

The algebraic structure of morphosyntactic features

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Features in Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics
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Background: Features in morphological subanalysis

Present and past tense forms of German *spielen* 'to play'

	SG	PL		SG	PL
1	spiel-e	spiel-(e)n	1	spiel-te	spiel-te-n
2	spiel-s-t	spiel-t	2	spiel-te-s-t	spiel-te-t
3	spiel-t	spiel-(e)n	3	spiel-te	spiel-te-n
	PRESENT			PAST	

Some underspecified marker hypotheses

$/-n/ \leftrightarrow [-2 \ +pl]$ $/-t/ \leftrightarrow [-1]$

well-formed feature specification = natural class \rightarrow **systematic syncretism**

Some feature decomposition for pronouns

	1	12	2	3
SG	+1 -2 -3 -pl		-1 +2 -3 -pl	-1 -2 +3 -pl
PL	+1 -2 -3 +pl	+1 +2 -3 +pl	-1 +2 -3 +pl	-1 -2 +3 +pl

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Observation: Two possible kinds of feature algebra

Feature specifications in morphological grammar are ...

nothing but sets of symbols

$[+3] \neq [-1 -2 +3] \neq [-1 -2]$
 $[-1] \neq [+3]$
 $[+1 +pl] \cap [+3 +pl] = [+pl]$
 $[-1] \cup [-3] = [-1 -3]$
 $[+1] \cup [-1] \neq [+2] \cup [-2]$

'autonomy'

representations for sets of things

$[+3] = [-1 -2 +3] = [-1 -2]$
 $[-1] \subset [+3]$
 $[+1 +pl] \cap [+3 +pl] = [-2 +pl]$
 $[-1] \cup [-3] = [-1 +2 -3]$
 $[+1] \cup [-1] = \perp = [+2] \cup [-2]$

vs.

'extensionalism'

Claim of this talk

Autonomy of feature specification algebra undermines the **restrictiveness** and challenges the **learnability** of morphological grammar.

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Two flavors of feature notations

Given a set of paradigm cells (utterances, contexts)

e.g.

$\{ 1SG, 1PL, 2SG, 2PL, 3SG.MASC, 3SG.FEM, 3SG.NEUT, 3PL \}$

or

$\{ 1SG, 1PL.EXCL, 1PL.INCL, 2SG, 2PL, 3SG, 3PL \}$

Morphosyntactic feature specifications

Give formal representation for the meaning of each individual paradigm cell.
Define which sets of paradigm cells correspond to more general meanings.

Feature-value pairs (Paradigm Function Morphology, Network Morphology)

$\{ PER:1, NUM:sg \}, \dots \{ PER:3, NUM:sg, GEN:neut \}, \dots \{ PER:3, NUM:pl \}$

Privative/binary features (Amorphous Morphology, Distributed Morphology)

$[+1 -2 -pl], \dots [-1 -2 -pl \text{ neut}], \dots [-1 -2 +pl]$

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Feature-value pairs

Features as orthogonal categories of mutually exclusive values

PER: 1, 2, 3 INCL: yes, no

NUM: sg, pl

GEN: masc, fem, neut

Cooccurrence restrictions

(as used by Stump 2001)

$\{\text{PER:1}\} \in X \vee \{\text{PER:2}\} \in X \rightarrow \{\text{GEN:\alpha}\} \notin X$

$\{\text{PER:2}\} \in X \rightarrow \{\text{INCL:yes}\} \in X$

$\{\text{PER:1, INCL:yes}\} \in X \rightarrow \{\text{NUM:pl}\} \in X$

$\{\text{PER:1, NUM:sg}\} \in X \vee \{\text{PER:3}\} \in X \rightarrow \{\text{INCL:no}\} \in X$

Ordered attribute paths in DATR

(as used by Corbett / Fraser 1993)

TNS < PER < NUM

<past 1 sg>, <present 3>, ...

