Linearization Grammars

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ESSLLI 2003, Wien

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Outline

- Phrase Structure
- A Topological Model for German
- From Phrase Structure to GPSG and HPSG
- German Word Order Phenomena and their Analyses in Standard-HPSG/GPSG
- Discontinuous Constituents
- Parsing
- Syntactically Annotated Corpora and Discontinuity
- Summary

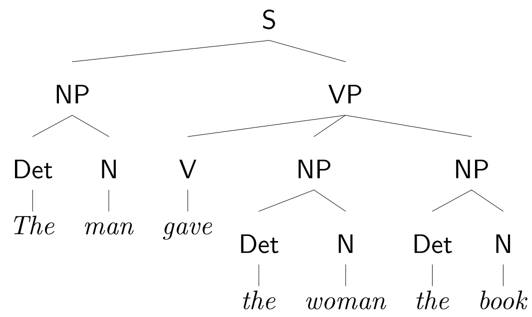
Phrase Structure (I)

- Syntactic constituency is a central notion in generative linguistics.
- Tree structures are used to represent syntactic constituency.
- Phrase structure rules license
  - immediate dominance and
  - immediate precedence

  in local trees.

Phrase Structure (II)

S $\rightarrow$ NP, VP
NP $\rightarrow$ Det, N
VP $\rightarrow$ V, NP, NP



Phrase structure grammars are well-suited for languages with rigid constituent order like English (with additional mechanisms for long-distance dependencies, etc.).

Topology of the German Clause

- Verb Final (VF)

(1) Peter hat erzählt,
daß er das Eis gegessen **hat**.
that he the ice cream eaten has

- Verb Initial (V1) Position

(2) **Hat** Peter das Eis gegessen?
has Peter the ice cream eaten

- Verb Second (V2) Position

(3) Peter **hat** das Eis gegessen.
Peter has the ice cream eaten

The Topological Fields Model (cf., eg., Höhle, 1986)

VL:	KOORD	K_L		Comp	Mittelfeld	Verbkompl	Nachfeld
V1:	KOORD	K_L		V_{fin}	Mittelfeld	Verbkompl	Nachfeld
V2:	PARORD KOORD	K_L	Vorfeld	V_{fin}	Mittelfeld	Verbkompl	Nachfeld

Generalizations:

- complementizer and finite verb are distributed complementarily.
- Comp/V_{fin} is sometimes referred to as the left sentence bracket.
- Vorfeld contains exactly one constituent.
- Mittelfeld is freely ordered sequence of zero or more constituents.
- Verbal complex, also referred to as right sentence bracket, is a strictly ordered sequence of verbs (and verbal particles).
- Nachfeld is freely ordered sequence of zero or more constituents.

The Topological Field Model (II)

Not all fields need to be occupied:

(4) $\underbrace{\text{Der Mann}}_{\text{VF}}\ \underbrace{\text{gibt}}_{V_{fin}}\ \underbrace{\text{der Frau das Buch,}}_{\text{MF}}\ \underbrace{\text{die er kennt}}_{\text{NF}}.$

The status test can be used to distinguish Mittelfeld and Nachfeld:

(5) Der Mann **hat** der Frau das Buch **gegeben**, *die er kennt*.
the man has the woman the book given who he knows
'The man gave the book to the woman who he knows.'

(6) * Der Mann **hat** der Frau das Buch, *die er kennt*, **gegeben**.
the man has the woman the book who he knows given

The Topological Field Model: A Complex Example (I)

A sentence can be embedded inside the Vorfeld, Mittelfeld, or Nachfeld (Reis, 1980, p. 82).

(7) Die Pflanzen, die in ihrem Zimmer standen, waren schon so lange nicht mehr
the plants which in her room stood were already so long no more
gegossen worden, daß es einem bei ihrem Anblick ganz schwer ums Herz
watered been that it one at their viewing wholly heavy around the heart
wurde.
became
'The plants in her room had long not been watered so that it was a sad sight.'

The Topological Field Model: A Complex Example (II)

Vorfeld	V_{fin}	Mittelfeld	Verbkompl	NF
die Pflanzen S_2	waren	schon so lange nicht mehr	gegossen worden	S_3

S_2:

Comp	Mittelfeld	Verbkompl
die	in ihrem Zimmer	standen

S_3:

Comp	Mittelfeld	Verbkompl
daß	es einem bei ihrem Anblick ganz schwer ums Herz	wurde

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- Phrase Structure
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- **From Phrase Structure to GPSG and HPSG**
  - Licensing Free Constituent Order with Phrase Structure
  - Immediate Dominance and Linear Precedence (GPSG)
  - HPSG: Valence, Obliqueness, and Constituent Order
- German Word Order Phenomena and their Analyses in Standard-HPSG/GPSG
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More Examples

Vorfeld	left br.	Mittelfeld	right br.	Nachfeld
Karl	schläft.			
Karl	hat		geschlafen.	
Karl	erkennt	Maria.		
Karl	färbt	den Mantel	um	den Maria kennt.
Karl	hat	Maria	erkannt.	
Karl	hat	Maria als sie aus dem Zug stieg sofort	erkannt.	
Karl	hat	Maria sofort	erkannt	als sie aus dem Zug stieg.
Karl	hat	Maria zu erkennen	behauptet.	
Karl	hat		behauptet	Maria zu erkennen.
	Schläft	Karl?		
	Schlaf!			
	Iß	jetzt dein Eis	auf!	
	Hat	er doch das ganze Eis alleine	gegessen.	
	weil	er das ganze Eis alleine	gegessen hat	ohne mit der Wimper zu zucken.
	weil	er das ganze Eis alleine	essen können will	ohne gestört zu werden.
	wer	das ganze Eis alleine	gegessen hat.	

Licensing Free Constituent Order with Phrase Structure

In German all six permutations of the arguments in the Mittelfeld are possible:

Gab *der Mann* **der Frau** DAS BUCH?	$S \rightarrow V, NP_{NOM}, NP_{ACC}, NP_{DAT}$
Gab *der Mann* DAS BUCH **der Frau**?	$S \rightarrow V, NP_{NOM}, NP_{DAT}, NP_{ACC}$
Gab DAS BUCH *der Mann* **der Frau**?	$S \rightarrow V, NP_{ACC}, NP_{NOM}, NP_{DAT}$
Gab DAS BUCH **der Frau** *der Mann*?	$S \rightarrow V, NP_{ACC}, NP_{DAT}, NP_{NOM}$
Gab **der Frau** *der Mann* DAS BUCH?	$S \rightarrow V, NP_{DAT}, NP_{NOM}, NP_{ACC}$
Gab **der Frau** DAS BUCH *der Mann*?	$S \rightarrow V, NP_{DAT}, NP_{ACC}, NP_{NOM}$

Note that each of these rules expresses the same dominance relation.

Separating Linear Precedence

- a missing generalization about:

  S → V, NP_{NOM}, NP_{ACC}, NP_{DAT}
  S → V, NP_{NOM}, NP_{DAT}, NP_{ACC}
  S → V, NP_{ACC}, NP_{NOM}, NP_{DAT}
  S → V, NP_{ACC}, NP_{DAT}, NP_{NOM}
  S → V, NP_{DAT}, NP_{NOM}, NP_{ACC}
  S → V, NP_{DAT}, NP_{ACC}, NP_{NOM}

- separation of immediate dominance and linear precedence (IDLP, Gazdar, Klein, Pullum and Sag, 1985)
  - no order of the daughters in a rule
  - LP constraints on local trees, i.e., trees of depth one
- instead of six just one rule & no order restriction for the right hand side

  S → V NP_{NOM} NP_{ACC} NP_{DAT}

Formulating Linearization Restrictions Again

An immediate dominance rule like "S → V NP_{NOM} NP_{ACC} NP_{DAT}" alone incorrectly permits orders where the verb appears in the middle of the NPs:

(8) * Der Mann der Frau gibt ein Buch.
the man the woman gives a book

- We have to restrict the position of the verb.
- (simplified) Linear Precedence (LP) Statements:

  V[INITIAL+] < X
  X < V[INITIAL−]

Valence in GPSG/HPSG

- GPSG: lexical entries have numbers to select specific phrase structure rules.
- HPSG: lexical entries contain list with descriptions of arguments

  gibt (*gives*): SUBCAT ⟨ NP[*nom*], NP[*acc*], NP[*dat*] ⟩

- Arguments are ordered according to an Obliqueness-Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie, 1977; Pullum, 1977).

The Obliqueness Hierarchy

Keenan and Comrie, 1977; Pullum, 1977; Grewendorf, 1985, 1988; Pollard and Sag, 1987

SUBJECT => DIRECT OBJECT => INDIRECT OBJECT => OBLIQUES => GENITIVES => OBJECTS OF COMPARISON

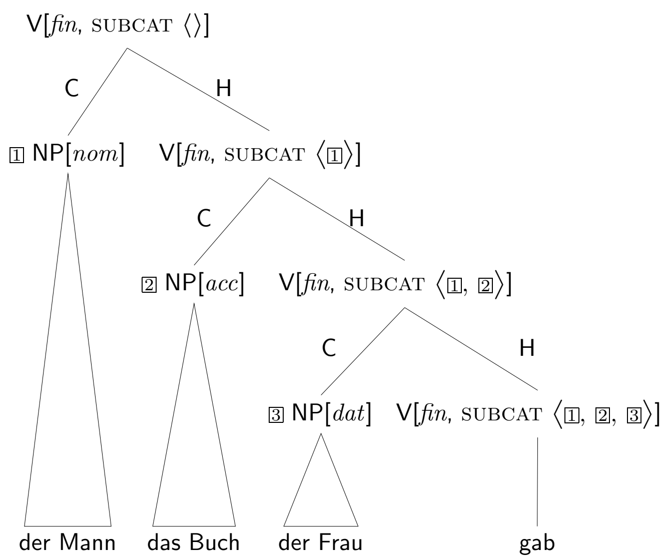
- syntactic activeness of grammatical functions
- higher elements participate easier in syntactic constructions
  - ellipsis (Klein, 1985)
  - topic drop in German (*Vorfeldellipse*) (Fries, 1988),
  - non-matching free relative clauses (Bausewein, 1990; Pittner, 1995; Müller, 1999b),
  - passive (Keenan and Comrie, 1977)
  - depictive secondary predicates (Müller, 2001, 2002)
  - Binding Theory (Grewendorf, 1985; Pollard and Sag, 1994)

Example for a Lexical Entry

gibt ('gives'):

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM } \textit{fin} \\ \textit{verb} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SUBCAT} & \left\langle \text{NP}[\textit{nom}]_{\boxed{1}}, \text{ NP}[\textit{acc}]_{\boxed{2}}, \text{ NP}[\textit{dat}]_{\boxed{3}} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGENT} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{THEME} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{GOAL} & \boxed{3} \\ \textit{geben} & \end{bmatrix} \\ \textit{loc} & \end{bmatrix}$$

Example: Binary Branching Structures



Constituent Ordering in HPSG

- There is no surface order encoded in the dominance schemata:
  Schema 1 (Head Complement Schema (binary branching))

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM|CAT|SUBCAT } \boxed{1} & \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM|CAT|SUBCAT } \boxed{1} \oplus \left\langle \boxed{2} \right\rangle \\ \textit{sign} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{2} \right\rangle \\ \textit{head-complement-structure} & \end{bmatrix}$$

- corresponds to head first or complement first serialization:
  [SUBCAT $\boxed{1}$] $\rightarrow$ H[SUBCAT $\boxed{1} \oplus \langle \boxed{2} \rangle$], $\boxed{2}$
  [SUBCAT $\boxed{1}$] $\rightarrow$ $\boxed{2}$, H[SUBCAT $\boxed{1} \oplus \langle \boxed{2} \rangle$]

The Constituent Order Principle

- A relational constraint computes the PHON value of the mother:

  Constituent Order Principle adapted from Pollard and Sag, 1987:

$$\textit{headed-structure} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \textit{order-constituents}(\boxed{1}, \boxed{2}) \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix}$$

- What can be encoded in the *order-constituents* relation?
  - In principle: any relation (incl. shuffling, dropping, adding phonologies)
  - In traditional HPSG: concatenation

A Simple Case: Binary Branching Structures and Concatenation

- head first:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \boxed{1} \oplus \boxed{2} \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & [\text{PHON } \boxed{1}] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} & \left\langle [\text{PHON } \boxed{2}] \right\rangle \\ \textit{headed-structure} & \end{bmatrix}$$

example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \langle \textit{ loves, Karl } \rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & [\text{PHON } \langle \textit{ loves } \rangle] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} & \left\langle [\text{PHON } \langle \textit{ Karl } \rangle] \right\rangle \\ \textit{headed-structure} & \end{bmatrix}$$

- head last:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \boxed{2} \oplus \boxed{1} \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & [\text{PHON } \boxed{1}] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} & \left\langle [\text{PHON } \boxed{2}] \right\rangle \\ \textit{headed-structure} & \end{bmatrix}$$

example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \langle \textit{ Karl, sleeps } \rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & [\text{PHON } \langle \textit{ sleeps } \rangle] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} & \left\langle [\text{PHON } \langle \textit{ Karl } \rangle] \right\rangle \\ \textit{headed-structure} & \end{bmatrix}$$

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Linearization Rules in HPSG

- reference to feature values: [HEAD *prep*] > [HEAD *noun*]
  orders all prepositions to the left of nominal constituents

(9) a. in the bathroom
b. * the bathroom in

- reference to immediate dominance schema embedding daughters: FILLER < HEAD
- reference to both: HEAD[INITIAL+] < COMP
  orders all head daughters with the value + for the feature INITIAL to the left of their complements
- extension proposed by Uszkoreit (1987): violable, weighted LP rules
  different markedness of orders in (10):

(10) a. Gab *der Mann* **der Frau** DAS BUCH.
b. Gab *der Mann* DAS BUCH **der Frau**.
...

