

Ling 566

Dec 7, 2017

Sign-Based Construction Grammar

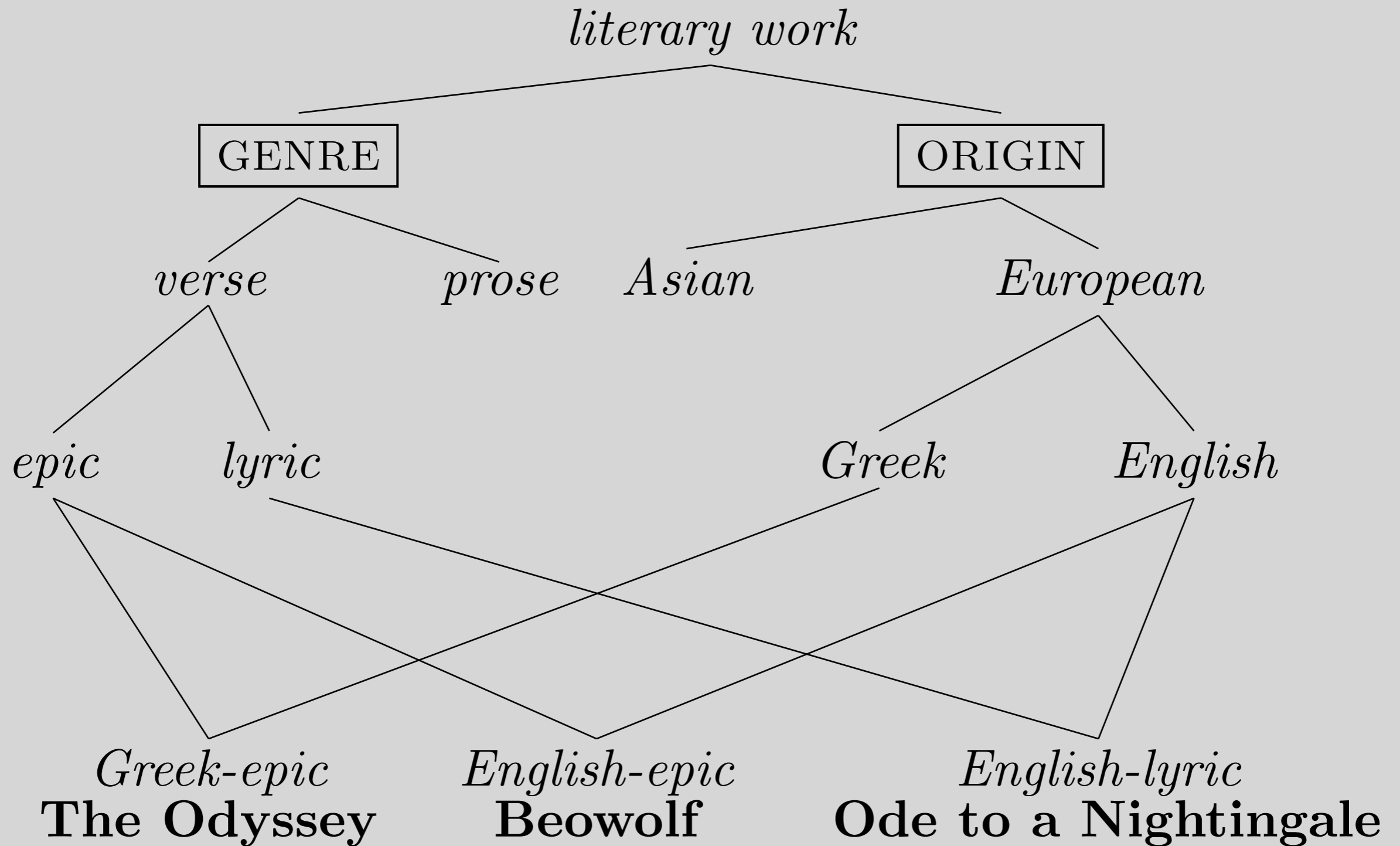
Overview

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

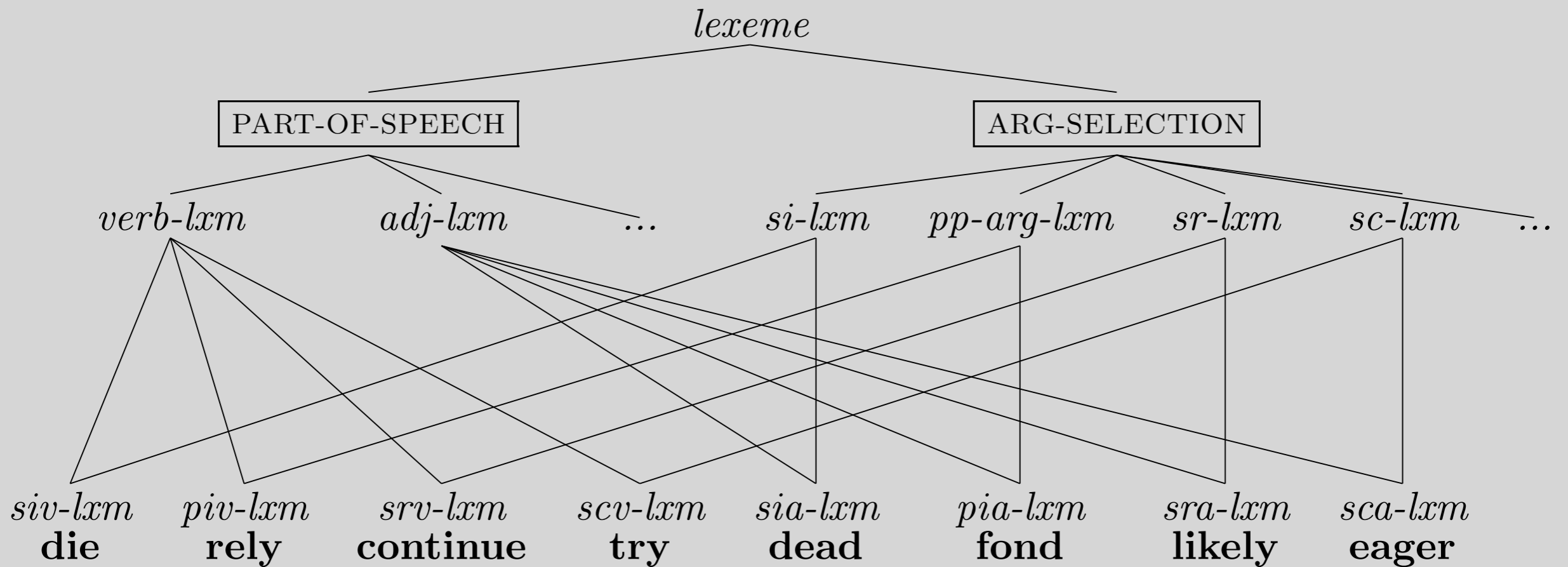
Overview of Differences

- 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



RQ: sra-lxm vs. sca-lxm

It is likely to surprise Kim that Sandy left.

*It is happy to surprise Kim that Sandy left.

There are likely to be donuts in the break room.

*There are happy to be donuts in the break room.

Tabs are likely to be kept on protesters.

*Tabs are happy to be kept on protesters.

Journalists are likely to interview this candidate.

~ This candidate is likely to be interviewed by journalists.

Journalists are happy to interview this candidate.

