# The Grammar of German in the Grammatical Framework <br> (Draft, February 20, 2024) 

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## Introduction

Why write this? As documentation of the existing Lang and LangGer for outsiders of GF, such as linguists, computer scientists and programmers. As explanation of principal limits of Lang and current limits of LangGer for GF-users. To provide a list of necessary improvements for GF-developers.

## 1. Syntax of Natural Languages

For non-linguists, in particular for computer scientist or logicians interested in natural language, we sketch some basic differences between formal languages and natural languages.

We do not discuss the usage of language, like utterances of expressions by a speaker or writer and the effects of such utterances on hearers or readers, but just the form of expressions. For different possible intentions behind an utterance, like asking, informing, commanding, there are typical forms of expressions, but there is no clear-cut correspondence. We only discuss the form of linguistic expressions, as they are written in standard writing conventions, without the often important aspects added by intonation. The interpretation of expressions is situation-dependent and also ignored, although occasionally some comparison with the semantics of formal languages may be made.

### 1.1. Grammatical Notions

- kinds (types) categories of expressions
- grammatical constructions of expressions (from immediate constituents)
- grammatical functions or relations between expressions.

The $n$ different immediate constituents $e_{1}, \ldots, e_{n}$ of an expression $e$ stand in $n$ different (functional) syntactic relations $f_{1}, \ldots, f_{n}$ to the expression $e$. We say that $e_{i}$ is the $f_{i}$ of $e$, or " $e_{i}$ realizes the function $f_{i}$ in $e$ ". For example, a noun phrase may be the subject of a clause, or realize the subject function in the clause. Conversely, if the subject of a clause is a noun phrase, we speak of a nominal subject, if it is an infinitive, we speak of an infinitival subject, etc.
(Expressions can function as complement of a verb, noun or adjective in a compound expression. The complements of a verb (or: of a basic clause) are subject and object. The verb, noun or adjective functions as head in these head + complements-expressions. Complemented words can be extended by modifiers, such as: nouns by attributes, relative clauses, and adverbs; verbs (and basic clauses) by adverbs and adverbial clauses (conditional clause? coordination?); adjectives by adadjectives. Other syntactic functions: predicate (and subject) in a basic clause, attributive function of adjective phrases in noun phrases, predicative function of adjective or noun phrases in basic clauses, adverbial function of adverbs and adjective phrases in basic clauses and basic noun phrases; coordinator or subordinator in a conjoined expression?)
basic phrase $=$ head combined with all complements, phrase $=$ basic phrase combined with modifiers/attributes. ${ }^{1}$

[^0]Ok for noun phrase and adjective phrase, but difference between verb phrase and clause: the verb phrase misses the subject of its head verb, the clause does not.

- forms of expressions, agreement and rection: forms depending on inflection parameters (declination for nouns, conjugation for verbs); congruence of form parameters, and dependence of parameters from (main verb agrees with subject, or subject governs main verb in finiteness features? die Leute mögen das nicht. Urlaub zu machen, ist schön.
- grammatical transformations: mappings between expressions of different categories

Define syntactic arity or complement frame to specify the type of possible complement expressions of verbs, nouns and adjectives.
Use the set of strings model of formal language theory to explain categories as types of strings over an alphabet (or lexicon), relate concatenation $A \cdot B$ of string sets with division $A / B$ and $B \backslash A$.

Language in use: utterances, imperatives, indexicals, reflexives and speaker, reciprocals, plural subjects

### 1.2. Parallellism within a language

- predication/attribution/relativization
- declarative/relative/interrogative clause, NP, Adv
- negation of subsentential phrases
- personal/relative/reflexive pronoun
- word order and intonation


## 2. Formal Languages and their Grammars

In Formal Language Theory, a formal language is a set of $\boldsymbol{s t r i n g s}$, i.e. sequences $\left(a_{1}, \ldots, a_{n}\right)$ of finite lengths $n$ of elements $a_{1}, \ldots, a_{n}$ from a finite set $\Sigma$ of letters, the alphabet or vocabulary. The set of all strings over $\Sigma$ is denoted by $\Sigma^{*}$. The string () of length 0 is called the empty string and denoted by $\epsilon$. Two strings $u=\left(a_{1}, \ldots, a_{n}\right)$ and $v=\left(b_{1}, \ldots, b_{m}\right)$ can be concatenated to a string $u \cdot v=\left(a_{1}, \ldots, a_{n}, b_{1}, \ldots, b_{m}\right)$ of length $n+m$. The concatenation operation - is associative, i.e. $(u \cdot v) \cdot w=u \cdot(v \cdot w)$ for all strings $u, v, w$, and has $\epsilon$ as neutral element, i.e. $\epsilon \cdot w=w \cdot \epsilon=w$ for all strings $w$, so that $\left(\Sigma^{*}, \cdot, \epsilon\right)$ is a monoid. It is actually the free monoid generated by $\Sigma$, i.e. no other identities $u=v$ between strings $u, v$ hold except those that follow from associativity of $\cdot$ and neutrality of $\epsilon$. We usually write $a_{1} \cdots a_{n}$ for $\left(a_{1}, \ldots, a_{n}\right)$ and $u v$ for $u \cdot v$.
The concatenation operation can be lifted from strings to formal languages $A, B \subseteq \Sigma^{*}$ by

$$
A \cdot B=\{u \cdot v \mid u \in A \text { and } v \in B\}
$$

and with $\{\epsilon\}$ as neutral element gives rise to the power set monoid $\left(\mathcal{P}\left(\Sigma^{*}\right), \cdot,\{\epsilon\}\right)$ of all formal languages over $\Sigma$. On the set level, besides this multiplicative monoid $\left(\mathcal{P}\left(\Sigma^{*}\right), \cdot,\{\epsilon\}\right)$ there is the additive, commutative monoid $\left(\mathcal{P}\left(\Sigma^{*}\right), \cup, \emptyset\right)$, with set union

$$
A \cup B=\{u \mid u \in A \text { or } u \in B\}
$$

as associative operation and the empty set $\emptyset$ as neutral element. Their combination gives the semiring of all formal languages over $\Sigma$,

$$
(S,+, \cdot, 0,1)=\left(\mathcal{P}\left(\Sigma^{*}\right), \cup, \cdot, \emptyset,\{\epsilon\}\right),
$$

where in addition to the monoid properties of $(S,+, 0)$ and $(S, \cdot, 1)$ the distributivity and annihilation properties

$$
A \cdot(B+C) \cdot D=(A \cdot B \cdot D)+(A \cdot C \cdot D) \quad \text { and } \quad A \cdot 0 \cdot B=0
$$

hold, for all $A, B, C, D \in S$. On the semiring, there is a partial order $\leq$ defined by $A \leq B$ iff $A+B=B$, the subset relation.

The terminology of Formal Language Theory can be misleading when applied to natural languages. First, though the alphabet of a written natural language is finite, its vocabulary often is not: it may contain infinitely many number words, e.g. neunhunderttausendvierundfünzig in German. Second, not every concatenation of letters gives a word in the language, and not every concatenation of words gives a sentence or other expression of the language; the concatenation comes with modification of its elements, like spelling modifications or inflectional modifications, so it is not a free operation. Third, not every set of word sequences over a vocabulary makes a language; a natural language has to be closed under certain combinations of words and has to exclude other combinations.
While the power set monoid or semiring of all formal languages over $\Sigma$ is too wide a class to be considered, there are submonoids or subsemirings that are large enough to at least contain the ususal programming languages and formula languages of mathematical logic.
(Since the combination of expressions in natural languages is not free, we switch from free monoids $\Sigma^{*}$ to arbitrary monoids $M$.)

Given a monoid $M=(M, \cdot, 1)$, its power set monoid $(\mathcal{P} M, \cdot,\{1\})$, with elementwise product $A \cdot B=\{a \cdot b \mid a \in A, b \in B\}$ for $A, B \in \mathcal{P} M$, has a submonoid $\mathcal{F} M$ of all finite subsets of $M$. As $\emptyset$ is a finite set and the union of two finite sets is finite, $\mathcal{F} M=(\mathcal{F} M, \cup, \cdot, \emptyset,\{1\})$ is actually a subsemiring of the power set semiring $\mathcal{P} M=(\mathcal{P} M, \cup, \cdot \emptyset,\{1\})$ of all subsets of $M$.

The semiring $\mathcal{F} M$ is too small to study formal or natural languages: if languages are closed under some form of iterative or inductive constructions of expressions ${ }^{2}$, we cannot avoid infinite languages. The most important extension of $\mathcal{F} M$ is the subsemiring $\mathcal{C} M \subseteq \mathcal{P} M$ of all contextfree subsets of $M$ of the power set semiring $\mathcal{P} M$. The set $\mathcal{C} M$ is the smallest set $\mathcal{S} \subseteq \mathcal{P} M$ of subsets of $M$ such that (i) $\mathcal{F} M \subseteq \mathcal{S}$, (ii) if $A, B \in \mathcal{S}$, then $A \cdot B \in \mathcal{S}$ and $A \cup B \in \mathcal{S}$, and (iii) if $n \in \mathbb{N}$ and $p_{1}\left(X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}\right), \ldots, p_{n}\left(X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}\right)$ are built from variables $X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}$ and elements of $\mathcal{S}$ using • and $\cup$, then the least sets $A_{1}, \ldots, A_{n} \in \mathcal{P} M$ satisfying

$$
\begin{align*}
A_{1} & \supseteq p_{1}\left(A_{1}, \ldots, A_{n}\right), \\
& \vdots  \tag{1}\\
A_{n} & \supseteq p_{n}\left(A_{1}, \ldots, A_{n}\right),
\end{align*}
$$

belong to $\mathcal{S}$. These sets $A_{1}, \ldots, A_{n}$ can be obtained by starting from $A_{1,0}=\ldots=A_{n, 0}:=\emptyset \in$ $\mathcal{F} M \subseteq \mathcal{S}$, and given $A_{1, k}, \ldots, A_{n, k} \in \mathcal{S}$, putting $A_{i, k+1}:=p_{i}\left(A_{1, k}, \ldots, A_{n, k}\right) \in \mathcal{S}$ by (ii), and finally showing that the sets $A_{i}:=\bigcup\left\{A_{i, k} \mid k \in \mathbb{N}\right\}$ for $i=1, \ldots, n$ satisfy (1), for which one first shows $A_{i, k} \subseteq A_{i, k+1}$ by induction on $k$.

[^1]Since the semiring properties hold in $\mathcal{P} M$, any expression $p_{i}\left(X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}\right)$ can be written as a finite sum $\alpha_{i, 1} \cup \ldots \cup \alpha_{i, r_{i}}$ of products $\alpha_{i, j}$ of variables $X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}$ and the members of $\mathcal{S}$ occurring in $p_{i}\left(X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}\right)$. By induction, these members of $\mathcal{S}$ can be assumed to be $\emptyset$ or singleton sets $\{m\}$ with $m \in M$. When $M$ is the free monoid $\Sigma^{*}$, a system $X_{1} \supseteq$ $p_{1}\left(X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}\right), \ldots, X_{n} \supseteq p_{n}\left(X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}\right)$ is therefore nothing else than a context-free grammar with "nonterminals" $X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}$ and "grammar rules" $X_{i} \supseteq \alpha_{i, j}$, with $1 \leq i \leq n$ and $1 \leq k \leq r_{i}$.

A residuated partially ordered monoid $(N, \cdot, 1, \leq, \backslash, /)$ is a partially ordered monoid with two binary division operations $\backslash, /: N \times N \rightarrow N$ such that for all $k, m, n \in N$,

$$
m \cdot k \leq n \Longleftrightarrow k \leq m \backslash n \quad \text { and } \quad k \cdot m \leq n \Longleftrightarrow k \leq n / m
$$

It follows that $m \backslash n$ is the largest $k$ such that $m \cdot k \leq n$ and $n / m$ is the largest $k$ such that $k \cdot m \leq n,{ }^{3}$ and if • is commutative, $m \backslash n=m / n$. Since multiplication is monotone,

$$
m \cdot m \backslash n \leq n \quad \text { and } \quad n / m \cdot m \leq n
$$

For example, on ( $\mathbb{N}, \cdot, 1, \leq$ ) with ordinary, commutative multiplication and standard order $\leq$, the two divisions coincide, with e.g. $14 / 3=4=3 \backslash 14$. On the partially ordered monoid $(\mathcal{P} M, \cdot,\{1\}, \subseteq)$ there are two quotient operations

$$
\begin{aligned}
& A / B=\text { the largest } C \in \mathcal{P} M \text { such that } C \cdot B \subseteq A, \\
& B \backslash A=\text { the largest } C \in \mathcal{P} M \text { such that } B \cdot C \subseteq A .
\end{aligned}
$$

It is easily seen that $A / B=\{m \in M \mid\{m\} \cdot B \subseteq A\}$ and $B \backslash A=\{m \in M \mid B \cdot\{m\} \subseteq A\}$. (The existence and uniqueness of a largest $C \in \mathcal{P} M$ such that $C \cdot B \subseteq A$ follows from the closure of $\mathcal{P} M$ under arbitrary unions. But why is $\mathcal{C} M$ a residuated semiring? Is $\{\{m\} \mid m \in$ $M,\{m\} \cdot B \subseteq A\} \in \mathcal{C C} M$ ? By Pentus' theorem?)
The residual functions or language divisions $B \backslash$. and $\cdot / B$ play a minor role in formal language theory, but are important for the theory of natural languages.
Todo 2: Movement and partial phrases: Verb phrases as sentences missing an initial (subject) noun phrase in English, i.e. $V P=N P \backslash S$, fronting of object-noun phrase in wh-movement and relative clauses: $R S=$ RelPron $\cdot S / N P$. Yes/No-questions as variations of sentences (by intonation and word order), Wh-questions as sentences with a noun or adverbial phrase substituted by an interrogative noun phrase or interrogative adverbial: $Q N P \cdot N P \backslash S \leq Q S$, John's car is broken $\mapsto$ whose car is broken?, or $S / A d v \cdot Q A d v \leq Q S$ John arrives today $\mapsto$ John arrives when?
First, consider context-free languages and grammars, then categorial grammars.

- Explain the Slash-categories and their use to describe extraction phenomena.
- complements $B$ are arguments to predicates $A / B$ or $B \backslash A$ and reduce the arity ${ }^{4}$ :

$$
(A / B) \cdot B \leq A, \quad B \cdot(B \backslash A) \leq A
$$

[^2]- adverbials are pre- resp. post-modifiers $P / P$ resp. $P \backslash P$ of predicates $P$ that don't change the predicate category: ${ }^{5}$

$$
P / P \cdot P \leq P, \quad P \cdot(P \backslash P) \leq P .
$$

Other aspects of natural langages (in contrast to formal languages):

- unspecific scope of quantifiers (in NPs) and operators (in adverbials)
- Coordination as abbreviation mechanism (on various levels, not just Cl )


### 2.1. Parallel Multiple Context-Free Grammars (PMCFG)

Developed by Seki e.a. 1991 [8], [3], [5]

- as extension of context-free grammars, with categories of split-strings
- uses of split strings: paradigms and split-constituents
- difficulties to write context-free grammars: possible merging, extractions

Example of non-context-freeness in natural language: day by day, line by line versus $N$ by $N$.
A parallel multiple context-free grammar (PMCFG) $G=(\Sigma, N, S, F, P)$ over the monoid $M$ consists of a finite alphabet $\Sigma \subseteq M$, a finite set $N$ of syntactic categories or nonterminals $A$ of dimension $d(A) \in \mathbb{N}$, a distinguished start or sentence category $S \in N$ (of dimension 1), a finite set $F$ of concatenation functions $f: M^{d_{1}} \times \ldots \times M^{d_{n}} \rightarrow M^{d_{r}}$ of dimensions $d(f)=$ $d_{1} \times \ldots \times d_{n} \rightarrow d_{r}$ with $d_{1}, \ldots, d_{n}, d_{r} \in \mathbb{N}$ (depending on $f$ ), such that each component of

$$
f\left(\left(w_{1,1}, \ldots, w_{1, d_{1}}\right), \ldots,\left(w_{n, 1}, \ldots, w_{n, d_{n}}\right)\right) \in M^{d_{r}}
$$

is a product of elements from $\left\{w_{1,1}, \ldots, w_{n, d_{n}}\right\} \cup \Sigma^{*}$, and a finite set $P$ of grammar rules $(A \rightarrow$ $\left.f\left[A_{1}, \ldots, A_{n}\right]\right)$ with $f \in F$ and $A, A_{1}, \ldots A_{n} \in N$ such that $d(f)=d\left(A_{1}\right) \times \ldots \times d\left(A_{n}\right) \rightarrow d(A)$. Each concatenation function $f: d_{1} \times \ldots \times d_{n} \rightarrow d_{r}$ lifts to a monotone function $\mathcal{P}(f): \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{1}}\right) \times$ $\ldots \times \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{n}}\right) \rightarrow \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{r}}\right)$ on the set level, defined by

$$
\mathcal{P}(f)\left(X_{1}, \ldots, X_{n}\right)=\left\{f\left(\vec{w}_{1}, \ldots, \vec{w}_{n}\right) \mid \vec{w}_{1} \in X_{1}, \ldots, \vec{w}_{n} \in X_{n}\right\} \subseteq M^{d_{r}}
$$

for $X_{n} \in \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{1}}\right), \ldots, X_{n} \in \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{n}}\right)$. Therefore, there are least sets $L(A) \subseteq M^{d(A)}, A \in N$, such that for all grammar rules $\left(A \rightarrow f\left[A_{1}, \ldots, A_{n}\right]\right) \in P$

$$
\left\{f\left(\vec{w}_{1}, \ldots, \vec{w}_{n}\right) \mid \vec{w} \in L\left(A_{1}\right), \ldots, \vec{w}_{n} \in L\left(A_{n}\right)\right\} \subseteq L(A) .
$$

Notice that $L(A)$ belongs to $\mathcal{P}\left(\langle\Sigma\rangle^{d(A)}\right)$ for the submonoid $\langle\Sigma\rangle$ of $M$ generated by $\Sigma$.
A syntax rule $\left(A \rightarrow f\left[A_{1}, \ldots, A_{n}\right]\right)$ can be seen as a typed function symbol $f: A_{1} \times \ldots \times A_{n} \rightarrow A$. Q1: Is the family $p m-\mathcal{C} M$ of parallel, multiple context-free subsets of $M^{<\omega}$ a semiring, even a residuated semiring, or why can we use the Slash-categories?

[^3]Since $\mathcal{P}\left(M^{r}\right)$ is a partial order, each construction $\mathcal{P}(f): \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{1}}\right) \times \ldots \times \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{n}}\right) \rightarrow \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{r}}\right)$ has residuals, i.e. for any $L_{1} \in \mathcal{P} M^{d_{1}}, \ldots, L_{n} \in \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{n}}\right)$ and $L \in \mathcal{P}\left(M^{d_{r}}\right)$, there is a largest set $X \in \mathcal{P} M^{d_{i}}$ with $\mathcal{P}(f)\left(L_{1}, \ldots, L_{i-1}, X, L_{i+1}, \ldots, L_{n}\right) \subseteq L$, namely

$$
X=\left\{\vec{w} \in M^{d_{i}} \mid \mathcal{P}(f)\left(L_{1}, \ldots, L_{i-1},\{\vec{w}\}, L_{i+1}, \ldots, L_{n}\right) \subseteq L\right\} .
$$

If all syntax rules $f: A_{1} \times \ldots \times A_{n} \rightarrow A$ with the same result type $A$ have a (unique?) common argument type $B$, we can define $A / B$ as ??? The VP has a field nn : Agr => Str * ... * Str for its nominal object; it is filled with the paradigm of empty strings in a VPSlash $=V P * *$ \{c2:Prep\}. A construction of a VPSlash, like
Slash2V3 : V3 -> NP -> VPSlash ; -- give it (to her)
contributes to VPSlash $=V P / N P$ by $\ldots$
There are several advantages in using a PMCFG to express the grammar of a natural language, resp. in interpreting categories by sets of string tuples rather than by sets of strings:

- paradigms: a word can have different forms, reflecting different syntactic roles in different contexts of usage. For example, a noun in German has four singular and four plural forms, so it is best view as an 8 -tuple of strings, $\left(w_{1}, \ldots, w_{8}\right)$; it is useful to distinguish eight abstract noun forms, even if for each noun, the nominative plural and accusative plural forms are the same string. The same applies to phrases, e.g. clauses in different tenses.
- discontinuous phrases: a phrase need not be continuous, i.e. a sequence of consecutive words in a sentence, but can be split in two or more parts. For example, in German a relative clause (or infinitival object) of a nominal object is often moved behind the infinite part of the verb, as in "Wir haben die Warnung mißachtet, die auf der Packung stand", where both the nominal object "die Warnung, die auf der Packung stand", and the predicate "haben mißachtet" are split in two parts.
- alternative linearizations: it may be useful to distinguish a standard from non-standard forms of a phrase. For example, an initial part of an expression may be glued with a preceding word, e.g. "in dem warmen Zimmer" $\mapsto$ "im warmen Zimmer", "in das warme Zimmer" $\mapsto$ "ins warme Zimmer", so we may distinguish the standard form "das warme Zimmer" from a shortened one without definite article, "warme Zimmer", and use the second in combination with certain prepositions.
More complicated: "der Angeklagte hat Angaben nicht gemacht" $\mapsto$ "der Angeklagte hat keine Angaben gemacht". "ich trinke ein Bier nicht" $\mapsto$ "ich trinke kein Bier". (For this, we apparantly have to separate the predicate from the indefinite nominal subject and objects, and be able to omit the indefinite article to perform sentence negation.)

Remark 1: The choice between different forms or alternative linearizations has to be implemented in GF by a table, a finite function from abstract forms to strings, e.g. Gender $\times$ Number $\rightarrow$ String. (For example, see 61 for the possible contraction of prepositions with definite articles.) (One can also have alternative tree constructions in application grammars.)

Problem 1. The main category of a PMCFG should have dimension 1, so that parsers take ordinary strings as input. With context-free grammars, word order is encoded in the tree structure ${ }^{6}$; for languages with relatively free word order, this leads to a high number of grammar rules.

[^4]For a PMCF-grammar, the same holds for each dimension. If $A$ is an n-dimensional, $M$ a 1-dimensional category and $f: M \rightarrow A \rightarrow A$ a modification rule that attaches the modifying string to the right of the $i$-th component, i.e. for $(m) \in M, \vec{a}=\left(a_{1}, \ldots, a_{n}\right) \in A$,

$$
f\left((m),\left(a_{1}, \ldots, a_{n}\right)\right)=\left(a_{1}, \ldots, a_{i-1}, a_{i} m, a_{i+1}, \ldots, a_{n}\right) \in A,
$$

iterated modifications of $\vec{a}$ by $m_{1}, \ldots, m_{k} \in M$ lead to $\vec{a}^{\prime} \in A$ with different component $\vec{a}_{i}^{\prime}=a_{i} m$, $m \in M^{k}$, that are constructed by different trees. So, for each component, as in a context-free grammar the word order is reflected by tree structure. However, the trees also reflect different orders of modifier applications in different components $a_{i}, a_{j}$ of $\vec{a}$, and these are not to be seen in the resulting tuple

$$
\vec{a}^{\prime}=\left(a_{1}, \ldots, a_{i-1}, a_{i} m, a_{i+1}, \ldots, a_{j-1}, a_{j} m^{\prime}, a_{j+1} \ldots, a_{n}\right) \in A .
$$

If a sentence $s \in S$ is constructed from an $\vec{a} \in A$ by $g(\vec{a})=s$, then $g$ can only concatenate the components of $\vec{a}$ (and additional constant strings). But is this any more than the ambiguity problem for CFGs? [In LangGer, we insert different kinds of complements of a verb in different components of a vp:VP, and the ordering in which the parser found them in the input $s$ is irrelevant for $\vec{a}$, though remembered in the tree structure; but different trees with the same linearization in Ger might have different linearizations in Eng or some other language. So, the question is how far does, should and can the abstract grammar encode the word order of its languages?]

Todo 3: Discuss the problems to write a PMCFG:

1. Tuples can be used either for merge operations $\vec{a} \cdot \vec{b}=\left(a_{1}, b_{1}, a_{2}, b_{2}, \ldots\right)$, or for permutation operations, $\vec{b}=\left(a_{\pi 1}, \ldots, a_{\pi n}\right)$, or as mixtures of both, including copying and concatenating of components,
2. In GF, tupels are also used for alternatives, e.g. use pre- and post-positions as circumpsitions $p=\{\mathrm{s} 1: S t r ; \mathrm{s} 2: \mathrm{Str}\}$ and then concatenate both components appPrep $\mathrm{p} \mathrm{np}=$ p.s1 ++ np.s ++ p.s2. It is not obvious if in such cases it is always assumed that at least one component is empty. Should there be a discipline when to use several components, and when to use a tuple \{s : Str * Str\} It's hard to know what the fields of a linearization record are used for, e.g. complements or modifiers?
3. Is it plausible that Currying is a good idea for syntax? For example, if binary "verbs" can be obtained by adding a complement to ternary verbs, then passive constructions may not work for the binary verbs obtained that way.

### 2.2. The Grammatical Framework (GF)

A GF-grammar consists of an abstract grammar, containing declarations of syntactic categories and syntactic constructions, and a number of concrete grammars, which provide implementation types of the syntactic categories and linearization functions of the syntactic constructions declared in the abstract grammar. GF-grammars are multilingual in the sense that the same abstract grammar can have several concrete grammars.

### 2.2.1. Abstract grammars

An abstract grammar can be split into different (abstract) modules (c.f. Section 3.1). Typically, there is a module containing the declarations of syntactic categories, and several extensions of this module containing syntactic constructions to build expressions of specific categories.

A syntactic category (or: abstract type) C is declared by ${ }^{7}$

```
cat C ;
```

a syntactic construction (or: grammar rule name) f of arity $k$ is declared by

```
fun f : C1 -> ... -> Ck -> C ;
```

where $\mathrm{C} 1, \ldots, \mathrm{Ck}, \mathrm{C}$ are syntactic categories. The declared constructions can be combined to well-typed terms, called trees: if fun $f: \mathrm{C}$ is a 0 -ary construction, then f is an atomic tree of category C ; if $t_{1}, \ldots, t_{k}$ are trees of categories $\mathrm{C} 1, \ldots, \mathrm{Ck}$ and fun $\mathrm{f}: \mathrm{C} 1->\ldots->\mathrm{Ck}->\mathrm{C}$ is a syntactic construction, then $\mathrm{f} t_{1} \ldots t_{k}$ is a compound tree of category C .

### 2.2.2. Concrete Grammars

A concrete grammar CG of an abstract grammar G provides a linearization category for each syntactic category and a linearization function for each syntactic construction of G. These are types and terms of a certain programming language.

The linearization category (or: implementation type) of a syntactic category C is a record type associated to C by a declaration

```
lincat C = {s1 : sigma1 ; ... ; sn : sigman ; p1 : tau1 ; ... ; pm : taum} ;
```

where $\mathrm{s} 1, \ldots, \mathrm{sn}$ and $\mathrm{p} 1, \ldots, \mathrm{pm}$ are labels and sigma1,...,sigman and tau1,...,taum are types of a specific implementation (programming) language.

The linearization function (or: grammar rule implementation) of a syntactic construction f : C1 $->\ldots$... $\mathrm{Ck} \rightarrow \mathrm{C}$ is defined in the form
lin $f$ x1 ... $x k=t ;$
where $t$ is a term of the implementation type of $C$ in the programming language and is built from variables $\mathrm{x} 1, \ldots, \mathrm{xk}$ of the implementation types of $\mathrm{C} 1, \ldots, \mathrm{Ck}$.

Todo 4: check! The underlying programming languages has basic types like Bool and Str for boolean values and strings, parameter types Ty (with finitely many values) declared by

```
param
    Ty = F1 ty_11 ... ty_1k | ... | Fl ty_l1 ... Fl ty_lk'
```

where $\mathrm{F} 1, \ldots, \mathrm{Fl}$ are type constructors and ty_11, ..., ty_lk' are parameter types; moreover, there are record types

```
{l1 : ty_1 ; ... ; lk : ty_k}
```

with pairwise different labels $11, \ldots, 1 \mathrm{k}$, and types

[^5]```
ty => ty'
```

of functions from a parameter type ty to a type ty'. Types ty can be given names $T$ by type declarations

```
oper
    T : Type = ty ;
```

The implementation type
\{s1 : sigma1 ; ... ; t1 : tau1 ; ... \}
of a syntactic category typically has some fields $s 1, \ldots$ of type Str or ty1 => ... m tyk => Str and some fields t1, ... of parameter types. Records of this type contain fixed strings or tables with result type Str, e.g. inflection paradigms for nouns in German, of type Number => Case $\Rightarrow$ Str, or word order variations of an expression, of type Order $\Rightarrow$ Str for some parameter type Order. In general, a subexpression of a sentence in natural language is not a substring of the sentence, but can be split into several, non-adjacent substrings, so there will be several such fields s1, ...sk. Besides these, there typically are some fields t1, ..., tl of parameter types, holding fixed, inherent parameters, e.g. fields t1: Gender and t2: Person holding the gender and person values of a personal pronoun.
Remark 2: Different syntactic categories can have the same implementation type, e.g. particles and adverbs might have the implementation type $\{s: S t r\}$ of a record with a single field of type string. But the declaration lincat $C=$ ty implicitly makes the implementation type unique by adding a (hidden) field whose label lock_C contains the name $C$ of the syntactic category: the declaration lincat $C=$ ty is equivalent to

```
oper C : Type = ty ** {lock_C : {}} ; -- or: oper C : Type = lin C ty ;
```

Todo 5: values of these types, records $\{\mathrm{s} 1=\mathrm{w} 1 ; \ldots ; \mathrm{t} 1=\mathrm{x} 1 ; \ldots\}, \backslash \backslash \mathrm{x}=>\mathrm{t}$, field selection r.s and table selection $t$ ! s , overwriting record extension $\mathrm{r} * * \mathrm{~s}$, opers $\backslash x->t, \ldots$
The GF-Book: Ranta [7], the overview for programmers: Ranta [6].

### 2.2.3. Grammar compilation (todo)

The GF compiler: Angelov [1]
Compilation of GF-grammars to PMCFG-grammars: Inherent parameters $p$ of a category $C$ are compiled to PMCFG-categories $C_{p}$. Grammar rules $f: C \rightarrow D \rightarrow E$ to PMCFG-rules $f_{p, q, r}$ : $C_{p} \rightarrow Q_{q} \rightarrow E_{r}$ for parameter values $p, q, r$. (Compilation of TestLangGer with generation of PMCFG: 324164 msec )
Formal language theory: Switch from syntactic categories as sets of strings and grammar rules as inclusions $A \cdot X \cdot Y \subseteq X$ to types and typed functions $f: A \rightarrow X \rightarrow Y \rightarrow X$, while maintaining an interpretation of types by sets of $n$-tuples of strings (and parameter values).

Result 1: Linearization of trees
Notice that linearization cannot be done by case distinction on the abstract form of the arguments. Explain why this is necessary for parsing.

GF-book, p.147: "So, when is run-time transfer needed? The general answer follows from a fundamental property of GF: that linearization is compositional. Compositionality means
that the linearization of any tree is a function of the linearizations of its subtrees. In other words,

$$
\left(f x_{1} \ldots x_{n}\right)^{*}=f^{*} x_{1}^{*} \ldots x_{n}^{*}
$$

where $t^{*}$ is the linearization of a tree $t$, and $f^{*}$ is the linearization function of a function $f$. This means that linearization cannot inspect the structure of the subtrees themselves, but only of their linearizations. Hence, whenever an operation is not compositional, it cannot be encoded as linearization in GF, and hence needs run-time transfer."
Result 2: The GF parser: Angelov [1].
Remark 3: The parser operates on a category $S$ and a string $w \in \Sigma^{*}$ and tries to find trees $t$ that linearize to $w$. However, if $S$ has dimension $n>1$, it accepts $w$ if there is a partial tree $t\left(x_{1}, \ldots, x_{k}\right): S$ with some unknown subtrees $x_{1}, \ldots, x_{k}$ represented by metavariables $? 1, ? 2, \ldots, ? \mathrm{k}$, such that $w$ is a component $a_{i}$ of the linearization $\left(a_{1}, \ldots, a_{n}\right) \in\left(\Sigma^{*}\right)^{n}$ of some completion of $t$ to a tree $t\left(s_{1}, \ldots, s_{k}\right)$ without free variables.
Conversely, the linearization of a grammar rule $f: B \rightarrow A$ with $m$-dimensional category $B$ ought to be a term $t: A$ where all components of arguments $v=\left(b_{1}, \ldots, b_{m}\right)$ are used in the string fields of $t$; otherwise, a partial tree $t=f\left(\ldots x_{j} \ldots\right): A$ will be produced and metavariables ? $m$ appear in the syntactic structure.

## 3. Grammars in the Resource Library

The Resource Grammar Library of the GF provides
(i) an abstract grammar Grammar consisting of a set of 106 syntactic categories together with a set of 278 abstract syntactic constructions ${ }^{8}$,
(ii) a library of concrete grammars GrammarEng, GrammarSpa, ...for about 50 natural languages like English, Spanish, ... implementing this abstract grammar Grammar, and
(iii) abstract lexicons Lexicon and Structural of about 350 content words and 120 structural words, with implementations LexiconEng, LexiconSpa, ... StructuralEng, StructuralSpa, ... for the 50 natural languages.

The grammars and lexicons are combined to abstract modules Lang and their language specific concrete modules LangEng, LangSpa, ..., intended for testing the grammars. Some of the concrete grammars are under development and only partial implementations of Grammar and Lang.

### 3.1. The Abstract Resource Grammar Lang

Todo6: This can only be a repetition of $\mathrm{gf}-\mathrm{rgl} / \mathrm{src} /$ abstract/, but besides the single examples given there, a few lines of explanatory text for each rule could be helpful. There may also be proposals to improve Lang.
Abstract syntax as a (free) algebra of simply typed terms (abstract trees). Types correspond to expression categories (syntactic types), a term- or tree-constructor can be seen as the name of a syntactic construction, turning expressions of input categories to an expression of result category.

Lang consists of modules Grammar and Lexicon using the same module Cat of syntactic categories. The Grammar consists of modules

```
abstract Grammar =
    Noun,
    Verb,
    Adjective,
    Adverb,
    Numeral,
    Sentence,
    Question,
    Relative,
    Conjunction,
    Phrase,
    Text,
    Structural,
    Idiom,
    Tense,
    Transfer
    ;
```

[^6]declaring syntactic constructions as function symbols whose types are simple types with syntactic categories as base types. Each of these modules extends a module Cat that declares syntactic categories as base types, from which function types can be built that serve as types of grammatical constructions, i.e. declared grammar rules in the above modules.

### 3.1.1. Categories

Todo 7: Maybe I should not give all categories in one sweep, as Cat.gf does, but give them in connection with the construction rules, i.e. the determiner and noun categories in Noun, etc., but these need AP, RS, etc., which are not explained in Noun.
Preliminary extraction from abstract/Cat.gf:
-- Sentences and clauses (Sentence.gf, Idiom.gf)

```
S ; -- declarative sentence e.g. "she lived here"
QS ; -- question e.g. "where did she live"
RS ; -- relative e.g. "in which she lived"
Cl ; -- declarative clause, with all tenses e.g. "she looks at this"
ClSlash;-- clause missing NP (S/NP in GPSG) e.g. "she looks at"
SSlash ;-- sentence missing NP e.g. "she has looked at"
Imp ; -- imperative e.g. "look at this"
```

It seems the ClSlash and SSlash are meant to be categories of clauses and sentences missing an object noun phrase. (At least, the implementation categories show a field c2 : Prep in Eng.)
-- Questions and interrogatives (Question.gf)

```
    QCl ; -- question clause, with all tenses e.g. "why does she walk"
    IP ; -- interrogative pronoun e.g. "who"
    IComp ; -- interrogative complement of copula e.g. "where"
    IDet ; -- interrogative determiner e.g. "how many"
    IQuant; -- interrogative quantifier e.g. "which"
-- Relative clauses and pronouns (Relative.gf)
    RCl ; -- relative clause, with all tenses e.g. "in which she lives"
    RP ; -- relative pronoun e.g. "in which"
-- Adjectival phrases (Adjective.gf)
```

```
    AP ; -- adjectival phrase
```

    AP ; -- adjectival phrase
                                    e.g. "very warm"
                                    e.g. "very warm"
    -- Nouns and noun phrases (Noun.gf, Structural.gf)

```
```

CN ; -- common noun (without determiner) e.g. "red house"

```
CN ; -- common noun (without determiner) e.g. "red house"
NP ; -- noun phrase (subject or object) e.g. "the red house"
NP ; -- noun phrase (subject or object) e.g. "the red house"
    Pron ; -- personal pronoun e.g. "she"
```

    Pron ; -- personal pronoun e.g. "she"
    ```

The syntactic category Det of determiners is, in a sense, a collection of expression categories
that satisfy the same syntactic function, without common structure (or build from a head component); in formal language theory terms it is a sum Det \(=\) Num + Card + Ord + Pron.
-- The determiner structure is: Predet (QuantSg | QuantPl Num) Ord.
```

Det ; -- determiner phrase e.g. "those seven"
Predet ; -- predeterminer (prefixed Quant) e.g. "all"
Quant ; -- quantifier ('nucleus' of Det) e.g. "this/these"
Num ; -- number determining element e.g. "seven"
Card ; -- cardinal number
ACard ; -- adjective like cardinal
e.g. "seven"
e.g. "few", "many"
Ord ; -- ordinal number (used in Det)
e.g. "seventh"
DAP ; -- determiner with adjective
e.g. "three small"

```
-- Numerals (Numeral.gf)
```

Numeral ; -- cardinal or ordinal in words
e.g. "five/fifth"
Digits ; -- cardinal or ordinal in digits
e.g. "1,000/1,000th"

```
-- Structural words (Structural.gf)
```

Conj ; -- conjunction e.g. "and"
Subj ; -- subjunction e.g. "if"
Prep ; -- preposition, or just case e.g. "in"

```
-- Verb phrases (Verb.gf)
```

VP ; -- verb phrase e.g. "is very warm"
Comp ; -- complement of copula, such as AP e.g. "very warm"
VPSlash ; -- verb phrase missing complement e.g. "give to John"

```

The category VP is the category of (basic, noncoordinated) clauses missing a (nominal) subject, consisting of a finite verb with all complements except a subject, and possibly some modifying adverbials (and appositions?). It corresponds to the category S/NP of categorial grammar and GPSG, or rather to Cl/NP, except that it is not assumed that the missing np:NP can only be added at the end of a vp:Cl/NP to give a clause \(\mathrm{cl}: \mathrm{Cl}\). The category VPSlash corresponds to the category VP/NP, i.e. of clauses missing a nominal subject and a nominal object.
-- Words of open classes (Lexicon.gf, additional lexicon modules)
```

V ; -- one-place verb e.g. "sleep"
V2 ; -- two-place verb e.g. "love"
V3 ; -- three-place verb e.g. "show"
VV ; -- verb-phrase-complement verb e.g. "want"
VS ; -- sentence-complement verb e.g. "claim"
VQ ; -- question-complement verb e.g. "wonder"
VA ; -- adjective-complement verb e.g. "look"
V2V ; -- verb with NP and V complement e.g. "cause"

```
```

V2S ; -- verb with NP and S complement e.g. "tell"
V2Q ; -- verb with NP and Q complement e.g. "ask"
V2A ; -- verb with NP and AP complement e.g. "paint"
A ; -- one-place adjective e.g. "warm"
A2 ; -- two-place adjective e.g. "divisible"
N ; -- common noun e.g. "house"
N2 ; -- relational noun e.g. "son"
N3 ; -- three-place relational noun e.g. "connection"
PN ; -- proper name e.g. "Paris"

```

Some additional categories are inherited from Common.gf. They are defined there since they have the same implementation in all languages in the resource grammar library (typically, just a string). These categories are AdA, AdN, AdV, Adv, Ant, CAdv, IAdv, PConj, Phr, Pol, SC, Tense, Text, Utt, Voc, Interj. Moreover, the list categories ListAdv, ListAP, ListNP, ListS are defined in Conjunction.gf and only used locally there.
There are no categories for verbs of arity greater than three. Of course, missing categories like these can be added to Cat.gf, suitable lexical entries to Lexicon.gf and new constructors to Verb.gf, Noun.gf and Adjective.gf, at least. However, higher arities of verbs can easily lead to complexity issues in grammar compilation and parsing.

Remark 4. There are no categories for nouns with non-nominal complements, like NV for nouns with an infinitival complement, e.g. "belief:NV to become a millionaire", or N2V for nouns with a nominal and an infinitival complement, e.g. "advice:N2V to an exhausted colleague to work less". There are no categories for adjectives with non-nominal complements, like AV for adjectives with an infinitival complement, e.g. "eager:AV to become the boss".
Sentential, interrogative and infinitival (subject or object) complements can be added to nouns and adjectives via the rules SentCN : CN -> SC -> CN and SentAP \(\rightarrow\) AP \(\rightarrow\) SC \(\rightarrow\) AP, and sentential subjects via PredSCVP : SC -> VP -> Cl. Such complements are constructed by
```

EmbedS : S -> SC ; -- that she goes
EmbedQS : QS -> SC ; -- who goes
EmbedVP : VP -> SC ; -- to go

```

But these cannot be reflexive, I guess: "(seine) Versuche, sich zu bessern"
Remark 5: There is a category Prep that includes cases, yet a multilingual grammar cannot use Prep in the type of verbs (or verb phrase constructors), since the cases and prepositions a verb uses are language-dependent, e.g. to believe in versus glauben an. (But: we could use direct and indirect objects ( \(=\) c2 and c3 ?) and linearize them appropriately.)

\subsection*{3.1.2. Noun}

From Noun.gf: (but in different order)

\section*{Construction of Determiners, Quantifiers and Numerals}
-- The determiner has a fine-grained structure, in which a 'nucleus'
```

-- quantifier and an optional numeral can be discerned.
DetQuant : Quant -> Num -> Det ; -- these five
DetQuantOrd : Quant -> Num -> Ord -> Det ; -- these five best
-- Whether the resulting determiner is singular or plural depends on the
-- cardinal.
-- All parts of the determiner can be empty, except Quant, which is
-- the "kernel" of a determiner. It is, however, the Num that determines
-- the inherent number.
NumSg : Num ; -- [no numeral, but marked as singular]
NumPl : Num ; -- [no numeral, but marked as plural]
NumCard : Card -> Num ; -- one/five [explicit numeral]

```

Notice that determiners generally depend on number, as can be seen from the types of DetQuant, DetQuantOrd and the constants someSg_Det, somePl_Det. The number of a noun phrase, e.g. when used as subject of a clause, can (almost) always be chosen freely by the speaker \({ }^{9}\), so the it is a design decision of Grammar to give determiners an inherent number (which is inherited to noun phrases and then determines the form of verbs in subject-verb combinations).
```

-- Card consists of either digits or numeral words.
data
NumDigits : Digits -> Card ; -- 51
NumNumeral : Numeral -> Card ; -- fifty-one
-- The construction of numerals is defined in [Numeral Numeral.html].
-- A Card can be modified by certain adverbs.
fun
AdNum : AdN -> Card -> Card ; -- almost 51
-- An Ord consists of either digits or numeral words.
-- Also superlative forms of adjectives behave syntactically like ordinals.
OrdDigits : Digits -> Ord ; -- 51st
OrdNumeral : Numeral -> Ord ; -- fifty-first
OrdSuperl : A -> Ord ; -- warmest
-- One can combine a numeral and a superlative.
OrdNumeralSuperl : Numeral -> A -> Ord ; -- third largest

```

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{9}\) except that a reciprocal pronoun can enforce plural subject, e.g. they talk to each other, and some verbs demand plural objects, e.g. to collect stamps (or mass nouns: to collect money).
}
```

-- Definite and indefinite noun phrases are sometimes realized as
-- neatly distinct words (Spanish "un, unos ; el, los") but also without
-- any particular word (Finnish; Swedish definites).

```
```

IndefArt : Quant ; -- a/an

```
IndefArt : Quant ; -- a/an
DefArt : Quant ; -- the
```

DefArt : Quant ; -- the

```

Construction of Common Nouns CN
-- Simple nouns can be used as nouns outright.
```

    UseN : N -> CN ; -- house
    ```
-- Relational nouns take one or two arguments.
    ComplN2 : N2 -> NP -> CN ; -- mother of the king
    ComplN3 : N3 -> NP -> N2 ; -- distance from this city (to Paris)
-- Relational nouns can also be used without their arguments.
-- The semantics is typically derivative of the relational meaning.
```

UseN2 : N2 -> CN ; -- mother
Use2N3 : N3 -> N2 ; -- distance (from this city)
Use3N3 : N3 -> N2 ; -- distance (to Paris)

```

One may expect relational nouns to also have prepositional complements, but although Cat has a category Prep of prepositions, the argument category in ComplN2 and ComplN3 is NP, not Prep. Likewise, complementation rules for relational adjectives A2 and verbs V2, V3 do not have Prep as argument category, but NP. The preposition used to combine a complement with a relational noun, adjective or verb is specific to (and must be derived from) this noun, adjective or verb.

