Ling 566 Dec 8, 2016

Sign-Based Construction Grammar

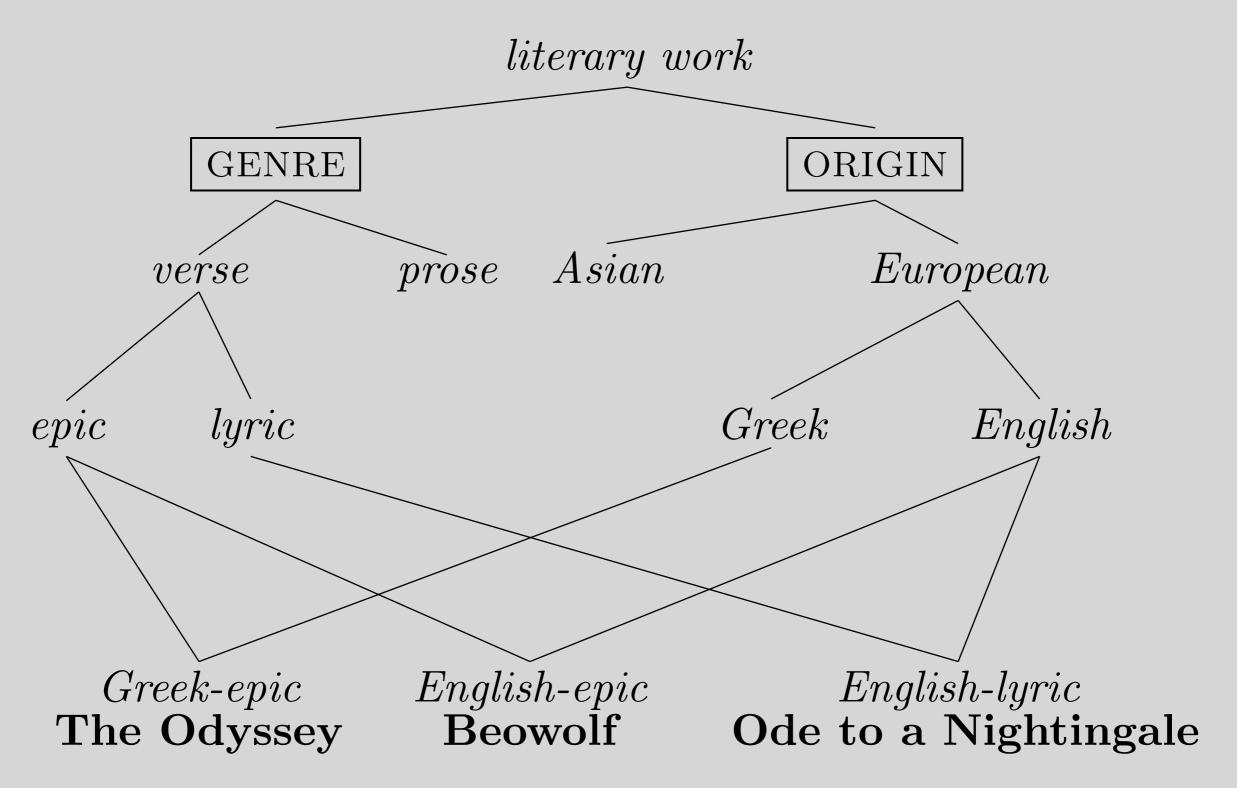
Overview

- Chapter 16 framework (same analyses, different underlying system)
- Reading questions
- Final preview
- Untangle this
- General wrap up

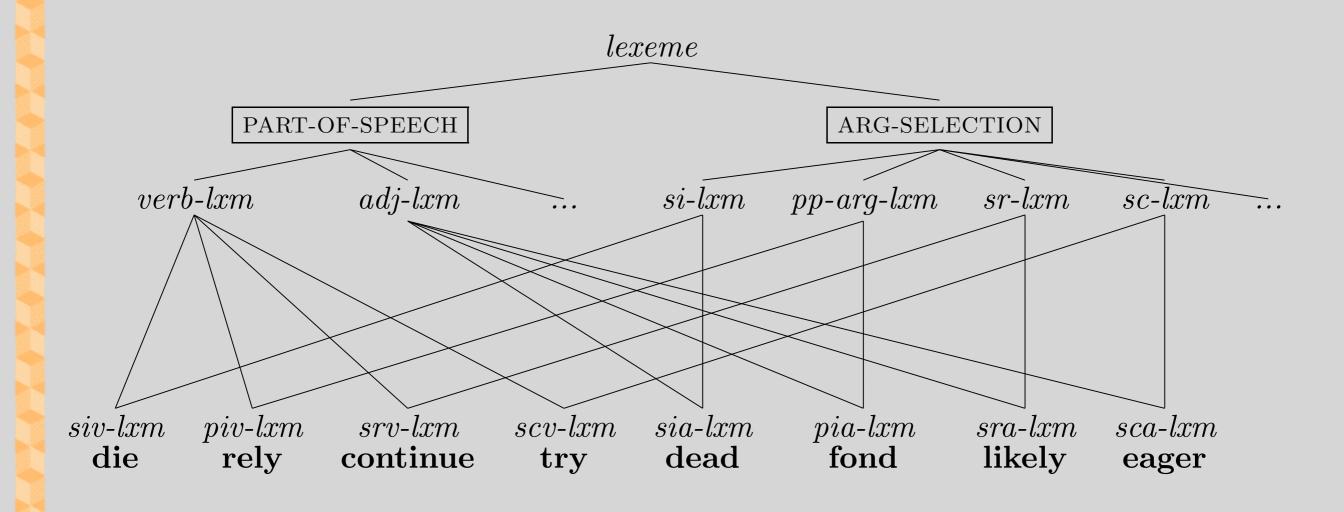
Overview of Differences

- Multiple Inheritance
- Signs
- Grammar rules form a hierarchy
- Every tree node has its own phonology
- Many principles become constraints on grammar rules
- The definition of well-formedness is simplified

Multiple Inheritance Hierarchies



Lexeme Hierarchy



Lexeme Abbreviations

• si-lxm: strict-intransitive-lexeme

• pp-arg-lxm: PP-argument-lexeme

• sr-lxm: subject-raising-lexeme

• sc-lxm: subject-control-lexeme

• siv-lxm: strict-intransitive-verb-lexeme

• piv-lxm: PP-intransitive-verb-lexeme

• srv-lxm: subject-raising-verb-lexeme

• scv-lxm: subject-control-verb-lexeme

• sia-lxm: strict-intransitive-adjective-lexeme

• pia-lxm: PP-intransitive-adjective-lexeme

• sra-lxm: subject-raising-adjective-lexeme

• sca-lxm: subject-control-adjective-lexeme

Lexeme Constraints

•
$$si$$
- lxm : $\left[ARG$ - $ST \langle X \rangle \right]$

•
$$pp$$
- arg - lxm : $\left[ARG$ - $ST \langle X, PP \rangle \right]$

•
$$sr\text{-}lxm: \left[\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[\text{SPR} \left\langle \boxed{1} \right\rangle \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

