6	65.5	59.0	50.9	
BHMM1	86.0	76.4	71.0	64.3	58.0	
BHMM2	87.3	79.6	65.0	59.2	49.7	
$\sigma <$	.2	.8	.6	.3	1.4	
VI						
random	2.65	3.96	4.38	4.75	5.13	7.29
MLHMM	1.13	2.51	3.00	3.41	3.89	6.50
BHMM1	1.09	2.44	2.82	3.19	3.47	4.30
BHMM2	1.04	1.78	2.31	2.49	2.97	4.04
$\sigma <$	.02	.03	.04	.03	.07	.17
Corpus stats						
% ambig	49.0	61.3	66.3	70.9	75.8	100
tags/token	1.9	4.4	5.5	6.8	8.3	17

Goldwater & Griffiths, 2007

Plan

Unsupervised learning of grammars, by complexity

Finite-state grammars

- N-gram models (Goldwater, Griffiths, & Johnson, 2006)
 - Word segmentation and morphology
- HMMs: Bayesian model merging (Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994)
 - Phonetic learning
- HMMs: Dirichlet prior (Goldwater & Griffiths, 2007)
 - Syntactic categories

Structured grammars

- Bayesian model merging: PCFGs (Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994)
- Constituent-context model (Klein & Manning, 2002)
- Dependency grammars (Carroll & Charniak, 1992)
- Combined CCM & Dependency grammars (Klein & Manning, 2004)

Bayesian model merging: PCFGs

Notation

Set of nonterminal symbols N
 Set of terminal symbols
 Start nonterminal S
 Set of productions or rules R
 Production probabilities $p(r)$ for all rules r

0.6 $S \rightarrow NP VP$
 0.4 $S \rightarrow NP I$
 0.3 $NP \rightarrow N$
 0.4 $NP \rightarrow DN$
 0.3 $NP \rightarrow Pro$

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: PCFGs

Merging operator

Replaces two existing nonterminals X_1 and X_2 with a single new nonterminal Y .

Has a twofold effect on grammars:

1) RHS occurrences of X_1 and X_2 replaced by Y

$$\begin{array}{l} Z_1 \rightarrow \lambda_1 X_1 \mu_1 (e_1) \\ Z_1 \rightarrow \lambda_2 X_2 \mu_2 (e_2) \\ \Downarrow \text{merge}(X_1, X_2) = Y \\ Z_1 \rightarrow \lambda_1 Y \mu_1 (e_1) \\ Z_2 \rightarrow \lambda_2 Y \mu_2 (e_2) \end{array}$$

2) The union of LHSs X_1 and X_2 replaced by Y

$$\begin{array}{l} X_1 \rightarrow \lambda_1 (e_1) \\ X_2 \rightarrow \lambda_2 (e_2) \\ \Downarrow \text{merge}(X_1, X_2) = Y \\ Y \rightarrow \lambda_1 (e_1) \\ \quad \rightarrow \lambda_2 (e_2) \end{array}$$

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: PCFGs

Nonterminal chunking

Merging alone cannot create CFG productions with the usual embedding structure, so we add a chunking operator as well

Given an ordered sequence of nonterminals $X_1 X_2 \dots X_k$, create a new nonterminal Y that expands to $X_1 X_2 \dots X_k$, and replace occurrences of $X_1 X_2 \dots X_k$ on the RHS with Y

$$\begin{array}{l} Z \rightarrow \lambda X_1 X_2 \dots X_k \mu (e) \\ \Downarrow \text{chunk}(X_1 X_2 \dots X_k) = Y \\ Z \rightarrow \lambda Y \mu (e) \\ Y \rightarrow X_1 X_2 \dots X_k (e') \end{array}$$

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: PCFGs

More model details

Likelihood: probability of a string x is the sum of the probabilities of all paths that generate x

$$P(x|M) = \sum_{\alpha \in \mathcal{A}^*} p(\alpha \rightarrow x) p(\alpha_1 \mid x_1) p(\alpha_2 \mid x_2) \dots p(\alpha_n \mid x_n) p(\alpha_n \rightarrow \epsilon)$$

Prior:

Parameters on productions: Dirichlet distribution over the multinomial describing each nonterminal

Structural: Description length (e.g., length of each production assumed to have been drawn from a Poisson distribution)

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

Bayesian model merging: PCFGs

Performance: Induction is *very* difficult

Can try to improve the greedy search in a number of ways:

It still isn't very good – the size of the space is enormous, and has many local minima

Horning (1969) – suggested an algorithm, but it was an enumeration algorithm



Structure induction for PCFGs is a very difficult problem

Stolcke & Omohundro, 1994

One possible solution: induce constituency more directly

Constituent-Context Model (CCM)

Explicitly models constituent yields and contexts

System exploits the fact that long constituents often have short, common equivalents (proforms) that appear in similar context and whose constituency is similar (or guaranteed)

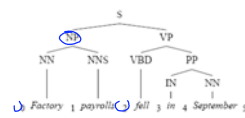
Pronoun aux adj
 Det n aux adj
 Det n prep det n aux adj

Model transfers the constituency of a sequence directly to its containing context, which is intended to then pressure new sequences that occur in that context into being parsed as constituents in the next round

Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Representation

Model captures all *spans* (contiguous subsequences) of a sentence, and each span's *context* (the terminals preceding and following it)

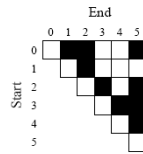


Span	Label	Constituent	Context
(0,5)	S	NN NNS VBD IN NN	o - o
(0,2)	NP	NN NNS	o - VBD
(2,5)	VP	VBD IN NN	NNS - o
(3,5)	PP	IN NN	VBD - o
(0,1)	NN	NN	o - NNS
(1,2)	NNS	NNS	NN - VBD
(2,3)	VBD	VBD	NNS - IN
(3,4)	IN	IN	VBD - NN
(4,5)	NN	NN	IN - o

Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Representation

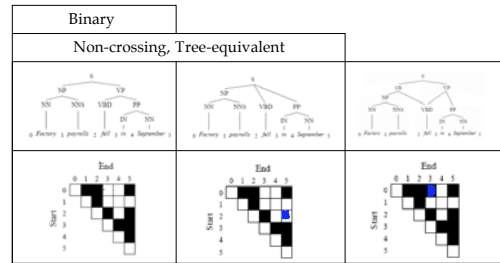
The *bracketing* B of a sentence indicates which spans are constituents



Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Representation

Different kinds of bracketings:

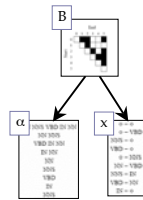


Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Generative Model

Choose a bracketing B according to some distribution P(B) and then generate the sentence S given B

The context and yield (content) of each span are independent of each other, and generated conditionally on the constituency of that span



$$\begin{aligned}
 P(S|B) &= \prod_{(i,j) \in \text{spans}(S)} P(\alpha_{ij}, x_{ij} | B_{ij}) \\
 &= \prod_{(i,j)} P(\alpha_{ij} | B_{ij}) P(x_{ij} | B_{ij})
 \end{aligned}$$

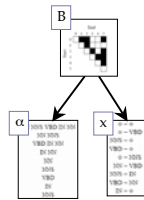
Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Generative Model

Choose a bracketing B according to some distribution P(B) and then generate the sentence S given B

$P(B) = \text{uniform}$

Soft clustering with two equal-prior classes (constituents & distituent)



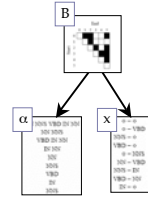
Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Generative Model

Choose a bracketing B according to some distribution $P(B)$ and then generate the sentence S given B

$P(B)$ = uniform over binary tree-equivalent bracketings

This turns distributional clustering into tree induction



Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Inducing structure

EM: Sentences S are observed, bracketings B are unobserved. Parameters of the model are the constituency-conditional yield and context distributions ($P(\alpha|b)$ and $P(x|b)$, respectively)

E-Step: Find the conditional completion likelihoods $P(B|S, \Theta)$ according to the current Θ .

M-Step: Fix $P(B|S, \Theta)$ and find the Θ' which maximizes $\sum_B P(B|S, \Theta) \log P(S, B|\Theta')$.

Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Results

Corpus: 7422 sentences, Penn treebank Wall Street Journal that contains no more than 10 words
Evaluation: F1 (harmonic mean of precision and recall)

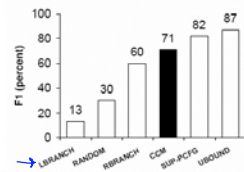


Figure 4: F1 for various models on WSJ-10.

Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Extension

What if the model isn't given the POS tags?
Used the baseline method of word-type clustering (similar to Finch et. Al. (1993))

Performance is worse, but still better than next best (right-branching)

Tags	Precision	Recall	F1	NP Recall	PP Recall	VP Recall	S Recall
Treebank	63.8	80.2	71.1	83.4	78.5	76.6	40.7
Induced	56.8	71.1	63.2	52.8	56.2	90.0	60.5

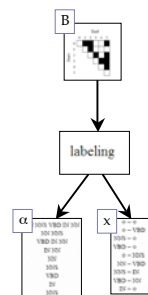
Klein & Manning (2002)

CCM: Generative Model with multiple classes

Choose a bracketing B according to some distribution $P(B)$ and then generate the sentence S given B

Labeling is generated from that bracketing

The context and yield (content) of each span are independent of each other, and generated conditionally on the constituency of that span



Klein & Manning (2002)

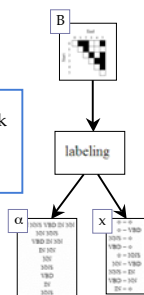
CCM: Generative Model with multiple classes

Choose a bracketing B according to some distribution $P(B)$ and then generate the sentence S given B

Labeling is generated from that bracketing

This doesn't actually work that well: F1 = 70.9 (compared to 71.1)

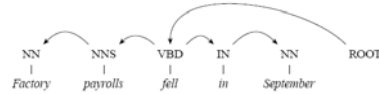
The context and yield (content) of each span are independent of each other, and generated conditionally on the constituency of that span



Klein & Manning (2002)

Another solution: use a different representation

Dependency grammars



A *dependency* d is an arc $\langle h, a \rangle$ of a head and argument, each of which is a word in a sentence s

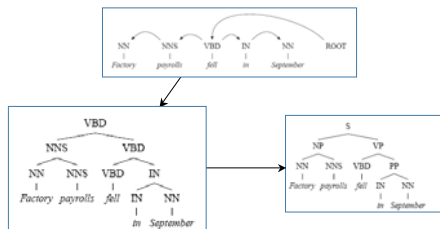
A *dependency structure* D over a sentence is a set of dependencies that form a planar, acyclic graph rooted at ROOT

Every D has an associated graph G :



Dependency grammars

Isomorphic (in terms of strong generative capacity) to a restricted form of phrase structure grammar (Miller, 1999)



Unsupervised Dependency Parsing

Why use dependency grammars?