Remark 6. The various ways that a preposition can be used in a language does not allow for a uniform translation of prepositions, nor can a verb be combined with an arbitrary preposition. So one should not expect Prep as argument category. However, there are such rules in Grammar:
```

Adverb.PrepNP : Prep -> NP >> Adv for: in the house (see p. 28),
Extend.PrepCN : Prep -> CN -> Adv for: by accident,
Extend.AdvRNP : NP -> Prep -> RNP -> RNP
Question.PrepIP : Prep -> IP -> IAdv
Relative.FunRP : Prep -> NP -> RP >> RP
Verb.VPSlashPrep : VP -> Prep -> VPSlash
Sentence.SlashPrep : Cl -> Prep -> ClSlash for: (with whom) he walks.

```

Since we cannot expect a one-to-one translation of prepositions from one language to another, we here have to consider Prep as a category of abstract prepositions fulfilling specific semantic purposes, like specifying positions or directions in space, relative to the speaker or hearer.

\section*{Modification of common nouns}
-- Nouns can be modified by adjectives, relative clauses, and adverbs.
```

AdjCN : AP -> CN -> CN ; -- big house
RelCN : CN -> RS -> CN ; -- house that John bought
AdvCN : CN -> Adv -> CN ; -- house on the hill

```

The modification rule AdvCN is overgenerating, since Adv subsumes adverbial clauses, e.g. *house, because the weather was fine. The rule is apparently meant to be used only with pro-adverbs, e.g. over there \(=\) dahinten, and adverbs built from (meaningful) prepositions, e.g. under : Prep \(=<A d v / N P\). Q3: Can this restriction be implemented, or is it better to rely on syntactically correct input to parsing?
-- Nouns can also be modified by embedded sentences, questions and infinitives.
-- For some nouns this makes little sense, but we leave this for applications
-- to decide.
```

SentCN : CN -> SC -> CN ; -- question where she sleeps

```

The rule SentCN only makes sense for nouns derived from (or at least related to) verbs or adjectives with suitable (and similar) complement frame, and a few other nouns like fact, question, command. Extensions of nouns by sentences, questions and infinitives are complementations rather than modifications. E.g., from verbs know:VQ, know:VS, believe:VS, but *believe:VQ, one might derive nouns of suitable noun categories, "knowledge (who VP)", but not "belief (who VP)". Since SentCN operates on arbitrary common nouns cn : CN and arbitrary sentential complements sc:SC, and can be applied repeatedly, it is highly overgenerating.

Remark 7. (c.f. Remark 4). Instead of the category SC and the modification rule SentCN, Grammar better had categories like NS, NQ, NV, AS, AQ, AV and complementation rules ComplNS : NS \(\rightarrow S \rightarrow C N\) etc. to combine nouns and adjectives of the appropriate category with sentential, interrogative and infinitival complements, and categories like N2V, e.g. for "advice to John to work less". Since the non-nominal objects seem optional, we'd also need embedding rules UseNS : NS -> CN etc. The same noun might have different complement frames, e.g. "belief in God" and "belief that God exists", or "Hoffnung auf Erlösung" and "Hoffnung, zu überleben". Since complements are attached "closer" to the noun than modifiers, some spurious ambiguities would be avoided, i.e. we only had (AdjCN ap (ComplNS \(n\) s) ) instead of the two constructions (AdjCN \(a p(\operatorname{SentCN}(U s e N n) s))\) and (SentCN \((\operatorname{AdjCN}\) ap (UseN n)) s).

Modification of CN by apposition, possessive and partitive noun phrases:
-- Apposition. This is certainly overgenerating.
\[
\text { ApposCN : CN -> NP -> CN ; -- city Paris (, numbers } x \text { and y) }
\]
-- Possessive and partitive constructs
```

PossNP : CN -> NP -> CN ; -- house of Paris, house of mine

```
PartNP : CN -> NP -> CN ; -- glass of wine

Remark 8: The examples for ApposCN are rather examples for a more restricted apposition by (a conjunction of) names, the apostles Peter and Paul, so maybe the type should be ApposCN :

CN \(\rightarrow\) [PN] \(\rightarrow\) CN, where [PN] is the category of lists of names PN (c.f. category Conjunction). Apposition by a full noun phrase ought to be separated by commata: Paris, the capital of France, or Peter and Paul, my favorite apostles, or the Sophists, a group of philosphers in ancient greece,.
Proposal 1: Let ApposCN embed the apposition in commata and add a separate apposition ApposPN : CN \(\rightarrow\) [PN] \(\rightarrow\) CN without commata. Or add ExtApposCN for post-nominal appositions in commata. Todo 8: Compare with Extend.ApposNP.
Q4: Is there a German version of PossNP when the noun phrase is a personal pronoun, e.g. PossNP she_Pron \(=\) Haus von ihr?

\section*{Construction of Noun Phrases NP}
```

-- The three main types of noun phrases are
-- - common nouns with determiners
-- - proper names
-- - pronouns
fun
DetCN : Det -> CN -> NP ; -- the man
UsePN : PN -> NP ; -- John
UsePron : Pron -> NP ; -- he
-- Pronouns are defined in the module Structural.gf.
-- Determiners can form noun phrases directly.
DetNP : Det -> NP ; -- these five

```

In some languages, determiners have special forms for such "stand-alone" usages.
-- Nouns can be used without an article as mass nouns. The resource does
-- not distinguish mass nouns from other common nouns, which can result
-- in semantically odd expressions.
```

    MassNP : CN -> NP ; -- beer
    ```

Remark 9: The rule is massively overgenerating, so one better omits it for parsing, i.e. uses Grammar - [MassNP] for parsing. It seems better to add a lexical category MN of mass nouns and a more limited construction MassNP : MN \(\rightarrow>\) NP. Then lexical entries fun \(n\) :MN can specify which nouns \(n\) can be used as mass nouns. For example, a mass noun in singular can be used as a noun phrase, e.g. life is not easy, while nouns in general cannot. Some quantifiers cannot be used with mass nouns, others can only be used with mass nouns: * much child, much time, many children, * many time.

\section*{Modification of NP and DAP}
-- A noun phrase already formed can be modified by a predeterminer.
```

PredetNP : Predet -> NP -> NP ; -- only the man

```
-- A noun phrase can also be postmodified by the past participle of a
-- verb, by an adverb, or by a relative clause

-- This is different from the partitive, as shown by many languages.
```

CountNP : Det -> NP -> NP ; -- three of them, some of the boys

```
-- Conjoinable determiners and ones with adjectives
```

AdjDAP : DAP -> AP -> DAP ; -- the large (one)
DetDAP : Det -> DAP ; -- this (or that)

```

\subsection*{3.1.3. Adjective}

\section*{Construction of adjective phrases}

The file \(g f-r g l / s r c / a b s t r a c t / A d j e c t i v e . g f ~ d e c l a r e s ~ c o n s t r u c t i o n s ~ f o r ~ a d j e c t i v e ~ p h r a s e s . ~\)
```

abstract Adjective = Cat ** {

```
    fun
-- The principal ways of forming an adjectival phrase are positive,
-- comparative, relational, reflexive-relational, and elliptic-relational.
```

    PositA : A -> AP ; -- warm
    ComparA : A -> NP -> AP ; -- warmer than I
    ComplA2 : A2 -> NP -> AP ; -- married to her
    ReflA2 : A2 -> AP ; -- married to itself
    UseA2 : A2 -> AP ; -- married
    UseComparA : A -> AP ; -- warmer
    CAdvAP : CAdv -> AP -> NP -> AP ; -- as cool as John
    ```
-- The superlative use is covered in Ord.
```

    AdjOrd : Ord -> AP ; -- warmest
    ```

Remark 10: The rule ComplA2 might be replaced by rules SlashA2 : A2 \(->\) APSlash and ComplAPSlash : APSlash \(\rightarrow\) NP \(\rightarrow\) AP, with APSlash = AP ** \{c2:Preposition \(\}\).
Todo 9: Discuss why Grammar has no categories APSlash and NPSlash.
Modification of adjective phrases

The first modification rule SentAP : AP -> SC -> AP adds a sentential complement, i.e. sentence, infinitive or question to an adjective phrase:
```

-- Sentence and question complements defined for all adjectival phrases,
-- although the semantics is only clear for some adjectives.
SentAP : AP -> SC -> AP ; -- good that she is here

```

Remark 11: The semantics is not clear at all. SentAP combines an adjective with a sentence or an infinitive, e.g. good that she is here or good to sleep. But these are not adjective phrases and don't express properties! Otherwise they could be turned into a verb phrase and combined with a noun phrase to a clause \({ }^{12}\), but *John is good that she is here is not a clause. Even when combined with \(i t\), the clauses it is good that she is here or it is good to sleep do not have subject it and predicates good that she is here or good to sleep, but (moved) sentential and infinitival subjects that she is here and to sleep, respectively, subject-correlate \(i t\), and predicate to be good. Similarly: the subject of a good man is hard to find is not a good man, but to find a good man. (Recall also Chomsky's examples John is easy to please and John is eager to please.)
As remarked for SentCN, the modification rule SentAP seems to be a substitute for missing subcategories AS, AV, AQ of (binary) adjectives and missing complementation rules, like
```

ComplAS : AS -> S -> AP ; -- (we are) glad that she is here
ComplAV : AV -> VP -> AP ; -- (we are) happy to be alive
ComplAQ : AQ -> QS -> AP ; -- (we are) uncertain, whether they arrived

```

Such complementations (ComplAS as s) : AP apparently are only used predicatively (hence might have result category Comp). \({ }^{13}\) Moreover, subcategories of unary adjectives that can be used predicatively with sentential, infinitival or interrogative subject may be necessary, e.g. false, unlikely, unbelievable, plausible. (Attributive usage of such adjectives are restricted to specific nouns, e.g. false statement, unbelievable claim, plausible assumption.)
-- An adjectival phrase can be modified by an *adadjective*, such as "very".
\[
\text { AdAP : AdA } \rightarrow \text { AP } \rightarrow \text { AP ; -- very warm }
\]
-- It can also be postmodified by an adverb, typically a prepositional phrase.
AdvAP : AP \(->\) Adv \(\rightarrow\) AP ; -- warm by nature
-- The formation of adverbs from adjectives (e.g. "quickly") is covered
-- in Adverb.gf; the same concerns adadjectives (e.g. "extremely").
\}

\subsection*{3.1.4. Verb}

\section*{Construction rules for VP and VPSlash.}

The simplest verb phrase construction is to use a unary (full) verb:

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{12}\) by UseComp o CompAP : AP -> VP and PredVP : NP -> VP -> Cl
\({ }^{13}\) Can we attributively say der gelobt zu werden begierige Schüler, eng. the student eager to be praised?
}
```

UseV : V -> VP ; -- sleep

```

The next group of verb phrase constructions are the complementation of binary and ternary verbs by complements of suitable types. A binary verb is complemented to a verb phrase VP, a ternary verb to an incomplete verb phrase VPSlash, i.e. a verb phrase missing a nominal object:
```

ComplVV : VV -> VP -> VP ; -- want to run
ComplVS : VS -> S -> VP ; -- say that she runs
CompIVQ : VQ -> QS -> VP ; -- wonder who runs
ComplVA : VA -> AP -> VP ; -- they become red

```

Notice that binary verbs needing a nominal or prepositional object are turned into an incomplete verb phrase, which then can be combined with the object to a verb phrase.
```

SlashV2a : V2 -> VPSlash ; -- love (it)
Slash2V3 : V3 -> NP -> VPSlash ; -- give it (to her)
Slash3V3 : V3 -> NP -> VPSlash ; -- give (it) to her
SlashV2V : V2V -> VP -> VPSlash ; -- beg (her) to go
SlashV2S : V2S -> S -> VPSlash ; -- answer (to him) that it is good
SlashV2Q : V2Q -> QS -> VPSlash ; -- ask (him) who came
SlashV2A : V2A -> AP -> VPSlash ; -- paint (it) red

```

A verb phrase can also be built be adding a nominal complement to an incomplete verb phrase missing such a complement:
```

ComplSlash : VPSlash -> NP -> VP ; -- love it

```

Remark 12. ComplSlash generalizes the rule \(V P / N P \cdot N P \leq V P\) of categorial grammar; it combines an incomplete verb phrase vps:VPSlash with a noun phrase np:NP to a verb phrase, using a preposition or case inferred from vps to inflect the np. However, for ternary verbs v3: V3 an ambiguity arises, as for any n2, \(n 3: N P\), these two constructions give the same linearization \({ }^{14}\) :
```

(CompSlash (Slash2V3 v3 np2) np3) = (Comp1Slash (Slash3V3 v3 np3) np2)

```

It may therefore be reasonable to replace ComplSlash by special complementation rules for ternary verbs (and likewise for verbs of higher arity):
```

ComplV2 : V2 -> NP -> VP ; -- love it --HL
Compl23V3 : V3 -> NP -> NP -> VP ; -- give it to her --HL
Comp132V3 : V3 -> NP -> NP -> VP ; -- give to her the book --HL

```

Can the ambiguitiy be avoided and the two complementation rules be used to provide two different word orders, and how can these be matched in different languages? The drawback would be that modification rules for VPSlash could not be applied to (Slash2V3 v3 np2) before combining with np3. (The function Compl23V3 v3 np2 : NP -> VP is not the same as the expression (Slash2V3 c3 np2) : VPSlash, or NP -> VP not the same as VPSlash.)

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{14}\) in Eng. Are the linearizations necessarily equal in all languages? No, in Ger they are different.
}

An incomplete verb phrase can also be built by combining a verb expecting an infinitival object with an incomplete verb phrase:
```

SlashVV : VV -> VPSlash -> VPSlash ; -- want to buy
SlashV2VNP : V2V -> NP -> VPSlash -> VPSlash ; -- beg me to buy

```

These "incomplete" complementations correspond to the "complete" ones by ComplVV and ComplV2V. Q5: Is it intended that SlashVV corresponds to ComplVV in the sense that
```

(ComplVv vv (ComplSlash vps np)) == (ComplSlash (SlashVV vv vps) np)

```
i.e. that these trees are equivalent, i.e. have the same implementation records?
-- Verb phrases can also be constructed reflexively.
```

ReflVP : VPSlash -> VP ; -- love himself

```

Remark 13. ReflVP constructs a verb phrase by using a reflexive personal pronoun. Another way to construct a verb phrase reflexively, missing in Grammar, is to use a reflexive possessive pronoun, e.g. "to love one's parents" or "to blow one's nose" = "sich schneuzen".

Grammar misses the "indefinite" personal resp. reflexive pronoun "one" resp."oneself", as used in or "one should not hate oneself" or in reflexive infinitival subject sentences: "to love oneself is better than to love nobody". (Just add one_Pron : Pron to Structural.gf (Ger: "man"), and add further cases to reflPron, possPron : Agr => Str, say AgPO Sg => "oneself" I AgPO Pl => "each other" (Ger: "sich" and "einander"), and AgPO Sg => "one's" | AgPO Pl => "each other's" (Ger: "sein" and"von einander")?)
-- Passivization of two-place verbs is another way to use them. In many
-- languages, the result is a participle that is used as complement to a
-- copula.
PassV2 : V2 -> VP ; -- be loved
-- *Note*. the rule can be overgenerating, since the V2 need not take a
-- direct object.

Remark 14. More general forms to build verb phrases using passive are from incomplete verb phrases rather than from binary verbs. (See extensions of Lang by Extra.gf.) These incomplete verb phrases can be obtained from ternary verbs; so, implicitly there are passive constructions from \(n\)-ary verbs for \(n>2\) (see TestLang).

Finally, verb phrases can consist of a copula verb alone,
```

UseCopula : VP ; -- be

```
or by combining a copula verb with a suitable complement,
```

UseComp : Comp -> VP ; -- be warm

```

A copula verb can combine with different complements to a verb phrase, e.g. to be old, to be here, to be king, to be the next president. These complements are built by embedding adjective phrases, noun phrases, adverbs or common nouns to the category Comp:
-- Adjectival phrases, noun phrases, and adverbs can be used.
```

CompAP : AP -> Comp ; -- (be) small
CompNP : NP -> Comp ; -- (be) the man
CompAdv : Adv -> Comp ; -- (be) here
CompCN : CN -> Comp ; -- (be) a man/men

```

Remark 15. The only copula verb in Lang is "to be", but one can extend the lexicon by others, like "to become" or "to remain". But the constructions UseCopula and UseComp only admit the copula verb "to be"; Lang has no category of copula verbs.

\section*{Modification rules.}

Verb phrases and incomplete verb phrases can be modified by adding adverbs.
-- Adverbs can be added to verb phrases. Many languages make a distinction
-- between adverbs that are attached at the end vs. next to (or before) the
-- verb.
```

AdvVP : VP -> Adv -> VP ; -- sleep here
ExtAdvVP : VP -> Adv -> VP ; -- sleep , even though ...
AdVVP : AdV -> VP -> VP ; -- always sleep
AdvVPSlash : VPSlash -> Adv -> VPSlash ; -- use (it) here
AdVVPSlash : AdV -> VPSlash -> VPSlash ; -- always use (it)
VPSlashPrep : VP -> Prep -> VPSlash ; -- live in (it)

```

Why is it useful to have both AdvVP and AdvVPSlash? In LangEng, we have a difference:
```

Lang> p -cat=S "I read today the book"
UseCl (TTAnt TPast ASimul) PPos (PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
(ComplSlash (AdvVPSlash (SlashV2a read_V2) today_Adv)
(DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN book_N))))
Lang> p -cat=S "I read the book today"
UseCl (TTAnt TPres ASimul) PPos (PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
(AdvVP (ComplSlash (SlashV2a read_V2)
(DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN book_N)))
today_Adv))

```

Is there a difference in relativising an adverbially modified noun phrase. i.e. the book here, which I bought yesterday from I bought (the book here) yesterday, versus the book, which I bought here yesterday from I bought (the book) here yesterday.

Remark 16. Lang assumes two categories of adverbs, a category Adv for adverbs attached at the end of the verb phrase and a category AdV for adverbs inserted before (or near) the verb, and two adverb insertion constructions AdvVP and AdVVP. But why should the same abstract adverb behave the same way in all languages, and why should the same adverb positions correspond to each other in all languages? (Some concrete grammars insert the adverb before or after the negation adverb, not before or after the verb.) For German, I don't see such a difference: "we always park our car here" - "wir parken unseren Wagen immer hier".

Remark 17. The rule VPSlashPrep is meant to be used to construct relative clauses by extracing the noun phrase of an adverbial of type Prep \(=<A d v / N P\). For example, from the sentence "we (live (in the city):Adv):VP" we can obtain a relativization of the noun phrase in the adverb: "the city we (live (in:Adv/NP)):VP/NP". This construction is available in English, but certainly not in German, so it is questionable whether it can belong to the multilingual grammar Lang. \({ }^{15}\) But the rule leads to ambiguities in German:
```

PredVP (UsePron he_Pron)
(AdvVP (UseV sleep_V)
(PrepNP in_Prep (DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN house_N))))
PredVP (UsePron he_Pron)
(ComplSlash (VPSlashPrep (UseV sleep_V) in_Prep)
(DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN house_N)))
er schläft im Haus
er schläft im Haus

```

Aarne: c.f. ExtraEng/Swe for use of the rule for preposition stranding. Well, in German we have a limited form of preposition stranding for pronominal adverbs "dafür", "damit", "daran", "darauf", "davor" etc., e.g. "da arbeite ich nicht für|mit|dran", "da warte ich nicht drauf", "da warne ich vor". But while we can say "auf den warte ich nicht", we cannot say "den warte ich nicht drauf", the separation is only possible with \(d a+p r e p \simeq p r e p+d a s . H m, \underline{d a}\) kann ich nichts mit anfangen

\subsection*{3.1.5. Adverb}

According to \(\mathrm{gf}-\mathrm{rgl/src} /\) Common.gf, there are the following adverb categories:
```

Adv ; -- verb-phrase-modifying adverb e.g. "in the house"
AdV ; -- adverb directly attached to verb e.g. "always"
AdA ; -- adjective-modifying adverb e.g. "very"
AdN ; -- numeral-modifying adverb e.g. "more than"
IAdv ; -- interrogative adverb e.g. "why"
CAdv ; -- comparative adverb e.g. "more"

```

Construction rules. The full constructions of Adverb.gf are:
-- The two main ways of forming adverbs are from adjectives and by
-- prepositions from noun phrases.

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{15}\) In German, the preposition and relative pronoun combine to a relative adverb: "die Stadt, in der wir leben" or "die Stadt, worin wir leben".
}
```

PositAdvAdj : A -> Adv ; -- warmly
PrepNP : Prep -> NP -> Adv ; -- in the house
-- Comparative adverbs have a noun phrase or a sentence as object of
-- comparison.
ComparAdvAdj : CAdv -> A -> NP -> Adv ; -- more warmly than John
ComparAdvAdjS : CAdv -> A -> S -> Adv ; -- more warmly than he runs
-- Subordinate clauses can function as adverbs.
SubjS : Subj -> S -> Adv ; -- when she sleeps
-- Like adverbs, adadjectives can be produced by adjectives.
PositAdAAdj : A -> AdA ; -- extremely
-- Comparison adverbs also work as numeral adverbs.
AdnCAdv : CAdv -> AdN ; -- less (than five)

```

Remark 18: The use of CAdv in ComparAdvAdj and AdnCAdv is dubious. In English, we get less well than John and less than five, but as well as John and *as as five. In German, one can say weniger gut als Johann, but uses besser als Johann, not * mehr gut als Johann.

\section*{Modification rules}
-- Adverbs can be modified by 'adadjectives', just like adjectives.
```

AdAdv : AdA -> Adv -> Adv ; -- very quickly

```

Example: noch:AdAdv in noch schnell
Q6: can't comparative adverbs also be used with infinitives? E.g., he hoped to write a paper more easily than to paint a picture
Q7: what about adverb negation? not likely \(=\) unlikely, not often \(=\) rarely, etc. Should this be treated using (AdAdv not:AdA adv:Adv):Adv, where AdAdv concatenates the two strings of its arguments? (For CAdv, Eng has s : Polarity => Str.)

Remark 19: Notice that PrepNP : Prep -> NP -> Adv uses the category Prep. Since prepositions are language-dependent, it may be impossible to give correct translations of p : Prep to different languages. At least, the prepositions in Structural and Lexicon have to be thought of as abstract prepositions, not English ones.

Proposal 2: There ought to be a set of abstract, semantically motivated prepositions as adverb constructors. (c.f. Remark 6.)

\subsection*{3.1.6. Numerals}

Todo 10: extract from CatGer and explain the intended rules
```

cat Numeral ;
fun digits2num : Digits -> Numeral ;
fun num : Sub1000000 -> Numeral ;
cat Digits ;
fun IDig : Dig -> Digits ;
fun IIDig : Dig -> Digits -> Digits ;
fun dconcat : Digits -> Digits >> Digits ;
fun nd10 : Sub10 -> Digits ;
fun nd100 : Sub100 -> Digits ;
fun nd1000 : Sub1000 -> Digits ;
fun nd1000000 : Sub1000000 -> Digits ;
fun num2digits : Numeral -> Digits ;

```

\subsection*{3.1.7. Sentences, Clauses and Imperatives}
```

abstract Sentence = Cat ** {

```
abstract Sentence = Cat ** {
-- Clauses
```

-- The predication rule form a clause whose linearization gives a table of
-- all tense variants, positive and negative. Clauses are converted to
-- sentences (with fixed tense and polarity) with the UseCl function below.

```
PredVP : NP -> VP -> Cl ; -- John walks
```

-- Using an embedded sentence as a subject is treated separately. This can
-- be overgenerating. E.g. "whether you go" as subject is only meaningful
-- for some verb phrases.

PredSCVP : SC -> VP $\rightarrow$ Cl ; -- that she goes is good

While an infinitival subject is recognized correctly,

```
Lang> p -cat=Cl "to sleep is good"
PredSCVP (EmbedVP (UseV sleep_V)) (UseComp (CompAP (PositA good_A)))
```

when the infinitival subject is moved and replaced by a correlate $i t$, we get wrong trees. (See the remark on p.23.)
-- Clauses missing object noun phrases
-- This category is a variant of the 'slash category' S/NP of GPSG and
-- categorial grammars, which in turn replaces movement transformations in
-- the formation of questions and relative clauses. Except SlashV2, the
-- construction rules can be seen as special cases of function composition,
-- in the style of CCG.
SlashVP : NP -> VPSlash -> ClSlash ; -- (whom) he sees
AdvSlash : ClSlash $->$ Adv $->$ ClSlash ; -- (whom) he sees today
SlashPrep : Cl -> Prep -> ClSlash ; -- (with whom) he walks
SlashVS : NP -> VS -> SSlash $\rightarrow$ ClSlash ; -- (whom) she says that he loves
-- *Note* the set is not complete and lacks e.g. verbs with more than 2 places.

## -- Imperatives

-- An imperative is straightforwardly formed from a verb phrase. It has
-- variation over positive and negative, singular and plural. To fix these
-- parameters, see Phrase.gf.

```
ImpVP : VP -> Imp ; -- love yourselves
AdvImp : Adv -> Imp -> Imp ; -- please love yourselves
```

-- Embedded sentences
-- Sentences, questions, and infinitival phrases can be used as subjects
-- and (adverbial) complements.

| EmbedS | $: S ~->~ S C ~ ; ~$ | -- that she goes |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| EmbedQS | $:$ QS $->$ SC ; | -- who goes |
| EmbedVP | $:$ VP $->$ SC ; | -- to go |

-- Sentences
-- These are the $2 \times 4 \times 4=16$ forms generated by different combinations
-- of tense, polarity, and anteriority.

```
UseCl : Temp -> Pol -> Cl -> S ; -- she had not slept
UseQCl : Temp -> Pol -> QCl -> QS ; -- who had not slept
UseRCl : Temp -> Pol -> RCl -> RS ; -- that had not slept
UseSlash : Temp -> Pol -> ClSlash -> SSlash ; -- (that) she had not seen
```

-- An adverb can be added to the beginning of a sentence, either with comma
-- ("externally") or without:

```
AdvS : Adv -> S -> S ; -- then I will go home
ExtAdvS : Adv -> S -> S ; -- next week, I will go home
```

-- This covers subjunctive clauses, but they can also be added to the end.

$$
\text { SSubjS : S } \rightarrow \text { Subj } \rightarrow \text { S } \rightarrow \text { S ; } \quad--~ I ~ g o ~ h o m e, ~ i f ~ s h e ~ c o m e s ~
$$

-- A sentence can be modified by a relative clause referring to its contents.

RelS : S -> RS -> S ; -- she sleeps, which is good

Notice that SSubjS does not use Adverb. SubjS : Subj $\rightarrow$ S $\rightarrow$ Adv to combine its arguments Subj and S and then add the adverbial sentence at the end. But AdvVP, ExtAdvVP : VP -> Adv $\rightarrow$ VP add an adverb at the end of the a2 field of a verb phrase, so this can be used before adding the subject by PredVP. Q8: Does this lead to spurious ambiguities?
(Scope problems: "ich will nicht (A, weil B)" versus "ich will (nicht $A$ ), weil $B "=$ "weil $B$, will ich nicht $A "$.)

The rule PredSCVP can use any sentence, question or infinitive as subject with a verb phrase. This is massively overgenerating. Interrogative subjects may occur as complements of adjective phrases with copula verbs, e.g. why this is the case, is unknown, or by passivization from verbs with interrogative objects, e.g. why this is the case, was asked by many. It seems there are no verbs that need an interrogative subject, though there are verbs that need sentential or infinitival subjects, e.g. that John is a fool, doesn't shock us or to not get troubles pleased him. Yet, it may be reasonable to not classify verbs according to their subject category, as this seems systematically overloaded: a subject sentence like that John is a fool can be transformed into a nominal subject for the same verb, e.g. the fact that John is a fool. If we had verb categories like SV, QV, IV for verbs with sentential, interrogative or infinitival subject, we should also have noun categories like NS, NQ and NV for nouns that take these subjects as objects (and perhaps a nominalization operation that derives such nouns from the corresponding verbs).

### 3.1.8. Questions and Interrogative Pronouns

```
abstract Question = Cat ** {
```

-- A question can be formed from a clause ('yes-no question') or
-- with an interrogative.

## fun

QuestCl : Cl -> QCl ; -- does John walk
QuestVP : IP -> VP -> QCl ; -- who walks
QuestSlash : IP $\rightarrow$ ClSlash $->$ QCl ; -- whom does John love
QuestIAdv : IAdv -> Cl -> QCl ; -- why does John walk
QuestIComp : IComp -> NP -> QCl ; -- where is John
-- Interrogative pronouns can be formed with interrogative determiners,
-- with or without a noun.

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { IdetCN } & : & \text { IDet }->\text { CN } & \text {-> IP ; } & \text {-- which five songs } \\
\text { IdetIP } & \text { : IDet } & ->\text { IP ; } & \text {-- which five }
\end{array}
$$

-- They can be modified with adverbs.
AdvIP : IP -> Adv -> IP ; -- who in Paris
-- Interrogative quantifiers have number forms and can take number modifiers.

```
    IdetQuant : IQuant -> Num -> IDet ; -- which (five)
```

```
-- Interrogative adverbs can be formed prepositionally.
    PrepIP : Prep -> IP -> IAdv ; -- with whom
```

-- They can be modified with other adverbs.
AdvIAdv : IAdv -> Adv -> IAdv ; -- where in Paris
-- Interrogative complements to copulas can be both adverbs and pronouns.

```
CompIAdv : IAdv -> IComp ; -- where (is it)
CompIP : IP -> IComp ; -- who (is it)
```

-- More IP, IDet, and IAdv are defined in Structural.gf
-- Wh questions with two or more question words require a new, special category.

```
    cat
        QVP ; -- buy what where
    fun
    ComplSlashIP : VPSlash -> IP -> QVP ; -- buys what
    AdvQVP : VP -> IAdv -> QVP ; -- lives where
    AddAdvQVP : QVP -> IAdv -> QVP ; -- buys what where
    QuestQVP : IP -> QVP -> QCl ; -- who buys what where
}
```


### 3.1.9. Relative Clauses and Relative Pronouns

-- The simplest way to form a relative clause is from a clause by a pronoun -- similar to "such that".

RelCl : Cl -> RCl ; -- such that John loves her
-- The more proper ways are from a verb phrase or a sentence with a missing
-- noun phrase.

RelVP : RP -> VP $\rightarrow$ RCl ; -- who loves John
RelSlash : RP -> ClSlash -> RCl ; -- whom John loves
-- Relative pronouns are formed from an 'identity element' by prefixing
-- or suffixing (depending on language) prepositional phrases or genitives.

```
IdRP : RP ; -- which
FunRP : Prep -> NP -> RP -> RP ; -- the mother of whom
```

So, RelVP is used to relativize the nominal subject of a clause, RelSlash to relativize a nominal object of a clause. What is called here a relative pronoun RP can be any relativizing noun phrase or prepositional phrase; e.g. the relativization may come from a relativizing possessive, like mit dessen Freunden.

### 3.1.10. Conjunction

### 3.1.11. Phrase

--1 Phrase: Phrases and Utterances
abstract Phrase = Cat ** \{
-- When a phrase is built from an utterance it can be prefixed
-- with a phrasal conjunction (such as "but", "therefore")
-- and suffixing with a vocative (typically a noun phrase).
fun
PhrUtt : PConj -> Utt -> Voc $\rightarrow$ Phr ; -- but come here, my friend
-- Utterances are formed from sentences, questions, and imperatives.

```
UttS : S -> Utt ; -- John walks
    UttQS : QS -> Utt ; -- is it good
    UttImpSg : Pol -> Imp -> Utt ; -- (don't) love yourself
    UttImpPl : Pol -> Imp -> Utt ; -- (don't) love yourselves
    UttImpPol : Pol -> Imp -> Utt ; -- (don't) sleep (polite)
```

-- There are also 'one-word utterances'. A typical use of them is
-- as answers to questions.
-- *Note*. This list is incomplete. More categories could be covered.
-- Moreover, in many languages e.g. noun phrases in different cases
-- can be used.

| UttIP | IP -> Utt ; | -- who |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UttIAdv | IAdv -> Utt | -- why |
| UttNP | NP -> Utt ; | -- this man |
| UttAdv | Adv -> Utt | -- here |
| UttVP | : VP -> Utt ; | -- to sleep |
| UttCN | : CN -> Utt ; | -- house |
| UttCard | : Card -> Utt | -- five |
| UttAP | AP -> Utt | -- fine |
| UttInterj | Interj -> Utt ; | -- alas |

-- The phrasal conjunction is optional. A sentence conjunction
-- can also be used to prefix an utterance.

```
NoPConj : PConj ;
-- [plain phrase without conjunction in front]
PConjConj : Conj -> PConj ; -- and
```

-- The vocative is optional. Any noun phrase can be made into vocative,
-- which may be overgenerating (e.g. "I").
NoVoc : Voc ; -- [plain phrase without vocative]
VocNP : NP -> Voc ; -- my friend

### 3.1.12. Text

-- Texts are built from an empty text by adding Phrases,
-- using as constructors the punctuation marks ".", "?", and "!".
-- Any punctuation mark can be attached to any kind of phrase.

```
abstract Text = Common ** {
    fun
        TEmpty : Text ; -- [empty text, no sentences]
        TFullStop : Phr -> Text -> Text ; -- John walks. ...
        TQuestMark : Phr -> Text -> Text ; -- Are they here? ...
        TExclMark : Phr -> Text -> Text ; -- Let's go! ...
}
```


### 3.1.13. Structural

### 3.1.14. Idiom

```
--1 Idiom: Idiomatic Expressions
```

abstract Idiom $=$ Cat $* *$ \{
-- This module defines constructions that are formed in fixed ways,
-- often different even in closely related languages.

```
    fun
    ImpersCl : VP -> Cl ; -- it is hot
    GenericCl : VP -> Cl ; -- one sleeps
    CleftNP : NP -> RS -> Cl ; -- it is I who did it
    CleftAdv : Adv -> S -> Cl ; -- it is here she slept
    ExistNP : NP -> Cl ; -- there is a house
    ExistIP : IP -> QCl ; -- which houses are there
-- 7/12/2012 generalizations of these
```

    ExistNPAdv : NP -> Adv -> Cl ; -- there is a house in Paris
    ExistIPAdv : IP \(->\) Adv \(->\) QCl ; -- which houses are there in Paris
    ProgrVP : VP -> VP ; -- be sleeping
    ImpPl1 : VP -> Utt ; -- let's go
    ImpP3 : NP -> VP -> Utt ; -- let John walk
    -- 3/12/2013 non-reflexive uses of "self"

```
    SelfAdvVP : VP -> VP ; -- is at home himself
    SelfAdVVP : VP -> VP ; -- is himself at home
    SelfNP : NP -> NP ; -- the president himself (is at home)
}
3.1.15. Tense
--1 Common: Structures with Common Implementations.
-- This module defines the abstract parameters of tense, polarity, and
-- anteriority, which are used in Phrase.gf to generate different
-- forms of sentences. Together they give 4 x 2 x 2 = 16 sentence forms.
-- These tenses are defined for all languages in the library. More tenses
-- can be defined in the language extensions, e.g. the "passe simple" of
-- Romance languages in ../romance/ExtraRomance.gf.
abstract Tense = Common ** {
    fun
        TTAnt : Tense -> Ant -> Temp ; -- [combination of tense and anteriority,
                        -- e.g. past anterior]
        PPos : Pol ; -- I sleep [positive polarity]
        PNeg : Pol ; -- I don't sleep [negative polarity]
    TPres : Tense ; -- I sleep/have slept [present]
    ASimul : Ant ; -- I sleep/slept [simultaneous, not compound]
    TPast : Tense ; -- I slept [past, "imperfect"] --# notpresent
    TFut : Tense ; -- I will sleep [future] --# notpresent
    TCond : Tense ; -- I would sleep [conditional] --# notpresent
    AAnter : Ant ; -- I have slept/had slept --# notpresent
    -- [anterior, "compound", "perfect"]
}
```


### 3.1.16. Transfer

Todo 11: collect what exists (and no longer works) on transfer functions, and what might be added.

Translation: We need not just abstract constants for words, i.e. constants of lexical categories like $\mathrm{N}, \mathrm{A}, \mathrm{V}$, but also for predicates (or other constructions). E.g. Eng.to be ashamed $\mapsto$ Ger. sich schämen, or to define reflexive predicates like to do one's best, to care about the health of one's children etc. And these probably have to be implemented by tree transformations.

### 3.1.17. Extra and Extend

Reflexive noun phrase constructions from Extra:

```
    RNP ; -- reflexive noun phrase, e.g. "my family and myself"
    RNPList ; -- list of reflexives to be coordinated, e.g. "my family, myself, everyone"
-- Notice that it is enough for one NP in RNPList to be RNP.
fun
    ReflRNP : VPSlash -> RNP -> VP ; -- support my family and myself
    ReflPron : RNP ; -- myself
    ReflPoss : Num -> CN -> RNP ; -- my family
    PredetRNP : Predet -> RNP -> RNP ; -- all my brothers
    ConjRNP : Conj -> RNPList -> RNP ; -- my family, John and myself
    Base_rr_RNP : RNP -> RNP -> RNPList ; -- my family, myself
    Base_nr_RNP : NP -> RNP -> RNPList ; -- John, myself
    Base_rn_RNP : RNP -> NP -> RNPList ; -- myself, John
    Cons_rr_RNP : RNP -> RNPList -> RNPList ; -- my family, myself, John
    Cons_nr_RNP : NP -> RNPList -> RNPList ; -- John, my family, myself
```

Some more constructions using RNP are declared in Extend:

```
AdvRNP : NP -> Prep -> RNP -> RNP ; -- a dispute with his wife
AdvRVP : VP -> Prep -> RNP -> VP ; -- lectured about her travels
AdvRAP : AP -> Prep -> RNP -> AP ; -- adamant in his refusal
ReflA2RNP : A2 -> RNP -> AP ; -- indifferent to their surroundings
    -- NOTE: generalizes ReflA2
PossPronRNP : Pron -> Num -> CN -> RNP -> NP ;
    -- his abandonment of his wife and children
```

Remark 20: In my opinion, the rules AdvRNP, AdvRVP and AdvRAP ought to be complementation rules, i.e. the category of prepositions Prep should not be used here, but derived from the complement frames of the argument $\mathrm{np}, \mathrm{vp}$, or ap .

### 3.2. Limitations, Deficits and Problems

Todo 12: check any claimed problem!

### 3.2.1. n-ary Verbs and Predicates

The predicates of arity $n>1$ can be atomic, i.e. $n$-ary verbs or $n$-ary adjectives with auxiliary verb, or compound, i.e. arise from $(n+1)$-ary atomic predicates combined with an object, or be a sub- or coordination of $n$-ary predicates.
GF has categories V (unary verbs), V2 (binary verbs), V3 (ternary verbs), VP (verb phrase = unary predicat), Comp (complement of a copula verb), VPSlash (verb phrase missing an a complement = binary predicate), and some further categories like VS (verb taking a nominal and a sentential complement), V2V (verb taking two nominal and an infinite complement),

Problem 2. In order to be able to translate verbs (or nouns, adjectives of arity 2) from one language to another, we not only need a common constant $v$, but also need to map the semantic roles properly between languages. For example, to map English "give sb sth" to German "jmdm etwas geben", the implementation type of V3 in both languages has record fields c2 and c3 to store the case or preposition needed when attaching the first or second complement of give:V3. But what is intended to be the first resp. second complement? GF has no notion of direct vs. indirect object, only the c-slots.

Suppose ci is a complement type, and vn : cn $\rightarrow$... $\rightarrow$ (c2 $\rightarrow V P$ ) is the type of an n-ary verb. (So VP corresponds to c1 $\rightarrow$ S and VPSlash to c2 $\rightarrow V P$, where c1 is the type of the subject, c2 the type of the object.) From V3 on, there is no obvious inherent ordering of complements. Even for ditransitive verbs V2 of English, mkV3 give noPrep noPrep only by convention defines give sb sth and mkV3 give noPrep to_Prep defines give sth to sb. (There is the further mess with the pronoun switch in "give it her"!) Can we enforce that c3 represents "the indirect", c2 "the direct" object? Can we force users to use mkV3 always in the sense of mkV3 v c2 c3, to guarantee (give sth:c2 to-sb:c3 =) give sb:c3 sth:c2 = jmdm:c3 etwas:c2 geben, or can we rely on fixing this via application grammars?

Only with such conventions like vn : cn $->\ldots(c 2->V P)$ can we use the slash-rules

```
SlashiVn : Vn -> NP -> cn -> .... [-> ci] -> ... (c1-> t)
```

consistently, and translate properly. (SlashiVj v np stores the np into the ci-field of the j-ary verb v:Vj.) Not cases or prepositions must match accross languages, but argument roles (or GF-argument numbers).

