Computational properties of environment-based disambiguation *

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Abstract
The standard pipeline approach to semantic processing, in which sentences are morphologically and syntactically resolved to a single tree before they are interpreted, is a poor fit for applications such as natural language interfaces. This is because the environment information, in the form of the objects and events in the application’s runtime environment, cannot be used to inform parsing decisions unless the input sentence is semantically analyzed, but this does not occur until after parsing in the single-tree semantic architecture. This paper describes the computational properties of an alternative architecture, in which semantic analysis is performed on all possible interpretations during parsing, in polynomial time.

1 Introduction
Shallow semantic processing applications, comparing argument structures to search patterns or filling in simple templates, can achieve respectable results using the standard ‘pipeline’ approach to semantics, in which sentences are morphologically and syntactically resolved to a single tree before being interpreted. Putting disambiguation ahead of semantic evaluation is reasonable in these applications because they are primarily run on content like newspaper text or dictated speech, where no machine-readable contextual information is readily available to provide semantic guidance for disambiguation.

This single-tree semantic architecture is a poor fit for applications such as natural language interfaces however, in which a large amount of contextual information is available in the form of the objects and events in the application’s run-time environment. This is because the environment information cannot be used to inform parsing and disambiguation decisions unless the input sentence is semantically analyzed, but this does not occur until after parsing in the single-tree architecture. Assuming that no current statistical disambiguation technique is so accurate that it could not benefit from this kind of environment-based information (if available), then it is important that the semantic analysis in an interface architecture be efficiently performed during parsing.

This paper describes the computational properties of one such architecture, embedded within a system for giving various kinds of conditional instructions and behavioral constraints to virtual human agents in a 3-D simulated environment (Bindiganavale et al., 2000). In one application of this system, users direct simulated maintenance personnel to repair a jet engine, in order to ensure that the maintenance procedures do not risk the safety of the people performing them. Since it is expected to process a broad range of maintenance instructions, the parser is run on a large subset of the Xtag English grammar (XTAG Research Group, 1998), which has been annotated with lexical semantic classes (Kipper et al., 2000) associated with the objects, states, and processes in the maintenance simulation. Since the grammar has several thousand lexical entries, the parser is exposed to considerable lexical and structural ambiguity as a matter of course.

The environment-based disambiguation architecture described in this paper has much in common with very early environment-based approaches, such as those described by Winograd

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(Winograd, 1972), in that it uses the actual entities in an environment database to resolve ambiguity in the input. This research explores two extensions to the basic approach however:

1. It incorporates ideas from type theory to represent a broad range of linguistic phenomena in a manner for which their extensions or potential referents in the environment are well-defined in every case. This is elaborated in Section 3.

2. It adapts the concept of structure sharing, taken from the study of parsing, not only to translate the many possible interpretations of ambiguous sentences into shared logical expressions, but also to evaluate these sets of potential referents, over all possible interpretations, in polynomial time. This is elaborated in Section 3.

Taken together, these extensions allow interfaced systems to evaluate a broad range of natural language inputs – including those containing NP/VP attachment ambiguity and verb sense ambiguity – in a principled way, simply based on the objects and events in the systems' environments. For example, such a system would be able to correctly answer 'Did someone stop the test at 3:00?' and resolve the ambiguity in the attachment of 'at 3:00' just from the fact that there aren't any 3:00 tests in the environment, only an event where one stops at 3:00. Because it evaluates instructions before attempting to choose a single interpretation, the interpreter can avoid getting 'stranded' by disambiguation errors in earlier phases of analysis.

The main challenge of this approach is that it requires the efficient calculation of the set of objects, states, or processes in the environment that each possible sub-derivation of an input sentence could refer to. A semantic interpreter could always be run on an (exponential) enumerated set of possible parse trees as a post-process, to filter out those interpretations which have no environment referents, but recomputing the potential environment referents for every tree would require an enormous amount of time (particularly for broad coverage grammars such as the one employed here). The primary result of this paper is therefore a method of containing the time complexity of these calculations to lie within the complexity of parsing (i.e. within $O(n^3)$ for a context-free grammar, where $n$ is the number of words in the input sentence), without sacrificing logical correctness, in order to make environment-based interpretation tractable for interactive applications.

2 Representation of referents

Existing environment-based methods (such as those proposed by Winograd) only calculate the referents of noun phrases, so they only consult the objects in an environment database when interpreting input sentences. But the evaluation of ambiguous sentences will be incomplete if the referents for verb phrases and other predicates are not calculated. In order to evaluate the possible interpretations of a sentence, as described in the previous section, an interface needs to define referent sets for every possible constituent.