!~ This candidate is happy to be interviewed by journalists

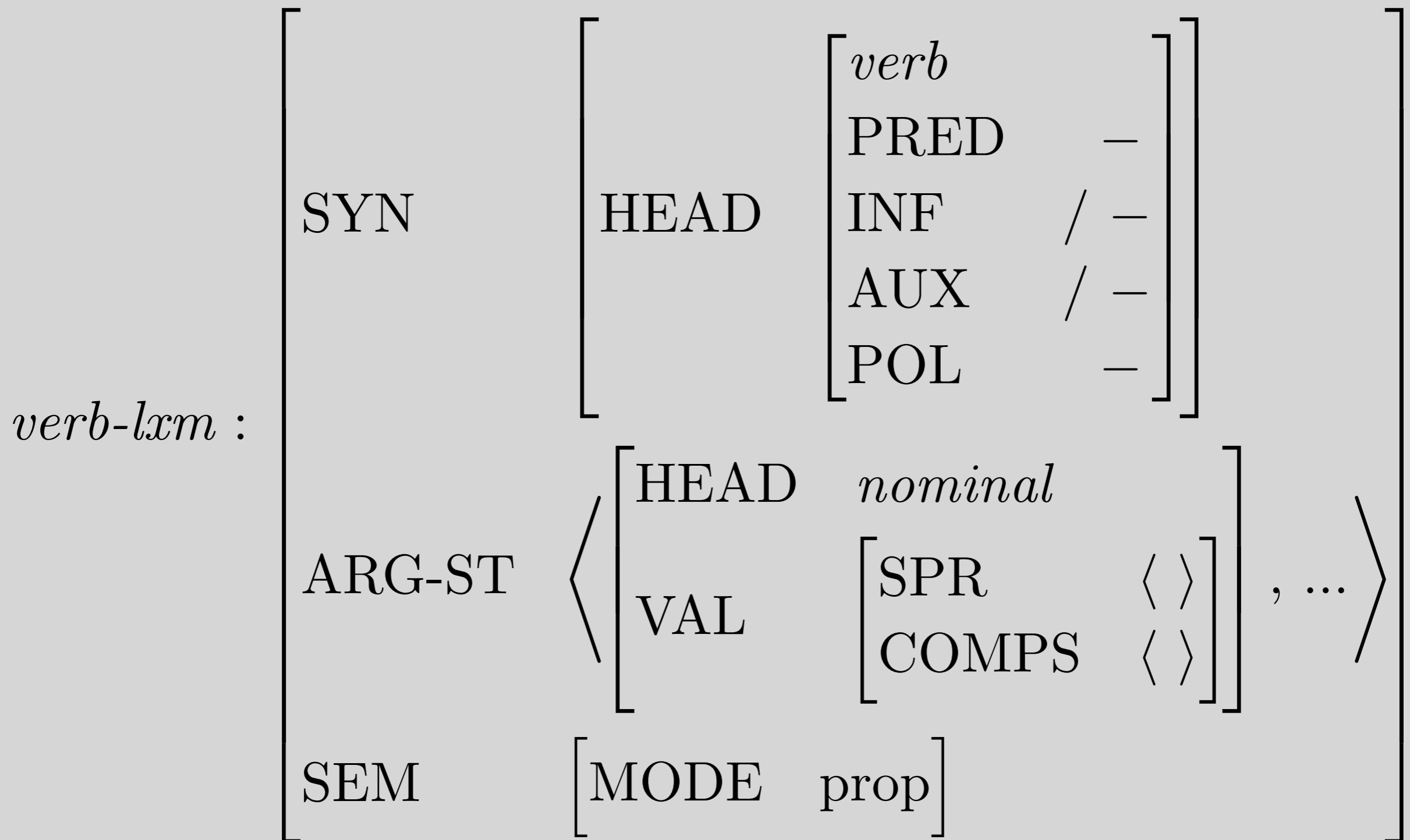
Lexeme Abbreviations

- *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*

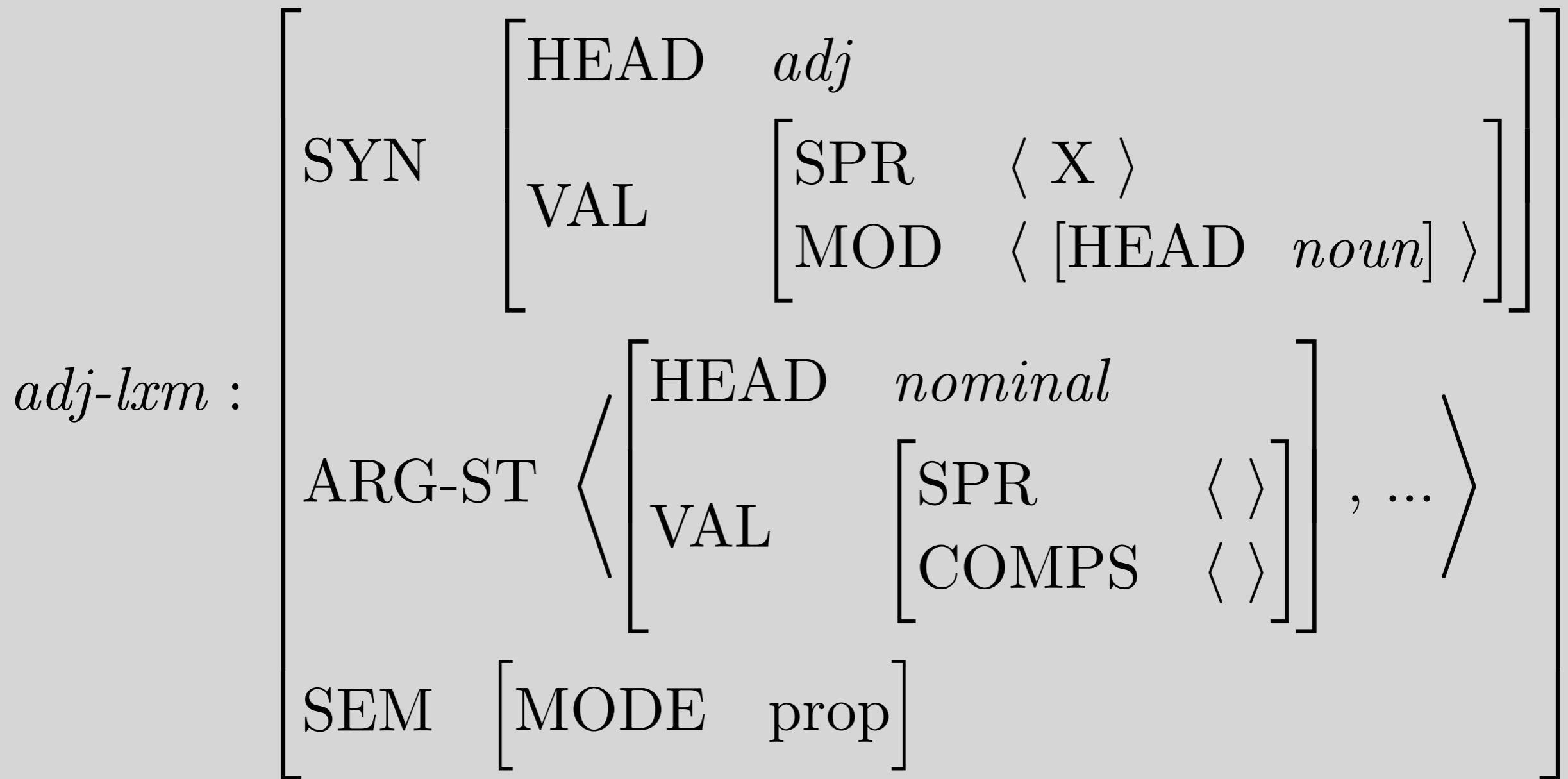
Lexeme Constraints

- $si-lxm : \left[\text{ARG-ST} \langle X \rangle \right]$
- $pp-arg-lxm : \left[\text{ARG-ST} \langle X, PP \rangle \right]$
- $sr-lxm : \left[\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[\text{SPR} \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \right] \right\rangle \right]$
- $sc-lxm : \left[\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{NP}_i, \left[\text{SPR} \langle \text{NP}_i \rangle \right] \right\rangle \right]$

