

Intonation, Grammar, and Spoken Language Processing

Mark Steedman: *Informatics, U. of Edinburgh*

<http://www.iccs.informatics.ed.ac.uk/~steedman/papers.html>

Toronto, Mar 2002

Content-to-Speech-Generation for Spoken Language Technology

- Intonation is Not a Toy Problem: Translating Telephones (etc.)

SPEAKER1: “How about on the Monday afternoon?”

TT1: *Ginge es am Montag nachmittag?*

SPEAKER2: “Montag nachmittag habe ich leider keine Zeit.”

TT2: *I unfortunately have no time on Monday afternoon.*

- **Passed through Standard Text-to-Speech:**

#I unfortunately have no time on Monday AFTERNOON
H*LL%

Translating Telephones (etc.) (contd.)

Quick fix #1: use Previous Mention Heuristic (Hirschberg) on the source/translation of the previous turn.

I unfortunately have no TIME on Monday afternoon
H* LL%

- But there may BE no previous literal mention:

“An diesem Tag habe ich leider keine Zeit”

I unfortunately have no time on that day

#I unfortunately have no time on that DAY
H*LL%

Translating Telephones (etc.) (contd.)

Quick fix #2: Preserve the pattern of pitch accents from the German input (Stöber & Wagner).

- But there may be a “topic” pitch accent (Büding) on “diesem Tag”:

An	DIESEM	Tag	habe ich leider	keine	ZEIT
	L*+H	H			H+L* LL%

- The L*+H H sequence on the (syntactically defined) topic *An diesem Tag* should be realised in English as an L+H* LH% “theme” tune (or as an unmarked theme with no pitch accent):

I	unfortunately	have	no	TIME	on	THAT	day
				H*L		L+H*	LH%

Translating Telephones (etc.) (contd.)

- This amounts to an analysis of **Information Structure** via the grammar. It seems possible that one might do quite well with shallow translation of information structure, at least for English and German.
- Komogata's 1999 Penn Thesis on topic and focus in Japanese suggests that this might generalize.
- *But it needs a rather strange kind of grammar.*

The Problem: Intonation seems to be Independent of Syntax ...

(1) Q: I know who proved soundness. But who proved COMPLETENESS?

A: (MARCEL) (proved COMPLETENESS).

H*L L+H* LH%

(2) Q: I know which result Marcel PREDICTED. But which result did Marcel PROVE?

A: (Marcel PROVED) (COMPLETENESS).

L+H* LH% H* LL%

- —Hence Halliday and Selkirk's introduction of an autonomous level of **Intonation Structure** with attendant **Sense-Unit Condition**.

...But Intonation is Not All *That* Independent from Syntax

- (3) a. *(Three mathematicians)(in ten derive a lemma).
- b. *(Seymour prefers the nuts)(and bolts approach).
- —Hence Halliday and Selkirk's introduction of a *Sense Unit Condition* on phrasal constituents of Intonation Structure.

Coordination Induces Similar Fragments

- (4) a. I will buy, and you will cook, the biggest turkey we can find.
b. I gave Deadeye Dick a sugar stick, and Mexican Pete a bun.
c. Deadeye Dick got a sugar stick, and Mexican Pete a bun.
- This also is not a toy problem: the Wall Street Journal corpus is full of this sort of thing:
- (5) New England Electric System bowed out of the bidding for Public Service Co. of New Hampshire, saying that *the risks were too high, and the potential payoff too far in the future, to justify a higher offer.*
- (Section 00, file 13, /corpora/treebank/combined/wsj/00/wsj_0013.mrg)

Combinatory Categorical Grammar (CCG)

- CCG trades **categories** for PS rules, and **type-driven** combinatory rules for structure-dependent transformations

~~(6) $S \rightarrow NP VP$
 $VP \rightarrow TV NP$
 $TV \rightarrow \{proved, finds, \dots\}$~~