The proposed solution draws on a theory of constituent types from formal linguistic semantics, in which constituents such as nouns and verb phrases are represented as composable functions that take entities or situations as inputs and ultimately return a truth value for the sentence. Following a straightforward adaptation of standard type theory, common nouns (functions from entities to truth values) define potential referent sets of simple environment entities: $\{e_1, e_2, e_3, \ldots \}$, and sentences (functions from situations or world states to truth values) define potential referent sets of situations in which those sentences hold true: $\{\sigma_1, \sigma_2, \sigma_3, \ldots \}$. Depending on the needs of the application, these situations can be represented as intervals along a time line (Allen and Ferguson, 1994), or as regions in a three-dimensional space (Xu and Badler, 2000), or as some combination of the two, so that they can be constrained by modifiers that specify the situations’ times and locations. Referents for other types of phrases may be expressed as tuples of entities and situations: one for each argument of the

1 It is important to make a distinction between this environment information, which just describes the set of objects and events that exist in the interfaced application, and what is often called domain information, which describes (usually via hand-written rules) the kinds of objects and events can exist in the interfaced application. The former comes for free with the application, while the latter can be very expensive to create and port between domains.

2 This is not strictly true, as referent sets for constituents like determiners are difficult to define, and others (particularly those of classifiers) will be extremely large until composed with modifiers and arguments. Fortunately, as long as there is a bound on the height in the tree to which the evaluation of referent sets can be deferred (e.g. after the first composition), the claimed polynomial complexity of referent annotation will not be lost.
corresponding logical function’s input (with the presence or absence of the tuple representing the boolean output). For example, adjectives, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses, which are typically represented as situationally-dependent properties (functions from situations and entities to truth values) define potential referent sets of tuples that consist of one entity and one situation: \( \{(e_1, \sigma_1), (e_2, \sigma_2), (e_3, \sigma_3), \ldots \} \). This representation can be extended to treat common nouns as situationally-dependent properties as well, in order to handle sets like ‘bachelors’ that change their membership over time.

3 Sharing referents across interpretations

Any method for using the environment to guide the interpretation of natural language sentences requires a tractable representation of the many possible interpretations of each input. The representation described here is based on the polynomial-sized chart produced by any dynamic programming recognition algorithm.

A record of the derivation paths in any dynamic programming recognition algorithm (such as CKY (Cocke and Schwartz, 1970), Kasami, 1965; Younger, 1967) or Earley (Earley, 1970) can be interpreted as a polynomial sized and-or graph with space complexity equal to the time complexity of recognition, whose disjunctive nodes represent possible constituents in the analysis, and whose conjunctive nodes represent binary applications of rules in the grammar. This is called a shared forest of parse trees, because it can represent an exponential number of possible parses using a polynomial number of nodes which are shared between alternative analyses (Tomita, 1985; Billot and Lang, 1989), and can be constructed and traversed in time of the same complexity (e.g. \( O(n^3) \) for context free grammars). For example, the two parse trees for the noun phrase ‘button on handle beside adapter’ shown in Figure 1 can be merged into the single shared forest in Figure 2 without any loss of information.

These shared syntactic structures can further be associated with compositional semantic functions that correspond to the syntactic elements in the forest, to create a shared forest of trees each representing a complete expression in some logical form. This extended sharing is similar to the ‘packing’ approach employed in the Core Language Engine (Alshawi, 1992), except that the CLE relies on a quasi-logical form to under-

specify semantic information such as quantifier scope (the calculation of which is deferred until syntactic ambiguities have been at least partially resolved by other means); whereas the approach described here extends structure sharing to incorporate a certain amount of quantifier scope ambiguity in order to allow a complete evaluation of all subderivations in a shared forest before making any disambiguation decisions in syntax. Various synchronous formalisms have been introduced for associating syntactic representations with logical functions in isomorphic or locally non-isomorphic derivations, including Categorial Grammars (CGs) (Wood, 1993), Synchronous Tree Adjoining Grammars (TAGs) (Joshi, 1985; Shieber and Schabes, 1990; Shieber, 1994), and Synchronous Description Tree Grammars (DTGs) (Rambow et al., 1995; Rambow and Satta, 1996). Most of these formalisms can be extended to define semantic associations over entire shared forests, rather than merely over individual parse trees, in a straightforward manner, preserving the ambiguity of the syntactic forest without exceeding its polynomial size, or the polynomial time complexity of creating or traversing it.