Problem 3. There is the annoying ambiguity of complementizing a V3 one by one,

```
ComplSlash (Slash3V3 v3 np3) np2 vs. ComplSlash (Slash2V3 v3 np2) np3
```

which in LangEng construct the same implementation record. A VPSlash can be used in different ways, so there is no doubt about the construction rules for VPSlash:

```
Slash2V3 : V3 -> NP -> VPSlash ; -- give it (to her)
SlashV2V : V2V -> VP -> VPSlash ; -- beg (her) to go
```

Can we -to get rid of the ambiguities with (ComplSlash (SlashiV3 v npi) np(5-i))-replace the single complementation rule

```
ComplSlash : VPSlash -> NP -> VP ; -- love it
```

by different complementation rules (for each construction) that build a VP from the underlying ternary verb directly, like

```
ComplV3 : V3 -> NP -> NP -> VP ; -- give it to her
ComplV2V : V2V -> VP -> NP -> VP ; -- beg her to go
... ?
```

It seems that the modifications of VPSlash also are available as modifications of VP. (The same would be needed for verbs with higher arity.).

Remark 21: First, the ambiguity does not hold in all languages: in Ger of gf-3.3, the linearizations of (ComplSlash (SlashiV3 v3 npi) np(5-i)) give np3 ++ np2 for $i=2$, but np2 ++ np3 for $i=3$. (The SlashiV3 and ComplSlash use insertObj, which adds obj!a to the left of vp.n2. More precisely, an np with isPron = True was inserted at the front of VP.nO, those with isPron = False at the front of VP.n2, and the clauses order complements as in n0<neg < n2 < ap.) In Eng, (ComplSlash (SlashiV3 v3 npi) np(5-i)) for $i=2,3$ both linearize to $v 3++n p 2++n p 3$, the indirect object last. But then the same tree has different meanings in Ger and Eng, at least if v.c2 and v.c3 are the same.

Second, collect a set of examples for trees using ComplSlash. Then we can test the above suggestion and see if we don't lose other trees we wanted to keep. (Can we write a normalization of existing trees to avoid ComplSlash? But still, GF-external programs for tree transformations had to be adjusted to such a change in the RGL.)

Problem 4. There are similar ambiguities between the following trees:

```
(ComplVV vv (ComplSlash vps np)) =?= (ComplSlash (SlashVV vv vps) np)
(ComplSlash (SlashV2VNP v2v np1 vps) np2) =?=
(ComplSlash (SlashV2V v2v (ComplSlash vps np2) np1)
```

For example, we get four trees for the following example (trees hidden):

```
TestLang> p -cat=VP -tr "promise him to let my wife read the book" | l
promise him to let my wife read the book
promise him to let my wife read the book
promise him to let my wife read the book
promise him to let my wife read the book
arising from
ComplSlash (SlashV2VNP versprechen him
    (SlashV2VNP lassen (my wife) read)) (the book)
ComplSlash (SlashV2V versprechen
                            (ComplSlash (SlashV2VNP lassen (my wife) read) (the book))) him
ComplSlash (SlashV2V versprechen
    (ComplSlash (SlashV2V lassen (ComplSlash read (the book))) (my wife))) him
ComplSlash (SlashV2V versprechen
        (ComplSlash (SlashV2V lassen (ComplV2 read (the book))) (my wife))) him
```

Ok, the final tree is from my added rule ComplV2 and does not belong to Lang.

### 3.2.2. Ambiguities in Common Nouns

Problem 5. A similar cause of ambiguities are the modifications of a CN. The RGL-rules modify a CN by an AP attribute, an RCl relative clause, or an Adv adverbial, etc. The string obtained depends on the ordering of modifiers in the tree, if the modifier extends the same cn.s field, but if different fields cn.rel, cn.adv, cn. ext are modified, one obtains spurious ambiguities depending on the ordering of modifications. (Emptyness tests of the fields, or arbitrary extensions?)

Proposal 3: Since there are no noun categories of Lang with sentential or infinitival objects, certain noun phrases, e.g. "der Glaube, daß ein Gott die Welt erschaffen hat" or "die Hoffnung,
das Spiel zu gewinnen", cannot be recognized (Nonsense: Use SentCN) Lang ought to be extended by noun categories NS, NQ, NV and NA, with a systematic way to infer the category of nouns derived from verbs and adjectives. (See also Remark 4 and Remark 7.)

Problem 6. Nouns of category N2 and N3 may attach their objects via prepositions. Such prepositional objects are also parsed as adverbial attributes, e.g. "das Warten auf die Abfahrt" (using UseN2 and AdvCN). Can a parse as prepositional object be enforced by a kind of binding precedence (in the parser), or is this rare enough because of different cases in the prepositions of objects versus those of adverbs?

### 3.2.3. Prepositions and Adverbial Dimensions in a Multilingual Grammar

Q9: Can a multilingual grammar like Lang have pre- or postpositions at all?
Where preposititions are used, like cases, to express which complement function a constituent realizes, they are semantically empty; the multilingual grammar must only be able to identify the complement function across languages. In this sense, a nominal object in instrumental case like np.s ! v.c2 = np.s ! instr and a prepositional object like v.c2.s ++ np.s ! vp.c2.c $=$ "mit" ++ np.s ! dative amount to the same and are identified by v.c2. (For this, we need a language-specific v.c2 : Prep with oper Prep : Type = \{s:Str ; c:Case\}, but no multilingual lexical category cat Prep.)
But: what to do with moved prepositional objects, as in

```
SlashPrep : Cl -> Prep -> ClSlash ; -- (with whom) he walks
```

Where prepositions have semantic content, i.e. where they are used to construct adverbials, like under the table, we have a chance that a limited, language-independent number of adverbial dimensions like param AdvDim = loc | temp | dir | ... might be enough to define Prep = Adv/NP in the sense of fun in_Prep : Prep with lin in_Prep = $\{\mathrm{s}=$ "in"; d = loc\} and UsePrep : Prep -> NP -> Adv. This seems to me the better solution. The drawback is that since some prepositions like in can construct adverbs in several dimensions, which may lead to a number of ambiguities, at least if we had an Adv category for each dimension. (Moreover, an instrumental adverbial in one language may be represented by an instrumental Case in another language, etc.) In any case, the prepositions added to Lang are English prepositions and don't fit very well to other languages; the abstract grammar is not abstract enough.
There are verbs that need an adverbial of a specific dimension to build a verb phrase, i.e. to stay at a place, or an einem Ort wohnen and in einem Raum übernachten. So, at least some adverbials should be treated as complements of verbs rather than modifications of verb phrases. This would need categories VAdv $d$ and Adv $d$ of verbs and adverbs depending on a dimension d :AdvDim and a dimension-specific rule

```
ComplVAdvDim : (d:AdvDim) -> VAdv d -> Adv d -> VP.
```

(Since an adverbial has an inherent dimension, adverbs cannot adapt to a dimension specified by the verb, in contrast to noun phrases which can adapt to a case specified by the verb.)

### 3.2.4. Missing Types of Pronouns and Numbers

Demonstratives; Cardinals and Ordinals are there, but what about $n$-fold (threefold:A,Adv, dreifach:A,dreimal:Adv), the $n$-th, (third, dritte)?

### 3.2.5. Missing Notion of Modalities

There are modal verbs as auxiliary verbs, but no notion of modalized adjectives or participles, like (un)lesbar = kann (nicht) gelesen werden or das zu lesende Buch $=$ das Buch, das gelesen werden muß

### 3.2.6. Iterated Modifications

Some modification rules can be used iteratively, like adding an adverb to a clause or verb phrase, or adding a relative clause to a common noun or noun phrase. In these cases, when added constituents are "stacked" like vp.a2 ++ adv.s or np.s ++ np.rc ++ rc.s, a leading comma in adv.s or rc.s may be disturbing, but a leading comma in the first of the stacked elements may be necessary. In my opinion, instead of stacking one ought to use a form of coordination of adverbials or relative clauses, and the coordinated constituent could have an introductory comma.

### 3.2.7. Bounded Embedding Depth

Embedding of verbal prases is limited (with problems for modal verbs and V2V in Ger); extraction from subconstituents is limited. What else?

Do we need a parameter vptype = VPactive | VPrefl | VPpass in VP and VPSlash? What do we need to implement different passives in Ger?
Generally: which properties of subconstituents have to be stored in parameter values?

### 3.2.8. Overgeneration Due to Empty Constituents

In particular, empty determiners and empty prepositions cause unnecessary or strange trees. MassNP (or PassV2) is known from the beginning to be overgenerating, as it is applicable to any np:NP (resp. v:V2), independent of inherent parameters of its head noun (resp. verb). But: constructions are total functions, so parameters cannot limit their applicability.
But certainly, having categories NS, NA, NV of nouns with restricted kinds of complements could eliminate arbitrary combinations of N with complements SC.

## 4. A Sketch of German

Before describing the implementation of a grammar for German in GF, we give an overview of main properties of German in standard linguistic notions.

We here only sketch properties of the main lexical and phrasal categories, omitting prepositions, determiners, coordination etc. (What about subordination? Only simple sentences?)
To see how to describe the language by a PMCFG grammar, we have to check in how many pieces a discontinuous phrase can be split and where the pieces can be moved to. Extraposition to the right is the normal choice, but fronting is another. ${ }^{16}$

[^7]
### 4.1. Noun and Noun Phrase

Noun phrases can be proper names, e.g. Johann, personal pronouns, e.g. ich, wir, definite and indefinite common names ${ }^{17}$ e.g. das Haus and ein Haus, quantified noun phrases, e.g. all my children and coordinations of noun phrases, e.g. neither my wife nor my children.

Morphologically, all noun phrases inflect by case, i.e. have forms for Nominativ, Akkusativ, Dativ, Genitiv. In addition, common names and pronouns inflect for number, i.e. have Singular and Plural forms, and personal pronouns have additional possessive forms. ${ }^{18}$

## Articles

| Number | Singular |  |  | Plural | Singular |  |  | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gender | Masc. | Fem. | Neutr. |  | Masc. | Fem. | Neutr. |  |
| Nominative | der | die | das | die | ein | eine | ein | (einige) |
| Accusative | den | die | das | die | einen | eine | ein | - |
| Dative | dem | der | dem | den | einem | einer | einem | - |
| Genitive | des | der | des | der | eines | einer | eines | - |

Proper names can be modified by nominal attributes, e.g. Johann, ein netter Bursche or Karl der Große, and by relative clauses, e.g. Caesar, der von Brutus ermordet wurde; with a definite article or possessive pronoun they can also be modified by adjectival or participial attributes, e.g. die|unsere kluge Maria or die| deine dich liebende Maria or der von Brutus ermordete Caesar). In vocatives, they can also be modified by adjectival attributes, e.g. lieber Johann.

Common names have a syntactic arity. Most of them are of syntactic arity 0 , i.e. take no complements, but denote unary predicates (in combination with a copula verb), e.g. Präsident werden; der Chef sein, or ein Narr sein. Others take one nominal complement and denote binary predicates, e.g. Mutter von Johann, Glaube an die Freiheit, or two nominal (resp. prepositional) complements, i.e. Fahrt von Paris nach London or Division von 20 durch 5.
Nouns derived from adjectives: dumm $\mapsto$ Dummheit (objects: neugierig auf $\Longleftrightarrow$ Neugier auf?)
Nouns derived from verbs: entfernen von $\mapsto$ Entfernung von, hoffen auf $\mapsto$ Hoffnung auf, (ich:nom entferne A:acc von B:dat $\mapsto$ das $\mid$ mein Entfernen des A:gen von $B$ ?)
(schlage A:dat vor, Inf-zu $\mapsto$ Vorschlag an A:acc, Inf-zu)
Common names can be modified to common nouns by adjectival attributes, e.g. kleines Haus, adverbial attributes, e.g. Haus auf dem Berg, and relative clauses, e.g. Haus, dem ein Dach fehlt or Haus, in dem ich wohnte. Common nouns inflect, like common names, for number and case, but in addition also for adjective forms, e.g. ein kleines Haus, but das kleine Haus; the adjective form depends on the determiner attached when the common noun is extended to a noun phrase.
Pronouns: reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, relative, interrogative, possessive, indefinite (jemand, man)

Functions: possessive, determinative (du alter Narr, wir ahnungslose(n) Esel)
Also: reflexive possessive: sein|ihr eigener vs. sein|ihr. See also Remark 13.

[^8]The indefinite pronoun man can occur in the comparison part of an adjective phrase: es war einfacher als man erwartet hatte oder Johann is dümmer als man sein sollte. Strangely, man agrees with singular verb form, but with singular and plural reflexive pronoun: man soll sich nicht ärgern und man soll einander helfen, or man versprach, sich zu bessern and man versprach, einander zu helfen. There are infinitival subjects with indefinite implicit subject, e.g. sich $z u$ ärgern ist ungesund, but einander zu helfen ist gut. (The indefinite pronoun jemand does not agree with reflexive pronoun in plural.)
The difference between reflexive and personal pronoun is to indicate referential identity or difference. For binary verbs, a reflexive object complement often refers to the individual referred to by subject, e.g. er hat sich selbst gelobt versus er hat ihn gelobt. In imperatives, the individual referred to may be the adressee (i.e. the implicit subject): help yourself, and God will help you. With ternary verbs, the reflexive indirect object may refer to the direct object, e.g. er hat ihn sich selbst überlassen, or to the subject, e.g. er hat ihn sich selbst untergeordnet. ${ }^{19}$
But with complex noun phrases, the it is less clear which referential identities and differences are expressed by the various pronouns: (sein ${ }_{1}$ Vater) ${ }_{2}$ hat ihn ${ }_{1} \mid$ sich $_{2}$ gelobt, and (jeder Freund (meines Vaters) $\left.)_{2}\right)_{1}$ half (sich selbst) ${ }_{1}\left|{ }^{*}{ }^{i h m_{1}}\right|$ ihm $m_{2} \mid$ mir $\left._{0}\right|^{*}(\text { mir selbst })_{0}$. Likewise with reflexive possessive pronouns, e.g. ein Freund meines Bruders hat meinen|seinen|(seinen eigenen)|dessen Kollegen beleidigt? Or, der Freitag, 10.3.2022, Literatur V: Kurz danach veröffentlichte Krug ein Buch mit den vielen, wunderbaren Postkarten Beckers an seine Frau Ottilie und ihn. (seine,er = Krug)
Q11: what about selbst combined with personal pronoun: das schadet ihm selbst versus das schadet ihm? (And differently: er hat ihm selbst|selber geholfen $=$ er selbst $\mid$ selber hat ihm geholfen. Is selbst just used to mark an emphasis?)

Functions (and uses of noun phrases)
Predicative function: indefinite common names can, combined with a copula verb, function as unary predicates: Johann wurde ein Mann.
Possessive function of noun phrases by Gen, resp. by possessive pronoun. Nouns derived from verbs (or adjectives) and the systematic change of arities.
Possessive function of noun phrases in common nouns: Johanns Haus or das|ein Haus von|des Johann for proper names, by possessive forms sein Haus for pronouns, by post-attribute in genitive for common names, Haus einerlder Frau, by post-attrivbute in genitive for quantified noun phrases, Haus jeder Frau, Eigentum vieler Frauen, Eigentum von vielen Frauen, by preposition von for coordinated noun phrases: Haus von Johann und seiner Frau (or pre-attribute in genitive: weder Johanns noch seiner Frau Haus)
Complement (subject or object) of verbs, adjectives and common names: as nominal subject of unary common names (= possessive?) ${ }^{20}$ Glaube der Kinder, Behauptung von Johann; as nominal (or prepositional) object of binary or ternary common names: Mord des Brutus an Caesar; Achtung vor dem Gesetz; Rücksicht auf die Kranken. (Common names can have complements

[^9]of sentential or infinitive form: Versuch, einen Beweis zu finden. The complements of a common name are optional, i.e. the common name alone can combine with a copula verb to the predicate of clauses, e.g. Johannes ist ein Mann; Johann ist der Chef; er wurde Arzt.
GF has no category NV for nouns with (nominal subject and) infinitival complement, e.g. Versuch Fermat's, seine Behauptung zu beweisen, or N2V for nouns with nominal object and infinitive complement, e.g. Rat des Johann an uns, weniger zu arbeiten.

## Ordering of complements and modifications:

unmodified common noun: ( $\mathrm{N} 2++$ subject ++ object ++ complement).
modified common noun: $(\mathrm{AP}++(\mathrm{N} 2++$ subject ++ object ++ complement $))++$ RelS $)$
Mutter eines kleinen Sohns, den ich nicht kenne and Mutter eines kleinen Sohns, die ich kenne (2 relative extractions?)
basic noun phrase: $\mathrm{np}=\{\mathrm{s}=$ PreDet ++ Det ++ AP ++ N , ext $=$ Rel ++ Appos $\}$ in ich habe np.s getroffen, np.ext.
$\{s=$ alle meine alten Freunde, ext $=$ die mich nicht vergessen haben, die Guten, $\}$
$\{s=$ alle meine alten Freunde, ext $=$ die Guten, die mich nicht vergessen haben, $\}$
Rem: discuss syntactic functions only for immediate constituents, i.e. functions in common nouns (or: as complement of common names), in verb phrase (or: as complement of verbs) etc.
Q12: Discuss how the syntactic functions should be accounted for in a GF-grammar like LangGer. Now there is a PossNP : CN $\rightarrow$ NP $\rightarrow$ CN in Noun.gf, not only PossPron : Pron $->$ Quant.

## Agreement within noun phrases

Agreement of determiner, adjective and noun in number and case; dependence of determiner and adjective on the gender of the noun; dependence of the adjective on the determiner type.

### 4.2. Adjective and Adjective Phrase

## Morphological adjective:

Usage: Todo 13: Adjectives are used in attributive function and then inflect, e.g. die schwarze Nacht, or are used in predicative function and then don't inflect, e.g. die Nacht war schwarz. In adverbial function, adjectives are not inflected, e.g. er hat die Drogen schwarz gekauft or der Wagen ist sehr schnell gefahren. Adjectives can also be used as objects of verbs, e.g. wir streichen die Fenster blau.

The attributively used adjective inflects in all degrees according to number and case, and in singular also to gender. Moreover, it inflects according to one of three adjective inflection types. The endings are shown in Table 2 below (from Duden[2] 475-477).
The strong (or determinating) type is used for noun phrases missing an article, e.g. junger Mann, junge Frau, junges Kind. The weak type is used for noun phrases with definite article, e.g. in accusative den jungen Mann, die junge Frau, das junge Kind. The third, mixed type is used for noun phrases with indefinite article (or possessive pronoun as determiner), i.e. (d)ein junger Mann, (d)eine junge Frau, (d)ein junges Kind. It combines the strong forms in nominative and accusative singular with the weak forms in dative and genitive singular and in plural.

Adjective phrases may be discontinuous: with a comparison adadjective, e.g. so|ähnlich - wie a predicative adjective phrase may be continuous, e.g. Fritz war so stark wie Johann, or discontinuous, e.g. Fritz ist so stark gewesen wie Johann, and similarly, when the adjective phrase is built from the comparative of an adjective, it may be continuous, e.g. Fritz ist stärker als Johann,
or discontinuous, e.g. Fritz ist stärker gewesen als Johann. In attributive usage, comparative adjective phrases are split by a common name, e.g. ein stärkerer Junge als Johann, unless the comparative part is missing, e.g. ein älterer Herr.
Internal word order: Obj ++ AdA ++ A2: (ein) seiner Frau sehr treuer (Mann) or (der) auf das Ergebnis ziemlich neugierige (Forscher).
For split adjective phrases: 〈(ein) so großer (Fehler), wie (deiner)〉, as in das wäre ja ein ebenso großer Fehler gewesen wie deiner. The comparison part varies in case: "(ich fand) einen größeren Fehler als deinen".

### 4.3. Verb and Verb Phrase

Morphological verbs, i.e. verbs restricted to their inflectional behaviour, have finite, imperative and infinite forms. Finite forms inflect according to

- tense (Präsens, Präteritum),
- mood (Indikativ, Konjunktiv),
- number (Singular, Plural), and
- person (Erste, Zweite, Dritte).

Imperative forms inflect according to

- number (Singular, Plural).

Infinite forms are

- infinitive (Infinitiv, zu-Infinitiv),
- participle (Partizip Präsens, Partizip Perfekt).

The participles can be used in adjectival function and then inflect like adjectives (in Positiv), e.g. das spielende Kind and ein gekochtes Ei, or uninflected in predicative or adverbial function, e.g. das Kind hat gespielt and das Ei ist gekocht or er hat ihn spielend überholt and sie hat gelassen reagiert. (Objektprädikativ: er hat das Ei gekocht gegessen.)

|  |  | Strong |  |  | Weak |  |  | Mixed |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number | Case | Masc | Fem | Neuter | Masc | Fem | Neuter | Masc | Fem | Neuter |
| Singular | Nom | -er | -e | -es | -e | -e | -e | -er | -e | -es |
|  | Acc | -en | -e | -es | -en | -e | -e | -en | -e | -es |
|  | Dat | -em | -er | -em | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en |
|  | Gen | -en | -er | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en |
| Plural | Nom | -e |  |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |  |
|  | Acc | -e |  |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |  |
|  | Dat | -en |  |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |  |
|  | Gen | -er |  |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |  |
|  |  | without det |  |  | after definite article |  |  | after kein,mein |  |  |

Table 1: Ending tables of adjective inflection

German has two kinds of prefix verbs: those where the prefix is (not emphasized and) always glued to the stem, e.g. the prefix um of the verb umfáhren in er umfährt den Pfosten, and those where the prefix is (emphasized and) sometimes split from the stem, e.g. the prefix um of the verb úmfahren in er fährt den Pfosten um. The Partizip Perfekt and Infinitiv-zu of these kinds of prefix verbs also differ: umfáhren vs. úmgefahren, and zu umfáhren vs. úmzufahren.

## Syntactic verb classification

With respect to their syntactic behaviour, one distinguishes full verbs, which have a meaning and correspond to the logical notion of relation with number (and semantic type) of arguments, from auxiliary verbs and copula verbs, which have no meaning, although some can also be used as a full verb, e.g. haben in ich habe kein Geld.

The syntactic arity (resp. verb frame) of a full verb specifies which kinds of complements it can combine with to form a clause (resp. a verbal phrase or unary predicate). The number of possible complements can range form zero to almost ten. The verbs of arity 0 can only be combined with the formal (non-denoting or expletive) subject es; these are mainly the so-called weather verbs, e.g. es regnet, but also a few others, e.g. es scheint so. ${ }^{21}$ Many complements ${ }^{22}$ are nominal, i.e. have the form of noun phrases, including the intransitive verbs, those that take a single, nominal complement (as subject) ${ }^{23}$, e.g. sleep, almost all of which have their subject in nominative case; but subject in dative or accusative case is also possible, e.g. mir schwindelt and mich friert. (Subject in genitive case is possible for passive sentences, e.g. der Toten wird gedacht.)
There are verbs with several nominal complements, up to almost ten ${ }^{24}$; the order in which the complements have to appear in a clause is at best partially fixed, so they are distinguished by case or a preposition with case, e.g. nominative subject and accusative object: ich füttere den Hund nicht, or den Hund füttere ich nicht, or nominative subject and two objects with prepositions: der Lehrer spricht mit dem Schüler über den Aufsatz, or über den Aufsatz spricht er mit ihm. There are verbs with a sentential complement: er glaubt, dass der Hund beißt or er verspricht ihr, dass er zurückkommt, and verbs with an interrogative complement: er fragt, wer das angeordnet hat or er fragt, in welcher Richtung der Bahnhof liegt. There are verbs with infinitival complements ${ }^{25}$ : sie will arbeiten, or er glaubt, das Spiel zu gewinnen. Some verbs take a sentential subject and nominal object, e.g. dass wir gesund sind, freut uns, some take an infinitival subject and nominal object, e.g. zu erkranken, betrübt uns. (Of course, sentential, interrogative and infinitival complements may have a head verb with sentential, interrogative or infinitival complement, e.g. er behauptet, daß er nicht wußte, daß|ob er wiederkommt or sie wundert sich, warum er fragt, wohin sie geht or er verspricht ihr, zu versuchen, ihr zu helfen.)
Similarly, there are verbs with an adjectival complement, e.g. der Wein schmeckt sehr gut or du siehst schlechter aus als gestern, and verbs that take both a nominal and an adjectival complement, e.g. ich male die Wand blau or sie wirkt auf mich kompetenter als du. (Besides these full verbs with adjectival complements, copula verbs combine with adjective phrases, e.g. ich bin zufrieden or du wirst unglücklich. Strangely, GF declares become_VA : VA to be a full verb.)

[^10]A classification of verbs therefore ought to tell the number and kind of complements they can take, given in some standard order. Using a case $c$ to name the nominal phrases in this case $c$, and letting the subject come last in the syntactic arity, the verbs could be classified by

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { schwindeln } & : \text { Dat } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { schlafen } & : \text { Nom } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { füttern } & : \text { Acc } \rightarrow \text { Nom } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { sprechen } & : \text { über-Acc } \rightarrow \text { mit-Dat } \rightarrow \text { Nom } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { glauben } & : \text { dass-S } \rightarrow \text { Nom } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { versprechen } & : \text { dass-S } \rightarrow \text { Dat } \rightarrow \text { Nom } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { wollen } & : \text { Inf } \rightarrow \text { Nom } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { glauben } & : \text { Inf-zu } \rightarrow \text { Nom } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { empfehlen } & : \text { Inf-zu } \rightarrow \text { Dat } \rightarrow \text { Nom } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { freuen } & : \text { Acc } \rightarrow \text { dass-S } \rightarrow \text { Clause } \\
\text { betrüben } & : \text { Acc } \rightarrow \text { Inf-zu } \rightarrow \text { Clause }
\end{aligned}
$$

where Clause stands for sentences depending on tense and mood, $S$ for sentences with a fixed tense and mood. Notice that the syntactic arity of a verb is not unique, as for glauben above. For ternary words with nominal objects, these verb frames would mention the complements in the ordering ${ }^{26}$

$$
\text { indirect object }<\text { direct object }<\text { subject. }
$$

For example, the arity of schenken then is

$$
\text { schenken : Dat } \rightarrow \text { Acc } \rightarrow \text { Nom } \rightarrow \text { Clause. }
$$

In contrast to the slash-categories of categorial grammar, the position of the arguments in clauses is not fixed by the syntactic arity of its main verb. For verbs having two complements of the same case, like nennen : Acc $\rightarrow$ Acc $\rightarrow$ Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause, one therefore cannot definitely tell how the two object noun phrases in a sentence correspond to the syntactic arity, e.g. er nennt seinen Freund den Weltmeister vs. er nennt den Weltmeister seinen Freund. (In these cases, word order is important.) There are a few nullary verbs, like the weather verbs regnen, schneien, dämmern etc., which combine to a clause with the expletive subject es, e.g. heute regnet es.
Some complements can be optional, e.g. sie liest gerade ein Buch vs. sie liest gerade.
Each syntactic arity gives a class of verbs. The transitive verbs are those with a nominal subject in nominative and a single nominal object in accusative, e.g. einen Aufsatz schreiben, the ditransitive verbs are those with nominal subject in nominative and two nominal objects in accusative ${ }^{27}$, e.g. der Wagen kostet mich einen Tausender.
Reflexive verbs are verbs with a nominal subject in nominative and, besides further complements, a nominal object that has to be a reflexive pronoun (in accusative or dative) ${ }^{28}$ that agrees in person and number with the subject, e.g. sich schämen in ich schäme mich or sich etwas merken in ich merke mir den Termin. The reflexive pronoun is a syntactically necessary

[^11]complement, but does not correspond semantically to an argument of the predicate named by the verb. A reflexive verb therefore often translates to a non-reflexive verb of smaller arity, e.g. sich schämen $\mapsto$ to be ashamed; sich etwas merken $\mapsto$ to remember sth, and hence multilingual grammars cannot have a lexical type of reflexive verbs. Notice the distinction between a reflexive verb and a reflexively used non-reflexive verb; a non-reflexive verb with nominal (or prepositional) object can, but need not be used with reflexive pronoun as complement, e.g. jemanden|sich ärgern and mit etwas| sich hadern versus sich| ${ }^{*}$ jmdn schämen or sich ${ }^{*}$ jimdm etwas merken.

The modal verbs, i.e. mögen, wollen, dürfen, können, sollen ${ }^{29}$, müssen, are the verbs of arity Inf $\rightarrow$ Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause. (See also p. 51.)
The infinitive is also used in accusative cum infinitive (ACI)-constructions, mainly with perception verbs: ich höre den Hund bellen, or ich sehe den Hund einen Hasen jagen. These are like compressed forms of sentential complements: ich höre, dass|wie der Hund bellt or ich sehe, dass| wie der Hund einen Hasen jagt. So it seems these verbs have a basic arity dass-S $\rightarrow$ Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause and an arity Inf $\rightarrow$ Acc $\rightarrow$ Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause derived by subject-to-object raising: the nominal subject Nom of the complement dass-S is raised to an object Acc of the verb, which simultaneously is the implicit subject of the verb of the Inf complement.

Similarly, the verb lassen combines with accusative and infinitive: ich lasse dich schlafen $=i$ ch lasse zu, dass du schläfst. ${ }^{30}$ E.g. lassen : Inf $\rightarrow$ Acc $\rightarrow$ Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause can be seen as derived from zulassen : dass- $S \rightarrow$ Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause.
Verbs of arity Inf-zu $\rightarrow$ Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause, e.g. hoffen in ich hoffe, den Wettkampf zu gewinnen, let their subject be the implicit subject of their Inf-zu complement, i.e. ich hoffe, den Wettkampf zu gewinnen $=$ ich hoffe, daß ich den Wettkampf gewinne. This is syntactically observable when the complement $\operatorname{Inf-zu}$ is built with a reflexive or reflexively used verb; the reflexive pronoun then has to agree in person and number with the (implicit) subject: ich hoffe, mich nicht zu blamieren; du hoffst, dich nicht zu blamieren, etc.

Control verbs are verbs of arity Inf-zu $\rightarrow$ Dat $\rightarrow$ Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause or Inf-zu $\rightarrow$ Acc $\rightarrow$ Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause. In subject-control verbs, their subject is the implicit subject of the Inf-zu complement, e.g. ich verspreche dir, mich zu beeilen. In object-control verbs, their object is the implicit subject of the Inf-zu complement, e.g. ich rate dir, dich zu beeilen or ich ermahne dich, dich zu beeilen. We have to keep track of the control-feature in translation, since reflexive verbs in the target language need not be reflexive in the source language, e.g. I promise you to hurry up $\mapsto$ ich verspreche dir, mich zu beeilen, but I advise you to hurry up $\mapsto$ ich rate dir, dich zu beeilen.

The Inf-zu complement may be accompanied by an additional correlate es or das, e.g. ich rate es dir, dich $z u$ beeilen or dich $z u$ beeilen, das rate ich dir. Sometimes, the complement Inf-zu seems to be a restricted instance of a prepositional object, and then a pro-form of the preposition, like damit, daran, dazu, may be necessary in addition to the Inf-zu complement: ich prahle mit meinem Erfolg $\rightarrow$ ich prahle damit, Erfolg zu haben, likewise ich erinnere dich daran, dich zu beeilen, or ich bringe dich dazu, dich zu beeilen.

Q13: Control verbs V2V with Inf-complement? ACI: ich sehe|lasse euch euch streiten; ich höre ihn sich rasieren; ich lasse dich dich schämen. Or could isAux:Bool be omitted in V2V?

Auxiliary verbs are morphological verbs (without meaning, hence without syntactic arity) that

[^12]combine with infinite forms of other verbs to function as predicate in clauses. (The auxiliary verb shows person, number, tense and mood resp. imperative.) German has the following auxiliary verbs:

- the perfect auxiliary verbs haben and sein, combine with the Partizip Perfekt of a verb,
- the future auxiliary verb werden combines with a verb's Infinitive to Futur-I, and with Partizip Perfekt and haben to build the Futur-II
- the passive auxiliary verbs werden, bekommen, combine with Partizip Perfekt, the passive auxiliary verb lassen combines with Inf (Xerxes ließ das Meer auspeitschen), but also with dative nominal object: er ließ sich:Dat die Haare:Acc schneiden vs. er ließ sich:Acc auspeitschen
- (lassen in ich lasse dich gehen? Is this an "admissing" modal verb? Person, die sich nicht impfen lassen darf)

Copula verbs: sein, bleiben, werden (building a predicate with a CN or AP) and(?) haben (building a predicate with a CN or NP)

We might give copula verbs the syntactic arities sein, bleiben, werden : AP -> VP as well as sein, bleiben, werden : NP -> VP and haben : CN -> VP as well as haben : NP -> VP, e.g. Pech haben or eine Frau haben, or die besten Möglichkeiten haben.

Raising verbs:

- subject-to-subject raising: scheinen : dass-S $\rightarrow$ es $\rightarrow$ Cl: es scheint, daß das Wetter sich bessert $\mapsto$ das Wetter scheint sich zu bessern. But also with scheinen : dass-S $\rightarrow$ Dat $\rightarrow C l$ : mir scheint, daß sie Narren sind $\mapsto$ sie scheinen mir Narren zu sein
- subject-to-object raising $=$ ACI? ich sehe, daß| wie du den Hund fütterst $\mapsto$ ich sehe dich den Hund füttern or ich höre, daß es regnet $\mapsto$ ich höre es regnen
(Infinitive for participle in ACI: ich habe dich schlafen sehen instead of ich habe dich schlafen gesehen?)
he wants that we help $\mapsto$ he wants us to help; dt. er will|erwartet von uns, daß wir helfen, $\neq$ er fordert uns auf, zu helfen?
- object-to-subject raising? the Acc object of an active sentence can be raised to the Nom subject in its passive sentence:
Einen guten Mann zu finden, ist schwer $\mapsto$ Ein guter Mann ist schwer zu finden
We treat the verbal gender (Aktiv, Passiv) and the clausal tenses (Perfekt, Plusquamperfekt Futur-I, Futur-II), under verb phrase and clause. (But: don't we have to distinguish verbs that admit a passive from those that don't? Discuss passive as argument reduction, in comparision to reflexive usage?)

There are verbs that need an adverbial to build a verb phrase, i.e. an einem Ort wohnen oder in einem Raum übernachten. Such adverbials can be viewed as complements of verbs rather than as modifications of verb phrases. (c.f. page 39 and Proposal 5.3.2.)

## Verb phrases

A basic verb phrase is the combination of a verb with expressions realizing all but the subject complement functions given by the syntactic arity of the verb. ${ }^{31}$ Basic verb phrases can be coordinated and modified by adverbials to give verb phrases. Roughly, $n$-ary verbs correspond to $n$-ary atomic logical predicates, complements to arguments, adverbials to arity-preserving predicate modifiers; then verb phrases correspond to unary complex logical predicates. ${ }^{32}$
In languages like English, where word order is rather rigid and the subject of a basic clause is in initial position, one may assume the remaining final part of the clause to be a constituent of the clause, i.e. its verb phrase; for example, one may then build a complex clause by combining a single subject with a coordination of several verb phrases, e.g. John walked home and went to bed. For languages where the ordering of verb complements as clause constituents is relatively free, as in German, a similar argument holds with object complements, e.g. den Ring hatte er gekauft und ihr geschenkt, but is not used to justify an "object-missing-clause" as clause constituent.
A perhaps better reason to assumme a verb phrase category is that they provide infinitival complements, so to speak clausal complements of verbs, nouns and adjectives that leave their subject implicit and identify it with the subject or an object of the verb, noun or adjective. ${ }^{33}$ Even though a basic verb phrase is not a basic clause, it is useful to speak of its predicate constituent and its object constituents.
Usage as predicate of clauses: Basic verb phrases can be combined with a subject to build a basic clause. In this case, its predicate consists of two verbal parts, a finite part vfin and a (possibly empty) infinite part vinf, which in turn consist of verb forms of an auxiliary verb and a full or modal verb. The predicate of a verb phrase has four tenses in addition to the Präsens and Imperfekt of verbs, namely Perfekt, Plusquamperfekt, Futur I, Futur II. The Perfekt resp. Plusquamperfekt are expressed by the finite form of the full verb's perfect auxiliary, sein or haben, in Präsens resp. Imperfekt and the Partizip Perfekt of the full verb. The Futur I resp. Futur II is expressed by a finite form of the future auxilary verb werden in Präsens and the Infinitiv of the full verb, resp. the Infinitiv of the verb and followed by the Infinitiv of the verb's perfect auxiliary:

|  | vfin | vinf | vfin | vinf |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Präsens | glaubt |  | geht |  |
| Imperfekt | glaubte |  | ging |  |
| Perfekt | hat | geglaubt | ist | gegangen |
| Plusquamperfekt | hatte | geglaubt | war | gegangen |
| Futur I | wird | glauben | wird | gehen |
| Futur II | wird | geglaubt haben | wird | gegangen sein |

If, rather than from a full verb, the predicate comes from a, e.g. wollen, which takes haben as its perfect auxiliary, the predicate part vinf also contains the infinite verb of the infinitival complement of the modal verb. Then its Partizip Perfekt gewollt is replaced by its infinitive

[^13]wollen, and in Futur II the infinitive of its perfekt auxiliary is put in front of the infinitive of the infinitival complement:

|  | vfin | vinf |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Präsens | will | gehen |
| Imperfekt | wollte | gehen |
| Perfekt | hat | gehen wollen |
| Plusquamperfekt | hatte | gehen wollen |
| Futur I | wird | gehen wollen |
| Futur II | wird | haben gehen wollen |

In a basic clause, the, as well as the ordering of the predicate parts vfin and vinf, can vary; in particular, the subject does not occupy a fixed position. Rather than considering the order of objects and adverbs within verb phrases, it makes more sense to view a verb phrase as discontinuous, or even as an unordered collection of predicate parts, object complements and adverbials that only will, together with the subject, be brought into various relative orderings in basic clauses.
In most cases, each of the vfin and vinf parts, the nominal objects, the sentential and infinitival objects, and the adverbials is internally ordered and continuous. An adjectival complement may be continuous, e.g. heller als das Meer in (er) malt den Himmel heller als das Meer, or discontinuous, i.e. (weil er) den Himmel heller malt als das Meer. Adjectival complements(?) of copula verbs (or: the predicative usage of adjective phrases), may be continuous, e.g. größer als Johannes in (Maria) ist größer als Johannes, but can also be discontinuous, as in (weil Maria) größer ist als Johannes. But nominal complements also need not be continuous; the relative clause or the infinitival object may be right-extracted: (er) hat das Haus gekauft, das du gebaut hast, or (er) hatte den Plan gefaßt, das Haus zu kaufen. (Likewise in infinitival complements: den Plan zu fassen, das Haus zu kaufen, (war klug).)

If verb phrases are modified by several adverbs or adverbial clauses, are they always combined to a continuous modifier (in a fixed relative order, like: temporal before local adverbs), e.g. ich lese das Buch morgen im Zug, or can they be ordered in different ways in a clause, e.g. morgen lese ich im Zug das Buch? Q14: Is the ordering preserved, when adverbial clauses replace adverbs?
Verb phrases can also be used to build infinitival complements of verbs, nouns and adjectives, in which case their head verb is put in Infinitive or Infinitive-zu.
Usage as infinitival complement: when a verb phrase is used as infinitival complement, the order of complements and adverbials of its head verb seems rather fixed: nominal objects and adjectival objects precede the infinite head verb, sentential, infinitival or interrogative complements follow the head verb (or are extracted further to the right). E.g. jemandem [zu] glauben, daß die Sonne untergeht, or jemanden [zu] fragen, wann der Zug ankommt, or den Brüdern (manchmal) einen Gruß [zu] senden, or sich (niemals) [zu] schämen or (oft) mit dem Gedanken [zu] spielen, eine Weltreise zu machen, and das Bild (gerne) schwarz [zu] übermalen. (Apparently, adverbs are between two nominal objects, before the non-pronominal nominal object, after the pronominal object, but not attached to the verb, as AdV suggests.)
Let us call an infinite verb phrase a reflexive infinitive, if its infinite head verb is a reflexive or reflexively used verb. The reflexive infinitive then contains a reflexive (personal or possessive) pronoun, which has to agree in number and person with the implicit subject of its head verb, e.g. sich bemühen, sich nicht zu schämen and sich bemühen, seine eigenen Probleme zu lösen. If the reflexive infinitive is the infinitival object of a (matrix) verb, its implicit subject is the
subject or the (direct) object complement of the matrix verb, depending on whether the matrix verb is a subject-control verb or an object-control verb.

Since the head verb of the reflexive infinite may itself be a control verb and have an infinitival object, we can get nested infinitival complements, e.g. (ich hoffe,) dich [davon] zu überzeugen, mir zu helfen, or, more complicated, (ich hoffe,) dich [davon] überzeugen zu können, dir helfen zu lassen and even (ich hoffe,) dich [davon] überzeugen zu können, ihr zu raten, sich helfen $z u$ lassen. In such cases, the embedded infinitival complements with $z u$ apparently have to be extracted to the right and may leave a correlate in place, e.g. the davon above. Infinitival complements without $z u$ stay in place, e.g. eine Pause machen dürfen, or dich das Buch lesen lassen or mir helfen können wollen. (Todo 15: Nested infinitives are complex in Futur-II and Plusquamperfekt.)
But the reflexive infinitive may also be the subject complement of its matrix verb. In this case, its reflexive personal or possessive pronoun is ungoverned, e.g. sich mit dem Ergebnis abzufinden, or to close one's eyes $\mapsto$ seineldie Augen zu schließen. This is the reason why verb phrases vp need to store nominal objects as tables vp.nn: Agr => Str, not as fixed strings vp.nn: Str. Q15: Can Agr be used to handle reciprocal complements as well, e.g. ich rate euch, einander $z u$ helfen, where einander only makes use of the plural of Agr.

Q16: What about VP-negation, and negation of modal verbs: ich will nicht sprechen vs. ich will schweigen. I.e. can we negate the (full) verb, and so to speak add complements to the dual verb, the negated verb? Do we still get a positive polarity? Maybe clearer with Inf-zu: verb phrase negation ich hoffe, nicht einzuschlafen (eng. I hope not to fall asleep) vs. sentence negation ich hoffe nicht, einzuschlafen (eng. I do not hope to fall asleep, or ich rate dir, nicht der Letzte zu sein vs. ich rate dir nicht, der Letzte zu sein, or ich verspreche dir, den Vortrag nicht zu halten vs. ich verspreche dir nicht, den Vortrag zu halten. (Can we admit nicht at several positions and let the parser accept only one, by forcing Pol = PPos for all following positions?)
Where to put negation? How to combine negation + indefinite noun phrase - nicht ein $=$ kein, or mass noun: "nicht Geld $=$ kein Geld"? Highly influenced by emphasis, ok: "nicht eine Minute". Where is the negation of modal verbs sie darf sich nicht impfen lassen and where is the negation with auxiliaries, e.g. "er hat sich nicht gefragt, ob ..." and "wir dürfen das Fest nicht ausfallen lassen", or ihr müßt [uns|das Kind|einen Narren] nicht loben, or "wir sollen dem|einem Kind das Spielen nicht verbieten" Do we have negated quantifiers: "nicht wenige", "nicht viele", "nicht alle", "nicht ein"? Negated noun phrases can be focused: "nicht viele Aufgaben konnten sie lösen" vs. "viele Aufgaben konnten sie nicht lösen". But *"nicht manche".