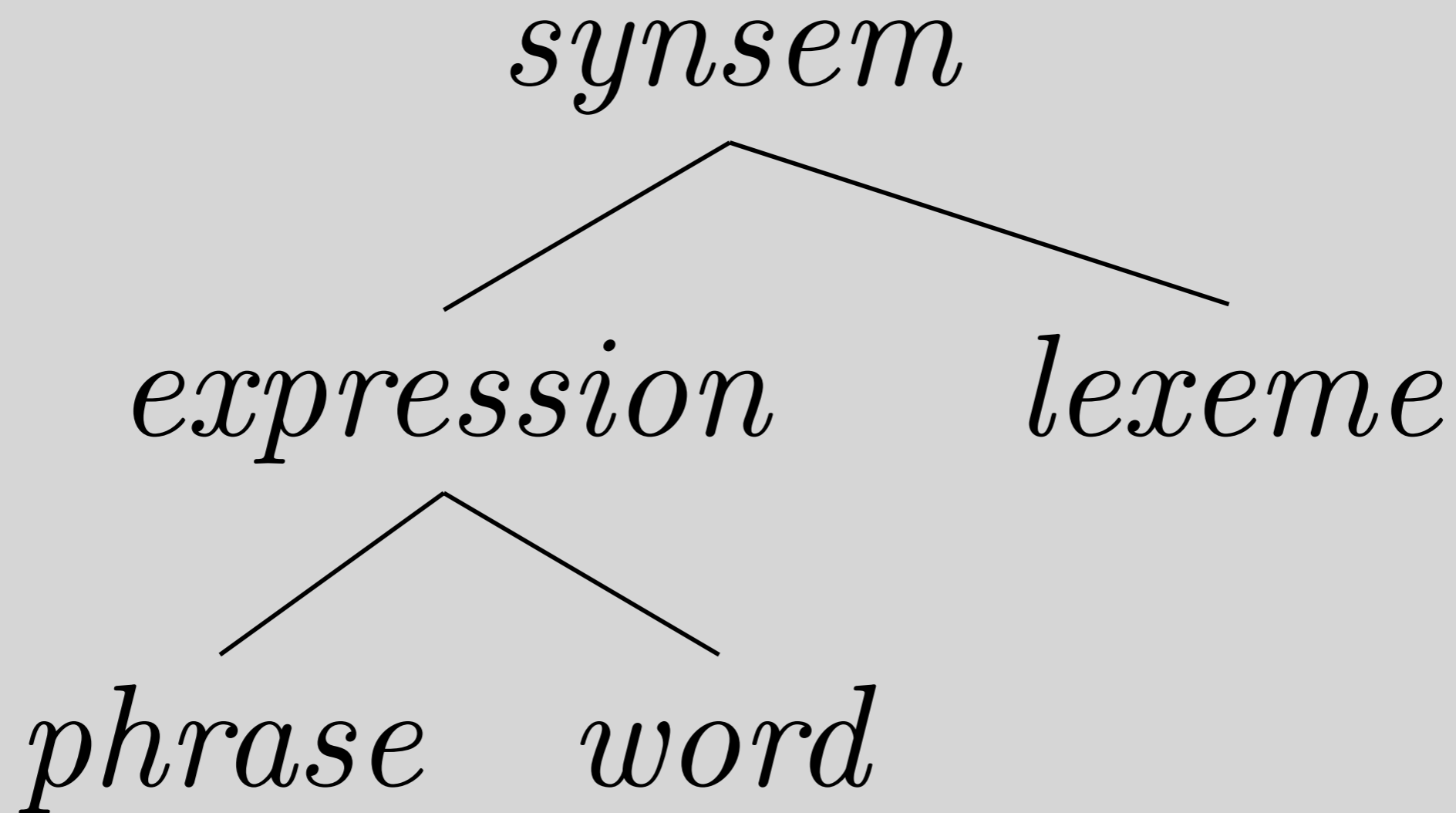
Another Lexeme Constraint



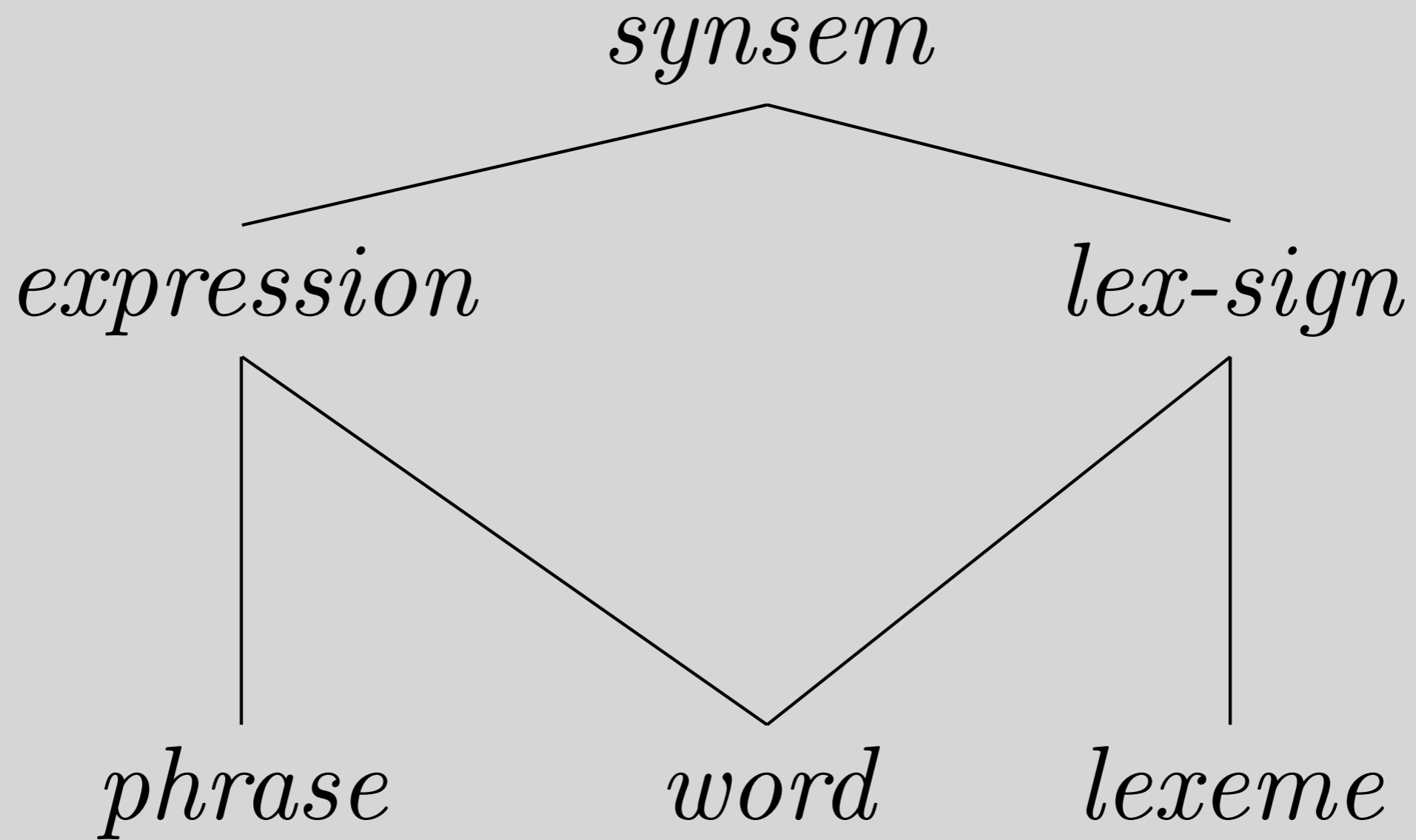
And Another



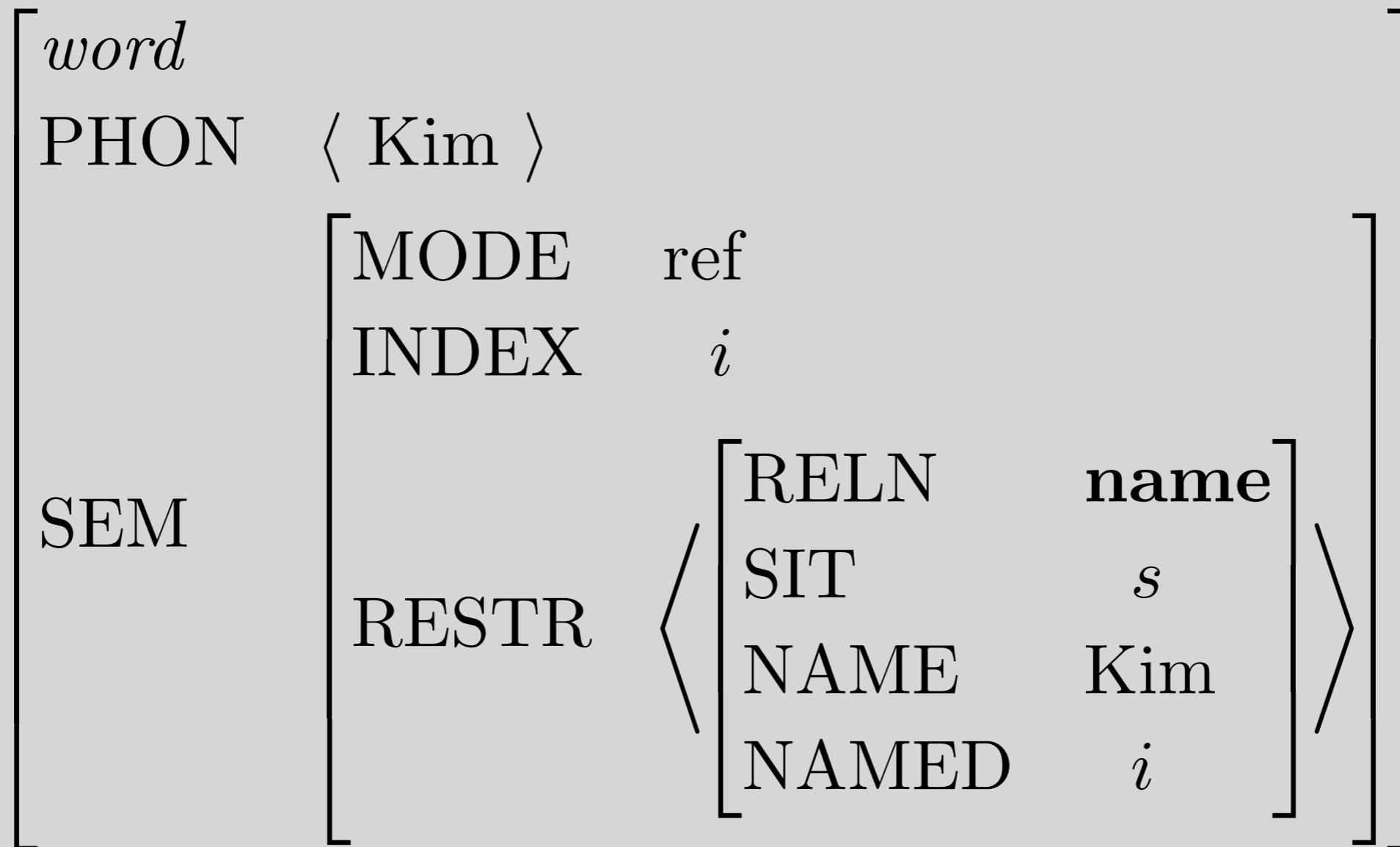
Synsem Types



Give ARG-ST a Unique Home



Words and Phrases as Saussurean Signs



Augmented Signs

<i>word</i>		
PHON	⟨ Kim ⟩	
SYN	[HEAD	[<i>noun</i> AGR <i>3sing</i>]]
ARG-ST	⟨ ⟩	
SEM	[MODE ref INDEX <i>i</i> RESTR	[RELN name SIT <i>s</i> NAME Kim NAMED <i>i</i>]]

Phrases as Signs

<i>phrase</i>																									
PHON	⟨ Kim , walks ⟩																								
SYN	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">HEAD</td> <td> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;"><i>verb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">FORM</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">fin</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">SPR</td> <td>⟨ ⟩</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">COMPS</td> <td>⟨ ⟩</td> </tr> </table>	HEAD	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;"><i>verb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">FORM</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">fin</td> </tr> </table>	<i>verb</i>	FORM	fin	SPR	⟨ ⟩	COMPS	⟨ ⟩															
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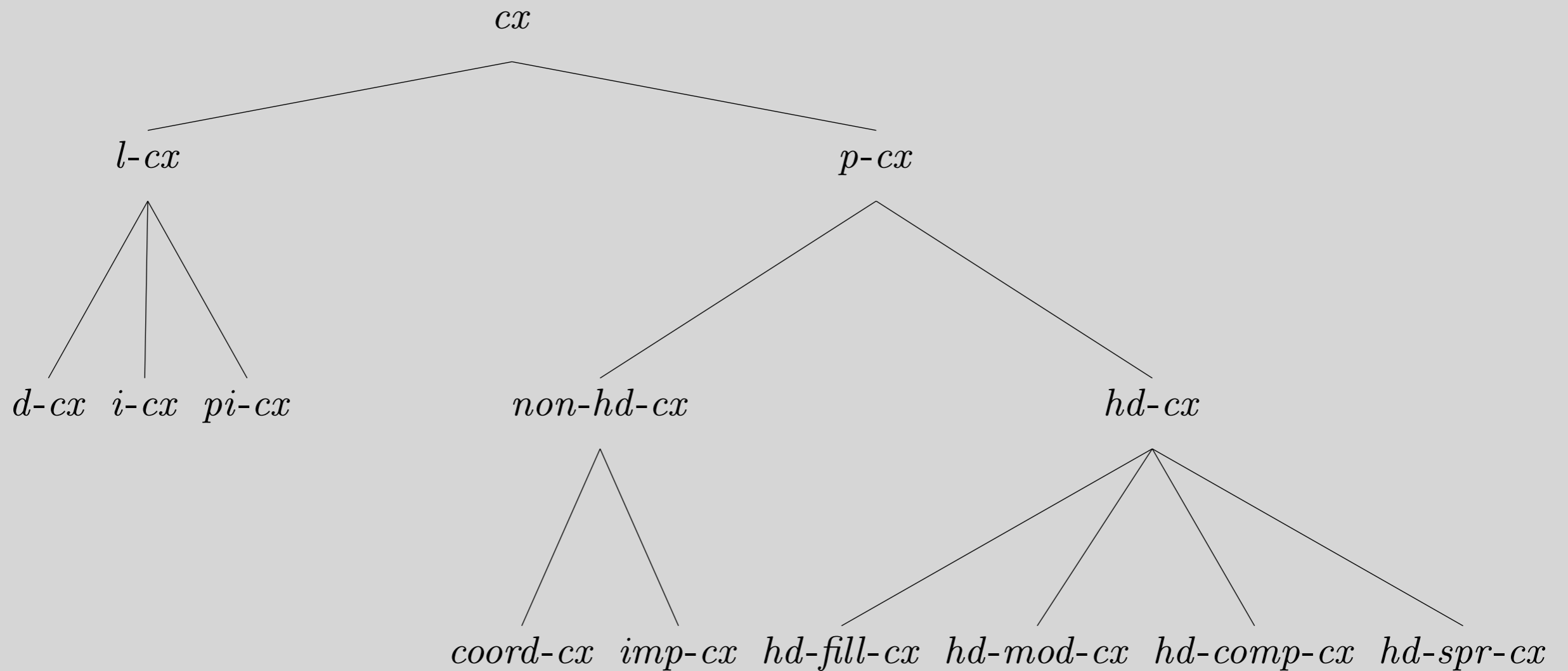
Types and Constraints