- 1) Most state-of-the-art supervised parsers make use of specific lexical information in addition to word-class level information: perhaps lexical information could be a useful source of information for unsupervised models
- 2) A central motivation for using tree structures is to enable the extraction of dependencies, and it might be more advantageous to do so directly
- 3) For languages like Chinese, which have few function words, and for which the definition of lexical categories is much less clear, dependency structures may be easier to detect

Klein & Manning (2004)

Inducing dependency grammars (DEP-PCFG)

Algorithm

- 0) Divide the corpus into two parts, the rule corpus and the training corpus
- 1) For all sentences in the rule corpus, generate all rules which might be used to generate (and/or parse) the sentence
- 2) Estimate the probabilities for the rules
- 3) Using the training corpus, improve our estimate of the probabilities
- 4) Delete all rules with small enough probability. What remains is the grammar

Carroll & Charniak (1992)

Inducing dependency grammars (DEP-PCFG)

Difficulties

- 1) There are way too many possible (CFG) rules that could lead to a sentence: a potentially infinite set of nonterminals
 - That's why we use a dependency grammar: it limits it to $n(2^{n-1}+1)$, where n is length of sentence, if all terminals are distinct
- 2) Even with a dependency grammar, this is a LOT of sentences. For instance, a sentence with 41 terminal symbols would have

$$(41(2^{40} + 1) \approx 41((2^{10})^4) \approx 40(10^3)^4 \approx 4 \cdot 10^{13}$$
- 3) Deal with this by ordering sentences by length (since children see simpler language before more complex language). Once a rule has been eliminated, don't consider it again

Carroll & Charniak (1992)

DEP-PCFG: Experiment

Corpus generated by artificial grammar

1.0	S	→	*	1.0	*	→	\overline{verb}	.
1.0	\overline{pron}	→	\overline{pron}	.1	\overline{noun}	→	\overline{noun}	\overline{noun}
.3	\overline{noun}	→	\overline{det} \overline{noun}	.1	\overline{noun}	→	\overline{det} \overline{adj} \overline{noun}	
.2	\overline{noun}	→	\overline{det} \overline{noun} \overline{prep}	.2	\overline{noun}	→	\overline{det} \overline{noun} \overline{wh}	
.05	\overline{noun}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{prep}	.05	\overline{noun}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{wh}	
1.0	\overline{adj}	→	\overline{adj}	1.0	\overline{det}	→	\overline{det}	
1.0	\overline{wh}	→	\overline{wh} \overline{verb}	.7	\overline{prep}	→	\overline{prep} \overline{noun}	
.3	\overline{prep}	→	\overline{prep} \overline{pron}	.1	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{verb}	
.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{verb}	.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{pron} \overline{verb}	
.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{verb} \overline{noun}	.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{verb} \overline{pron}	
.1	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{verb} \overline{noun}	.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{pron} \overline{verb} \overline{noun}	
.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{verb} \overline{pron}	.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{pron} \overline{verb} \overline{noun} \overline{noun}	
.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{verb} \overline{noun} \overline{noun}	.1	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{verb} \overline{noun} \overline{prep}	
.1	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{pron} \overline{verb} \overline{noun} \overline{prep}	.1	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{verb} \overline{pron} \overline{prep}	
.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{verb} \overline{prep}	.05	\overline{verb}	→	\overline{pron} \overline{verb} \overline{prep}	

Carroll & Charniak (1992)

DEP-PCFG: Results

“Uniformly awful”

With 300 different random starting points, ended up with 300 different local minima

One segment of one grammar:

.220	\overline{pron}	→	\overline{pron} \overline{verb}	.117	\overline{pron}	→	\overline{det} \overline{verb} \overline{pron}
.214	\overline{pron}	→	\overline{prep} \overline{pron}	.038	\overline{pron}	→	\overline{pron} \overline{verb} \overline{noun}
.139	\overline{pron}	→	\overline{pron} \overline{verb} \overline{det}	.023	\overline{pron}	→	\overline{noun} \overline{verb} \overline{pron}
.118	\overline{pron}	→	\overline{verb} \overline{pron}	.013	\overline{pron}	→	\overline{pron} \overline{verb} \overline{det} \overline{det}

Carroll & Charniak (1992)

DEP-PCFG: Results

“Uniformly awful”

Tried to make it better by giving the grammar a chart limiting what possible nonterminals could appear on the right-hand side of certain rules

lhs	noun	verb	pron	det	prep	adj	wh	.
noun	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
verb	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
pron	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
det	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	o
prep	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
adj	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o
wh	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o

Figure 9: For each left-hand side, non-terminals allowed on right

It helped, but they didn't really quantify how much

Carroll & Charniak (1992)

DEP-PCFG: Results

Why didn't this work well?