Relatively Free Constituent Order in the German Clause

How account for the possible orders in main clauses (11)–(16) and in embedded clauses (17)–(22)?

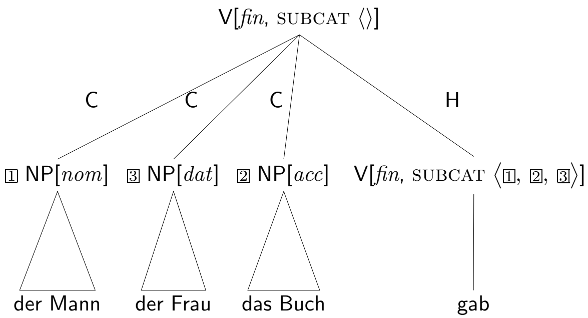
(11) Gab *der Mann* **der Frau** DAS BUCH?
(12) Gab *der Mann* DAS BUCH **der Frau**?
(13) Gab DAS BUCH *der Mann* **der Frau**?
(14) Gab DAS BUCH **der Frau** *der Mann*?
(15) Gab **der Frau** *der Mann* DAS BUCH?
(16) Gab **der Frau** DAS BUCH *der Mann*?

(17) weil *der Mann* **der Frau** DAS BUCH gab.
(18) weil *der Mann* DAS BUCH **der Frau** gab.
(19) weil DAS BUCH *der Mann* **der Frau** gab.
(20) weil DAS BUCH **der Frau** *der Mann* gab.
(21) weil **der Frau** *der Mann* DAS BUCH gab.
(22) weil **der Frau** DAS BUCH *der Mann* gab.

several proposals by Uszkoreit (1987), Pollard (1996),
Reape (1996, 1992, 1994), Kathol (1995, 2000),
Müller (1995, 1999a, 2000a,b, 2002)

Flat Structures

- Pollard (1996) in HPSG (see Uszkoreit, 1987 for GPSG):



- The head contains a description of its arguments ($\boxed{1}$, $\boxed{2}$, $\boxed{3}$).
- Arguments are daughters of the same node.
- All permutations are possible since elements are sisters in a local tree.

Problems with Flat Structures: Huge Number of Rules

- If one uses a phrase structure based backbone,
  the number of rules is quite big.

- Many different rules are required in a GPSG grammar with flat structures:
  - intransitive verbs like *schlafen* (S → V, NP)
  - transitive verbs like *kennen* (S → V, NP, NP)
  - ditransitive verbs like *geben* (S → V, NP, NP, NP)
  - verbs with four arguments like *kaufen* (S → V, NP, NP, PP, PP)
  - verb in initial position: verbal complex at the right periphery of the clause

- Problem also relevant for processing HPSG grammars with a phrase structure backbone.

Problems with Flat Structures: Adjuncts (I)

- Adjuncts can be placed everywhere between the complements:

(23) a. Gab der Mann der Frau das Buch **gestern**?
b. Gab der Mann der Frau **gestern** das Buch?
c. Gab der Mann **gestern** der Frau das Buch?
d. Gab **gestern** der Mann der Frau das Buch?

- The number of adjuncts is not restricted. → The number of rules is infinite.

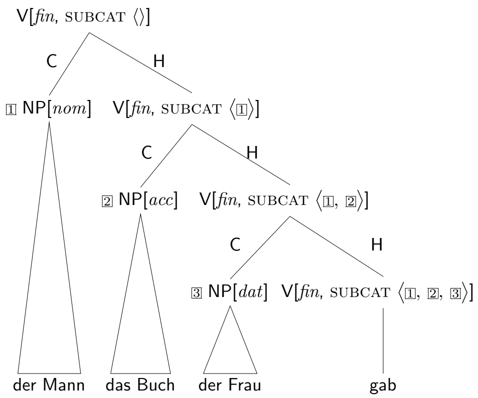
S → V NP NP NP	S → V NP NP NP Adj Adj
S → V NP NP NP Adj	
S → V NP NP Adj NP	. . .
S → V NP Adj NP NP	
S → V Adj NP NP NP	S → V NP NP NP Adj Adj Adj

- Even with ad hoc restrictions huge set of rules.

Problems with Flat Structures: Adjuncts (II)

- Kasper (1994): underspecified number of daughters, adjuncts and complements in the same tree, computation of the meaning by relational constraints (little programs)

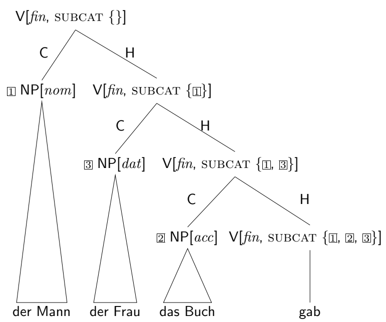
Binary Branching Structures



- trivial to account for the free appearance of adjuncts
- But how do we account for the free ordering of arguments?
  (Usually only the last element from the SUBCAT list can be combined with the head in a head-complement structure.)

A Subcat Set

- Gunji (1986), Hinrichs and Nakazawa (1989), Pollard (1996), Oliva (1992), Engelkamp, Erbach and Uszkoreit (1992), Nerbonne (1994), and Kiss (2001)



- an element of the SUBCAT set is combined with the head
- the only condition is that combined elements are adjacent

Problems of the Subcat Set Approach

- spurious ambiguities if the head is in the middle example: coordinated structures
  Paritong (1992): conjunction takes two arguments

(24) a. [Karl [and Mary]]
     b. [[Karl and] Mary]

- spurious ambiguities if nonlocal phenomena are involved:
  Adjacency is not sufficient to determine the position of a trace.

(25) a. Der Frau$_i$ gab der Mann das Buch $\_i$.
     the woman$_{dat}$ gave the man$_{nom}$ the book$_{acc}$
     'The man gave the woman the book.'
     b. Der Frau$_i$ gab der Mann $\_i$ das Buch.
     the woman$_{dat}$ gave the man$_{nom}$ the book$_{acc}$
     c. Der Frau$_i$ gab $\_i$ der Mann das Buch.
     the woman$_{dat}$ gave the man$_{nom}$ the book$_{acc}$

A Subcat List and a Relaxed Subcat Principle

- Baker (1999) and Trale implementation of Müller (To Appear b):
  relaxation of the SUBCAT principle
- The SUBCAT principle is changed so that any element from the SUBCAT list may be combined with a head, not just the last member of the SUBCAT list.
- the same problems as with the set-based approach

A Lexical Rule

- Uszkoreit (1986): lexical rule that takes a verb and computes lexical items with permuted elements in the SUBCAT list
- at least six lexical items are licensed for a ditransitive verb like *geben*

(26) a. $\langle$ NP[nom], NP[acc], NP[dat] $\rangle$
b. $\langle$ NP[nom], NP[dat], NP[acc] $\rangle$
c. $\langle$ NP[acc], NP[nom], NP[dat] $\rangle$
d. $\langle$ NP[acc], NP[dat], NP[nom] $\rangle$
e. $\langle$ NP[dat], NP[nom], NP[acc] $\rangle$
f. $\langle$ NP[dat], NP[acc], NP[nom] $\rangle$

- Uszkoreit suggested 18 (!) lexical entries.
  Instantiation of all features that are relevant for linearization.
- Meurers (1994) and Müller and Kasper (2000) in HPSG implementations.

Outline

A Problem for the Lexical Rule Approach

The analysis of sentences like (27) results in spurious ambiguities:

(27) Der Frau gab der Mann das Buch.
the woman$_{dat}$ gave the man$_{nom}$ the book$_{acc}$
'The man gave the woman the book.'

The element in the Vorfeld is extracted. Analysis as a nonlocal dependency.

All three valence patterns in (28) can be used to analyze (27):

(28) a. $\langle$NP[nom], NP[acc], NP[dat]$\rangle$
b. $\langle$NP[nom], NP[dat], NP[acc]$\rangle$
c. $\langle$NP[dat], NP[nom], NP[acc]$\rangle$

NP[nom] and NP[acc] are in the same order in all lists.
NP[dat] is serialized independently of the other two NPs.

The Mittelfeld and the Predicate Complex

- Arguments belonging to different heads may be permuted:

  weil es^3 ihm^2 jemand^1 zu lesen^3 versprochen^2 hat^1. (Haider, 1990)
  because it$_{acc}$ him$_{dat}$ somebody$_{nom}$ to read promised has
  'because somebody promised him to read it.'

  Data for all six permutations of the arguments can be found, parallel to simplex verbs.

- Adjuncts can appear everywhere between the arguments.
- The pattern can be explained by assuming that the predicate complex behaves like a simplex syntactic head.
  The generalizations about the Mittelfeld are the same.

The Analysis of the Predicate Complex (I)

(29) daß er dem Mann [[geholfen haben] wird].
that he the man helped have will
'that he will have helped the man.'

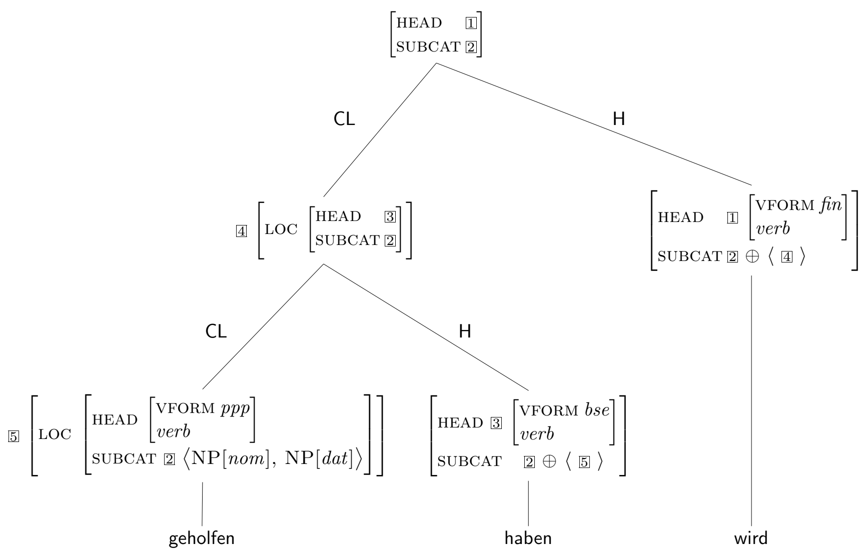
- Hinrichs and Nakazawa (1989) suggest an argument attraction approach:

  Example *haben* (perfect auxiliary):

  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBCAT } \boxed{1} \oplus \langle \text{V[SUBCAT } \boxed{1}] \rangle \\ cat \end{bmatrix}$

- *geholfen*, *haben*, and *wird* form a complex head

The Analysis of the Predicate Complex (II)



Problems for Processing Sentences with a Predicate Complex (I)

- *haben* is a raising verb. It does not impose constraints on the valence properties of the embedded verbal complex.

(30) a. weil er getanzt hat. (intransitive)
because he danced has
b. weil er sie geliebt hat. (transitive)
because he her loved has
c. weil er es ihr gegeben hat. (ditransitive)
because he it her given has

- For all sentences we have a version with the finite verb in initial position:

(31) a. Hat er getanzt?
b. Hat er sie geliebt?
c. Hat er es ihr gegeben?

Problems for Processing Sentences with a Predicate Complex (II)

- The number of arguments of *haben* is unknown until we processed the embedded verbal complex.
- If the verb is in initial position, we do not know anything about the constituents that follow.
- It is not sufficient to know the arguments of the predicate complex in the right sentence bracket since the finite verb also may contribute arguments.
  Example AcI constructions:

(32) a. daß *ihn* (den Erfolg) *uns* **niemand** *auskosten* **ließ**. (Höhle)
that it$_{acc}$ the success us$_{acc}$ nobody$_{nom}$ enjoy let
'that nobody let us make the most of it.'
b. Deshalb **ließ** *ihn uns* **niemand** *auskosten*.
therefor let it us nobody enjoy

- predicate complex formation may be iterated:

(33) weil **Hans** *Cecilia* JOHN DAS NILPFERD FÜTTERN *helfen* **läßt**.
because Hans Cecilia John the hippo feed help let
'because Hans lets Cecilia help John feed the hippo.'

→ without ad hoc stipulations a maximal number of arguments of a (complex) head cannot be given
→ independent of parsing direction, we do not know what we do

- Crysmann (2003): The maximal number of arguments that can be added by a verb in initial position is two (AcI construction).