TYPE	FEATURES/VALUE TYPES	IST
<i>sign</i>	$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PHON} & \textit{list(form)} \\ \text{SYN} & \textit{syn-cat} \\ \text{SEM} & \textit{sem-cat} \end{array} \right]$	<i>feat-struct</i>
<i>expression</i>		<i>sign</i>
<i>lex-sign</i>	$\left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \textit{list(expression)} \right]$	<i>sign</i>
<i>phrase</i>		<i>expression</i>
<i>word</i>		<i>expression & lex-sign</i>
<i>lexeme</i>		<i>lex-sign</i>

Constructions: Some Abbreviations

<i>cx</i>	<i>construction</i>
<i>l-cx</i>	<i>lexical-construction</i>
<i>d-cx</i>	<i>derivational-construction</i>
<i>i-cx</i>	<i>inflectional-construction</i>
<i>pi-cx</i>	<i>postinflectional-construction</i>
<i>p-cx</i>	<i>phrasal-construction</i>
<i>non-hd-cx</i>	<i>non-headed-construction</i>
<i>hd-cx</i>	<i>headed-construction</i>
<i>coord-cx</i>	<i>coordinate-construction</i>
<i>imp-cx</i>	<i>imperative-construction</i>
<i>hd-fill-cx</i>	<i>head-filler-construction</i>
<i>hd-comp-cx</i>	<i>head-complement-construction</i>
<i>hd-spr-cx</i>	<i>head-specifier-construction</i>
<i>hd-mod-cx</i>	<i>head-modifier-construction</i>

The World of Constructions



Properties of Constructions

TYPE	FEATURES/VALUE TYPES	IST
<i>cx</i>	$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MOTHER} & \textit{sign} \\ \text{DTRS} & \textit{list(sign)} \end{array} \right]$	<i>feat-struct</i>
<i>l-cx</i>	$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MOTHER} & \textit{lex-sign} \\ \text{DTRS} & \langle \textit{lex-sign} \rangle \end{array} \right]$	<i>cx</i>
<i>p-cx</i>	$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MOTHER} & \textit{phrase} \\ \text{DTRS} & \textit{list(expression)} \end{array} \right]$	<i>cx</i>

Well-Formed Tree Structure

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

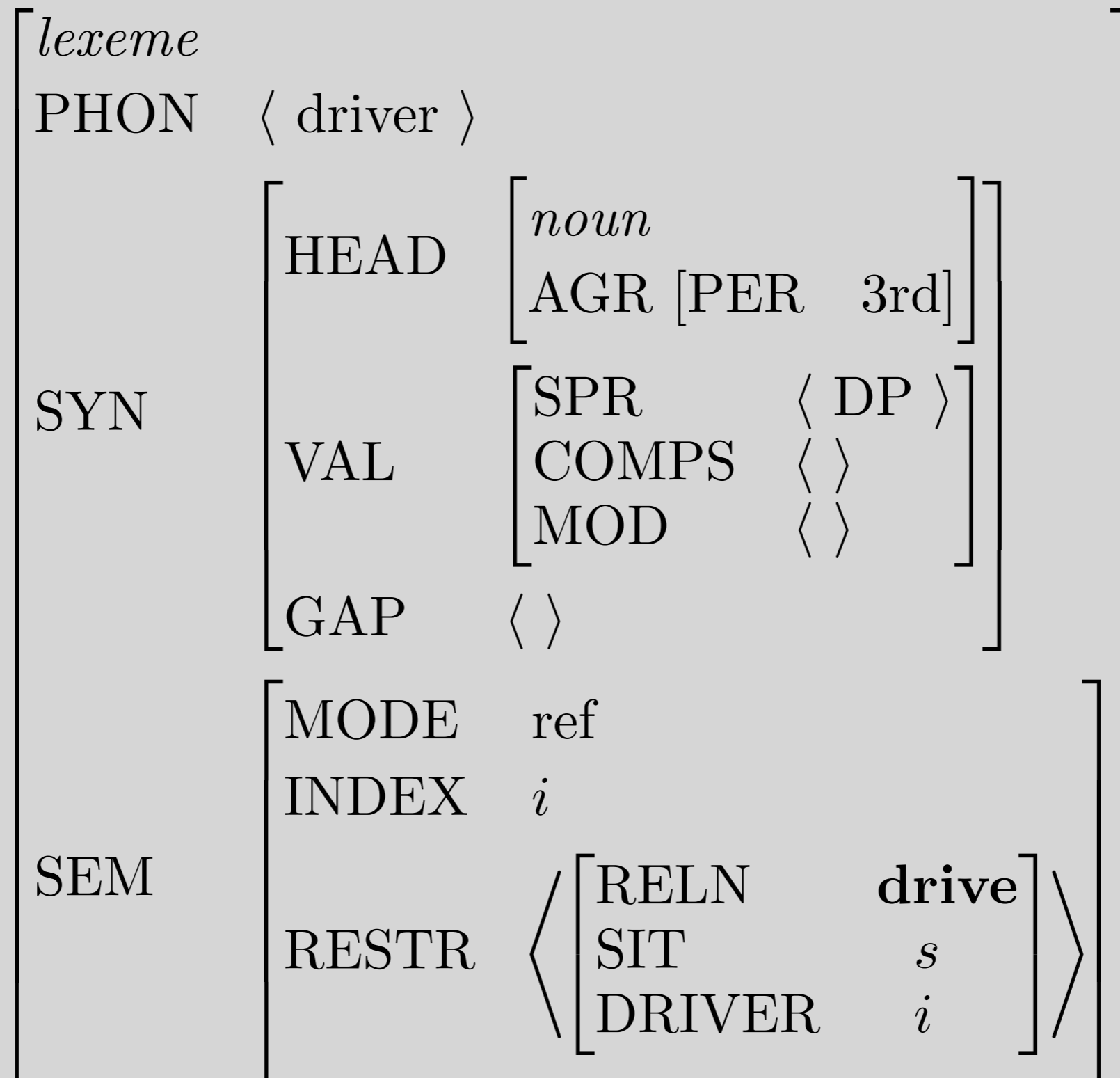
1. there is some construction C in G , such that
2. there is a feature structure I that is an instantiation of C , such that Φ is the value of the MOTHER feature of I .

A Well-Formed Feature Structure

The grammar licenses a feature structure of type *phrase* whose PHON value is $\langle ate , a , pizza \rangle$ 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:

<i>phrase</i>	PHON	$\langle ate , a , pizza \rangle$																											
SYN	HEAD	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"><i>verb</i></td> <td style="padding: 5px;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">FORM</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">fin</td> </tr> </table>	<i>verb</i>		FORM	fin	VAL	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">SPR</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">$\langle NP \rangle$</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">COMPS</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">$\langle \rangle$</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">MOD</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">$\langle \rangle$</td> </tr> </table>	SPR	$\langle NP \rangle$	COMPS	$\langle \rangle$	MOD	$\langle \rangle$	GAP	$\langle \rangle$													
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Another Well-Formed Feature Structure



Two Constraints

Root Constraint:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SYN} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \\ \text{VAL} \\ \text{GAP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{FORM} \quad \text{fin} \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Principle of Order:

$$cx : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MOTHER} \quad \left[\text{PHON} \quad \boxed{A1} \oplus \dots \oplus \boxed{An} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \langle \left[\text{PHON} \quad \boxed{A1} \right] , \dots , \left[\text{PHON} \quad \boxed{An} \right] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

Semantic Compositionality Principle

$$cx : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MOTHER} \\ \text{DTRS} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} [\text{SEM} [\text{RESTR} \boxed{A1} \oplus \dots \oplus \boxed{An}]] \\ \langle [\text{SEM} [\text{RESTR} \boxed{A1}]] , \dots , [\text{SEM} [\text{RESTR} \boxed{An}]] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

Alternative Version:

$$cx : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MOTHER} \\ \text{DTRS} \\ \text{CX-SEM} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} [\text{SEM} [\text{RESTR} \boxed{A0} \oplus \boxed{A1} \oplus \dots \oplus \boxed{An}]] \\ \langle [\text{SEM} [\text{RESTR} \boxed{A1}]] , \dots , [\text{SEM} [\text{RESTR} \boxed{An}]] \rangle \\ \boxed{A0} \end{array} \right]$$