- 1) Random initialization is not good because the parameter space is riddled with local minima; try it with a uniform initialization
- 2) Dependency grammars are structurally unable to distinguish order information (e.g., whether subject or object should be attached to the verb first) – and therefore they are not that great at constituency
- 3) It did not encode valence: for instance, can learn that nouns to the left of a verb attach to it... but if given a NOUN NOUN VERB sequence, will think that both nouns attach to the verb. Cannot encode that verbs have exactly one subject.

Carroll & Charniak (1992)

DMV: The generative model

Includes a model of valence

Recursive generation process, beginning at the head h , defined according to the following rules:

For each direction L and R from h

- With $P(\text{STOP} | h, \text{dir}, \text{adj})$ stop generating additional arguments
 - If don't stop, generate a new argument a with $P(a | h, \text{dir})P(D(a))$
- These probability factors are the model's parameters



Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV: The generative model

Recursive generation process, beginning at the head h , defined according to the following rules:

For each direction L and R from h

- With $P(\text{STOP} | h, \text{dir}, \text{adj})$ stop generating additional arguments
 - If don't stop, generate a new argument a with $P(a | h, \text{dir})P(D(a))$
- These probability factors are the model's parameters



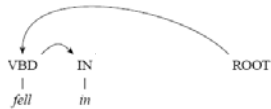
Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV: The generative model

Recursive generation process, beginning at the head h , defined according to the following rules:

For each direction L and R from h

- With $P(\text{STOP} | h, \text{dir}, \text{adj})$ stop generating additional arguments
 - If don't stop, generate a new argument a with $P(a | h, \text{dir})P(D(a))$
- These probability factors are the model's parameters



Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV: The generative model

Recursive generation process, beginning at the head h , defined according to the following rules:

For each direction L and R from h

- With $P(\text{STOP} | h, \text{dir}, \text{adj})$ stop generating additional arguments
 - If don't stop, generate a new argument a with $P(a | h, \text{dir})P(D(a))$
- These probability factors are the model's parameters



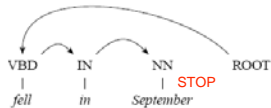
Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV: The generative model

Recursive generation process, beginning at the head h , defined according to the following rules:

For each direction L and R from h

- With $P(\text{STOP} | h, \text{dir}, \text{adj})$ stop generating additional arguments
 - If don't stop, generate a new argument a with $P(a | h, \text{dir})P(D(a))$
- These probability factors are the model's parameters



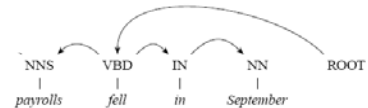
Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV: The generative model

Recursive generation process, beginning at the head h , defined according to the following rules:

For each direction L and R from h

- With $P(\text{STOP} | h, \text{dir}, \text{adj})$ stop generating additional arguments
 - If don't stop, generate a new argument a with $P(a | h, \text{dir})P(D(a))$
- These probability factors are the model's parameters



Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV: The generative model

Recursive generation process, beginning at the head h , defined according to the following rules:

For each direction L and R from h

- With $P(\text{STOP} | h, \text{dir}, \text{adj})$ stop generating additional arguments
 - If don't stop, generate a new argument a with $P(a | h, \text{dir})P(D(a))$
- These probability factors are the model's parameters



Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV: The generative model

Recursive generation process, beginning at the head h , defined according to the following rules:

For each direction L and R from h

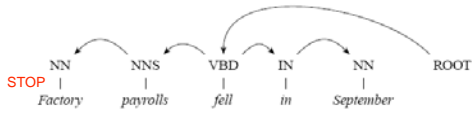
- With $P(\text{STOP} | h, \text{dir}, \text{adj})$ stop generating additional arguments
 - If don't stop, generate a new argument a with $P(a | h, \text{dir})P(D(a))$
- These probability factors are the model's parameters



Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV: The generative model

Use inside-outside algorithm for reestimation of the parameters (the probability factors for STOP and CHOOSE)



Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV: Experiment

Model	UP	UR	UF ₁	Dir	Undir
English (WSJ10 - 7422 Sentences)					
LBRANCH/RHEAD	25.6	32.6	28.7	33.6	56.7
RANDOM	31.0	39.4	34.7	30.1	45.6
RBRANCH/LHEAD	55.1	70.0	61.7	24.0	55.9
DMV	46.6	59.2	52.1	43.2	62.7
CCM	64.2	81.6	71.9	23.8	43.3
UBOUND	78.8	100.0	88.1	100.0	100.0
German (NEGRA10 - 2175 Sentences)					
LBRANCH/RHEAD	27.4	48.8	35.1	32.6	51.2
RANDOM	27.9	49.6	35.7	21.8	41.5
RBRANCH/LHEAD	33.8	60.1	43.3	21.0	49.9
DMV	38.4	69.5	49.6	40.0	57.8
CCM	48.1	85.5	61.6	23.5	44.9
UBOUND	56.3	100.0	72.1	100.0	100.0
Chinese (CTB10 - 2437 Sentences)					
LBRANCH/RHEAD	26.3	48.8	34.2	30.2	43.9
RANDOM	27.3	50.7	35.5	35.9	47.3
RBRANCH/LHEAD	29.0	53.9	37.8	14.2	41.5
DMV	35.9	66.7	46.7	42.5	54.2
CCM	34.6	64.3	45.0	23.8	40.5
UBOUND	53.9	100.0	70.1	100.0	100.0

Klein & Manning (2004)

Why not combine models?