Since one of the goals of this architecture is to use the system’s representation of its environment to resolve ambiguity in its instructions, a space-efficient shared forest of logical functions will not be enough. The system must also be able to efficiently calculate the sets of potential referents in the environment for every subexpression in this forest. Fortunately, since the logical function forest shares structure between alternative analyses, many of the sets of potential referents can be shared between analyses during evaluation as well. This has the effect of building a third shared forest of potential referent sets (another and-or graph, isomorphic to the logical function forest and with the same polynomial complexity), where every conjunctive node represents the results of applying a logical function to the elements in that node’s child sets, and every disjunctive node represents the union of all the potential referents in that node’s child sets. The presence or absence of these environment referents at various nodes in the shared forest can be used to choose a viable parse tree from the forest, or to evaluate the truth or falsity of the input sentence without dis-
Figure 1: Example parse trees for ‘button on handle beside adapter’
Figure 2: Example shared forest for “button on handle beside adapter”

ambiguating it (by checking the presence or lack of referents at the root of the forest).

For example, the noun phrase ‘button on handle beside adapter’ has at least two possible interpretations, represented by the two trees in Figure 1: one in which a button is on a handle and the handle (but not necessarily the button) is beside an adapter, and the other in which a button is on a handle and the button (but not necessarily the handle) is beside an adapter. The semantic functions are annotated just below the syntactic categories, and the potential environment referents are annotated just below the semantic functions in the figure. Because there are no handles next to adapters in the environment (only buttons next to adapters, as well as the set of things beside adapters, are shared between the two alternative interpretations. If there is a button next to an adapter, but no handle next to an adapter, the tree representing ‘handle beside adapter’ as a constituent may be dispreferred in disambiguation, but the NP constituent at the root is still preferred because it has potential referents in the environment due to the other interpretation.

The logical function at each node is defined over the referent sets of that node’s immediate children. Nodes that represent the attachment of a modifier with referent set $M$ to a relation with referent set $R$ produce referent sets of the form:

$$\{ \langle x, \ldots \rangle \mid \langle x, \ldots \rangle \in R \land \langle x \rangle \in M \}$$

Nodes in a logical function forest that represent the attachment of an argument with referent set $A$ to a relation with referent set $R$ produce referent sets of the form:

$$\{ \langle \ldots \rangle \mid \exists x. \langle \ldots, x \rangle \in R \land \langle x \rangle \in A \}$$

effectively stripping off one of the objects in each tuple if the object is also found in the set of referents for the argument.\footnote{In order to show where the referents came from, the tuple $\langle x \rangle$ is annotated with the parse tree of the noun phrase ‘button’ in the examples above. The referent-annotated forest for this sentence therefore looks like the forest in Figure 2, in which the sets of buttons, handles, and adapters, as well as the set of things beside adapters, are shared between the two alternative interpretations. If there is a button next to an adapter, but no handle next to an adapter, the tree representing ‘handle beside adapter’ as a constituent may be dispreferred in disambiguation, but the NP constituent at the root is still preferred because it has potential referents in the environment due to the other interpretation.}

\begin{itemize}
\item The shared forest representation effectively merges the enumerated set of parse trees into a single data structure, and unions the referent sets of the nodes in these trees that have the same label and cover the same span in the string yield (such as the root node, leaves, and the PP covering ‘beside adapter’ in the examples above). The referent-annotated forest for this sentence therefore looks like the forest in Figure 2, in which the sets of buttons, handles, and adapters, as well as the set of things beside adapters, are shared between the two alternative interpretations. If there is a button next to an adapter, but no handle next to an adapter, the tree representing ‘handle beside adapter’ as a constituent may be dispreferred in disambiguation, but the NP constituent at the root is still preferred because it has potential referents in the environment due to the other interpretation.
\end{itemize}
of standard type theory to the calculation of referent sets: modifiers take and return functions of the same type, and arguments must satisfy one of the input types of an applied function.

Since both of these ‘referent set composition’ operations at the conjunctive nodes – as well as the union operation at the disjunctive nodes – are linear in space and time on the number of elements in each of the composed sets (assuming the sets are sorted in advance and remain so), the calculation of referent sets only adds a factor of $|E|$ to the size complexity of the forest and the time complexity of processing it, where $|E|$ is the number of objects and events in the run-time environment. Thus, the total space and time complexity of the above algorithm (on a context-free forest) is $O(|E|n^3)$. If other operations are added, the complexity of referent set composition will be limited by the least efficient operation.

3.1 Temporal referents

Since the referent sets for situations are also well defined under type theory, this environment-based approach can also resolve attachment ambiguities involving verbs and verb phrases in addition to those involving only nominal referents. For example, if the interpreter is given the sentence “Coolant drained after test at 3:00,” which could mean the draining was at 3:00 or the test was at 3:00, the referents for the draining process and the testing process can be treated as time intervals in the environment history. First, a forest is constructed which shares the subtrees for “the test” and “after 3:00,” and the corresponding sets of referents. Each node in this forest (shown in Figure 3) is then annotated with the set of objects and intervals that it could refer to in the environment. Since there were no testing intervals at 3:00 in the environment, the referent set for the NP ‘test after 3:00’ is evaluated to the null set. But since there is an interval corresponding to a draining process ($σ_1$) at the root, the whole VP will still be preferred as constituent due to the other interpretation.