Which grammar had a second way to set the polarity depending on negated quantifiers, Fre?
Q17: Do the modal verbs (vv.isAux=True) or lassen:V2V.isAux=True combine with a full verb (similarly as its perfect and future) as an auxiliary or to a new verb, i.e. das Buch [nicht] (lesen wollen) or [nicht] (das Buch lesen) wollen? And likewise with passive auxiliary? (([nicht] (gelesen werden)) wollen): $V$ and [nicht] ((gelesen werden) wollen): $V$ ?
What about scheinen in er scheint ein Narr zu sein? Is this a VV-verb with isAux = False? Is there a perfect form - er hat ein Narr zu sein geschienen??

### 4.4. Adverb

Todo 16: German has an adverb negation, e.g. Fritz arbeitet nicht gerne, where nicht gerne $=$ ungerne, likewise nicht oft $=$ manchmal, nicht immer $=$ manchmal nicht, nicht jetzt $=$ ein anderes Mal, in contrast to clause negation, e.g. Fritz arbeitet jetzt nicht $\neq$ Fritz arbeitet nicht $j e t z t$. The first sentence has negative polarity, the second positive polarity.

LangGer can parse er schläft nicht hier heute (as Eng: he doesn't sleep here today), but not er schläft heute nicht hier or er schläft heute nicht.
er schläft nicht hier heute $=$ er schläft woanders heute $=$ er schläft heute woanders?
Gibt es doch AdV + nicht + Adv? müssen später nicht erneut beantwortet werden - * erneut nicht später, oder geht es hier einmal um ein Adverb zu müssen, das andere Mal um ein Adverb zu beantworten? um (sie später: Adv nicht (erneut: Adv zu beantworten)): Inf-zu.
"spielt dann nicht eine Rolle" $\rightarrow$ "spielt dann keine Rolle"
Q18: Is it true that the averbs are ordered in a rather standard way (at least in the Mittelfeld? Zeit < Ort, etc.?), and if so, how do we fix the order of adverbs? Does German make a difference between Adv and AdV? Aarne: er schläft heute|*immer nicht, but er schläft nicht immer.
(Isn't er schläft (immer nícht) $=$ immer (er schläft nicht) $=$ er schläft nie, and ich verlasse dich nie $=$ immer (ich verlasse dich nicht), so (immer nícht) $=$ nie? In contrast, (er schl'äft immer) nicht $=$ nicht (immer (er schläft)) $=$ manchmal (nicht (er schläft)) $=$ manchmal (er schläft nicht) $=$ er schläft manchmal nícht, and there is no lexical adverb for manchmal nícht?)
According to Macheiner[4] (p.74): (in a declarative sentence with transitive verb,) the temporal adverbial can be put at the beginning of the sentence, at the end, or after the finite verb.

> Am Anfang schuf Gott den Himmel und die Erde.
> Gott schuf den Himmel und die Erde am Anfang.
> Gott schuf am Anfang den Himmel und die Erde.

There may be several adverbials, which can be put at the beginning, at the end, or at the middle position, i.e. between subject and verbal phrase, but then hardly the temporal adverb at the end.

One distinguishes between referential adverbials, which contribute to the situation or event referred to, from evaluative adverbials, which express the speaker's evaluation of the event. (To the latter kind belong "ja", "doch", "wohl" etc.). Among adverbials of the same kind, the more specific one follows the more general one. ("leider" < "wahrscheinlich".) Among local adverbials, the more specific one comes before the less specific ones.
Relative order of temporal, local, causal, modal and instrumental adverbials: temporal < local ("am Montag um 8 Uhr vor dem Dom")
Sentence negation:
ich habe viele Bücher (nicht) gelesen ich lese viele Bücher (nicht)
ich habe ein Buch nicht gelesen ich lese ein Buch nicht
ich habe kein Buch nicht gelesen ich lese kein Buch nicht
Prepositional phrases as special case of adverbs, via Prep $=<$ Adv/NP.
There are split prepositions in German, i.e. wenn man von hier aus den Blick über den Dnjepr hinweg nach Osten richtet (Karl Schlögel, Entscheidung in Kiew, S.92). But are these worth a second field s2:Str in Prep, which lead to a lot of wrong trees (via VPSlashPrep only, c.f. remark 17)?.

At which positions can we have an adverb (if objects are "positive")?

| vz | Vorfeld | vfin | Mittelfeld |  |  |  | vinf |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Präsens | Nom | glaubt | Dat | Acc | Adv | nicht |  |
| Imperfekt | Nom | glaubte | Dat | Acc |  | nicht |  |
| Perfekt | Nom | hat | Dat | Acc |  | nicht | geglaubt |
| Plusquamperfekt | Nom | hatte | Dat | Acc |  | nicht | geglaubt |
| Futur I | Nom | wird | Dat | Acc |  | nicht | glauben |
| Futur II |  | wird | Dat | Acc |  | nicht | geglaubt haben |

Es ist niemals so simpel! Eher für atomare Aussage s:S (mit individuellen Objekten?) und temporalem Adverb advT:Adv wird am Satzende negiert, bei v:V2: Sind Einstellungsadverbien AdvM anders zu behandeln als temporale, lokale oder Wiederholungsadverbien? Z.B.

| Satznegation advT | Adverbnegation ? advM |
| :--- | :---: |
| er liest das Buch heute (nicht), | er liest das Buch (nicht) gerne |
| heute liest er das Buch (nicht), | gerne liest er das Buch (nicht) |
| er liest heute das Buch (nicht), | er liest? nicht gerne das Buch |

Aber: er liest das Buch (nicht heute), oder er geht nicht gerne ins Kino und er stellt nicht gerne eine Frage. Darf im Skopus von gerne ein negierter Satz stehen? er arbeitet (gerne nicht) $=$ er unterläßt gerne das Arbeiten. Welche Adverbien sind "mit der Negation vertauschbar", d.h.

$$
\text { nicht regelmäßig } \phi=\text { ? regelmäßig } \neg \phi \text {, }
$$

oder haben ein duales Adverb,

$$
\text { nicht immer } \phi=\text { manchmal } \neg \phi \text { ? }
$$

und wann hat man so etwas wie

$$
\text { selten } \phi \Leftarrow \text { nicht oft } \phi \Leftarrow \text { ? oft } \neg \phi \Leftarrow \text { immer } \neg \phi=\text { nie } \phi \text { ? }
$$

### 4.5. Clause

A basic clause is the combination of a verb with other expressions realizing all complement functions according to the syntactic arity of the verb. Thus, a basic verb phrase can be extended to a basic clause by adding a suitable subject expression.
Subject-verb agreement: nominative nominal subject and predicate (finite verb part vfin) agree in person and number: ich schlafe, du schläfst, wir schlafen, etc.; a non-nominative nominal or prepositional subject agrees with the predicate in third person singular: mich|uns friert, or mir|uns ist schlecht, or dir|euch wird verziehen, and nach mir|uns wird gesucht. Sentential, interrogative and infinitival subjects agree with the predicate in third person singular, e.g. daß es schneit, freut uns or wo die Sterne stehen, ist uns bekannt or den Armen zu helfen ist eine Pflicht.
Remark 22: Contractions of preposition and article cannot generally be excluded in (object) complement frames of verbs, nouns, and adjectives; they can even be used in subjects of passive clauses, e.g. ans Christkind wird geglaubt. (Hence we cannot avoid $9 \leq|\operatorname{Prep}| \leq 15$.)

- verbal gender, (Aktiv, Passiv)
- Vorfeld + vfin + Mittelfeld + vinf + Nachfeld
- verb order in interrogative, main, and subordinate clauses
- extraction to the Nachfeld
- in-place correlates es and das and extraction of infinitives and $d a \beta$-sentences
- relative order of adverbials in the Mittelfeld
- negation: VP-negation versus sentence-negation, (negation in NPs with kein)

Where do negation, modalization, passivization operate? On verbs/predicates: es nicht tun, es tun können, getan werden (können); on adjective modifiers un : A/A as in unschön or bar : $V \backslash A$ in erziehbar (also in AGrec), on participles ungelesen

There are (passive) (and passive interrogative) clauses without (even expletive) subject, like hier wird nicht demonstriert or jetzt wird wieder gearbeitet (and muß dagegen nicht protestiert werden?). (Apparently, there is no infinitive form of these passives. Or is demonstriert werden the subject of the question demonstriert werden darf heute nicht?)
As explained above, the predicate is split into a finite part vfin and an infinite part vinf.
Sentential objects are often right-extracted (from the Mittelfeld), i.e. moved to the right behind the infinite verb part, e.g. er hatte [es] geglaubt, daß die Erde flach sei and er wird [es] glauben, $d a \beta$ die Erde flach ist. Like nominal objects, the sentential object can be moved to the Vorfeld, e.g. daß die Erde flach ist, [das] wird er glauben. Acceptable, but less used is the in-place position: er hat, daß die Erde flach ist, nicht geglaubt. In subordinate clauses: (weil) daß die Erde flach ist, niemand glaubt. The probably most used placement is in the Nachfeld. (So LangGer gives VP a field ext:Str to put the extracted constituent into.)

|  | Vorfeld | vfin | Mittelfeld | vinf |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | damals | hat/hatte | (es) fast jeder | geglaubt, |
| daß die Erde flach ist |  |  |  |  |
| vz | heute | glaubt | (es) fast niemand, |  |
|  | heute | wird | (es) kaum jemand | glauben, |

Word ordering Interrogative clause $=$ verb-initial, declarative clause $=$ verb-second, subordinate clause $=$ verb-final
Q19: But what about the ordering of light and heavy noun phrases, the ordering of adverbs, the position of the negation adverb, the extraction depending on expression length?

## 5. The Resource Grammar LangGer

Let me emphasize that this is a documentation and explanation of source code developed by Aarne Ranta, Harald Hammarström and Björn Bringert (2002-2006), with some changes by Erzsébet Galgóczy, Scharolta Siencnik and myself. (Scharolta Siencnik at least made noun phrases and adjective phrases discontinuous, added clauses with non-nominal subjects and added focus-rules in ExtraGer.) Hence I may at places have misunderstood the original intentions. The examples from German demonstrating various phenomena or constructions often cannot directly be tested with the implementation; the main reason is that the small test lexicon LexiconGer and lexicon of structural words StructuralGer miss entries of corresponding word classes (or words with properties in question) or that the available entries would give semantically inadequate examples. ${ }^{34}$

The full code is on https://github.com/GrammaticalFramework/gf-rgl.git.
Any concrete grammar in GF is based on a language-specific resource modules which defines parameter types like gender, number, case, tense etc., as well as record types of morphological words like noun, adjective, verb, preposition, adverb, which contain inflection paradigms for these types of word that make use of the parameter types. A parameter type is defined by

```
param Typename =
    Constructor_1 ArgumentTypes_1 | ... | Constructor_k ArgumentTypes_k ;
```

where the constructors are function symbols $f$ used to build terms $f t$ of type Typename from terms $t$ of $f$ 's argument types. In the simplest case of 0 -ary constructors, these are just constants $f$ of type Typename.
The type of a morphological word class is defined by

```
oper Wordclass : Type =
    {s : Form => Str ; p_1 : Type_1 ; ... ; p_m : Type_m} ;
```

where s, p_1,..., p_m are parameter names, including the name s for an inflection table, and Form => Str is a table type for s, Type_1, ... Type_m are names of parameter types (or table types) for p_1, ..., p_m, and Form is the parameter type of (abstract) forms of words of the wordclass, Str the type of strings. The inflection table can have a more complicated type, for example Form => Str * Str for split words, or Form_1 * Form_2 => Str or Form_1 => Form_2 => Str if the abstract forms can be split into two parts; if there is no variation in forms, the type of s can be just the type Str or Str * Str.

Example 1. For example, a type of adpositions might be defined by

```
param Kind = Pre | Post | Circum ;
param AdCase = Genitive | Dative | Accusative ;
oper Adposition : Type = {s : Str * Str ; t : Kind ; c : AdCase} ;
```

An adposition would then be a record of this type, defined as an operation by, for example,

[^14]```
oper umherum : Adposition =
    {s = <"um", "herum"> ; t = Circum ; c = Accusative} ;
```

The grammar rule for combining an adposition with a noun phrase would then have to see from umherum. $t=$ Circum that the first part umherum.s.p1 = "um" has to be put in front of the noun phrase, the second part umherum.s.p2 = "herum" has to be put after the noun phrase, and from umherum. $c=$ Accusative that the noun phrase has to be put in the accusative case.

As we aim at explaining the implementation of the grammar rules for German, we will not explain how the inflection paradigms are built. (For this, see the resource file ParadigmsGer.) From the auxiliary operation of the resource file ResGer, we only give the parameter types and wordclass types as needed, and in doing so, often omit the keywords param and oper. Other operations of ResGer are often presented informally, by describing their effect on the linerization records of arguments in grammar rules.

The syntactic categories of the abstract grammar, given in Cat, are interpreted by linearization types or implementation types in CatGer. However, we shall not explain the implementation types of all syntactic categories in one sweep, but do this one by one.

The abstract grammar does not make a formal distinction between lexical and syntactic categories, but treats them alike as atomic categories of a system of simple types. Some of these are categories of word classes, like N, V, A etc. Their implementation type is then derived from the corresponding morphological word class, Noun, Verb, Adjective etc. by

```
lincat V = Verb ;
```

There is a slight distinction between the morphological type and the implementation type derived from it. Several lexical categories in the grammar, e.g. subjunctors Subj and conjunctors Conj, which consist of just uninflected words, have the same morphological type oper $M=\{s: S t r\}$. The linearization categories

```
lincat Subj = M ; lincat Conj = M ;
```

derived from M have an additional invisible field and are different types

```
Subj = {s : Str ; lock_Subj : {}} ; Conj = {s : Str ; lock_Conj : {}} ;
```

Notice that the name of the category is part of the additional lock-field, lock_Subj and lock_Conj respectively, so that the type checking phase of the grammar compiler can detect type incorrect uses of a subjunctor as a conjunctor, for example. Above, $\}$ is the unit type, and each subjunctor or conjunctor has the only possible value <> of this type in its lock-field.

### 5.1. Noun Phrases

Morphological noun. Nouns vary in number and case and have an inherent gender. The parameter domains are the standard two value number, four-value case and three-value gender:

```
param
    Number = Sg | Pl ;
    Case = Nom | Acc | Dat | Gen ;
    Gender = Masc | Fem | Neutr ;
```

The auxiliary type Noun has a field for the inflection paradigm and the inherent gender ${ }^{35}$ :

```
Noun : Type = {
    s : Number => Case => Str ;
    g : Gender
    } ;
```


## Lexical noun categories

This auxiliary type Noun (of ResGer.gf) is extended in CatGer to three lexical noun categories: ${ }^{36}$

```
lincat
    N = Noun ;
    N2 = Noun ** {c2 : Preposition} ;
    N3 = Noun ** {c2,c3 : Preposition} ;
```

The categories N2 of binary nouns and N3 of ternary nouns have fields c2 and c3 indicating the preposition and case used to combine a nominal complement with the noun.

Prepositions The auxiliary type ${ }^{37}$

```
Preposition : Type =
    {s : PrepForm => Str ; s2 : Str ; c : Case ; t : PrepType} ;
```

has a field $s$ for the preposition string (or "inflection" table), a field $s 2$ for the post-position string (or second part of a circum-position), a field $t$ to distinguish between three types of prepositions, and a field $c$ for the case of the nominal complement.
There are three types of "prepositions" : (i) cases, (ii) pure pre-, post- and circum-positions, and (iii) prepositions contracted with the definite article in singular, e.g. am for an dem or ins for in das, or with some relative or interrogative pronouns, e.g. worin for in was, distinguished by the parameter type

```
param
    PrepType = isCase | isPrep | isContracting ;
```

To handle prepositions contracted with the definite article in singular, e.g. zum for $z u$ dem and zur for $z u$ der, the pre-position is not just of type Str, but a table of type PrepForm => Str, since the contracted form depends on the gender. This argument type

```
param
    PrepForm = CPl | CSg Gender | CAdvPron | CIPron ;
```

of the table type PrepForm => Str provides six values, CPl, CSg Masc, CSg Fem, CSg Neutr, CAdvPron and CIPron. An inflection table s : PrepForm => Str therefore provides six strings: the standard form of the preposition, three contractions of the preposition with the definite

[^15]article in singular (in the case demanded by the preposition), the contraction of the preposition with the demonstrative das (used as pronominal adverb, e.g. damit,) and the contraction with the relative or interrogative pronoun was, e.g. womit. Thus, for prepositions, the table s does not contain a paradigm of word forms in the usual sense, but the preposition and some contractions with article or pronouns das and was. For example, according to the above types, the preposition $z u$ can then be defined as operation

```
oper
    zu : Preposition =
        {s = table{CPl => "zu";
            CSg Masc => "zum" ; CSg Fem => "zur"; CSg Neutr => "zum" ;
            CAdvPron => "dazu" ; CIPron => "wozu"};
        s2 = "" ;
        c = Dat;
        isPrep = isContracting} ;
```

Remark 23: Some prepositions restrict the number of its complement noun phrase, e.g. zwischen with dative in zwischen den Bäumen, and zwischen with accusative in zwischen die Seiten. So, the implementation type might need a further field $n$ with values Nums $=$ SgOrPl | PlOnly.

Since the paradigms of pronouns, proper names, common nouns, and noun phrases not all have the same domains, we use two auxiliary functions to apply propositions. To apply a preposition p to a table t : Case $\Rightarrow$ Str, the inflection table of a noun in a given number, an operation

```
appPrep0 : Preposition -> (Case => Str) -> Str = \p,t ->
    p.s ! CPl ++ t ! p.c ++ p.s2 ;
```

can be used. It concatenates the normal, uncontracted preposition string p.s ! CPl with the form for case p.c taken from the table $t$, and adds the postposition part p.s2. E.g., it combines a circumposition um_herum taking the accusative and a noun phrase der Tisch to um den Tisch herum.
To apply a preposition to a noun phrase, another operation

```
appPrepNP : Preposition -> NP -> Str
```

will be explained below. E.g., it combines the above preposition $z u$ with the noun phrases der Baum, die Tür, das Haus by concatenating a suitable contraction of $z u$ with the definite article of the noun phrase, followed by the noun phrase with article removed, giving zum Baum, zur Tür, zum Haus. For noun phrases not having a definite article in singular, it uses the form zu.s ! CPl, e.g. gives $z u$ den Bäumen, zu einem Baum etc. ${ }^{38}$
To apply a preposition to an interrogative or relative pronoun, two similar operations

```
appPrepIP : Preposition -> IP -> Str ;
appPrepRP : Preposition -> RP -> RelGenNum => Str ;
```

are defined (in ResGer) and combined to an overloaded operation

[^16]```
appPrep = overload {
    appPrep : Preposition -> (Case => Str) -> Str = appPrep0 ;
    appPrep : Preposition -> NP -> Str = appPrepNP ; -- e.g. in dem CN => im CN
    appPrep : Preposition -> IP -> Str = appPrepIP ; -- e.g. in was => worin
    appPrep : Preposition -> RP >> RelGenNum => Str = appPrepRP ;
    } ;
```

that can be applied to a preposition and an object of any of the four types of the second argument.

Perhaps not all the contracted prepositions can be used to combine a noun with its nominal complement, but there are some examples like Weg ins Glück or Fahrt zur Hölle. German has postpositions, e.g. den Tag über, die Straße entlang, den Berechnungen zufolge, der Sage nach, and circumpositions, e.g. von mir aus or um den Tisch herum; these are hardly used to combine a noun with its nominal complement, perhaps die Fahrt um die Insel herum.
Recall that Lang has no noun categories with non-nominal objects. Of course, German does have nouns with non-nominal objects, e.g. Gründe, das Buch zu lesen. (These are treated in Lang by the rules EmbedVP : VP $\rightarrow$ SC and SentCN : CN -> SC -> CN that turn infinitives to sentential complements and combine these with arbitrary common nouns.)

## Categories Pron, PN, CN and NP

Pronouns have personal and possessive forms; the personal form varies in case, the possessive in gender (in third person singular) and case. This gives rise to the parameter domains

```
param
    NPForm = NPCase Case | NPPoss GenNum Case ;
    GenNum = GSg Gender | GPI ;
```

This four values of GenNum are suffcient, since in German word inflection, gender distinctions are only made in the singular.
Moreover, pronouns (and noun phrases generally) have an inherent agreement feature, with gender, number and person components: ${ }^{39}$

```
param
    Agr = Ag Gender Number Person ;
    Person = P1 | P2 | P3 ;
```

When the pronoun or noun phrase is used as subject of a sentence, its number and person determine the form of the main verb; its gender determines the form of the article and adjective of the noun phrase.

[^17]So the implementation category for pronouns is

```
Pron = {s : NPForm => Str ; a : Agr} ;
```

Proper names inflect for case (only) and have an inherent gender, so the category PN is

```
PN = {s : Case => Str; g : Gender} ;
```

The category of common nouns has an inherent gender parameter g :Gender, inherited from its head noun, an inflection paradigm s:Adjf => Number => Case => Str varying in adjective form, number and case, and three movable parts that can be separated from the head noun:

```
CN = {s : Adjf => Number => Case => Str ;
    rc : Number => Str ; -- Frage , [rc die ich gestellt habe]
    ext : Str ; -- Frage , [sc wo sie schläft])
    adv : Str ; -- Haus [adv auf dem Hügel]
    g : Gender} ;
```

Common nouns can be constructed from lexical nouns and can be modified by adjectival attributes, relative clauses, and adverbials. The adjectival attribute is attached to the noun from the left and part of the s-field; its form depends on properties of determiners, e.g. (das) kleine Kind, (ein) kleines Kind, and the common noun varies in number and case: (dem) kleinen Kind, (viele) kleine Kinder. A relative clause and a sentential complement of the noun can be separated ("moved away") from the noun by a verb, e.g. sie hat die Frage beantwortet, die ich gestellt habe, or sie hat die Frage nicht beantwortet, wovon sie lebe or sie hat die Hoffnung aufgegeben, ein Star zu werden; hence these are stored in separate fields rc and ext.
An adverbial modification of the noun, e.g. a local adverbial auf dem Hügel, is attached to the noun from the right. It can be separated from the noun by a possessive attribute, e.g. (das) Haus von Johann auf dem Hügel ${ }^{40}$, and maybe therefore stored in a separate field adv. But since possessive attributes are also part of the common noun, this is not a good reason for having a separate adv-field in CN. It seems rather unusual to insert a participle between noun and modifying adverb, e.g. (?) wir haben ein Haus gekauft [in Hamburg| aus Stein].
Todo 17: better omit the field CN.adv:Str.
An adjectival modification by an adjective with a comparison complement, attributively used, must be split and wrapped around the noun: in positive degree, e.g. (ein) ebenso großer Berg wie die Zugspitze, or in comparative degree, "(ein) größerer Berg als die Zugspitze". The comparative part can also be separated from the noun by a verb: "wir haben einen größeren Berg bestiegen als die Zugspitze".

The type NP of (basic) noun phrase consists of a field s : Bool => Case => Str for the inflection table, two fields ext:Str and rc:Str for movable parts, and inherent parameters a:Agr for agreement features and w:Weight. The s-field of np:NP combines two inflection tables: the ordinary inflection table np.s ! False : Case => Str of four strings for the four cases, and a special table np.s ! True : Case => Str where the leading definite article (of a noun phrase in singular) is dropped, to be used in appPrepNP : Preposition $->$ NP -> Str.

[^18]```
NP : Type = { -- HL 7/22: Bool = True if DefArt is dropped
    s : Bool => Case => Str ;
    rc : Str ; -- die Frage , [rc die ich gestellt habe]
    ext : Str ; -- die Frage , [sc wo sie schläft]
    a : Agr ;
    w : Weight } ; -- light NPs come before negation in simple clauses
```

The determiner, the adjectival and the adverbial attributes cannot be moved ${ }^{41}$ and are part of the s-field, e.g. er hat die schwierige Frage von Johann, ob die Erde eine Kugel sei, beantwortet, die bisher offen geblieben war. Apparently, the (attributive) possessive noun phrase (i.e. von Johann) cannot be separated from the head noun. The rc-field stores a relative clause, the ext-field stores the interrogative, infinitival or sentential object of the head noun, which can be separated from the noun: sie hat die Frage beantwortet, wo er war; sie hat den Wunsch geäußert, eine Weltreise zu machen; wir haben die Hoffnung aufgegeben, dass der Regen aufhört.
The weight of a noun phrase combines the properties of being a pronoun, being a light noun phrase and having a definite article to a 4 -value parameter domain

```
param
    Weight = WPron | WLight | WHeavy | WDefArt ;
```

When used as nominal objects of a verb, the light noun phrases, i.e. those with weight WPron or WLight, are placed before the sentence negation adverb nicht in clauses and infinitival verb phrases, the heavy ones after the negation adverb. (See mkClause on p. 134 and infVP on p. 118. Notice that nicht is not seen in infinitival complements, since ComplVV, SlashVV and SlashV2V only admit infinitival complements with positive polarity.) ${ }^{42}$ The weight is also used to place pronouns in accusative before pronouns in dative. (See p. 115, p. 134.)
The weight WDefArt of an np indicates that the np has a leading definite article. This is used in the above mentioned auxiliary operation

```
appPrepNP : Preposition -> NP -> Str
```

that handles the contraction of definite article with prepositions; the code is explained below:

```
appPrepNP : Preposition -> NP -> Str = \prep,np ->
let
    g : Gender = genderAgr np.a ;
    n : Number = numberAgr np.a ;
    b = case <prep.t,n,np.w> of {
        <isContracting,Sg,WDefArt> => True ;
            -- e.g. "zum Hof | zur Tür | zum Fenster herein"
        _ => False} ; -- e.g. "auf dem Hof | auf der Tür | auf dem Fenster"
```

[^19]```
    f = case b of {True => CSg g ; _ => CPl} ;
in
prep.s ! f ++ np.s ! b ! prep.c ++ np.ext ++ prep.s2 ++ np.rc ;
```

If a preposition p has p.t $=$ isContracting, say $z u$ above, and an $n \mathrm{~h}$ has $\mathrm{np} \cdot \mathrm{w}=\mathrm{WDefArt}$ and a singular agreement np.a in gender g, say der große Berg, then appPrepNP p np concatenates the contracted form p.s ! ( $\operatorname{CSg} \mathrm{g}$ ) of the preposition, i.e. zum, with the noun phrase without its definite article np.s ! True ! p.c in the appropriate case p.c, i.e. großen Berg, yielding zum großen Berg. For prepositions p like auf with p.t = isPrep, appPrepNP p np concatenates the preposition string p.s ! CPl, i.e. auf, with the noun phrase including its definite article, np.s ! False ! p.c, i.e. dem großen Berg, yielding auf dem großen Berg.
Remark 24: The contraction of pre- or postpositions with possessive pronouns, e.g. meiner + wegen $\Rightarrow$ meinetwegen (likewise deinetwegen,..., deretwegen), or with demonstrative pronouns, e.g. seit + das $\Rightarrow$ seitdem, is not implemented. In GF, a demonstrative pronoun is a complex expression, e.g. das = DetNP (DetQuant DefArt NumSg), hence such contractions seem to afford tree transformations. ${ }^{43}$ The pronominal adverbs provided by the CAdvPron part of prepositions is not used yet, but probably useful as (i) correlate part of complex adverbs or (ii) prepositional objects, for which the preposition in v.c2 could be used to connect a sentential object with the verb, e.g. wir hatten damit gerechnet, dass es regnet for a verb $\mathrm{v}=$ rechnen mit etwas.
$\triangleleft$
Q22: Where is the adverbial attribute relative to the possessive and object-np? The default ordering of constituents seems to be

```
Det ++ AP ++ N2 ++ possessive ++ nominal ++ sentential ++ relative clause
```

This is implemented in the linearization default (in CatGer) for top-level usage of noun phrases:

```
linref
    NP = \np -> np.s!False!Nom ++ np.ext ++ np.rc ;
```

Q23: Which clause constructions allow us to extract a relative clause (or sentential complement) of an object noun phrase behind the infinite predicate part? (Currently, mkClause ignores this.)

Remark 25: The compilation complexities of the most expensive rules are now, (after reducing Agr to 9 values, with 15M VerbGer.gfo)

```
+ SlashV2VNP 99532800 (46080,240)
+ SlashVP 207360 (14160,136)
+ ComplSlash 207360 (150480,186)
```


### 5.1.1. Common Nouns

## Construction of Common Nouns

Todo 18: remove field CN.adv and attach adv.s to cn.s in AdvCN.
A simple noun and a binary relational noun without an object can be used as common noun by the rules

[^20]```
UseN : N -> CN ; -- house
UseN2 : N2 -> CN ; -- mother
```

The noun paradigm and gender are lifted to the paradigm and gender of the common noun, and an empty relative clause, extracted part and adverbial are added to the corresponding fields:

```
UseN, UseN2 = \n -> {
    s =\\_ => n.s ;
    g = n.g ;
    rc = \\_ => [] ;
    ext,adv = []
    } ;
```

Binary relational nouns N2 can be lexical elements or obtained from a ternary (lexical) noun N3 by ignoring one of its argument positions:

```
Use2N3 : N3 -> N2 ; -- distance (from this city)
Use3N3 : N3 -> N2 ; -- distance (to Paris)
```

This is done by dropping the field $\mathrm{n} . \mathrm{c} 3$ from a given n : N 3 and using the remaining fields $\mathrm{n} . \mathrm{s}$, $\mathrm{n} . \mathrm{g}$, and n.c2, or by using n.c3 as field c2:Preposition:

```
Use2N3 n = n ;
Use3N3 n = n ** {
    c2 = n.c3;
    } ;
```

A common noun can also be obtained from a binary noun by adding a (nominal) complement:

```
ComplN2 : N2 -> NP -> CN ; -- mother of the king
```

The complement is added to the paradigm field and cannot be moved from the head noun:

```
ComplN2 n2 np = {
    s = \\_, n,c => n2.s ! n ! c ++ appPrepNP n2.c2 np ;
    g = n2.g ;
    rc = \\_ => [] ;
    ext,adv = []
} ;
```

Similarly, a binary noun can be obtained from a ternary noun by adding a nominal complement:

```
ComplN3 : N3 -> NP -> N2 ; -- distance from this city (to Paris)
```

The complement is used as "direct object" n3.c2 of a ternary noun n3:N3:

```
ComplN3 n3 np = {
    s = \\n,c => n3.s ! n ! c ++ appPrepNP n3.c2 np ;
    g = n3.g ;
    c2 = n3.c3 ;
    } ;
```

The idea seems to be that the c2-object stands closer to the head n3 than the n3-object, i.e.

```
n3 ++ np1 ++ np2 = Comp1N2 (Comp1N3 np1) np3,
```

since there is no rule Compln3' that inserts a complement np to the c3-field of an n3.

## Modification of Common Nouns

Nouns can be modified by adjectives, relative clauses, and adverbs.
i) Modification by adjectives. In German, the modification by adjectives (with their complements and modifiers)

$$
\text { AdjCN : AP }->\text { CN }->\text { CN ; } \quad-- \text { big house }
$$

puts the adjective in front of the common noun it modifies, unless the adjective phrase has a sentential complement:

```
AdjCN ap cn =
    let
        g = cn.g
    in cn ** {
        s = case ap.isPre of { -- HL 1/2023 False only for ap = SentAP ap' sc
            True => \\a,n,c => -- besserer cn als a.s2 [instead: cn, besser als a.s2,]
                        (ap.c.p1 ++ ap.c.p2 ++ ap.s ! agrAdj a (gennum g n) c)
                ++ (cn.s ! a ! n ! c) ++ ap.s2 ! c ++ ap.ext ;
            False => \\a,n,c => cn.s ! a ! n ! c ++ -- postnominal ap with sc
                embedInCommas (ap.c.p1 ++ ap.c.p2 ++ ap.s ! APred ++ ap.s2 ! c ++ ap.ext)} ;
        g = g
        } ;
```

In the paradigm ap.s, only the forms for the Strong adjective inflection type are stored. The forms of the Weak and Mixed inflection types can be computed with the auxiliary operation agrAdj (c.f. Section 5.2) by properly selecting forms of the strong inflection, given gender, number and case.
ii) A common noun can be modified by a relative clause:

```
RelCN : CN -> RS -> CN ; -- house that John bought
```

The implementation given for RelCN cn rs in NounGer extends the field rc of the argument cn by a suitable form of the given relative clause rs:

```
RelCN cn rs = cn ** {
    rc = \\n => (cn.rc ! n ++ embedInCommas (rs.s ! RGenNum (gennum cn.g n)))
} ;
```

This sounds not very well: instead of relativizing twice, e.g. bekannter Maler, der in Florenz geboren wurde, der in Rom starb, we would rather coordinate the relative clauses and then modify the noun once, i.e. bekannter Maler, der in Florenz geboren wurde und in Rom starb,.
iii) Modification by an adverbial:

```
AdvCN : CN -> Adv -> CN ; -- house on the hill
```

The implementation adds the adverb string at the end of a possibly already present adverb:

```
AdvCN cn a = cn ** {adv = cn.adv ++ a.s} ;
```

Remark 26: Iterated usage of this rule leads to ambiguities, in combination with PrepNP : Prep $\rightarrow$ NP $\rightarrow$ Adv and DetCN : Det $\rightarrow$ CN $\rightarrow$ NP, if these rules concatenate their constituents in the argument order. Then the trees

```
AdvCN cn1 (PrepNP p (DetCN det (AdvCN cn2 adv)))
AdvCN (AdvCN cn1 (PrepNP p (DetCN det cn2))) adv
```

linearize to the same string, cn1 ++ p ++ det ++ cn2 ++ adv, e.g. "Tiere im Wald auf dem Berg". (This is not the case if p is a postposition.)
Similarly, AdvCN and the rule AdvVP : VP $\rightarrow$ Adv $\rightarrow$ VP give rise to an ambiguity between attaching an adverb to the noun of an object of the verb or to the verb phrase, i.e. the VP-trees

```
ComplSlash (SlashV2a v2) (DetCN det (AdvCN adv cn))
AdvVP (ComplSlash (SlashV2a v2 (DetCN det cn))) adv
```

have the same linearizations, as sketched in

$$
(v 2 \text { ++ (det ++ cn ++ adv)) versus }((v 2 \text { ++ (det ++ cn)) ++ adv) }
$$

and "see (the man (with the telescope))" versus "see (the man) (with the telescope)".
iv) Modification by embedded sentences, infinitives and questions:

According to the abstract syntax in Noun.gf, nouns can be modified by embedded sentences, questions and infinitives, but this modification "makes little sense" for "some" nouns. As discussed in the abstract syntax, Proposal 3.2 .2 , the intended modification rules are actually complementation rules for suitable subcategories NS, NQ, NV of the category N of nouns, i.e.

```
ComplNS : NS -> S -> CN ;
ComplNQ : NQ -> QS -> CN ;
ComplNV : NV -> VP -> CN ;
```

We view the "modification rule"

```
SentCN : CN -> SC -> CN ; -- question where she sleeps
```

of Lang as a compensation for these missing noun categories and complementation rules. ${ }^{44}$ This view is supported by the fact that the modifiers are collected in a category SC of "sentential complements" (defined in the module Verb 5.4).
The rule SentCN : CN $\rightarrow$ SC $\rightarrow$ CN adds a sentence, question or infinitive sc.s:Str of a complement sc:SC to the right of the ext-field of a $\mathrm{cn}: \mathrm{CN}$.

[^21]```
SentCN cn sc = cn ** {ext = cn.ext ++ embedInCommas sc.s} ;
```

In German, the sentential complement can be separated from the noun, e.g. sie hat die Frage gestellt, wer das getan hat, so it is stored the field ext for extractions. The complement sentence, question or infinitive sc.s has to be separated from the noun by a comma.
Clearly, this rule is highly overgenerating, as it applies to any (even modified) noun and any kind of sentential complement; moreover, the rule can be appplied iteratively and so add several sentential "complements" to the same noun.
v) Modification by apposition

As remarked in the abstract syntax Noun, the apposition rule

```
ApposCN : CN -> NP -> CN ; -- city Paris (, numbers x and y)
```

is certainly overgenerating. For example, the number of the common noun and of the noun phrase should agree: city Paris, *cities Paris and numbers 3 and 4, *numbers 3. It is questionable if appositions can be attached to common nouns, or just to (coordinations of) proper names, e.g. Johann, mein bester Freund, or Elisabeth die zweite and Karl der Große. The implementation

```
ApposCN cn np = cn ** {
    s = \\a,n,c => cn.s ! a ! n ! c ++ np.s ! False ! c ++ np.ext ++ np.rel
} ;
```

attaches the noun phrase at the end of the common noun, in the same case, but does not ensure that common noun and noun phrase agree in number (and gender: *Elisabeth der zweite). Moreover, sometimes the apposition should be embedded in commata, sometimes not. Although there are rules AdvNP and ExtAdvNP to attach an adverb to the end of a noun phrase, there is (so far) no rule to attach an adverb to the beginning, and hence appositions like Johann, angeblich dein bester Freund, cannot be parsed. So, this implementation seems somewhat too imprecise. Todo 19: at least, we should embed the attached np in commata ${ }^{45}$. ${ }^{46}$
vi) Possessive construct:

A common noun can be modified by a possessive attribute using the rule

```
PossNP : CN -> NP -> CN ; -- house of Paris, house of mine
```

This is implemented in gf-3.9 by attaching the possessive noun phrase using the preposition von with dative:

```
PossNP cn np = cn ** case np.w of {
    WDefArt => {s = \\a,n,c => cn.s ! a ! n ! c
```

[^22]```
                                    ++ np.s ! False ! Gen ++ np.ext ++ np.rc} ;
    _ => {s = \\a,n,c => cn.s ! a ! n ! c
    ++ appPrep P.von_Prep (np.s ! False) ++ np.ext ++ np.rc}
} ;
```

The possessive noun phrase, including its sentential complement or relative clause, is attached closer to the common noun than an adverbial modifier, relative clause or sentential complement of the common noun, in the s-field. (Q25: is this usual in German?)

Remark 27: There are different ways to use a noun phrase np possessively in German. The attachment by von is perhaps not the most common one; it constructs a common noun and admits both pronouns, proper names and complex noun phrases as possessive attributes: (der) alte Hund von ihm or (der) Hund von Johann or (der) Hund von einem fremden Mann. Another, perhaps more frequent (post- or pre-nominal) attachment is by the genitive, i.e. (der) alte Hund eines fremden Mannes or (der) alte Hund Johanns. We only implement the postnominal genitive attribute when np has a definite article. A possessive prenominal genitive attribute, e.g. eines fremden Mannes alter Hund, replaces a definite article and constructs a noun phrase, not a common noun, c.f. Extend. GenNP : NP -> Quant; likewise for a possessively used proper name in genitive, e.g. Johanns alter Hund. A personal pronoun in genitive cannot be used as possessive attribute, as there are special possessive forms: instead of der Hund seiner one has to use sein Hund. (Q26: What about the possessive with indefinite NPs, like einer seiner Hunde, einer von Johanns Hunden or einer der Hunde Johanns?)

Expl: (SZ 285, 2023) eines der wichtigsten Werke der modernen deutschen Literatur and eines der wichtigsten Dokumente des zerrütteten Erbes dessen, was Buber einstmals "die deutschjüdische Symbiose" nannte
Q27: Shouldn't we have a prenominal possessive in genitive, say PossDetCN : NP -> CN -> NP to construct a noun phrase? We could use np.w = WPron to check if np :NP is a pronoun and then switch from genitive to possessive pronoun forms. For postnominal possessive np in genitive (in PossNP), we have to exclude personal pronouns p:Pron, but we cannot implement such a restriction in GF given the (total) rule UsePron : Pron -> NP. Pronouns in German cannot be used whereever complex noun phrases can, the distributions differ. So UsePron is somewhat dubious.

Remark 28: Concerning AdvCN and PossNP, there are means to avoid ambiguities and misreadings: both die Häuser aus Holz unserer Vorfahren as well as die Häuser unserer Vorfahren aus Holz have unintended readings (i.e. Holz unserer Vorfahren resp. Vorfahren aus Holz). Using compound nouns, the intended reading can be expressed: die Holzhäuser unserer Vorfahren.
vii) Partitive construct:

```
PartNP : CN -> NP -> CN ; -- glass of wine
```

The implementation is the same as for the possessive construction:

```
PartNP cn np = case np.w of {
    WDefArt => cn ** {s = \\a,n,c => cn.s ! a ! n ! c ++
                            np.s ! False ! Gen ++ np.ext ++ np.rc} ;
    _ => cn ** {s = \\a,n,c => cn.s ! a ! n ! c ++
    appPrep von_Prep (np.s ! False) ++ np.rc}
        } ;
```

We have not enough parameters in the argument np to see if it is built by MassNP and then drop the von in e.g. Glas von Wein.

Remark 29: This is a case where we would like to be able to do constructions by induction on the abstract tree of the arguments, not its linearization records.

Remark 30. The module Structural has constants possess_Prep:Prep and part_Prep:Prep, both implemented using the preposition "von". These constants have to be kept for backward compatibility, although they are termed "obsolete" and subsumed under PossNP and PartNP. [To avoid spurious ambiguities, load StructuralGer-[part_Prep,possess_Prep] in GrammarGer.]

Remark 31. The various modification rules of CN can be applied in different order when parsing the same string, which leads to (I think, spurious) ambiguities:

```
Lang> p -cat=CN "new green house of John" | ? grep -v ApposCN
AdjCN (PositA new_A) (AdjCN (PositA green_A) (PartNP (UseN house_N) (UsePN john_PN)))
AdjCN (PositA new_A) (AdjCN (PositA green_A) (PossNP (UseN house_N) (UsePN john_PN)))
AdjCN (PositA new_A) (PartNP (AdjCN (PositA green_A) (UseN house_N)) (UsePN john_PN))
AdjCN (PositA new_A) (PossNP (AdjCN (PositA green_A) (UseN house_N)) (UsePN john_PN))
PartNP (AdjCN (PositA new_A) (AdjCN (PositA green_A) (UseN house_N))) (UsePN john_PN)
PossNP (AdjCN (PositA new_A) (AdjCN (PositA green_A) (UseN house_N))) (UsePN john_PN)
```

Can't we reduce this by fixing possible orders of modifiers, for example, attach PossNP and PartNP always closer to the $N$ than AdjCN and AdvCN? (This can in principle be done by using operator precedences to limit the extraction of trees from parse forests.) Similar with modification by MassNP, PossNP, PartNP:

```
Lang> p -cat=CN "cap of wine of John" | ? grep -v ApposCN
PartNP (UseN cap_N) (MassNP (PartNP (UseN wine_N) (UsePN john_PN)))
PartNP (UseN cap_N) (MassNP (PossNP (UseN wine_N) (UsePN john_PN)))
PartNP (PartNP (UseN cap_N) (MassNP (UseN wine_N))) (UsePN john_PN)
PartNP (PossNP (UseN cap_N) (MassNP (UseN wine_N))) (UsePN john_PN)
PossNP (UseN cap_N) (MassNP (PartNP (UseN wine_N) (UsePN john_PN)))
PossNP (UseN cap_N) (MassNP (PossNP (UseN wine_N) (UsePN john_PN)))
PossNP (PartNP (UseN cap_N) (MassNP (UseN wine_N))) (UsePN john_PN)
PossNP (PossNP (UseN cap_N) (MassNP (UseN wine_N))) (UsePN john_PN)
```

(This could be enforced using categories depending on modifiers, c.f. slides for the GF summerschool in Riga, 2017.)

### 5.1.2. Determiners

## Construction of Determiners

The linearization category Det of determiners det:Det in Ger contains two inflection paradigms, the "standard" paradigm det.s for its use in combination with a common noun, e.g. in der erste schöne Tag, and a "special" paradigm det.sp when used as a noun phrase in itself, e.g. in der erste. The form of the determiner varies in gender and case, where the gender depends on the common noun it is combined with ${ }^{47}$ and the case on the complement (or adverbial)

[^23]function of the noun phrase in a clause. In order to treat contractions of prepositions with definite articles, we use a boolean flag b:Bool to distinguish between the usual paradigms det.s ! False, det.sp ! False and shortened versions det.s ! True, det.sp ! True where the leading definite article is missing.

