

Minimalist Grammars

Formalisme en Dependency Structures

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Logical Methods in NLP
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The Minimalist Program

- Chomsky, Universal Grammar

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- Chomsky, Universal Grammar
- "effort to attribute as little as possible to UG while still accounting for the apparent diversity of human languages"
(*Stabler, 2011*)

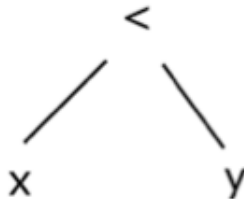
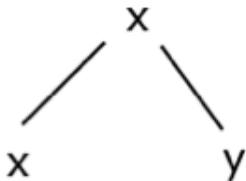
The Minimalist Program

- Chomsky, Universal Grammar
- "effort to attribute as little as possible to UG while still accounting for the apparent diversity of human languages"
(*Stabler, 2011*)
- Endocentricity

Endocentricity

"A head X determines certain relevant properties of the phrase XP it is the head of."

Merging head x with xy gives $\{x\{xy\}\}$



Lexicon

Stabler 2010: *Computational perspectives on minimalism*

A minimalist grammar G is a lexicon:

$$G \subset \text{PhoneticFeatures} \times \text{Features}^*, \text{ a finite set}$$

Where Features^* is the set of finite sequences of syntactic features
Where the elements of the lexicon are combined by the merge operation. (Stabler, 2011)

Features

Features:

- Categorical

$N, V, A, P, C, T, D, \dots$

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- Licensee (goal)

$-wh, -case, \dots$

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- Selector

$= N, = V, = A, = P, = C, = T, = D, \dots$

- Licensee (goal)

$-wh, -case, \dots$

- Licensor (probes)

$+wh, +case, \dots$

Example Lexicon

Who Marie praises?

Marie :: D
who :: D -wh
praises :: =D =D V
 ε :: =T +wh C

Merge

- From lexical items to trees

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- Merge to merge 2 trees together
- Move to restructure trees

Merge rule

$$em(t_1[= x], t_2[x]) = \begin{cases} < & \text{if } |t_1| = 1 \\ \begin{array}{c} \wedge \\ t_1 \quad t_2 \end{array} & \\ > & \text{otherwise} \\ \begin{array}{c} \wedge \\ t_2 \quad t_1 \end{array} & \end{cases}$$

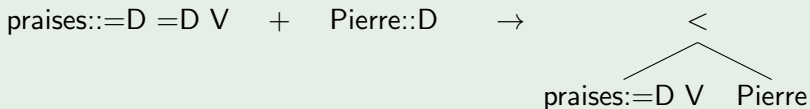
$$\frac{s ::= f\gamma \quad t \cdot f, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k}{st : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{merge1}$$

$$\frac{s := f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{ts : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge2}$$

$$\frac{s \cdot := f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f\delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, t : \delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge3}$$

Merge rule

Merge (external merge)



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Move (internal merge)

- SMC: Exactly one head in the tree has -x as its first feature.

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- $t\{t_1 \mapsto t_2\}$: the result of replacing subtree t_1 by t_2 in t .

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- t^M : the maximal projection of the head of t .

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Move (internal merge)

- SMC: Exactly one head in the tree has $-x$ as its first feature.
- $t\{t_1 \mapsto t_2\}$: the result of replacing subtree t_1 by t_2 in t .
- t^M : the maximal projection of the head of t .
- A subtree is a maximal projection, if it is not properly included in any larger subtree that has the same head.