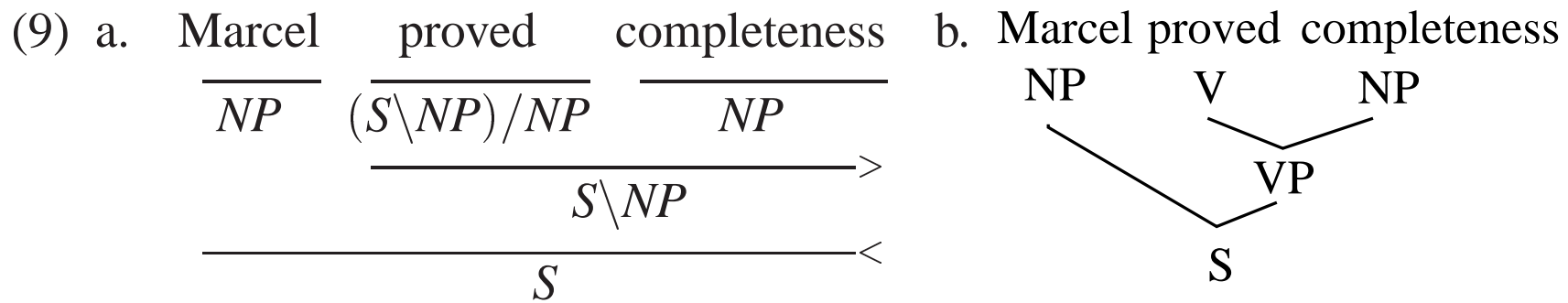
(7) $proved := (S \backslash NP) / NP$

(8) *The functional application rules*

a. $X/Y \ Y \Rightarrow X$ ($>$)

b. $Y \ X \backslash Y \Rightarrow X$ ($<$)

A Derivation



Semantics

(10) $\text{proved} := (S \setminus NP) / NP : \lambda x. \lambda y. \text{prove}' xy$

(11) *Functional application*

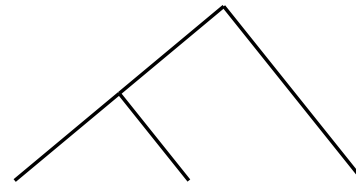
a. $X / Y : f \quad Y : a \Rightarrow X : f a \quad (>)$

b. $Y : a \quad X \setminus Y : f \Rightarrow X : f a \quad (<)$

(12)

<u>Marcel</u>	<u>proved</u>	<u>completeness</u>
$NP : marcel'$	$(S \setminus NP) / NP : \lambda x. \lambda y. \text{prove}' xy$	$NP : completeness'$
$\xrightarrow{\hspace{10em}}$		$>$
$S \setminus NP : \lambda y. \text{prove}' completeness' y$		
$\xrightarrow{\hspace{10em}}$		$<$
$S : \text{prove}' completeness' marcel'$		

Left-Associativity Convention



(13) a. *(prove' completeness') marcel'* b. *prove' completeness' marcel'*

- A nonordered form of the traditional VP is reflected at the level of propositional logical form. **Binding etc. must be defined at this level.**

Coordination

(14) *Simplified coordination rule* ($\langle \Phi \rangle$)

$$X \text{ CONJ } X' \Rightarrow X''$$

(15) Marcel conjectured and proved completeness

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \overline{NP} \quad \overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP} \quad \overline{CONJ} \quad \overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP} \quad \overline{NP} \\
 \hline
 \phantom{\overline{NP}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{CONJ}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{NP}} \langle \Phi \rangle \\
 \hline
 \phantom{\overline{NP}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{CONJ}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{NP}} (S \setminus NP) / NP \\
 \phantom{\overline{NP}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{CONJ}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{NP}} \xrightarrow{\hspace{10em}} \\
 \phantom{\overline{NP}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{CONJ}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{NP}} S \setminus NP \\
 \xrightarrow{\hspace{10em}} \phantom{\overline{NP}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{CONJ}} \phantom{\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP}} \phantom{\overline{NP}} S \langle
 \end{array}$$

Composition

(16) *Forward composition* ($> \mathbf{B}$)

$$X/Y : f \quad Y/Z : g \quad \Rightarrow_{\mathbf{B}} \quad X/Z : \lambda x.f(gx)$$