```
lincat
    Det = {s,sp : Bool => Gender => Case => Str ; -- True if DefArt is dropped, HL 8/22
        n : Number ; a : Adjf ; isDef, hasDefArt : Bool} ;
```

Moreover, the implementation type contains inherent features, the number det.n and the adjective inflection type det.a, according to which the common noun is inflected, and two boolean flags det.isDef to distinguish definite from non-definite determiners and hasDefArt to distinguish those having a leading definite article (in the full paradigms det.s ! False, det.sp ! False) from those that do not.

Recall that by design, Grammar gives determiners an inherent number, which will be inherited to noun phrases, and the number of the subject of a clause determines the form of the main verb.

Determiners, except for atomic ones, are constructed from "quantifiers" Quant (including articles and possessive pronouns), cardinals Card and ordinals Ord, via an intermediate category Num of grammatical number, by

```
DetQuant : Quant -> Num -> Det ;
DetQuantOrd : Quant -> Num -> Ord -> Det ;
NumCard : Card -> Num ;
NumPl : Num ;
NumSg : Num ;
```

Therefore we first review the cardinals and ordinals. For the moment, keep in mind that the most complex determiners are examples like meine zwei ersten in meine zwei ersten weißen Zähne. (Q28: Is einer meiner zwei ersten weißen Zähne? a Card modified by a possessive noun phrase?)
Determiners are normally used to turn complemented and modified nouns to noun phrases (and thereby stop further noun modification possibilities, like adjectival attributes), e.g. ich mag kein Bier. But they can also be used stand-alone, as a noun phrase, e.g. keines in ich mag keines. As the example shows, the forms can differ in these two usages. Hence the implementation type for determiners will have two paradigms, one for nomal usage, Det.s, and one for stand-alone usage, Det.sp. Since the difference shows in the leading quantifier element, there will also be two paradigms Quant.s and Quant.sp.
Q29: What about the relative ordering between numerals and ordinals: meine drei besten Arbeiten, drei meiner besten Arbeiten, die drei ersten Fälle, drei der ersten Fälle, die ersten drei Fälle? And die drittbeste, not die dritte beste.

### 5.1.3. Numbers and number words

Numbers, restricted to cardinal and ordinal numbers (drei and dritte, but no quotients like drittel, or repetion numbers dreimal, dreifach etc.), occur as numerals, i.e. numbers in words of natural language, or as digits, i.e. in mathematical notation, based on sequences of digits $0, \ldots, 9$.

```
Numeral ; -- cardinal or ordinal in words e.g. "five/fifth"
Digits ; -- cardinal or ordinal in digits e.g. "1,000/1,000th"
```

There are conversion functions ${ }^{48}$ that convert digits to numerals and conversely,

```
digits2num : Digits -> Numeral
num2digits : Numeral -> Digits
```

so we can here limit on the construction of digits

## Digits and decimals

When used as cardinals, digits don't inflect (perhaps except genitive and dative plural, 3er and $3 e n$ ), but certainly the numeral (emphasized) ein inflects like an adjective in gender, number and case: in singular masculine, we have (der) eine, (den) einen, in plural (die) einen (und die anderen); moreover, there is the stand-alone usage, nominative: einer, eine, eines. When used as ordinals, they inflect like adjectives. So the inflection tables use a parameter type

```
param
    CardOrd = NCard AForm | NOrd AForm ;
```

which is unfortunately big to cover the worst-case cardinal ein. The implementation categories for the syntactic categories Digits and Decimal are

```
lincat
    Digits = {s : CardOrd => Str ; n : Number ; isDig, tail1to19 : Bool} ;
    Decimal = {s : CardOrd => Str ; n : Number ; hasDot : Bool} ;
```

The inherent n : Number has the value Pl for all digits and decimals except 1 , for which it has the value Sg . Hence, as determiners, digits and decimals govern the following common noun in number, e.g. 0 Kinder, 1 Kind, 2 Kinder.

## Digits

The category Digits is for the digital representation. The non-empty sequences of digits are constructed from the ten sequences of length 1 ,
D_0, D_1, D_2, D_3, D_4, D_5, D_6, D_7, D_8, D_9 : Dig,
where the implementation category of Dig is

```
Dig = {s : CardOrd => Str ; n : Number ; isZero : Bool} ;
```

The implementation record of $\mathrm{D}_{-} i$ for $i \neq 1$ is obtained as in
D_4 = mk3Dig "4" "4t" Pl ;
with the auxiliary operation

[^24]```
mk3Dig : Str -> Str -> Number -> Dig = \c,o,n -> {
    s = table {NCard _ => c ;
            NOrd af => (regA o).s ! Posit ! af} ;
    n = n ;
    isZero = False
    } ;
```

exept that for $i=0$, it has isZero $=$ True. The inflection paradigm $s:$ CardOrd $=>$ Str contains the same string for all forms ${ }^{49}$ NCard af, and strings with adjective endings (of the strong adjective inflection) for the forms NOrd af, to get $4 t e r$ Tag for fourth day (and predicative form $4 t$ ). For D_1, we put $\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{Sg}$ and the cardinal forms are obtained by concatenating "1" with corresponding endings of the pronoun,

```
NCard (AMod (GSg g) c) => "ein" + pronEnding ! GSg g ! c ;
```

to get the singular (accusative) forms 1en Planeten, 1e Königin (but 0 Planeten, 0 Königinnen). Remark 32: The determiner 1 also governs the adjective inflection: 1 kleines Kind.

There is a subltety in constructing the ordinal forms: the ordinal endings of German numerals (in nominative singular feminine) for the numbers 0 to 19 are -te, while those for 20 to 100 are -ste, those for 101 to 119 again -te, etc. The same holds for digital representations, so we have Ote,...,19te, 20ste,...,100ste, 101te,...,119te, 120ste,...,200ste, 201te,...,219te, etc. To produce these forms from the implementation records, the boolean flags isDig and tail1to19 of Digits are used in the implementation of the two by constructors

```
IDig : Dig -> Digits ;
IIDig : Dig -> Digits -> Digits ;
```

The construction IDig is implemented by taking the inflection paradigm of a d:Dig and filling the fields n, isDig and tail1to19 appropriately:

```
IDig d = {s = d.s ; n = d.n ; isDig = True ; tail1to19 = notB d.isZero} ;
```

The construction IIDig adds a the cardinal form of d : Dig in front of an ordinal form of a sequence i:Digits. The fields d.isDig and i.tail1to19 are used to decide whether an $s$ has to be inserted in front of the ordinal ending:

```
IIDig d i =
    let i = lin Digits i ; -- suppress warning "missing lock_Digits"
            isPld : Bool = case d.n of {Sg => False ; _ => True} ;
            b : Bool = case i.isDig of {True => isPld ; _ => notB i.tail1to19} ;
            i' : Digits = case b of {True => IDig (mkDig (i.s ! invNum ++ BIND ++ "s")) ;
                _ => i }
    in {s = table {NCard af => d.s ! invNum ++ BIND ++ i.s ! NCard af ;
            NOrd af => d.s ! invNum ++ BIND ++ i'.s ! NOrd af} ;
        n = Pl ;
        isDig = False ;
        tail1to19 = case i.isDig of {True => notB isPld ; False => i.tail1to19}
    } ;
```

[^25]If i:Digits has length 1 , say $i=4$, the ordinal forms 14 te, 24 ste, . ., 94ste are build; if $i$ :Digits has length at least 2, the combination DigII d i has the same ordinal endings as itself.
Remark 33: The implementation of D_4 : Dig via

```
D_4 = mk3Dig "4" "4t" Pl ;
```

is a simplified form of mkDigit "4" "14" "40" "4te", where mkDigit is the construction of numerals below.

Decimals are constructed from sequences of digits by

```
NegDecimal : Digits -> Decimal ;
PosDecimal : Digits -> Decimal ;
```

depending whether one wants to add a leading - sign. The leading minus sign in -20st is glued with the digits "20st", i.e. without inserting a space, by inserting the BIND token:

```
NegDecimal d = {
    s = \\o => "-" ++ BIND ++ d.s ! o ;
    n = Pl ;
    hasDot = False
} ;
```

A further construction

```
IFrac : Decimal -> Dig -> Decimal ;
```

allows us to put a dot "." before the final digit and then add further digits at the end by repeated applications:

```
IFrac d i = {
    s = \\o => d.s ! invNum ++
                if_then_Str d.hasDot BIND (BIND ++ "." ++ BIND) ++
                i.s ! o;
    n = Pl;
    hasDot = True
} ;
```

using an abbreviation

```
invNum : CardOrd = NCard (AMod (GSg Masc) Nom) ;
```

When several dots are needed, e.g. to represent dates like 24.12.2023, separate constructions have to be implemented.

## Numerals

The implementation category of numerals (i.e. number words) contains an inflection paradigm and a field for an inherent feature of (grammatical) number:

```
Numeral = {s : CardOrd => Str ; n : Number} ;
```

To construct numerals, for each digit $d$, special forms of $10+d$ and $d * 10$ are simultaneously treated, e.g. three, thirteen, thirty or drei, dreizehn, dreissig (former: dreißig) for digit 3.

## Digit

For these, an auxiliary category Digit is used, with the implementation type

```
Digit = {s : DForm => CardOrd => Str} ;
```

where the parameter type DForm is

```
param
    DForm = DUnit | DTeen | DTen ;
```

The implementation records for the digits n2:Digit,...,n9:Digit are built for digit $d$ from the numerals for $d, 10+d, d * 10$ and a specific ordinal form (i.e. feminine singular nominative) of $d$ :

```
lin
    n2 = mkDigit "zwei" "zwölf" "zwanzig" "zweite" ;
```

by means of auxiliary operations

```
mkDigit : (x1,_,_,x4 : Str) -> Digit =
    \drei,dreizehn,dreissig,dritte ->
    {s = table {
                DUnit => cardOrd drei dritte ;
                DTeen => cardOrd dreizehn (dreizehn + "te") ;
                DTen => cardOrd dreissig (dreissig + "ste")
                }
    } ;
cardOrd : Str -> Str -> CardOrd => Str = \drei,dritte ->
    table {
        NCard a => _ => drei ; -- (regA drei).s ! Posit ! a ;
        NOrd a => (regA (init dritte)).s ! Posit ! a
        } ;
```

As mentioned above, the numbers ( 0 and) 1 to 19 have ordinal ending -te, the remaining ones have ordinal ending -ste, as it is implemented in mkDigit. Not yet: It can also be seen from cardOrd that all cardinal forms NCard af have the strong adjective endings (of table 2, p. 84), provided by adjective declension regA in positive degree. The ordinal forms are built from the specific ordinal form provided, shortened by the final $e$, also using regA.
The syntactic category Digit is used to build up the numerals. There are special forms for multiples of 1 to 9 by 10, 100, 1000, 1000000, i.e. zehn,..., neunzig, (ein)hundert, .., (ein)tausend, ..., eine Million. The abstract module Numeral of Grammar has syntactic types Sub10, Sub100, Sub1000, Sub1000000 and embeddings

```
fun pot0 : Digit -> Sub10 ;
fun pot1 : Digit -> Sub100 ;
fun pot1plus : Digit -> Sub10 -> Sub100 ;
fun pot1to19 : Digit -> Sub100 ;
fun pot1as2 : Sub100 -> Sub1000 ;
```

```
fun pot2as3 : Sub1000 -> Sub1000000 ;
fun pot2 : Sub10 -> Sub1000 ;
fun pot3 : Sub1000 -> Sub1000000 ;
fun num : Sub1000000 -> Numeral ;
```

and conversion functions between Digits and Sub1000000 to Numerals

```
fun digits2num : Digits -> Numeral ;
fun num : Sub1000000 -> Numeral ;
```

The type Sub10 covers the numbers 1 to $9=10-1$, the type Sub100 the numbers 1 to $99=100$ - 1, etc. We only describe Sub10.

## Sub10

The implementation type for Sub10 has a field for an inflection paradigm as in Digit and a field for an inherent number:

```
Sub10 = {s : DForm => CardOrd => Str ; n : Number} ;
```

The numerals in Sub10 are obtained from the digits n2,...,n9 by the construction

```
pot0 : Digit -> Sub10 ;
```

which is implemented by taking their inflection paradigm and giving them the number Pl :

```
potO d = {s = d.s ; n = Pl} ;
```

The fixed numeral for the number 1,

```
pot01 : Sub10 ;
```

is the only one where the cardinal endings vary in gender and case: ${ }^{50}$

```
pot01 = \{
    s = \\f => table \{
        NCard af => (regA "ein").s ! Posit ! af ;
        NOrd af => (regA "erst").s ! Posit ! af
        \} ;
    \(\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{Sg}\)
    \} ;
```

The linearization types for the other domains have a simpler inflection paradigm than Sub10:

```
Sub100, Sub1000, Sub1000000 = {s : CardOrd => Str ; n : Number} ;
```

We omit a description of the constructors for these domains and refer to the source code in NumeralGer.gf and NumeralTransfer.gf.

[^26]
## Cardinals

By cardinals, Grammar means both cardinal words, e.g. dreiundzwanzig, and cardinal numbers in digital notation, e.g. 23. In German, they inflect in gender and case, at least in the exceptional case ein $=$ NumNumeral (num (pot2as3 (pot1as2 (pot0as1 pot01)))): in nominative, we have ein, eine, ein, in accusative einen, eine, eine. Moreover, it inflects like an adjective e.g. der eine (große Fehler) vs. mein einer (großer Fehler), which occurs often in singular der eine - der andere and plural die einen - die anderen. (Other cardinals sometimes also inflect, at least for genitive plural in strong adjective inflection, e.g. zweier Fehler.) The cardinals have an inherent number. So the implementation type is

```
Card = {s : AForm => Str ; n : Number} ;
```

and card.s stores the Strong adjective forms of card:Card. The inherent number governs the number of the common noun in determiner-noun constructions: e.g. ein Hund, zwei Hunde. (GrammarGer does not have null Hunde.)
The construction of cardinals by

```
NumNumeral : Numeral -> Card ;
NumDigits : Digits -> Card ;
NumDecimal : Decimal -> Card ;
```

are just extractions of parts of the paradigms of the underlying digits or numeral:

```
NumNumeral numeral = {s = \\af => numeral.s ! NCard af ; n = numeral.n} ;
NumDigits digits = {s = \\af => digits.s ! NCard af ; n = digits.n} ;
NumDecimal decimal = {s = \\af => decimal.s ! NCard af ; n = decimal.n} ;
```

Cardinals can be modified by the rule

```
AdNum : AdN -> Card -> Card ; -- more than 51
```

which just puts a numeral-modifying adverb in front of the cardinal form:

```
AdNum adn num = {s = \\af => adn.s ++ num.s ! af ; n = num.n } ;
```

The category AdN of numeral-modifying adverbs has the implementation type $\{\mathrm{s}: \mathrm{Str}\}$ of a record with just a field $s$ of type string. An AdN can be a lexical element, like almost_AdN, at_least_AdN, and at_most_AdN, or can be constructed by

```
AdnCAdv : CAdv -> AdN ;
```

from a comparision adverb less_CAdv, as_CAdv and more_CAdv. Thus, using AdNum we get cardinals like fast|höchstens|wenigstens 5 and weniger|mehr als 5 (resp. fünf), but also

```
Lang> l (AdNum (AdnCAdv as_CAdv) (NumDecimal (PosDecimal (IDig D_5))))
as as 5
genau 5
```

To obtain different linearizations of as_CAdv here and in ComparAdvAdj, we have modified the implementation type of CAdv. Todo 21: This needs to be done for English as well.

By convention, cardinals up to twelve are usually expressed by numerals, e.g. die zehn Gebote and die zwölf Apostel, not by digits.
Cardinals can be used predicatively, e.g. we are nineteen, as a special case of predicative noun phrases; in German: die Apostel waren zwölf, an Teilnehmern gab es 23.
Remark 34: There is a computation rule for cardinals in NumeralTransfer.gf. (Section 5.11.)

## Ordinals

In Grammar, the syntactic category Ord covers ordinal numbers as digitals, e.g. 19te, 20ste or numerals, e.g. neunzehnte, zwanzigste, but also adjectives in superlative, e.g. älteste. Ordinals in German inflect like adjectives, so the implementation type is

```
Ord = {s : AForm => Str} ;
```

(As for adjectives, only the forms for the strong adjective inflection type are stored; the others can be obtained via agrAdj.) Ordinal numbers are constructed from digits and numerals by

```
OrdDigits : Digits -> Ord ; -- 51st
OrdNumeral : Numeral -> Ord ; -- fifty-first
```

Other Ords can be constructed from adjectives (c.f. Section 5.2) by

```
OrdSuperl : A -> Ord ; -- warmest
```

In German, the predicative forms of the examples shown are am 51sten, am einundfünfzigsten, and am wärmsten. The linearizations project the ordinal part of the paradigms of digits and numerals, slightly modified to obtain the predicative form ${ }^{51}$

```
OrdDigits numeral =
    {s = table{APred => "am" ++ numeral.s ! NOrd APred ++ BIND ++ "en" ;
            af => numeral.s ! NOrd af}} ;
OrdNumeral numeral =
    {s = table{APred => "am" ++ numeral.s ! NOrd APred ++ BIND ++ "en" ;
            af => numeral.s ! NOrd af}} ;
```

Likewise, the linearization of OrdSuperl projects the superlative forms of the underlying adjective, modifying the predicative form wärmsten of the adjective warm to am wärmsten:

```
OrdSuperl a =
    {s = table {APred => "am" ++ a.s ! Superl ! APred ;
                        af => a.s ! Superl ! af}} ;
```

If first, second etc. are viewed as definite ordinal numbers, some adjectives like next, last can be viewed as indefinite ordinal numbers. Here, any adjective in superlative form is an Ord.
Finally, there is a special construction of ordinals

[^27]```
OrdNumeralSuperl : Numeral -> A -> Ord ;
```

which glues an ordinal number with an adjective in superlative, e.g. zweitälteste or drittbeste:

```
OrdNumeralSuperl n a = {
    s = table {APred => "am" ++ n.s ! NOrd APred ++ BIND
        ++ a.s ! Superl ! APred ;
        af => n.s ! NOrd APred ++ Predef.BIND ++ a.s ! Superl ! af}
    } ;
```

Remark 35: There is no rule OrdDigitsSuperl : Digits -> A -> Ord to obtain am 51stbesten.
Remark 36: Due to the token glueing in OrdNumeral and OrdNumeralSuperl, to parse am 10ten, the parser input must be am $1 \&+0 t \&+$ en. To ease the parsing of adjectives, OrdSuperl does not glue the ending -en to the predicative of the adjective, but the predicative form of the adjective is besten, not best or am besten (see Section 5.2). Hence OrdNumeralSuperl can produce am drittbesten. To parse $a m$ drittbesten, the parse input must be am dritt \&+ besten. (But the predicative form besten does not allow us to construct bestmöglich.)
Remark 37: The non-glued combination das dritte beste Lied is subsumed by DetCN det cn and AdjCN ap cn via DetQuantOrd : Quant -> Num -> Ord -> Det.
Ordinals ord:Ord can be used attributively, as determiner and as noun phrase via

```
AdjOrd ord : AP
DetQuantOrd IndefArt NumPl ord : Det
DetNP (DetQuantOrd IndefArt NumPl ord) : NP.
```

The noun phrase of the last construction can be used predicatively, if the ord is an adjective in superlative, e.g. sie sind am besten or sie sind am grünsten, and as nominal complement, e.g. die ältesten schlafen.

Q31: What about die 7te Beethoven'sche Symphonie, but also with cardinal: die 7 Beethoven'schen Symphonien? And what about predicative usage: das ist gut $\mapsto$ das ist am besten, but also: es war 7 (Uhr) $\mapsto$ es war am 7ten (Tag des Monats).

## Quantifiers and Numbers

The category Quant of Grammar is not identical with the category of quantifier words. For example, some quantifiers have an inherent number, e.g. jeder (eng. each) is inherently singular, while alle (eng. all) is inherently plural. Others can combine with both singular or plural nouns, e.g. kein (eng. no). One could try to combine these to quantifier expressions varying in number, so that each and all are the singular and plural forms of the same quantifier (i.e. $\forall$ in logic), but there are quantifiers like many that have no singular form. In Grammar, the determiners have an inherent number, which is provided by a separate Num constituent of determiners; it may be a cardinal like 1 (with number singular) or $0,2, \ldots$ (with number plural), or a token with singular or plural number, but empty string field.
The Quant is the kernal of a determiner, and combines with a Num (cardinal or token fixing a grammatical number) and possibly an additional ordinal to a determiner:

```
DetQuant : Quant -> Num -> Det ; -- these five
DetQuantOrd : Quant -> Num -> Ord -> Det ; -- these five best
```

The implementation type of the syntactic category Num is an extension of the implementation type of Card by a boolean field isNum. Thus, for GrammarGer, the implementation type is

```
Num = {s,sp : AForm => Str ; n : Number ; isNum : Bool} ;
```

The second paradigm sp : AForm => Str is for stand-alone usage; e.g. wir sprachen mit zweien, kannten aber nur einen von ihnen. This is needed in DetNP det, but not implemented yet for plural. (To simplify the ordinary paradigm from Card.s : AForm => Str to Card.s : Str, maybe we can use (NumCard m).sp for the inflection needed for cardinal $1=\operatorname{ein}(s)$. But this would use the BIND to glue the endings to "ein", a disadvantage for parsing.)
The construction

```
NumCard : Card -> Num ;
```

takes the inflection paradigm and inherent number value of the cardinal, adds an inflection paradigm for stand-alone usage and sets the isNum field:

```
NumCard n = n ** {
    sp = table {AMod gn c => n.s ! APred ++ BIND ++ adjEnding ! gn ! c ;
                APred => n.s ! APred} ;
    isNum = True
} ;
```

The sp-paradigm can be used to generate ${ }^{52}$ the plural $2 e$, $2 e$, 2en, 2er or $z w e i e, z w e i e, z w e i e n$, zweier, but stem and endings need to be given as separate tokens in parsing.
Todo 22: The sp-paradigm is not used yet, neither nominally, e.g. wir erinnerten uns zweier, nor attributively, e.g. wir erinnerten uns zweier Fehler. Currently, we only get

```
Lang> l PredVP (UsePron we_Pron) (ComplSlash (SlashV2a listen_V2)
    (DetNP (DetQuant DefArt (NumCard (NumDigits (IDig D_2))))))
wir hören den 2 zu
```

Should beide (and viele) count as cardinals, like zwei, so that we would get die beiden Kinder?
Adding endings in the s-paradigm of cardinals would disturb the generation of numerals like hundertfünfundzwanzig, so we only should add endings when applying NumCard : Card -> Num. Q32: But maybe also to the s-paradigm of NumCard card for small cardinals only,?
The two other constructions of Num, i.e. NumSg, NumPl : Num, are implemented by an inflection paradigm of empty strings and appropriate values for number and isNum:

```
NumPl = {s,sp = \\af => []; n = Pl ; isNum = False} ;
NumSg = {s,sp = \\af => []; n = Sg ; isNum = False} ;
```

The quantifiers of Grammar are articles, demonstative and possessive pronouns, but also the negated quantifier kein (eng. no). The quantifier forms vary in grammatical number, gender (in singular) and case (c.f. the table of definite and indefinite article on p.41).

[^28]The quantifiers, possibly followed by a cardinal and an ordinal, e.g. this one, these two, the four youngest ${ }^{53}$, these four youngest, a fourth, my four youngest, four, are normally used as determiners, i.e. to turn a common noun into a noun phrase. But they can also be used separately, as a substitute for a noun phrase, e.g., we liked the four youngest, or the four youngest were nice. At least the quantifiers ein, kein and mein have other endings in combination with a common noun than when used separately, e.g. ein $\mid$ kein $\mid$ mein Hund vs. einer $|k e i n e r| m e i n e r . ~ H e n c e, ~$ two inflection paradigms, $s$ and $s p$, are needed in the implementation type for Quant. The stand-alone forms under sp also depend on whether a cardinal or ordinal follows the quantifier (indicated by the flag num.isNum : Bool in DetQuant and DetQuantOrd): wir geben es denen vs. wir geben es den dreien, not *wir geben es denen drei(en), and wir geben es denen vs. wir geben es den dritten. The inflection paradigm s also varies, but only for the indefinite article: if a cardinal follows, the indefinite article is dropped, e.g. a dog, but * a one dog simplifies to one dog, and * a two dogs is ungrammatical. In German, the indefinite article and the cardinal one have even the same form, ein, and both *ein ein Hund and *ein zwei Hunde are ungrammatical. The implementation type of Quant therefore has two inflection paradigms: ${ }^{54}$

```
Quant = {
    s : Bool => GenNum => Case => Str ; -- True if leading DefArtSg is dropped
    sp : GenNum => Case => Str ; -- and contracted with preposition
    a : Adjf ;
    isDefArt : Bool ;
    delCardOne : Bool -- delete following cardinal 1 (IndefArt and no_Quant)
    } ;
```

There are three further fields. First, quantifiers govern the following common noun in the adjective inflection, e.g. ein junger Hund vs. der junge Hund, hence we need a field a:Adjf. Second, the linearization type must have a boolean field telling whether a quant:Quant is the definite article. This flag helps us in the determiner constructions to build two forms of the determiner, one with and one without the leading definite article ${ }^{55}$, e.g. der zweite and zweite. To contract prepositions with a leading definite article in noun phrases, we can then pick the shortened determiner form and get e.g. im zweiten alten Haus instead of in dem zweiten alten Haus (using DetQuantOrd), likewise im einen instead of in dem einen (Fall) (using DetQuant with cardinal ein(s) and number Sg ). ${ }^{56}$ Third, a flag delCardOne is added, with value True for the quantifiers IndefArt and no_Quant only, as these behave differently from other quantifierts when combined with the cardinal ein: der eine, mein einer, jener eine, but ein ein (er) $=$ ein einziger, kein ein $(e r)=$ kein einziger. [Alternatively, we could implement ein ein $(e r)=$ ein and kein ein $(e r)=k e i n$, which would lead to more ambiguities.]
The construction

[^29]```
DefArt : Quant ;
```

is implemented as follows. The forms of the definite article (c.f. the table on p.41) are collected in an auxiliary table (with cases orderd as Nom, Acc, Dat Gen):

```
artDef : GenNum => Case => Str = table {
    GSg Masc => caselist "der" "den" "dem" "des" ;
    GSg Fem => caselist "die" "die" "der" "der" ;
    GSg Neutr => caselist "das" "das" "dem" "des" ;
    GPl => caselist "die" "die" "den" "der"
    } ;
```

This table is then used in both the normal and stand-alone usage of the article. In the standalone usage, the genitive singular forms and the genitive and dative plural forms den and der have to be overwritten, e.g. to get (wir erinnern uns) dessen, (wir erinnern uns) derer and (wir geben es) denen:

```
DefArt = {
    s = \\b,gn,c => case <b,gn> of {
                        <True,GSg _> => [] ; _ => artDef ! gn ! c} ;
    sp = \\gn,c => case <gn,c> of {
                        <GSg Masc,Gen> => "dessen" ;
                        <GSg Fem, Gen> => "derer" ;
                        <GSg Neutr,Gen> => "dessen" ;
                        <GPl,Dat> => "denen" ; -- HL 6/2019
                        <GPl,Gen> => "derer" ; -- HL 6/2019
                        _ => artDef ! gn ! c } ;
    a = Weak ;
    isDefArt = True ;
    delCardOne = False ;
    } ;
```

The auxiliary operations

```
numGenNum : GenNum -> Number = \gn ->
    case gn of {GSg _ => Sg ; GPl => Pl} ;
genGenNum : GenNum -> Gender = \gn ->
    case gn of {GSg g => g ; GPl => Masc} ;
```

select the number and gender (in plural, a default) from a value gn:GenNum.
The indefinite article

```
IndefArt : Quant ;
```

is implemented similarly. In the normal usage, the endings of the indefinite article ein (in singular) and the negated indefinite article kein are the "pronominal" endings collected in

```
pronEnding : GenNum => Case => Str = table {
    GSg Masc => caselist "" "en" "em" "es" ;
    GSg Fem => caselist "e" "e" "er" "er" ;
    GSg Neutr => caselist "" "" "em" "es" ;
    GPl => caselist "e" "e" "en" "er"
    } ;
```

In the stand-alone usage, the singular has different forms, e.g. masculine einer, einen, einem,eines, collected in

```
detEnding : GenNum => Case => Str = table \{
    GSg Masc => caselist "er" "en" "em" "es" ;
    GSg Fem => caselist "e" "e" "er" "er" ;
    GSg Neutr => caselist "es" "es" "em" "es" ;
    GPl => caselist "e" "e" "en" "er"
    \} ;
```

The indefinite article has no plural forms, but in stand-alone usage, we add forms of einige (eng. some), to avoid problems with empty noun phrases. ${ }^{57}$

```
IndefArt = {
    s = table {GSg g => \\c => "ein" + pronEnding ! (GSg g) ! c ;
                GPl => \\c => []} ;
    sp = table {GSg g => \\c => "ein" + detEnding ! (GSg g) ! c ;
        GPl => caselist "einige" "einige" "einigen" "einiger"} ;
    a = MixedStrong ; -- Sg Mixed, Pl Strong
    isDefArt = False ;
    delCardOne = True ; -- ein+ein(er) => ein(er)
    } ;
```

The construction of quantifiers from personal pronouns, i.e.

```
PossPron : Pron -> Quant ;
```

gives possessive pronouns. ${ }^{58}$ As part of determiners in their normal usage, e.g. in (ich lese) dein neues Buch and (ich lese) dein erstes neues Buch, they have the same forms. But as part of determiners in their stand-alone usage, they take different forms, e.g. (ich lese) deines and (ich lese) dein erstes (eng. yours and your first one).

```
PossPron p = {
    s = \\gn,c => p.s ! NPPoss gn c ; -- mein (dritter)
    sp = \\gn,c => p.sp ! PossF gn c ; -- meiner
    a = Mixed ;
    isDefArt = False ;
```

[^30]```
delCardOne = False ;
} ;
```

Remark 38: The PossF gn c differ only slightly from the NPPoss gn c, and we could probably use an auxiliary operation spPoss : GenNum -> Case -> NPForm to get

```
p.sp ! PossF gn c = p.s ! spPoss gn c ;
```

similar to the computation of Weak and Mixed adjective paradigms from the strong one via agrAdj : Adjf $\rightarrow$ GenNum $\rightarrow$ Case $\rightarrow$ Str. So, we can probably get rid of p.sp.
The quantifier

```
no_Quant : Quant ;
```

is implemented as shown

```
no_Quant = {
    s = \\_ => table {GSg g => \\c => "kein" + pronEnding ! GSg g ! c ;
        GPl => \\c => "kein" + detEnding ! GPl ! c} ;
    sp = \\gn,c => "kein" + detEnding ! gn ! c ;
    a = Mixed ;
    isDefArt = False ;
    delCardOne = True} ; -- HL kein+ein(er) => kein(er)
```

Similarly for that_Quant and this_Quant, except that their two paradigms don't differ and they enforce Weak adjective inflection:

```
that_Quant = let jener : GenNum => Case => Str =
        \\gn,c => "jen" + detEnding ! gn ! c
    in {s = \\_ => jener ; sp = jener ; a = Weak ; isDefArt,delCardOne = False} ;
this_Quant = let dieser : GenNum => Case => Str =
        \\gn,c => "dies" + detEnding ! gn ! c
    in {s = \\_ => dieser ; sp = dieser ; a = Weak ; isDefArt, delCardOne = False} ;
```


## Determiners

Expressions of syntactic categories like noun phrase, adjective phrase or verb phrase are extensions of a head element of a lexical category, i.e. a noun, adjective or verb, by complements or attributes. Determiners, i.e. expressions of category Det, are not extensions of words of a single lexical category, but rather expressions of different structure that can be combined with common nouns to a noun phrase. (The expressions that fulfil the determinative syntactic function are collected in the category Det.) This standard or determining usage of determiners is made precise in the construction DetCN : Det $\rightarrow$ CN $\rightarrow$ NP. When a common noun is understood from the context, there is also a stand-alone usage of determiners, made precise in the construction DetNP : Det $\rightarrow$ NP. Determiners have different paradigms for the two usages.

The paradigms $s$ and $s p$ for determiners vary in gender (in singular) and case. ${ }^{59}$ In additon, determiners take a boolean argument to distinguish between common forms (under s! False) and variants (under s ! True) in which the possibly leading definite article in singular is dropped. The implementation type of determiners is

```
Det = {
    s,sp : Bool => Gender => Case => Str ; -- True if DefArt is dropped, HL 8/22
    n : Number ; a : Adjf ; isDef, hasDefArt : Bool
    } ;
```

The inherent parameters n:Number for grammatical number and a:Adjf adjective inflection type govern the form of adjective attributes in the common noun that may be combined with the determiner. The boolean parameters hasDefArt is used to produce contractions of prepositions and leading definite article, e.g. to obtain im alten Haus from in dem alten Haus. The flag isDef is used for the relative order of various nominal objects in a verb phrase.

The module Structural of structural words of Grammar has six atomic determiners

```
every_Det, few_Det, many_Det, much_Det, somePl_Det, someSg_Det : Det ;
```

None of these have a leading definite article in singular, so the boolean argument to their paradigms is irrelevant. Moreover, the two paradigms often don't differ at all. Three of these impose plural and strong adjective inflection:

```
few_Det = {
    s,sp = \\_,g,c => "wenig" + adjEnding ! (gennum g Pl) ! c ;
    n = Pl ; a = Strong ; isDef = False ; hasDefArt = False} ;
many_Det = {
    s,sp = \\_,g,c => "viel" + adjEnding ! (gennum g Pl) ! c ;
    n = Pl ; a = Strong ; isDef = False ; hasDefArt = False} ;
somePl_Det = {
    s,sp = \\_, g,c => "einig" + adjEnding ! (gennum g Pl) ! c ;
    n = Pl ; a = Strong ; isDef = True ; hasDefArt = False} ; ---- isDef?
```

The adjective endings added here are the endings of the strong adjective inflection, given by

```
adjEnding : GenNum => Case => Str = table {
    GSg Masc => caselist "er" "en" "em" "en" ;
    GSg Fem => caselist "e" "e" "er" "er" ;
    GSg Neutr => caselist "es" "es" "em" "en" ;
    GPl => caselist "e" "e" "en" "er"
    } ;
```

[^31]Only that part of the paradigms is relevant that corresponds to the number value. So, for these three determiners the following adjective has the same (strong) endings as the determiner (c.f. Duden[2] 496, 485, 494), e.g.

```
Lang> l -table DetCN many_Det (AdjCN (PositA old_A) (UseN wine_N))
s False Nom : viele alte Weine
s False Acc : viele alte Weine
s False Dat : vielen alten Weinen
s False Gen : vieler alter Weine
s True Nom : viele alte Weine
s True Acc : viele alte Weine
s True Dat : vielen alten Weinen
s True Gen : vieler alter Weine
ext :
rc :
```

Remark 39: In general, viel-, wenig-, einig- etc. can be used in singular and plural, so these count adjectives should have type Quant in LangGer, and the above determiners be constructed from them via DetQuant, like someSg_Det = DetQuant some_Quant NumSg.

Memo:

|  |  | Strong |  |  | Weak |  |  | Mixed |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number | Case | Masc | Fem | Neuter | Masc | Fem | Neuter | Masc | Fem | Neuter |
| Singular | Nom | -er | -e | -es | -e | -e | -e | -er | -e | -es |
|  | Acc | -en | -e | -es | -en | -e | -e | -en | -e | -es |
|  | Dat | -em | -er | -em | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en |
|  | Gen | -en | -er | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en | -en |
| Plural | Nom |  | -e |  |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |
|  | Acc |  | -e |  |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |
|  | Dat |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |
|  | Gen |  | -er |  |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |
|  |  |  | hout |  | after | definit | article |  | kein | nein |

Table 2: Ending tables of adjective inflection

|  |  | adjEnding |  |  | pronEnding |  |  | detEnding |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number | Case | Masc | Fem | Neuter | Masc | Fem | Neuter | Masc | Fem | Neuter |
| Singular | Nom | -er | -e | -es | - | -e | - | -er | -e | -es |
|  | Acc | -en | -e | -es | -en | -e | - | -en | -e | -es |
|  | Dat | -em | -er | -em | -em | -er | -em | -em | -er | -em |
|  | Gen | -en | -er | -en | -es | -er | -es | -es | -er | -es |
| Plural | Nom |  | -e |  |  | -e |  |  | -e |  |
|  | Acc |  | -e |  |  | -e |  |  | -e |  |
|  | Dat |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |  | -en |  |
|  | Gen |  | -er |  |  | -er |  |  | -er |  |

Table 3: Ending tables of determiner constructions

Of the three singular determiners, every_Det has the same paradigms for determining and stand-alone usage and imposes weak adjective inflection:

```
every_Det = {
    s,sp = \\_,g,c => "jed" + detEnding ! (gennum g Sg) ! c ;
    n = Sg ; a = Weak ; isDef = False ; hasDefArt = False} ;
```

The two paradigms differ for someSg_Det, as seen e.g. in er kaufte ein altes Auto versus er kaufte eines, and this determiner imposes mixed adjective inflection:

```
someSg_Det = {
    s = \\_, g,c => "ein" + pronEnding ! GSg g ! c ; -- ein, eine, ein
    sp = \\_,g,c => "ein" + detEnding ! GSg g ! c ; -- einer, eine, eines
    n = Sg ; a = Mixed ; hasNum = True ; isDef = False ; hasDefArt = False
    } ;
```

Remark 40: In a sense, the determiners someSg_Det and somePl_Det are derived from the indefinite article IndefArt:Quant, which leads to multiple parse results, e.g.

```
Lang> p -lang=Ger -cat=NP "ein guter Wein"
DetCN someSg_Det (AdjCN (PositA good_A) (UseN wine_N))
DetCN (DetQuant IndefArt NumSg) (AdjCN (PositA good_A) (UseN wine_N))
```

But we have implemented a slight difference in plural:

```
Lang> p -lang=Ger -cat=NP "gute Weine"
DetCN (DetQuant IndefArt NumPl) (AdjCN (PositA good_A) (UseN wine_N))
Lang> l DetCN somePl_Det (AdjCN (PositA good_A) (UseN wine_N))
einige gute Weine
```

For the singular determiner much_Det and several other count adjectives as singular determiners, the adjective inflection has some exceptions (c.f. Duden[2] 482-496), so the four possibilities of Adjf are somewhat crude. ${ }^{60}$ If we use viel without endings, which seems useful for mass nouns at least, strong adjective inflection is imposed.

```
much_Det = {
    s = \\_, g,c => "viel" ;
    sp = \\_,g,c => "viel" + detEnding ! (gennum g Sg) ! c ;
    n = Sg ; a = Strong ; isDef = False ; hasDefArt = False} ;
```

The use of detEndings in the stand-alone usage is a guess (may at least be wrong in genitive).
Remark 41: In German, we can add a definite article in front of much_Det, e.g. das viele Geld. Similarly for many Det, e.g. die vielen Kinder. This is not accepted by GrammarGer. (It would be, if viele would count as a cardinal.)
The module Noun has two main ways to construct determiners,

```
DetQuantOrd : Quant -> Num -> Ord -> Det ;
DetQuant : Quant -> Num -> Det ;
```

[^32]To prepare the contraction of preposition and definite articles of noun phrases, for both DetQuant quant num and DetQuantOrd quant num ord we need variants of the paradigms of quant: if quant is the definite article and num is in singular, the variants have empty strings: The quant is the leading constituent in a determiner constructed by DetQuantOrd or DetQuant, and the determiner the leading constituent in a noun phrase constructed by DetCN det cn. A contractable preposition then just combines with the noun phrase shortened by the leading definite article, e.g. [in] dem (einen) (besten) Fall $\mapsto$ [im] (einen) (besten) Fall.

We first consider the construction DetQuantOrd quant num ord. In this case, there is no difference between the normal and the stand-alone paradigm, because of the final ordinal, e.g. dieser dritte Versuch and dieser dritte, or deine drei besten Aufsätze and deine drei besten. The quant determines the adjective inflection of the following ordinal and common noun, e.g. der|dieser dritte große Versuch, ein $\mid$ mein $\mid$ kein dritter großer Versuch. If num is a cardinal except ein(s), it is not inflected, e.g. zwei in nominative die zwei dritten Zähne or dative den zwei dritten Zähnen.
Whether num is the cardinal ein can be detected from num.n $=\mathrm{Sg}$ and num.isNum $=$ True. This num needs to be inflected, e.g. der eine große Fehler, den einen großen Fehler, mein einer großer Fehler, meinen einen großen Fehler. Moreover, if the preceding quant is IndefArt or no_Quant, they are contracted with the num ein, e.g. ein + ein $=$ ein (einziger), kein + ein $=$ kein (einziger). The flag quant.delCardOne indicates whether we should drop a following numeral one or, as implemented below, replace it by a form of einziger.

```
DetQuantOrd quant num ord =
    let
        n = num.n ;
        a = quant.a ;
        d = quant.isDefArt ;
        isCardOne = case n of {Sg => num.isNum ; _ => False} ;
        nums : AForm => Str = \\af => case af of {
                AMod (GSg g) c => case <quant.delCardOne,isCardOne> of {
            <True,True> => einziger ! af ; -- (ein,kein) einziger
            <_,True> => num.sp ! af ; -- (der,dieser) eine ; (mein) einer
            _ => num.s ! af } ; -- (die,diese) zwei ; (meine) zwei
            => num.s ! APred}
    in {
        s,sp = \\\b,g,c => let gn = gennum g n in
            quant.s ! b ! gn ! c ++ nums ! agrAdj a gn c ++ ord.s ! agrAdj a gn c ;
        n = n ;
        a = a ;
        isDef = case a of {Strong => False ; _ => True} ;
        hasDefArt = d
        } ;
```

Remark 42: Determiners ending in an ordinal give rise to an ambiguity, e.g. for my third teeth.

