

A metagrammar of three-argument constructions with morphological causatives: general design and first implementations

Valeria Generalova
generalova@hhu.de

Heinrich Heine University of Dusseldorf
TreeGraSP Meeting #5

November 11, 2020



Overview

1 Introduction

- Data
- Research question
- Methods and tools
 - Presenting XMG

2 Suggested solution

- General architecture
- Deriving the syntactic tree
- Combining the causation frame
- Boolean variables for allowed constructions
- Language morphology
- Special case: a complete language plugin for Nivkh

3 Conclusions

- Summary
- Discussion
- Further development

Constructions in question

Narrowing the scope

The present talk deals only with constructions derived from transitive verbs by means of an affix

These constructions must include

- a transitive verb with a specific CAUS marker
- the Causer – a participant that intends the situation to happen
- the Causee – a participant that is caused to act
- the Theme – a participant that is influenced by the action

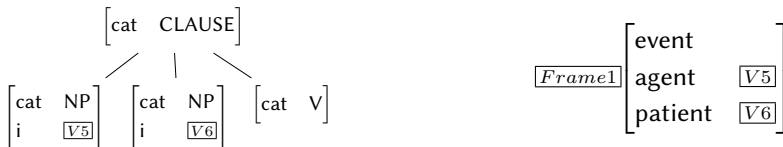
- (1) *Bala besäj-gä höt-tö es-er-ä* BASHKIR
 child cat-**DAT** milk-ACC drink-CAUS-IPFV
 ‘The child feeds the cat with the milk.’ Perekhval’skaya 2017, p. 241, (10b)

Goal of the talk

To suggest a solution that

- presents linguistic analyses of several dimensions
- operates on surface structures
- describes cross-linguistic generalizations
- works with individual languages
- covers typologically varied constructions
- can easily cover more data

XMG: declarative, expressive, extensible



```

class SampleClass
declare ?Clause ?V ?Np1 ?Np2 ?I1 ?I2 ?LanguageFeatures ?F0 ?F1 ?F2
{<syn>{node ?Clause [cat=clause];
  node ?V [cat=v];
  node ?Np1 [cat=np, i=?F1];
  node ?Np2 [cat=np, i=?F2];
  ?Clause -> ?V; ?Clause -> ?Np1; ?Clause -> ?Np2;
  {?LanguageFeatures=[wordOrder=svo]; ?Np1>>?V; ?V>>?Np2} |
  {?LanguageFeatures=[wordOrder=sov]; ?Np1>>?Np2; ?Np2>>?V}};
<frame>{?F0[event,
  agent:?F1,
  patient:?F2]}}

```

Annotations in the code:

- variables**: points to the class name `SampleClass`.
- variables as feature values**: points to the feature values `?F1` and `?F2`.
- features**: points to the feature names `event`, `agent`, and `patient`.
- feature values**: points to the feature values `?F1` and `?F2`.
- operators**: points to the operators `event`, `agent`, and `patient`.
- dimensions**: points to the feature values `?F1` and `?F2`.

General architecture

class Construction

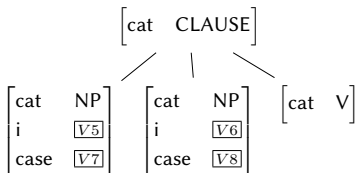
- nodes with features for syntactic constituents
- linking to universal semantic representations
- all varieties encountered in world languages
- relationship between constructions tracked

class Language

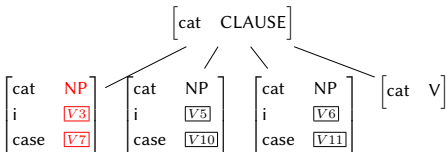
- morphology encoded as feature structure
- list of features applicable to any construction
- available constructions listed as boolean variables
- can be nested and inherit features from each other

While parsing, a sentence is matched against the intersection of a Construction class with a Language plugin

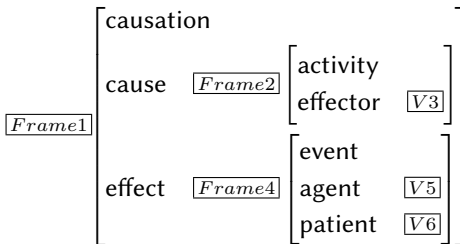
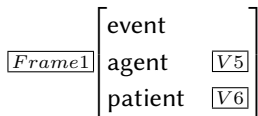
Syntax of causative derivation