•
$$sc\text{-}lxm: \left[\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{NP}_i, \left[\text{SPR} \left\langle \text{NP}_i \right\rangle \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

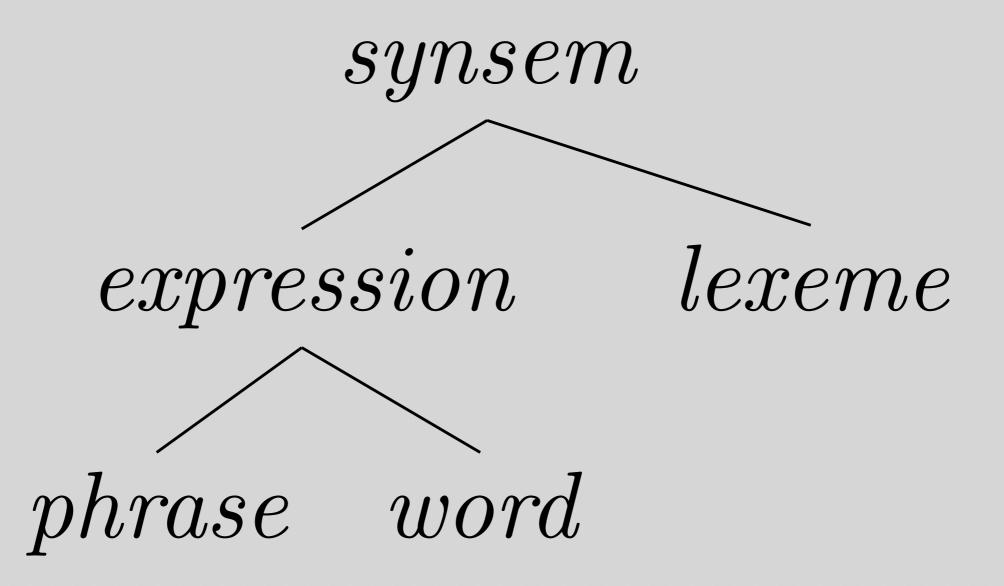
Another Lexeme Constraint

verb- lxm :	SYN	HEAD	[verb PRED INF AUX POL
	ARG-ST SEM	HEAD VAL MODE	$ \begin{bmatrix} SPR & \langle \rangle \\ COMPS & \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix}, \dots \rangle $ $ prop $

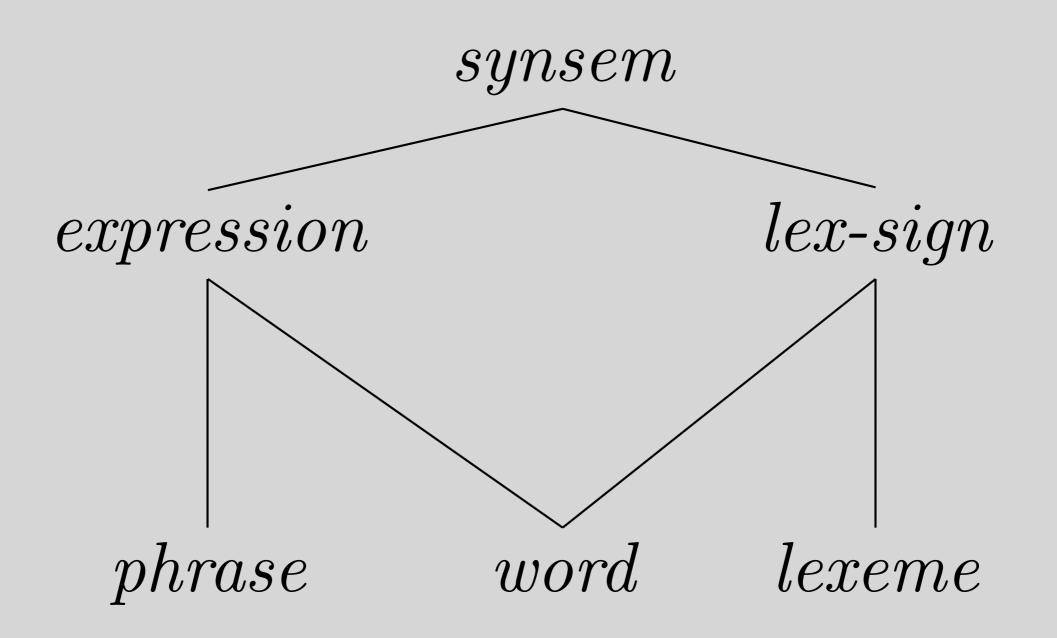
And Another

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & adj \\ \text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & \langle \text{X} \rangle \\ \text{MOD} & \langle \text{[HEAD} & noun] \rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ adj\text{-}lxm: \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & nominal \\ \text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}, \dots \\ \\ \text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE} & \text{prop} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