(17) Marcel conjectured and might prove completeness

<i>NP</i>	<i>(S\NP)/NP</i>	<i>CONJ</i>	<i>(S\NP)/VP</i>	<i>VP/NP</i>	<i>NP</i>
<i>: marcel'</i>	<i>: conjecture'</i>	<i>: and'</i>	<i>: might'</i>	<i>: prove'</i>	<i>: completeness'</i>
			$> \mathbf{B}$		
			<i>(S\NP)/NP</i>		
			<i>: \lambda x.\lambda y.might'(prove' x)y</i>		
	$< \Phi >$				
	<i>(S\NP)/NP</i>				
	<i>: \lambda x.\lambda y.and'(might'(prove' x)y)(conjecture' xy)</i>				
	$>$				
	<i>S\NP</i>				
	<i>: \lambda y.and'(might'(prove' completeness'y)(conjecture' completeness'y)</i>				
$<$					
<i>S : and'(might'(prove' completeness')marcel')(conjecture' completeness'marcel')</i>					

Type-Raising

(18) *Subject type-raising* ($>T$)

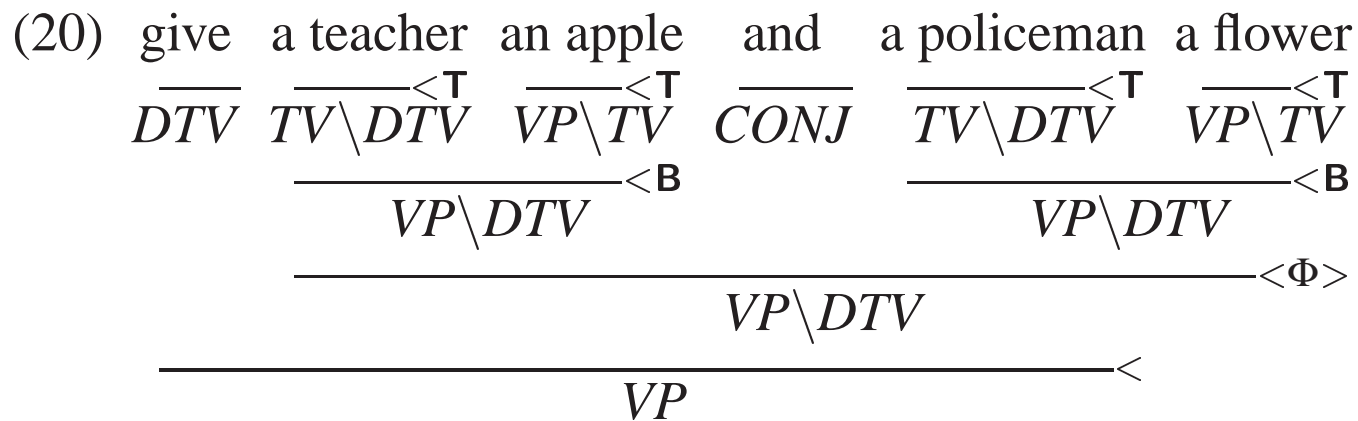
$$NP : a \Rightarrow_T S/(S \setminus NP) : \lambda f.fa$$

(19) Marcel proved and I disproved completeness

\overline{NP}	$\overline{(S \setminus NP)/NP}$	\overline{CONJ}	\overline{NP}	$\overline{(S \setminus NP)/NP}$	\overline{NP}
$\overline{S/(S \setminus NP)}^{>T}$			$\overline{S/(S \setminus NP)}^{>T}$		
$\overline{S/NP}^{>B}$			$\overline{S/NP}^{>B}$		
$\overline{S/NP}^{<\Phi>}$					
$\overline{S}^{>}$					

- Type raising is restricted to primitive argument categories, NP, PP etc.