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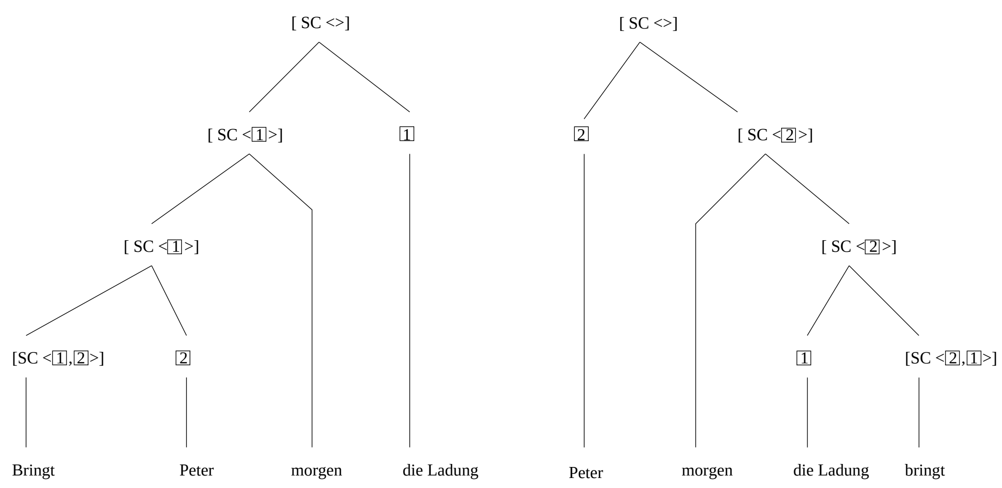
The Position of the Finite Verb

Two analyses were suggested:

- verb last is the base order, verb first order is derived
  - GB: nowadays standard, goes back to Fourquet (1957), Bierwisch (1963), Reis (1974), Thiersch (1978)
  - GPSG: Jacobs (1986)
  - HPSG: Kiss and Wesche (1991), Oliva (1992), Netter (1992), Kiss (1993), Frank (1994), Kiss (1995), Meurers (2000), Müller and Kasper (2000), Müller (To Appear b)
- verb first is one possible position of the verb, just as verb last is Uszkoreit (1987), Pollard (1996)

Verb First and Binary Branching

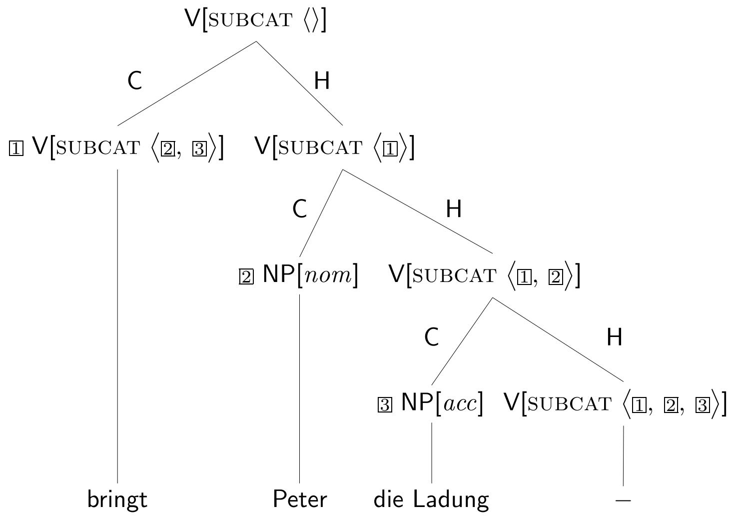


Verb First and Binary Branching

(34) a. weil Peter morgen die Ladung bringt.
b. Bringt Peter morgen die Ladung?

- Netter (1992), Kiss and Wesche (1991), Oliva (1992), Kiss (1995), Frank (1994), Meurers (2000), Müller (To Appear b): empty verbal head in final position

Netter (1992): Analysis with Phonologically Empty Head



Netter's Verbal Trace

- Netter uses argument attraction known from the analysis of the verbal complex:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{SUBCAT} & \left\langle \text{V}[\text{SUBCAT } \boxed{1}, \text{ CONT } \boxed{2}] \right\rangle \oplus \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CONT } \boxed{2} & \\ \textit{loc} & \end{bmatrix}$$

- The empty verbal head selects the arguments of the verb in initial position ($\boxed{1}$) + the verb in initial position (V[SUBCAT $\boxed{1}$, CONT $\boxed{2}$]).
- The trace has the same meaning as the verb in initial position ($\boxed{2}$).

Problem: Underspecification of Valence Information

- Without further restrictions, the empty element is underspecified.
- Structures that are never used in full analyses are licensed locally.

(35) Die Frau gibt dem Mann das Buch.

1. * die
2. * die, Frau
3. **[die Frau]**
4. * die, Frau, gibt
5. * [die Frau], gibt
6. * [die Frau gibt]
7. * die, Frau, gibt, dem
8. * [die Frau], gibt, dem
9. * [die Frau gibt], dem
10. * die, Frau, gibt, dem, Mann
11. * [die Frau], gibt, dem, Mann
12. * [die Frau gibt], dem, Mann
13. * [die Frau gibt], [dem Mann]
14. * [die Frau], gibt, [dem Mann]
15. * die, Frau, gibt, dem, Mann, das
16. * die, Frau, gibt, dem, Mann, das
17. * [die Frau], gibt, dem, Mann, das
18. * [die Frau gibt], dem, Mann, das
19. * [die Frau gibt], [dem Mann], das
20. * [die Frau], gibt, [dem Mann], das
21. * die, Frau, gibt, dem, Mann, das, Buch
22. * [die Frau], gibt, dem, Mann, das, Buch
23. * [die Frau gibt], dem, Mann, das, Buch
24. * [die Frau gibt], [dem Mann], das, Buch
25. * [die Frau], gibt, [dem Mann], das, Buch
26. * die, Frau, gibt, dem, Mann, [das, Buch]

27 * [die Frau], gibt, dem, Mann, [das, Buch]
28 * [die Frau gibt], dem, Mann, [das, Buch]
29 * [die Frau gibt], [dem Mann], [das, Buch]
30 * [die Frau], gibt, [dem Mann], [das, Buch]
31 * Frau
32 * Frau, gibt
33 * Frau, gibt, dem
34 * Frau, gibt, dem, Mann
35 * Frau, gibt, [dem, Mann]
36 * Frau, gibt, dem, Mann, das
37 * Frau, gibt, [dem, Mann], das
38 * Frau, gibt, dem, Mann, das, Buch
39 * Frau, gibt, [dem, Mann], das, Buch
40 * Frau, gibt, dem, Mann, [das, Buch]
41 * Frau, gibt, [dem, Mann], [das, Buch]
42 * gibt
43 * gibt, dem
44 * gibt, dem, Mann
45 * gibt, [dem, Mann]
46 * gibt, dem, Mann, das
47 * gibt, [dem, Mann], das
48 * gibt, dem, Mann, das, Buch
49 * gibt, [dem, Mann], das, Buch
50 * gibt, dem, Mann, [das, Buch]
51 * gibt, [dem, Mann], [das, Buch]
52 * dem
53 * dem, Mann
54 * [dem, Mann]
55 * dem, Mann, das
56 * [dem, Mann], das
57 * dem, Mann, das, Buch
58 * [dem, Mann], das, Buch
59 * dem, Mann, [das, Buch]
60 **[dem, Mann], [das, Buch]**
61 * Mann
62 * Mann, das
63 * Mann, das, Buch
64 * Mann, [das Buch]
65 * das
66 * das Buch
67 **[das Buch]**
68 * Buch

In the Verb*mobil* grammar, additional constraints were used to exclude the unwanted structures.

For example: All non-verbal complements are fully saturated.

Nevertheless the search space is huge.

Projections of the Empty Head

In any case we need a lot of projections for cases like:

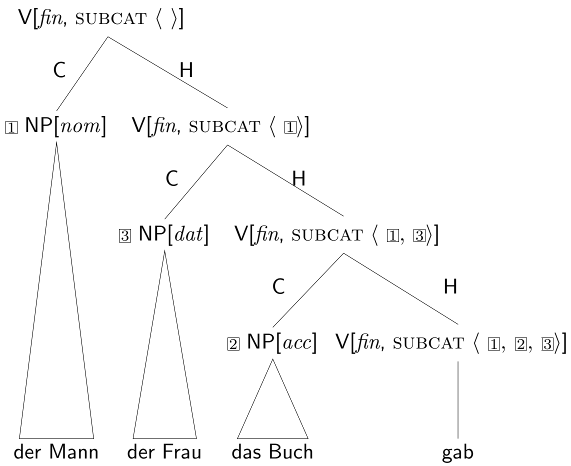
(36) in den nächsten zwei Wochen
in the following two weeks

Various parts of this string can function as full phrases:

(37)
a. Er arbeitete **zwei Wochen** daran.
b. Darüber habe ich **Wochen** nachgedacht.
c. Ich kenne **zwei**.
d. Ich kenne **den**.
e. Ich nehme **den nächsten**.
f. Ich gehe **in den**.
g. Ich gehe **in den nächsten**.
h. Ich arbeite **in den nächsten zwei**.

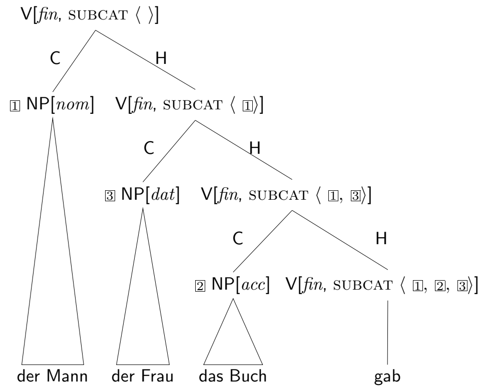
If we do bottom-up parsing, the empty verbal head can be combined with *Wochen* and this projection can be combined with *zwei*, *den nächsten zwei*, or *in den nächsten zwei*. And so on.

Binary Branching and Linearization Rules for the Mittelfeld (I)



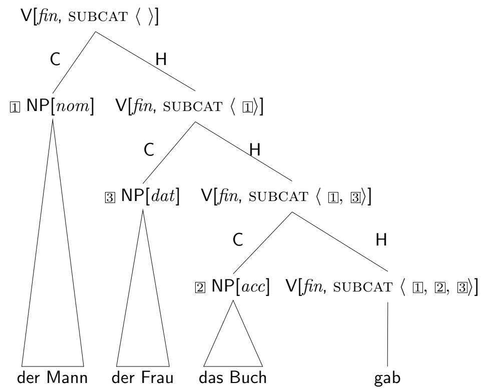
- Note: There is no way to check linearization constraints for the Mittelfeld locally!

Binary Branching and Linearization Rules for the Mittelfeld (II)



Solution one:
All constraints relevant for linearization are encoded in the lexical rules that license different permutations.
This is Uszkoreit's approach. We need at least 18 lexical items for a ditransitive verb.
If we do not assume verb movement as for instance Crysmann (2003),
we need 36 lexical entries for a (finite) ditransitive verb.
For *geben* ('to give') we would get entries for infinitival forms in addition. → The parser would die because of high lexical ambiguity unless there is lazy evaluation of constraints.

Binary Branching and Linearization Rules for the Mittelfeld (III)



Solution two:
We keep a list of elements that are combined with the head and check the LP rules with regard to this list.
This was never done in implemented systems (the Verb*mobil* grammar and successors).
If one introduces such an additional list the performance will drop considerably,
since more space is needed and copying takes longer.
This has to be kept in mind when systems are compared.

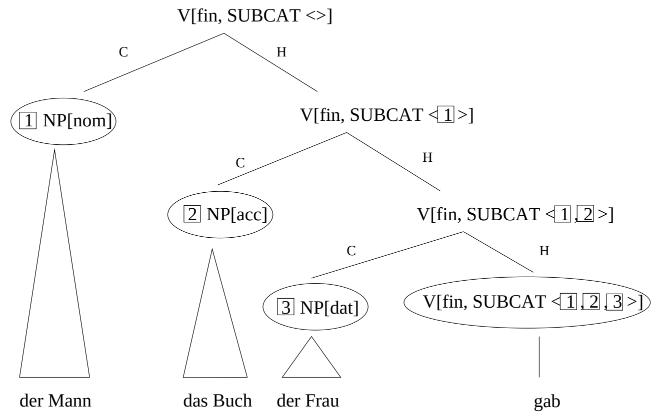
Outline

- Phrase Structure
- A Topological Model for German
- From Phrase Structure to GPSG and HPSG
- German Word Order Phenomena and their Analyses in Standard-HPSG/GPSG
- Discontinuous Constituents
  - Head Projections as Linearization Domains
  - An Extension to Domain Union
- Parsing
- Syntactically Annotated Corpora and Discontinuity
- Summary

Discontinuous Constituents

- extension of the domain in which linearization constraints apply
- computation of phonology values is independent of constituent structure
- German: Reape (1991, 1992, 1994), Pollard, Kasper and Levine (1992, 1994), Kathol and Pollard (1995), Kathol (1995, 2000), Müller (1995, 1997, 1999a, 2002), Richter and Sailer (2001)
- Warlpiri: Donohue and Sag (1999)
- Serbo-Croatian: Penn (1999)
- Japanese: Yatabe (2001)
- Dutch: Campbell-Kibler (2001)
- French: Bonami and Godard (To Appear)

Constituent Order Domains and Discontinuous Constituents



- circled nodes get inserted into a list: the linearization domain
- permutation of elements in these domains is restricted only by linearization rules
- linearization domains are head domains
- scrambling is local

Representation of Lexical Heads

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{SYNSEM} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{DOM} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{SYNSEM} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{DOM} & \langle\rangle \\ \multicolumn{2}{l}{\textit{lexical-sign}} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\ \multicolumn{2}{l}{\textit{lexical-sign}} \end{bmatrix}$$

- A lexical head contains a description of itself in its domain.
- Adjunct and complement daughters are inserted into this list and are serialized relative to this element.

