

The Abstract of the Doctoral Dissertation

A LINGUISTIC AGREEMENT MAPPING-SYSTEM MODEL

(Egy egyeztetésen alapuló nyelvi leképző-rendszer modell)

By

LÁSZLÓ DRIENKÓ

1. Objectives

The primary goal of the dissertation is to investigate how a generalised notion of linguistic agreement can serve as the basis for a linguistic theory. The motivation is that linguistic agreement plays a fundamental role in many languages and such agreement relations cannot be sufficiently managed by substitution-centred theories. We approach language through its underlying agreement relations. A second motivation is that the computational properties of an agreement-based model are quite favourable. In fact, our aim is to achieve linear computational time with respect to the length of the input sequence.

2. The model

The model maps input sequences onto linguistic patterns. The mapping process is guided by checking of the agreement of linguistic features, or attributes, of linguistic elements. The most relevant attributes that we used in the present work include the following:

CAT: (syntactic) category
PERS: person
NUM: number
PHF phonological form
ARGCASE: argument case (of a verb), particularly as
ARG1CASE: grammatical case of the first argument
ARG2CASE: grammatical case of the second argument
ARG3CASE: grammatical case of the third argument
PREP preposition, to check if a verb, noun, adjective, etc. is compatible with a given preposition, particularly as
PREP_at
PREP_for
etc.

GENDER: gender
DEF: definiteness
TENSE: tense
AUX: auxiliary
AUXN: auxiliary-noun agreement, to distinguish ‘do/does’ and ‘have/has’ from other auxiliary verbs, particularly as
 AUXN1: for 3rd person singular
 AUXN2: for non-3rd person-singular
NONF: non-finite (verb)

Linguistic patterns can be recursive or non-recursive. In the case of recursive patterns agreement relations must be associated with agreement strategies in order that the feature checking process can be unambiguously specified. Strategies can be represented with checking tables. Below we list the strategies that are employed in the present work with examples. For each strategy we give an example input, and a checking table to demonstrate how the strategy could couple elements.

Strategy FIRST-TO-FIRST:

Input: a₁ a₂ a₃ b₁ b₂ b₃

Checking table:

element:	a	b
sequence ₁	a ₁	b ₁
sequence ₂	a ₂	b ₂
sequence ₃	a ₃	b ₃

Strategy LAST-TO-FIRST:

Input: a₁ a₂ a₃ b₁ b₂ b₃

Checking table:

element:	a	b
sequence ₁	a ₁	b ₃
sequence ₂	a ₂	b ₂
sequence ₃	a ₃	b ₁

Strategy ALL-TO-ONE:

Input: a₁ a₂ a₃ b₁

Checking table:

element:	a	b
sequence ₁	a ₁	b ₁
sequence ₂	a ₂	b ₁
sequence ₃	a ₃	b ₁

Strategy FIRST-TO-ONE:

Input: a₁ a₂ a₃ b₁

Checking table:

element:	a	b
sequence ₁	a ₁	b ₁

Strategy LAST-TO-ONE:

Input: $a_1 a_2 a_3 b_1$

Checking table:

element:	a	b
sequence ₁	a ₃	b ₁

Strategy ALL-BUT-LAST:

Input: $a_1 a_2 a_3 b_1 b_2 b_3$

Checking table:

element:	a	b
sequence ₁	a ₁	b ₁
sequence ₂	a ₂	b ₂

Strategy ORDER:

Input: $a_1 a_2 a_3 b_1 b_2 b_3$

Checking table:

element:	a b	s(ATTR_ORDER)
sequence ₁	a ₁ b ₁	s(ATTR_ORDER=x)
sequence ₂	a ₂ b ₂	s(ATTR_ORDER=x)
sequence ₃	a ₃ b ₃	s(ATTR_ORDER=x)

Strategy ABORDER:

Input: $a_1 a_2 a_3 b_1 b_2 b_3$

Checking table:

element:	a b	s(ATTR_ABORDER)
sequence ₁	$a_1 a_2 a_3 b_1 b_2 b_3$	s(ATTR_ABORDER =F _{constr} (a ₁ a ₂ a ₃ b ₁ b ₂ b ₃))