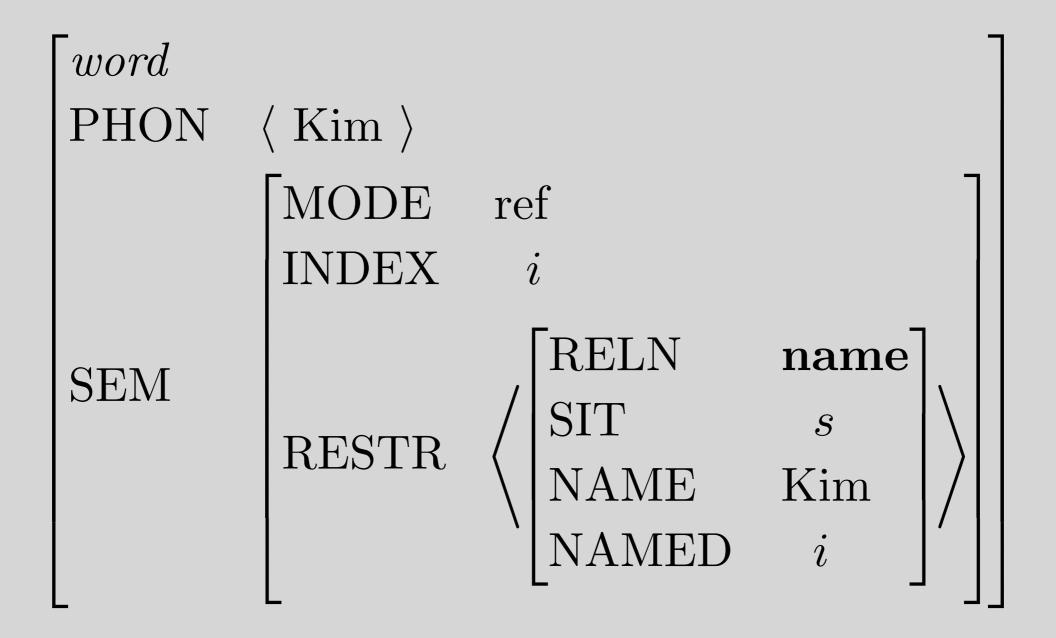
Synsem Types



Give ARG-ST a Unique Home



Words and Phrases as Saussurean Signs



Augmented Signs

```
word
PHON
           \langle \text{ Kim } \rangle
                     | noun
            HEAD
SYN
ARG-ST
            MODE
                    ref
            INDEX
                        RELN
                                   name
SEM
                                 s
Kim
            RESTR
```

Phrases as Signs

```
\neg phrase
PHON
          ⟨ Kim , walks ⟩
           HEAD
SYN
            SPR
            COMPS
            MODE
                       prop
            INDEX
SEM
                                  name
                                                  [RELN walk]
                         egin{array}{ccccc} {
m NAME} & {
m Kim} \\ {
m NAMED} & i \end{array}
            RESTR
                                               , SIT WALKER
```

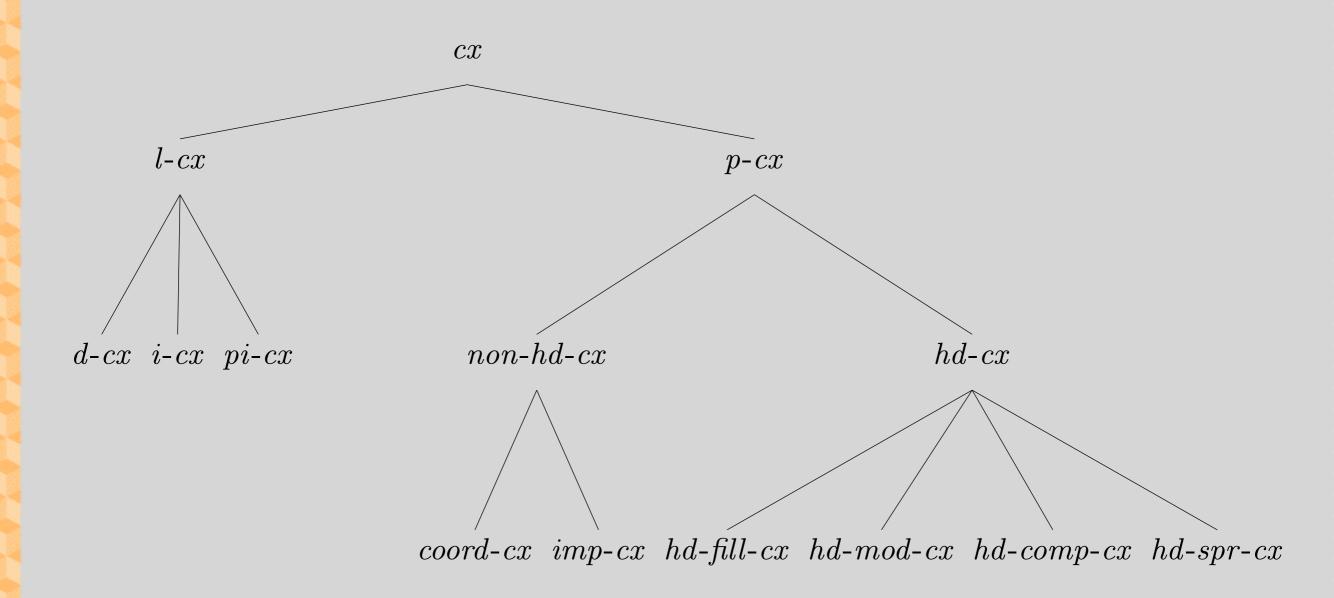
Types and Constraints

TYPE	FEATURES/VALUE TYPES	IST
sign	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & list(form) \\ \text{SYN} & syn\text{-}cat \\ \text{SEM} & sem\text{-}cat \end{bmatrix}$	feat-struc
expression		sign
lex-sign	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG-ST} & \textit{list}(expression) \end{bmatrix}$	sign
phrase		expression
word		expression & lex-sign
lexeme		lex-sign

Constructions: Some Abbreviations

cx	construction
l- cx	$lexical ext{-}construction$
d- cx	$derivational ext{-}construction$
i- cx	$inflectional\mbox{-}construction$
pi-cx	$post in {\it flectional-construction}$
p- cx	$phrasal ext{-}construction$
non-hd-cx	$non\mbox{-}headed\mbox{-}construction$
hd- cx	headed-construction
coord-cx	coordinate-construction
imp- cx	$imperative \hbox{-} construction$
hd-fill-cx	head-filler-construction
hd- $comp$ - cx	head-complement-construction
hd-spr-cx	head-specifier-construction
hd- mod - cx	$head ext{-}modifier ext{-}construction$

The World of Constructions



Properties of Constructions

TYPE	FEATURES/VALUE TYPES	IST
cx	$egin{bmatrix} ext{MOTHER} & sign \ ext{DTRS} & list(sign) \end{bmatrix}$	feat-struc
l-cx	$egin{bmatrix} ext{MOTHER} & lex ext{-}sign \ ext{DTRS} & \langle & lex ext{-}sign & angle \end{bmatrix}$	cx
p-cx	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{MOTHER} & phrase \\ \text{DTRS} & list(expression) \end{bmatrix}$	cx