Domain Formation

Non-head daughters are inserted into the domain of their head:

$$\textit{headed-structure} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD-DTR}|\text{DOM} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{DOM} & \boxed{1} \bigcirc \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix}$$

The *shuffle* relation holds between three lists A, B, and C, iff C contains all elements of A and B and the order of the elements of A and the order of elements of B is preserved in C.

$$\begin{aligned} \langle a,b \rangle \bigcirc \langle c,d \rangle = & \langle\ a,\ b,\ c,\ d\ \rangle \lor \\ & \langle\ a,\ c,\ b,\ d\ \rangle \lor \\ & \langle\ a,\ c,\ d,\ b\ \rangle \lor \\ & \langle\ c,\ a,\ b,\ d\ \rangle \lor \\ & \langle\ c,\ a,\ d,\ b\ \rangle \lor \\ & \langle\ c,\ d,\ a,\ b\ \rangle \end{aligned}$$

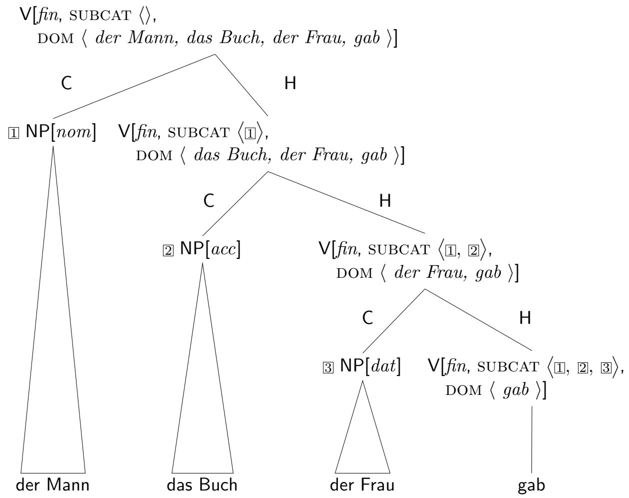
PHON Computation

Elements in DOM are ordered according to their surface order →

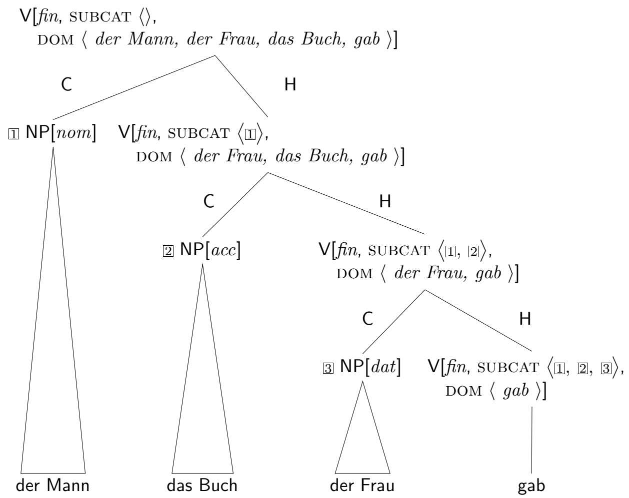
The PHON value of the mother is the concatenation of the PHON values of the domain elements.

$$\textit{phrasal-sign} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON } \boxed{1} \oplus \ldots \oplus \boxed{m} \\ \text{DOM } \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON } \boxed{1} \\ \textit{sign} \end{bmatrix}, \ldots, \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON } \boxed{m} \\ \textit{sign} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

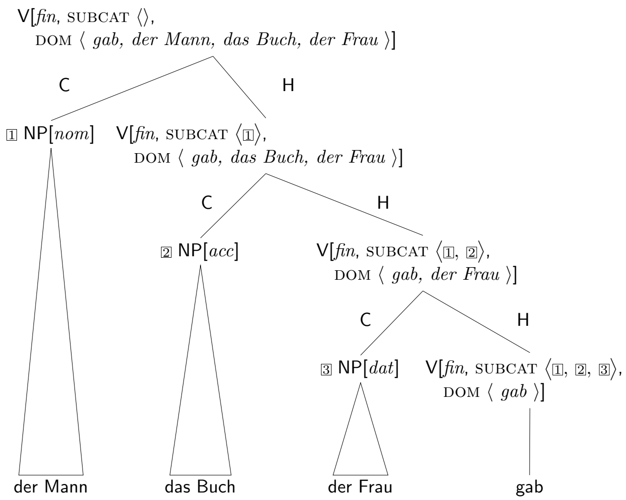
Example: Continuous Constituents



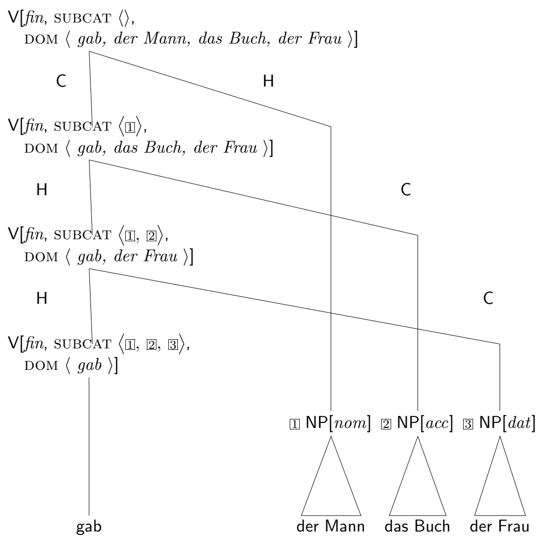
Example: Discontinuous Constituents / Permutation of NPs



Example: Discontinuous Constituents / Verb Placement



Verb Placement with Leaves in Surface Order



A Remark

- The dominance structures for all sentences in (38) are the same:

(38) a. der Mann der Frau das Buch gab.
 b. der Mann das Buch der Frau gab.
 c. Gab der Mann das Buch der Frau.

- Only the serialization of the elements in the order domains differs.

Discontinuous Constituents and the Predicate Complex

- Both sentences have the same dominance structure:

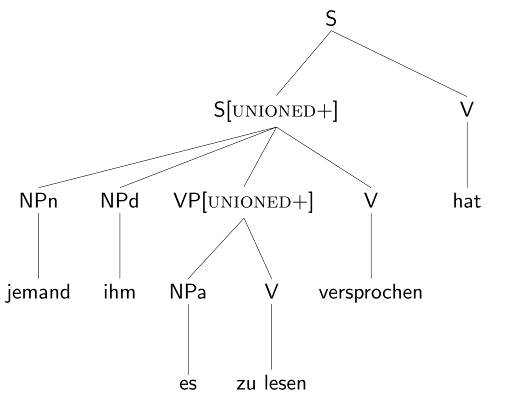
(39) a. weil es ihm jemand zu lesen versprochen hat.
 because it_{acc} him_{dat} somebody_{nom} to read promised has
 'because somebody promised him to read it.'
 b. Hat es ihm jemand zu lesen versprochen?
 has it_{acc} him_{dat} somebody_{nom} to read promised
 'Did somebody promise him to read it?'

In both sentences we combine *hat* and *zu lesen versprochen* first.
→ We know what further arguments we are looking for.

What Phenomena Should be Accounted for with Linearization?

- Reape invented order domains to account for scrambling involving arguments of different verbal heads.
- Why did we use argument attraction instead of Domain Union?
- Reape's Approach: All verbs form (possibly discontinuous) VPs.
  - Arguments and adjuncts of a verb are serialized in the domain of the verb.
  - When a verb is combined with the verbal projection it embeds, the domain elements of the embedded verbal projection are **domain-unioned** into the domain of the higher verb.

Example: Domain Union



(40) weil es ihm jemand zu lesen versprochen hat.
because it_{acc} him_{dat} somebody_{nom} to read promised has
'because somebody promised him to read it.'

Argument Attraction vs. Domain Union (I)

- Argument Attraction:

  Raising Verbs:
  $\left[\text{SUBCAT } \boxed{1} \oplus \left\langle \text{V}[\text{SUBCAT } \boxed{1}] \right\rangle\right]$
  Control Verbs (permutation):
  $\left[\text{SUBCAT } \left\langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}} \right\rangle \oplus \boxed{2} \oplus \left\langle \text{V}[\text{SUBCAT } \langle \text{ NP}_{\boxed{1}} \rangle \oplus \boxed{2}] \right\rangle\right]$
  Control Verbs (no permutation):
  $\left[\text{SUBCAT } \left\langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}}, \text{ V}[\text{SUBCAT } \langle \text{ NP}_{\boxed{1}} \rangle] \right\rangle\right]$

- Domain Union:

  Raising Verbs:
  $\left[\text{SUBCAT } \left\langle \text{V}[\text{SUBCAT } \langle\rangle, \text{ UNIONED+}] \right\rangle\right]$
  Control Verbs (permutation):
  $\left[\text{SUBCAT } \left\langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}}, \text{ V}[\text{SUBCAT } \langle \text{ NP}_{\boxed{1}} \rangle, \text{ UNIONED+}] \right\rangle\right]$
  Control Verbs (no permutation):
  $\left[\text{SUBCAT } \left\langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}}, \text{ V}[\text{SUBCAT } \langle \text{ NP}_{\boxed{1}} \rangle, \text{ UNIONED}-] \right\rangle\right]$

Reape's Domain Union

Reape (1994) divides between functors and arguments and states:
$[\text{DTRS } \textit{functor-argument-structure}] \rightarrow$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{DTRS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{FUN-DTR} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{ARG-DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{2}\,[\text{UNIONED}-], \ldots, \boxed{i}\,[\text{UNIONED}-] \right\rangle \circ \\ & \left\langle [\text{UNIONED+}, \text{ DOM } \boxed{i+1}], \ldots, [\text{UNIONED+}, \text{ DOM } \boxed{m}] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{DOM} & \left\langle \boxed{1} \right\rangle \circ \left\langle \boxed{2} \right\rangle \circ \ldots \circ \left\langle \boxed{i} \right\rangle \circ \boxed{i+1} \circ \ldots \circ \boxed{m} \end{bmatrix}$$

- The resulting domain includes the functor ($\boxed{1}$) and all elements that are not domain-unioned ($\boxed{2} - \boxed{i}$).
- The domain elements of all ARG-DTRS that are UNION+ ($\boxed{i+1} - \boxed{m}$) are also shuffled into the resulting domain.

Argument Attraction vs. Domain Union (II)

Raising verbs allow for the embedding of subjectless verbs and of verbs taking a subject:

(41) a. weil heute gearbeitet zu werden scheint.
because today worked to be seems
'There seems to be working today.'
b. weil er zu arbeiten scheint.
because he to work seems
'because he seems to work.'

According to Reape the subject is combined with the embedded verb:

(42) weil **er zu arbeiten** scheint.
because he to work seems
'because he seems to work.'

scheinen embeds an S.

Argument Attraction vs. Domain Union: Agreement

Kathol (1998): In Reape's proposal subject-verb agreement cannot be established locally:

(43) a. weil heute gearbeitet zu werden scheint.
because today worked to be seems
'There seems to be working today.'
b. Du scheinst / *scheint mal wieder nichts zu verstehen.
you seem-2.sg / seems-3.sg yet again nothing to understand
'You don't seem to understand anything again.'

- Verbal inflection in subjectless constructions is 3rd sg.
- In (43b) we have 2nd sg, i.e., agreement with the subject.
- In Reape's proposal the subject belongs to the projection of the embedded verb. → problems for accounting for agreement locally.

(But see Meurers, 2000 for the suggestion to project information about subjects.)

Argument Attraction vs. Domain Union: Coordination

In general approaches that do not assume verbal complexes have problems accounting for coordinations as in (44):

(44) Ich liebte ihn, und ich fühlte, daß er mich auch geliebt hat oder doch,
daß er mich hätte [lieben wollen] oder [lieben müssen].
that he me would.have love want.to or love must
'I loved him, and I felt that he loved me too, or at least that he would have wanted to or would have had to love me.' (Werner Bergengruen, *Das Tempelchen*. Zürich, 1950, p. 423, quoted from Hoberg, 1981, p. 36)

In Reape's approach *mich lieben* and *wollen* are inserted into the domain of *hätte*. It is unclear how the second conjunct should be treated, how the conjuncts are realized with respect to the coordinating conjunction and so on.

See also Müller, 2002, Chapter 2.3.2.

Argument Attraction vs. Domain Union: Remote Passive

Kathol (1998): Reape's treatment cannot explain remote passives like (45b):

(45) a. weil Mechaniker **den Wagen** oft zu reparieren versucht haben.
because mechanics$_{nom}$ the car$_{acc}$ often to repair tried have
'because mechanics often tried to repair the car.'
b. weil **der Wagen** oft zu reparieren versucht wurde.
because the car$_{nom}$ often to repair tried was
'because many attempts were made to repair the car.'

This data can be explained by an analysis of the German passive that suppresses the subject θ role and a case assignment principle that assigns nominative to the first NP with structural case on SUBCAT. The least oblique NP that ist realized as accusative in the active sentence is realized as nominative.

If we have a verbal complex that takes the accusative object of the embedded verb (*reparieren*) as its argument, this can be promoted to subject. If we embed complete VPs, the nominative in (45b) cannot be explained.

Remote Passive: Corpus Examples from Müller (2002)

(46) Dabei darf jedoch nicht vergessen werden, daß in der Bundesrepublik, wo **ein Mittelweg zu gehen versucht wird**, die Situation der Neuen Musik allgemein und die Stellung der Komponistinnen im besonderen noch recht unbefriedigend ist. (Mannheimer Morgen, 26.09.1989)
'One should not forget that the situation of the New Music in general and the position of female composers in particular is rather unsatisfying in the Bundesrepublik, where one tries to follow a middle course.'

(47) Noch ist es nicht so lange her, da ertönten gerade aus dem Thurgau jeweils die lautesten Töne, wenn im Wallis oder am Genfersee im Umfeld einer Schuldenpolitik mit den unglaublichsten Tricks **der sportliche Abstieg zu verhindern versucht wurde**. (St. Galler Tagblatt, 09.02.1999)
'It still is not too long ago that the loudest protests were heard in the Thurgau itself when the most unbelievable tricks in the sphere of debt policies were applied to prevent relegation in the Valais or at Lake Geneva.'

(48) Die Auf- und Absteigenden erzeugen ungewollt einen Ton, **der** bewusst nicht als lästig **zu eliminieren versucht wird**, sondern zum Eigenklang des Hauses gehören soll, so wünschen es sich die Architekten. (Züricher Tagesanzeiger, 01.11.1997)
'The people who go up and down produce a tune without intention which is not consciously sought to be eliminated but which, rather, belongs to the individual sound of the building, as the architects intended.'

More examples with *versuchen* ('to try'), *beginnen* ('to begin'), and *wagen* ('to dare') can be found in Wurmbrand, 2003.

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Argument Attraction vs. Domain Union: Dative Passive

Kathol (1998): Reape's analysis excludes analyses of the dative passive in which the auxiliary does the change in valence structure.

(49) a. Der Mann hat den Ball dem Jungen geschenkt.
the man$_{nom}$ has the ball$_{acc}$ the boy$_{dat}$ given
'The man gave the ball to the boy.'

b. Der Junge bekam den Ball geschenkt.
the boy$_{nom}$ got the ball$_{acc}$ given
'The boy got the ball as a present.'

In argument attraction approaches, *bekommen* can attract the arguments of the embedded verb and realize the dative object as its subject.

This is excluded in Reape's approach.

