Syntax & Semantics WiSe 2020/2021

Lecture 11: Lexical Functional Grammar I (Feature Descriptions)



Overview

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Analyzed Languages

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Notational Conventions

Glossing and Feature Descriptions

Syncretism and Disjunction

Embedding

Lists

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Type Hierarchies

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Organizational Note

Tutorial Week 6 is going to happen after the winter holidays (11/01-15/01/2021). The respective exercise sheets (LFG) will be handed out after the first lecture in the new year on **Thursday 7th January**.

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Q&As

You wrote that in some syntactical frameworks, there are restrictions as to only allow bifurcation/binary branching, whereas other frameworks allow multifurcation. To my mind, bifurcation seems simpler/clearer. So I asked myself why one would like to allow multifurcation. I realized that for the example sentence, less rules are required when doing so. So is (one of) the reason(s) simplicity regarding the number of rules? Or are there other reasons? If so, what reasons?

There is a discussion of *binary branching* in Müller (2019), p. 543 (Volume 2). One argument in favor of multifurcation is that it is hard to model the headedness relationships for multivalent verbs (e.g. ditransitives) in a strictly binary branching tree (see next slide).

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



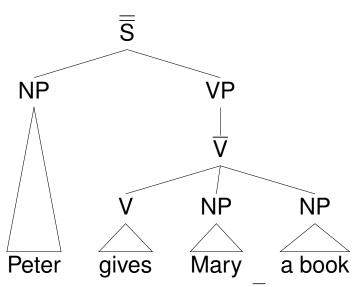
Remember from classical \overline{X} -theory that we have the rule:

$\overline{\mathbf{X}} \to \mathbf{X} \ \overline{\mathbf{complement^*}}$

Which gives us for instance:

$$\overline{V} \rightarrow V NP NP$$

We can use this to model a ditransitive sentence:



Note: We didn't give the rule $\overline{\overline{S}} \to NP \ VP$ in the lecture on X-bar theory, since we did not deal with full sentences.

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

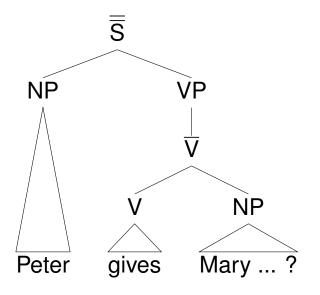
Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



How would you model this under binarization?



The problem here is that you would have to posit an NP which heads another NP, but the indirect object (Mary) is generally not considered to head a constituent with the direct object (a book) as a complement. In G&B this is circumvent by having several \overline{V} s under an IP, and by assuming a word order in deep structure which is different from surface structure (see Müller 2019, p. 111).

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Q&As

For exercise 2.3 about passive in Government and Binding, the information in the slides was not really sufficient, since the byphrase was not mentioned at all in the lecture and I did not even find information about it in the chapter about passive in GB in Müller. Were we supposed to research about this issue on our own?

You should generally not assume that you can always find everything relevant for a particular task on the slides. Trying to extend a particular analysis for structures we haven't seen so far is part of what you should be able to do. Of course, then there might be different solutions, and discussing these is what tutorials are meant for.

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures





Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)



Additional Symbols in GB

Appart from the non-terminal symbols that we have introduced in the lectures on PSG and \overline{X} theory,¹ there are further symbols introduced within GB. These are in particular:

- C: Complementizer (subordinating conjunctions such as that)
- ► I: Finiteness (as well as Tense and Mood); also Infl for Inflection in earlier work, and T for Tense in more recent work.
- ▶ D: Determiner (article, demonstrative); though this is equivalent to the symbol DET that we used before.

Müller (2019). Grammatical theory, p. 95.

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

¹Note that the transition from \overline{X} theory to GB is not clear cut, such that certain notational conventions can be found in both.