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Privative/binary features

Feature decomposition (as used by Anderson 1992; Halle / Marantz 1993)

1.EXCL = [+1 -2] SG = [-pl] MASC = [masc] MASC = [+m -f]

1.INCL = [+1 +2] PL = [+pl] FEM = [fem] FEM = [-m +f]

2 = [-1 +2] NEUT = [neut] NEUT = [-m -f]

3 = [-1 -2]

Feature combinations

	sg	pl
1	1SG [+1 -2 -pl]	1PL.EXCL [+1 -2 +pl]
12		1PL.INCL [+1 +2 +pl]
2	2SG [-1 +2 -pl]	2PL [-1 +2 +pl]
3	3SG [-1 -2 -pl]	3PL [-1 -2 +pl]

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Natural classes: syncretism vs. accidental homophony

15 possible assignments to a 4 cell paradigm (cf. Pertsova 2007)

Natural class syncretism



Elsewhere syncretism



Overlapping distribution



binary features	cells	possible assignments	natural class syncretism only	percentage
2	4	15	8	53.33
3	8	4,140	146	3.53
4	16	10,480,142,147	61,712	0.0006

Features and their possible combinations

- restrict the sets of paradigm cells that can be part of **systematic syncretism**
- account for the fact that natural class syncretism is **more frequent** than expected if **learners** indistinctively internalized random form-identities

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Formal Concept Analysis

Practical application of **order** and **lattice** theory (Birkhoff 1940) introduced by Wille (1982), elaborated in Gantner & Wille (1999).

Rests upon a Galois connection between two sets: a **set of objects** to describe and a **set of attributes** which each object either has or not (boolean flags).

Basic elements of Formal Concept Analysis (FCA)

The **formal context** $\langle \mathcal{O}, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{R} \rangle$

defines a relation between **objects** and **attributes**.

The **derivation operator** 'r'

yields **common attributes** for objects and **common objects** for attributes.

The **concept lattice** $L(\mathcal{O}, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{R})$

defines the **relations** and **operations** on objects-attributes pairs.

Provides precise definitions, terminology, and **graphical representations** for the way feature notations are used (mostly implicitly) in linguistics.

Has many more practical applications, algorithms, software tools, etc.,

see <http://www.upriss.org.uk/fca/fca.html>

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Context defines the relation between objects and attributes

Drop feature/value distinction: translate all values into privative features

	x ¹	¬ ¹	x ²	¬ ²	x ³	¬ ³	+sg	+pl
1s	x			x		x	x	
1pe	x			x		x		x
1pi	x		x			x		x
2s		x	x			x	x	
2p		x	x			x		x
3s		x		x	x		x	
3p		x		x	x			x

$$\mathcal{O} = \{ 1s, 1pe, 1pi, 2s, 2p, 3s, 3p \}$$

$$\mathcal{A} = \{ +1, -1, +2, -2, +3, -3, +sg, +pl \}$$

$$\mathcal{R} \subseteq \mathcal{O} \times \mathcal{A} = \{ \langle 1s, +1 \rangle, \langle 1s, -2 \rangle, \dots, \langle 3p, +pl \rangle \}$$

objects

attributes

relation

Conceptual scaling: contexts for many-valued attributes

Dichotomic scale

	-incl	+incl
excl	x	
incl		x

Nominal scale

	masc	fem	neut
3.masc	x		
3.fem		x	
3.neut			x

Ordinal scale

	x	x+	+++
positive	x		
comparative	x	x	
superlative	x	x	x

Biordinal scale

	++	x	-	---
very high	x	x		
high		x		
low			x	
very low			x	x

From the prime (') operator to formal concepts

Common attributes O' of $O \subseteq \mathcal{O} := \{ a \in \mathcal{A} \mid \forall o \in O : \langle o, a \rangle \in \mathcal{R} \}$

Common objects A' of $A \subseteq \mathcal{A} := \{ o \in \mathcal{O} \mid \forall a \in A : \langle o, a \rangle \in \mathcal{R} \}$

Formal concept $\langle O, A \rangle$ with $O' = A$ and $A' = O$ (extent, intent)

	x ¹	¬ ¹	x ²	¬ ²	x ³	¬ ³	+sg	+pl
1s	x			x		x	x	
1p	x			x		x		x
2s		x	x			x	x	
2p		x	x			x		x
3s		x		x	x		x	
3p		x		x	x			x