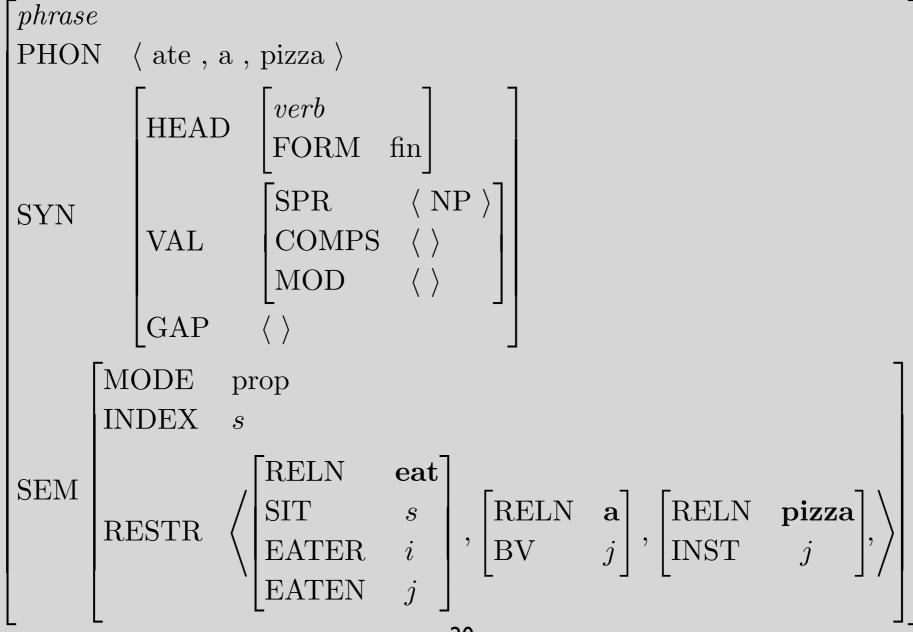
Well-Formed Tree Structure

 Φ is a Well-Formed Structure according to a grammar G if and only if

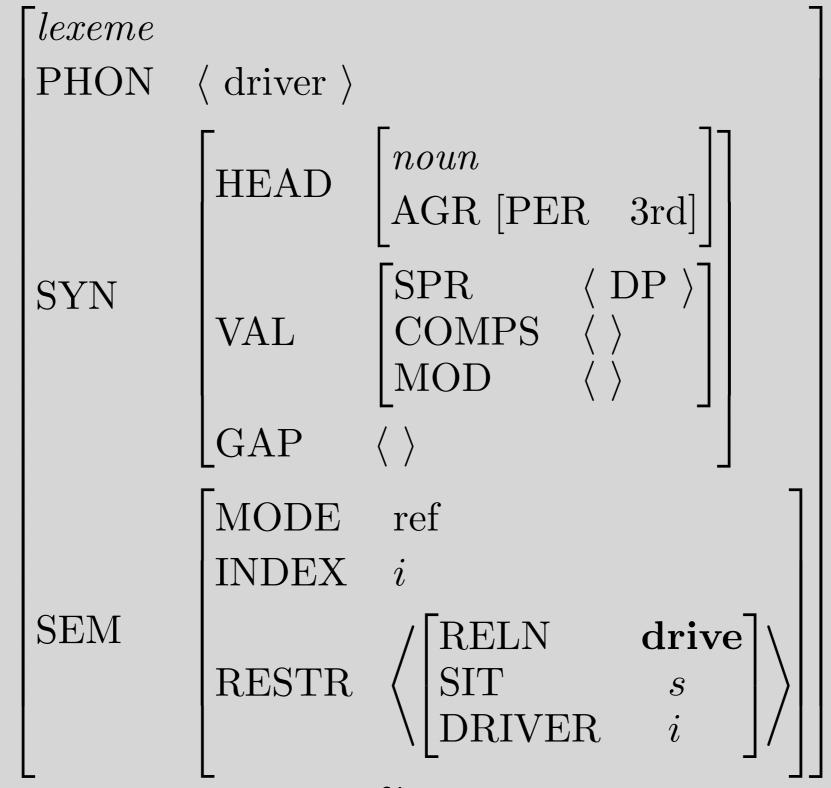
- 1. there is some construction C in G, such that
- 2. there is a feature structure I that is an instantiation of C, such that Φ is the value of the MOTHER feature of I.

A Well-Formed Feature Structure

The grammar licenses a feature structure of type *phrase* whose PHON value is < ate , a , pizza > because there is a feature structure instantiating the head-complement construction that has that feature structure as its MOTHER value. This phrasal construct satisfies the following description:



Another Well-Formed Feature Structure



Two Constraints

Root Constraint:

$$\begin{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} verb \\ FORM & fin \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ SYN \\ VAL \\ \begin{bmatrix} COMPS & \langle \ \rangle \\ SPR & \langle \ \rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$GAP \quad \langle \ \rangle$$

Principle of Order:

$$cx: \begin{bmatrix} \text{MOTHER} & [\text{PHON} \boxed{\text{A1}} \oplus ... \oplus \boxed{\text{An}}] \\ \text{DTRS} & \langle [\text{PHON} \boxed{\text{A1}}], ..., [\text{PHON} \boxed{\text{An}}] \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

Semantic Compositionality Principle

```
cx: \begin{bmatrix} \text{MOTHER} & [\text{SEM [RESTR A1} \oplus ... \oplus \text{An}]] \\ \text{DTRS} & \langle [\text{SEM [RESTR A1]}], ..., [\text{SEM [RESTR An]}] \rangle \end{bmatrix}
```

Alternative Version:

```
cx: \begin{bmatrix} \text{MOTHER} & [\text{SEM [RESTR A0} \oplus \text{A1} \oplus ... \oplus \text{An}]] \\ \text{DTRS} & \langle [\text{SEM [RESTR A1]}] , ... , [\text{SEM [RESTR An}]] \rangle \\ \text{CX-SEM} & \text{A0} \end{bmatrix}
```

Headed Constructions

TYPE	FEATURES/VALUE TYPES	IST
hd- cx	$[\mathrm{HD} ext{-}\mathrm{DTR} sign \]$	cx

Head Feature Principle:

$$hd\text{-}cx: egin{bmatrix} \mathrm{MOTHER} & [\mathrm{SYN} & [\mathrm{HEAD} & \mathbbm{1}]] \\ \mathrm{HD\text{-}DTR} & [\mathrm{SYN} & [\mathrm{HEAD} & \mathbbm{1}]] \end{bmatrix}$$

Two More Principles

Semantic Inheritance Principle:

$$hd\text{-}cx: \begin{bmatrix} \text{MOTHER} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE} & \mathbb{1} \\ \text{INDEX} & \mathbb{2} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{HD-DTR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE} & \mathbb{1} \\ \text{INDEX} & \mathbb{2} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Valence Principle:

$$hd\text{-}cx: egin{bmatrix} ext{MOTHER} & [ext{SYN} & [ext{VAL} & / & 1]] \\ ext{HD-DTR} & [ext{SYN} & [ext{VAL} & / & 1]] \end{bmatrix}$$

The GAP Principle

hd-cx:

The Head-Complement Construction

$$hd\text{-}comp\text{-}cx: \begin{bmatrix} \text{MOTHER} & [\text{SYN} & [\text{VAL} & [\text{COMPS} & \langle \ \rangle \] \]] \\ \text{HD-DTR} & \begin{bmatrix} word & & & \\ \text{SYN} & [\text{VAL} & [\text{COMPS} & \mathbb{A} \]] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{DTRS} & \langle \ \boxed{0} \ \rangle \oplus \mathbb{A}nelist \end{bmatrix}$$

And with inherited constraints....