One needs diacritics to distinguish the different lexical items of the various participle forms (perfect, accusative passive, dative passive).

CFG Parsing: The Cocke Younger Kasami Algorithm

- Grammar has to be in Chomsky Normal Form (CNF), only
  - RHS with a single terminal: $A \rightarrow a$
  - RHS with two non-terminals: $A \rightarrow BC$
  - no ϵ rules ($A \rightarrow \epsilon$)
- A representation of the string showing positions and word indices:

$$\cdot_0\ w_1\ \cdot_1\ w_2\ \cdot_2\ w_3\ \cdot_3\ w_4\ \cdot_4\ w_5\ \cdot_5\ w_6\ \cdot_6$$

For example: $\cdot_0$ the $\cdot_1$ young $\cdot_2$ boy $\cdot_3$ saw $\cdot_4$ the $\cdot_5$ dragon $\cdot_6$

The Chart

- The well-formed substring table, henceforth (passive) chart, for a string of length n is an $n \times n$ matrix.
- The field (i, j) of the chart encodes the set of all categories of constituents that start at position i and end at position j, i.e.
  chart(i,j) $= \{A \mid A \Rightarrow^* w_{i+1} \dots w_j\}$
- The matrix is triangular since no constituent ends before it starts.

Coverage Represented in the Chart

An input sentence with 6 words:

$$\cdot_0 \; w_1 \; \cdot_1 \; w_2 \; \cdot_2 \; w_3 \; \cdot_3 \; w_4 \; \cdot_4 \; w_5 \; \cdot_5 \; w_6 \; \cdot_6$$

Coverage represented in the chart:

TO:

FROM:		1	2	3	4	5	6
	0	0–1	0–2	0–3	0–4	0–5	0–6
	1		1–2	1–3	1–4	1–5	1–6
	2			2–3	2–4	2–5	2–6
	3				3–4	3–5	3–6
	4					4–5	4–6
	5						5–6

Example for Coverage Represented in Chart

Example sentence:

$$\cdot_0 \text{ the } \cdot_1 \text{ young } \cdot_2 \text{ boy } \cdot_3 \text{ saw } \cdot_4 \text{ the } \cdot_5 \text{ dragon } \cdot_6$$

Coverage represented in chart:

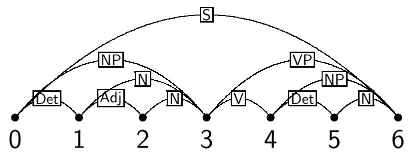
	1	2	3	4	5	6
0	the	the young	the young boy	the young boy saw	the young boy saw the	the young boy saw the dragon
1		young	young boy	young boy saw	young boy saw the	young boy saw the dragon
2			boy	boy saw	boy saw the	boy saw the dragon
3				saw	saw the	saw the dragon
4					the	the dragon
5						dragon

An Example for a Filled-in Chart

Input sentence:
$\cdot_0$ the $\cdot_1$ young $\cdot_2$ boy $\cdot_3$ saw $\cdot_4$ the $\cdot_5$ dragon $\cdot_6$

Chart:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
0	{Det}	{}	{NP}	{}	{}	{S}
1		{Adj}	{N}	{}	{}	{}
2			{N}	{}	{}	{}
3				{V, N}	{}	{VP}
4					{Det}	{NP}
5						{N}



Grammar:
S → NP VP
VP → Vt NP
NP → Det N
N → Adj N
Vt → saw
Det → the
Det → a
N → dragon
N → boy
N → saw
Adj → young

Filling in the Chart

- It is important to fill in the chart systematically.
- We build all constituents that end at a certain point before we build constituents that end at a later point.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
0	***1***	**3**	**6**	**10**	**15**	**21**
1		***2***	**5**	**9**	**14**	**20**
2			***4***	**8**	**13**	**19**
3				***7***	**12**	**18**
4					***11***	**17**
5						***16***

for $j := 1$ to length($string$)
    lexical_chart_fill$(j-1, j)$
    for $i := j-2$ down to 0
        syntactic_chart_fill(i, j)

lexical_chart_fill(j-1,j)

- Idea: Lexical lookup. Fill the field $(j-1, j)$ in the chart with the preterminal category dominating word j.
- Realized as:

$$chart(j-1, j) := \{\mathrm{X} \mid \mathrm{X} \rightarrow \mathrm{word}_j \in \mathrm{P}\}$$

syntactic_chart_fill(i,j)

- Idea: Perform all reduction step using syntactic rules such that the reduced symbol covers the string from i to j.
- Realized as: $chart(i, j) = \left\{ A \;\middle|\; \begin{array}{l} A \rightarrow BC \in P, \\ i < k < j, \\ B \in chart(i,k), \\ C \in chart(k,j) \end{array} \right\}$
- Explicit loops over every possible value of k and every context free rule:

$chart(i, j) := \{\}$.
for $k := i+1$ to $j-1$
    for every $A \rightarrow BC \in P$
        if $B \in chart(i,k)$ and $C \in chart(k,j)$ then
            $chart(i,j) := chart(i,j) \cup \{\mathrm{A}\}$.

The Complete CYK Algorithm

Input: start category S and input $string$

$n :=$ length($string$)

for $j := 1$ to n
    $chart(j-1, j) := \{\mathrm{X} \mid \mathrm{X} \rightarrow \mathrm{word}_j \in \mathrm{P}\}$
    for $i := j-2$ down to 0
        $chart(i, j) := \{\}$
        for $k := i+1$ to $j-1$
            for every $A \rightarrow BC \in P$
                if $B \in chart(i,k)$ and $C \in chart(k,j)$ then
                    $chart(i,j) := chart(i,j) \cup \{\mathrm{A}\}$

Output: if $S \in chart(0, n)$ then accept else reject

Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

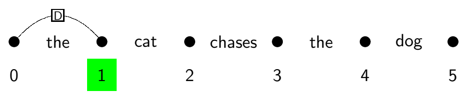
s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

Lexical Entry: *the*

(j = 1 , field chart(0,1))

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d				
1					
2					
3					
4					



Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

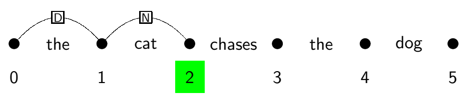
s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

Lexical Entry: *cat*

(j = 2 , field chart(1,2))

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d				
1		n			
2					
3					
4					



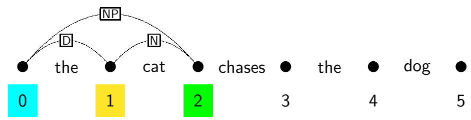
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 2
i = 0
k = 1

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2					
3					
4					



Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

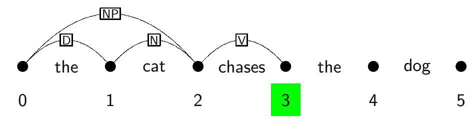
s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

Lexical Entry: *chases*

(j = 3 , field chart(2,3))

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3					
4					

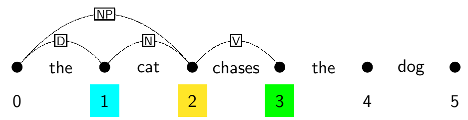


Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp   d → the
np → d n   n → dog
vp → v np   n → cat
v → chases

j = 3
i = 1
k = 2

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3					
4					

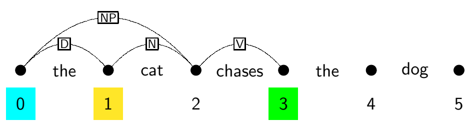


Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp   d → the
np → d n   n → dog
vp → v np   n → cat
v → chases

j = 3
i = 0
k = 1

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3					
4					

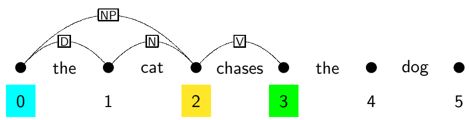


Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp   d → the
np → d n   n → dog
vp → v np   n → cat
v → chases

j = 3
i = 0
k = 2

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3					
4					

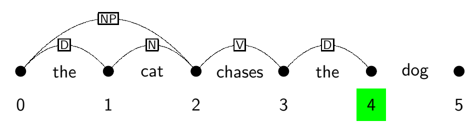


Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp   **d → the**
np → d n   n → dog
vp → v np   n → cat
v → chases

Lexical Entry: *the*   (j = 4, field chart(3,4))

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3				d	
4					

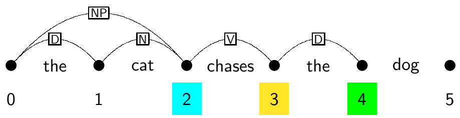


Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s ⟶ np vp d ⟶ the
np ⟶ d n n ⟶ dog
vp ⟶ v np n ⟶ cat
  v ⟶ chases

j = 4
i = 2
k = 3

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3				d	
4					

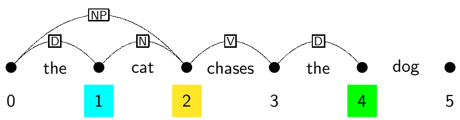


Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s ⟶ np vp d ⟶ the
np ⟶ d n n ⟶ dog
vp ⟶ v np n ⟶ cat
  v ⟶ chases

j = 4
i = 1
k = 2

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3				d	
4					

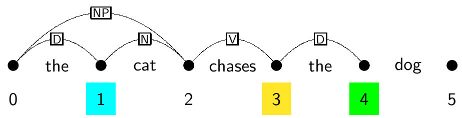


Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s ⟶ np vp d ⟶ the
np ⟶ d n n ⟶ dog
vp ⟶ v np n ⟶ cat
  v ⟶ chases

j = 4
i = 1
k = 3

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3				d	
4					

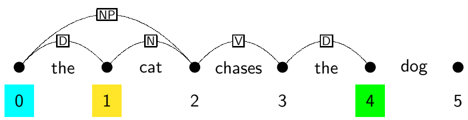


Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s ⟶ np vp d ⟶ the
np ⟶ d n n ⟶ dog
vp ⟶ v np n ⟶ cat
  v ⟶ chases

j = 4
i = 0
k = 1

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3				d	
4					



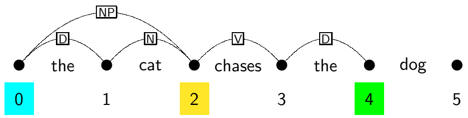
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

$j = 4$
$i = 0$
$k = 2$

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3				d	
4					



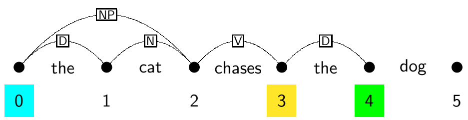
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

$j = 4$
$i = 0$
$k = 3$

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3				d	
4					



Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

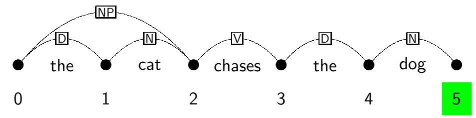
s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → **dog**
n → cat
v → chases

Lexical Entry: *dog*

($j = 5$, field chart(4,5))

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3				d	
4					n



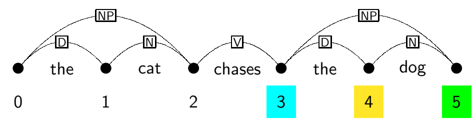
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → **d n**
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

$j = 5$
$i = 3$
$k = 4$

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		
3				d	np
4					n



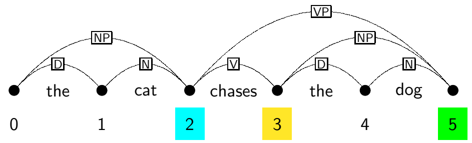
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 5
i = 2
k = 3

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		vp
3				d	np
4					n



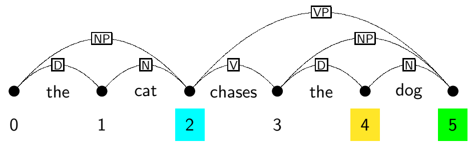
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 5
i = 2
k = 4

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		vp
3				d	np
4					n



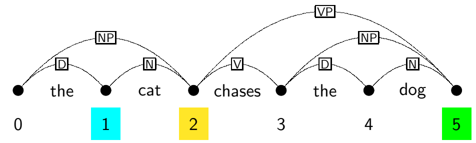
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 5
i = 1
k = 2

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		vp
3				d	np
4					n



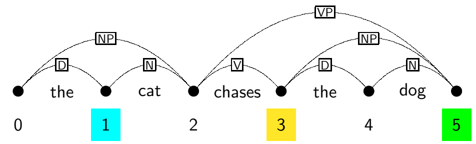
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 5
i = 1
k = 3

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n			
2			v		vp
3				d	np
4					n



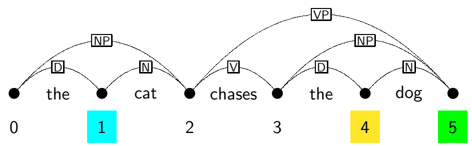
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 5
i = 1
k = 4

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			
1		n		[ ]	[ ]
2			v		vp
3				d	np
4					[n]



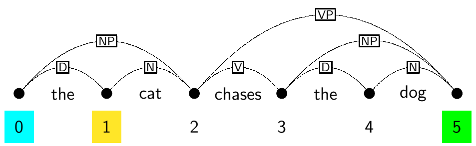
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 5
i = 0
k = 1

	1	2	3	4	5
0	[d]	np			[ ]
1		n			[ ]
2			v		vp
3				d	np
4					n



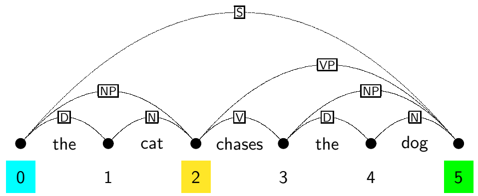
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 5
i = 0
k = 2

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	[np]			[s]
1		n			
2			v		[vp]
3				d	np
4					n



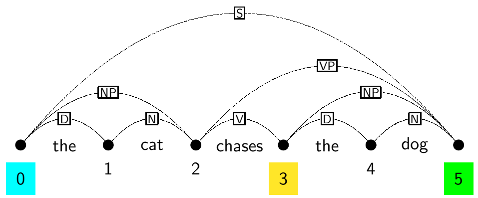
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 5
i = 0
k = 3

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np	[ ]		[s]
1		n			
2			v		vp
3				d	[np]
4					n



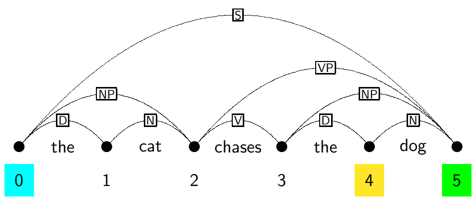
Example Application of the CYK Algorithm

s → np vp
np → d n
vp → v np

d → the
n → dog
n → cat
v → chases

j = 5
i = 0
k = 4

	1	2	3	4	5
0	d	np			s
1		n			
2			v		vp
3				d	np
4					n



Representing Discontinuous Constituents

(50) a. John **picked up** his son from school yesterday.
b. John **picked** his son **up** from school yesterday.