The CP and IP (and VP)

However, remember from last lecture on X-bar theory that in order to capture the recursive nature of human language there have to be rules with the same category symbol on the left- and right-hand side (e.g. $\overline{N} \to A \ \overline{N}$). Chomsky therefore introduced the **Complementizer Phrase** (CP) and the **Inflectional Phrase** (IP) as layers *above* the verb phrase such that:

- 1. $CP \rightarrow C'$
- 2. $CP \rightarrow NP C'$
- 3. $C' \rightarrow C IP$
- 4. $IP \rightarrow NP I'$
- 5. $I' \rightarrow I VP$
- 6. $VP \rightarrow V'$
- 7. $V' \rightarrow V CP$
- 8. $V' \rightarrow V NP$

O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

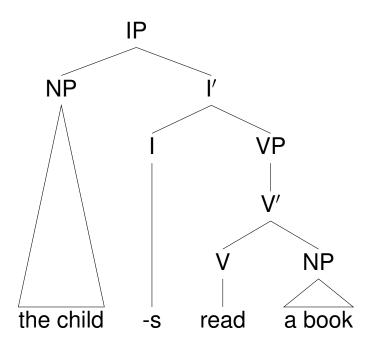
Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Inflectional Phrase

Just as in X-bar theory, we have unary branches from highest level projections to intermediate level projections if there are no other elements involved in the phrase (e.g. $VP \rightarrow V'$). Also, the subject (the child) is considered the **specifier** of the IP (often referred to as SpecIP), and the object *a book* is the **complement** of the IP.



Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Important Take-Home-Message

As this example of inverted linear order (-s visit) shows, syntacticians – in the tradition of generative grammar – have grown accustomed to deviations between so-called *Deep Structure* (e.g. INFL VP) and *Surface Structure* (e.g. visit-s). This is seen as a necessary prerequisite for fitting all possible grammatical sentences of a given language into the same underlying mould.

O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

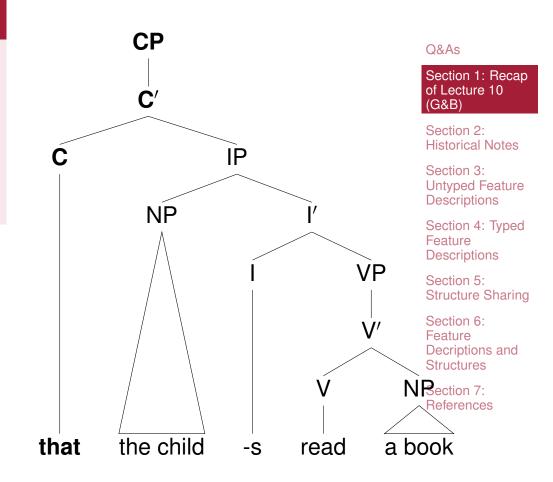
Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Complementizer Phrase

The CP is yet another level above the VP. It is relevant when a complementizer is used, but also for other syntactic phenomena, as we will see in the next section.

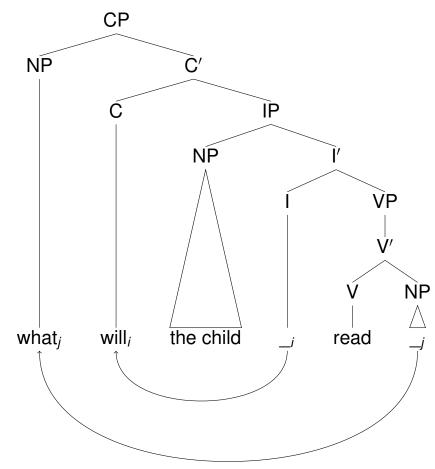
Note: The IP symbol essentially replaces the starting symbol S in GB analyses. Of course, we could keep the starting symbol and rewrite it into IP, but this would be somewhat redundant.





Wh-Questions

In wh-questions, it is assumed that the wh-word is in the complement position of the verb phrase in deep structure (i.e. what → the book). It then moves to the NP position of the CP to form the surface structure realization.



Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



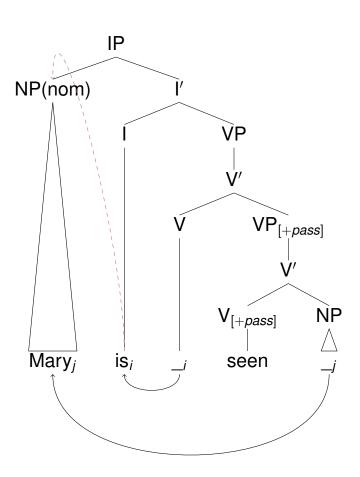
Passive (S-Structure)

In the corresponding **passive sentence**, firstly, the subject of the active sentence is cancelled. This allows for the accusative object of the active sentence to move into the NP position of the IP. Also, a new verb (is) is "recruited" from the lexicon. This is enabled by the additional rewrite rule:

9. $V' \rightarrow V VP$

Hence, nominative case is then assigned by the auxiliary *is* to the new subject. Accusative case is "absorbed", i.e. not assigned anymore.

see also Black (1999), p. 30-31



O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

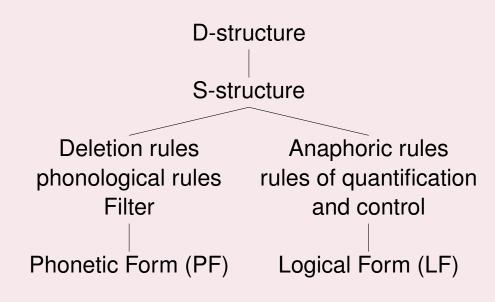
Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



The T Model

The T (Y) model (called by its shape when you invert it) is a schematic representation of all the underlying processes assumed for generating well formed sentences in GB theory.



Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

O&As

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

Section 7: References

Müller (2019). Grammatical theory, p. 88.



Important Take-Home-Message

What is called *S-structure* or *surface structure* in GB theory is not necessarily the actual string of characters or phonemes that you might read or hear. Rather, there are two further levels which intervene between S-structure and the actual phonetic realization. For instance deletions and phonetic rules might still apply.

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

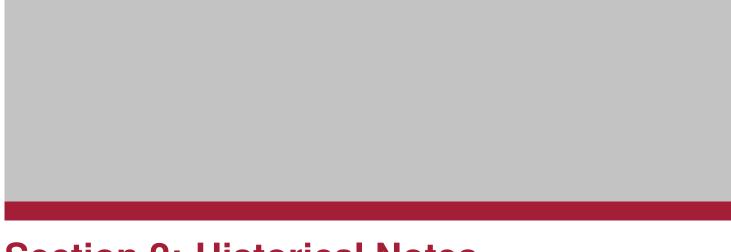
Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures





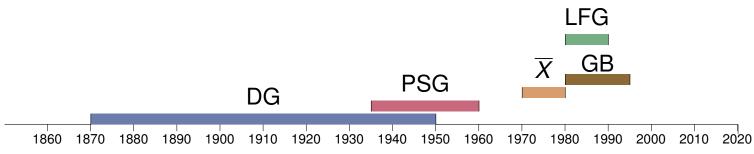
Section 2: Historical Notes



Historical Perspective

"Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) was developed in the 80s by Joan Bresnan and Ron Kaplan (Bresnan & Kaplan 1982). LFG forms part of so-called West-Coast linguistics: unlike MIT, where Chomsky works and teaches, the institutes of researchers such as Joan Bresnan and Ron Kaplan are on the west coast of the USA [...]. Bresnan & Kaplan (1982) view LFG explicitly as a psycholinguistically plausible alternative to transformation-based approaches."

Müller (2019). Grammatical theory, p. 222.



Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

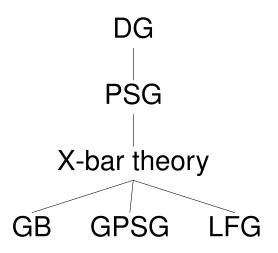
Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

Section 7: References

Note: The chronology bars indicate the rough time period where the first and foundational works relating to a framework were published. All of the theories discussed here still have repercussions also in current syntactic research.



Syntactic Framework Tree



DG: Dependency Grammar

PSG: Phrase Structure Grammar

GB: Government & Binding GPSG: Generalized Phrase

Structure Grammar

LFG: Lexical Functional Grammar

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

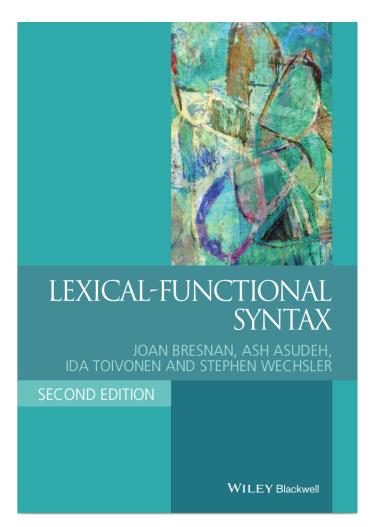
Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



What is LFG?