Move

$im(t_1[+x]) =$ $>$ $if\ SMC.$

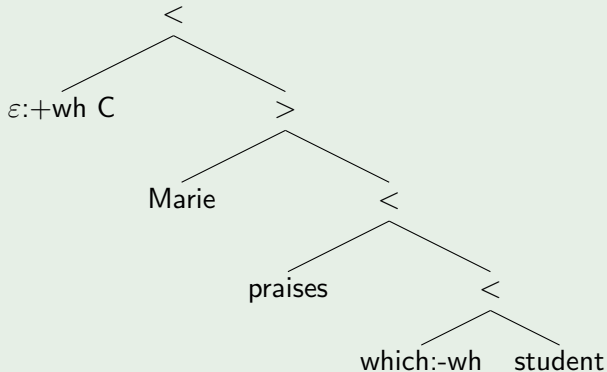
$$t_2^M \quad t_1 \{ t_2[-x]^M \mapsto \varepsilon \}$$

$$\frac{s : +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{ts : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move1}$$

$$\frac{s \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}$$

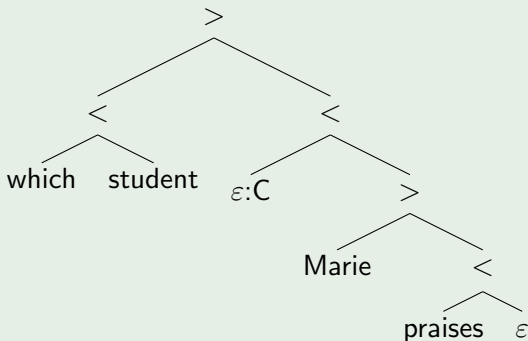
Move

Move (internal merge)



Struktureregeln

Move (internal merge)



Onion

CMG = Conflated Minimalist Grammar, PMG = Phase-based Minimalist Grammar, RMG = Relativized Minimalist Grammar, MCFG = Multiple Context-free Grammar

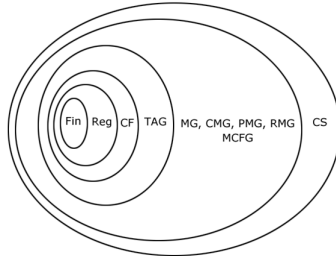


Table 1. Merge and Move

$$\frac{s :: = f\gamma \quad t \cdot f, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k}{st : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{merge1}$$

$$\frac{s := f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{ts : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge2}$$

$$\frac{s \cdot = f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f\delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, t : \delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge3}$$

$$\frac{s : +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{ts : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move1}$$

$$\frac{s \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}$$

Table 2. Merge in terms of dependency trees

$$\frac{(\{\lambda\}, \langle \lambda \rangle) ::= f\gamma \quad (\mathbf{t}, x) \cdot f, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k}{(\{\lambda\} \cup \uparrow_i \mathbf{t}, \langle \lambda \rangle \cdot \uparrow_i x) : \gamma, \uparrow_i \alpha_1, \dots, \uparrow_i \alpha_k} \text{merge1}_{DG}$$

$$\frac{(\mathbf{s}, x) : = f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad (\mathbf{t}, y) \cdot f, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{(\mathbf{s} \cup \uparrow_i \mathbf{t}, \uparrow_i y \cdot x) : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, \uparrow_i \iota_1, \dots, \uparrow_i \iota_l} \text{merge2}_{DG}$$

$$\frac{(\mathbf{s}, x) \cdot = f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad (\mathbf{t}, y) \cdot f\delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{(\mathbf{s}, x) : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, (\uparrow_i \mathbf{t}, \uparrow_i y) : \delta, \uparrow_i \iota_1, \dots, \uparrow_i \iota_l} \text{merge3}_{DG}$$

where $i = \text{next}((\mathbf{s}, x) \cdot = f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k)$

Table 3. Move in terms of dependency trees

$$\frac{(\mathbf{s}, x) : +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, (\mathbf{t}, y) : -f, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{(\mathbf{s} \cup \mathbf{t}, yx) : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move1}_{DG}$$

$$\frac{\mathbf{s} \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \mathbf{t} : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{\mathbf{s} : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \mathbf{t} : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}_{DG}$$

$$\frac{s ::= f\gamma \quad t \cdot f, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k}{st : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{merge1}$$
$$\frac{s : = f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{ts : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge2}$$
$$\frac{s \cdot = f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f\delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, t : \delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge3}$$

$$\frac{s ::= f\gamma \quad t \cdot f, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k}{st : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{merge1}$$

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$$\frac{s \cdot f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f\delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, t : \delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge3}$$

the::=n d boat::n docked::=d=d v where::d -wh ε::=v +wh c
 (a) Lexicon 1.