So how can the coverage of the constituent **picked up** in (50b) be represented?

$\cdot_0$ John $\cdot_1$ **picked** $\cdot_2$ his $\cdot_3$ son $\cdot_4$ **up** $\cdot_5$ from $\cdot_6$ school $\cdot_7$ yesterday $\cdot_8$
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

- Interval lists (Johnson, 1985): `[[1,2],[4,5]]`
- Bit lists (Reape, 1991): `[0,1,0,0,1,0,0,0]`
- Binary numbers: 00010010_2 ($= 17_{10}$)
  - The left-most word in the input corresponds to
  - the least significant bit (= right-most) of the number.

Outline

- Phrase Structure
- A Topological Model for German
- From Phrase Structure to GPSG and HPSG
- German Word Order Phenomena and their Analyses in Standard-HPSG/GPSG
- Discontinuous Constituents
- Parsing
  - With Continuous Constituents
  - **With Discontinuous Constituents**
- Syntactically Annotated Corpora and Discontinuity
- Summary

Towards Parsing with Discontinuous Constituents

- Fundamental questions:

a) When can two constituents be combined?
b) What is the coverage of the resulting new constituent?

- Traditional parsing:

a) First constituent ends where the second one starts
e.g., $[i, B, k] + [k, C, j]$
b) Covers interval from start of the first constituent to end of the second.
e.g., $[i, B, k] + [k, C, j] = [i, A, j]$ given a rule $A \rightarrow BC$

Parsing with Discontinuous Constituents

(51) John **picked** his son **up** from school yesterday.

Relevant grammar rules:

(1) $\mathsf{V}_{trans} \rightarrow_{dom}$ *picked up*
(2) NP $\rightarrow_{dom}$ *his son*
(3) VP $\rightarrow_{dom}$ V_{trans} NP

Combining two constituents using rule (3):

picked up (V)	0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0
his son (NP)	0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0
picked his son **up** (VP)	0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0

The combined coverage of two edges:

The combined coverage is the bitwise-or of the bit vectors of its parts.

When are two Discontinuous Constituents Compatible?

(52) daß der Mann der Königin die Krone überreichte.
that [the man [the$_{dat}$ queen [the crown gave]]]
[the husband of.the$_{gen}$ queen]

Relevant grammar rules:

(1) NP $\rightarrow_{dom}$ *der Mann der Königin*
(2) VP $\rightarrow_{dom}$ *der Königin die Krone überreichte*
(3) S $\rightarrow_{dom}$ NP VP

Combining two constituents using rule (3):

der Mann *der Königin* (NP)	0 1 1 *1* *1* 0 0 0
der Königin die Krone überreichte (VP)	0 0 0 1 1 1 1 1
der Mann der Königin die Krone überreichte (S)	not compatible!

Compatibility of two edges:

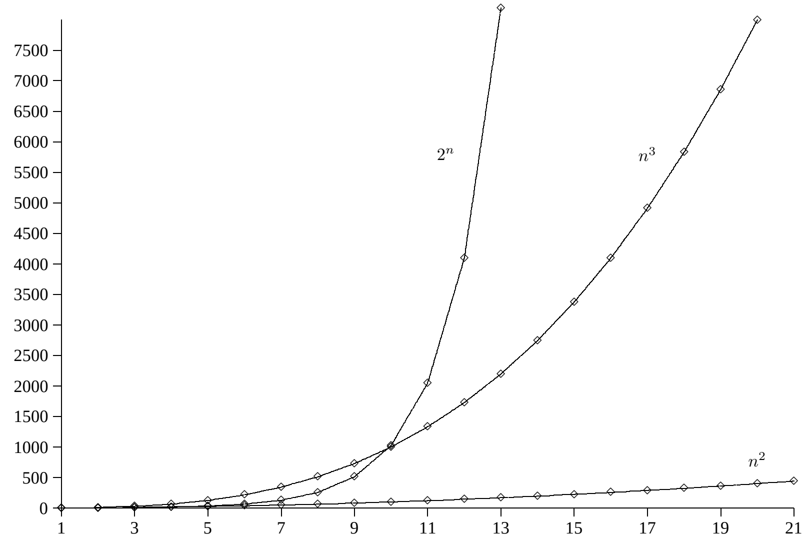
Two edges are compatible if the bitwise-and of the two edges is 0.

Worst-Case Complexity of Linearization Parsing

- continuous constituents: characterized by the covered string interval
- discontinuous constituents: characterized by the covered subset of the input
- worst-case number of constituents the parser needs to consider:

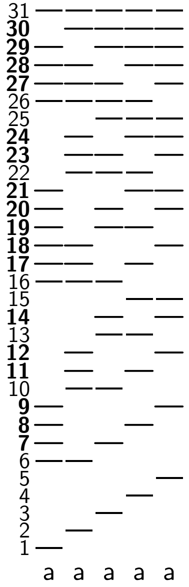
Length of sentence	Possible sub-intervals	Possible subsets
5	15	32
10	55	1024
15	120	32768
20	210	1048576
n	$O(n^2)$	$O(2^n)$

Worst-Case Complexity (II)



Illustrating Worst-Case Complexity

Licensed constituents:



Example grammar:

S $\rightarrow_{dom}$ a
S $\rightarrow_{dom}$ SS

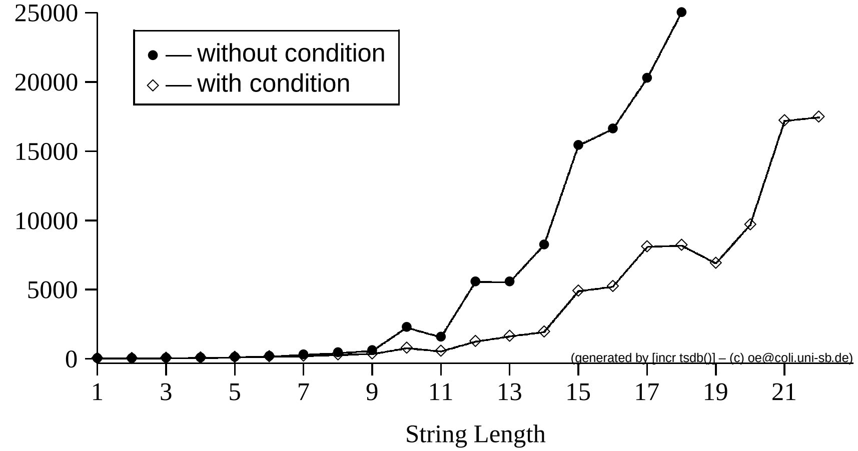
Where does the Complexity Arise?

- Suhre (1999): membership problem for a formally-equivalent grammar formalism is NP-complete
  - *general* membership problem: considering grammar plus string as input
  - *fixed* membership problem: considering only string as input
- Huynh (1983): general membership problem for unordered context-free grammars (ID/LP grammars without LP statements) is also NP-complete
- Suhre (1999, 61ff): fixed membership problem stems from potential from recursive growth of discontinuities

Escaping the Worst-Case Complexity

- Suhre (1999): When the the number of discontinuities introduced by a recursive non-terminal is bounded by some constant, the fixed membership problem becomes polynomial.
- Continuity constraint for linearization-based HPSG (Müller, 1999): require saturated phrasal elements (that is, maximal projections) to be continuous
  - formally weaker than Suhre's condition since recursion on level of adjunction not restricted
  - grammars incorporating the $\overline{\text{X}}$-schema (Jackendoff, 1977) require non-head constituents to be maximal projections
  - Linguistically-motivated continuity constraints have the potential of leading to efficiently parsable linearization grammars.

Illustrating the Potential: The Effect of Continuity Constraints

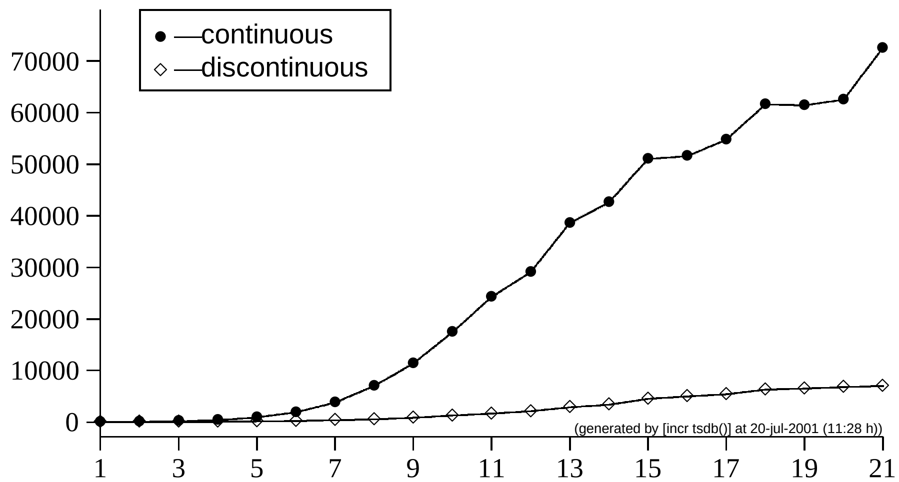


Passive edges vs. string length for full parses

Illustrating the Potential: Babel vs. Verb*mobil* grammar

- Two grammars for German were developed:
  - linearization grammar in Babel system (Müller, 1996)
  - phrase structure grammar in the Verb*mobil* project (Müller and Kasper, 2000) run under the PET system (Callmeier, 2000)
- Coverage:
  - Both grammars cover more than 80% of the Verb*mobil* data
  - Babel grammar covers additional phenomena not needed for the Verb*mobil* domain (Müller, To Appear a, p. 33–39, see also reader p. 17):
    * modal infinitives
    * depictives
    * subclasses of extraposition with and without correlates
    * preposition stranding
    * optional coherence
    * . . .

Passive Edges for a Complete Parse



Further Ideas on a Comparison

- Ideally, a runtime comparison of a traditional and a linearization parsing approach would be based on the same processing environment (to hold other factors constant). Currently there is no system that can handle both. In 2004, the Trale system (Meurers, Penn and Richter, 2002) is intended to support a direct comparison.
- One can attempt to factor out the general difference in efficiency by comparing runtimes for the same grammar encoded in both systems.
  - A PP-attachment toy grammar was implemented for PET and Babel.
  - Parsing a sentence with 9 PPs in PET was 2591 times faster than in Babel.
  - Parsing with the German phrase structure grammar in PET was only 13 times faster than with the German Babel grammar with discontinuities.
- Current developments:
  - Efficiency improvements in the German phrase structure analysis (Crysmann, 2003).
  - Research on efficient parsing with discontinuous constituents (cf., Ramsay, 1999b; Fouvry and Meurers, 2000; Daniels and Meurers, 2002).

Towards Efficient Processing with Discontinuous Constituents

Starting point of Daniels and Meurers (2002):

- The complexity of the parsing algorithm must adapt to the complexity of the specific problem at hand.
- For example, Earley (1970) shows that his parsing algorithm requires linear, quadratic, or cubic effort depending on the complexity of the grammar.
- Effort = number of edge insertion attempts (whether successful or not)
- To achieve this goal, we need to make all relevant linearization information accessible in the grammar formalism: GIDLP Grammars

GIDLP Grammars

- The generalized ID/LP grammar format is an extension of the ID/LP format (Gazdar, Klein, Pullum and Sag, 1985).
- It is inspired by the Linear Specification Language (Götz and Penn, 1997) and the small LSL fragment used by Suhre (1999).
- It supports:
  - separation of ID and LP
  - linearization across local trees
  - linearization constraints across local trees within the same domain
  - Reape-style compaction of domains, incl. partial compaction
  - LP statements with reference to
    - described domain elements
    - specific right-hand-side elements of a rule

GIDLP Grammar Format

- **root declaration**: $root(S)$
- **lexical entries**: $A \rightarrow t$
- **grammar rules**: $A \rightarrow \alpha ; L$
  - α is a **list of non-terminals**.
  - L is a set of **linearization constraints**:
    - $A < B$ **(precedence)**: The terminals dominated by A all occur to the left of the terminals dominated by B.
    - $A \ll B$ **(immediate precedence)**: The rightmost terminal dominated by B occurs immediately to the left of the leftmost terminal dominated by B.
    - $\langle \alpha$, L, A$\rangle$ **(compaction)**: α is a list of tokens, L is a list of domain-level order constraints, and A is the category that results from compacting α.

Syntactic sugar is introduced for simple compaction specification (A → [B] C) and global linearization constraints.

The Two Aspects of Compaction

Compaction has two effects:

- **Contiguity**: The terminal yield of a compacted non-terminal contains all and only the terminal yield of the nodes it dominates—there are no holes or additional strings.
- **Isolation**: Precedence statements only constrain the order among elements within a local domain. In other words, precedence constraints can never apply across domains.