- label **V7** refers to the case normally used for the PSA (=syntactic subject)
- label **V8** refers to the case normally used for coding the Undergoer
- in a causative construction, the added argument will always receive the PSA case
- other cases depend on the language and type of construction and thus are assigned later



Universal semantic structure



Deriving the causative frame

```

1 class CausAffix
2   (...)
3   {<frame>{?eAff[activity,
4           effector:?F0]}}
5
6 class Root
7   (...)
8   {<frame>{?Trans=tr;
9           ?eRoot[event,
10            agent:?F1,
11            patient:?F2]}}
```

```

1 class Verb
2   import Root []
3   declare ?Caus ?eVerb ?Affix ?eAffNew
4   {<frame>{{?Caus=no;
5           ?eVerb=?eRoot}|
6           {?Caus=yes;
7           ?Affix = CausAffix[];
8           ?eAffNew = ?Affix.eAff;
9           ?eVerb[causation,
10          cause:?eAffNew,
11          effect:?eRoot]}}
```

Deriving the causative frame

```

1 class CausAffix
2   (...)
3   {<frame>{?eAff[activity,
4           effector:?F0]}}
5
6 class Root
7   (...)
8   {<frame>{?Trans=tr;
9           ?eRoot[event,
10            agent:?F1,
11            patient:?F2]}}

```

```

1 class Verb
2   import Root []
3   declare ?Caus ?eVerb ?Affix ?eAffNew
4   {<frame>{{?Caus=no;
5           ?eVerb=?eRoot}|
6           {?Caus=yes;
7           ?Affix = CausAffix[];
8           ?eAffNew = ?Affix.eAff;
9           ?eVerb[causation,
10          cause:?eAffNew,
11          effect:?eRoot]}}}

```

Deriving the causative frame

```

1 class CausAffix
2   (...)
3   {<frame>{?eAff[activity,
4           effector:?F0]}}
5
6 class Root
7   (...)
8   {<frame>{?Trans=tr;
9           ?eRoot[event,
10            agent:?F1,
11            patient:?F2]}}
```

```

1 class Verb
2   import Root []
3   declare ?Caus ?eVerb ?Affix ?eAffNew
4   {<frame>{{?Caus=no;
5             ?eVerb=?eRoot}|
6             {?Caus=yes;
7             ?Affix = CausAffix[];
8             ?eAffNew = ?Affix.eAff;
9             ?eVerb[causation,
10            cause:?eAffNew,
11            effect:?eRoot]}}
```

Deriving the causative frame

```

1 class CausAffix
2   (...)
3   {<frame>{?eAff[activity,
4           effector:?F0]}}
5
6 class Root
7   (...)
8   {<frame>{?Trans=tr;
9           ?eRoot[event,
10            agent:?F1,
11            patient:?F2]}}
```

```

1 class Verb
2   import Root []
3   declare ?Caus ?eVerb ?Affix ?eAffNew
4   {<frame>{{?Caus=no;
5           ?eVerb=?eRoot}|
6           {?Caus=yes;
7           ?Affix = CausAffix[];
8           ?eAffNew = ?Affix.eAff;
9           ?eVerb[causation,
10          cause:?eAffNew,
11          effect:?eRoot]}}
```

One language – several constructions

(2) a.

Babaj ul-ə-nan xat-tə uqə-t-tər-a BASHKIR

old.man son-POSS.3-**ABL** letter-ACC read-CAUS-CAUS-IPFV

‘The grandfather asks his son to read the letter.’

Lit: ‘The grandfather makes the son read the letter.’

b.

Babaj ul-ə-na xat-tə uqə-t-tər-a

old.man son-POSS.3-**DAT** letter-ACC read-CAUS-CAUS-IPFV

‘The grandfather lets his son read the letter.’

Lit: ‘The grandfather has the son read the letter.’