"LFG (lexical-functional grammar) is a theory of grammar which has a powerful, flexible, and mathematically well-defined grammar formalism designed for typologically diverse languages. LFG has provided the framework for a substantial amount of descriptive and theoretical research on many languages [...]"

Bresnan et al. (2016). Lexical-Functional Syntax, p. xi.



Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

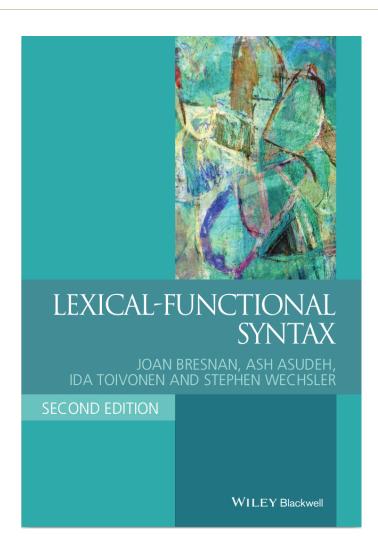
Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



How is it different?

- "LFG is closely attuned to the overt perceptible expressions of language [...]"
- "[...] there are no 'deep structures' or 'initial structures."
- "Being designed for a wide range of nonconfigurational and configurational language types, LFG departs radically from most other grammar formalisms in one striking way: it is noncompositional, allowing the 'content' of a constituent to vary depending on its context."

Bresnan et al. (2016). Lexical-Functional Syntax, p. xi.



Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

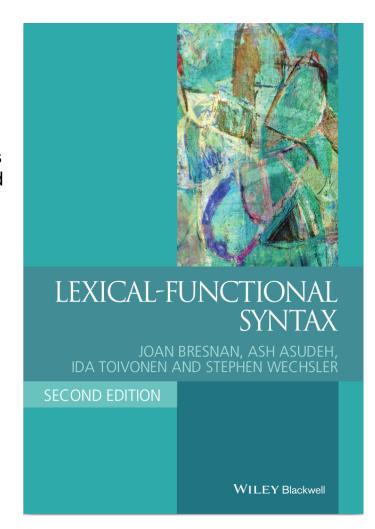
Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Psycholinguistic Plausibility

"LFG has attracted interest beyond linguistics proper, and has been incorporated into psychological theories of language acquisition, perception, and production, as well as into computational systems of language processing."

Bresnan et al. (2016). Lexical-Functional Syntax, p. 85.



Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Languages analyzed by LFG

Arabic, Arrernte, Bengali, Danish, English, French, Georgian, German, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Irish, Japanese, Korean, Malagasy, Mandarin Chinese, Murrinh-Patha, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, Tigrinya, Turkish, Urdu/Hindi, Welsh, Wolof

According to Müller (2019). Grammatical theory, p. 222.

Language Families²

Afro-Asiatic, Austronesian, Atlantic-Congo, **Indo-European**, Japonic, Kartvelian, Pama-Nyungan, Sino-Tibetan, Southern Daly, Turkic, Uralic

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

²According to Glottolog 4.0, https://glottolog.org/.





Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions



Feature Descriptions

"In the previous chapter, we talked about sets of feature-value pairs, which can be used to describe linguistic objects. In this chapter, we will introduce feature descriptions which play a role in theories such as LFG, HPSG, Construction Grammar, versions of Categorial Grammar and TAG (and even some formalizations of Minimalist theories (Veenstra 1998)). This chapter will therefore lay some of the groundwork for the chapters to follow."

Müller (2019). Grammatical theory, p. 206.

O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Beware Terminological Confusion

"Feature structures are complex entities which can model properties of a linguistic object. Linguists mostly work with feature descriptions which describe *only parts of a given feature structure.*"

Müller (2019). Grammatical theory, p. 206.

