



Word order domain

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Declarativeness

$$\left\langle \text{here, } \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \textit{prep} \\ \text{VAL} & [\text{COMPS } \langle \rangle] \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$$
$$\left\langle \text{there, } \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \textit{prep} \\ \text{VAL} & [\text{COMPS } \langle \rangle] \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$$

- (a) Statements of constraints, relationships.
- (b) Rather than specifications of processes.
- (c) Multilayered representations rather than derivations.

Concatenation

The semantics of 'concatenate'

$$(a) \quad \circ(\epsilon, \sigma, \sigma)$$

$$(b) \quad \circ(x \circ \sigma_1, \sigma_2, x \circ \sigma_3) \leftrightarrow \circ(\sigma_1, \sigma_2, \sigma_3)$$

To show: $\circ(ab, cd, abcd)$

$$(1) \quad \circ(ab, cd, abcd) \leftrightarrow \circ(b, cd, bcd) \quad (b)$$

$$(2) \quad \circ(b, cd, bcd) \leftrightarrow \circ(\epsilon, cd, cd) \quad (b)$$

$$(3) \quad \circ(\epsilon, cd, cd) \quad (a)$$

To find X s/t $\circ(ab, cd, X)$:

$$(1) \quad \circ(ab, cd, X) \leftrightarrow \circ(b, cd, Y) \quad (b), X = aY \quad \therefore X = abcd$$

$$(2) \quad \circ(b, cd, Y) \leftrightarrow \circ(\epsilon, cd, Z) \quad (b), Y = bZ$$

$$(3) \quad \circ(\epsilon, cd, cd) \quad (a), Z = cd$$

Backward

Find X, Y s/t $\circ(X, Y, abcd)$:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) | $\circ(X, Y, abcd)$ | \leftrightarrow | $\circ(X1, Y, bcd)$ | $(b), X = aX1$ |
| (2) | $\circ(X1, Y, bcd)$ | \leftrightarrow | $\circ(X2, Y, cd)$ | $(b), X1 = bX2$ |
| (3) | $\circ(\epsilon, cd, cd)$ | | | $(a), X2 = \epsilon, Y = cd$ |

$X = ab, Y = cd$

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) | $\circ(X, Y, abcd)$ | \leftrightarrow | $\circ(X1, Y, bcd)$ | $(b), X = aX1$ |
| (2) | $\circ(X1, Y, bcd)$ | \leftrightarrow | $\circ(X2, Y, cd)$ | $(b), X1 = bX2$ |
| (3) | $\circ(X2, Y, cd)$ | \leftrightarrow | $\circ(X3, Y, d)$ | $(b), X2 = cX3$ |
| (4) | $\circ(\epsilon, cd, cd)$ | | | $(a), X3 = \epsilon, Y = d$ |

$X = abc, Y = d$

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| (1) | $\circ(X, Y, abcd)$ | \leftrightarrow | $\circ(X1, Y, bcd)$ | $(b), X = aX1$ |
| (2) | $\circ(X1, Y, bcd)$ | \leftrightarrow | $\circ(X2, Y, cd)$ | $(b), X1 = bX2$ |
| (3) | $\circ(X2, Y, cd)$ | \leftrightarrow | $\circ(X3, Y, d)$ | $(b), X2 = cX3$ |
| (4) | $\circ(X2, Y, cd)$ | \leftrightarrow | $\circ(X4, Y, \epsilon)$ | $(b), X2 = dX4$ |

$X = abcd, Y = \epsilon$

Further Back

Find X, Y s/t $\circ(X, Y, abcd)$:

$$(1) \quad \circ(X, Y, abcd) \iff \circ(X1, Y, bcd) \quad (b), X = aX1$$

$$(3) \quad \circ(\epsilon, bcd, bcd) \quad (a), X1 = \epsilon, Y = bcd$$

$$X = a, Y = bcd$$

$$(1) \quad \circ(\epsilon, abcd, abcd) \quad (a), X = \epsilon, Y = abcd$$

$$X = \epsilon, Y = abcd$$

X	Y
$abcd$	ϵ
abc	d
ab	cd
a	bcd
ϵ	$abcd$

The semantics of 'shuffle':

$$(a) \quad \bigcirc(\epsilon, \sigma, \epsilon)$$

$$(b) \quad \bigcirc(x \circ \sigma_1, \sigma_2, x \circ \sigma_3) \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \bigcirc(\sigma_1, \sigma_2, \sigma_3)$$

$$(c) \quad \bigcirc(\sigma_1, x \circ \sigma_2, x \circ \sigma_3) \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \bigcirc(\sigma_1, \sigma_2, \sigma_3)$$

To show: $\bigcirc(ab, cd, cdab)$

$$(1) \quad \circ(ab, cd, cdab) \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \circ(ab, d, dab) \quad (c)$$

$$(2) \quad \circ(ab, d, dab) \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \circ(ab, \epsilon, ab) \quad (c)$$

$$(3) \quad \circ(ab, \epsilon, ab) \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \circ(b, \epsilon, b) \quad (b)$$

$$(4) \quad \circ(b, \epsilon, b) \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \circ(\epsilon, \epsilon, \epsilon) \quad (b)$$

$$(5) \quad \circ(\epsilon, \epsilon, \epsilon) \quad (a)$$

Reape's approach

Two levels of structure

- Syntactic-semantic functor-argument structure (FAS)
- Word-order domains (WOD)
- The grammar defines the WOD of a constituent in terms of its daughters or the WODs of its daughters

Pollard's problem

- Partial VP frontings allowed by allowing partial VP constituents via “Xtreme raising”.
- Many trees now provided for analyzing the same string.
- Each tree provides a partial VP necessary because it CAN be fronted, and therefore that VP must be a constituent *in situ* to “feed” the long distance dependency machinery. (36), p.302

- (1) a. [Das Has bauen] wird Hans.
b. Wird Hans das Haus bauen?
c. Wird das Haus Hans bauen?
d.

Hat er seiner Tochter ein Märchen erzählen können

Has he his daughter a fairy tale tell be able

Has he been able to tell his daughter a fairy tale? (6 structures)

The conclusion

Pollard (1996)

It seems to follow from these considerations that my analysis of German is not really phrase structure grammar at all. Somehow, between generalizing Schema B to license partial VPs and relax auxiliary subcategorizations to allow raising of non-subject complements, I have passed beyond the frontier of phrase-structure grammar... [!]

... The way I think about the problem is this: The kind of structural analysis I have been doing here... is too fine-grained, in the sense that it produces distinct structures like those in (36) that do not reflect genuine linguistic differences. What is needed, then, is a coarser-grained level of representation than phrase structure, some canonical method of dividing up phrase-structural analyses into equivalence classes such that (36b) and (36c) end up in the same equivalence classes.

- One functor argument structure corresponds to many distinct linearizations of constituents.
- FAS: coarse-grained
- Constituent linearizations: fine-grained
- But does Reape's grammar allow fronting of partial VPs? [No, but ...]