A Simple Example

Grammar specification:

root(A)

A → B, [C]
B → F, G
C → D, E

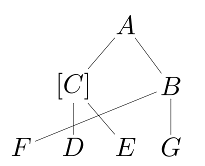
B < D

GIDLP grammar:

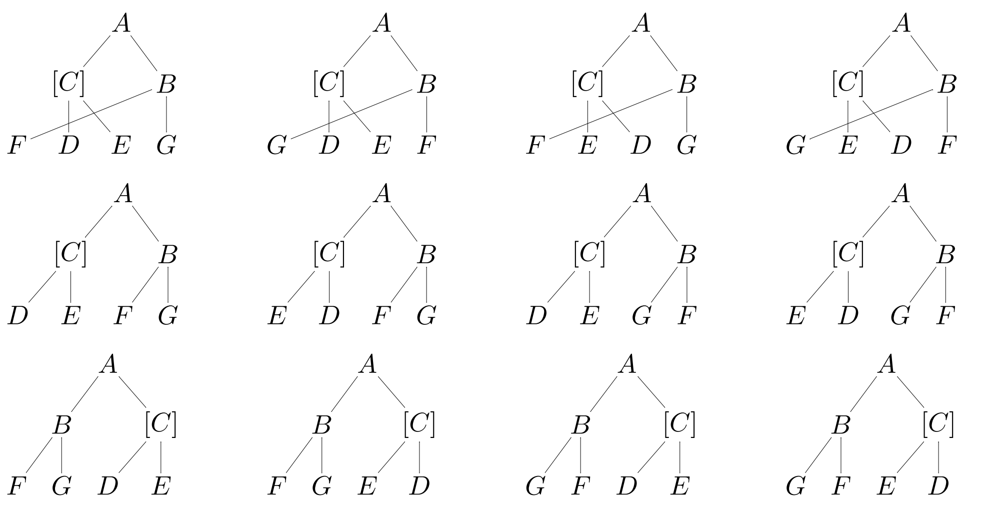
root(A, {B < D})

A → B^1, C^2 ; {⟨[2], [B < D], C⟩}
B → F^1, G^2
C → D^1, E^2

Example licensed:



Example Analyses

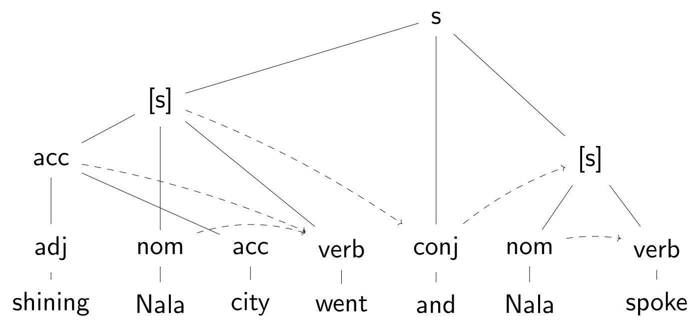


A More Linguistic Example: A (Simplified) Fragment of Sanskrit

1	s → verb$_1$ nom$_2$ acc$_3$; $\{2 < 1, 3 < 1\}$	
2	s → verb$_1$ nom$_2$; $\{2 < 1\}$	
3	s → conj$_1$ s$_2$ s$_3$; $\{2 \ll 1, 1 \ll 3, [2], [3]\}$	
4	acc → adj$_1$ acc$_2$; $\{\ \}$	
5	nom → *nalas*	'Nala' (a proper name)
6	acc → *nagaram*	'city'
7	verb → *agacchat*	'went'
8	conj → *caiva*	'and then'
9	verb → *avadat*	'spoke'
10	adj → *ruciram*	'shining'

(53) रुचिरम् नलस् नगरम् अगच्छत् च नलस् अवदत्
shining Nala city went and Nala spoke
'Nala went to the shining city and Nala spoke'
(Tokenized from रुचिरं नलो नगरमगच्छश्च नलो ऽवदत्.)

Example Analysis



Notation used:

- solid lines represent dominance
- dashed arrows represent precedence relations enforced by the grammar

Aspects of Parsing with GIDLP Grammars

- Daniels and Meurers (2002) developed an extension of Earley's context-free parsing algorithm (Earley, 1970) to GIDLP grammars.
- Aspects to be discussed here:
  - Determining processing order for right-hand side categories in rules
  - Bitmasks as compiled linearization constraints on edges

The RHS Order in GIDLP Rules

- What function does the RHS of GIDLP rules play given that it is not used to express constituent order? ⇒ Determines order in which categories are searched for.

  Examples from the Sanskrit grammar:

  · s → verb_1 nom_2 acc_3; $\{2 < 1,\ 3 < 1\}$
    requires the verb be parsed first, even though linearly it's the last element.

  · s → conj_1 s_2 s_3; $\{2 \ll 1, 1 \ll 3, [2], [3]\}$

- How should the RHS symbols be ordered? To first search for those categories which are easy to identify and convey information to guide the parsing process.

  · acc → adj_1 acc_2 only enters recursion when adjective is found first

- Extension of the binary head/non-head distinction in Head-Driven Parsing (Kay, 1990; van Noord, 1997): All daughters are ordered.

Is Ordering all Daughters Useful? Raising-to-Object in English

Raising-to-Object verbs like *expect* can select a variety of predicates:

- *leave* selects an NP argument:

  (54) I expect^1 **him**^{3} [to leave]^2.

- *be trouble* selects an expletive subject:

  (55) I expect^1 **there**^{3} [to be trouble in Iraq]^2.

- *bother* selects a sentential subject:

  (56) I expect^1 **[that there is a fly in the soup]**^{3} [to bother him]^2.

When parsing a (ternary) VP headed by a subject-to-object raising verb, the verbal complement should be considered before the raised element.

Is ordering all daughters useful? Quirky Case in Icelandic

- Many verbs in Icelandic assign "quirky case" (i.e. non-nominative) to their subjects.

- The case assignments persist when the subject is raised to be the subject or object of a matrix verb (cf., e.g., Andrews, 1982).

- From a parsing perspective, the embedded verb must be known before it can be determined whether a given noun phrase is an acceptable subject for the matrix verb.

Icelandic Data

Subjects show ordinary agreement with matrix verbs, but are marked

- accusative

  (57) Hana vird. h.ist vanta peninga
  her_{acc} seems to-lack money
  'She seems to lack money.'

- dative

  (58) Barninu vird. h.ist hafa batnad. h. veikin
  the-child_{dat} seems to-have recovered-from the-disease
  'The child seems to have recovered from the disease.'

- genitive

  (59) Verkjanna vird. h.ist ekki gæta
  the-pains_{gen} seem not to-be-noticeable
  'The pains don't seem to be noticeable.'

Raising-to-Object in Icelandic

(60) Hann telur mig vanta peninga
he.NOM believes me_{acc} to-lack money
'He believes that I lack money.'

(61) Hann telur barninu hafa batnad. h. veikin
he believes the-child_{dat} to-have recovered-from the-disease
'He believes the child to have recovered from the disease.'

(62) Hann telur verkjanna ekki gæta
he believes the-pains_{gen} not to-be-noticeable
'He believes the pains to be not noticeable.'

Bitmasks as Compiled Linearization Constraints on Edges

- We use bitvectors to encode constraints on coverage; bitvectors used this way are called **bitmasks**.
- We compute and store a negative and positive bitmask on each edge, representing different aspects of precedence information.
- Assume we've found a noun as the third word of a sentence:
  - Negative: If we know that verbs follow nouns, we shouldn't look for verbs in the first or second position.
  - Positive: If we know that verbs immediately follow nouns, then any verb we find must cover at least the fourth position.

Efficient Computation with Bitvectors

- Parsing requires a number of efficiently implemented bitwise operations: overlap, lbound, suffix, etc.
- Operations on any list-based representation will take time proportional to the length of the list itself.
- Bitwise operations on bitvectors represented as numbers can be computed in parallel in a single processor instruction. For example, it takes just as long to compute the bitwise-AND of two 20-bit numbers as it does for two 30-bit numbers.
- In general, for a processor that has a word size of n, arithmetic computation time is proportional to the base-n logarithm of the inputs.

Useful Bitvector Operations

- $\text{SINGLETON}(p)$: Gives the bitvector in which only p is occupied.
  Computed as 2^p
  Example: singleton(1) is 00010.
- $\text{OVERLAP}(x, y)$: Is there any position occupied in both x and y?
  Computed as $\text{AND}(x, y) \neq 0$
  Example: 10111 and 01010 have a bitwise-AND of 00010, and therefore overlap.
- $\text{COMBINE}(x, y)$: Gives the union of x and y.
  Computed as $\text{OR}(x, y)$
  Example: 10110 and 01010 combine to form 11110.
- $\text{RBOUND}(x)$: Most-significant occupied bit in x.
  Computed as $\lfloor \log_2(x) \rfloor$
  Example: the right bound of 01010 is 3, which is $\lfloor 3.32 \rfloor$.
- $\text{LBOUND}(x)$: Least-significant occupied bit in x.
  Computed as $\text{RBOUND}(\text{XOR}(x, x-1))$
  Example: the left bound of 01010 is 1, which is the right bound of 00011 = XOR(01010, 01001).

- PREFIX(p): Gives the bitvector covering all positions $\leq p$.
  Computed as $2^{p+1} - 1$
  Example: PREFIX(3) is 01111 (15).
- SUFFIX(p): Gives the bitvector covering all positions $\geq p$.
  Computed as $\text{NOT}(2^x - 1)$
  Example: SUFFIX(3) is NOT(00111) $=$ 11000.
- PRECEDE(x, y): Does x completely precede y (where x and y are assumed not to overlap)?
  Equivalent to numeric $x < y$
  Example: 00011 precedes 01100 tested through $3 < 12$.
- IPRECEDE(x, y): Does x immediately precede y (where x and y are assumed not to overlap)?
  Equivalent to $\text{RBOUND}(x) = \text{LBOUND}(y) - 1$
  Example: the right bound of 00011 is 1, and the left bound of 01100 is 2, so 00011 immediately precedes 01100.
- ISOLATED(x): Does x form a continuous unit?
  Equivalent to $x = \text{AND}(\text{PREFIX}(\text{RBOUND}(x)), \text{SUFFIX}(\text{LBOUND}(x)))$
  Example: With the vector 01101, AND(01111, 11111) is $01111 \neq 01101$, so 01101 is not isolated.

Syntactic Annotation for German

- German Verb*mobil* treebank (Hinrichs et. al., 2000; Stegmann et. al., 2000):
  - spoken language: dialogs in which two discourse participants negotiate business appointments.
  - 38.000 syntactic units (dialog turns)
  - flat structures based on topological fields
- Negra Treebank (Skut et. al., 1997, 1998)
  - written language: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a national newspaper
  - 20.000 sentences (350.000 tokens)
    TIGER Treebank (Brants et. al., 2002): $>$ 35.000 sentences (with refined annotation)
  - flat structures as encoding of argument structure

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- **Syntactically Annotated Corpora and Discontinuity**
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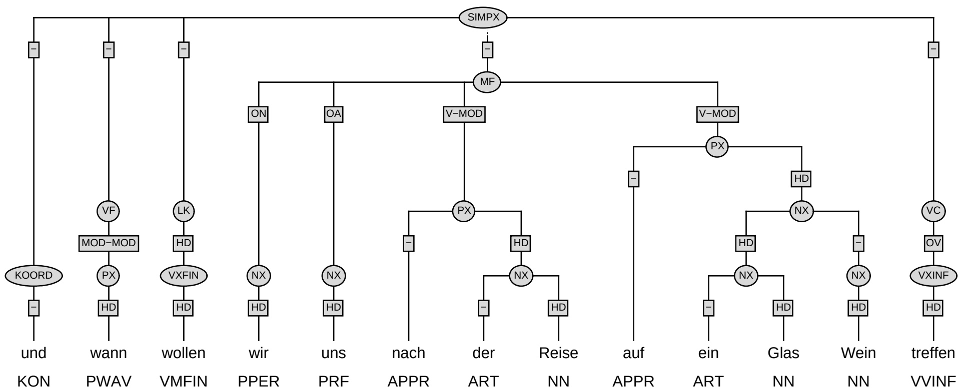
  - The NEGRA Treebank
- Summary

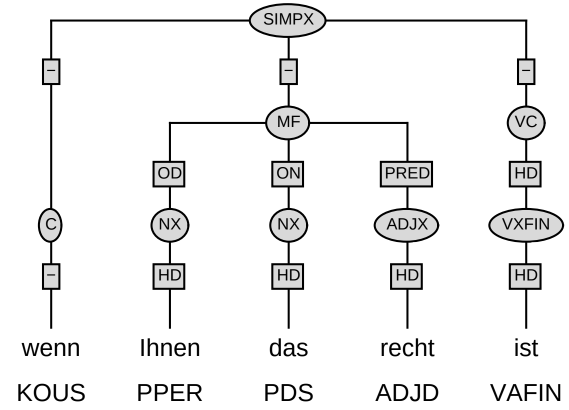
The German Verb*mobil* Treebank

- annotation consists of tree structures with node and edge labels
- tree structure:
  - encodes
    - topological field structure at top-level
    - syntactic categories
  - properties:
    - no branching edges and each daughter has one mother (some secondary edges)
    - no empty terminal nodes
- node and edge labels encode:
  - node labels
    - sentence level: turn type
    - field level: topological field names
    - phrase level: syntactic categories
    - lexical level: STTS part-of-speech (Schiller, Teufel and Thielen, 1995)
  - edge labels on phrase level: grammatical functions