Their strengths are complementary

Both CCM and DMV can be seen as models over lexicalized trees

Combine them by scoring each tree with the product of all the probabilities from the individual models

Klein & Manning (2004)

DMV-CCM: Results

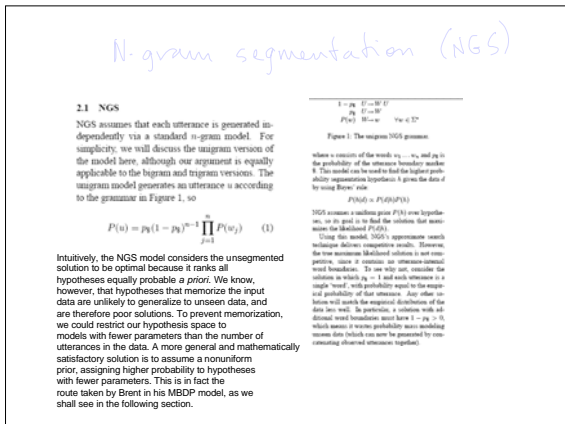
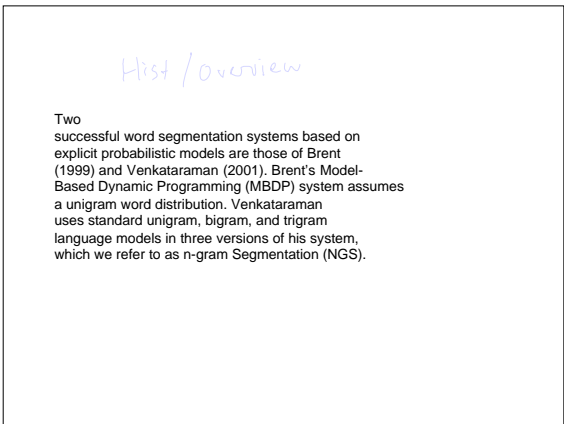
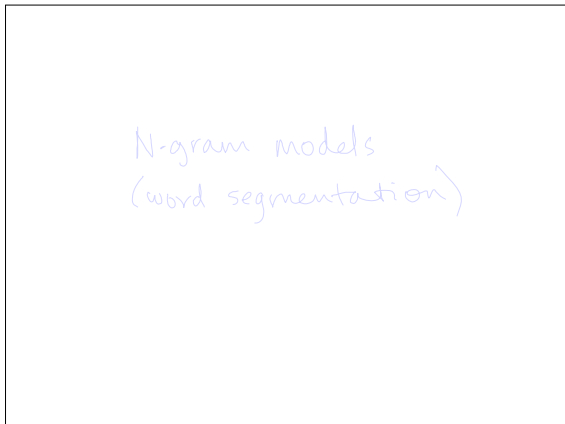
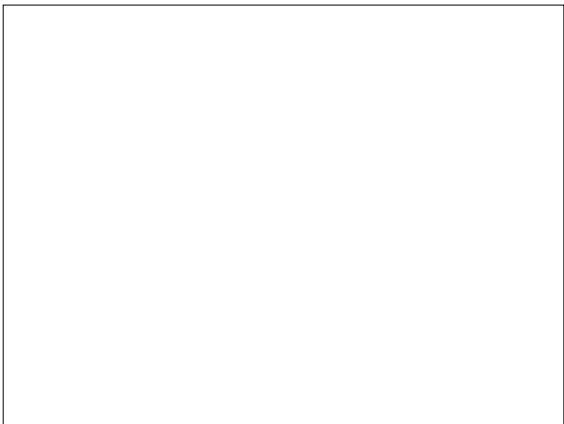
Model	UP	UR	UF ₁	Dir	Undir
English (WSJ10 - 7422 Sentences)					
LBRANCH/RHEAD	25.6	32.6	28.7	33.6	56.7
RANDOM	31.0	39.4	34.7	30.1	45.6
RBRANCH/LHEAD	55.1	70.0	61.7	24.0	55.9
DMV	46.6	59.2	52.1	43.2	62.7
CCM	64.2	81.6	71.9	23.8	43.3
DMV+CCM (POS)	69.3	88.0	77.0	42.5	64.5
DMV+CCM (DISTR.)	65.2	82.8	72.9	42.3	60.4
UBOUND	78.8	100.0	88.1	100.0	100.0
German (NEGRA10 - 2175 Sentences)					
LBRANCH/RHEAD	27.4	48.8	35.1	32.6	51.2
RANDOM	27.9	49.6	35.7	21.8	41.5
RBRANCH/LHEAD	33.8	60.1	43.3	21.0	49.9
DMV	38.4	69.5	49.5	40.0	57.8
CCM	48.1	85.5	61.6	23.5	44.9
DMV+CCM	49.6	89.7	63.9	50.6	64.7
UBOUND	56.3	100.0	72.1	100.0	100.0
Chinese (CTB10 - 2437 Sentences)					
LBRANCH/RHEAD	26.3	48.8	34.2	30.2	43.9
RANDOM	27.3	50.7	35.5	35.9	47.3
RBRANCH/LHEAD	29.0	53.9	37.8	14.2	41.5
DMV	35.9	66.7	46.7	42.5	54.2
CCM	34.6	64.3	45.0	23.8	40.5
DMV+CCM	33.3	62.0	43.3	55.2	60.3
UBOUND	53.9	100.0	70.1	100.0	100.0

