A Logic-Based Government-Binding Parser for Mandarin Chinese

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Abstract

Mandarin Chinese is a highly flexible and context-sensitive language. It is difficult to do the case marking and index assignment during the parsing of Chinese sentences. This paper proposes a logic-based Government-Binding approach to treat this problem. The grammar formalism is specified in a formal way. Uniform treatments of movements, arbitrary number of movement non-terminals, automatic detection of grammar errors beforehand, and clear declarative semantics are its specific features. Many common linguistic phenomena of Chinese sentences are represented with this formalism. For example, topic-comment structures, the ba-constructions, the bei-constructions, relative clause constructions, appositive clause constructions, and serial verb constructions. A simple pronoun resolution is touched upon. The expressive capabilities and the design methodologies show this mechanism is also suitable for other flexible and context-sensitive languages.

1. Introduction

Chinese is a highly flexible language. The same meaning may be represented in many different Chinese patterns. In other words, Chinese provides many ways for the native speakers to express their feelings. For example, a sentence like "I have told Mr. Lee that they want these books" in English, we can form multiple different patterns in Chinese:

(a) 我告訴了 [np 李先生] [s 他們要這些書].
   I have told [np Mr. Lee] [s that they want these books].

(b) [np 李先生] 我告訴了 [s 他們要這些書].
   [np Mr. Lee] I have told [s that they want these books].

(c) 我告訴了 [np 李先生] [s [np 這些書] 他們要].
   I have told [np Mr. Lee] [s that [np these books] they want].

(d) [np 李先生] 我告訴了 [s [np 這些書] 他們要].
   [np Mr. Lee] I have told [s that [np these books] they want].

(e) [np 李先生] [s [np 這些書] 我告訴了 [s 他們要]].
   [np Mr. Lee] [s that [np these books] I have told [s that they want]].

In reality, it shows the specific pattern: topic-comment structure in Mandarin Chinese. Topicalization may be deemed one of the movement transformations. For example, topic-comment structures, ba-constructions, bei-constructions, relative clause constructions, appositive clause constructions, and serial verb constructions. Simple pronoun resolution is touched upon. The expressive capabilities and the design methodologies show this mechanism is also suitable for other flexible and context-sensitive languages.

2. Government-Binding Theory

Government-Binding (GB) Theory/Chomsky 1981, Sells 1985 is the descendant of Transformation Grammars/Radford 1981. Its simplified organization is shown in Figure 1. Move - α is a general operation, moves anything anywhere between d-structure and s-structure, and between s-structure and logical form. GB Theory includes a series of modules that contain constraints and principles which govern the movement transformation.

The Projection Principle preserves the syntactic information and the semantic information at each level (d-structure, s-structure, and logical form) during the movement transformation. Trace Theory postulates that there exist various empty categories at various levels of mental representation.
Thus, we must have the capabilities to verify the relationship between the moved constituent and the empty constituent. GB Theory provides several mechanisms for the verification. The Empty Category Principle (ECP) says "A trace must be properly governed." That is, we must find some $\alpha$ that $\operatorname{c-commands} \beta$. And $\alpha$ binds $\beta$ iff (a) $\alpha$ $\operatorname{c-commands} \beta$, and (b) $\alpha$ and $\beta$ are co-indexed. Their definitions are based on C-Command Condition. The C-Command Condition states the following:

\[ \alpha \text{ c-commands } \beta \text{ if and only if the first branching node dominating } \alpha \text{ also dominates } \beta, \text{ and } \alpha \text{ does not itself dominate } \beta. \]

It states a co-reference relation between a moved element and its trace. The Subjacency Condition is given in the following:

Any application of Move - $\alpha$ may not cross more than one bounding node.

It specifies island constraints on the moved constituents.

The Binding Theory/Sells 1985/ shown below is used for simple pronoun resolution:

(Principle A) An anaphor is bound in its Governing Category.
(Principle B) A pronominal is free in its Governing Category.
(Principle C) An R-expression is free.

Anaphors include reflexive and reciprocals, pronominals include pronouns, and R-expressions include all other noun phrases.

3. A Government-Binding Based Logic Grammar Formalism

The formal definition of Government-Binding based Logic Grammars (GBLGs) is specified incrementally in the following.