$\langle O'', O' \rangle$ or $\langle A', A'' \rangle$

$$\langle \{ \}, \{ +1, -1, +2, -2, +3, -3, +sg, +pl \} \rangle$$

$$\langle \{ 1s \}, \{ +1, -2, -3, +sg \} \rangle$$

$$\langle \{ 1s, 2s \}, \{ -3, +sg \} \rangle$$

$$\langle \{ 1s, 1p, 2s, 2p \}, \{ -3 \} \rangle$$

$$\langle \{ 1s, 1p, 2s, 2p, 3s, 3p \}, \{ \} \rangle$$

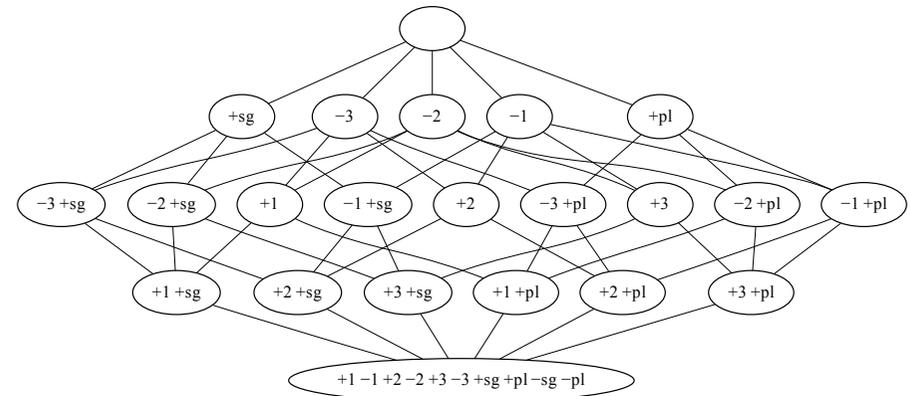
infimum \perp
atom

coatom
supremum \top

Partial order (\leq) of super/subconcepts, join (\vee), meet (\wedge)

$$\langle O_1, A_1 \rangle \leq \langle O_2, A_2 \rangle \text{ when } O_1 \subseteq O_2$$

$$\text{(or equivalently } A_1 \supseteq A_2 \text{)}$$

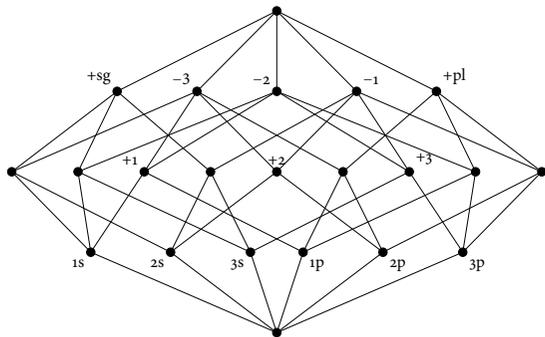


$$\perp < \langle \{ 1s \}, \{ +1, -2, -3, +sg \} \rangle < \langle \{ 1s, 2s \}, \{ -3, +sg \} \rangle < \langle \{ 1s, 1p, 2s, 2p \}, \{ -3 \} \rangle < \top$$

$$\langle \{ 1p \}, \{ +1, -2, -3, +pl \} \rangle \vee \langle \{ 3p \}, \{ -1, -2, +3, +pl \} \rangle = \langle \{ 1p, 3p \}, \{ -2, +pl \} \rangle$$

$$\langle \{ 2s, 2p, 3s, 3p \}, \{ -1 \} \rangle \wedge \langle \{ 1s, 1p, 2s, 2p \}, \{ -3 \} \rangle = \langle \{ 2s, 2p \}, \{ -1, +2, -3 \} \rangle$$

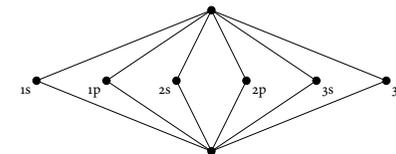
Concept lattice, object concepts, attribute concepts