Strategy SELF:

Input: $a_1 a_2 a_3$

Checking table:

element of pattern:	a	a
sequence ₁	a ₁	a ₁
sequence ₂	a ₂	a ₂
sequence ₃	a ₃	a ₃

Strategy OPEN-CLOSE

Input: $a_1 \quad a_2 \quad b_1 \quad a_3 \quad b_2 \quad b_3$
 $\quad \quad [\quad [\quad] \quad [\quad] \quad]$

Checking table:

element	a	b
sequence ₁	a ₂	b ₁
sequence ₂	a ₃	b ₂
sequence ₃	a ₁	b ₃

Strategy BRACKETS

Input: $a_1 b_1 a_2 b_2 a_3 b_3$

Checking table:

element:	a	b	output:
sequence ₁	a ₁	b ₁	→ [a ₁ b ₁] a ₂ b ₂ a ₃ b ₃
sequence ₂	a ₂	b ₂	→ [a ₁ b ₁] [a ₂ b ₂] a ₃ b ₃
sequence ₃	a ₃	b ₃	→ [a ₁ b ₁] [a ₂ b ₂] [a ₃ b ₃]

Strategy MINVAL-TO-ONE

Input: $a_1 a_2 a_3 b_1$, where a_2 has the least (minimum) value of attribute ATTR

Checking table:

element:	a	b
sequence ₁	a ₂	b ₁

Agreement relations are expressed in agreement constraints. A constraint specifies which elements take part in the agreement relation, which attribute value has to be shared by the elements, and which agreement strategy has to be employed. There can be several agreement constraints associated with a pattern. We may prescribe the simultaneous fulfilment of certain constraints, i.e. we may interpret them conjunctively, whereas it is also possible to employ disjunctive patterns representing options as to which agreement conditions should be met. Another dimension of choice is incorporated in conditional agreement constraints, whose application is dependent on certain features of the input.

Patterns consist of representational elements. Representational elements can be atomic and recursive. Only one input element can be mapped onto an atomic representational element, whereas several input elements can be mapped on recursive representational elements. Patterns containing at least one recursive representational element are recursive patterns.

We distinguish two ways of mapping onto patterns: linear and random access. Linear mapping preserves the order of the elements in the input. For random access mapping the order of the input elements is irrelevant. In this work we focus on linear mapping.

The model can resort to a reconstruction mechanism in the event of unknown or underspecified elements in the input. The reconstruction mechanism tries to use the model's 'knowledge' to derive the missing information.

3. Results

We discuss inflection, subcategorization, anaphora, control, raising, unbounded dependencies, Swiss German cross-serial dependency, Bambara reduplication, Old Georgian genitive, Chinese number names, Dutch coordination phrases, and ellipsis.

Inflection, subcategorization, anaphora, control, raising are touched upon mainly to demonstrate the syntactic capacities of the model. Unbounded dependencies, cross-serial dependency, Bambara reduplication Old Georgian genitive, Chinese number names, Dutch coordination phrases, and ellipsis constitute a computational challenge for existing theories.

Swiss German cross-serial dependency (Shieber (1985)), and Bambara reduplication (Culy (1985)), for instance, constitute examples of languages that can only be processed with a machinery more powerful than a context-free parser. Old Georgian genitive (Michaelis and Kracht (1997)), Chinese number names (Radzinski (1991)), Dutch coordination phrases (Groenink (1996)) are known to be beyond the mildly context sensitive class of languages.

Our treatment of the above phenomena within the agreement framework yield linear computational times. Bambara reduplication, and Old Georgian genitive also exemplify how the model can work for other linguistic modules, morphology in those cases.

With the integration of the Reduction Method into the agreement framework we can provide a general treatment of issues like co-ordinated phrases, relative clauses, adjuncts, word order, and discontinuous verbal constituents. The Reduction Method also facilitates the characterisation of human performance limitations numerically, with a single number.