Definition 1. A Government-Binding based Logic Grammar is a 6-tuple $\text{GBLG} = (T, \Sigma, \beta, S, C, R)$ where:

1. $T$ is the set of lexical terminals. Each lexical terminal is denoted by an atomic formula with lexical category as its predicate symbol.
2. $\Sigma$ is the set of non-terminals. $\Sigma = \Sigma_p \cup \Sigma_v \cup \Sigma_m \cup \Sigma_g$ where:
   - $\Sigma_p$ is the set of phrasal non-terminals. Each phrasal non-terminal is represented by an atomic formula with phrasal category as its predicate symbol.
   - $\Sigma_v$ is the set of virtual non-terminals. Each virtual non-terminal is specified by an atomic formula.
   - $\Sigma_m$ is the set of movement non-terminals. A movement non-terminal is one of the following two forms:
     - $A \ll B$ and the set of non-terminals $B \gg A$, respectively.
     - (d)$\Sigma_g$ is the set of goals. Each goal is denoted by a literal.
   - $\Sigma_g$ is the set of non-terminals $B \gg \alpha$, respectively.
3. $B \subseteq \Sigma_p$ is the set of bounding non-terminals. A bounding non-terminal is a phrasal non-terminal with bounding node as its predicate symbol.
4. $S \in \Sigma_p$ is the start non-terminal.
5. $C$ is the set of logic connectives 'and' and 'or' that are denoted by ',$,$ and ';,' respectively. A grammar element is defined recursively in terms of logic connectives as follows:
   - (a) A lexical terminal $L \in T$ is a grammar element.
   - (b) A phrasal non-terminal $P \in \Sigma_p$ is a grammar element.
   - (c) A virtual non-terminal $V \in \Sigma_v$ is a grammar element.
   - (d) A movement non-terminal $M \in \Sigma_m$ is a grammar element.
   - (e) A goal $G \in \Sigma_g$ is a grammar element.
6. $R$ is the set of production rules. A production rule is of the following form:

\[ X_0 \rightarrow X_1 C_1 X_2 C_2 \ldots C_{(m-1)} X_m \]

where $X_0 \in \Sigma_p$

\[ X_i \in \Sigma_p \text{ for } 1 \leq i \leq m, \text{ and } \]

\[ C_i \in C \text{ for } 1 \leq i \leq (m-1). \]

It is obvious each production rule can be translated into a sequence of production rules with the logical operator 'and' only.

An example written with this formalism is shown as follows. It captures the relative clauses in English like "The man who he met is a teacher."

\[ (r1) s \rightarrow np, vp. \]
\[ (r2) np \rightarrow pronoun. \]
\[ (r3) np \rightarrow det, noun. \]
\[ (r4) np \rightarrow det, noun, rel. \]
\[ (r5) vp \rightarrow tv, np. \]
\[ (r6) vp \rightarrow tv, trace. \]
\[ (r7) vp \rightarrow tv. \]
\[ (r8) rel \rightarrow rel\_pronoun \ll \ll trace, s. \]

where $T = \{\text{pronoun, det, noun, tv, iv, rel\_pronoun}\}$

$\Sigma_p = \{s, np, vp, rel\}$

$\Sigma_v = \{\text{trace}\}$

$\Sigma_m = \{\text{rel\_pronoun} \ll \ll \text{trace}\}$

$B = \{s, np\}$

The rule (r8) describes a constituent in phrase structure $s$ is extraposed to the rel\_pronoun position. Which constituent may be moved from which position is specified by rule (r6).

Definition 2. For $X \in \Sigma_p$, $Y \in \Sigma_v$ and TR is a transitive relation, $X \, \text{TR} \, Y$ if

1. $X$ is the rule head of a production rule, and $Y$ is a grammar element in its rule body, or
2. $X$ is the rule head of a production rule, $I \in \Sigma_p$ is a grammar element in its rule body, and $I \, \text{TR} \, Y$, or
3. there exist $I_1, I_2, \ldots, I_n \in \Sigma_p$ such that $X \, \text{TR} \, I_1$...
The transitive relation $TR$ is also a dominate relation. This is because $TR$ is a dominate relation between a phrasal non-terminal and a virtual non-terminal.

**Definition 3.** A production rule $X_0 \rightarrow X_1, X_2, ..., X_m$ (where $X_i \in G_1$ for $1 \leq i \leq m$) is significant if it satisfies the extra restrictions:

1. For any grammar element $X_i = (A <<< B) \in \Sigma_{LM}$, there must exist some $X_j$, $i < j \leq m$, such that $(X_j, B) \in TR$.
2. For any grammar element $X_i = (B >>> A) \in \Sigma_{RM}$, there must exist some $X_j$, $1 \leq j < i$, such that $(X_j, B) \in TR$.