Alternative terms for *feature structures*:

- feature-value structure
- attribute-value structure

Alternative terms for *feature descriptions*:

- attribute-value matrix (AVM)
- feature matrix

O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Untyped Feature Descriptions

A typical example of **untyped feature descriptions** are matrices that contain inflectional information of a given word form. In this particular context, the *feature values* are often given without the *feature labels*, since there is little syncretism between feature values which could make them ambiguous.

Example from GB theory (Lecture 7):

drank:
$$\begin{bmatrix} +past \\ 3pers \\ +sg \end{bmatrix}$$
.

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Notational Conventions

However, to be maximally specific we will here use *upper* case letters for **feature labels**, and lower case italics for **feature values**, and always give both in the feature descriptions.

Example from Müller describing a person:

FIRSTNAME max

LASTNAME meier

DATE-OF-BIRTH 10.10.1985

Example from above for drank:

TENSE past

PERSON 3

NUMBER sg

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Glossing and Feature Descriptions

Note that the **glossings** we find in grammatical example sentences can be directly *translated into feature descriptions*. We therefore might assume that if there is a gloss, then this is relevant grammatical information that should go into a feature description, while if there is none, then the feature description is basically empty.

Ayacucho Quechua (quy, Quechuan)

(1) wayna runa mikuy-ta yanu-n young man.NOM.SG food-ACC cook-PRS.3SG "The young man cooks the food." Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

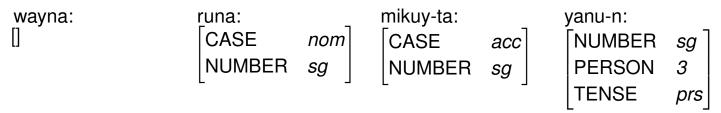


Example

Glossing:

(2) wayna runa mikuy-ta yanu-n young man.NOM.SG food-ACC.SG cook-PRS.3SG "The young man cooks the food."

Feature Description:



Note: Henceforth, we will order the feature-value pairs alphabetically inside the matrix from top to bottom.

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Empty Morphemes

In some theories of morphology, **empty morphemes** are posited (in parallel to empty slots in a tree structure as discussed in the lecture on GB) whenever there is no overt morphological marker for a grammatical function which *in theory* should be there. This could be represented by a feature label without value in the feature description matrix...

runa-∅-ta man-∅-ACC

NUMBER _ CASE acc

runa-kuna-ta man-PL-ACC

NUMBER *pl*CASE *acc*

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Empty Morphemes

... However, emtpy features are not considered here in feature **descriptions**. As an alternative, we might assume that the lack of a marker means that all theoretically possible grammatical functions are possible, except the one that is not explicitly marked. For Ayacucho Quechua, there is an overt plural marker, but no overt singular marker. Hence, whenever the plural marker is lacking, singular is assumed as the NUMBER value.

runa-ta man-ACC.SG

CASE

NUMBER

runa-kuna-ta man-PL-ACC

NUMBER

Note: in the glossing, this is then often represented by using a dot (ACC.SG), which according to the Leipzig glossing rules indicates that a marker (i.e. -ta) is assigned both singular number and accusative case. Another option would be to just drop the SG glossing.

O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: **Untyped Feature** Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature **Descriptions**

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Syncretism

A problem related to empty morphemes is so-called **syncretism** of word forms. We can construe inflectional paradigms by assuming certain theoretical features like CASE, NUMBER, GENDER, etc. The theoretical grids can then be filled by the actual word forms used for these grammatical feature combinations. However, the set of different word types rarely matches these grids exactly in the sense that each cell would be filled by a different word type. We talk about a form being *syncretic* if it fills different cells.

Paradigm for Frau 'woman':

NOM ACC DAT GEN
SG Frau Frau Frau Frau
PL Frauen Frauen Frauen

Paradigm for Mann 'man':

NOM ACC DAT GEN
SG Mann Mann Mann Mannes
PL Männer Männer Männer Männer

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Syncretism and Disjunction

In feature descriptions, each word form gets a separate description. If there is syncretism across a whole feature (i.e. all forms for the values of CASE are the same), then the feature can be dropped. If there is only partial syncretism, then it is indicated by using disjunction, i.e. the 'or' symbol \lor .