3.2 Quantifier scoping

The evaluation of referents for quantifiers also presents a tractability problem, because the functions they correspond to in the Montague analysis map two sets of entities to a truth value. This

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5The composition of time intervals, as well as spatial regions and other types of situational referents, is more complex than that outlined for objects, but space does not permit a complete explanation.
means that a straightforward representation of the potential referents of a quantifier such as ‘at least one’ would contain every pair of non-empty subsets of the set $\mathcal{E}$ of all entities, with a cardinality on the order of $2^{2|\mathcal{E}|}$. If the evaluation of referents is deferred until quantifiers are composed with the common nouns they quantify over, the input sets would still be as large as the power sets of the nouns’ potential referents. Only if the evaluation of referents is deferred until complete NPs are composed as arguments (as subjects or objects of verbs, for example) can the output sets be restricted to a tractable size.

This provision only covers in situ quantifier scopings, however. In order to model raised scopings, arbitrarily long chains of raised quantifiers (if there are more than one) would have to be evaluated before they are attached to the verb, as they are in a CCG-style function composition analysis of raising [Park, 1996]. Fortunately, universal quantifiers like ‘each’ and ‘every’ only choose the one maximal set of referents out of all the possible subsets in the power set, so any number of raised universal quantifier functions can be composed into a single function whose referent set would be no larger than the set of all possible entities.

It may not be possible to evaluate the potential referents of non-universal raised quantifiers in polynomial time, because the number of potential subsets they take as input is on the order of the power set of the noun’s potential referents. This apparent failure may hold some explanatory power, however, since raised quantifiers other than ‘each’ and ‘every’ seem to be exceedingly rare in the data. This scarcity may be a result of the significant computational complexity of evaluating them in isolation (before they are composed with a verb).

4 Evaluation

An implemented system incorporating this environment-based approach to disambiguation has been tested on a set of manufacturer-supplied aircraft maintenance instructions, using a computer-aided design (CAD) model of a portion of the aircraft as the environment. It contains several hundred three dimensional objects (buttons, handles, sliding couplings, etc), labeled with object type keywords and connected to other objects through joints with varying degrees of freedom (indicating how each object can be rotated and translated with respect to other objects in the environment).

The test sentences were the manufacturer’s instructions for replacing a piece of equipment in this environment. The baseline grammar was not altered to fit the test sentences or the environment, but the labeled objects in the CAD model were automatically added to the lexicon as common nouns.

In this preliminary accuracy test, forest nodes that correspond to noun phrase or modifier categories are dispreferred if they have no potential entity referents, and forest nodes corresponding to other categories are dispreferred if their arguments have no potential entity referents. Many of the nodes in the forest correspond to noun-noun modifications, which cannot be ruled out by the grammar because the composition operation that generates them seems to be productive (virtually any ‘N2’ that is attached to or contained in an ‘N1’ can be an ‘N1 N2’). Potential referents for noun-noun modifications are calculated by a rudimentary spatial proximity threshold, such that any potential referent of the modifier noun lying within the threshold distance of a potential referent of the modified noun in the environment is added to the composed set.

The results are shown below. The average number of parse trees per sentence in this set was 21 before disambiguation. The average ratio of nodes in enumerated tree sets to nodes in shared forests for the instructions in this test set was 9.6 : 1, a nearly tenfold reduction due to sharing.

Gold standard ‘correct’ trees were annotated by hand using the same grammar that the parser uses. The success rate of the parser in this domain (the rate at which the correct tree could be found in the parse forest) was 87%. The retention rate of the environment-based filtering mechanism described above (the rate at which the correct tree was retained in parse forest) was 92% of successfully parsed sentences. The average reduction in number of possible parse trees due to the environment-based filtering mechanism described above was 3.6 : 1 for successfully parsed and filtered forests.

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6This approach is in some sense wedded to a CCG-style syntacto-semantic analysis of quantifier raising, inasmuch as its syntactic and semantic structures must be isomorphic in order to preserve the polynomial complexity of the shared forest.

7Sample parse forests and other details of this application and environment are available at http://www.cis.upenn.edu/~schuler/ebd.html.
5 Conclusion

This paper has described a method by which the potential environment referents for all possible interpretations of an input sentence can be evaluated during parsing, in polynomial time. The architecture described in this paper has been implemented with a large coverage grammar as a runtime interface to a virtual human simulation. It demonstrates that a natural language interface architecture that uses the objects and events in an application’s run-time environment to inform disambiguation decisions (by performing semantic evaluation during parsing) is feasible for interactive applications.

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