A logic grammar $GBLG$ is significant if each production rule $\in R$ is significant. The above sample grammar is significant for the following reasons:

1. The rules (r1) - (r7) are significant trivially.
2. The rule $rel \rightarrow rel\_pronoun <<< trace, s$ is significant because there exists a transitive relation $TR_1$ such that $s \ TR_1 \ vp \ TR_1 \ trace$.

**Proposition 1.** The c-command condition is embedded implicitly in $GBLG$s if these grammars are significant.

**Proof.** For a significant production rule:

$X_0 \rightarrow X_1, X_2, ..., X_m$

if $X_i = (A <<< B) \in \Sigma_{LM}$ then there must exist some $X_j$, $i < j \leq m$, such that $X_j$ dominates the virtual non-terminal $B$ in the other production rule. The phrasal non-terminal $X_0$ is the first branching node that dominates $A$ and $X_j$, and thus also dominates $B$. Therefore, $A$ c-commands $B$. $X_i = (B >>> A) \in \Sigma_{RM}$ has the similar behavior.

This property can be used to check the correctness of grammars automatically after parsing.

**Definition 4.** The transitive relation $TR_{subjacency}$ is a subset of $TR$ and satisfies the restrictions: for $X \in \Sigma_p$, $Y \in \Sigma_v$, $X \ TR_{subjacency} Y$ if $X \ TR_I \ TR_2 \ TR_3 \ ... \ TR_n \ TR \ Y$, and there does not exist more than one $I_j$ such that $I_j \ E B$.

**Proposition 2.** A significant logic grammar is a restrictive context sensitive grammar. This is because the truth value of a movement non-terminal depends on the appearance of a virtual non-terminal preceding or following it.

/Chen 1988/ proposes a bottom-up parsing system for $GBLG$s. Figure 2 shows the execution of our sample grammar for the sentence "The man who he met is a teacher." The label on the arc indicates the step number during parsing. The empty constituent $trace$ is generated in phrase $vp$, then passed to phrase $s$, and finally cut in phrase rel. Compared with other logic programming approaches /Matsumoto 1983, McCord 1987, Pereira 1981, Stabler 1987/, especially RLGs /Stabler 1987/, GBLGs have the following features:

1. The uniform treatments of leftward movement and the rightward movement,
2. The arbitrary number of movement non-terminals in the rule body,
3. Automatic detection of grammar errors before parsing. The former two features are useful to express the highly flexible languages like Chinese.

4. A Chinese Parser

4.1 Topic-comment Structures

Topic-comment structure is one of the specific features in Mandarin Chinese. There are several interesting linguistic phenomena concerning these structures:

1. Topic may be moved from the argument positions in the comment - as subject, direct object, or indirect object.
2. Many categories may appear in the topic position, e.g. $n_i^n$, $s_i^i$, $v_i^i$, or $p_i^i$.
3. There may be multiple topics in a sentence.
4. The comment may not contain a constituent which is anaphorically related to the element in the topic.

Under the above observations, topic may be represented as:

```
topic(topic(N2bar),n2bar,Semantic,Index,Case) -->
```

The second argument of predicate $topic$ specifies the phrasal category of the topic, i.e., $n2bar$ in this example. It is important for the parser to decide whether the constituent may co-index with a trace.

Next, the production rules for generating sentences are shown as follows:

```
s1bar(s1bar(Topic1,Topic2,S)) -->
topic(Topic1,Cat1,S1,I1,Case1) <<< trace(topic.info(Cat1,S1,I1,Case1)),
topic(Topic2,Cat2,S2,I2,Case2) <<< trace(topic.info(Cat2,S2,I2,Case2)),
s(S).
s1bar(s1bar(Topic,S)) -->
topic(Topic,Cat,S,I,Case) <<< trace(topic.info(Cat,S,I,Case)),
s(S).
s1bar(s1bar(S)) --> s(S).
```
Of these three production rules, the first two define the "topic-comment" pattern, and the last one is a rule without topic.