Perekhval'skaya 2017, p. 244, (16a-16b)

Language plugins must tell whether a certain construction is allowed

Boolean variables in language plugins

```
1 class Plugin_Bashkir
2   {?LanguageFeatures=[ (...)]
3   ConstrCauseeLikeRecip = yes,
4   ConstrCauseeLikeTheme = no,
5   ConstrCauseeLikeDemAg = yes,
6   ConstrCauseeLikePatient = no,
7   ConstrCauseeLikeAgent = no,
8   ConstrCauseeLikeLoc = no,
9   ConstrCauseeSpecial = no]}
```

Disjunction of conjunctions as implication

```
1 class CausativeConstruction
2   (...)
3   {<syn>{(...);
4     node NpCausee [case=?VarCauseeCase]; (...);
5
6     {?LanguageFeatures.ConstrCauseeLikeRecip = yes;
7     ?VarCauseeCase=?LanguageFeatures.recipCase}
8
9     | {?LanguageFeatures.ConstrCauseeLikeDemAg = yes;
10    ?VarCauseeCase=?LanguageFeatures.demAgCase}
11
12    | {?LanguageFeatures.ConstrCauseeSpecial = yes;
13    ?VarCauseeCase=?LanguageFeatures.causeeCase};
14    (... )}}
```

Morphological part of language plugins

```
1 class Plugin_Bashkir
2   {?LanguageFeatures=[ (...)]
3   psaCase = nom,
4   ugCase = acc,
5   recipCase = dat,
6   demAgCase = abl (...)]}
```

```
1 class Plugin_Kalmyk
2   {?LanguageFeatures=[ (...)]
3   psaCase = nom,
4   ugCase = acc,
5   recipCase = dat,
6   demAgCase = ins (...)]}
```

Features are unified by name allowing different morphological devices to appear in the same construction cross-linguistically

Language plugin for Nivkh

- (3) *ytyk p'-oyla-aχ pityy ama-gu-d* NIVKH
 father POSS-child-DAT/ACC book see-CAUS-FIN
 'The father showed his son the book.'

Nedyalkov, Otaina, and Kholodovich 1969, p. 192

```

1 class Plugin_Nivkh
2   {?LanguageFeatures=[ (...)]
3   psaCase = nom,
4   ugCase = nom,
5   recipCase = nom,
6   demAgCase = n/a,
7   causeeCase = dat/acc,
8   (...)]
9   ConstrCauseeLikeRecip = no,
10  ConstrCauseeLikeTheme = no,
11  ConstrCauseeLikeDemAg = no,
12  ConstrCauseeLikePatient = no,
13  ConstrCauseeLikeAgent = no,
14  ConstrCauseeLikeLoc = no,
15  ConstrCauseeSpecial = yes]}

```

Summary

What one needs to know in order to describe constructions with morphological causatives:

- a new PSA can be added to the syntactic structure,
- the semantic structure of causation is universal,
- syntactic and semantic structures can be derived from each other,
- strategies of marking in causative constructions are related to ditransitive, passive and, perhaps, some other constructions,
- there is a (closed) list of patterns for marking arguments in the constructions in question across languages,
- the exact realization of a strategy depends on the morphology of a language.

Expansion: other constructions

The suggested solution can be modified to cover the following constructions:

- active intransitive and ditransitive,
- passive,
- applicative,
- other verbal derivations.

The complete code for the latest stable version of the metagrammar can be made available upon personal request

Thank you!

Your feedback is very welcome:
generalo@hhu.de

Glossary

3 third person

ABL ablative

ACC accusative

CAUS causative

DAT dative

FIN finite

IPFV imperfective

POSS possessive

Bibliography I

- Bender, Emily M, Dan Flickinger, and Stephan Oepen (2002). “The grammar matrix: An open-source starter-kit for the rapid development of cross-linguistically consistent broad-coverage precision grammars”. In: *Proceedings of the Workshop on Grammar Engineering and Evaluation at the 19th International Conference on Computational Linguistics*. Ed. by J Carroll, N Oostdijk, and R Sutcliffe. Taipei, Taiwan, pp. 8–14.
- Cole, Peter (1976). “A causative construction in Modern Hebrew: theoretical implications”. In: *Studies in Modern Hebrew syntax and semantics*, pp. 99–128.
- Comrie, Bernard (1974). “Causatives and universal grammar”. In: *Transactions of the philological society* 73.1, pp. 1–32.
- Comrie, Bernard (1976). “The syntax of causative constructions: cross-language similarities and divergences”. In: *Syntax and semantics: The grammar of causative constructions*. Ed. by Masayoshi Shibatani. Academic Press, pp. 261–312.
- Crabbé, Benoit et al. (2013). “XMG: extensible metagrammar”. In: *Computational Linguistics* 39.3, pp. 591–629.
- Curtis, Christian Michael (2018). “A parametric implementation of valence-changing morphology in the LinGO Grammar Matrix”. MA thesis. University of Washington.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. (2000). “A typology of causatives: form, syntax and meaning”. In: *Changing valency: Case studies in transitivity*. Ed. by Robert M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chap. 2, pp. 30–83.
- Dmitriev, N. K. (2008). *Grammar of Bashkir (Published in Russian)*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Foley, William and Robert D. Van Valin Jr. (1984). *Functional syntax and universal grammar*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gerdts, Donna (2010). “Ditransitive constructions in Halkomelem Salish: A direct object/oblique object language”. In: *Studies in ditransitive constructions: A comparative handbook*, pp. 563–610.