Relations and operations

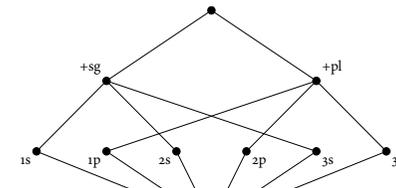
$$\begin{aligned}
 [+1] \vee [-1] &= \top & [+sg] \vee [+pl] &= \top & & \text{tautology} \\
 [+1] \wedge [-1] &= \perp & [+1] \wedge [+2] &= \perp & & \text{contradiction} \\
 [+1] < [-3] &\Leftrightarrow [+1] \wedge [-3] = [+1] &\Leftrightarrow [+1] \vee [-3] = [-3] & & \text{implication} \\
 [-1] \wedge [-3] \neq \perp & \text{ and } [-1]' \cup [-3]' = \top' & & & & \text{subcontrary} \\
 [+1 +sg] \vee [+2 +pl] &= [-3] & \vee \{ [+1 +sg], [+2 +sg], [+2 +pl] \} &= [-3] & & \text{intersection} \\
 [+1] \wedge [+sg] &= [+1 +sg] & \wedge \{ [-2], [-3], [+sg] \} &= [+1 +sg] & & \text{unification}
 \end{aligned}$$

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1s	x					
1p		x				
2s			x			
2p				x		
3s					x	
3p						x

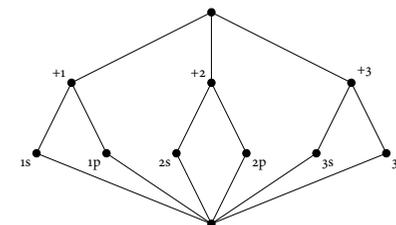


trivial, nominal scale

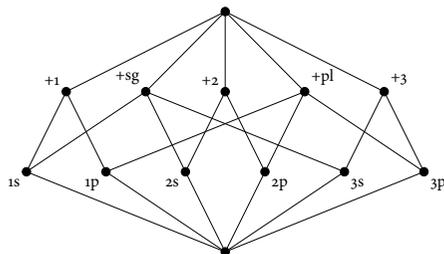
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	+sg	+pl
1s	x						x	
1p		x						x
2s			x				x	
2p				x				x
3s					x		x	
3p						x		x



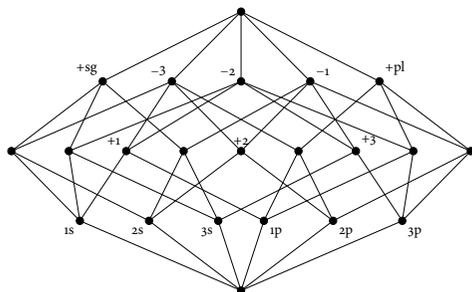
	I	II	III	IV	x ⁺	V	VI	x ⁺
1s	x							
1p		x	x					
2s				x	x			
2p					x	x		
3s						x	x	
3p							x	x



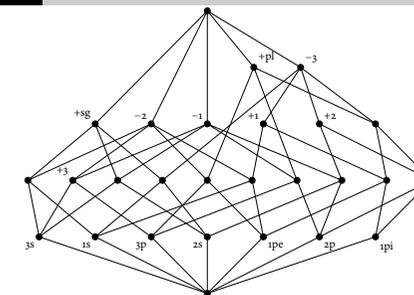
	x ⁺	~	x ⁺	~	x ⁺	~	+sg	+pl
1s	x				x		x	
1p		x						x
2s			x			x		
2p				x			x	
3s					x		x	
3p						x		x



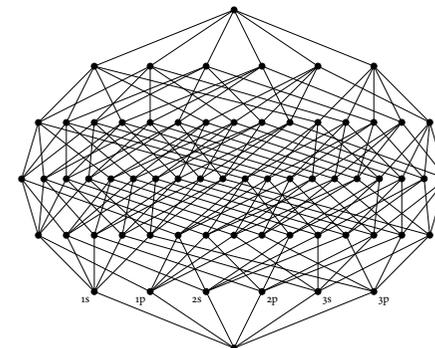
	x ⁺	~	x ⁺	~	x ⁺	~	+sg	+pl
1s	x				x		x	
1p		x						x
2s			x			x		
2p				x			x	
3s					x		x	
3p						x		x



	x ⁺	~	x ⁺	~	x ⁺	~	+sg	+pl
1s	x				x		x	
1pe		x						x
1pi			x				x	
2s				x		x		
2p					x			x
3s					x		x	
3p						x		x