Many Linguistic Predictions



$$VP = S \setminus NP$$

$$TV = (S \setminus NP) / NP$$

$$DTV = ((S \setminus NP) / NP) / NP$$

Surface Structure in CCG

(21)

Marcel	proved	completeness
$\overline{NP : marcel'}$	$\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP : prove'}$	$\overline{S \setminus (S / NP) : \lambda p.p \text{ completeness}'}$
$\overline{S / (S \setminus NP) : \lambda f.f \text{ marcel}'}$		
$\xrightarrow{>T}$		
$\overline{S / NP : \lambda x.prove' x \text{ marcel}'}$		
$\xrightarrow{>B}$		
$\overline{S : prove' \text{ completeness}' \text{ marcel}'}$		
\leftarrow		

(22)

Marcel	proved	completeness
$\overline{NP : marcel'}$	$\overline{(S \setminus NP) / NP : prove'}$	$\overline{(S \setminus NP) \setminus ((S \setminus NP) / NP) : \lambda p.p \text{ completeness}'}$
$\overline{S / (S \setminus NP) : \lambda f.f \text{ marcel}'}$		
$\xrightarrow{>T}$		
$\overline{S \setminus NP : \lambda y.prove' \text{ completeness}' y}$		
$\xrightarrow{<}$		
$\overline{S : prove' \text{ completeness}' \text{ marcel}'}$		
\leftarrow		

Intonation/Information Structure = Syntax/Semantics

- Clearly, such a theory is capable of capturing intonation structure and coordinate structure directly in the same “mildly context-sensitive” syntax that derives predicate argument relations.
- We do this by making pitch accents mark constituents as theme or rheme, and making boundaries limit combinatory derivation (as well as marking speech act, continuation etc.).

The Sense Unit Condition Follows

- The following is ruled out:

(23) a. *(Three MATHEMATICIANS) (in ten derive a LEMMA).

L+H* LH% H* LL%

b. *(Seymour prefers the NUTS) (and bolts APPROACH).

L+H* LH% H* LL%

—for the same reason as the following:

(24) a. *Three mathematicians in ten derive a lemma and in a hundred can cook a boiled egg.

b. *The nuts which Seymour prefers and bolts approach

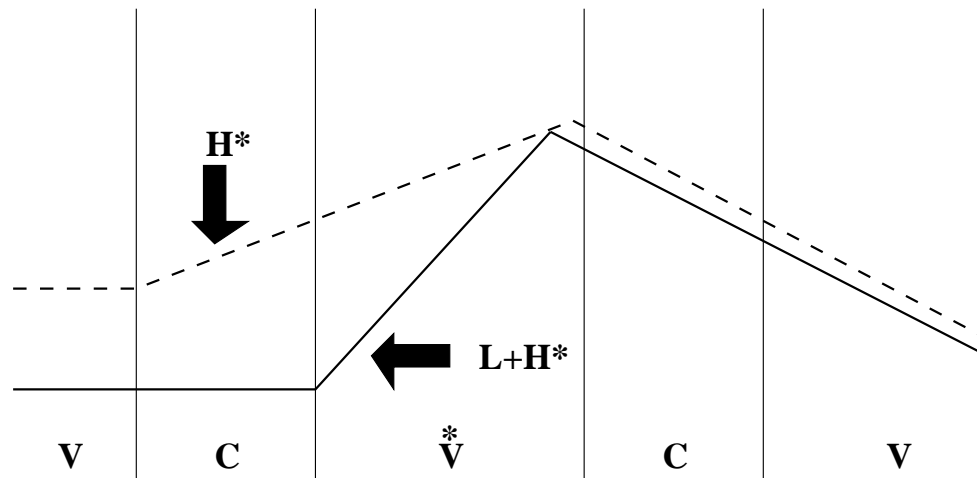
- That is, substrings like **in a hundred can cook a boiled egg* are not constituents in a CCG of English.