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON } & \text{Al} & \oplus \dots \oplus & \text{An} \\ & & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD } & \text{I} \\ \text{VAL } & \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS } & \langle \cdot \rangle \\ \text{SPR} & D \\ \text{MOD } & E \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SEM } \begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE } & 2 \\ \text{INDEX } & 3 \\ \text{RESTR } & \text{Cl} & \oplus \dots \oplus & \text{Cn} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{HD-DTR } & \begin{bmatrix} word \\ \text{SYN } & \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS } & \langle \cdot 5 \rangle \\ \text{SPR} & D \\ \text{MOD } & E \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SEM } \begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE } & 2 \\ \text{SPR} & D \\ \text{MOD } & E \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SEM } \begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE } & 2 \\ \text{INDEX } & 3 \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{DTRS } & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON } & \text{Al} \\ \text{RESTR } & \text{Cl} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON } & \text{A2} \\ \text{RESTR } & \text{C2} \end{bmatrix}, \dots, \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON } & \text{An} \\ \text{RESTR } & \text{Cn} \end{bmatrix} \end{pmatrix}$$

An Instance of the HCC

```
hd-comp-cx
             phrase
             PHON ( talked , to , Kim )
                    HEAD
MOTHER
             SYN
             SEM [ ... ]
HD-DTR
                                                  phrase
            word
                                                  PHON
                                                           \langle to , Kim \rangle
            PHON
                      \langle talked \rangle
                                                         HEAD prep
                                                  SEM [ ... ]
```

```
hd-comp-cx
             phrase
             PHON
                     \langle in , Seattle \rangle
                   THEAD
                            prep
                             SPR
MOTHER
                                        A
             SYN
                              COMPS
                    VAL
                             MOD
                                        В
             SEM [ ... ]
HD-DTR
          0
            word
                                               word
            PHON \langle in \rangle
                                               PHON (Seattle)
                  THEAD prep
                                                     HEAD noun
DTRS
                         SPR A
                                               SYN
                         COMPS \langle 1 \rangle
                                                      VAL
                   VAL
                         MOD B
                                               SEM [ ... ]
            SEM [ ... ]
```

Two More Constructions

$$hd\text{-}spr\text{-}cx: \begin{bmatrix} \text{MOTHER} & \left[\text{SYN} & \left[\text{SPR} & \left\langle \right. \right] \right] \\ \text{HD-DTR} & \left[\text{O} & \left[\text{SYN} & \left[\text{SPR} & \left\langle \right. \right] \right] \right] \\ \text{STOP-GAP} & \left\langle \right. \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$hd\text{-}mod\text{-}cx:$$

$$DTRS \qquad \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{VAL} & \left[\text{COMPS} \; \langle \; \rangle \right] \\ \text{STOP-GAP} \; \; \langle \; \rangle \end{array} \right] \right]$$

A Tree

```
\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \left\langle \text{Kim, loves, Sandy} \right\rangle \\ \text{SYN} & \text{S} \\ \text{SEM} & \left[ \text{RESTR} \ \blacksquare \oplus \ \blacksquare \oplus \ \square \right] \end{bmatrix}
```

 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \left\langle \text{Kim} \right\rangle \\ \text{SYN} & \text{NP} \\ \text{SEM} & \left[\text{RESTR} \ \blacksquare \right] \end{bmatrix}$

 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \left\langle \text{loves, Sandy} \right\rangle \\ \text{SYN} & \text{VP} \\ \text{SEM} & \left[\text{RESTR} \ \mathbb{B} \oplus \mathbb{C} \right] \end{bmatrix}$

 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \left\langle \text{loves} \right\rangle \\ \text{SYN} & \text{V} \\ \text{SEM} & \left[\text{RESTR } \mathbb{B} \right] \end{bmatrix}$

 $\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \left\langle \text{Sandy} \right\rangle \\
\text{SYN} & \text{NP} \\
\text{SEM} & \left[\text{RESTR } \boxed{\mathbb{C}} \right]
\end{bmatrix}$