Klein & Manning (2004)

Conclusion

Grammar induction (of structure) is difficult

- Expressivity/learnability tradeoff
- Finite-state grammars are easier, and there are some useful linguistic domains that they are reasonable models for
 - Word segmentation
 - Phonetics
 - Syntactic categories
- More structured grammars are difficult
 - As we saw in Mark Johnson's talk, PCFGs aren't great models for language, but even they are quite hard
 - Constituent-context model
 - Dependency grammars



Two successful word segmentation systems based on explicit probabilistic models are those of Brent (1999) and Venkataraman (2001). Brent's Model-Based Dynamic Programming (MBDP) system assumes a unigram word distribution. Venkataraman uses standard unigram, bigram, and trigram language models in three versions of his system, which we refer to as n-gram Segmentation (NGS).

2.1 NGS

NGS assumes that each utterance is generated independently via a standard n-gram model. For simplicity, we will discuss the unigram version of the model here, although our argument is equally applicable to the bigram and trigram versions. The unigram model generates an utterance u according to the grammar in Figure 1, so

$$P(u) = p_0(1 - p_0)^{n-1} \prod_{j=1}^n P(w_j) \quad (1)$$

Intuitively, the NGS model considers the unsegmented solution to be optimal because it ranks all hypotheses equally probable a priori. We know, however, that hypotheses that memorize the input data are unlikely to generalize to unseen data, and are therefore poor solutions. To prevent memorization, we could restrict our hypothesis space to models with fewer parameters than the number of utterances in the data. A more general and mathematically satisfactory solution is to assume a nonuniform prior, assigning higher probability to hypotheses with fewer parameters. This is in fact the route taken by Brent in his MBDP model, as we shall see in the following section.

$1 - p_0 \quad U = \emptyset \cup \emptyset$
 $p_0 \quad U = w$
 $p_0^n \quad U = w^n \quad \forall w \in \Sigma^n$

Figure 1. The unigram NGS grammar.

where w consists of the words w_1, \dots, w_n , and p_0 is the probability of the utterance boundary marker \emptyset . The model can be used to find the highest probability segmentation hypothesis h given the data d by using Brent's rule:

$$P(h|d) \propto P(h)P(d|h)$$

NGS assumes a uniform prior $P(h)$ over hypotheses, so in effect it is that the solution that memorizes the likelihood $P(d|h)$.

Using this model, NGS's approximate search technique achieves competitive results. However, the true maximum likelihood solution is not computable, since it requires an infinite number of word boundaries. To see why, let's consider the solution in which $p_0 = 1$ and each utterance is a single "word", with probability equal to the expected probability of that utterance. Any other solution will match the empirical distribution of the data for words. In particular, a solution with all distinct word boundaries must have $1 - p_0 > 0$, which means it is more probable than any unigram system that could be generated by considering a fixed set of utterance lengths.

Model-based dynamic programming (Brent) MBDP

MBDP assumes a corpus of utterances is generated as a single probabilistic event with four steps:
 1. Generate L, the number of lexical types.
 2. Generate a phonemic representation for each type (except the utterance boundary type, 0).
 3. Generate a token frequency for each type.
 4. Generate an ordering for the set of tokens.
 This means that certain segmented corpora will produce the observed data with probability 1, and all others will produce it with probability 0. The posterior probability of a segmentation given the data is thus proportional to its prior probability under the generative model, and the best segmentation is that with the highest prior probability.
 There are two important points to note about the MBDP model. First, the distribution over L assigns higher probability to models with fewer lexical items. We have argued that this is necessary to avoid memorization, and indeed the unsegmented corpus is not the optimal solution under this model, as we will show in Section 3. Second, the factorization into four separate steps makes it theoretically possible to modify each independently in order to investigate the effects of the various modeling assumptions. However, the mathematical statement of the model and the approximations necessary for the search procedure make it unclear how to modify the model in any interesting way. In particular, the fourth step uses a uniform distribution, which creates a unigram constraint that cannot easily be changed.

Prob don't want to go over this - unless confusing - suffice to know prior (as they do) this solves MLT

Dirichlet model

3. Unigram Model
 3.1 The Dirichlet Process Model
 Our goal is a model of language that performs solutions, allows independent modification of components, and is amenable to standard search procedures. We achieve this goal by basing our model on the Dirichlet process (DP), a distribution used in nonparametric Bayesian statistics. Our unigram model of word frequencies is defined as:

$$w_i | \alpha \sim \text{Dir}(\alpha)$$

where the concentration parameter α and the Dirichlet distribution Dir are functions of the model parameters.