	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1s		x	x	x	x	x
1p		x		x	x	x
2s		x	x		x	x
2p		x		x	x	x
3s		x	x	x		x
3p		x	x	x	x	



Syncretism, underspecification, and insertion competition

Present and past tense forms of English 'to be'

	SG	PL		SG	PL
1	<i>am</i>	<i>are</i>	1	<i>was</i>	<i>were</i>
2	<i>are</i>	<i>are</i>	2	<i>were</i>	<i>were</i>
3	<i>is</i>	<i>are</i>	3	<i>was</i>	<i>were</i>
PRESENT			PAST		

Fully specified

am ↔ [+1 +sg prs]
is ↔ [+3 +sg prs]

Natural class syncretism

was ↔ [-2 -p1 pst]

Elsewhere syncretism

were ↔ [pst]
are ↔ [prs]

Insertion with Pāṇinian **blocking** (a.k.a. subset principle, elsewhere principle)

Insert the **most specific** marker(s) whose meaning **subsume** the paradigm cell meaning.

Insertion of **was** ↔ [-2 -p1 pst]

[-2 -p1 pst] ≥ [+1 -p1 pst] → ✓, [-2 -p1 pst] $\not\geq$ [+2 -p1 pst] → ✗, [-2 -p1 pst] ≥ [+3 -p1 pst] → ✓, ...

Insertion of **were** ↔ [pst]

were ↔ [pst] ≥ **was** ↔ [-2 -p1 pst] ≥ [+1 -p1 pst] → **was**, *were* ↔ [pst] ≥ [+1 +p1 pst] → **were**, ...

When markers resist blocking: extended exponence

Agreement affixes of Fox animate intransitive verbs (Bloomfield 1927)

	SG	PL
1	<i>ne-</i>	<i>ne-</i> <i>-pena</i>
12		<i>ke-</i> <i>-pena</i>
2	<i>ke-</i>	<i>ke-</i> <i>-pwa</i>
3	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-wa</i> <i>gi</i>

Extended exponence

-wa ↔ [+3] ≥ **gi** ↔ [+3 +p1] ≥ [+3 +p1] $\not\geq$ **-wa** **gi**

Markedness of extended exponence hypothesis

The utterance of a subsuming marker does not contribute **information**. It involves **additional formal machinery** (feature copying, rule blocks, contextual features, marker sensitivity, enrichment) and correspondingly is **harder to learn**.

Contextual feature solution

(insertion as feature discharge, Noyer 1992)

gi ↔ [+p1] / [+3] discharged features / non-discharged features

Masked extended exponence with autonomous features

Present tense verbal agreement affixes of German (Müller 2006)

sg	pl	[±1] → ∅ / [-2 +p1]
1 [+1 -2 -p1] -e	1 [∕∕ -2 +p1] -n	/s/ ↔ [+2 -p1]
2 [-1 +2 -p1] -s -t	2 [-1 +2 +p1] -t	/n/ ↔ [-2 +p1]
3 [-1 -2 -p1] -t	3 [∕∕ -2 +p1] -n	/t/ ↔ [-1]
		/e/ ↔ []

Does **not** interpret **t**-insertion in 2SG as extended exponence (but might).

Requires that **t** ↔ [-1] is **not** a superconcept of **s** ↔ [+2 -p1]. *autonomy*

But this requires that some paradigm cell is +2 and **not** -1. *extensionalism*

Extensionalist analysis

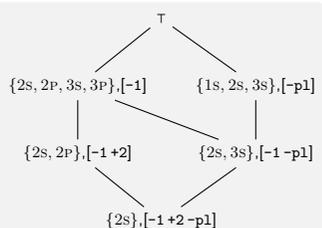
Extended exponence

t ↔ [-1] ≥ **s** ↔ [+2 -p1] ≥ [+2 -p1] $\not\geq$ **s** **t**

Contextual features solution

/s/ ↔ [-p1] / [-1 +2]

predicts functional pressure to change **-s** **t** into **-s**



No masked extended exponence with extensionalism

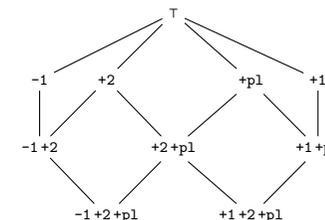
sg	pl	[±1] → ∅ / [-2 +p1]
1 [+1 -2 -p1] -e	1 [∕∕ -2 +p1] -n	/s/ ↔ [+2 -p1]
2 [-1 +2 -p1] -s -t	2 [-1 +2 +p1] -t	/n/ ↔ [-2 +p1]
3 [-1 -2 -p1] -t	3 [∕∕ -2 +p1] -n	/t/ ↔ [-1]
		/e/ ↔ []