Headed Constructions

TYPE	FEATURES/VALUE TYPES	IST
<i>hd-cx</i>	[HD-DTR <i>sign</i>]	<i>cx</i>

Head Feature Principle:

$$hd-cx : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MOTHER} \quad [\text{SYN} \quad [\text{HEAD} \quad \boxed{1}]] \\ \text{HD-DTR} \quad [\text{SYN} \quad [\text{HEAD} \quad \boxed{1}]] \end{array} \right]$$

Two More Principles

Semantic Inheritance Principle:

$$hd-cx : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MOTHER} \\ \text{HD-DTR} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SEM} \\ \text{SEM} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MODE} \\ \text{INDEX} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} \boxed{1} \\ \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

Valence Principle:

$$hd-cx : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MOTHER} \\ \text{HD-DTR} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{[SYN [VAL / } \boxed{1} \text{]]} \\ \text{[SYN [VAL / } \boxed{1} \text{]]} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

The GAP Principle

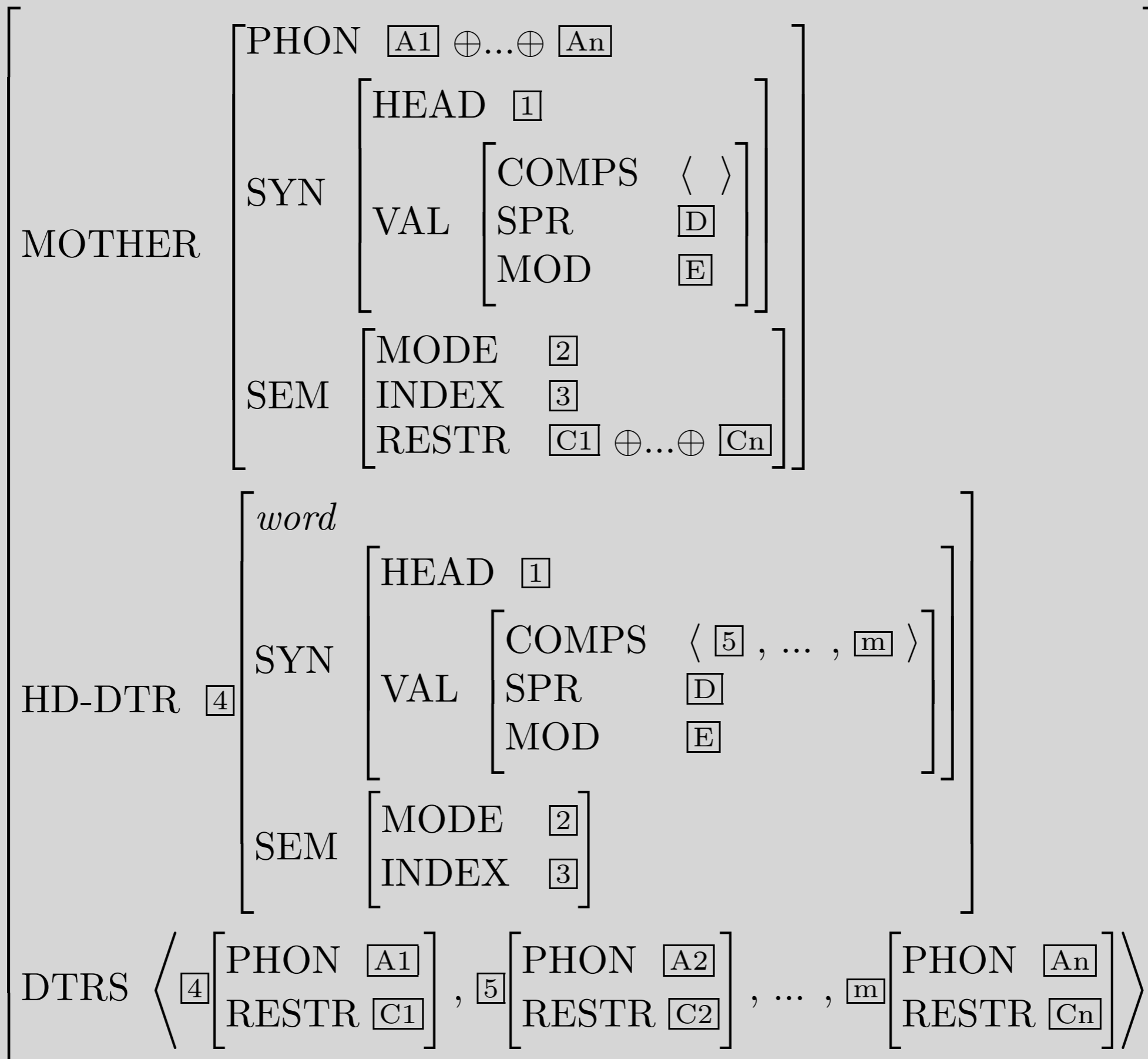
hd-cx:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MOTHER} \\ \text{HD-DTR} \\ \text{DTRS} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} [\text{SYN} [\text{GAP} (\boxed{A1} \oplus \dots \oplus \boxed{An}) \ominus \boxed{A0}]] \\ [\text{SYN} [\text{STOP-GAP} \boxed{A0}]] \\ \langle [\text{SYN} [\text{GAP} \boxed{A1}]] , \dots , [\text{SYN} [\text{GAP} \boxed{An}]] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