Finally, the phrasal non-terminal s is introduced.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s(s(N2bar,V2bar))} & \rightarrow \text{n2bar(N2bar,Semantic,Index,Case,Classifier)}, \\
\text{v2bar(V2bar,Semantic,Index,Case,subj,nonbei)}, \\
\text{s(st(Case,Index),V2bar))} & \rightarrow \text{trace(X,info(n2bar,Semantic,Index,Case))}, \\
\text{v2bar(V2bar,Semantic,Index,Case,subj,nonbei)}, \\
\text{s(n2bar,V2bar))} & \rightarrow \text{n2bar(N2bar,S,I,Classifier)}.
\end{align*}
\]

The top element of the "topic-comment" pattern, and the last one is a rule without "the":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n2bar(N2bar,Semantic,Index,Case,Classifier)}, \\
\text{s(st(Case,Index),V2bar)),} \\
\text{trace(X,info(n2bar,Semantic,Index,Case)),} \\
\text{v2bar(V2bar,Semantic,Index,Case,subj,nonbei)),} \\
\text{s(n2bar,V2bar))} \\
\end{align*}
\]

4.2 Noun Phrase

A noun phrase can be a pronoun, a simple noun, or a noun plus other elements that act as pre-modifiers of that noun. Those elements are (1) classifier phrases, (2) associative phrases, and (3) modifying phrases. Only associative phrase, relative clause, and appositive clause are listed in the following. Associative phrase denotes two noun phrases are linked by a special Chinese word "de" (的).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{asc(asc(N2bar,De))} & \rightarrow \text{n2bar(N2bar,Semantic,Index,Case,Classifier)}, \\
\text{* de(De)}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Both relative clause and appositive clause are nominalization in the form: nominalization + head noun, and are defined as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rel(rel(S,De))} & \rightarrow \text{s(S), * de(De)}, \\
\text{app(app(S,De))} & \rightarrow \text{s(S), * de(De)}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

However, they are different in the restricting the reference of the head noun. The head noun that a relative clause modifies refers to some unspecified participant in the nominalization part. For example:

1. They are growing apples.

   (the apples that they grow).

2. They are growing a tree.

   (the tree that they grow).

The head noun "apples" (the fruits) refers to an empty constituent (either subject or object) in the relative clause. This type of constructions can be considered a rightward movement. For appositive clause and head noun pair, the head noun does not refer to any entity in the modifying clause, i.e., appositive clause.

4.3 Verb Phrase

Different from a noun phrase, a verb phrase may have pre-modifiers and post-modifiers. The preverbal specifiers are ba-phrases, bei-phrases, adverbial phrases, degree phrases, preposition phrases, quantifier phrases, aspect, and modal. The postverbal modifiers are semantic constructions, adverbial phrases, quantifier phrases, classifier phrases, prepositional phrases, and aspect. Only Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) are about to discuss in detail. The rule

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{v2bar(v2bar(Va1bar,Valbar),S,I,C1,C2,subj))} & \rightarrow \\
\text{v1bar(Va1bar,Valbar,S1,C1,C2,subj))}
\end{align*}
\]

means two separate events juxtaposed together, e.g., I bought a ticket and I went in. It is one of the SVCs. The two events have the identical subject, but cases may be different. The other groups of SVCs are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(1) One verb phrase or clause serving as the direct object of another verb, e.g.} \\
\text{I want to go to school.} \\
\text{I want him to go to school.}
\end{align*}
\]

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Bei-construction has disposal shown as below similar to

For example,

4.5 Bei-construction

Bei-construction is a familiar Chinese pattern like the following:

noun phrase 1 被 (bei) noun phrase 2 verb.

For example,

那隻鳥 被 (我) 放走 了。
(The bird was let go (by me).)

Bei-construction has disposal shown as below similar to

ba-construction:

那個門 被 (我) 踢了一個洞。
(That door was kicked (by me) and a hole is left.)

The rules in Section 4.1 (topic-comment structure) capture the above phenomena.

4.6 Pronoun Resolution

Binding Theory can be rephrased in the following procedures. Assume β is an anaphor, a pronoun, or an R-expression depending on which principle is used. Each element β may have two sets: set of possible pairs and set of impossible pairs. These two sets are denoted by possible-pair and impossible-pair respectively, and are defined in the following:

possible-pair(β) = {α | α can co-index with β},

impossible-pair(β) = {α | α cannot co-index with β}.