Word form: Frau Word form: Mann Word form: Männer CASE $nom \lor acc \lor dat | CASE$ nom ∨ acc ∨ gen NUMBER NUMBER Word form: Frauen Word form: *Mannes* Word form: Männern CASE CASE aen dat **NUMBER** NUMBER NUMBER sg

Note: we could also take grammatical gender into account to the effect that GENDER would always be *fem* for Frau and Frauen, and *masc* for *Mann* and *Männer*. Similarly, PERSON features could be included, i.e. the value would be 3 in all cases.

O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Disjunction: Alternative Notation

Instead of working with disjunctions inside the feature discriptions, we could also consider to have separate feature descriptions and then apply disjunctions to these.

Word form: Mann

 $egin{bmatrix} \mathsf{CASE} & \mathit{nom} \end{bmatrix} ee egin{bmatrix} \mathsf{CASE} & \mathit{acc} \end{bmatrix} ee egin{bmatrix} \mathsf{CASE} & \mathit{dat} \end{bmatrix} \ \mathsf{NUMBER} & \mathit{sg} \end{bmatrix}$

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Embedding

One feature description might be embedded in another feature description, as in the example below from Müller (2019), p. 206.

FIRSTNAME max

LASTNAME meier

DATE-OF-BIRTH 10.10.1985

FIRSTNAME peter

LASTNAME meier

DATE-OF-BIRTH 10.05.1960

FATHER ...

MOTHER ...

MOTHER ...

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

Section 7: References

FATHER



Paths

"In feature descriptions, a *path* is a sequence of features which immediately follow each other. The *value of a path* is the feature description at the end of the path. Therefore, the value of FATHER|DATE-OF-BIRTH is 10.05.1960."

Müller (2019), p. 206.

FIRSTNAME	max	-
LASTNAME	meier	
DATE-OF-BIRTH	10.10.1985	
	FIRSTNAME	peter
	LASTNAME	meier
FATHER	DATE-OF-BIRTH	10.05.1960
	FATHER	
	MOTHER	
MOTHER		_

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Embedding: Linguistic Example

A linguistic example of embeddings of feature descriptions is *derivational morphology*, which can create a new word form out of a word form that functions as a stem for derivational affixes.

Word form: help

POS noun verb

Word form: helpful

POS *adj* STEM [POS *noun* ∨ *verb*] Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Embedding: Linguistic Example

A linguistic example of embeddings of feature descriptions is *derivational morphology*, which can create a new word form out of a word form that functions as a stem for derivational affixes.

Word form: unhelpful

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Embedding: Linguistic Example

A linguistic example of embeddings of feature descriptions is *derivational morphology*, which can create a new word form out of a word form that functions as a stem for derivational affixes.

Word form: unhelpfully

```
      POS
      adv

      STEM
      POS
      adj

      STEM
      POS
      adj

      STEM
      STEM
      POS
      noun ∨ verb
```

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Lists

In some cases, it is not just a single value that a feature can take, but rahter several values. Therefore, we can use a **list of feature values** as in the example below from Müller (2019), p. 207. Note that a list is different from disjunction, since the former is essentially an 'and' statement, whereas the latter is an 'or' statement.

FIRSTNAME LASTNAME DATE-OF-BIRTH	max meier 10.10.1985		
FATHER			
MOTHER			
DAUGHTER	FIRSTNAME LASTNAME DATE-OF-BIRTH FATHER MOTHER DAUGTHER	clara meier 10.10.2004 ⟨⟩	

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Lists: Linguistic Examples

Going beyond the word level, we might want to capture the feature description, for example, of whole phrases such as *the green house*. In this particular example, we assume a HEAD feature for *house*, and a list of feature descriptions for the *complements* (COMP).³

phrase: the green house

$$\begin{bmatrix} \mathsf{POS} & \mathsf{noun} \\ \mathsf{CASE} & \mathsf{nom} \lor \mathsf{acc} \lor \mathsf{dat} \\ \mathsf{NUMBER} & \mathsf{sg} \end{bmatrix}$$
$$\begin{bmatrix} \mathsf{COMP} & \left\langle \left[\mathsf{POS} & \mathsf{det} \right], \left[\mathsf{POS} & \mathsf{adj} \right] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