The Head-Filler Construction

| |HEAD O SYN HD-DTR VAL hd-fill-cx: GAP STOP-GAP (1) $\langle \mathbb{1}[GAP \langle \rangle], \mathbb{0} \rangle$

```
hd-fill-cx
                          PHON (Bagels, I, think, she, likes)
                                               HEAD

\begin{bmatrix}
COMPS & \langle \rangle \\
\rangle
\end{bmatrix}

MOTHER
                          SYN
                                               VAL
                                               GAP
                          SEM
HD-DTR 0
                                                                                          \lceil \text{PHON} \ \langle \ \text{I, think, she, likes} \rangle \mid
                       PHON (Bagels)
                                                                                                       HEAD 2
                                   \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & \langle \ \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \ \rangle \end{bmatrix} , \boxed{0} \text{ SYN}

VAL \begin{bmatrix} SPR & \langle \ \rangle \\ COMPS & \langle \ \rangle \end{bmatrix}

GAP & \langle \boxed{1} \ \rangle

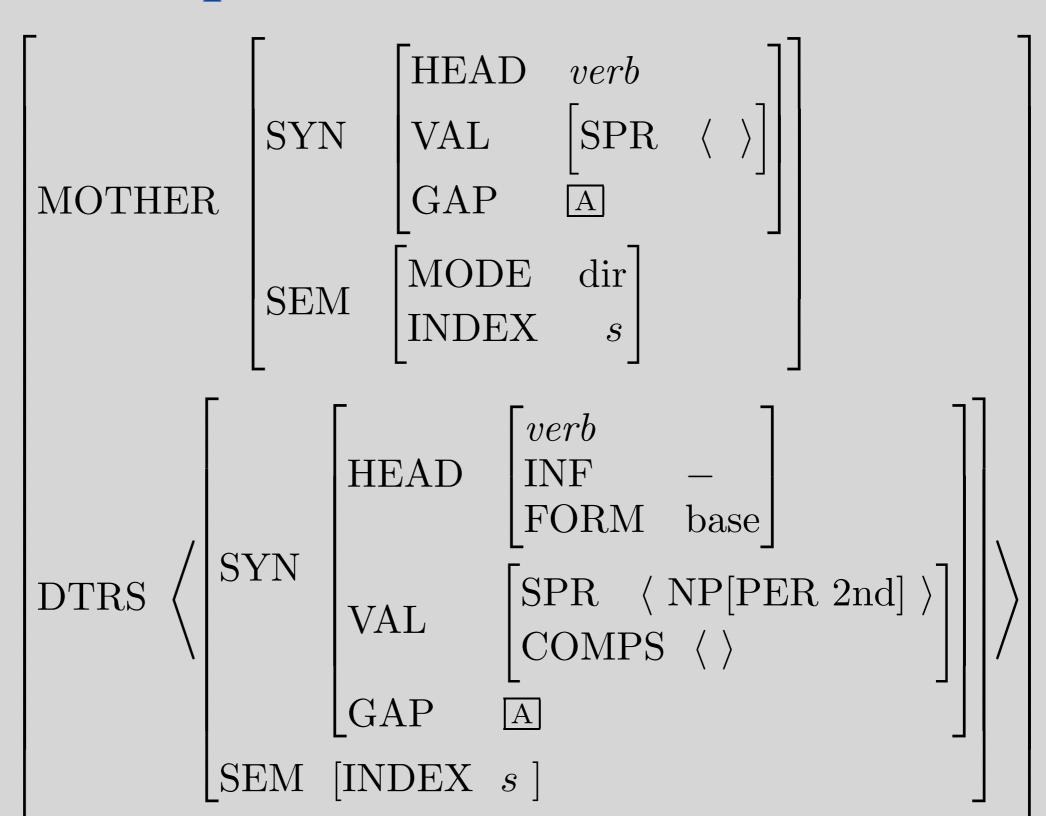
                  1 SYN
```

 $|\operatorname{SEM}[...]|$

STOP-GAP $\langle 1 \rangle$

SEM [...]

The Imperative Construction



imp-cx:

Coordination Construction

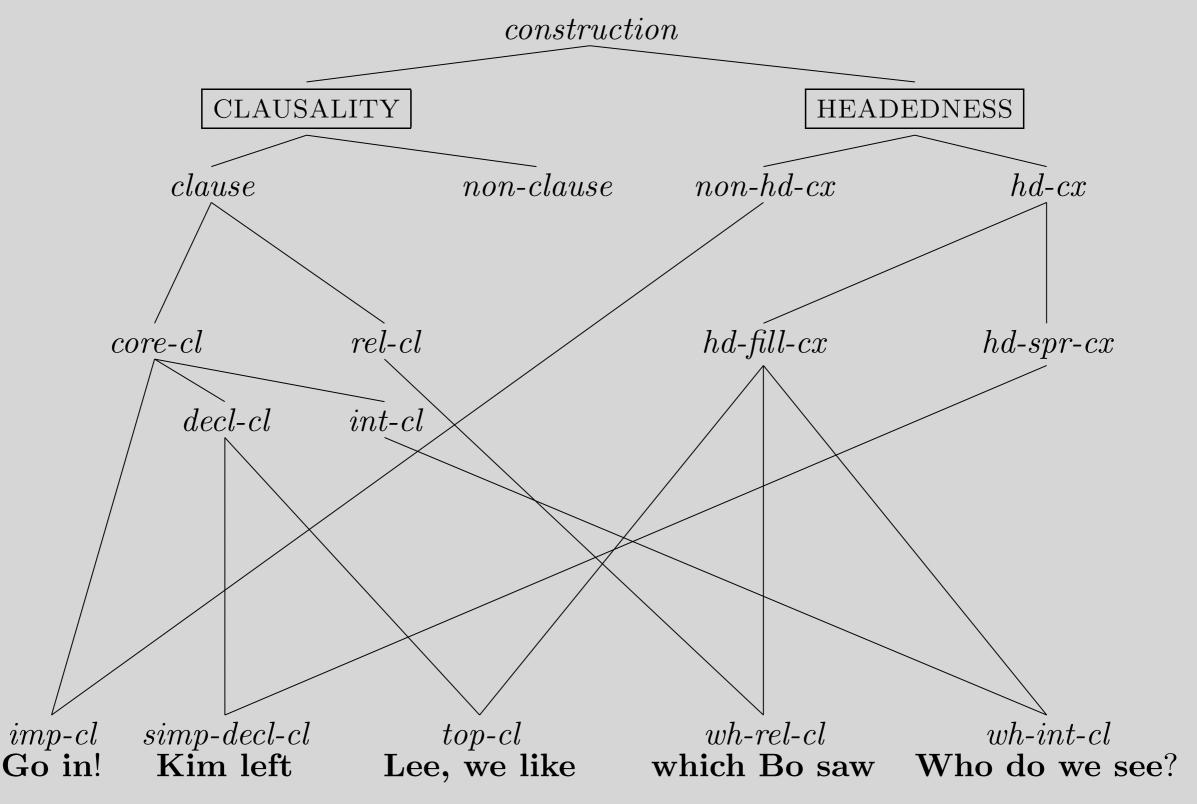
```
[HEAD [FORM 1]]
                SYN
                         VAL
MOTHER
                          GAP
                SEM
                         [IND s_0]
                                                             [HEAD [FORM 1]]
                   [HEAD [FORM 1]]
DTRS (
                                                     SEM [IND s_{n-1}]
            SEM [IND s_1]
                                                           HEAD [FORM 1]
          HEAD conj
                                                 SYN
                                                            VAL
           IND
          \left| \text{RESTR} \left\langle \left[ \text{ARGS } \left\langle s_1 ... s_n \right\rangle \right] \right\rangle \right|
```

```
PHON
                              (Kim, sleeps, and, Pat, works)
                               HEAD
                                           verb
                                             SPR
MOTHER
                 SYN
                               VAL
                                             COMPS
                 SEM [ ... ]
             \lceil \text{PHON} \mid \langle \text{ Kim , sleeps } \rangle
                                                            [PHON \(\land\)]
                         HEAD verb
                                 \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR } \langle \rangle \\ \text{COMPS } \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix} \mid , \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN [HEAD } \textit{conj} \end{bmatrix}
DTRS (
             SYN
                         VAL
                                                            | SEM [ ... ]
             SEM [ ... ]
            PHON ( Pat , works )
                       HEAD
                                    verb
                                     SPR
            SYN
                        VAL
                                     COMPS
            SEM
```

Some More Abbreviations

imp- cl	$imperative\mbox{-}clause$
decl- cl	$declarative ext{-}clause$
simp-decl-cl	simple-declarative-clause
top-cl	$topicalized\hbox{-}clause$
wh- rel - cl	$wh\mathchar`elative\mathchar`elause$
wh- int - cl	$wh\mathcharmondown interrogative\mathcharmondown clause$
core-cl	core- $clause$

A Construction Hierarchy



Locality

- Like CFG rules, constructions involve only mothers and daughters.
- A lexical head can place constraints on its sisters or on an appropriate maternal dependent.
- Unbounded dependencies are localized.