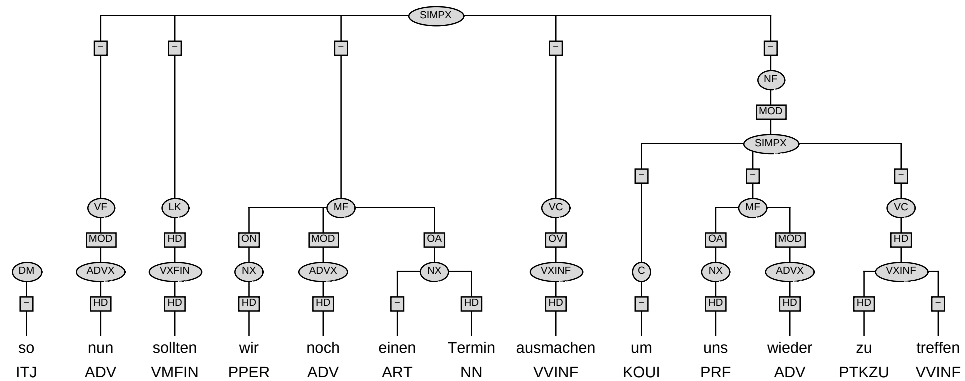
A Basic Example



A Verb-Last Example



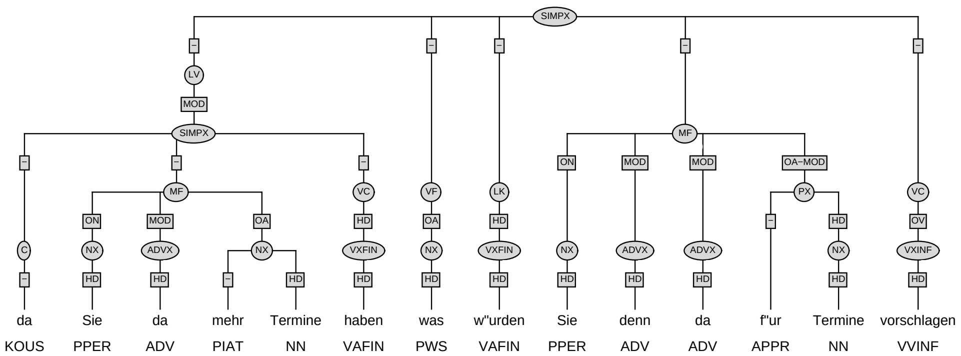
An Example with Embedding



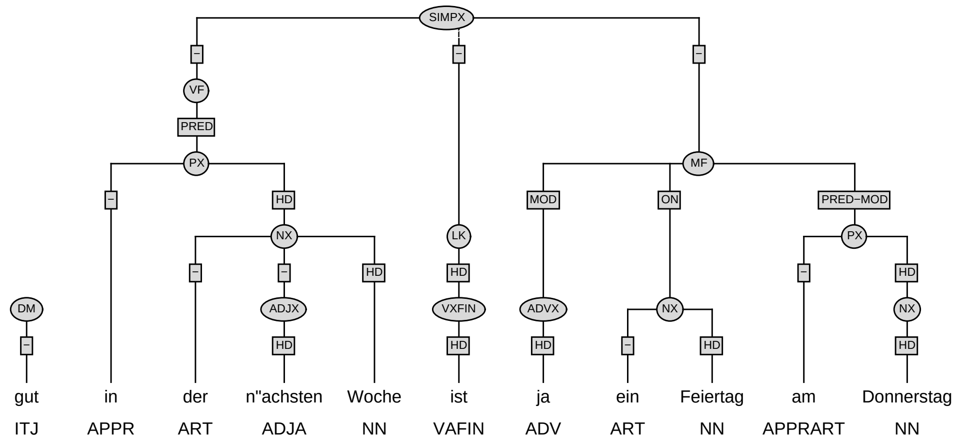
Dependencies across Categories/Fields

- remember: no crossing branches
- where dependency relations cross the border between constituents or topological fields, reference is encoded by special naming conventions for edge labels
- examples:
  - OA-MOD is a modifier of an OA occurring somewhere in the sentence
  - PRED-MOD is a modifier of a PRED

OA-MOD Example



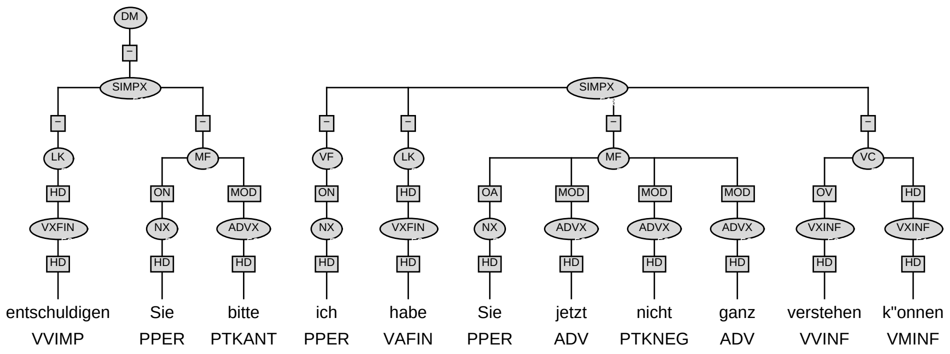
PRED-MOD Example



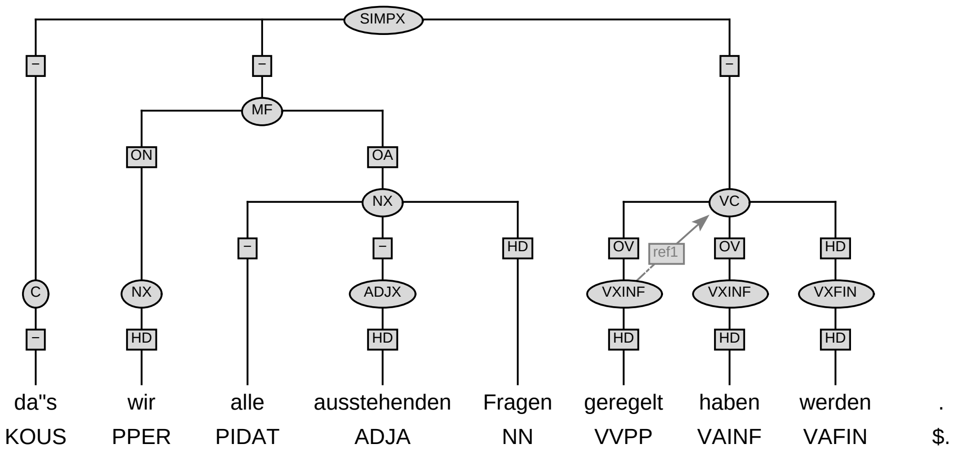
Position of Finite Verb and the Verbal Complex

- finite verb is annotated in the left bracket or verbal cluster, following surface order
- verbal complex is flat
- secondary edges mark relations in a verbal complex with more than two verbs
- relations between arguments and different verbs in a cluster not distinguished (hardly any complex non-finite constructions in Verb*mobil* data)

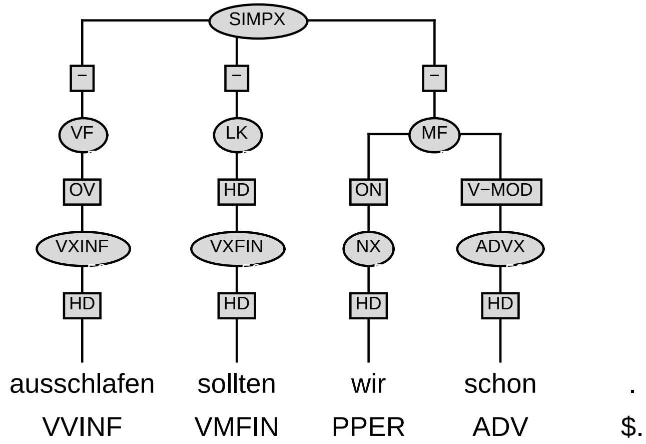
Verbal Complex with Two Verbs



Verbal Complex with Three Verbs



Fronting of a Non-Finite Verb



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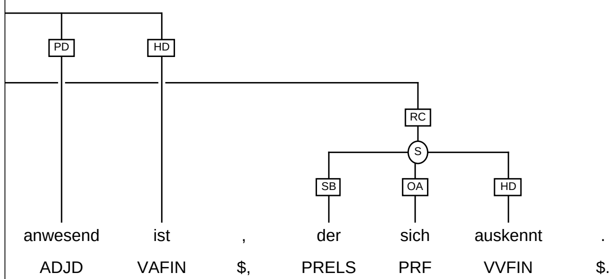
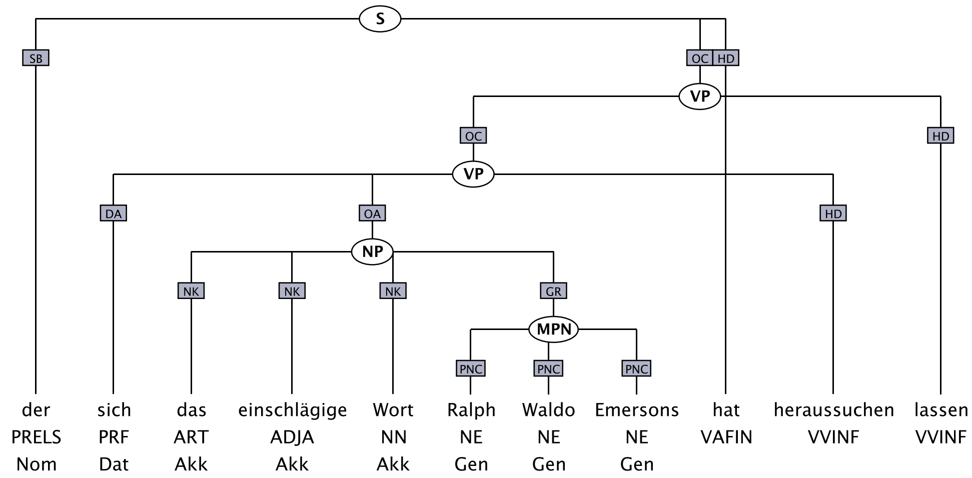
  - properties:
    - branching edges used extensively
    - no empty terminal nodes
    - each daughter has one mother (but some secondary edges)
- node and edge labels encode:
  - phrase level: syntactic categories
  - lexical level: STTS part-of-speech (Schiller, Teufel and Thielen, 1995)

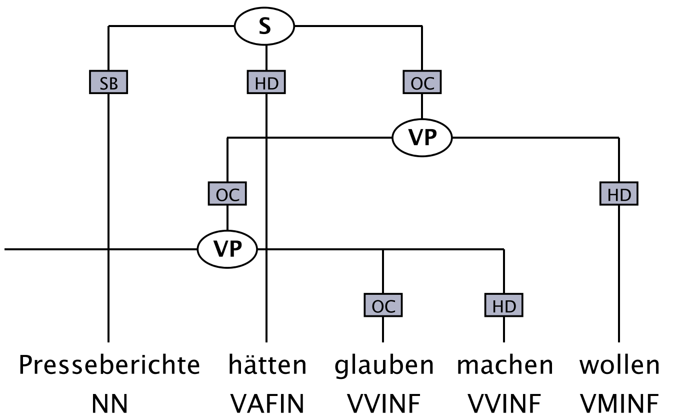
Example



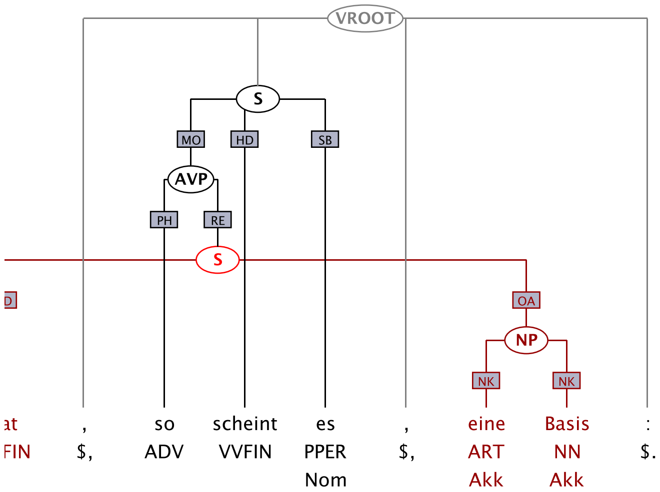
Verbal Complex (I)



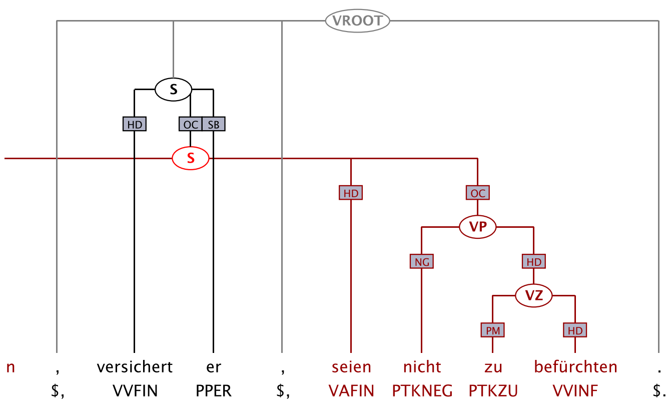
Verbal Complex (II)



Parentheticals (I)



Parentheticals (II)



Summary (I)

- Phrase Structure
- A Topological Model for German
- From Phrase Structure to GPSG and HPSG
  - Licensing Free Constituent Order with Phrase Structure
  - Immediate Dominance and Linear Precedence (GPSG)
  - HPSG: Valence, Obliqueness, and Constituent Order
- German Word Order Phenomena and their Analyses in Standard-HPSG/GPSG
  - Constituent Order in the Mittelfeld
  - The Mittelfeld and the Predicate Complex
  - The Position of the Finite Verb

Summary (II)

- Discontinuous Constituents
  - Head Projections as Linearization Domains
  - An Extension to Domain Union
- Parsing
  - With Continuous Constituents
  - With Discontinuous Constituents
- Syntactically Annotated Corpora and Discontinuity
  - The German Verb*mobil* Corpus
  - The Negra/Tiger Corpus

Good Bye

- We hope you enjoyed the course.
- We hope to have inspired you to work in the HPSG framework either theoretically or practically.
- If have questions do not hesitate to contact us.

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