Bibliography II

- Gerdts, Donna B and Thomas E Hukari (2006). “Classifying Halkomelem causatives”. In: *41st International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages, University of British Columbia Working Papers in Linguistics*. Vol. 18, pp. 129–145.
- Glinert, Lewis (1989). *The Grammar of Modern Hebrew*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gruzdeva, Ekaterina (1998). *Nivkh*. Vol. 111. Languages of the World/Materials. München and Newcastle: Lincom Europa.
- Guirardello, Raquel (1999). “A reference grammar of Trumai”. PhD thesis. Houston, Texas: Rice University.
- Haspelmath, Martin (2010). “Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in crosslinguistic studies”. In: *Language* 86.3, pp. 663–687.
- Haspelmath, Martin (2016). “Universals of causative and anticausative verb formation and the spontaneity scale”. In: *Lingua Posnaniensis* 58.2, pp. 33–63.
- Kallmeyer, Laura et al. (2016). “Argument linking in LTAG: A constraint-based implementation with XMG”. In: *Proceedings of the 12th International Workshop on Tree Adjoining Grammars and Related Formalisms (TAG+ 12)*, pp. 48–57.
- Kinyon, Alexandra et al. (2006). “The metagrammar goes multilingual: A cross-linguistic look at the V2-phenomenon”. In: *Proceedings of the Eighth International Workshop on Tree Adjoining Grammar and Related Formalisms*, pp. 17–24.
- Kozinsky, Isaac and Maria Polinsky (1993). “Causee and patient in the causative of transitive: Coding conflict or doubling of grammatical relations”. In: *Causatives and transitivity*. Ed. by Bernard Comrie and Maria Polinsky. John Benjamins Publishing, pp. 177–240.
- Lichte, Timm and Simon Petitjean (2015). “Implementing semantic frames as typed feature structures with XMG”. In: *Journal of Language Modelling* 3.1, pp. 185–228.
- Nedyalkov, V. P., G. A. Otaina, and A. A. Kholodovich (1969). “Morphological and lexical causatives in Nivkh (published in Russian)”. In: *Typology of causative constructions: Morphological causative*. Ed. by A. A. Kholodovich. Nauka, Leningrad, pp. 179–199.

Bibliography III

- Osswald, Rainer and Laura Kallmeyer (2018). “Towards a formalization of Role and Reference Grammar”. In: *Applying and expanding Role and Reference Grammar (NIHIN Studies)*. Ed. by Rolf Kailuweit, Eva Staudinger, and Lisann Künkel. Freiburg: Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, pp. 355–378.
- Perekhval’skaya, E. V. (2017). “Causative constructions in Bashkir (Published in Russian)”. In: *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana. Works by Institute of Linguistic Studies* 13.1.
- Say, Sergey (2009). “Argument structure of Kalmyk causative constructions (Published in Russian)”. In: *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana. Works by Institute of Linguistic Studies* 2, pp. 387–464.
- Song, Jae Jung (2013). “Nonperiphrastic Causative Constructions”. In: *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Ed. by Matthew S. Dryer and Martin Haspelmath. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.
- Van Valin Jr., Robert D. (2005). *Exploring the syntax-semantics interface*. Cambridge University Press.
- Van Valin Jr., Robert D. (2018). “Date case and oblique subjects”. In: *Non-Canonically Case-Marked Subjects. The Reykjavík-Eyjafjallajökull papers*. Ed. by Jóhanna Barðdal, Na’ama Pat-El, and Stephen Mark Carey. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Chap. 5, pp. 115–131.
- Van Valin Jr., Robert D. and Randy J. LaPolla (1997). *Syntax: Structure, meaning, and function*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vydrina, Alexandra (2009). “Usage of passive marker in Kalmyk (Published in Russian)”. In: *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana. Works by Institute of Linguistic Studies* 2, pp. 347–386.