(Principle A) For an acceptable sentence, try to find some α such that α is in β’s Governing Category and c-commands β. Each α that is outside of this range should not have a co-index relationship with β. This principle defines two sets for β. For example,

*李先生: 說 [你 看見了 自己]。
(* Mr. Lee said [you saw yourself].)

possible-pair(‘自己’) = {‘你’},

impossible-pair(‘自己’) = {‘李先生’}.

Both ‘你’ (you) and 李先生 (Mr. Lee) c-command ‘自己’ (self). The former is in the governing category of the reflexive ‘自己’ (self), but the latter is outside. So the index assignment is not acceptable.

(Principle B) Those α s that are in the range of Governing Category and c-command β should not co-index with β. This principle just says which α s cannot be in the candidate set. However, we cannot determine whether those α s that are in its range and do not c-command β, co-index with β or not. If such an α co-indexes with β, it must satisfy other criteria, e.g. other binding principles, the same semantic feature, and so on. Thus, this principle says only the impossible-pair. For example,

* [你 說 [他 看見了 自己]。 (* [you said [he saw himself]].)

impossible-pair(‘他’) = {‘李先生’},

possible-pair(‘自己’) = {‘你’}.

The R-expression does not c-command the pronominal. According to Principle B, we have no way to determine their binding relationship. But if Principle C is applied, it can tell us the index assignment is wrong.

(Principle C) For any α where α c-commands β, α ought not to have co-index relationship with β. This principle says nothing for those α s that do not c-command β. A set impossible-pair is defined from this principle. For example,

* 他 說 [你 看見了 李先生]。
(* He said [you saw Mr. Lee].)
impossible-pair('李先生')={‘他’, ‘你’}

The pronominal ‘他’ (he) c-commands ‘李先生’ (Mr. Lee), so they should have different indices.

Based on these three principles, a post-processing routine embedded in the parser is used to determine the co-index relationship between constituents from the parse tree. The algorithm is simple: Traverse the parse tree, generate the relations possible-pair and impossible-pair. If it is unknown up to now, a relation unknown is given temporarily. When a new relation possible-pair or impossible-pair is got, use it to check all the unknown relations. Retract the unknowns accordingly. Finally, assign the anaphors and pronominons suitable indices based on the relations possible-pair and impossible-pair.

5. Conclusion and Remarks

Many natural languages are flexible and context-sensitive. Mandarin Chinese is a famous example. It is difficult to capture the linguistic phenomena for these languages in computer. This paper adopts GB Theory to deal with this problem. According to GB Theory, the rule of 'move - α' moves anything anywhere, and the universal principles operate interactively to rule out the illegal movements. Thus, the only things should be declared in the grammars are:

1. which phrases are the possible empty constituents,
2. which positions are their possible empty sites,
3. which positions are their possible landing sites,
4. which phrasal categories are bounding nodes.

In such cases, a robust parser for natural languages can be designed. As an example, we represent many context-sensitive constructions in Mandarin Chinese, and do case marking and index assignment for Chinese sentences. An experimental Chinese parser is running under the environments: (1) Vax-11/785, (2) Quintus Prolog, (3) lexicon with about 200 words (about 33K bytes), and (4) about 150 production rules (about 112K bytes). Besides movement transformation, pronoun resolution is another index assignment. For well treatment of pronoun resolution, the syntactic knowledge is not enough. This is because the Binding Theory tells us much the impossible pair, but little the possible pair. Much more semantic information should be included.

Moreover, our GB approach is also useful when we would like to compose logical formulae from their syntactic counterparts. The idea is that the mapping between d-structure and s-structure, as well as between s-structure and logical form are treated in the similar way. The movement transformation between d-structure and s-structure tells us the relationship among verb and its accompanying arguments. The skeleton of the given verb is defined in the lexicon, and base-generated in the d-structure. For example,

存在 (Subject, Object) (buy(Subject, Object)).

The index assignment relates 買 (book) to the verb 買 (buy) in the following sentence:

有一本書，每個學生都買了。

(There is one book, that every student bought ti.)

Because the variable of the type 買 (book) and the second argument of the template 買 (Subject, Object) (buy(Subject, Object)) should be the same in the logical form, the index (a unique integer) can be changed into a variable, say X. That is, they share the same variable shown below:

exist(X, book(Y, EY, X))) (exist(X, book(Y, forall(Y, buy(y, XY)))).

The formula tells us the SVO-SOV inversion in the logical form. This phenomenon can be added into our parser easily with our formalism. The details concerning the logical interpretation of Chinese sentences refer to [Chen 1989].

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