Distribution α , which consists of a set of probabilities over the lexicon, and probabilities associated with these words. α is generated from a Dirichlet distribution, with the mean of the lexicon being sampled from β , and the probabilities being determined by α , which are like the parameters of an infinite-dimensional Dirichlet distribution. We provide some insight into the Dirichlet process (DP) model under the distribution used in nonparametric Bayesian statistics. Our unigram model of word frequencies is defined as:

Since the goal of this paper is to investigate the role of context in word segmentation, we use the simplest possible model for $P(w)$, i.e. a unigram distribution:

$$P(w) = p_w (1 - p_w)^{n-1} \prod_{i=1}^n P(w_i)$$

where word w consists of the phonemes w_1, \dots, w_n , and p_w is the probability word boundary \emptyset . For simplicity we use a uniform distribution over phonemes, expressed with different fixed values of α .

A final detail of our model is the distribution over utterance lengths, which is geometric:

The parameter α can be used to control how sparse the solutions found by the model are. This parameter determines the total probability of generating any novel word, a probability that decreases as more data is observed, but never disappears. Finally, the parameter β can be used to encode expectations about the nature of word frequencies, since it defines a probability distribution over different novel words. The fact that this distribution is defined separately from the distribution over word frequencies gives the model additional flexibility, since either distribution can be modified independently of the other.

Accuracy of unigram model

In Table 1(a), we compare the results of our system to those of MBDP and NGS. Although our system has higher lexicon accuracy than the others, its token accuracy is much worse. This result occurs because our system often mis-analyzes frequently occurring words. In particular, many of these words occur in common collocations such as what's that and do you, which the system interprets as a single word. It turns out that a full 31% of the proposed lexicon and nearly 50% of tokens consist of these kinds of errors.
 Upon reflection, it is not surprising that a unigram language model would segment words in this way. Collocations violate the unigram assumption in the model, since they exhibit strong word-to-word dependencies. The only way the model can capture these dependencies is by assuming that these collocations are in fact words themselves. Why don't the MBDP and NGS unigram models exhibit these problems? We have already shown that NGS's results are due to its search procedure rather than its model. The same turns out to be true for MBDP. Table 2 shows the probabilities under each model of various segmentations of the corpus. From these figures, we can see that the MBDP model assigns higher probability to the solution found by our Gibbs sampler than to the solution found by Brent's own incremental search algorithm. In other words, Brent's model does prefer the lower-accuracy collocation solution, but its search algorithm instead finds a higher-accuracy solution.

	W	P	R	E	P	L	L	P
MBDP	97.9	98.2	98.8	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9
NGS	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9
DP	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9

Table 1. Accuracy of the unigram models, with best scores in bold. The unigram version of NGS is shown. DP results are with $\alpha = 1$ and $\beta = 0.1$. (a) Results on the true corpus. (b) Results on the proposed corpus.

Seg	True	NGS	MBDP	NGS	DP
1000	204.5	98.8	100.7	100.7	100.7
10000	204.5	101.1	219.0	219.0	219.0
DP	221.4	204.6	221.1	221.4	221.4

Table 2. Unigram log probabilities (x 1000) on the test set of the true corpus, the relation with an utterance-internal boundary, and the solution found by each algorithm. Best solution under each model is bold.

Bigram model

Now we define a bigram model by assuming each word has a different distribution over the words that follow it, but all these distributions are linked. The definition of the bigram language model is:

$$w_i | w_{i-1} \sim \text{Dir}(\alpha_i)$$

where α_i is the number of occurrences of observed w_i . The first term is the probability of generating w_1 from the initial state of an unigram model, and the second term is the probability of generating w_i from the state of the unigram model. The actual table assignments α_i only become apparent later, in the lexicon model.

$$P(w_i | w_{i-1}) = \frac{\alpha_{i,w_i} + \beta}{\sum_{w'} \alpha_{i,w'} + \beta}$$

Figure 4. The NGS grammar after observing w_{i-1} .

where $\alpha_i = (\alpha_{i,w_1}, \dots, \alpha_{i,w_n})$ and β are the total number of tables across all words labeled with w_{i-1} , and α_{i,w_j} is the total number of tables, and β is the number of occurrences of the bigram (w_{i-1}, w_i) .

Introduced HMMs, PCFGs, formalism (a bit on Chomsky hierarchy but not much)
Talked about how to parse sentences w/PCFGs or use to predict sentences
and how to estimate params from the data (EM, inside-outside)
Unsupervised inference for θ (and thus parse trees)
Bayesian prior on θ
in a way is learning grammar (as in Sextho example) but still very constrained

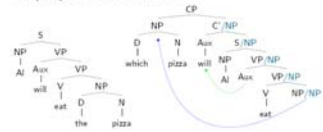
Then he looks at grammar induction
- well, sorta; prior on θ makes it sort of like also choosing probs
His slides also talk about unigram/bigram word segmentation, though I don't remember it
He also has some slides about non-local dependencies (e.g. adding features to PCFG)
Did BP on HMMs \rightarrow but in terms of hidden structure
Talked about the joint probability distribution is defined by the joint probability distribution over the hidden states (EM)
the $N \times L$ parameter transition matrix $P(w_{i+1} | w_i)$
the $N \times L$ observation probability matrix $P(w_i | w_i)$
and the joint probability of the entire DP

Problems with PCFGs

from Johnson

Nonlocal "movement" constructions

"Movement" constructions involve a phrase appearing far from its normal location.
Linguists believed CFGs could not generate them, and posited "movement transformations" to produce them (Chomsky 1957)
But CFGs can generate them via "feature passing" using a conspiracy of rules (Gazdar 1984)



Learning PCFGs using Expectation Maximization

- ATIS treebank consists of 1,000 hand-constructed parse trees
- input consists of POS tags rather than words
- about 1,000 PCFG rules are needed to build these trees

Probability of training strings

log P

Why didn't it learn the right grammar?