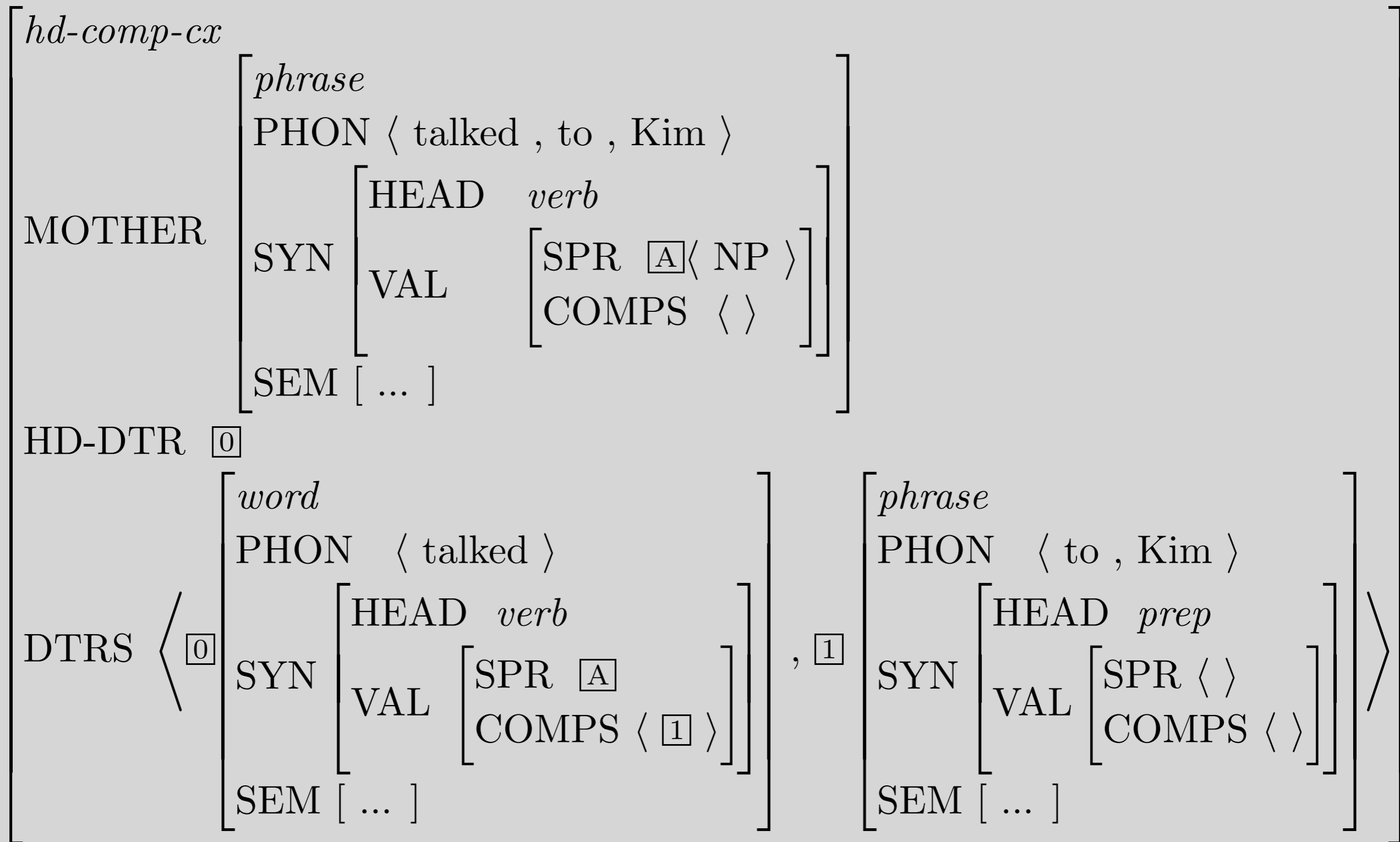
The Head-Complement Construction

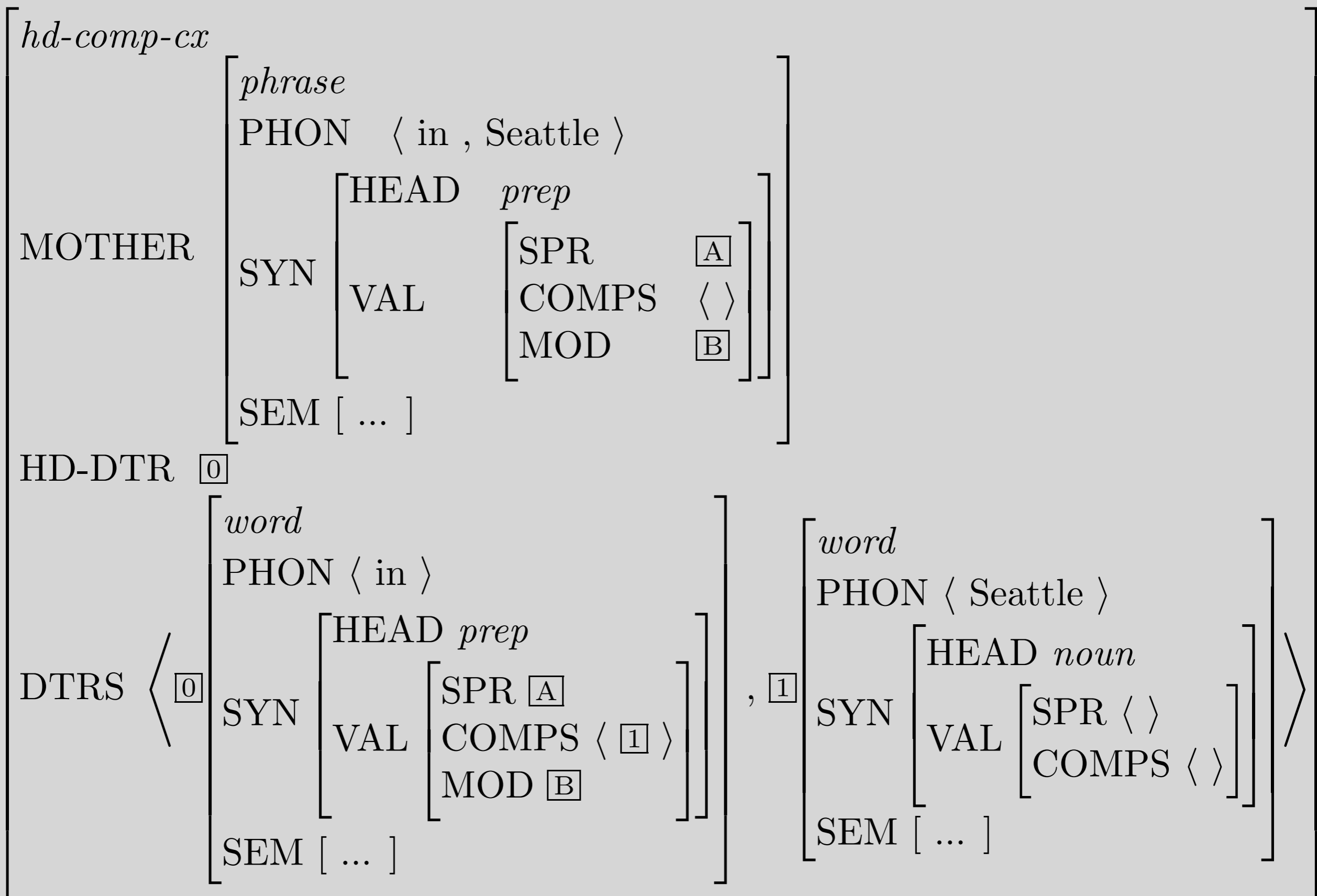
$$hd-comp-cx : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MOTHER} \quad [\text{SYN} \quad [\text{VAL} \quad [\text{COMPS} \quad \langle \quad \rangle \quad] \quad]] \\ \text{HD-DTR} \quad \boxed{0} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{word} \\ \text{SYN} \quad [\text{VAL} \quad [\text{COMPS} \quad \boxed{A} \quad] \quad] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \langle \boxed{0} \rangle \oplus \boxed{A} \textit{nelist} \end{array} \right]$$

And with inherited constraints....



An Instance of the HCC



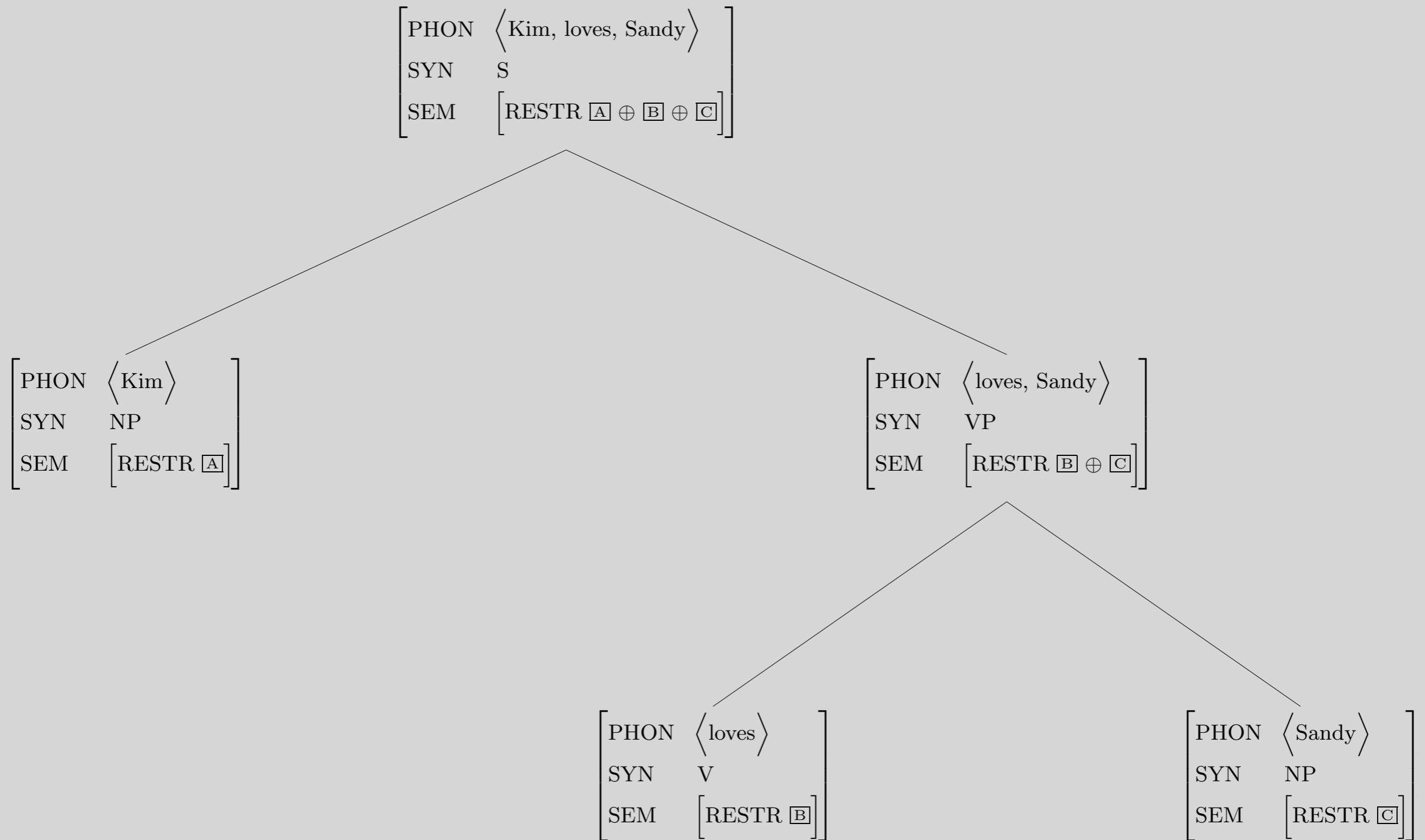


Two More Constructions

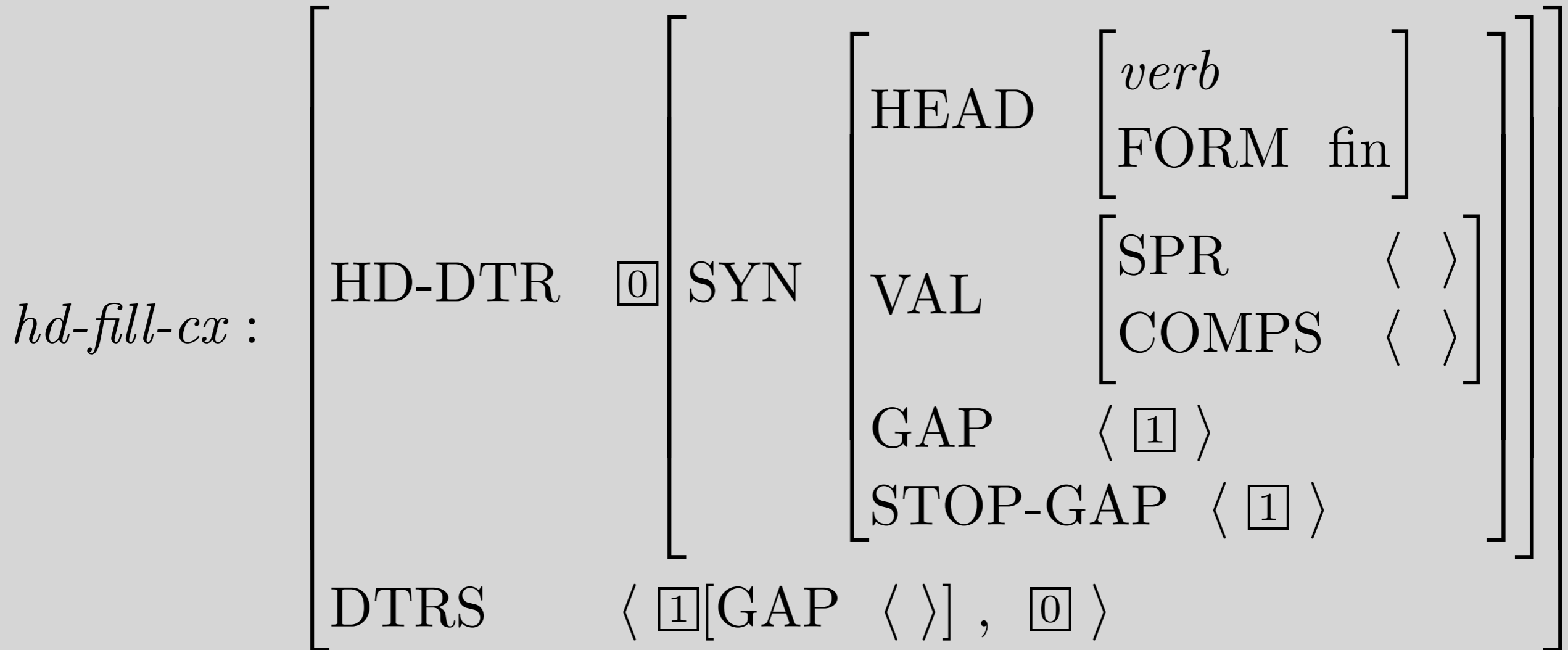
$$\textit{hd-spr-cx} : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MOTHER} \left[\text{SYN} \left[\text{SPR} \langle \rangle \right] \right] \\ \text{HD-DTR} \boxed{0} \left[\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SPR} \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \langle \rangle \\ \text{STOP-GAP} \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \langle \boxed{1}, \boxed{0} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