```
Lang> p -cat=NP "meine dritten Zähne"
DetCN (DetQuant (PossPron i_Pron) NumPl)
        (AdjCN (AdjOrd (OrdNumeral (num (pot2as3 (pot1as2 (pot0as1 (pot0 n3)))))))
            (UseN tooth_N))
```

```
DetCN (DetQuantOrd (PossPron i_Pron) NumPl
    (OrdNumeral (num (pot2as3 (pot1as2 (pot0as1 (pot0 n3)))))))
(UseN tooth_N)
```

Here, OrdNumeral numeral : Ord can either be turned into an AP by AdjOrd and then used to modify the common noun, or it can be the final part of a determiner which combines with the noun. Roughly, the three (best new books) = (DetCN (DetQuant quant num) (AdjCN ord $\mathrm{cn})$ ) versus (the three best) new books $=($ DetCN (DetQuantOrd quant num ord) cn ).

| Quant | Num | Adjf | DetCN det cn(DetQuant quant num). s |  | DetNP det (DetQuant quant num).sp |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| der | NumSg <br> NumPl <br> ein <br> zwei | weak | der <br> die der eine die zwei | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{q} . \mathrm{s}+\mathrm{n} . \mathrm{s}!\mathrm{a} \\ & \mathrm{q} . \mathrm{s}+\mathrm{n} . \mathrm{sp}!\mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ | der die (Dat,Gen) der eine die zwei | $\begin{gathered} \text { q.sp } \\ \text { q.s }+\mathrm{n} . \mathrm{s}(\mathrm{p}) \end{gathered}$ |
| ein | NumSg <br> NumPl <br> ein <br> zwei | mixed <br> strong <br> mixed <br> strong | $\begin{gathered} \text { ein } \\ \epsilon \\ \text { ein (einziger) } \\ \text { zwei } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { q.s }+\epsilon \\ \text { q.s }+ \text { n.s ! a } \\ \text { q.s }+ \text { einziger } \\ \epsilon+\text { n.s !a } \end{gathered}$ | ```einer einige(?) ein (einziger) zwei(e)``` | $\begin{gathered} \text { q.sp } \\ \text { q.sp } \\ \text { q.s }+ \text { einziger } \\ \text { q. } s+\text { n.s(p)!a } \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { kein } \\ ? \\ ? \end{gathered}$ | NumSg <br> NumPl <br> ein <br> zwei | mixed | kein keine kein (einziger) / nicht ein keine zwei | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{q} \cdot \mathrm{~s}+\mathrm{n} \cdot \mathrm{~s} \\ & \mathrm{q} \cdot \mathrm{~s}+\mathrm{n} \cdot \mathrm{~s} \end{aligned}$ | keiner keine kein einziger / nicht einer keine zwei | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{q} \cdot \mathrm{sp} \\ \mathrm{q} \cdot \mathrm{~s}+\text { einziger } \\ / \text { nicht }+ \text { einer } \\ \text { q.s }+ \text { n.s } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| mein | NumSg <br> NumPl <br> ein <br> zwei | mixed | mein meine mein einer meine zwei | $\begin{gathered} \text { q.s }+\mathrm{n} . \mathrm{s} \\ \mathrm{q} \cdot \mathrm{~s}+\mathrm{n} . \mathrm{s} \\ \mathrm{q} \cdot \mathrm{~s}+\mathrm{einer}!\mathrm{a} \\ \mathrm{q} . \mathrm{s}+\mathrm{n} . \mathrm{s} \end{gathered}$ | meiner meine mein einer meine zwei | $\begin{gathered} \text { q.sp } \\ \text { q.sp } \\ \text { q.s }+ \text { einer } \\ \text { q.s }+ \text { n.s } \end{gathered}$ |
| dieser | NumSg <br> NumPl <br> ein <br> zwei |  | dieser diese dieser eine diese zwei |  | dieser diese dieser eine diese zwei |  |

Table 4: The paradigms $s$ of determinative and $s p$ of stand-alone usage of determiners
For the construction DetQuant quant num, the normal and the stand-alone paradigms differ: if no cardinal follows, i.e. num.isNum = False, the stand-alone form of quant is used, e.g. ein|kein|mein großer Fehler versus einer|keiner|meiner, but also if quant is the definite article: wir gaben es den Kindern versus wir gaben es denen, and in singular wir erinnern uns des Problems|der Frage versus wir erinnern uns dessen|derer(?). ${ }^{61}$

```
DetQuant quant num =
    let
        n = num.n ;
        a = quant.a ;
        d = quant.isDefArt ;
        quantsp : Bool => GenNum => Case => Str =
```

[^33]```
            case num.isNum of {True => quant.s ; False => quant.sp} ;
    isCardOne = case n of {Sg => num.isNum ; _ => False} ;
    nums : AForm => Str = \\af => case af of {
        AMod (GSg g) c => case <quant.delCardOne,isCardOne> of {
            <True,True> => einziger ! af ; -- (ein,kein) einziger
            <_,True> => num.sp ! af ; -- (der,dieser) eine ; (mein) einer
            _ => num.s ! af } ;
        AMod GPl c => num.s ! APred ; -- (den,diesen) zwei(en) .sp?
        APred => num.s ! APred}
in {
    s = \\b,g,c => let gn = gennum g n in
        quant.s ! b ! gn ! c ++ nums ! agrAdj a gn c ;
    sp = \\b,g,c => let gn = gennum g n in
        quantsp ! b ! gn ! c ++ nums ! agrAdj a gn c ;
    n = n ;
    a = a ;
    isDef = case a of {Strong => False ; _ => True} ;
    hasDefArt = d
} ;
```

Todo 23: If the determiner ends in a cardinal, inflection may be needed. At least the (empty) indefinite article in plural imposes strong adjective inflection for small cardinals: wir erinnern uns der|meiner drei Fehler versus wir erinnern uns dreier Fehler, or mit den zwölf Aposteln versus mit den zwölfen. This is not implemented yet.

Remark 43: In the paradigm for stand-alone usage, the possible omission of a leading definite article in singular needs an exception: if the article is not followed by a cardinal, the contraction of preposition and article should be avoided: in dem einen $\mapsto$ im einen, but in dem $\mapsto^{*}$ im. (Instead, we get $i m$ dem. Can we obtain $i n \operatorname{dem} \mapsto d a r i n ?$ )
Determiners can be coordinated, e.g. these three or your two (ones). This is handled in the module Conjunction (Section ??).
Remark 44: Grammar does not have noun phrases in genitive as determiners, e.g. the philosopher Plato's books, Lady Windermere's fan, my best student's ideas. This construction is declared in Extend.GenNP : NP $\rightarrow$ Quant and generalizes PossPron : Pron $\rightarrow$ Quant. (But it admits strange iterations: eines Tages, eines Tages Abends, eines Tages Abends Endes, ....)

### 5.1.4. Construction of Noun Phrases

Basic noun phrases can be built from a determiner and a common noun with the rule

```
DetCN : Det -> CN -> NP ; -- the man
```

The paradigm of DetCN det cn concatenates det.s with $\mathrm{cn} . \mathrm{s}$ and varies in case. The form of the determiner depends on the gender $\mathrm{cn} . \mathrm{g}$ of the common noun and the adjective inflection of the common noun depends on the determiner, as given by det.a : Adjf.

The relative clause and a sentential, interrogative or infinitival complement of a cn : CN are lifted to the rc-field and ext-field of the noun phrase DetCN det cn, respectively.

```
DetCN det cn = {
```

```
s = \\b,c => det.s ! b ! cn.g ! c
    ++ cn.s ! (adjfCase det.a c) ! det.n ! c ++ cn.adv ;
a = agrgP3 cn.g det.n ;
w = case det.isDef of { True => case det.hasDefArt of {True => WDefArt ;
                                    _ => WLight } ;
                                    _ => WHeavy } ;
rc = cn.rc ! det.n ;
ext = cn.ext
} ;
```

The agreement value of the noun phrase is agrgP3 $=(\mathrm{Ag} \mathrm{cn} . \mathrm{g}$ det.n P3) and determined by the gender of the common noun and the number read off from the determiner. If the determiner is definite, the noun phrase counts as light, else as heavy. The weight of the noun phrase influences its relative position with respect to negation in clauses, e.g. ich sehe den Mann nicht vs. ich sehe nicht einen Mann $=$ ? ich sehe keinen Mann (see mkClause, p.134). ${ }^{62}$
A variant of DetCN is to construct a noun phrase from a determiner alone, i.e. the construction

```
DetNP : Det -> NP ; -- these five
```

where the common noun of DetCN det cn is empty, e.g. diese fünf or dieses fünfte:

```
DetNP det \(=\{\)-- more genders in ExtraGer
    \(\mathrm{s}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{c}=>\operatorname{det} . \mathrm{sp}\) ! b ! Neutr ! c ;
    \(\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{agrP3}\) det. n ;
    -- HL 6/2019: no pronoun switch: ich gebe ihr das vs. ich gebe es ihr
    \(\mathrm{w}=\) case det.isDef of \{
            True => case det.hasDefArt of \{ True => WDefArt ;
                        _ => WLight \} ;
            _ => WHeavy \} ;
    rc, ext \(=[]\)
    \} ;
```

This construction (resp. its generalization DAP) is the only one where det.sp is used. The gender Neutr of the determiner (and in the agreement value agrP3) is a default; variants DetNPMasc and DetNPFem with gender Masc and Fem are defined in ExtendGer. ${ }^{63}$
Atomic noun phrases that are obtained by using a proper name via the rule

```
UsePN : PN -> NP ; -- John
```

are light noun phrases with third person singular agreement and by default no relative clause or sentential, interrogative or infinitival complement.

```
UsePN pn = {
    s = \\_ , c => pn.s ! c ;
```

[^34]```
a = agrgP3 pn.g Sg ;
w = WLight ;
rc, ext = []
} ;
```

Similarly, when pronouns are used as noun phrases by

```
UsePron : Pron -> NP ; -- he
```

the inflection type Pron.s : NPForm $=>$ Str has to be turned into NP.s : Bool => Case => Str.

```
UsePron pron = {
    s = \\_, c => pron.s ! NPCase c ;
    a = pron.a ;
    w = WPron ;
    rc, ext = []
    } ;
```

Since proper names and personal pronouns are light noun phrases, nominal objects of these kinds precede sentence negation in clauses, i.e. we get sie liebt Johann|ihn nicht rather than sie liebt nicht Johann|ihn.
Q34: What about ich $\operatorname{Arme}(r)$, du Dumme (r), or wir Studenten?
Remark 45: Pronouns have a different distribution than complex noun phrases: the possessive of a pronoun has special forms (the possessive pronoun) which are used in front of the common noun, e.g. meine kleinen Kinder, while the possessive usage of non-pronoun noun phrases is by its genitive form, either in front of or following the common noun. (So e.g. PartNP checks whether its argument np is a pronoun, and builds Hund des Mannes, but Hund von mir.)

The construction of noun phrases from mass nouns,

```
MassNP : CN -> NP ; -- (I drink) beer
```

is massively overgenerating, since Cat provides no category of mass nouns. Any common noun in singular can be used as mass noun to construct a noun phrase without determiner:

```
MassNP cn = {
    s = \\_, c => cn.s ! Strong ! Sg ! c ++ cn.adv ;
    a = agrgP3 cn.g Sg ;
    w = WLight ; -- ich trinke Bier nicht vs. ich trinke kein Bier
    rc = cn.rc ! Sg ;
    ext = cn.ext
    } ;
```

Also, some quantifiers cannot be used with mass nouns, others can only be used with mass nouns: *viel Kind, viel Glück, viele Kinder, *viele Glück. (Case and gender in singular: wir wünschen euch viel Freude, viel Erfolg, viel Glück.)

### 5.1.5. Modification of Noun Phrases

-- A noun phrase already formed can be modified by a pre-determiner.

```
PredetNP : Predet -> NP -> NP ; -- only the man
```

The type of pre-determiners is supposed to be

```
lincat
    Predet = {
        s : Number => Gender => Case => Str ;
        c : {p : Str ; k : PredetCase} ;
        a : PredetAgr -- if an agr is forced, e.g. jeder von uns ist ...
        } ;
param
    PredetCase = NoCase | PredCase Case ;
    PredetAgr = PAg Number | PAgNone ;
```

The field a:PredetAgr suggests that pre-determiners can be used to build subjects of a clause, which is the case with PredetNP : Predet $->$ NP $->$ NP, but not with PredetRNP : Predet
 the case of its argument (reflexive) noun phrase.

```
PredetNP pred np =
    let ag = case pred.a of {PAg n => agrP3 n ; _ => np.a} in np ** {
        s = \\\b,c0 =>
            let c = case pred.c.k of {NoCase => c0 ; PredCase k => k} in
            pred.s ! numberAgr ag ! genderAgr np.a ! c0 ++ pred.c.p ++ np.s ! b ! c ;
        a = ag ;
        w = WHeavy
        } ;
```

Todo 24: Examples: Discuss. Distinguish according to isPron np?
Remark 46: In Grammar, every is a determiner, which governs the common noun in number, but all is a predeterminer, which combines with any (singular or plural) noun phrase. In particular, in can precede the definite article. Hence, * every dogs sleep|sleeps is not accepted, but all (the) dogs sleep and(!) all (the) dog sleeps are. (The latter may be useful for mass nouns, e.g. all the money. In German, we have in singular aller Mut, alle Freude, alles Geld, but with article only all der|mein Mut, all die|meine Freude, all das|mein Geld.)
The abstract grammar declares four post-nominal modifications of noun phrases. The postnominal modification of noun phrases by a past participle,

```
PPartNP : NP -> V2 -> NP ; -- the man seen
```

should in German at least have the participle in commata, so it is implemented by

```
PPartNP np v2 = np ** {
    s = \\b,c => np.s ! b ! c ++ embedInCommas (v2.s ! VPastPart APred) ;
    w = WHeavy
    } ;
```

with an auxiliary operation

```
embedInCommas : Str -> Str= \s -> bindComma ++ s ++ endComma
```

This gives, e.g. das Buch, ungelesen,. However, more commonly, the participle is modified, e.g. das Buch, kaum gelesen, or das Buch, von einigen hoch gelobt,.

Remark 47: There are constructions

```
Extend.PastPartAP : VPSlash -> AP ;
Extend.PastPartAgentAP : VPSlash -> NP -> AP ;
```

that provide such examples, up to the post-nominal position:

```
AllGerAbs> l DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg)
    (AdjCN (PastPartAP (AdVVPSlash always_AdV (SlashV2a read_V2))) (UseN book_N))
das immer gelesene Buch
```

If we let PastPartAP set isPre = False, then AdjCN would give an uninflected post-nominal modification, das Buch, immer gelesen.

The two post-nominal modifications by an adverb,

```
AdvNP : NP -> Adv -> NP ; -- Paris today
ExtAdvNP: NP -> Adv -> NP ; -- boys, such as ..
```

are similarly implemented by attaching the adverb to np.s:

```
AdvNP np adv \(=\mathrm{np} * *\) \{
    \(\mathrm{s}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{c}=>\mathrm{np} . \mathrm{s}\) ! b ! c ++ adv.s ;
    \(\mathrm{w}=\mathrm{WHeavy}\)
    \};
ExtAdvNP np adv \(=n p\) ** \(\{\)
    \(\mathrm{s}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{c}=>\mathrm{np} . \mathrm{s}\) ! b ! c ++ embedInCommas adv.s ;
    w = WHeavy
    \};
```

Todo 25: In ExtAdvNP, it may be better to put the adv.s to np.ext, so that it can be separated from the noun, e.g. sie hatten einige Philosophen studiert, darunter Platon und Aristoteles.
Finally, the post-nominal modification of noun phrases by relative clauses,

$$
\text { RelNP : NP } \rightarrow \text { RS } \rightarrow \text { NP ; -- Paris, which is here }
$$

adds the argument rs to the field np.rc:

```
RelNP np rs = np ** {
    rc = let gn = gennum (genderAgr np.a) (numberAgr np.a)
        in np.rc ++ embedInCommas (rs.s ! RGenNum gn) ;
    w = case isPron np of { True => WLight ; _ => np.w }
    } ;
```

Q35: Do we really want to relativize a noun phrase, or can we remove RelNP in favour of new rules PronRel : Pron -> RS -> NP and RelPN : PN -> RS -> NP in addition to the existing rule RelCN : CN $\rightarrow$ RS $\rightarrow$ CN? Is die Stadt Paris, die ich kenne, a good example, or is this the relativization of common noun with apposition, i.e.

```
DetCN det (RelCN (ApposCN (UseN city_N) (UsePN paris_PN)) rs ?
```

Better may be e.g. mindestens 15 Staaten, die zusammen 65 Prozent der EU-Bevölkerung repräsentieren, (der Freitag, 4. Januar 2024, p.3). At least semantically, this is not the plural of a relativized common noun, RelCN (UseN state_N) rs. (Or e.g. die Haltung des Gesundheitsministers, der wenig Verständnis für deren Forderungen hat.) By RelNP, several relative clauses can be added, e.g. die Stadt Paris, die ich kaum kenne, die viele Leute lieben,. This seems strange; a single, coordinated relative sentence seems better.

Remark 48. Relative sentences can be attached to common nouns and to noun phrases, which leads to ambiguities (DetCN det (RelCN cn rs)) and (RelNP (DetCN det cn) rs) like "das Haus, das ich kenne ,". Can these ambiguities be reduced? The above post-nominal modifications can be applied in any order, which gives some flexibility for the price of ambiguities.

```
TestLang> p -cat=NP "Paris heute , gesehen , , das schläft ,"
    PPartNP (AdvNP (RelNP (UsePN paris_PN) (UseRCl ... rs)) today_Adv) see_V2
    PPartNP (RelNP (AdvNP (UsePN paris_PN) today_Adv) (UseRCl ... rs)) see_V2
    RelNP (PPartNP (AdvNP (UsePN paris_PN) today_Adv) see_V2) (UseRCl ... rs)
```

Todo 26: Avoid the double comma, produced by RelNP and PPartNP.

Todo 27: The rule

```
CountNP : Det -> NP -> NP ; -- three of them, some of the boys
```

is claimed to be different from the partitive in many languages.

```
CountNP det np = -- drei der Kinder | drei von den Kindern -- HL 7/22, ad-hoc TODO
            -- det or numeral? np or rather (DefArt +) cn? drei (einiger Kinder) ?
    let g = genderAgr np.a
    in {
    s = \\b,c => det.sp ! b ! g ! c ++ appPrep von_Prep np ;
    a = agrgP3 g det.n ;
    w = case det.isDef of { True => WLight ; _ => WHeavy } ;
    rc = np.rc ;
    ext = np.ext
    } ;
```

A problem here is that the number det.n cannot influence the number of the argument np (but it governs the number of cn in $\operatorname{DetCN}$ det cn ). So this construction overgenerates.

```
Lang> l CountNP (DetQuant no_Quant NumSg) (UsePron we_Pron)
none of us
```

```
keiner von uns
Lang> l CountNP (DetQuant IndefArt NumPl) (UsePron we_Pron)
ones of us
einige von uns
```

There are two more rules in Noun, providing determiners with adjectives and coordinations of such, e.g. ein kleines oder dein bestes. The first extends any determiner to a determiner "with adjective phrase". Since the extended determiner can be used stand-alone, but also in combination with another adjective phrase, two paradigms are needed:

```
DetDAP det = {
    s = \\g,c => det.s ! False ! g ! c ;
    sp = \\g,c => det.sp ! False ! g ! c ;
    n = det.n ; a = det.a ; isDef = det.isDef ; hasDefArt = det.hasDefArt
    } ;
```

The second rule modifies such an extended determiner by adding another adjective phrase; the determiner governs the adjective inflection type, as in $\operatorname{AdjCN}$, so that we get e.g. ein kleiner, but also der kleine:

```
AdjDAP dap ap = -- the large (one)
    {s,sp = \\g,c => dap.s ! g ! c ++ ap.c.p1 ++ ap.c.p2
        ++ ap.s ! agrAdj dap.a (gennum g dap.n) c ++ ap.s2 ! c ++ ap.ext ;
    a = dap.a ; n = dap.n ; isDef = dap.isDef ; hasDefArt = dap.hasDefArt } ;
```

The relative order between sentential complement and comparision noun phrase of the adjective may be wrong (if both arise at the same time).

```
Lang> l AdjDAP (DetDAP every_Det) (ComparA old_A (UsePN john_PN))
every older than John
jeder ältere als Johann
```

Remark 49: Not every determiner may be used in this rule. E.g., we get hard to understand examples with determiner much_Det and comparative adjective (Q36: how to avoid?):

```
Lang> l (AdjDAP (DetDAP much_Det) (ComparA old_A (UsePN john_PN)))
much older than John
viel älterer als Johann
```

The sequence much + older sounds like an adjective modification, which it isn't here and would in German be viel älter instead of viel älterer. Together with Extend.UseDAP : DAP -> NP, these give strange apparent complements to copula verbs, e.g. ich bin viel älterer als du. $\triangleleft$
Todo 28: Check whether the correct paradigm $s$ or $s p$ is used by Extend.UseDAP : DAP -> NP.

### 5.2. Adjective Phrases

## Morphological Adjective

Adjectives can be used in postive, comparative and superlative degree. The parameter type is

```
param
    Degree = Posit | Compar | Superl ;
```

In each degree, adjectives have forms for predicative and attributive usage. The predicatively used German adjective does not inflect (for number and person, as the predicatively used verb does), e.g. jung in du bist jung and sie sind jung, while the attributively used adjective inflects for number and case of the noun it modifies, e.g. mein junger Hund vs. meine jungen Hunde and meinen jungen Hund vs. meine jungen Hunde, in singular also for gender, e.g. mein junger Hund vs. meine junge Katze. Therefore, the parameter type for adjective forms is

```
param
    AForm = APred | AMod GenNum Case ;
```

Attributively used adjectives also vary according to an adjective inflection type,

```
Adjf = Strong | Weak | Mixed | MixedStrong ;
```

This inflection type of attributively used adjectives in noun phrases depends on the determiner of the noun phrase; the Strong form is used when there is no determiner, e.g. kleines Kind, the Weak form is used when there is a definite article, das kleine Kind. The Mixed adjective inflection combines the Strong form in the nominative and accusative singular with the Weak forms in all other inflection cases; it is used for the negation determiner kein and the possessive pronoun as determiner of the noun phrase. The MixedStrong form is used with the indefinite article, using the Mixed forms in singular and the Strong forms in plural.

The strong attributive forms of adjectives are AMod GenNum Case. Where the weak and mixed forms do not agree with the strong ones, they use the two endings -e and -en, which are also the endings in the strong inflection of AMod (GSg Fem) Nom and AMod (GSg Masc) Acc. Hence, the forms of the weak and mixed inflection types can be obtained by properly selecting from the strong paradigm. This is done by an auxiliary operation

```
agrAdj : Adjf -> GenNum -> Case -> AForm = \g,a,n,c ->
    let
        gn = gennum g n ;
        e = AMod (GSg Fem) Nom ;
        en = AMod (GSg Masc) Acc ;
    in
    case a of {
        Strong => AMod gn c ;
        Weak => case <gn,c> of {
            <GSg _, Nom> => e ;
            <GSg Masc,Acc> => en ;
            <GSg _, Acc> => e ;
            _ => en } ;
        Mixed => case <gn,c> of {
```

```
        <GSg g, Nom|Acc> => AMod gn c ;
        _ => en } ;
    MixedStrong => case <gn,c> of {
    <GSg _, Dat|Gen> => en ;
        => AMod gn c }
} ;
```

Applying agrAdj whenever attributive adjective forms are needed, the type of the inflection paradigm of adjectives can be simplified from Degree => Adjf => AForm => Str by dropping the dependence on Adjf. The auxiliary type of the morphological adjective therefore is just

```
Adjective : Type = {s : Degree => AForm => Str} ;
```

and only contains the forms of the strong adjective inflection.

## Lexical Adjective

There are two syntactic categories of adjectives, unary and binary adjectives:

```
lincat
    A = Adjective ;
    A2 = Adjective ** {c2 : Preposition} ;
```

Remark 50: In Lexicon.gf, there is an entry easy_A2V : A2, which seems to suggest that there is a category A2V of ternary adjectives with prepositional and infinitival objects, e.g. leicht für jemanden, es zu tun. But easy_A2V is typed as a binary adjective, maybe because the infinitival complement is the subject, not an object of the adjective. ParadigmsGer says:

```
-- Notice: categories $AS, A2S, AV, A2V$ are just $A$,
-- and the second argument is given as an adverb.
```

In fact, to add a sentential or infinitival subject, one first has to apply Posita or UseComparA to the adjective to obtain an adjective phrase, then apply UseComp o CompAP to obtain a verb phrase and finally add the subject by PredSCVP o EmbedS or PredSCVP o EmbedVP; for example, this gives that John sleeps is probable from probable_AS or to hear music is fun from fun_AV. To add a sentential or infinitival object, one turns it into a "sentential complement" SC by EmbedS or EmbedVP and embeds this by SentAP to the adjective phrase; for example, this gives John is glad to hear music from glad_A:A. The sentential object could, unplausibly, also be analysed as adverbial sentence and added to the adjective phrase (or to the derived verb phrase) by AdvAP (or AdvVP); for example, this gives a strange analysis of John is glad that he can sleep.

## Category of Adjective Phrase

Instead of letting adjective phrases vary in degree, Grammar has three syntactic constructions

```
PositA : A -> AP
UseComparA : A -> AP
AdjOrd o OrdSuperl : A -> AP
```

that turn a unary adjective into an adjective phrase in which the adjective is in positive, comparative and superlative degree, respectively. Therefore, the inflection paradigm of adjective phrases does not depend on Degree, but is just a table of type AForm => Str. The implementation type of adjective phrases is (an extension of the one of $\mathrm{gf}-3.9$ by the $\mathbf{s} 2$-field) is

```
AP = {s : AForm => Str ; -- (strong) adjective paradigm
    s2 : Case => Str ; -- comparison noun phrase
    isPre : Bool ; -- True unless post-nominal as attribute to CN
    c: Str * Str ; -- (ich bin) [c1 ihm] treu ; stolz [c2 auf dich]
    ext : Str} ; -- (du bist) so klug (gewesen) [ext ihn zu lesen]
```

The field s2 : Case => Str is to hold a comparision noun phrase, e.g. wie der Kirchturm in so hoch wie der Kirchturm or als der Kirchturm in höher als der Kirchturm. The comparision noun phrase depends on case, e.g. sie bauten ihre Häuser nicht höher als den Kirchturm, and, in attributive usage, can be separated from the adjective by a noun, e.g. größere Türme als die Kirchtürme, or (ein) so hoher Turm wie der Kirchturm. Hence a separate field s2 is needed.

The complement of a binary adjective is stored in a field c : Str $*$ Str. Nominal objects are stored in the first component, prepositional objects in the second. ${ }^{64}$ A special field $s$ is needed since objects can be separated from the adjective, e.g. by the participle gewesen in er war stolz gewesen auf sein Prüfungsergebnis. A complement can of course also be fronted, e.g. auf sein Prüfungsergebnis war er sehr stolz. As the examples indicate, in predicatively used adjective phrases the nominal objects precede the noun, e.g. sie blieb ihrem Ziel treu rather than * sie blieb treu ihrem Ziel. (But in adverbial usage, this might be the proper ordering.) With prepositional objects, both positions are common, e.g. er war stolz auf sein Ergebnis and er war auf sein Ergebnis sehr stolz.
The field ext : Str is intended for sentential complements, e.g. an infinitival complement in froh [darüber], die Prüfung bestanden zu haben, or a sentential complement in froh [darüber], daß die Sonne schien. As with nominal and prepositional complements, they can be separated from the adjective, e.g. by a participle, or fronted.
Q37: How are adjectives with a sentential complement used in comparisons, as in froher, VP.inf als NP or as in froher als NP, VP.inf? Generally, the comparision part need not be a noun phrase, e.g. ein besserer Sänger als ich, or (Pelé war) ein ebenso guter Sambatänzer wie Fußballspieler, but can for example be an adverb, e.g. ein besseres Wetter als gestern.

In contrast to other languages, German does not distinguish between adjectives that precede from those that follow the noun in their attributive usage. The attributively used adjective phrase precedes the noun (though a comparison noun phrase may follow), except when its adjective has a sentential complement. In this case, the (uninflected) attribute follows the noun, e.g. die Kinder, froh, daß es schneit, instead of *die frohen, daß es schneit, Kinder (though we might say die darüber, daß es schneit, frohen Kinder). Hence, a flag isPre : Bool distinguishes adjective phrases which can be used as prenominal attribute from those which cannot (the ones constructed by SentAP).
Remark 51: There is a post-nominal adjectival apposition: das Brot, hart und angeschimmelt, war ungenießbar, or das Buch, noch nicht gelesen, lag auf dem Tisch. To turn an adjective phrase into such a post-nominal attribute or apposition, i.e. uninflected adjective in commata, we might add a rule ApposCN : CN $\rightarrow$ AP $\rightarrow$ CN to Extend, implemented roughly by AdjCN (ap ** $\{$ isPre $=$ False $\}$ ) cn, or a similar rule ApposNP:NP $\rightarrow$ AP $\rightarrow$ NP generalizing PPartNP.

Remark 52. The complement type AP.c : Str * Str should be AP.c : Agr => Str * Str to allow for reflexive pronouns and reflexive possessives, as in "stolz auf sich" or "stolz auf seine

[^35](eigene) Leistung". Also, the sentential objects can depend on Agr, e.g. "froh, sich entschuldigt zu haben". Hence, a better implementation type could be

```
AP : Type = {
    s : AForm => Str ; -- (strong) adjective paradigm
    isPre : Bool ; -- True unless post-nominal as attribute to CN
    s2 : Agr => Case => Str ; -- comparison part: klügere N als man selbst
    c : Agr => Str * Str ; -- nominal vs. prepositional complement
    ext: Agr => Str} ; -- sentential complement: froh, sein Ziel zu erreichen
```

See ExtraGer.ReflAZRNP, p. 173.

## Construction of Adjective Phrases

The construction

```
PositA : A -> AP ; -- warm
```

to use a unary adjective in positive degree just selects the positive forms of the adjective paradigm and fills the other fields with empty comparison part and complements:

```
PositA a = {
    s = a.s ! Posit ;
    s2 = \\_ => [] ;
    isPre = True ;
    c = <[], []> ;
    ext = []
    } ;
```

There are two constructions to use an adjective in comparative degree. First, the adjective can be used without a comparison part, by

```
UseComparA : A -> AP ; -- warmer
```

E.g., das Meer ist heute wärmer or wir lieben die wärmeren Tage. Then the comparative forms of the adjective are stored in the paradigm of the adjective phrase:

```
UseComparA a = {
    s = \\af => a.s ! Compar ! af ;
    s2 = \\_ => [] ;
    isPre = True ;
    c = <[],[]> ;
    ext = []
    } ;
```

Second, the adjective can be used with a comparison part. In Grammar, the comparison part must be a noun phrase (hence, e.g. today, the sea is warmer than yesterday is not recognized ${ }^{65}$ ):

[^36]```
ComparA : A -> NP -> AP ; -- warmer than I
```

In German, the comparison noun phrase is not concatenated with the adjective, since they can be separated by an intervening noun, e.g. (ein) wärmeres Meer als die Nordsee, so the comparison noun phrase is stored in a special field s2 of the adjective phrase:

```
ComparA a np = {
    s = \\af => a.s ! Compar ! af ;
    s2 = \\c => conjThan ++ np.s ! False ! c ++ np.ext ++ np.rc ;
    isPre = True ;
    c = <[], []> ;
    ext = []
    } ;
```

The comparison part has a leading conjunction conjThan, in German als, and it varies in case, so that the adjective phrase can be an attribute in nominal objects, e.g. (ich kenne) ein wärmeres Meer als den Atlantischen Ozean.
Binary adjectives can be used without complement, by

```
UseA2 : A2 -> AP ; -- married
```

as in eine verheiratete Frau or wir sind verheiratet, which is implemented, like PositA, by

```
UseA2 a = {
    s = a.s ! Posit ;
    s2 = \\_ => [] ;
    isPre = True ;
    c = <[],[]> ;
    ext = []
    } ;
```

The only binary adjective in Lexicon.gf is married_A2. (Participles of verbs can be turned into adjective phrases by Extend.PastPartAP:VPSlash $\rightarrow$ AP.) A better example is e.g. proud (of sth) in a woman proud of her career or she is proud or her career.
Remark 53: A problem with this rule is that if the adjective expects a prepositional object, the object can be read as an adverbial modification of the adjective phrase, e.g. mit mir verheiratet:

```
AdvAP (UseA2 married_A2) (PrepNP with_Prep (UsePron i_Pron))
```

Similarly, the adjective phrase can be turned into a VP by UseComp o CompAP and modified by AdvVP with the adjective's prepositional object understood as Adv. (And AdvAP or AdvVP can be applied iteratively, leading to acceptance of e.g. die mit mir mit mir verheiratete Frau.) $\triangleleft$ Binary adjectives can also be used with a complement:

```
ComplA2 : A2 -> NP -> AP ; -- married to her
```

Depending on whether the adjective expects a nominal or prepositional object, the complement string is added to the first or second component of the complement field $c$, in the case a.c2 expected by the adjective:

```
ComplA2 a np =
    let
        obj = appPrepNP a.c2 np
    in {
        s = a.s ! Posit ;
        s2 = \\_ => [] ;
        isPre = True ;
        c = case a.c2.t of {isCase => <obj, []> ; _ => <[], obj>} ;
        ext = []
    } ;
```

Binary adjectives can also be used reflexively, by

```
ReflA2 : A2 -> AP ; -- married to itself
```

Here, the third person singular (of any gender) of the reflexive pronoun is put into the complement field s:

```
ReflA2 a =
    let
        obj = appPrep a.c2 (reflPron ! agrP3 Sg) ;
    in {
        s = a.s ! Posit ;
        s2 = \\_ => [] ;
        isPre = True ;
        c = case a.c2.t of {isCase => <obj, []> ; _ => <[], obj>} ;
        ext = []
    } ;
```

E.g., with suitable adjectives, this gives auf sich stolz or sich treu and seiner (selbst) bar.

Remark 54: The restriction to reflexive pronoun in third person excludes examples like wir waren stolz auf uns. More generally, the complement could be a relflexive noun phrase RNP, see Extend.ReflA2RNP (and git branch reflexiveNPs).
To use an adjective in superlative degree, it first has to be turned into an ordinal by OrdSuperl : A $\rightarrow$ Ord, which selects the superlative attributive forms of the adjective paradigm and adds a leading $a m$ to the predicative form (c.f. p. 76). An ordinal can be turned into an adjective phrase by

```
AdjOrd : Ord -> AP ; -- warmest
```

The implementation just selects the paradigm from the ordinal:

```
AdjOrd a = {
    s = a.s ;
    s2 = \\_ => [] ;
    isPre = True ;
    c = <[],[]> ;
    ext = []
    } ;
```

The rule AdjOrd does not allow us to use a binary adjective in superlative degree, e.g. viele sind stolz auf sich, aber Johann ist am stolzesten auf dich.

Remark 55: The transformation to an ordinal leads to ambiguities: either the adjective in superlative is the final part of the determiner or the initial part of the common noun:

```
Lang> parse -cat=NP "der wärmste Tag"
DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (AdjCN (AdjOrd (OrdSuperl warm_A)) (UseN day_N))
DetCN (DetQuantOrd DefArt NumSg (OrdSuperl warm_A)) (UseN day_N)
```

It seems better not to transform the adjective to an ordinal, but instead have rules UseSuperlA = AdjOrd o OrdSuperl : A -> AP and UseSuperlA2 : A2 -> AP.

## Modification of Adjective Phrases

Todo 30: Check where the modification rules have to make the result depend on ap.isPre of its argument ap , and whether the ordering of complements and modifying adverb is correct.
An adjective phrase can be modified by a comparison adverb and a (nominal) comparison part:

```
CAdvAP : CAdv -> AP -> NP -> AP ; -- as cool as John
```

Remark 56: As a modification rule, CAdvAP can be iterated, which seems artificial, e.g. the water is as [as warm as the sea] as the air. Similarly, if its argument ap already expresses a value like quite warm on the implicit (temperature) scale provided by warm, the resulting CAdv adv ap np, e.g. as quite warm as the sea, expresses incomparable degrees: either the temperature is quite warm or as warm as the sea, but not both. To overcome this, one could restricted the rule to a construction rule CAdvAP : CAdv $\rightarrow$ A $\rightarrow$ NP $\rightarrow$ AP, analogous to ComparA : A $->$ NP $\rightarrow$ AP. (Probably, the reason for GF's type of CAdvAP is to admit adjectival arguments with complements, e.g. as [proud of his work] as John, but this would apply as well to ComparA and e.g. [prouder of his work] than John.) ${ }^{66}$

The implementation of CAdvAP adds the first part of the comparative adverb as-as, in German (eben)so-wie, to the paradigm forms in s and the second to the comparision field in s2: ${ }^{67}$

```
CAdvAP cadv ap np =
let adv : Str * Str = cadv.s ! False in
    ap ** {
        s = \\afl => adv.p1 ++ ap.s ! afl ;
        s2 = \\c => ap.s2 ! c ++ adv.p2 ++ np.s ! False ! c ++ np.ext ++ np.rc ;
        isPre = True
    } ;
```

The isPre field is set to True, so that the resulting adjective phrase ap can be used as prenominal attribute in AdjCN ap cn, or rather as attribute wrapped around the noun.
Remark 57: The original implementation restricted the comparison part to be a noun phrase in nominative. But besides e.g. ich besitze einen kleineren Wagen als du, one can also say, e.g. ich kaufe einen kleineren Wagen als diesen Sportwagen. Hence the restriction is removed here.

[^37]As remarked earlier, the modification rule

```
SentAP : AP -> SC -> AP ; -- good that she is here
```

ought to be a construction rule ComplAS : AS -> S -> AP or ComplAV : AV -> VP -> AP with subcategories AS and AV of A. SentAP ap sc is intended to combine the sentential, infinitival or interrogative complement $\mathrm{sc}: \mathrm{SC}$ of the (head) adjective of ap to the ext-field of an ap. (The example good that she is here is misleading, as it shows an adjective with a sentential subject, [that she is here] is good. An adjective with sentential object is happy in (John is) happy that she is here or (John is) happy to be alive. There are adjectives with interrogative subject, e.g. ob es besser wird, ist unklar, but I don't see an adjective with interrogative object.)
Typed as a modification rule, SentAP is overgenerating, since it can be applied iteratively and there is no restriction to the argument ap. The implementation SentAP ap sc concatenates the sentential complement sc.s to the extraction field ap.ext of the argument ap:

```
SentAP ap sc = ap ** {
    isPre = False ;
    ext = ap.ext ++ sc.s
    } ;
```

(It seems to be assumed here that ap.ext is the empty string.) The complement can be separated from the adjective, as in e.g. Johann ist froh [darüber] gewesen, daß sie kommt.
The sentential complement of an adjective phrase built by SentAP can be a subject-sentence (or -infinitive or -interrogative clause), e.g. that $S$, is good or why $S$, is unknown, or an objectsentence, e.g. I find inacceptable, that $S$ or they considered it unbelievable, why $S$. But such adjective phrases can hardly be used as pre-nominal attribute, e.g. der gelobt zu werden begierige Schüler. Instead, they can be used as uninflected post-nominal attribute (or apposition), e.g. der Schüler, begierig, gelobt zu werden, or Johann, froh, daß sie gekommen war,. The flag isPre is set to False to indicate that the attributive usage of the adjective phrase (in Noun.AdjCN) is not pre-nominal, but post-nominal.
The modification of adjective phrases by "adadjectives",

```
AdAP : AdA -> AP -> AP ; -- very warm
```

puts the adadjective in front of the forms of the adjective phrase's paradigm, but leaves the complements intact:

```
AdAP ada ap = ap ** {s = \\a => ada.s ++ ap.s ! a} ;
```

This is certainly not very precise, hence overgenerating. It ignores that some adadjectives modify adjective phrases in specific degrees, e.g. sehr|zu dumm, but *sehr|zu dümmer, * sehr|zu dümmste, or wenig|kaum|viel dümmer als ..., but * wenig|kaum|viel dumm wie ....

Remark 58: One could change the linearization types of AP and AdA and implement

```
AdAP ada ap = ap ** {s = \\deg,a => ada.s ++ ap.s ! ada.deg ! a} ;
```

The rules PositA, ComparA and SuperlA = AdjOrd o OrdSuperl could be combined to a rule UseA : A $\rightarrow$ AP. Then all uses of adjectives had to provide a degree to be passed to the adjective
phrase. This could be done by splitting the rule AdjCN for attributive and CompAP for predicative usage into three rules each. But when a modification fixes the degree of an adjective phrase, one cannot apply another (degree-fixing) modification rule to the result. A dead end? Alternatively, one perhaps can use dependent types and AdAP : (d:Degree) $\rightarrow$ AdA d $\rightarrow$ AP d $\rightarrow$ AP d. In the end, different subclasses of adjectives may be modified in specific ways only, depending on their meaning, e.g. scalar adjectives like old by absolute resp. relative scale values, e.g. 50 years old resp. e.g. as old as John or much older than John, but colour adjectives like blue by other adjectives, e.g. light blue or dark blue.

In English, an adjective phrase can be postmodified, say by a prepositional phrase,

```
AdvAP : AP -> Adv -> AP ; -- warm by nature
```

In German, the modifying adverb precedes the adjective,

```
AdvAP ap adv = ap ** {s = \\a => adv.s ++ ap.s ! a} ; -- HL 1/2024
```

e.g. von Natur aus warm, or (das) mit Abstand bevölkerungsreichste (Land), or (ein) heutzutage selten gelesenes (Buch). In attributively used adjective phrases, the modifying adverb (as well as the nominal complements) precede the adjective, e.g. ein vor Angst krankes Kind, so that the adjective inflection comes at the end. But in predicative or adverbial usage, the adverb may follow the adjective, e.g. krank vor Angst or treu seinem Auftrag.
The attributive usage of adjectives is implemented by AdjCN : AP -> CN -> CN in the module Noun, the predicative usage by CompAP o UseComp : AP $\rightarrow$ VP in the module Verb. Adjectives can also be used as adverbs, e.g. der Wagen fuhr schnell. Adjectives in superlative can be used as adadjectives, e.g. höchst dumm or e.g. äußerst klug, maybe also schellstmöglich. These are treated in the module Adverb.
Todo 31: Add test examples to lintest.gfs, with doubly modified adjective phrases.