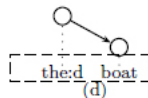


Fig. 1. merge1_{DG} applies to two simple dependency trees

$$\frac{s := f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{ts : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge2}$$

$$\frac{(s, x) := f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad (t, y) \cdot f, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{(s \cup \uparrow_i t, \uparrow_i y \cdot x) : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, \uparrow_i \iota_1, \dots, \uparrow_i \iota_l} \text{merge2}_{DG}$$

$$\frac{s \cdot = f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f\delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, t : \delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge3}$$

$$\frac{(s, x) \cdot = f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad (t, y) \cdot f\delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{(s, x) : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, (\uparrow_i t, \uparrow_i y) : \delta, \uparrow_i \iota_1, \dots, \uparrow_i \iota_l} \text{merge3}_1$$

$$\frac{s := f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{ts : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge2}$$

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$$\frac{s \cdot = f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k \quad t \cdot f\delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k, t : \delta, \iota_1, \dots, \iota_l} \text{merge3}$$

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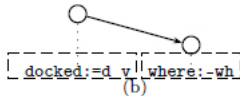
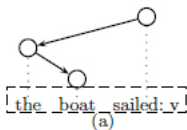


Fig. 2. merge2_{DG} and merge3_{DG}

$$\frac{s : +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{ts : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move1}$$
$$\frac{s \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}$$

$$\frac{s : +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{ts : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move1}$$

$$\frac{s : +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}$$

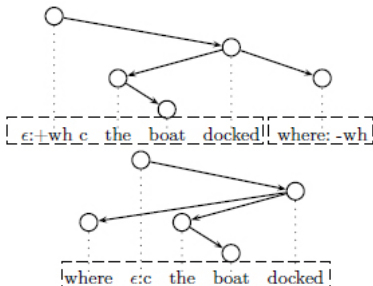


Fig. 3. move1_{DG}

$$\frac{s \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}$$

$$\frac{s \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \mathbf{t} : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \mathbf{t} : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}_{DG}$$

$$\frac{s \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}$$

$$\frac{s \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}_{DG}$$

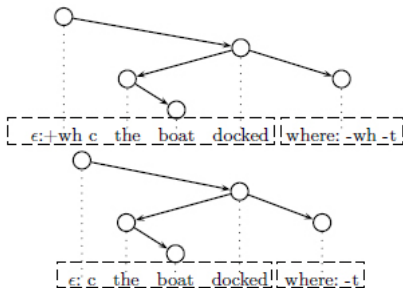


Fig. 4. move2_{DG}

$$\frac{s \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}$$

$$\frac{s \cdot +f\gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : -f\delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k}{s : \gamma, \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, t : \delta, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k} \text{move2}_{DG}$$

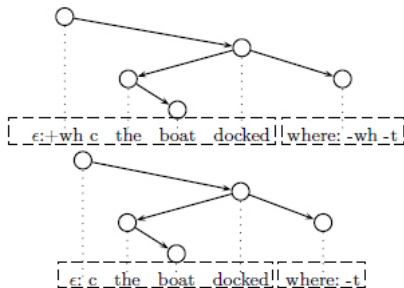


Fig. 4. move2_{DG}

(SMC) None of $\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_{i-1}, \alpha_{i+1}, \dots, \alpha_k$ has -f as its first feature

- Projectivity: subtrees span intervals

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- Non-projective structures violate this constraint
- Block degree: maximum number of intervals spanned

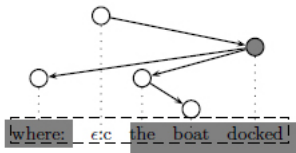


Fig. 5. The block degree of this structure is 2

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- Move1 can create non-projective structures

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- Move1 can create non-projective structures
- Movement is triggered by licensor-licensee pairs: block degrees bounded by #licensees

- Wellnested structures prohibit the crossing of disjoint subtree intervals.

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- Not all mildly context-sensitive formalisms can derive illnested structures (i.e. TAG).