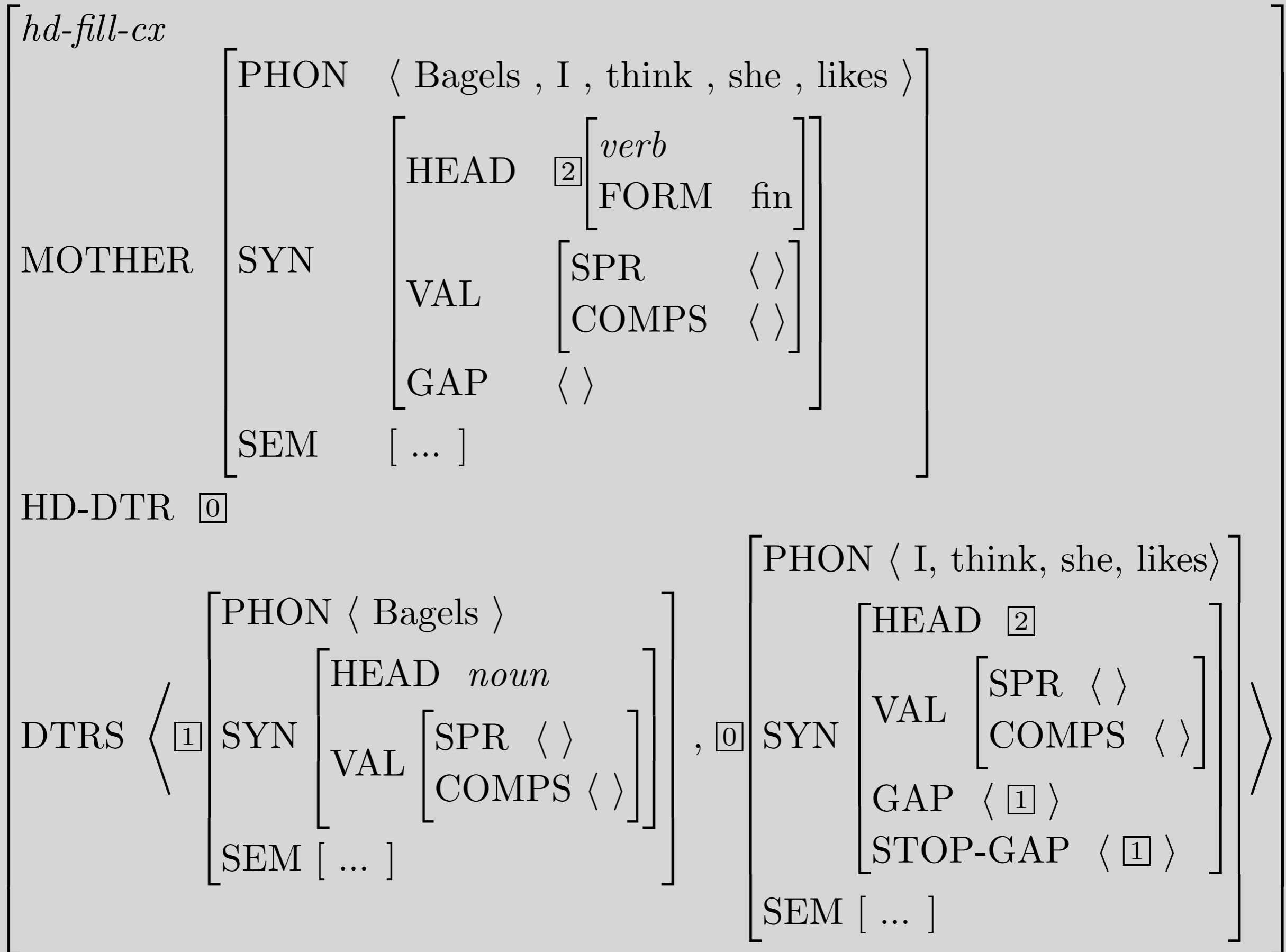
$$\textit{hd-mod-cx} : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HD-DTR} \boxed{1} \left[\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VAL} \left[\text{COMPS} \langle \rangle \right] \\ \text{STOP-GAP} \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VAL} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{COMPS} \langle \rangle \\ \text{MOD} \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \end{array} \right] \right] \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