### 5.3. Adverb Phrases

Lang differs between AdV, the "adverb directly attached to verb" (e.g. "always"), and Adv, the "verb-phrase-modifying adverb" (e.g. "here"). Among the verb-phrase-modifying adverbs, Lang distinguishes between definite adverbs Adv, e.g. here, and interrogative adverbs IAdv, e.g. where. The indicated difference between Adv and AdV by occcurence position in sentences does not hold for German: immer = always is not directly attached to the verb in German, but rather between two nominal objects of a v:V3: Johann hat mir immer eine Zigarette angeboten is preferred over alternatives ${ }^{68}$
Still, different adverb insertion functions may be needed for German, since adverbial clauses are ususally sentence-initial or -final. According to Verb.gf, AdvVP is to add adverbs at the end of a vp, while AdVVP is to attach them next to or before the verb. But is it plausible that the position of an adverb corresponds across languages?
Presumably, the category AdV corresponds to sentence-modifying adverb (Satzadverb in German). But even if the semantic difference predicate modifiers Adv and between sentence operators AdV is made, I don't see a systematic difference in the position of these adverbs in German sentences.

### 5.3.1. Categories of Adverbs

The resource grammar Grammar does not distinguish between a lexical category Adv and a phrasal category AdvP of adverbs, as one might expect. There are four categories Adv, Adv, IAdv and CAdv of adverbs at the end of verb phrases, adverbs close to the verb, interrogative adverbs and comparative adverbs (or adverb prases). Their linearization categories are the same for all languages of the library, given (in CommonX) as

```
Adv = {s : Str} ;
AdV = {s : Str} ;
IAdv = {s : Str} ; -- interrogative adverb
CAdv = {s,p : Str} ; -- comparative adverb
```

While these types are as expected for lexical adverbs ${ }^{69}$, they are insufficient for adverbial phrases. In German, adverbs ought to be split strings. First, adverbs can have a movable comparison part: Johann ist schneller gefahren als sein Freund or er ist schneller gefahren als [es] erlaubt ist. Second, adverbs can consist of a "pronominal" adverb, e.g. dort, plus a movable relative clause: Die $\mathrm{CO}_{2}$-Anlagen sind dort geplant, wo die Klimakrise bereits besonders heftig wütet. The relative clause can be fronted, e.g. wo . . . wütet, dort sind . . .geplant, while the comparison part apparently cannot. Hence the implementation type ought to have three fields:

```
Adv = {s : Str ; cp : Str ; rc : Str} ;
```

Q39: But what about the degree of an adverb: you work well, he works better, she works best? e.g. zur Zeit des Krieges habe man besser gelebt als jetzt. While adverbs derived from adjectives might vary in degree, others certainly do not, e.g. in this way. So it seems better to generate three adverbs from an adjective.

[^38]On the assumption that the category AdV corresponds to sentence－modifying adverbs，the fol－ lowing implementation type seems correct：

$$
\text { AdV = \{s : Str\} ; }
$$

There is also a（lexical）category CAdv of comparative adverbs．Comparative adverbs have two string parts，e．g．$\langle$ weniger，als〉 and 〈［genau］so，wie〉．To construct from cadv：CAdv an adverb can afford a different linearization of cadv than to construct a cardinal modifier（i．e．an AdN）， e．g．（she did it）as well as John，but（she has）exactly 4 （children），and（she did it）better than John，but（she has）more than 4 children．Hence，a CAdv has a table of string pairs and a field to select the degree of the adjective used when forming an adverb：

```
CAdv = {s : Bool => Str * Str ; deg : Degree} ; -- True for AdN ; False for Adv
```

The rule AdnCAdv selects the True part of the paradigm，the rule ComparAdvAdj the False part．

## 5．3．2．Construction of Adverbs

Construction of Comparative Adverbs
As the type of CAdv is changed，the operation mkCAdv of common／CommonX．gf is overwritten by an operation

```
mkCAdv : Str * Str -> Str * Str -> Degree -> CAdv
```

which creates a record of type CAdv by inserting the arguments in the corresponding fields of the record．Examples of comparative adverbs are given in StructuralGer by

```
as_CAdv = P.mkCAdv <"genau", []> <"so","wie"> Posit ; -- genau 5 ; so gut wie np
less_CAdv = P.mkCAdv <"weniger","als"> <"weniger","als"> Posit ;
more_CAdv = P.mkCAdv <"mehr","als"> <"","als"> Compar ;
```

There may be user－defined comparative adverbs like 〈＂anders＂，＂als＂〉 in e．g．（sie）hat Covid nicht anders bewertet als andere Infektionskrankheiten．

## Construction of Adverbs

Lexical adverbs are built with an auxiliary operation mkAdv ：Str－＞Adv，where

```
mkAdv str = {s = str ; cp,rc = []} ;
```

Some atomic adverbs are given in the modules LexiconGer and StructuralGeg，for example

```
already_Adv = mkAdv "schon" ;
now_Adv = mkAdv "jetzt" ;
today_Adv = mkAdv "heute" ;
everywhere_Adv = mkAdv "überall" ;
```

An often used construction of adverbs is from preposition and noun phrase，

```
PrepNP : Prep -> NP -> Adv ; -- in the house
```

which combines ${ }^{70}$ the preposition with the noun phrase in the case demanded by the preposition:

```
PrepNP prep np = {s = appPrepNP prep np ; cp,rc = []} ;
```

Remark 59: The argument np may have a sentential object, which sometimes is an extractable part of the adverb, e.g. sie hatten in der Absicht trainiert, das Spiel zu gewinnen. To implement this, we could add a field ext:Str to the implementation type of Adv and use a variant of appPrepNP that allows us to lift np.ext or np.rc to the ext-field of PrepNP prep np. $\triangleleft$ Next, there are adverbs constructed from an adjective. The construction

```
PositAdvAdj : A -> Adv ; -- warmly
```

uses the predicative, uninflected form of an adjective adverbially:

```
PositAdvAdj a = {s = a.s ! Posit ! APred ; cp,rc = []} ;
```

Comparative adverbs with a noun phrase as comparision,

```
ComparAdvAdj : CAdv -> A -> NP -> Adv ; -- more warmly than John
```

add the noun phrase in nominative to the comparison field of the adverb, as in e.g. (der Hund ist) weniger schnell (gelaufen) als der Hase:

```
ComparAdvAdj cadv a np = let adv : Str * Str = cadv.s ! False in {
    s = adv.p1 ++ a.s ! cadv.deg ! APred ;
    cp = adv.p2 ++ np.s ! False ! Nom ++ bigNP np ;
    rc = []
    } ;
```

The comparative adverbs governs the degree of the argument adjective. This is used to obtain from more_CAdv schneller als rather than mehr schnell als. The example more warmly than in the rule declaration would in German be wärmer als, e.g. ich trinke den Tee wärmer als du.
Remark 60: While the comparative adverb governs the degree of the argument adjective in ComparAdvAdj, it cannot determine the degree of the argument adjective phrase in CAdvAP. So CAdvAP more_CAdv (PostitA good_A) gives *gut als, not (*)mehr gut als. It seems dubious that a comparison adverb can be combined with an adjective phrase of any degree, e.g. more good|better|best than; on the other hand, the adjective can take complements, e.g. more proud of herself than John.)
As we implement more_CAdv to use the adjective in comparative in ComarAdvAdj, we get an ambiguity for adjectives from CAdvAP:

```
Lang> p -cat=AP "besser als er"
CAdvAP more_CAdv (UseComparA good_A) (UsePron he_Pron)
ComparA good_A (UsePron he_Pron)
```

[^39]Remark 61: There are also adverbs (and adjectives) obtained by comparison of two adverbs (or adjectives) by, e.g. rather more - than -, in which the comparative degree is not used, as in the idiomatic mehr recht als schlecht, or mehr|eher warm als kalt. But this would be a construction of a different type.
Comparative adverbs with a sentential comparision part,

```
ComparAdvAdjS : CAdv -> A -> S -> Adv ; -- more warmly than he runs
```

hold the sentence in subordinate word order in their comparison field:

```
ComparAdvAdjS cadv a s = let adv : Str * Str = cadv.s ! False in {
    s = adv.p1 ++ a.s ! cadv.deg ! APred ;
    cp = adv.p2 ++ s.s ! Sub ;
    rc = []
    } ;
```

e.g. (er fuhr) schneller als [es] die Polizei erlaubt. Again, the comparison clause can be separated from the adverb, e.g. er stellte sich weniger dumm an [,] als wir gedacht hatten.
Todo 32: We can also build adverbs from adjectives in superlative degree, e.g. wir gehn am liebsten schwimmen, by an additional rule SuperlAdvAdj : A -> Adv, implemented by

```
SuperlAdvAdj a = {s = a.s ! Superl ! APred ; cp,rc = []} ;
```

(In Eng, the adjective good_A:A has forms well, better, and best, but the adverbs better_Adv and best_Adv are independent entries in DictEng.gf.) There are also adverbs AdV resp. Adv derived from present participles, e.g. das Problem ist weitgehend gelöst resp. daran wird laufend gearbeitet.
Finally, adverbs can be built from a subjunctor and a sentence via

```
SubjS : Subj -> S -> Adv ;
```

Adverbial sentences, e.g. weil die Sonne scheint, are obtained by putting the subjunctor in front of the sentence in subordinate word order, i.e. the finite verb is at the end:

```
SubjS subj s = {s = subj.s ++ s.s ! Sub ; cp,rc = []} ;
```

Todo 33: Implement the combination of a pronominal adverb with a movable relative clause, in various orderings, e.g. the local adverb dort, wo der Pfeffer wächst or its directional version dorthin, wo ... in e.g. (sie sollen) dorthin gehen, wo der Pfeffer wächst, or wo der Pfeffer wächst, dorthin sollen sie gehen. This seems to be missing and will need the (so far unused) field Adv.rc. So far, wo is an interrogative adverb only:

```
Lang> p -cat=QCl "wo regnet es"
QuestIAdv where_IAdv (ImpersCl (UseV rain_VO))
```

Do we need a category RAdv for relative adverbs to implement dort, wo es regnet, or can we misuse the IAdv for a construction RelAdv : IAdv -> Cl -> RCl ?

Remark 62：Perhaps the pronominal adverb dorthin is a correlate of the adverb wo der Preffer wächst，and instead of the fields s：Str and rc：Str we better had s：Str and cor：Str for an adverb correlate．Then SubjS could fill the s－field with the adverbial sentence weil die Sonne scheint and the cor field with the correlate deshalb．The correlate should be provided by the subjunctor，i．e．subjunctors would have to be correlate－subjunctor pairs，e．g．〈deshalb，weil\} or $\langle$ damals，als〉 or $\langle\langle$ erst $]$ dann，nachdem〉．Can we do so also with $\langle d a| d o r t| h i e r$, woो，where the local adverbial sentence is built with a relative pronoun wo instead of a subjunctor？

## Modification of Adverbs

Some adverbs can be modified by adadjectives like very in English，sehr in German：
AdAdv : AdA -> Adv -> Adv ; -- very quickly

As in English，the modifying adadjective is put in front of the adverb derived from an adjective：

$$
\text { AdAdv ada adv }=\operatorname{adv} * *\{s=a d a . s++\operatorname{adv} . \mathrm{s}\} ;
$$

as in e．g．（der Zug fuhr）sehr schnell or $z u$ schnell．Clearly，the rule is overgenerating：if the adverb is an adverbial clause，an ungrammatical expression will arise，e．g．＊sehr weil die Sonne scheint．Moreover，an adverb modifier like very＿AdA should only be used to modify an adverb in＂positive degree＂，e．g．sehr schnell，but not one in＂comparative degree＂，e．g．＊sehr schneller als der Hase．Conversely，viel modifies adverbs in comparative degree，e．g．viel schneller als der Hase，but not those in＂positive degree＂，＊viel schnell．

Remark 63：For the category AdV of＂adverbs directly attached to the verb＂there is a an atomic adverb always＿AdV in Structural，and construction and modification rules PositAdVAdj and AdAdV in Extend．
Todo 34：Discuss the negation adverb nicht and its relation to the polarity of clauses！
Todo 35：Adapt insertAdj，insertAdv and insertAdV to handle split adjectives and adverbs．
Proposal 4：To order adverbs in basic clauses we may need to refine the category Adv in AdverbGer to carry an additional field to classify adverbs：

```
lincat Adv = {s:Str; t:AdvType} ;
param AdvType = loc | dir | temp | mod | ... ;
```

Then the VPSlash and VP categories would need a field adv ：\｛loc，dir，temp，mod，．．．：Str\} to insert adverbs to appropriate fields（which would give spurious ambiguities according to which adverb is inserted first！）and order them by AdvType in clauses，perhaps in various AdvOrders．

The AdvType would also be nice to classify prepositions of＂semantic＂type Prep＝＜Adv／NP （as distinguished from those in verb frames）．The classification should be done by（overlapping） tests，e．g．isLocal ：Prep－＞Bool，to avoid adding parameters to Prep．
How to translate adverb orderings to other languages（using parameters of cl．s ：Tense＝＞ ．．．＝＞Ord＝＞AdvOrd＝＞Str，probably）？Should adverbial clauses be classified also？$\triangleleft$

## 5．4．Verb Phrases and Clauses

## Morphological Verb

The various verb categories $\mathrm{V}, \ldots, \mathrm{V} 2 \mathrm{~V}, \mathrm{~V} 3$ all are extensions of the type of morphological verb：

```
Verb : Type = {
    s : VForm => Str ;
    prefix : Str ;
    particle : Str ;
    aux : VAux ;
    vtype : VType
    } ;
```

Each field of this record type gives the type of the information in the record of a verb v : Verb.
The field v.s of v contains the inflection paradigm of the verb. The verb form parameter VForm of v.s : VForm => Str distinguishes the infinite, finite, imperative and participle forms of v:

```
param VForm =
    VInf Bool -- True = with the particle "zu"
    | VFin Bool VFormFin -- True = prefix glued to verb
    | VImper Number -- prefix never glued
    | VPresPart AForm -- prefix always glued
    | VPastPart AForm ;
```

The finite forms vary in tense, mood, number and person, so one would expect a constructor VFin Tense Mood Number Person. But the four mood and tense variations are here represented by four constructors VPresInd, VPresSubj, VImpfInd, VImpfSubj of a parameter type VFormFin, where Pres and Impf indicate the Präsens and Präteritum (or Imperfekt) tense, and Ind and Subj indicate the Indikativ and Konjunktiv mood:

```
param VFormFin =
    VPresInd Number Person
    | VPresSubj Number Person
    | VImpfInd Number Person --# notpresent
    | VImpfSubj Number Person --# notpresent
;
```

This grouping (presumably) is to highlight the finite forms as those varying in (at least) both number and person; there is no further use of the parameter type VFormFin made in LangGer. (The lines marked by --\# notpresent are ignored when the grammar is compiled to a restricted version that covers the present tense only.)
The value of the parameter Bool in VFin Bool VFormFin steers whether the prefix of the verb is glued to the stem or not. ${ }^{71} \ldots$
The participle forms are not grouped like VPart Tense AForm, but given by two separate constructors VPresPart AForm for the Partizip Präsens and VPastPart AForm for the Partizip Perfekt ${ }^{72}$, where the parameter type AForm covers both the predicative and adjectival forms of adjectives.

[^40]The field v.prefix of v:Verb holds the prefix attached to (most of) the forms in v.s when v is extended to a verb $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{V}$ or some of the other verbal categories. Likewise, the field v .particle holds a separable particle, e.g. Lehrgeld zahlen. The field v.vAux of type

```
param VAux = VHaben | VSein ;
```

fixes which of the perfect auxiliaries haben or sein the verb needs. Finally, the field v.VType stores the verbtype of v , using the parameter values

```
param VType = VAct | VRefl Case ;
```

Actually, the only reflexive verbs seem to be of verbtype VRefl Dat and VRefl Acc, so the parameter type VType might be reduced somewhat.
Lexical Verb This partial classification of morphological verbs v:Verb is extended to the full syntactic arity when $v$ is turned into a verb of the lexical categories of the grammar Lang, namely

```
lincat
    V, VA, VS, VQ = ResGer.Verb ;
    VV = Verb ** {isAux : Bool} ;
    V2, V2A, V2S, V2Q = Verb ** {c2 : Preposition} ;
    V2V = Verb ** {c2 : Preposition ; isAux : Bool ; objCtrl : Bool} ;
    V3 = Verb ** {c2, c3 : Preposition} ;
```

The verbs of category VA, VS, VQ take an adjectival, sentential and interrogative object, those of category V2 and V3 take one and two nominal objects, respectively. The fields c2 and c3 hold the preposition or just the case used to attach the nominal object to the verb. The verbs of category V2A, V2S, V2Q are those with a nominal and an adjectival, sentential and interrogative object respectively. (There is no category for verbs with adverbial complement, e.g. an einem Ort wohnen in Johann wohnt hier nicht mehr.) These verb categories don't restrict the subject complement, although only few verbs admit sentential, interrogative or infinitival subjects. There is also no category for nullary verbs, i.e. verbs with the expletive subject es, like the weather verbs, e.g. heute regnet es; so the grammar does not exclude das Haus regnet.
The verbs v of category VV and V2V take an infinitival complement; those with field v .isAux $=$ True are auxiliary verbs, which take a pure Inf complement and use the infinitive as past participle form, e.g. sie will arbeiten and sie hat arbeiten wollen as well as ich lasse sie arbeiten and ich hatte sie arbeiten lassen, whereas those with v.isAux $=$ False take an Inf-zu complement and use the participle form, e.g. sie hofft, zu arbeiten and sie hat gehofft, zu arbeiten ${ }^{73}$ as well as ich verspreche|rate dir, zu arbeiten and ich hatte dir versprochen|geraten, zu arbeiten.
For V2V, the field objCtrl is to distinguish object- from subject-control verbs by values True and False. Depending on the value of $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{objCtrl}$ of $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{V} 2 \mathrm{~V}$, reflexive pronouns in the infinitival complement have to agree in person and number with the nominal object or the subject of v .

### 5.4.1. Verb Phrases VP and Incomplete Verb Phrases VPSlash

Verb phrases have more "tenses" than verbs; they are built from the verb tense in combination to an anteriority parameter:

[^41]```
param VPForm =
    VPFinite Mood Tense Anteriority
    | VPImperat Bool
    | VPInfinit Anteriority ;
```

In gf-3.3, the implementation category of VP was

```
VP : Type = {
    s : Verb ;
    a1 : Polarity => Str ; -- nicht
    n0 : Agr => Str ; -- dich
    n2 : Agr => Str ; -- deine Frau
    a2 : Str ; -- heute
    isAux : Bool ; -- is a double infinitive
    inf : Str ; -- sagen
    ext : Str -- dass sie kommt
    } ;
```

Clearly, the s-field is intended to hold the verb of the VP, the a2-field holds an adverb (or an adverbial clause, added by ExtAdvVP). But why does the a1-field, which seems to hold the negation, depend on Polarity? To be able to change the polarity of a tree and then linearize correctly?
The participle perfect of a modal verb v exists, as in Er hat das gewollt, but is replaced by the infinitive, if v comes with an infinitive complement, like Wir hatten aufbrechen wollen. (According to Eisenberg [? ], das "führt zum Aufeinandertreffen von zwei Infinitiven" - the double infinitive) So, isAux $=$ True seems to mean the verb v is a modal verb. And the inf-field takes the infinitive (or zu-infinitive) complement of $v$, and ext the sentential complement. The fields n 0 and n 2 seem to separate reflexive pronominal from other reflexive nominal complements.

Remark 64. In gf-3.3, VP.a1:Polarity $\Rightarrow>$ Str contained the negation nicht, and insertAdV added adverbs adv:AdV in front of VP.a1, example: immer nicht - but shouldn't this be nie ?-, while insertAdv added adverbs adv:Adv at the end of VP.a2. Does this distinction really exists in German, or is gf-3. 10 right with assuming it doesn't exist? At least, several adverbs sometimes occur consecutively in a clause, e.g"(die Außenminister verabschiedeten die Maßnahmen) am Freitagabend bei einem Treffen in Brüssel". ${ }^{74}$ So, insertAdv seems useful. Was the idea of a1 : Polarity $\Rightarrow>$ Str to make certain adverbs depend on polarity, so that we might have always_AdV $=\{s=\backslash \backslash p=>$ case $p$ of $\{$ Pos => "immer"; Neg => "nie"\}\} and insertAdV $a d v v p=v p * *\{a 1=\backslash \backslash p=>a d v!p++v p . a 1!p\}$ ? Can it work with non-empty vp.a1 or several AdVs? At least this was not so since gf-3.0.
(VP of gf-3. 10 hidden.)
Q42: What caused the complexity in gf-3.9? There are complexity issues with verbs of arity 4 or higher; with contracted pronouns $a m, \ldots, z u m$; with case distinction of moving/extracting infinite complements etc.

[^42]Redesign: (forget the predicative AP, CN, Adv in $\mathrm{nn} . \mathrm{p} 4$ for the moment)
Among its fields, a verb phrase vp:VP should have a field s:Verb for its main verb, a field $\mathrm{nn}:$ Agr $=>$ Str for the verb's nominal objects (the reflexives of which depend on the agreement features of the missing subject), a field ext for sentential and interrogative (right-extracted) complements, and a field inf for the infinitival complement of vp.s : Verb. ${ }^{75}$
The infinitival complement of auxilary verbs v:VV or v:V2V is hold in-place, e.g. ich habe schlafen wollen and ich habe ihn schlafen lassen, those of full verbs v:VV or v:V2V are extracted to the right, e.g. ich habe versucht, zu schlafen and ich habe ihn gebeten, nicht zu schlafen. More precisely, the infinitival complement is not continuous, but in general split into an in-place and a right-extracted part. We hold the in-place part of vp's infinitival complement ${ }^{76}$ in vp.inf.inpl and the extracted part in vp.inf.extr. Since an infinitival complement may contain reflexives that have to agree with the subject (or a nominal object) of the matrix verb, the components have to be of type Agr $\Rightarrow$ Str, e.g. ich will mir selbst helfen, du willst dir selbst helfen etc., so sich selbst helfen wollen : Agr => Str.
However, for in-place infinitival complements, this type Agr => Str will not quite do, since the in-place part is in general a split string. Namely, in a verb phrase whose main verb is an auxiliary verb, e.g. wollen:VV or lassen:V2V, in Futur-II its infinitival complement is split by the inserted tense auxiliary haben, e.g. the infinitival complement euch helfen in man wird (euch haben helfen) wollen and man wird ihn (euch haben helfen) lassen. To separate nominal objects from the predicate (the verb in infinitive form, modified by adverbs), we need a splitted field ${ }^{77}$

```
vp.inf.inpl : (Agr => Str)*Str.
```

The infinitival complement may be a verbal phrase with an embedded infinitival complement. By wrapping a further <obj, pred> pair around its inner infinitival complement, we can have a vp with a nested infinitival complement, and if it is used in finite form in tense Futur-II, say in PredVP np vp for $i c h_{0}$ werde $i h n_{1}$ dir $_{2}$ haben helfen ${ }_{2}$ lassen $_{1}$ müssen $_{0}$, we have to insert haben into the gap of the innermost infinitival complement $\langle$ dir, helfen $\rangle$.
The split point may be used to insert a correlate es for moved inf-zu infinitives, at least if the original position of an infinitival object comes before the nominal object (of a V2V verb), as in ich habe (euch zu helfen) ihm empfohlen $\mapsto$ ich habe [es] ihm empfohlen, euch zu helfen, just as the indirect nominal object ( $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{c} 3$ ) comes before the direct nominal object ( $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{c} 2$ ) of a V3 verb (in the unmarked ordering). But possibly there is a correlate switch involved that moves the es forward, and the original position of the infinitival object follows the nominal object?
VP should also have a field inf.extr : Agr => Str for an extracted (even direct?) infinitival complement. The two fields inpl and extr of vp.inf can be used simultaneously, as one of them contributes an empty string (unless extraction leaves a correlate es in vp.inf.inpl).

When the vp is used as the finite verb phrase of a clause, by PredVP np vp or PredSCVP sc

[^43]vp, we have to decide on the relative order between vp.inf.extr and vp.ext. The content of vp.inf.extr might alternatively go to vp.ext, as there seem to be no verbs with both a sentential (or interrogative) and an infinitival complement. ${ }^{78}$

There is no need to split inf.extr like inf.inpl into <objs,pred>, since inf.extr can only be used as infinitival complement, for which there is no need for the gap for a missing temporal auxiliary haben. Extracted infinitival complements are nested by embedding them to the right, e.g. ich habe (ihr empfohlen, (dich zu bitten, ihr zu helfen)), also with auxiliary verbs in between, e.g. ich habe ihr empfehlen müssen, dich zu bitten, ihn ihr helfen zu lassen. Extracted infinitival complements may depend on agreement features over several embedding levels, which makes reflexive resolution non-obvious. For example, we can have ich muß dirleuch raten, (ihr zu versprechen, (dich|euch um sie zu kümmern)), with control verbs of different control.
Q45: Do we want to be able to define such complex predicates like jmdm raten, zu versprechen, sich zu kümmern or jmdm empfehlen, zu versuchen, sich anzustrengen, or jmdn schwören lassen, (sich von jmdm fernzuhalten)? We'd need a clear difference in defining to let sb help himself versus to let sb help oneself.
Therefore, the implementation category VP should be as follows:

```
VP : Type = {
    s : Verb ; -- schlafe:V,lese:V2, will,hoffe:VV, lasse,verspreche,rate:V2V
    -- nominal,prepositional object or comp of s
    -- HL 3/2021: nn = <refl|pron,NP,PP,AP|CN|Adv> -- pron,light,heavy,comp
    -- <sich|ihr,deine Frau,an sie,gut>
    nn : Agr => Str * Str * Str * Str
    adj : Str ; -- adjectival complement of s:V(2)A, e.g. ich finde dich schön
    a1 : Str ; -- adv before negation, adV -- e.g. hat es heute nicht getan
    a2 : Str ; -- adv at the end -- e.g. hat es [deshalb] nicht getan, weil S
    isAux : Bool ; -- auxiliary, e.g. (hat es tun) wollen (*gewollt)
    ext : Str ; -- sentential complement of s:V(2)S, e.g. dass|wann sie kommt
    -- infinitival complement of s:V(2)V, e.g. sich zu tun
    -- e.g. will:VV tun | hoffe:VV, zu tun,
    -- lasse:V2V (dich) tun | verspreche,rate:V2V (dir), mich|dich zu bessern
    inf : {inpl : (Agr => Str)*Str ; extr : Agr => Str} ;
    c1 : Preposition -- case of subject, e.g. mich friert
    } ;
```

Remark 65. Alternatively, we could have inf : Agr => Str * Str * Str and use the first two strings to build the inplace, the third for the extracted infinitival complement, which would make reflexive resolution simpler.
The sentential complements VP. ext might also be of type Agr => Str. A sentential complement can contain an open reflexive personal or possessive pronoun that refers to the subject or object of the matrix verb:"er hat ihr|ihm gesagt, daß man ihn selbst fragen soll". One could then, for

[^44]ext, too, resolve reflexive (personal or possessive) pronouns as for inf. One could possibly also merge inf.extr with ext : Agr => Str.

If the resolution method is inadequate, having ext:Str and using SelfNP might be the better solution. (But SelfNP and SelfAdvVP give a lot of trees.)

The nn.p4-field of VP must have type Agr $=>$ Str, because there are reflexive complements to copula verbs, e.g. (to be one's own boss):Comp, in Ger: Johann ist sein eigener Chef and du bist dein (eigener) Chef, er ist größer als sein eigener Vater etc.

Remark 66. Position of clause negation and reflexive object of infinitival constituent: [es] nicht wissen, sich $z u$ helfen $=$ nicht (sich $z u$ helfen) wissen $\mapsto$ sich nicht zu helfen wissen $\neq$ (sich nicht zu helfen) wissen. It is hard to tell the scope of negation from the surface word order.
P. Weiss, Marat/Sade: "So verseucht sind wir von den Gedankengängen / die Generation von Generation übernahm / daß auch die besten von uns / sich immer noch nicht zu helfen wissen".

The category VPSlash extends VP by a field c2:Preposition used to add a prepositional or nominal object, and by a field objCtrl:Bool used to resolve reflexive pronouns:

```
VPSlash =
    VP ** {c2 : Preposition ;
                objCtrl : Bool } ; -- True = embedded reflexives agree with object
```

A third category involved in the construction of verb phrases is the category Comp of complements to copula verbs. It consists of a paradigm depending on agreement features and a field for an extracted part:

```
Comp = {s : Agr => Str ; ext : Str} ;
```

The inflection paradigm varies on Agr, since its copula verb has to agree with the subject when used as a predicate. Moreover, reflexive pronouns and reflexive possessives in the complement refer to the implicit subject of the copula verb, e.g. e.g. sich treu sein, or sein (eigener) Chef werden or älter als ihr|sein (eigener) Bruder sein. Part of a complement can be extracted, e.g. part of the complement der Chef, der es allen recht macht is extracted in du kannst nicht der Chef sein, der es allen recht macht. But in general, the extracted part could also depend on Agr: sie wird besser sein als ihr Bruder. (Todo 36: So AP has to be changed to make also the ext part of an adjective phrase depend on Agr.)

Remark 67. The default implementation of reflexive possessives by
../common/ExtendFunctor.gf : ReflPossPron = PossPron he_Pron : Quant doesn't get the dependece on agreement right:

```
TestLang> l (PredVP (UsePron she_Pron) (UseComp (CompAP
    (ComparA old_A (DetCN (DetQuant ReflPossPron NumSg) (UseN2 brother_N2))))))
she is older than his brother
sie ist älter als [ReflPossPron] Bruder
```

Remark 68: missing optional dative: du bist mir ein schöner Trottel

Most constructions of verb phrases first build an initial vp:VP from a verb $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{V}$, with v in $\mathrm{vp} . \mathrm{s}$ and default values in the remaining fields (see predV : V $\rightarrow$ VP, p. 116 below), and then insert complements of type Str or Agr $\Rightarrow$ Str to the fields vp.nn, ..., vp.inf. Some of these insertion operations just append a string to the left or right of an existing string value:

```
insertAdV : Str -> VP -> VP = \adv,vp -> vp ** {
    a1 = adv ++ vp.a1 } ;
insertAdv : Str -> VP -> VP = \adv,vp -> vp ** {
    a2 = vp.a2 ++ adv } ;
insertExtrapos : Str -> VP -> VP = \ext,vp -> vp ** {
    ext = vp.ext ++ ext } ;
```

These operations can be used iteratively (e.g. via AdvVP : VP -> Adv -> VP or SlashVV : VV -> VPSlash $->$ VPSlash), so that several adverbs or extraposed elements occur consecutively at one position in a clause. (Q46: when to add a comma in front of an extraposed element?)
Remark 69: currently, insertAdV is not used in LangGer, all adverbs are collected in vp.a2.
Complements of a copula verb are inserted into the fourth component of the field vp.nn of the verb phrase vp spanned by the copula verb, using

```
insertObj : (Agr => Str) -> VP -> VP = \obj,vp -> -- obj:Comp A|Adv|CN
    vp ** { nn = \\a => let vpnn = vp.nn ! a in
        <vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3, obj ! a ++ vpnn.p4> } ;
```

Nominal and prepositional complements of a verb are inserted into the first three components of the field vp.nn of the initial verb phrase spanned by the verb. The main insertion operation is the following insertObjNP, but there is a further one, insertObjRefl, below. ${ }^{79}$

```
insertObjNP : NP -> Preposition -> VPSlash -> VPSlash = \np,prep,vp ->
    let obj = appPrep prep np ;
        b : Bool = case prep.t of {isPrep | isContracting => True ; _ => False} ;
        w = np.w ;
        c = prep.c
    in insertObj' obj b w c vp ;
insertObj' : Str -> Bool -> Weight -> Case -> VPSlash -> VPSlash =
    \obj,isPrep,w,c,vp -> vp ** {
        nn = \\a =>
            let vpnn = vp.nn ! a in
            -- HL 11/6/19: rough object NP order (expensive):
            -- vfin < accPron < refl < (gen|dat)Pron < lightNP
            -- < neg < heavyNP|PP < vinf|comp
            case <isPrep, w, c> of { -- 2 * 3 * 4 = 24 cases
            <True, _,_> => -- <prons, light, heavy++pp, compl>
                <vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3 ++ obj, vpnn.p4> ;
```

[^45]```
            <False,WPron, Acc> => -- <ihn ++ sich, light, heavy, comp>
                <obj ++ vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
            <False,WPron, _ > => -- <sich ++ ihm|seiner, light, heavy, comp>
        <vpnn.p1 ++ obj, vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
            <False,WLight,Dat> => -- (assuming v.c2=acc) nonPron: dat < acc|gen
                    -- <prons, dat ++ np, heavy, comp>
        <vpnn.p1, obj ++ vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
            <False,WLight,_ > => -- <prons, np ++ gen|acc, heavy, comp>
        <vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2 ++ obj, vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
            <False,WHeavy|WDefArt,Dat> => -- <prons, light, dat ++ np, comp>
        <vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2, obj ++ vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
            <False,WHeavy|WDefArt,_ > => -- <prons, light, np ++ gen|acc, comp>
        <vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3 ++ obj, vpnn.p4> }
} ; -- the ordering of objects of v:V3 also depends on Slash?V3
```

The nominal and prepositional complements are inserted into different components of vp.nn so that when extending the verb phrase to a clause (see mkClause, p. 134), one can order the complements according to their structure, weight and case. In vp.nn.p1 the pronouns are collected, with accusative pronoun leftmost, to implement the pronoun switch for ternary verbs: ich schicke der Behörde einen Brief versus ich schicke ihn ihr (*ich schicke ihr ihn). Given the relatively free word order in the German Mittelfeld, no such order by structure, weight and case of the complements can be satisfying in all circumstances.

Remark 71. It is not clear if in insertObjNP np prep vp the complete nominal or prepositional object appPrepNP prep np built by

```
appPrepNP : Preposition -> NP -> Str = \prep,np ->
    prep.s ++ np.s ! False ! prep.c ++ bigNP np ++ prep.s2 ;
bigNP : NP -> Str = \np -> np.ext ++ np.rc ;
```

should be inserted into one of the four components of the field vp.nn, or if np.rc and np. ext better go to vp.ext. In the latter case, how can we know if vp. ext already contains a sentential or interrogative complement, and how should these be ordered relative to $n p . r c$ and $n p$.ext?

## Constructions of VP

The simplest verb phrase construction is to use a unary (full) verb. This rule

$$
\text { UseV : V -> VP ; } \quad \text {-- sleep }
$$

is implemented by

```
UseV v = predV v ;
```

where predV turns a morphological verb v : Verb into a verb phrase vp = predV v : VP by inserting v into vp.s, noting in vp.isAux that the verb (by default) is not an auxiliary verb, and if it is a reflexive verb, as seen from v.vtype $=$ VRefl c with case c , inserts a suitable form of the reflexive pronoun in vp.nn ! p1; the remaining fields of vp are filled with empty constituents or default values as follows:

```
predV : Verb -> VP = predVGen False ;
predVGen : Bool -> Verb -> VP = \isAux, verb -> {
    s = verb ;
    isAux = isAux ;
    a1,a2,adj,ext : Str = [] ;
    nn : Agr => Str * Str * Str * Str = case verb.vtype of {
        VAct => \\_ => < [], [], [], []> ;
        VRefl c => \\a => <reflPron ! a ! c,[], [], []>
        } ;
    inf = {inpl = <\\_ => [], []>; extr = \\_ => []} ;
    c1 = PrepNom
    } ;
```

Of the four complementation rules for binary verbs with infinitival, sentential, interrogative or adjectival complement, i.e.

```
ComplVV : VV -> VP -> VP ; -- want to run
ComplVS : VS -> S -> VP ; -- say that she runs
ComplVQ : VQ -> QS -> VP ; -- wonder who runs
ComplVA : VA -> AP -> VP ; -- they become red
```

the latter three are simply adding the sentential, interrogative or adjective argument phrase to the corresponding fields ext:Str or adj:Str of the implementation record predV v = vp : VP of the verbal phrase built from the argument verb v :

```
ComplVS v s =
    insertExtrapos (comma ++ conjThat ++ s.s ! Sub) (predV v) ;
ComplVQ v q =
    insertExtrapos (comma ++ q.s ! QIndir) (predV v) ;
ComplVA v ap =
    insertAdj (ap.s ! APred) ap.c ap.ext (predV v) ;
```

In ComplVS, the object sentence s is used in its form s.s ! Sub for subordinate sentences, which has its verb at the end. ${ }^{80}$ In ComplVQ, the interrogative phrase q is used in indirect form, which also means that the verb is at the end.

In ComplVA, from the adjective phrase ap the predicative form ap.s ! APred of the adjective together with the post-adjective complement ap.c.p2 is appended to vp.adj, the pre-adjective complement ap.c.p1 to vp.nn.p2 and the extracted part ap.ext to vp.ext:

```
insertAdj : Str \(->\) Str * Str \(->\) Str \(->\) VP \(->\) VP = \adj, c,ext, vp \(->\) vp ** \{
    \(\mathrm{nn}=\ \backslash \mathrm{a}=>\)
        let vpnn = vp.nn ! a in <vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2 ++ c.p1, -- der Frau treu
                            vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
    adj \(=\) vp.adj ++ adj ++ c.p2 ; -- neugierig auf das Buch
    ext = vp.ext ++ ext\} ;
```

[^46]So far, reflexives are not handled in complements ap.c : Str*Str of adjectives, c.f. Remark 52.
Q47: insertAdj is intended to insert the adjectival complement of a verb v:VA, like er malt die Wand blau. Can these adjectives have complements like those in the comment of insertAdj? Maybe they can: wir halten dich für (ihr treu | ihm überlegen | älter als deinen Bruder)?

The complementation rule ComplVv for adding infinitival complements is more difficult. The difficulty comes from the fact that a verb phrase vp:VP has two rather different uses, one as a predicate (employing a finite form of the verb) in a clause, and another as infinitival complement of a verb, noun or adjective (employing an infinite form of the verb). Since in German, the verb's complements in a clause can be ordered relatively freely, the fields of vp holding its constituents are not combined to a single (split) string in vp.s. But in an infinitival complement, the verb's complements are orderd in a rather fixed way. So, to use vp as infinitival complement, we first have to combine its infinite verb form and its complements into a suitable (split) string.
Hence, an application (ComplVv v vp) of the rule

```
ComplVV : VV -> VP -> VP ; -- want to run
```

first has to turn its argument vp:VP into an infinitival form and then insert this into the inf-field of the verb phrase $\mathrm{vps}=($ predVGen v$): \mathrm{VP}$ opened by the verb $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{VV}$ to give the resulting verb phrase rvp $=($ ComplVV v vp):VP.

```
ComplVV v vp = -- HL 3/22: inf-complement in-place,
    let -- infzu-complement extracted
        vps = predVGen v.isAux v ; -- e.g. will.isAux=True | wagt.isAux=False
        inf = mkInf v.isAux Simul Pos vp
    in
    insertExtrapos vp.ext (
        insertInf inf vps) ;
```

Here, mkInf uses an auxiliary operation infVP to turn vp into an infinitival complement of rvp. This operation infVP combines vp's nominal objects to objs, combines its verb vp.s in suitable infinite form with adverbs vp.a1 and vp.a2 to pred, and extracts its infinitival complement inf. In general, the infinitival complement of rvp depends on a chosen polarity and anteriority of the form of vp.s, e.g. (nicht) lesen and (nicht) gelesen haben ${ }^{81}$, or the passive (nicht) gelesen werden and (nicht) gelesen (worden) sein, and on v .isAux to select between pure and $z u$-infinitive of vp.s.

```
infVP : Bool -> Anteriority -> Polarity -> VP
    -> { objs:(Agr => Str) ; pred:Str;
            inpl:(Agr => Str)*Str ; extr:Agr => Str } =
        \isAux, ant, pol, vp -> let vps = useVP vp in
        { objs = \\agr => (vp.nn ! agr).p1 ++ (vp.nn ! agr).p2
            ++ negation ! pol ++ (vp.nn ! agr).p3
            ++ vp.a2 ++ (vp.nn ! agr).p4 ; -- objects + predicative AlCN|NP
            pred = vp.a1 ++ vp.adj
                    ++ (vps.s ! (notB isAux) ! agrP3 Sg ! VPInfinit ant).inf ;
            inpl = vp.inf.inpl ;
```

[^47]```
    extr = vp.inf.extr
} ;
```

In the resource grammar LangGer, the module VerbGer fixes infinitives to be in simultaneous anteriority and positive polarity, so we here simply write (infVP v.isAux vp). $.^{82},{ }_{8}^{83}$
For mkInf, basically, if v.isAux = True, the infinitival complement of rvp built from vp is put in-place, i.e. goes to rvp.inf.inpl. In this case, it roughly is <objs, pred>, the combination of objs = vp.nn paired with pred, the adverbially modified infinitive of v.s!VPInf. ${ }^{84}$ The inplace infinitival complement has to be split in two parts, and if vp has its own in-place infinitival complement, this is embedded in the gap, e.g. (ich) will ihn $n_{1}$ den Hund $_{2}$ füttern $_{2}$ lassen $_{1}$, using

```
-- embed <sich, helfen> into <ihn, lassen> = <ihn sich, helfen lassen>
embedInf : (Agr => Str) * Str >> (Agr => Str) * Str >> (Agr => Str) * Str =
    \f,g -> <\\a => g.p1!a ++ f.p1!a, f.p2 ++ g.p2> ;
```

For v.isAux = False, the infinitival complement built from vp by mkInf is extracted, i.e. goes to rvp.inf.extr, e.g. (ich) wage, ihm $m_{1} z u$ raten $_{1}$, den Hund ${ }_{2}$ zu füttern ${ }_{2}$. (So, extraction is forced even for short Inf-zu complements, i.e. we get (weil) man bittet, zu läuten instead of weil man zu läuten bittet, and (weil) ich glaube, es zu wissen instead of (weil) ich es zu wissen glaube.)
More precisely, there is no clear decision between inplace and extracted placement of the infinitival complement, but there is an in-place and extracted part of the infinitival complement rvp.inf in (ich) hoffe, versprechen zu können, das zu tun: the verbal phrase vp = (ich) kann (versprechen, das zu tun) has part of its own infinitival complement versprechen, das zu tun moved to rvp.inf.inpl = < [], versprechen können>, the other part moved to rvp.inf.extr $=$, das $z u$ tun. To get nested infinitival complements right, we distinguish whether the matrix verb $v$ and the verb of the vp are auxiliary verbs or not:

```
glueInpl : (Agr => Str)*Str -> (Agr => Str) =
    \inplace -> \\agr => (inplace.p1!agr ++ inplace.p2) ;
mkInf : Bool -> Anteriority -> Polarity -> VP ->
            {inpl : (Agr => Str) * Str ; extr : (Agr => Str)} =
    \isAux,ant,pol,vp ->
        let
            vpi = infVP isAux ant pol vp ;
            topInpl = <vpi.objs, vpi.pred> ;
            emptyInpl : (Agr => Str) * Str = <\\__ => [], []> ;
            comma = bindComma
        in
            case <isAux,vp.isAux> of {
                <True,True> -- 1: will {inpl=<(sich, waschen) können>, extr = []}
                => {inpl = embedInf vpi.inpl topInpl ;
```

[^48]```
            extr = \\agr => vpi.extr!agr} ;
    <True,False> -- 2: will {inpl=<[], versuchen>, extr = sich zu waschen}
        => {inpl = topInpl ;
        extr = \\agr => (glueInpl vpi.inpl)!agr ++ vpi.extr!agr} ;
    <False,True> -- 3: wagt{inpl=<[], []>, extr = (sich, waschen) zu wollen}
    => {inpl = emptyInpl ;
        extr = let moved = embedInf vpi.inpl topInpl
                            in \\agr => comma ++ (glueInpl moved)!agr ++ vpi.extr!agr} ;
    <False,False> -- 4: wagt, {inpl=<[], []>, extr = zu versuchen,
    => {inpl = emptyInpl ; -- (sich zu waschen)}
        extr = \\agr => comma ++ (glueInpl topInpl)!agr ++ vpi.extr!agr}
} ;
```

The infinitival constituent inf is then inserted into vps:VP by embedding the in-place part of inf into the gap of vps.inf and by appending the extracted part of inf to vp.inf.extr, using

```
insertInf : {inpl:(Agr => Str)*Str ; extr:(Agr => Str)} -> VP -> VP =
\inf,vp -> vp ** {inf = {inpl = embedInf inf.inpl vp.inf.inpl ;
    extr = \\agr => vp.inf.extr!agr ++ inf.extr!agr}} ;
```

Example 2. In German, v.isAux = wollen. isAux = True and v.isAux = wagen. isAux = False. With the following (simplified) implementation records of argument verb phrases

```
vp1 = {s=lesen; nn=ein Buch; inf = {inpl=[];extr=[]}}
vp2 = {s=wollen; nn=[]; inf = {inpl=<[],versuchen>;extr= sich zu waschen}}
```

we get these implementation records of the resulting verb phrase rvp:

```
ComplVV wollen vp1 = {s = will; nn=[];
    inf={inpl=<ein Buch, lesen>; extr=[]}}
ComplVV wagen vp1 = {s = wagt; nn=[];
    inf = {inpl = <[], []>; extr =, ein Buch zu lesen}}
ComplVV wagen vp2 =
        {s = wagt; nn=[];
        inf = {inpl = [];
            extr = versuchen zu wollen, sich zu waschen}}
```

The last, and most important, complementation rule for binary verbs v:V2 with a nominal complement is subsumed by the complementation rule

```
ComplSlash : VPSlash -> NP -> VP ; -- love it
```

for an incomplete verb phrase vps:VPSlash by a noun phrase np. The incomplete verb phrase vps extends a verb phrase by a field c2:Preposition and a field objCtrl:Bool. These are used by ComplSlash to add a nominal object and bind the reflexives to this object:

```
ComplSlash vps np =
    let vp = case vps.objCtrl of { True => objAgr np vps ; _ => vps }
            ** { c2 = vps.c2 ; objCtrl = vps.objCtrl } ;
    in insertObjNP np vps.c2 vp ;
```

If the main verb in vps is an object-control verb, the reflexives in vps are forced to take the agreement of the added nominal object. ${ }^{85}$ The auxiliary operation insertObjNP inserts np.s with preposition or case vps.c2 into the nn -field of vps.
The operation objAgr np vp instantiates vp.nn and vp.inf fields to agreement np.a. So objAgr implements the following method to resolve reflexive pronouns. For a verbal phrase vp:VP or an incomplete verbal phrase vp:VPSlash, the nominal objects in vp.nn and vp.inf depend on agreement features a : Agr. When a clause is built from vp by (PredVP np vp), we bind the reflexives to this subject np by letting the nominal objects be constantly vp.nn! (np.a), i.e. replace vp by

```
vp ** \(\{\mathrm{nn}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{a}=>\mathrm{vp} . \mathrm{nn}\) ! \(\mathrm{np} . \mathrm{a}\}\)
```

before using the vp in finite form as predicate of the clause; we proceed similarly with its infinitival object vp.inf. For a clause (PredVPSC sc vp) with sentential subject, instead of np.a we use agreement with third person singular. So to speak, all (unbound) reflexives in $\mathrm{vp}: \mathrm{VP}$ are viewed as subject-controlled. If a nominal complement np is added to vp:VPSlash in (ComplSlash np vp), then, as shown above, if vp.objCtrl = True we bind the reflexives in vp.nn to this nominal object np by instantiating vp.nn with $\mathrm{np} . \mathrm{a}$, otherwise leave them unbound, i.e. subject-controlled. ${ }^{86}$ To build an infinitive from vp with unknown implicit subject, e.g. to be used as an infinitival subject as in "to blow one's nose in the tablecloth is unpolite", we can just instantiate reflexives to third ${ }^{87}$ person singular.