Aside on Expressive Power of BTS

- The Combinatory Calculus **BTS** is essentially equivalent to the simply-typed λ_1 calculus.
- All linguistic restrictions stem from constraints which forbid rules like the following, which override the directionality specified in the lexicon:
 - $Y \quad X/Y \Rightarrow X$
 - $X/Y \quad Y/Z \Rightarrow X \setminus Z$
- Such restrictions imply that directionality is as much a heritable feature-value as S or N , and still yield a general reordering/rebracketing calculus that must be further constrained for languages like English.
- It is interesting in terms of the origins of language to speculate on whether individual combinators like **B** and **T** have independent cognitive uses, conferring an evolutionary advantage

Aside on a Pilot Study of Elicited Theme and Rheme Contour

- ToBI annotators failure to reliably distinguish $L+H^*$ and H^* seems to be an artefact of the annotation instructions:



(Ladd & Steedman, in prep.)

Can We Achieve Large Coverage Robust CCG Parsing?

- Rumors of intractability arising from “spurious ambiguity” in CCG have been greatly exaggerated (Karttunen 1989; Komagata 1999, Hockenmaier et al. 2000).
- The currently most successful large coverage statistical parsers (Collins 1998; Charniak 1999) work by exploiting a statistical model based on dependencies between heads of predicates and heads of their arguments. CCG is a lexicalized grammar that is ideally suited to application of this technique using lexicons and models induced from labeled data.
- It is certainly possible in principle to apply such techniques to suitably labeled speech corpora, and realistic to expect that tones could be recognized, given segments or syllable boundaries.
- Pitch accents are highly ambiguous—but so is everything else. That’s what statistics is for.

A Maximum Entropy CCG “Supertagger” (Clark)

- $p(t|h) = \frac{1}{Z(h)} e^{\sum \lambda_j f_j(t,h)}$ where f_j are the features
- Example features: current word, POS tag of current word, next word, previous word, previous two supertags...
- Trained a model on Sections 02-23 of the Treebank using Generalized Iterative Scaling over 377 CCG categories
- Current performance $\approx 90\%$ per word accuracy and $\approx 98\%$ with a $\pm .01\%$ beam (average cats/word 3.8) on a development set (Section 00) compares well with Chen 1999 using a similar sized (> 300) set of TAG elementary trees and Chen and Vijayshanker 2000 for an automatically induced lexicon.

Dependency-based PCFG-style CCG Parser (Hockenmaier)

Model	NoParse	Cat	LP	LR	BP	BR	$\langle P, H, S \rangle$	$\langle S \rangle$	$\langle \rangle$	CM	≤ 2 ID
Baseline	6	87.7	72.8	72.4	78.3	77.9	75.7	81.1	84.3	23.0	51.1
HWDep (+POS)	8	92.0	81.6	81.9	85.5	85.9	84.0	87.8	90.1	37.9	69.2
HWDep (+tagger)	7	91.7	81.4	81.8	85.6	85.9	83.6	87.5	89.9	38.1	69.1

Table 1: Cat = word categories correct; LP, LR, BP and BR = Parseval scores; $\langle H, C \rangle$, $\langle C \rangle$, and $\langle \rangle$ = completely labeled, complement-labeled and unlabeled dependencies. CM = complete match on $\langle \rangle$, and ≤ 2 ID = under 2 incorrect $\langle \rangle$.

- State of the art (Collins '98): unlabeled dependencies $\langle \rangle$ **91.0%**
- CCG does less well on parseval because of binary rules and size of category set (400 vs. 37), and the consequent problem of **unknown word-category pairs**.

References

- Hockenmaier, Julia: 2001, “Statistical Parsing for CCG with Simple Generative Models,” *Proceedings of the Student Session of the 39th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, July, Toulouse, France. 7-12.
- Hockenmaier, Julia and Gann Bierner and Jason Baldridge: 2002, Extending the Coverage of a CCG System, *Journal of Logic and Computation*, (to appear).
- Prevost, Scott and Mark Steedman: 1994, “Specifying Intonation from Context for Speech Synthesis,” *Speech Communication*, 15:139-153.
- Steedman, Mark: 2000a, *The Syntactic Process*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Steedman, Mark: 2000b, “Information Structure and the Syntax-Phonology Interface,” *Linguistic Inquiry*, 31.4, 649-689.
- Taylor, Paul: 2000, “Analysis and Synthesis of Intonation Using the Tilt Model”, *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 107, 1697-1714.