- higher likelihood ≠ parse accuracy
- probabilistic model and/or estimation procedure are wrong
- Bayesian prior preferring smaller grammars doesn't help
- What could be wrong?
 - Wrong model of grammar (Klein and Manning)
 - Wrong estimation procedure (Smith and Elman)
 - Wrong training data (Yang)
 - Predicting word strings is wrong objective
 - Grammar space too small (Zettlemoyer and Collins)

Accuracy of parses

The PCFG

- Parse p
 - higher intertree ϕ better parses
 - the statistical model is wrong
- Individual EM will correct parse trees
 - started with true rules and their probabilities
 - poor performance not due to search error
- Evaluated on training data
 - poor performance not due to over-learning

Johannes slides on unigram/bigram seg

Unigram model of word segmentation

- Input is unsegmented text: phonetic transcription (Brent)
- Example: y u w a n t u x i D o b u k
- CRP for Word non-terminal catches previously seen words

Morphology and word segmentation

Unigram model often finds collocations

Bigram segmentation model

- Implemented using Gibbs sampling
- j th component is "word boundary at position i "
- sampled amounts to possibly splitting a word at position i or joining the two words abutting at position i
- Performs significantly better than unigram model
 - bigrams: 77% token f-score, 67% type f-score
 - unigrams: 54% token f-score, 50% type f-score
 - Number of CRPs is number of words, which is not known in advance
 - cannot be formulated as an adaptive grammar (which have a CRP per non-terminal)

Hierarchical CRP bigram word segmentation

based on preceding word w_i to predict following word w_{i+1} constructed on the fly labeling distribution

states a common vocabulary

GRAM very much like

- REGRAM $_{w_i, w_{i+1}}$
- DP(w_i, w_{i+1})
- DP(w_i, P_i)

Johannes slides on adding to PCFGs

Make dependencies local - GPSG-style

rule count set freq

$$S \rightarrow NP VP \quad 2 \quad 2/3 \quad P \begin{pmatrix} NP & VP \\ NP & VP \end{pmatrix} = 2/3$$

$S \rightarrow NP VP \quad 1 \quad 1/3 \quad P \begin{pmatrix} NP & VP \\ NP & VP \end{pmatrix} = 1/3$

Generative statistical parsers

- Splitting node labels (i.e. decorating the tree with features) enables PCFG to capture non-local dependencies
- Modern generative statistical parsers track around 7 different non-local dependencies

Generative language model (Charniak 2001)

The changes allow

resolution to

input

output

options

- Predicted nodes is shown in red
- Conditioning nodes are shown in blue

"Head to head" dependencies

Summary so far

- Maximum likelihood is a good way of estimating a grammar
- Maximum likelihood estimation of a PCFG from a treebank is easy, and works well if the treebank is accurate
- But real language has many more dependencies than treebank grammar describes
- relative frequency estimator not MLE
 - Make non local dependencies local by splitting categories
 - Anomalous number of possible categories
- Final some way of accurately estimating models in the presence of unmodeled dependencies
 - exponential models

More extensions of PCFGs

Exponential models

Exponential models are defined in terms of features, where a feature is any real-valued function on V_0 .

Let f_1, \dots, f_n be a set of features on V_0 .

weights $\lambda_1, \dots, \lambda_n$

PCFGs are exponential models

\mathcal{T} = set of all trees generated by PCFG G

$f_j(p)$ = number of times the j th rule is used in p

$P(p)$ = probability of p in G

Set weight $\lambda_j = \log p_j(p)$

Advantages of exponential models

- Exponential models are very flexible ...
- Features f can be any function of parse

Modeling dependencies

$W_i(p) = 0$

Z_i is called Exponential model and

- It's usually difficult to pick a particular set of features
- probability of p is completely determined by its feature vector $f(p) = (f_1(p), \dots, f_n(p))$
- non-local dependencies
- It's easy to make dependencies
- add a new feature
- ignoring old rules incorporating it

MLE of exponential models from visible data

Given $\mathcal{T} = \{p_1, \dots, p_n\}$

Coarse to fine parsing

Linguistic representations and features

- Probability of a parse p is completely determined by its feature vector $f(p) = (f_1(p), \dots, f_n(p))$
- The actual linguistic representation of parse p is $ind(p)$ as long as it is rich enough to calculate features $f(p)$
- Feature functions define the kinds of generalizations that the learner can extract
 - parse with the same feature values will be assigned the same probability
 - the choice of feature functions is as much a linguistic decision than the choice of representations
- Features can be arbitrary functions
 - the linguistic properties they encode need not be directly representable in the parse
 - very different (non-PCFG), where the tree label and shape determines the generalizations extracted