 Sandy is hard ((for us) to continue) to please___

 Getting it done is hard for us to imagine them considering___
- Our principles provide a theory of what information (reflected in terms of HEAD, VAL, GAP, etc.) is passed up within the domain projected by a lexical head (including subjects and modifiers) and hence a theory of what information is locally accessible at any given point in a tree.

Overview

- Chapter 16 framework (same analyses, different underlying system)
- Reading questions
- Final preview
- Untangle this
- General wrap up

- What are some examples of constructionally-introduced semantics?
- Can HPSG handle discourse-level structure?
- How is it stipulated which daughter (first or last) is the head of a phrase?

Two More Constructions

$$hd\text{-}spr\text{-}cx: \begin{bmatrix} \text{MOTHER} & \left[\text{SYN} & \left[\text{SPR} & \left\langle \right. \right] \right] \\ \text{HD-DTR} & \left[\text{O} & \left[\text{SYN} & \left[\text{SPR} & \left\langle \right. \right] \right] \right] \\ \text{STOP-GAP} & \left\langle \right. \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$hd\text{-}mod\text{-}cx:$$

$$DTRS \qquad \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{VAL} & \left[\text{COMPS} \; \langle \; \rangle \right] \\ \text{STOP-GAP} \; \; \langle \; \rangle \end{array} \right] \right]$$

- I remember discussing in class how defeasible constraints doesn't play well with multiple inheritance, but in this chapter we introduce multiple inheritance and still have defeasible constraints. What's up with that? For really practical sign-based construction grammar would we eventually have to drop defeasible constraints, or would we want to keep it indefinitely?
- In the example given for Head-Specifier rule pg. 476, would it mean that mother's and head daughter's SPR values would be defeasible whereas COMPS and MOD values wouldn't be?

- In a multiple inheritance hierarchy, should siblings always be mutually exclusive? (E.g., a leaf could have both *adj-lxm* and *si-lxm* as parents, but would never have both *verb-lxm* and *adj-lxm* as parents since these children of POS are mutually exclusive.)
- Do we use multiple inheritance in implemented HPSG grammar? I recall an argument made against using multiple inheritance, but I don't remember exactly what the reasons were.

- How do you show constituent information for a whole sentence with constructions? Don't we lose the visual order independence that trees conveyed? Are there any conventions for starting at a leaf node or the start symbol?
- We will still have trees when we analyze sentences right? Because there is phonological form in the feature structure, leaf node will be just of type *word*?
- Does not having tree structures make it more difficult to represent more than one parse for an ambiguous sentence, or is this taken care of by grouping the PHON list of the phrases differently (and therefore having different semantics)?

- If there is a change in tree-drawing, what would the new trees look like? I'm having trouble visualizing the changes described here.
- Do instantiated forms of the rules like on pages 484 and 485 ever appear anywhere when analyzing or generating sentences? If so, where?
- On page 475, the feature structure for Kim walks does't appear to differentiate between the NP and the VP that constitute the phrase. Would we still need a tree for that?

• Why is the "mother" considered the output and the "daughter" the input? In previous lexical rules with input/output, usually the more generalized case was the input and the addition of certain constraints created the output, such that the output was further down the tree.

- In practice, when we use HPSG to analyze texts, do we still use trees or just the new formalism?
- Is the ERG a Sign-Based Construction Grammar?

Overview

- Chapter 16 framework (same analyses, different underlying system)
- Reading questions
- Final preview
- Untangle this
- General wrap up