We believe that the syntax of a natural language should not require more than linear time computations. This assumption predicts that languages with more complex processing times should be outside the class of possible natural languages. We show two classes of languages that our model excludes from the class of possible natural languages. One class is characterised by a non-linear agreement checking time. For instance, the data in a)-c) below represent a language where every subject has to agree grammatically with a verb, but not necessarily with its own predicate.

- a) I am happy, you are sad, he is hungry
- b) I is happy, you am sad , he are hungry
- c) *I is happy, you are sad, he is hungry

Another class is exemplified by the data in a)-d) below. Here the sentence can contain any number of adjectives, but only one determiner, one noun, and one verb. The order of the words is irrelevant. Such a language can be brought about by random access mapping onto pattern e).

- a) The happy, strong, intelligent dog barks
- b) Happy the barks dog strong intelligent
- c) *Happy the the dog barks strong
- d) *Happy the dog dog barks
- e)



Besides analysing linguistic phenomena, we also show how various speech deficits can be paralleled by possible breakdowns of certain components of the model. We use the following hypothetical deficits of the computational system to model aphasic defects:

- Defect I: defective input elements
- Defect II: defective patterns
- Defect III: defective attribute value retrieval
- Defect IV: defective organisation of the mapping process

In investigating phonological/phonetic errors we use the classification by Blumstein (1995). We analyse syntactic errors in accordance with the data in Grodzinsky (2000) and Bánrėti (2001). Reconstruction mechanisms are also assumed throughout our discussion.

4. Problems, future work

The explanatory force of our model lies in the agreement relations as incorporated in agreement patterns. However, as the reader may sometimes rightly feel it, the collections of the various components of the model, – agreement features, strategies, patterns, etc. – do not

seem to constitute a coherent system as yet, even for a single language. The aim of this work was to demonstrate that it is possible to approach language through agreement relations. It requires extensive further research to establish what agreement relations are at work behind natural languages, either individually or cross-linguistically. The more refined selection of the actual agreement constraints, strategies, and patterns – the ‘setting of parameters’ for the computational system – ought to be determined by future results.

The formal properties of the model can be developed too. For instance, it would be interesting to examine how strategies can be combined in general, or to investigate if there are any principles that could limit the set of possible strategies, besides linear time computability.

It could greatly enhance the ‘elegance’ of the model if the notion of reduction patterns could somehow be eliminated.

The theoretical advancement of the model would entail improvement of the implementation.

The implementation we describe in the present work reflects the characteristics of an early stage of development.

Our findings with respect to aphasia need further verification, as well. Progress in this area might be slower though, owing to the more limited access to data.

References

Bánréti, Z. (2001) Egyeztetés agrammatikus afáziában: A szintaktikai fa metszése. (Agreement in Agrammatism: Intersecting the Syntactic Tree). Ms.

Blumstein, S. E. (1995). Phonological deficits in aphasia: theoretical perspectives. Hungarian translation: Fonológiai korlátozottságok afáziában: elméleti megközelítések. In Bánréti, Z. (ed.) *Nyelvi struktúrák és az agy*. Corvina, Budapest, 1999.

Culy, Ch. (1985) The complexity of the vocabulary of Bambara. *Linguistics and philosophy* 8, pp. 345-351

Grodzinsky, Y.(2000). The neurology of syntax: Language use without Broca’s area. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* . 23. pp 1-21.

Groenink, A.V. (1996). Mild context-sensitivity and tuple-based generalizations of context-free grammar. Report CS-R9634, Centrum voor Wiskunde en Informatica (CWI), Amsterdam

Michaelis, J, Kracht, M. (1996). *Semilinearity as a Syntactic Invariant*. Paper presented at the conference *Logical Aspects of Computational Linguistics (LACL `96)*, Nancy, September 23-25, 1996. Appeared in C. Retoré (ed.), *Logical Aspects of Computational Linguistics*, pp. 329-345, Springer, Berlin, 1997. Online version: <http://tcl.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/~michael/papers.html>

Radzinski, D. (1991) Chinese number-names, tree adjoining languages, and mild context-sensitivity. *Computational Linguistics*. 17: 277-299.

Shieber, S. M. (1985) Evidence against the context-freeness of natural language. *Linguistics and philosophy* 8. 333-343.