[+2] ≠ [-1 +2] **only if** there is a [+1 +2] cell

[+2 -p1] ≠ [-1 +2 -p1] **only if** there is a [+1 +2 -p1] cell

However, such an inclusive/augmented reanalysis gives:

- (1) a. *Wir spiel-s.
we play-1INCL.MIN
- b. *Wir spiel-e.
we play-1INCL.AUG



Why to avoid autonomous feature algebra?

- cannot replace extended exponence machinery altogether without undermining natural class **restrictivity** by adding features
- introduces superficially equivalent options (analytical **ambiguity**) of exploiting feature autonomy vs. using additional machinery
- results in less specific **predictions** making analyses harder to test
- why prefer a less restrictive theory when a more restrictive version has not yet been falsified?
- if the choice between [+2] and [-1 +2] is only indirectly observable, how can it be learned?
- is there independent evidence for such 'morphomic' features other than the **distributional effects** they have?

Impoverishment with or without autonomous features

Autonomy **Extensionalist**

A ↔ [+3] B ↔ [-1 -2 pst] A ↔ [+3] B ↔ [pst] / [+3]

	SG	PL
3	A	A
PRESENT		

	SG	PL
3	AB	AB
PAST		

pst → ∅ / [+3 +pl pst]

	SG	PL
3	A	A
PRESENT		

	SG	PL
3	AB	A
PAST		

-1 -2 +3 → ∅ / [+3 +pl pst] +3 → ∅ / [+3 +pl pst]

	SG	PL
3	A	A
PRESENT		

	SG	PL
3	AB	
PAST		

+3 → ∅ / [+3 +pl pst]

	SG	PL
3	A	A
PRESENT		

	SG	PL
3	AB	B
PAST		

impossible
only retreat to the general case

Feature set subtraction in morphological operations

feature discharge (Noyer 1992)
impoverishment & fission (Halle / Marantz 1993)

Impoverishment rule $[\pm 1] \rightarrow \emptyset / [+pl]$ (Frampton 2002)

$[-1 +pl] - [-1] = [+3 +pl]$
 $[-1 +pl] - [-1] = [-2 +pl]$
 { -2 +pl, -2, +pl }

$[+1 +pl] - [-1] = [+1 +pl]$
 $[+1 +pl] - [+1] = ?$ **not -2 or -3**
 { -2 +pl, -3 +pl, +pl }

Subtraction as ∅-insertion without autonomous features

	SG	PL
1		
2		
3		
+3 +pl		

	SG	PL
1	∅	∅
2	∅	∅
3	∅	∅
-1		

	SG	PL
1		
2		
3		
+1 +pl		

	SG	PL
1	∅	∅
2		
3		
+1		

	SG	PL
1		A
2	∅	∅
3	∅	∅A
-2 +pl		

	SG	PL
1	B	B
2	∅	∅
3	∅B	∅B
-2		

	SG	PL
1	∅	∅C
2		
3		C
-2 +pl		

	SG	PL
1	∅*D	∅*D
2		
3	*D	*D
-2		

- Regarding subtraction as insertion without form-change
- makes various (possibly overly powerful) formalisms more **restricted**
 - allows for a consistent **information-based** interpretation

Impoverishment ⇔ feature discharging **∅-insertion** (Trommer 1999, 2003)

Conclusion

- if features are more than abbreviations for observable distributional facts, even simple formalisms can acquire considerable **power**
- at least in some cases it is undesirable to use this extra power – not before there is evidence that it is really needed
- Formal Concept Analysis provides the terminology and the tools to spot and disassemble such ‘feature tricks’
- learnability might raise fundamental objections against them
- for the most part feature autonomy can be avoided by always using the **most specific notational variant** for representing feature sets

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