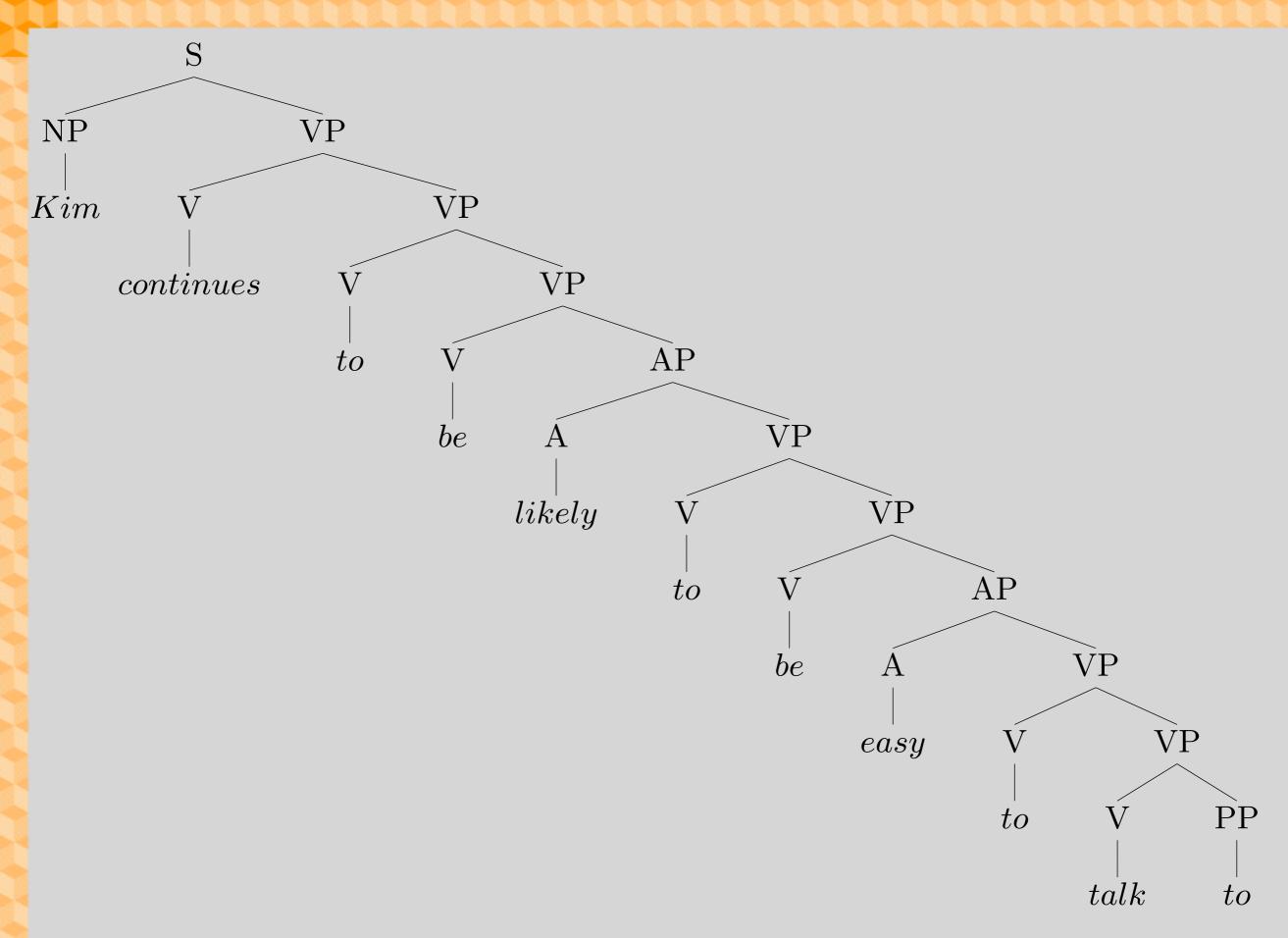
Untangle This

- What phenomena are illustrated by this sentence?
- What rules or interesting lexical types are involved in our analysis of it?
- What tree structure does our grammar assign?

Complicated example #6

Kim continues to be likely to be easy to talk to.

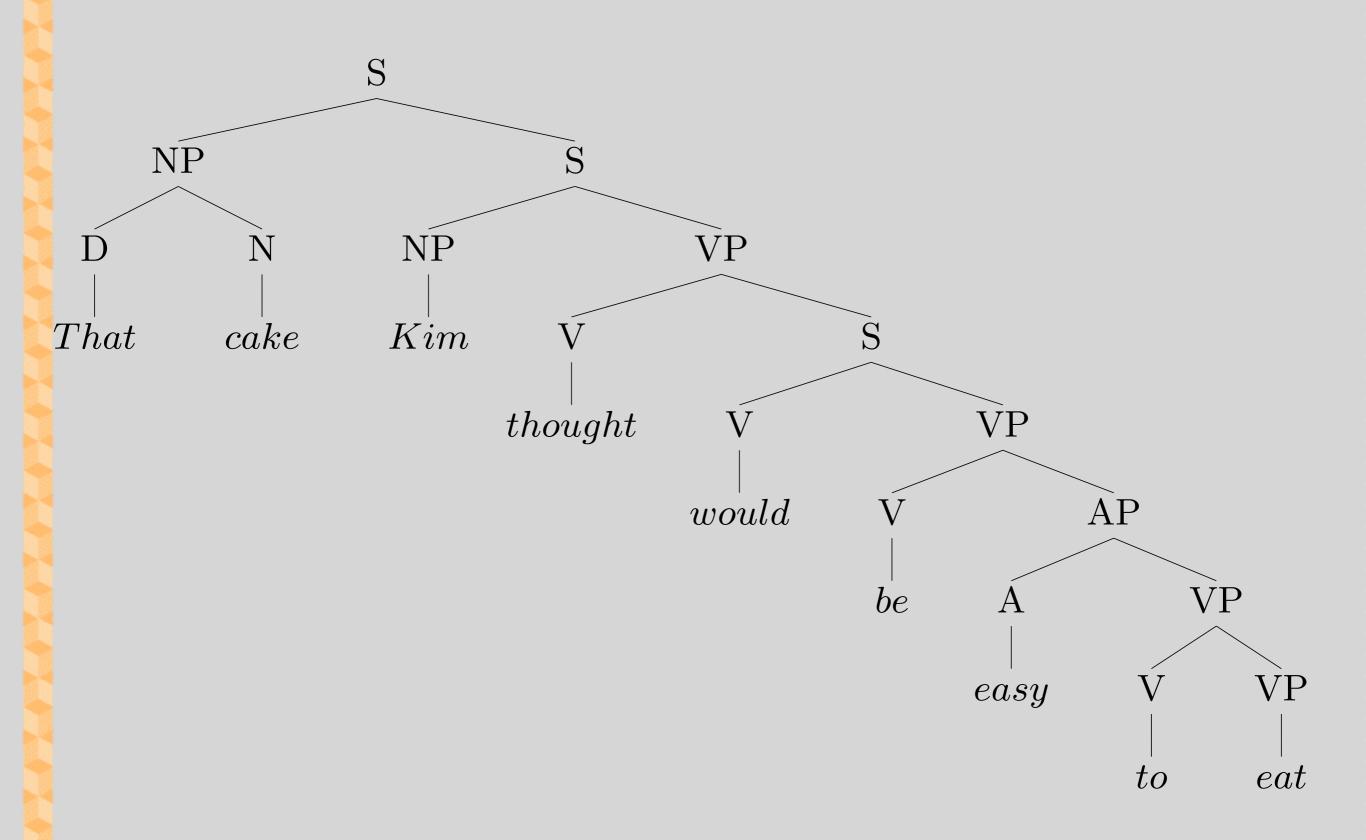
- *Kim continue to be likely to be easy to talk to.
- *Kim continues to be likely to is easy to talk to.
- *Kim continues to Kim be likely to be easy to talk to.



Complicated example #7

That cake, Kim thought would be easy to eat.

- *That cake, Kim thought would be easy to eat pie.
- *That cake, Kim thought would be easy to eaten.
- *Cupcake, Kim thought would be easy to eat.
- *That cake, Kim thought that would be easy to eat.



Course overview

- Survey of some phenomena central to syntactic theory
- Introduction to the HPSG framework
- Process over product: How to build a grammar fragment
- Value of precise formulation (and of getting a computer to do the tedious part for you!)

Reflection

- What was the most surprising thing in this class?
- What do you think is most likely wrong?
- What do you think is the coolest result?
- What do you think you're most likely to remember?
- How do you think this course will influence your work as a computational

Overview

- Chapter 16 framework (same analyses, different underlying system)
- Reading questions
- Final preview
- Untangle this
- General wrap up