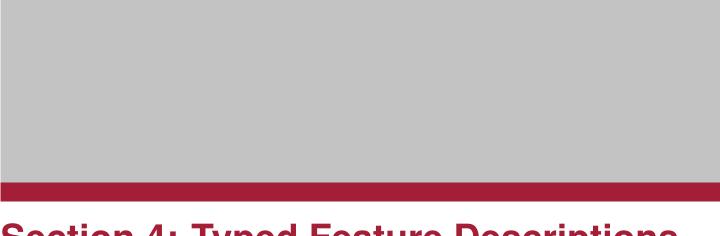
Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

³Note that we use *complement* here in a general sense, i.e. everything which is not the head of the phrase. This is similar to what we will see in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, though in HPSG the article would be called a *specifier*.





Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions



Types

In so-called **typed feature descriptions** the type determines the template of feature labels that can (but do not have to be) filled with values.

Müller (2019), p. 208.

Feature structure of the type *person*:

	<i>7</i> 1
person	-
FIRSTNAME	firstname
LASTNAME	lastname
DATE-OF-BIRTH	date
GENDER	gender
FATHER	person
MOTHER	person
CHILDREN	list of person
_	-

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Types & Atomic Types (Values)

Note that both the *type* and the *feature values* are written in lower case italics. This is not a coincidence, since feature values are also types, though without any further features subcategorized under them. They are hence called **atomic types**.

Feature structure of the type *person*:

person

FIRSTNAME *firstname*

LASTNAME *lastname*

DATE-OF-BIRTH date

GENDER gender

FATHER *person*

MOTHER *person*

CHILDREN *list of person*

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Typed Feature Descriptions: Linguistic Example

When we deal, for instance, with *word forms* in our linguistic analyses, we might define a feature structure for the type *word*. Note, however, that the content of this structure is dependent on the theory we adopt, and the particular language we analyze.

Possible feature structure of the type *word*:

	, ,
word	_
ASPECT	aspect
BOUNDEDNESS	boundedness
CASE	case
GENDER	gender
MOOD	mood
NUMBER	number
PERSON	person
POS	pos
TENSE	tense
etc.	
L	_

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

Section 7: References

Note: BOUNDEDNESS is here introduced to distinguish between *morphemes* and *words*, morphemes are *bound*, words are *unbounded* (according to the traditional definition.)



Important Question

Should we deal with differences between parts-of-speech at the level of *types* or at the level of *features*? – We will here take POS as separate types with their own feature structures.

Feature structure of the type word:

word	
ASPECT	aspect
BOUNDEDNESS	boundednes
CASE	case
GENDER	gender
MOOD	mood
NUMBER	number
PERSON	person
POS	pos
TENSE	tense
etc.	

Feature structure of the type *noun*:

noun	-
BOUNDEDNESS	boundedness
CASE	case
GENDER	gender
NUMBER	number
PERSON	person
etc	

Feature structure of the type verb:

[verb		-
ASPE	CT	aspect
BOU	NDEDNESS	boundedness
MOO	D	mood
NUMI	BER	number
PERS	SON	person
TENS	SE	tense
etc.		

O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

Section 7: References

Note: In fact, if we decide to deal with POS at the level of types, then the type word would not have to contain all the POS specific features anymore, but just the BOUNDEDNESS feature. See type hierarchy on the next slide.



Type Hierarchies

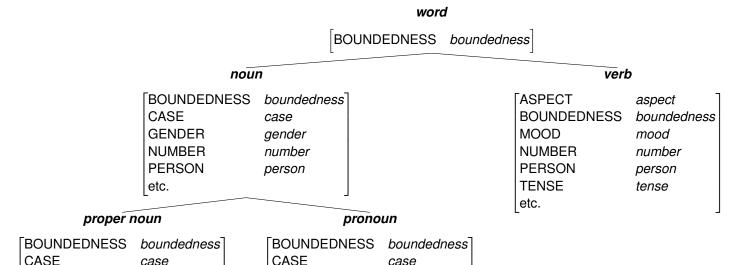
Type hierarchies display the hierarchical relationships between different types, i.e. they display which type is a subordinate or superordinate of which other type.