A Tree

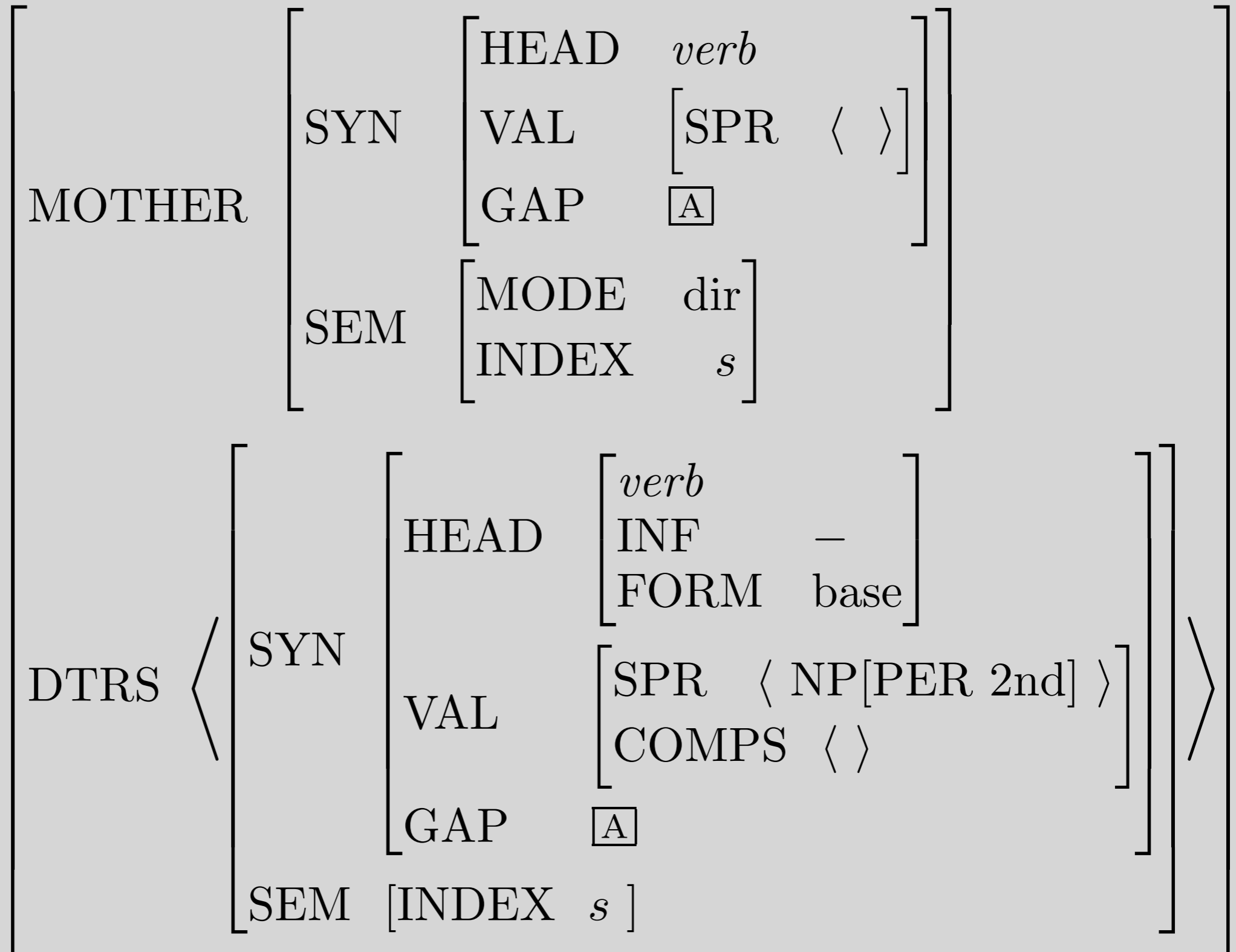


The Head-Filler Construction





The Imperative Construction



Coordination Construction

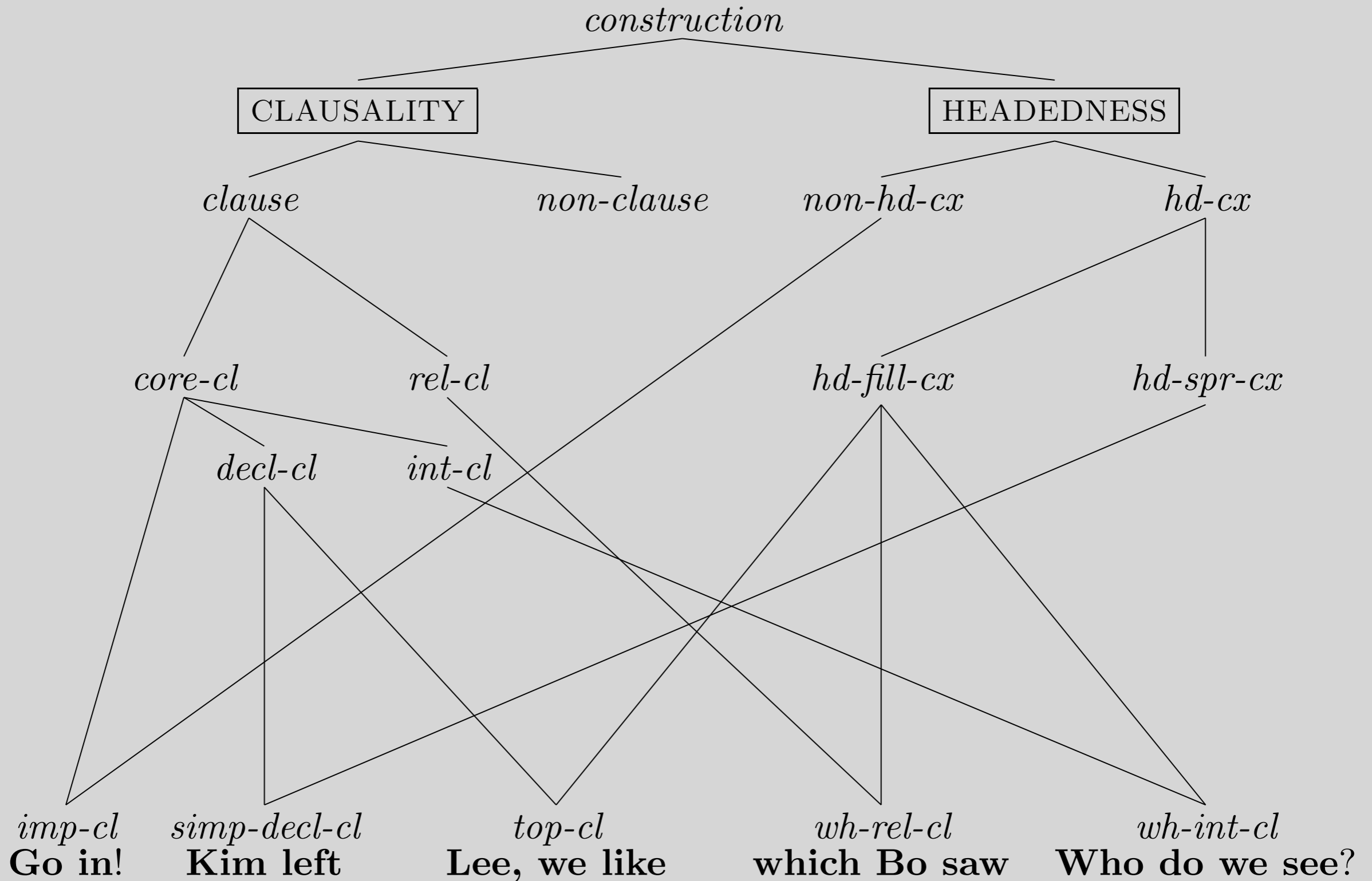
$$\left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{MOTHER} \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{HEAD} \quad [\text{FORM } \boxed{1}] \\
 \text{SYN} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{VAL} \quad \boxed{2} \\
 \text{GAP} \quad \boxed{A}
 \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{SEM} \quad [\text{IND } s_0]
 \end{array} \right] \\
 \\
 \text{DTRS} \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{HEAD} \quad [\text{FORM } \boxed{1}] \\
 \text{SYN} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{VAL} \quad \boxed{2} \\
 \text{GAP} \quad \boxed{A}
 \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{SEM} \quad [\text{IND } s_1]
 \end{array} \right] \dots \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{HEAD} \quad [\text{FORM } \boxed{1}] \\
 \text{SYN} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{VAL} \quad \boxed{2} \\
 \text{GAP} \quad \boxed{A}
 \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{SEM} \quad [\text{IND } s_{n-1}]
 \end{array} \right] \right\rangle , \\
 \\
 \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{HEAD } conj \\
 \text{IND } s_0 \\
 \text{RESTR} \left\langle [\text{ARGS } \langle s_1 \dots s_n \rangle] \right\rangle \right] , \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{HEAD} \quad [\text{FORM } \boxed{1}] \\
 \text{SYN} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{VAL} \quad \boxed{2} \\
 \text{GAP} \quad \boxed{A}
 \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{SEM} \quad [\text{IND } s_n]
 \end{array} \right] \right\rangle
 \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{MOTHER} \left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{PHON} \langle \text{Kim} , \text{sleeps} , \text{and} , \text{Pat} , \text{works} \rangle \\
\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{HEAD} \textit{verb} \\
\text{VAL} \left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{SPR} \langle \rangle \\
\text{COMPS} \langle \rangle
\end{array} \right]
\end{array} \right] \\
\text{SEM} [\dots]
\end{array} \right] \\
\text{DTRS} \langle \left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{PHON} \langle \text{Kim} , \text{sleeps} \rangle \\
\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{HEAD} \textit{verb} \\
\text{VAL} \left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{SPR} \langle \rangle \\
\text{COMPS} \langle \rangle
\end{array} \right]
\end{array} \right] \\
\text{SEM} [\dots]
\end{array} \right] , \left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{PHON} \langle \text{and} \rangle \\
\text{SYN} \left[\text{HEAD} \textit{conj} \right] \\
\text{SEM} [\dots]
\end{array} \right] , \\
\left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{PHON} \langle \text{Pat} , \text{works} \rangle \\
\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{HEAD} \textit{verb} \\
\text{VAL} \left[\begin{array}{l}
\text{SPR} \langle \rangle \\
\text{COMPS} \langle \rangle
\end{array} \right]
\end{array} \right] \rangle \\
\text{SEM} [\dots]
\end{array} \right]
\end{array} \right]$$

Some More Abbreviations

<i>imp-cl</i>	<i>imperative-clause</i>
<i>decl-cl</i>	<i>declarative-clause</i>
<i>simp-decl-cl</i>	<i>simple-declarative-clause</i>
<i>top-cl</i>	<i>topicalized-clause</i>
<i>wh-rel-cl</i>	<i>wh-relative-clause</i>
<i>wh-int-cl</i>	<i>wh-interrogative-clause</i>
<i>core-cl</i>	<i>core-clause</i>

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

Reading Questions

- 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?

Overview

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

Reading Questions

- The idea of multiple inheritance worries me, especially with the size of grammars like the ERG.. what happens if multiple types contradict? Or is the grammar just built to avoid those instances?
- How is multiple inheritance resolved? It would be theoretically possible for a structure to inherit a defeasible constraint from one parent, but the same constraint from the other parent is non-defeasible, for instance. Or is the structure simply built so these conflicts are avoided?

Reading Questions

- Why do we need the CLAUSALITY branch if everything ends up being type clause? What is an example of a non-clause?
- Can you give some examples of how we can 'break' our new well-formedness definition?
- Ch 16 introduces modifications to many fundamental pieces of the grammar developed in previous chapters. What are the main drivers of such modifications?

Reading Questions

- I was very excited and also a bit overwhelmed by the re-structuring of all of our principles as constraints on the type hd-cx. When imposing constraints in this way do we list all of them separately? Or would our grammar just be storing a single entry for the type hd-cx that combines all of these constraints together? I think part of my confusion is trying to wrap my head around the fact that we have gone from having grammar rules representing this ideas to having a new type that can somehow accommodate them while still having types for parts of speech and also argument structures.

Reading Questions

- Is the "real" HPSG closer to what we have built or is it closer to what was described on this chapter?
- It seems like there has been quite a few changes in this chapter, how far off is our grammar that we have now from the HPSG that is used in industry?
- On a related note, is sign-based construction grammar different from HPSG, or is SBCG a subset of HPSG? Or are they on separate axes altogether?

Reading Questions

- On page 470, we use Multiple Inheritance Hierarchy to deal with the cross part of lexemes. Why don't we define additional feature structure to deal with this problem? For example, for `srv-lxm`, we can use a LEXEME list like `<verb-lxm, sr-lxm>` to represent `srv-lxm`.
- I still can't understand why we posit a type "construction" to replace "rule". For me, We can assign feature `MOTHER` and `DTRS` to "rule" just as what we do on "construction". "rule" can also have a hierarchy structure. So what is the difference between "construction" and "rule"?

Reading Questions

- One of the things I have found attractive about this grammar is the elegant expressions of language generalisations. But even by the end, our lexicon is pretty inflexible. The new multiple inheritance hierarchy helps, but words often have more porous lexeme categories and can be variably noun, verb, adj, etc (esp. in English, esp. in less than formal register). Is there a way that our lexicon can handle lexical category creativity of this kind? I feel like if we just add multiple entries for the same word as we have been, this misses generalisations :)

Reading Questions

- Between two hypothetical grammars that both accurately account for all data, is the better of the two always the more parsimonious?

Reading Questions

- Footnote 6 on page 480 says, "another hallmark of construction grammar is its ability to accommodate the fact that the constructions themselves may contribute to the semantics of the phrases they license." I don't think I understand this. Does it mean that it can account for multi-word expressions that aren't compositional in their meaning, or something like that?

Reading Questions

- As the grammar is progressively changed throughout the text, I often find myself justifying the changes by the assumption that this process makes it easier to learn the grammar and to understand why it was formed the way it was. This last chapter is stretching that assumption. Why didn't we start the way we finished, for example with the feature PHON?

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 linguist?

Overview

- Chapter 16 framework (same analyses, different underlying system)
- Reading questions
- Final preview
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