GENDER

NUMBER

PERSON

etc.



case

aender

number

person

O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: **Untyped Feature Descriptions**

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

Section 7: References

case

aender

number

person

GENDER

NUMBER

PERSON

etc.



Inheritance

CASE

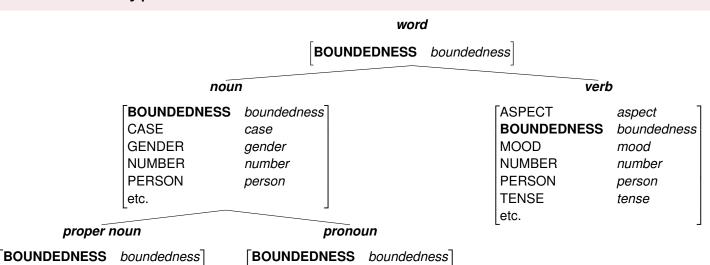
GENDER

NUMBER

PERSON

etc.

Subordinate types "**inherit**" the features of their superordinate types. E.g. the feature BOUNDEDNESS is *multiply inherited* to all the subordinate types in this tree. It is the feature that all words share.



case

gender

number

person

CASE

GENDER

NUMBER

PERSON

etc.

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures

Section 7: References

case

gender

number

person





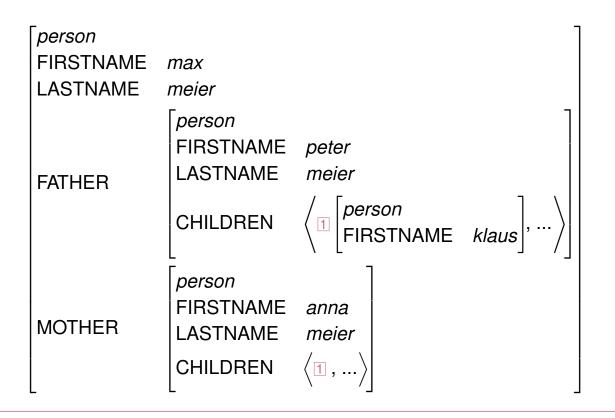
Section 5: Structure Sharing



Structure Sharing

Structure sharing can be used to indicate that an *identical feature* structure is used in different parts of the feature description.

Müller (2019), p. 211.



O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

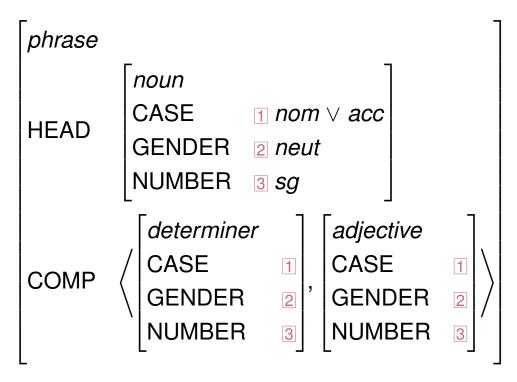
Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Structure Sharing: Lingustic Example

A linguistic example of structure sharing is **agreement**. In the example below, between determiner, adjective and noun in German.

phrase: das grüne Haus



Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures







Difference: Feature Descriptions and Structures

"If we return to the example with people from the previous sections, we can capture the difference between a **model [feature structure]** and a **[feature] description** as follows: if we have a model of people that includes first name, last name, date of birth, gender and hair color, then it follows that every object we model also has a birthday. We can, however, decide to omit these details from our descriptions if they do not play a role for stating constraints or formulating searches."

Müller (2019), p. 217.

Feature structure

assumed for the word *Frau*:

noun

CASE case

GENDER gender

NUMBER number

PERSON person

etc.

Feature description

assumed for the word Frau:

noun
GENDER fem
NUMBER sg
etc.

Q&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures







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O&As

Section 1: Recap of Lecture 10 (G&B)

Section 2: Historical Notes

Section 3: Untyped Feature Descriptions

Section 4: Typed Feature Descriptions

Section 5: Structure Sharing

Section 6: Feature Decriptions and Structures



Thank You.

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