The rule to build a verb phrase by using an incomplete verb phrase reflexively, i.e.

```
ReflVP : VPSlash -> VP ; -- love himself
```

generalizes the reflexive usage of binary verbs. It is implemented by inserting a reflexive pronoun as nominal or prepositional object according to the case or preposition in vp.c2:

```
ReflVP vp = insertObjRefl vp ; -- HL, 19/06/2019
```

The auxiliary operation inserts a pure reflexive pronoun in field vp.nn.p1, and a reflexive pronoun with preposition in field vp.nn.p2:

```
insertObjRefl : VPSlash -> VPSlash = \vp ->
    let prep \(=\) vp.c2 ;
        obj : Agr => Str = \\a => prep.s ! CPl ++ reflPron ! a ! prep.c ++ prep.s2
    in vp ** \{
        \(\mathrm{nn}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{a}=>\)
            let vpnn \(=\mathrm{vp} . \mathrm{nn}\) ! a in
```

[^49]```
        case prep.t of {
    isCase => <obj ! a ++ vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
    _ => <vpnn.p1, obj ! a ++ vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> }
} ;
```

When a clause is formed by applying mkClause $n p$ vp (p. 134) to the resulting verb phrase, the objects in vp.nn.p1 are placed in front of the negation adverb nicht, those in vp.nn.p2 after the negation adverb.

Remark 72. In LangGer, a reflexive verb prhase ReflVP vps can be part of a generalized clause, GenericCl (ReflVP vps), i.e. the general subject "man" is correctly referred to by the reflexive pronoun "sich". But it is wrong in LangEng, where "oneself" ought to be used:

```
TestLang> l GenericCl (ReflVP (SlashV2a know_V2))
one knows itself
man kennt sich
```

ReflVP does not allow to form infinitives with reflexive possessives, like "man soll seine Angelegenheiten selber regeln". For this, use ReflPoss,ReflRNP of ExtraGer, see p. 170.

Copula Verbs Of the two constructions of verb phrases from copula verbs, i.e.

```
UseCopula : VP ; -- be
UseComp : Comp -> VP ; -- be warm
```

the first is implemented by the default verb phrase spanned by the copula verb sein: $:^{88}$

```
UseCopula = predV sein_V ;
```

Q49: Is the default isAux = False correct for UseCopula, or do we need predVGen True sein_v?

The second construction first builds the initial verb phrase vp spanned by sein and then inserts the inflection paradigm comp.s of the complement into the object field vp.nn.p4 and the extracted part comp.ext into the field vp.ext:

```
UseComp comp =
    insertExtrapos comp.ext (
        insertObj comp.s (predV sein_V)) ; -- agr not used
```

Remark 73: Apparently, Scharolta added the field vp.adj for adjectival complements of verbs, as the example ich finde dich schön showed. The complement of a copula verb is inserted in vp.nn.p4. Todo 38: check if the pre-adjective complement ap.c.p1 of an adjectival complement ap of Complva va ap inserted by insertAdj into the vp.nn.p2-field is correct. Can there be a problem, as we are talking about different verb phrases vp, i.e. predV sein_V and predV va?

## Copula-preceded Complements

The four constructions to build complements to copula verbs,

[^50]```
CompAP : AP -> Comp ; -- (be) small
CompNP : NP -> Comp ; -- (be) the man
CompAdv : Adv -> Comp ; -- (be) here
CompCN : CN -> Comp ; -- (be) a man/men
```

are implemented by filling the fields comp.s and comp.ext of the resulting comp:Comp by suitable values. In CompAdv a, the adverb is inserted in comp.s and the empty string in comp.ext:

```
CompAdv a = {s = \\_ => a.s ; ext = []} ;
```

In CompAP ap = comp, the predicative form of an adjective phrase with its pre- and postadjective complements and the comparision part is inserted in comp.s and ap.ext in comp.ext

```
CompAP ap = {s = \\_ => ap.c.p1 ++ ap.s ! APred ++ ap.c.p2 ++ ap.s2 ! Nom ;
    ext = ap.ext} ;
```

In CompNP np, the predicatively used noun phrase $n p$ in nominative case is inserted in comp.s, together with its relative clause $\mathrm{np} . \mathrm{rc}$ :

```
CompNP np = {s = \\_ => np.s ! False ! Nom ++ np.rc ; ext = np.ext} ;
```

Similarly with CompCN cn, where the predicative usage needs an indefinite article in the singular and a strong adjective inflection:

```
CompCN cn = {s = \\a => case numberAgr a of {
                        Sg => "ein" + pronEnding ! GSg cn.g ! Nom ++
                            cn.s ! Strong ! Sg ! Nom ++ cn.rc ! Sg ;
                        Pl => cn.s ! Strong ! Pl ! Nom ++ cn.rc ! Pl
        } ;
        ext = cn.adv ++ cn.ext
    } ;
```

The resulting inflection tables comp.s : Agr => Str are constant, except for CompCN cn. Hence reflexives in the verbal phrases built from comp are excluded, e.g. ist in seinen besten Jahren, ist sich treu, ist klüger als sein Bruder, ist die Hoffnung seines Vereins, ist ein geachteter Bürger seiner Heimatstadt, ist sein eigener Herr.

Todo 39: This should be fixed by changing AP.c : Str * Str to AP.c : Agr => Str * Str.

## Passive Constructions

-- Passivization of two-place verbs is another way to use them. In many
-- languages, the result is a participle that is used as complement to a
-- copula.

PassV2 : V2 -> VP ; -- be loved
-- *Note*. the rule can be overgenerating, since the V2 need not take a
-- direct object.

The construction PassV2 v is implemented by modifying the initial verb phrase vp spanned by the passive auxiliary verb werden. The predicatively used past partiple v.s ! VPastPart APred is inserted into the field vp.nn.p4 for the complement of copula verbs, and the subject case is set depending on $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{c} 2$ :

```
PassV2 v = -- acc object -> nom subject; all others: same Case
    let vp = predV werdenPass in
        insertObj (\\_ => v.s ! VPastPart APred) vp
        ** { c1 = subjPrep v.c2 } ;
```

If $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{V} 2$ expects a nominal object in accusative, the default case for the subject, $\mathrm{vp} . \mathrm{c} 1$, is changed to nominative; if v expects a nominal object in some other case, or a prepositional object, the corresponding value v.c2 is used as subject case vp.c1. This is done by the auxiliary operation

```
subjPrep : Preposition -> Preposition = \prep ->
    case <prep.c,prep.t> of {
        <Acc,isCase> => prep ** {c = Nom} ;
        _ => prep
    } ;
```

Q50: What about the difference between getan werden and getan sein? Some other forms of passive are implemented in TestLangGer.

Remark 74. PassV2 is generalized to PassVPSlash : VPSlash -> VP in ExtraGer, which does not work properly if the vps is obtained from ternary verbs. PassVPSlash vps is incorrect for vps = Slash2V3 v [c2:acc, c3:dat] np.acc: we get "*ihr.dat wird einen.acc Brief geschickt" instead of "sie.nom bekommt einen.acc Brief geschickt". But: "ihr.dat wird mißtraut:V2[dat]", not "*sie.nom bekommt mißtraut". That is, PassVPSlash vps needs to know whether its argument vps is built from a V3[acc,dat] or a V2[dat]; this would need an inspection of the abstract tree of the argument vps, which is impossible in GF. May we should not passivize predicates (VPSlash), but only verbs (V2, and separately V3) - PassVPSlash is too general and thereby wrong. But GF has no notion of transitive verb, i.e. verb of category V2 that can be passivized.

## Constructions of VPSlash

The basic constructions of an incomplete verb phrase are to use a binary verb or to combine a ternary verb with one complement of the expected category.

```
SlashV2a : V2 -> VPSlash ; -- love (it)
Slash2V3 : V3 -> NP -> VPSlash ; -- give it (to her)
Slash3V3 : V3 -> NP -> VPSlash ; -- give (it) to her
```

These are easily implemented by inserting the complement in the appropriate field of the record vps $=($ predVc v):VPSlash opend by the verb v, where

```
predVc : Verb ** {c2 : Preposition} -> VPSlash = \v ->
    predV v ** {c2 = v.c2 ; objCtrl = False} ;
```

fills all fields of (predV v):VP and then adds the preposition v.c2 and a default that the embedded verb is not an object-control verb:

```
SlashV2a v = (predVc v) ;
Slash2V3 v np = insertObjNP np v.c2 (predVc v) ** {c2 = v.c3} ;
Slash3V3 v np = insertObjNP np v.c3 (predVc v) ;
```

Notice that, by convention, c2 should be used to combine the verb with its direct, c3 to combine it with its indirect nominal object. ${ }^{89}$ (Q51: What does this tell about the linear order of objects? insertObjNP adds pronouns to the left, other nominal or prepositional objects to the right (of the corresponding nn-component). So we should not have equivalent linearizations of the trees

```
ComplSlash (Slash3V3 v np3) np2 == ComplSlash (Slash2V3 np2) np3
```

but we do! Todo 40: check again, and see how mkClause orders its objects.)
For ternary verbs with a non-nominal complement, an incomplete verb phrase is obtained by combining the non-nominal complement to the verb by the rules

```
SlashV2V : V2V -> VP -> VPSlash ; -- beg (her) to go
SlashV2S : V2S -> S -> VPSlash ; -- answer (to him) that it is good
SlashV2Q : V2Q -> QS -> VPSlash ; -- ask (him) who came
SlashV2A : V2A -> AP -> VPSlash ; -- paint (it) red
```

The implementations of these are easy for sentential, interrogative and adjectival complements, which are inserted into (predV v) as with ComplVS, ComplVQ, ComplVA, and then the field for c2 is filled by v.c2 and the one for objCtrl by a default:

```
SlashV2S v s =
    insertExtrapos (comma ++ conjThat ++ s.s ! Sub) (predV v)
                            ** {c2 = v.c2; objCtrl = False} ;
SlashV2Q v q =
    insertExtrapos (comma ++ q.s ! QIndir) (predV v)
                            ** {c2 = v.c2; objCtrl = False} ;
SlashV2A v ap =
    insertAdj (ap.s ! APred) ap.c ap.ext (predV v)
                        ** {c2 = v.c2; objCtrl = False} ;
```

The implementation of SlashV2V is a simple extension of ComplVV:

```
SlashV2V v vp = -- (jmdn) bitten, sich zu waschen | sich waschen lassen
    ComplVV v vp ** {c2 = v.c2 ; objCtrl = v.objCtrl} ;
```

An application of SlashV2V, just like ComplVV, uses infVP to turn its argument vp:VP into the infinitival complement of its argument $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{V} 2 \mathrm{~V}$ and inserts it into the inf-field of the verb phrase vps $=$ (predVGen v.isAux v) opened by v; it then adds v.c2 and v.objCtrl to give
 verb, reflexives in rvp.inf depend on its missing subject or nominal object, so we have to remember v.objCtrl in rvp to be able to instantiate reflexives properly when an object noun

[^51]phrase is added to rvp by ComplSlash. (The argument-vp may itself be reflexive, e.g. vpi.inf $=$ sich vornehmen, etwas zu tun. $)^{90}$
Reflexive resolution works with this in Ger (Eng considers v:V2V to be an object-control verb):

```
TestLang> gr -number=4 (PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
    (ComplSlash (SlashV2V ? (ReflVP (SlashV2a wash_V2))) (UsePron ?))) | l
I let me wash myself
ich lasse mich mich selbst waschen
I warn it to wash itself
ich warne es , sich selbst zu waschen
I promise us to wash ourselves -- wrong
ich verspreche uns , mich selbst zu waschen
I let her wash herself
ich lasse sie sich selbst waschen
```

Due to a mistake in SlashVP, reflexive resolution doesn't work in relative clauses (p. 138). (Also, SelfNP, SelfAdVVP and SelfAdvVP give non-reflexive readings with selbst. To highlight the difference between personal and reflexive pronoun, ReflVP uses ResGer.reflPronSelf, which adds selbst to all forms of ResGer.reflPron.)
See the extension of Extend.RNP to reflexive (incomplete) predicates in ReflGer|Eng.
But: "reflexive resolution" cannot be as simple as implemented by objCtrl and objAgr: in I:NP advise (my brother/sister):RNP to help (him/her)self:ReflPron!rnp.a and (my:PossPron!np.a child), the infinitival complement of advise:V2V refers to the object rnp:RNP as its implicit subject and to the subject np:NP as referent of the possessive. The infinitival complement of a verb v :V2V can depend on the two agreement values np.a and rnp. a of the subject and object of the main verb $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{V} 2 \mathrm{~V}$. $(8 / 23)$

Incomplete verb phrases can also be obtained by adding an incomplete infinitival complement to a verb $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{VV}$ or $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{V} 2 \mathrm{~V}$ by the rules

```
SlashVV : VV -> VPSlash -> VPSlash ; -- want to buy
SlashV2VNP : V2V -> NP -> VPSlash -> VPSlash ; -- beg me to buy
```

Applications of both rules have to turn their argument vp:VPSlash into an incomplete infinitival complement of their argument $\mathrm{v}: \mathrm{VV}$. This can be done using the same operation vpi $=\operatorname{infVP}$ v.isAux vp, because the vp just has no nominal c2-object under vp.nn (i.e. an empty string).

An ad-hoc implementation of SlashVV uses ComplVV and adds the c2 and objCtrl fields of its argument vp:VPSlash to the result rvp:VPSlash.

```
SlashVV v vp =
    ComplVV v vp ** {c2 = vp.c2 ; objCtrl = vp.objCtrl} ;
```

The idea is that adding a nominal object $\mathrm{np}: \mathrm{NP}$ to this resulting partial verb phrase gives the same as adding np as a complement to the argument vp :VPSlash, i.e. that

[^52]```
(ComplSlash (SlashVV v vp) np) == (ComplVV v (ComplSlash vp np))
```

are equivalent in the sense that these trees have the same linearizations. In Eng, Romance, and perhaps other languages, this seems to be the case, even for iterated uses of SlashVV, since an object added to the innermost vp:VPSlash is rightmost in the linearization and hence can be added likewise to the topmost partial verb phrase:
(want to dare to try to read) (the book) = want to dare to try to (read the book)

The topmost partial verb phrase can both be completed to first a verp phrase and then a clause, or to first an incomplete clause and then a relative clause:

> (we:NP ((want to dare to try to read):VPSlash (the book):NP):VP):Cl,
> (which:RP (we:NP ((want to dare to try to read):VPSlash):ClSlash)):RCl.

For Ger, the ad-hoc implementation of SlashVV doesn't work well, since an Inf-zu-complement is ususally extracted, but less so when its nominal object is missing: (ich) will (nicht) wagen, das Buch zu lesen, but rather das Buch, das ich (nicht) zu lesen wagen will, than das Buch, das ich (nicht) wagen will, zu lesen

Complementizing the innermost partial verb phrase zu lesen first to the verb phrase das Buch zu lesen and then using ComplVV iteratively, we obtain
(wir:NP (wollen (wagen (, zu versuchen (, das Buch zu lesen):VP):VP):VP):VP):Cl.
If we can use SlashVV iteratively to the partial verb phrase $z u$ lesen, there is certainly no extraction of partial Inf-zu complements involved, but we would rather get
(((zu lesen):VPSlash zu versuchen):VPSlash wagen):VPSlash.

One can then both complete this first to a verb phrase and then to a clause, as well as complete it first to an incomplete clause and then to a relative clause:
(wir:NP (wollen ((das Buch):NP (zu lesen zu versuchen wagen):VPSlash):VP):VP):Cl
(das:RP (wir:NP (zu lesen zu versuchen wagen):VPSlash):ClSlash):RCl

It follows that for Ger, the equivalence (*) does not hold: applications of SlashVV combine partial verb phrases in-place, while applications of ComplVV combine Inf-zu complements by extractions, e.g. (ich) habe das Buch (zu kaufen gewagt) versus (ich) habe gewagt(, das Buch zu kaufen). ${ }^{91}$

Question 52. But if the two trees in (*) linearize differently, how to know which of the constructions should be used to yield which word order in which language? It is not true that the different trees have the same linearization in Eng, as can be seen from

[^53]```
TestLang> p -lang=Ger -cat=Cl -tr
            "ich will nichts zu meinem Buch hinzufügen müssen" | l -lang=Eng
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
    (ComplVV want_VV (ComplVV must_VV (ComplSlash
        (Slash2V3 add_V3 nothing_NP)
            (DetCN (DetQuant (PossPron i_Pron) NumSg) (UseN book_N)))))
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
    (ComplVV want_VV (ComplSlash (SlashVV must_VV
            (Slash3V3 add_V3 (DetCN (DetQuant (PossPron i_Pron) NumSg) (UseN book_N)))
                ) nothing_NP))
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
    (ComplSlash (SlashVV want_VV (SlashVV must_VV
        (Slash3V3 add_V3 (DetCN (DetQuant (PossPron i_Pron) NumSg) (UseN book_N)))
                        )) nothing_NP)
```

I want to have to add nothing to my book
I want to have to nothing add to my book
I want nothing to have to add to my book

The three trees have the same linearization in Ger, because of the separation of objects in the four components of the VP.nn-field, it seems.

Can we make (SlashVV wagen_VV (SlashV2a read_V2)) be a vp:VPSlash with vp.inf.inpl $=$ zu lesen wagen and not extract this under must_VV? In the default implementation, (SlashVV wagen_VV lesen) embeds ", zu lesen" in vp.inf.extr. Does an embedding without comma in vp.inf.inpl give a correction, which handles nested SlashVV properly? Incomplete trial:

```
SlashVV v vp =
    let
        vps = predVGen v.isAux v ; -- e.g. will.isAux=True|wage.isAux=False
        vpi = infVPSlash v.isAux Simul Pos vp ;
        inf : {inpl: (Agr => Str) * Str ; extr : (Agr => Str)} =
            let
                topInpl = <vpi.objs, vpi.pred> ;
                    emptyInpl : (Agr => Str) * Str = <\\_ => [], []> ;
                glue : (Agr => Str)*Str -> (Agr => Str) =
                            \i -> \\agr => (i.p1!agr ++ i.p2) ;
            in
            case <v.isAux,vp.isAux> of {
            <True,_ > -- 1. will lesen können | 2. will zu lesen wagen
                => {inpl = embedInf vpi.inpl topInpl ;
                        extr = vpi.extr} ;
            <False,True> -- 3. wagt lesen zu wollen
                => {inpl = emptyInpl ;
                        extr = let moved = (embedInf vpi.inpl topInpl)
                                    in \\agr =>
                                    (comma ++ (glue moved)!agr ++ (vpi.extr!agr))} ;
            <False,False> -- 4. wagt zu lesen zu versuchen
                => {inpl = embedInf vpi.inpl topInpl ;
```

```
extr = vpi.extr} } ;
in
insertExtrapos vp.ext
    (insertInf inf vps) ** {c2 = vp.c2 ; objCtrl = vp.objCtrl};
```

We use a slight modification infVPSlash of infVP to build the infinitive $z u$ lesen wagen from the partial verb phrase wage zu lesen, instead of wagen, zu lesen. We can then iteratively build inplace nested infinitives of partial verb phrases followed by adding a nominal complement, i.e.

```
(ComplSlash (SlashVV vn (... (SlashVV v1 vp) ...)) np),
```

or add the nominal complement to the innermost partial verb phrase and iteratively extract nested infinitives of verb phrases, i.e.

```
(ComplVV vn ( ... (ComplVV v1 (ComplSlash vp np)) ...)),
```

but cannot add a nominal complement in between, as for ComplVV o ComplSlash o SlashVV:

```
TestLang> p -tr -cat=Cl -lang=Eng "I must dare to read the book" | l -lang=Ger
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
    (ComplSlash (SlashVV must_VV (SlashVV wagen_VV (SlashV2a read_V2)))
        (DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN book_N)))
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
    (ComplVV must_VV (ComplSlash (SlashVV wagen_VV (SlashV2a read_V2))
                                    (DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN book_N))))
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
    (ComplVV must_VV (ComplVV wagen_VV (ComplSlash (SlashV2a read_V2)
                            (DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN book_N)))))
```

```
ich muss das Buch zu lesen wagen
ich muss das Buch wagen zu lesen -- wrong
ich muss wagen , das Buch zu lesen
```

The reason is that ComplSlash inserts a nominal object at top-level, while the object is missing in an embedded infinitival, but we can't know how deeply embedded.

Finally, the construction of incomplete verb phrases by ${ }^{92}$
SlashV2VNP : V2V -> NP -> VPSlash -> VPSlash ; -- beg me to buy
can preliminarily be implemented by

```
SlashV2VNP v np vp = -- jmdn bitten zu kaufen | jmdn kaufen lassen
    insertObjNP np v.c2 (ComplVV v vp ** {c2 = v.c2 ; objCtrl = v.objCtrl}) ;
```

As intended, this gives (dich waschen lasse):VPSlash with auxiliary lassen:V2V in

[^54]TestLang> l (RelSlash IdRP (SlashVP (UsePron i_Pron)
(SlashV2VNP lassen_V2V (UsePron youSg_Pron) (SlashV2a wash_V2))))
that I let you wash
den ich dich waschen lasse
but it doesn't embed the infinitival complement properly in Ger:
TestLang> 1 (RelSlash IdRP (SlashVP (UsePron i_Pron)
(SlashV2VNP beg_V2V (UsePron youSg_Pron) (SlashV2a wash_V2))))
that I beg you to wash
den ich dich bitte, zu waschen
instead of den zu waschen ich dich bitte. Using SlashVV instead of ComplVV to obtain an in-place infinitival complement causes a memory problem. (In Eng, the definitions are

```
SlashVV vv vp = vp **
    insertObj (\\a => infVP vv.typ vp False Simul CPos a) (predVV vv) ;
SlashV2VNP vv np vp = vp **
    insertObjPre (\\_ => vv.c2 ++ np.s ! NPAcc)
        (insertObjc (\\a => vv.c3 ++ infVP vv.typ vp False Simul CPos a)
                        (predVc vv)) ;
```

The infinitive is inserted as string into the s2: Str field for complements of Eng.VP.
And it gets reflexive resolution and the object order wrong under SlashVP

```
TestLang> l (PredVP (UsePron he_Pron)
    (ComplSlash (SlashV2VNP beg_V2V (UsePron i_Pron) (SlashV2a listen_V2))
                        (UsePron we_Pron)))
he begs me to listen to us
er bittet mich uns , zuzuhören
TestLang> l DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (RelCN (UseN woman_N)
    (UseRCl (TTAnt TPres ASimul) PPos (RelSlash IdRP
        (SlashVP (UsePron they_Pron)
            (SlashV2VNP beg_V2V (UsePron i_Pron) (SlashV2a listen_V2))))))
the woman that they beg me to listen to
die Frau , die sie mich bitten , zuzuhören ==>..., der sie mich bitten, ...
```

Without SlashVP: er bittet mich, auf ihn $\left.\right|^{*}$ sich $\mid$ mich zu hören. The object order is wrong in Eng as well under ReflVP:

TestLang> 1 (PredVP (UsePron he_Pron)
(ReflVP (SlashV2VNP beg_V2V (UsePron i_Pron) (SlashV2a listen_V2))))
he begs to himself me to listen
Remark 75: (SlashV2VNP beg_V2V (UsePron he_Pron) (SlashV2a listen_V2)) = bitte ihn , (jmdm) zuzuhören should be made to work for relative clauses like die Frau, der zuzuhören ich ihn bitte. But Eng the woman whom I (beg him to listen to) is simpler: v2v np vps can be used to build a clause under $n p$ ( (v2v np vps) np) :VP using ComplSlash, or to build a relative clause under RP np (v2v np vps ) under RelSlash and SlashVP.

```
TestLang> l (UseCl (TTAnt TPres ASimul) PPos (PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
    (ComplSlash (SlashV2VNP beg_V2V (UsePron he_Pron) (SlashV2a listen_V2))
    (UsePron she_Pron))))
I beg him to listen to her
ich bitte ihn ihr , zuzuhören
```

We want to get: die Frau, der er mich bittet zuzuhören, just like das Haus, das er (mich bittet zu kaufen):VPSlash

Q53: Can we implement ACI as lexical transformation sehen:VS $\mapsto$ sehen:V2V? ...

## Modification of Verb Phrases

According to Verb.gf, AdvVP is to add adverbs at the end of a vp, while AdVVP is to attach them next to or before the verb.
-- Adverbs can be added to verb phrases. Many languages make a distinction
-- between adverbs that are attached at the end vs. next to (or before) the
-- verb.

```
AdvVP : VP -> Adv -> VP ; -- sleep here
ExtAdvVP : VP -> Adv -> VP ; -- sleep , even though ...
AdVVP : AdV -> VP -> VP ; -- always sleep
```

An adverbial clause should be added by ExtAdvVP, so that it is embedded in commata:

```
ExtAdvVP vp adv = insertAdv (embedInCommas adv.s) vp ;
```

The auxiliary operation insertAdv (p. 115) adds adv.s to the right end of vp.a2. But since Adverb.gf (p. 27) does not make a distinction between lexical adverbs and adverbial clauses ${ }^{93}$, we cannot restrict adv to adverbial clauses in ExtAdvVP vp adv or to lexical adverbs in the other rules.

The difference between adverbs occurring in front of the verb and those following the verb (or the negation adverb, as in gf-3.2 of LangGer), suggesting the other two rules AdVVP and AdvVP, does not seem to exist in German, so these both insert adv to vp. a2 by insertAdv:

```
AdvVP vp adv = insertAdv adv.s vp ;
AdVVP adv vp = insertAdv adv.s vp ; -- not AdV 27/5/2012: nicht immer
```

Remark 76: In simple clauses in main verb order and unary verb, the adverb follows the verb and precedes the sentence negation: wir arbeiten heute - wir arbeiten heute nicht. But besides sentence negation, there is an adverb negation: wir arbeiten nicht heute (, sondern morgen), or wir arbeiten nicht gern, e.g. wir arbeiten ungern. Is this different with adverbs like immer, oft, which involve quantification over time and hence relate to the tense of the verb form? wir arbeiten manchmal nicht $=$ wir arbeiten (nicht immer), or wir arbeiten oft nicht $=$ Oft arbeiten wir nicht $\neq$ wir arbeiten nicht oft $=$ wir arbeiten selten, but * wir arbeiten nicht manchmal, only: wir arbeiten manchmal nicht = manchmal (arbeiten wir nicht)? Is it similar with adverbs quantifying over positions where an action can take place? hier (arbeiten wir nicht) vs. (hier arbeiten wir) nicht? Is this really clearer in English? here, (we don't work) vs. we don't (work here)

[^55]Remark 77. The word order in sentences is the one of the corresponding clause, fixed by mkClause and UseCl below (p. 134 and 136; also TestLangGer.mkClSlash ExtraGer.mkVPS). But mkClause gets the position of adverbs wrong in inverted and subordinate clauses: the adverbs vp.a2 should follow the subject subj, not be at the end of obj3 (c.f. Remark 81).

1. The difference between preverbal and postverbal adverbs does not seem to exist in German: all adverbs are postverbal "John doesn't sleep here| often|today = Johann schläft hier|oft|heute nicht". (This is sentence negation np doesn't $v$ adv $=n e g$ ( $n p$ does ( $v$ adv)), not verb phrase negation $n p$ does neg ( $v a d v$ ), it seems.)
If this is true, then with unary verbs, adverbs should appear in front of negation: "Johann schläft hier nicht", "Johann wird hier nicht schlafen". The different "Johann schläft heute (nicht hier)" would then be a kind of adverbial negation: "nicht hier = anderswo".
Do the English preverbal adverbs correspond to a different scope? "John doesn't always sleep $=$ ? John (does not always) sleep $=$ (not always) does John sleep $=$ Johann schläft (nicht immer)". ${ }^{94}$
In some cases, the "standard"(?) negation is expressed by a different adverb: "Johann schläft immer nicht $=$ Johann schläft nie". But for which adverbs do we have a contracted (and strongly preferred) form like "immer nicht $=$ nie"?
2. AdvVP (become red) today: "ich bin nicht rot heute geworden" works with pfin ++ neg ++ nn4 ++ advs ++ pinf, but "ich bin heute nicht rot geworden" with pfin ++ advs ++ neg ++ nn4 does not. Likewise "ich werde nicht bereit heute sein" instead of "ich werde heute nicht bereit sein".
This concerns AdvVP vp adv for verb phrases of the form (ComplVA v ap), (UseComp (CompAP ap))
3. For verb phrases of the form ComplSlash (SlashV2a v) np, the adverb should follow the object, "ich hatte sie heute nicht gewaschen" instead of "ich hatte sie nicht heute gewaschen", i.e. we need subj ++ pfin ++ nn1 ++ adv ++ neg ++ ...++ pinf instead of subj ++ pfin ++ nn1 ++ neg ++ (nn3 ++ nn4 ++ adv) ++ pinf
4. Can we simply put the adverbs in vp.a2 before neg, even if other objects follow the negation? With light objects: "ich habe dir das Buch heute nicht geschickt" and with heavy objects: "ich habe dir heute nicht ein Buch geschickt" = "ich habe dir heute kein Buch geschickt". Looks good. Is the order then
Main => subj ++ pfin ++ light ++ adv ++ neg ++ heavy ++ comp ++ pinf

But then adverbial complements have to be put to comp (i.e. nn44): "sie wohnt nicht in Berlin", not "sie wohnt in Berlin nicht".
Remark 78: in gf-3.3 the order was

```
    Main => subj ++ verb.fin ++ compl ++ inf ++ extra
```

with compl = obj0 ++ vp.a1!pol ++ obj ++ vp.a2, where vp.a1 = pre-verbal advs ++ neg and obj0 = pronouns, obj = non-pron objects. This doesn't place the adverbs correctly either, I think. Do some tests with tests/german/vpadv.trees.
5. Should we use vp.a1 for post-verbal (post-vfin), and post-negation adverbs (AdV), and vp. a2 for post-verbal, pre-negation adverbs Adv? Does such a distinction exist in German? Q54: Can there be a correct translation between languages that make the difference between Adv and AdV and those that don't (likewise if it is just a difference in adverb positioning, not in adverb kind)?

[^56]Examples for adverb ordering (from journal der Freitag Nr48, S.5/6, Nov.2023)

1. Es gibt bis heute kein ausgereiftes technisches Verfahren, das flächendeckend und langfristig garantieren könnte, dass das $C O_{2}$ für immer unter der Erde bleibt. (adv.tmp < adv.loc)
2. Kurz davor hatte es dort lange und heftig geregnet. (adv. tmp < adv.loc <adv.mod)
3. Seine Vorstellung war, dass die schwere Lohnarbeit irgendwann vollständig durch Technisierung ersetzt werden könnte. (adv.tmp < adv.mod)
4. Er wird 1930 in Sachsen-Anhalt als Sohn einer jüdischen Mutter und eines evangelischen Pfarrers geboren. (adv.tmp < adv.loc < adv.mod)
5. Kurze Zeit später sind sie auch dort nicht mehr sicher. (adv.tmp < adv.loc < adv.neg)

There also is a construction AdvS resp. ExtAdvS to add an adverb resp. an adverbial sentence to the front of a sentence ( p .136 ); a rule SSubjS : S $\rightarrow$ Subj $\rightarrow \mathrm{S} \rightarrow \mathrm{S}$ to add a subjunctive clause at the end of a sentence. This must lead to multiple analyses when the adverbial clause is at the end (in main verb order), like

```
SSubjS (PredVP np vp) subj s = PredVP np (AdvVP vp (SubjS subj s))
```

In any case, an adverbial modification of verb phrases is needed, e.g. to build adverbially modified infinitival complements: we recommend you to always be polite.

### 5.4.2. Clauses and Sentences

## Categories of Clauses and Sentences

The implementation type of clauses consists of a field $s$ for an inflection paradigm.

```
lincat Cl =
    {s : Mood => ResGer.Tense => Anteriority => Polarity => Order => Str} ;
```

The parameter types Mood, Tense ${ }^{95}$, Anteriority, Polarity and Order come with the values

```
param
    Mood = MIndic | MConjunct ;
    Tense = Pres | Past | Fut | Cond ;
    Anteriority = Simul | Anter ;
    Polarity = Pos | Neg ;
    Order = Main | Inv | Sub ;
```

The mood has a value MIndic for indicative mood and a value MConjunct for conjunctive mood, which shows at the form of the finite main verb. In tense, three values for present tense, past tense and future tense are distinguished, and a value Cond for conditional. (Todo41: explain: the clause tense differs from the verb tense, and is realized by a combination of temporal auxiliary verb and a form of the main verb.)
Todo 42: explain Anteriority: simultaneous and anterior
Polarity indicates the absence or presence of the negation adverb nicht: a clause without the negation adverb has positive polarity Pos, a clause with the negation adverb has negative polarity.

[^57](Polarity does not fully correspond to the difference between atomic and negated atomic formulas in logic: in natural languages, negation may be incorporated in quantifiers like kein (eng. no), and then does not influence polarity. wir trinken kein Bier has positive polarity, but Bier trinken wir nicht has negative polarity. So, it seems unclear what use should be made of the positive polarity of we don't drink beer when translating this sentence from English to German.)
The order refers to the position of the finite verb: in main clauses, with order Main, the finite verb follows the first, clause-initial complement (or adverb), in subordinate clauses, with order Sub, the finite verb comes at the end, and in questions, at the beginning, i.e. the order is inverted.

Sentences are obtained from clauses by fixing a value for mood, tense, anteriority and polarity, so their implementation type consists of a paradigm inflecting with respect to order only:

```
S = {s : Order => Str} ;
```

Similar categories for relative and interrogative clauses and sentences will be handled in sections 5.4.3 and 5.4.4

## Construction of Clauses

The subject in a German clause can be nominal in any of the four cases, or prepositional, or sentential, interogative or infinitival. To handle the various types uniformly, an auxiliary operation mkClause is used that takes a subject, split into a string subj and agreement features agr (gender, number, and person), and a verb phrase vp, instantiates the fields vp.nn of nominal and vp.inf of infinitival objects to agr and returns a clause (mkClause subj agr vp):Clause.
In this auxiliary operation mkClause ${ }^{96}$, the initial useVP builds the VPForms of the vp.

```
mkClause : Str -> Agr -> VP -> Cl = \subj,agr,vp ->
    let vps = useVP vp in {
        s = \\m,t,a,b,o =>
            let
                ord = case o of {
                Sub => True ; -- glue prefix to verb
                _ => False
                } ;
            verb = vps.s ! ord ! agr ! VPFinite m t a ;
            haben = verb.inf2 ;
            neg = negation ! b ;
            obj1 = (vp.nn ! agr).p1 ++ (vp.nn ! agr).p2 ; -- refl ++ pronouns ++ light nps
            obj2 = (vp.nn ! agr).p3 ; -- pp-objects and heavy nps
            obj3 = (vp.nn ! agr).p4 ++ vp.adj ++ vp.a2 ; -- pred.AP|CN|Adv, via useComp
            compl = obj1 ++ neg ++ obj2 ++ obj3 ; -- HL 6/2019
            infObjs = (vp.inf.inpl.p1)!agr ;
            infPred = vp.inf.inpl.p2 ;
            -- leave inf-complement of +auxV(2)V in place,
            -- extract infzu-complement of -auxV(2)V: (ComplVV, SlashV2V)
            infCompl : Str = case <t,a,vp.isAux> of {
                    <Fut|Cond,Anter,True> => [] ; _ => infObjs ++ infPred } ;
            pred : {inf, infComplfin : Str} = case <t,a,vp.isAux> of {
```

[^58]```
                <Fut|Cond,Anter,True> => --# notpresent
                        {inf = infObjs ++ haben ++ infPred ++ verb.inf ; --# notpresent
                        infComplfin = -- es ++ wird ++ haben ++ tun ++ wollen --# notpresent
                infObjs ++ verb.fin ++ haben ++ infPred ++ verb.inf} ; --# notpresent
                <_,Anter,True> => --# notpresent
                        {inf = verb.inf ++ haben ; --# notpresent
                infComplfin = -- es ++ wird/hat/hatte ++ tun ++ wollen --# notpresent
                    infObjs ++ verb.fin ++ infPred ++ verb.inf ++ haben} ; --# notpresent
                    _ =>
                        {inf = verb.inf ++ haben ;
                        infComplfin = -- es zu tun ++ versucht ++ [] ++ hat
                                    infCompl ++ verb.inf ++ haben ++ verb.fin}
            } ;
        extra = vp.inf.extr!agr ++ vp.ext ;
            in
            case o of {
Main => subj ++ verb.fin ++ compl ++ infCompl ++ pred.inf ++ extra ;
Inv => verb.fin ++ subj ++ compl ++ infCompl ++ pred.inf ++ extra ;
Subj => subj ++ compl ++ pred.infComplfin ++ extra
    }
} ;
```

In subordinate clauses the verb.fin is not at the end even in <Fut|Cond, Simul, True> and <_, Anter, True>, since we say (weil) er das Buch hatte lesen wollen instead of (weil) er das Buch lesen wollen hatte. (The position of adverbs vp.a2 has to be changed, see Remark 77.)

Remark 79. A fixed order of nominal, prepositional and other complements is built in, together with the position of the (sentence) negation. This order depends on the four components of vp.nn, where in each component there is an ordering depending on the constructions used to fill these components, so a minor word order flexibility seems possible. (But the strict separation between light and heavy nominal objects and between nominal and prepositional object is dubious.)
As we insert complements in separate record fields, we loose the relation between word order and the sequence of insertions that is coded in a tree. So, in a sense, the implementation record can be "more abstract" than the tree: different trees having the same implementation record represent an ambiguity that is independent of the particular ways the record is linearized.

The predication rule

```
PredVP : NP -> VP -> Cl ; -- John walks
```

for clauses with nominal (and prepositional) subject can be implemented by reading off from a verb phrase vp:VP the case (and preposition) vp.c1 for the subject, putting a noun phrase np into this case (and preposition) to get a string np.s ! vp.c1 and letting mkClause build the clause PredVP np vp with the help of the agreement features depending on np and $\mathrm{vp} . \mathrm{c}$ :

```
PredVP np vp =
    let subj = mkSubject np vp.c1
    in mkClause subj.s subj.a vp ;
```

The auxiliary operation mkSubject : NP -> Preposition -> \{s:Str ; a:Agr\}, when applied to mkSubject np p , returns the string selected from the inflection paradigm np.s by the preposition or case p and the agreement features np . a, when p is nominative, else the agreement of third person singular.
The predication rule for clauses with sentential, interrogative or infinitival subjects,

```
PredSCVP : SC -> VP -> Cl ; -- that she goes is good
```

is similarly implemented with mkClause, using the string of its subject argument and the agreement of third person singular:

```
PredSCVP sc vp = mkClause sc.s (agrP3 Sg) vp ;
```

Remark 80: The default value vp.c1 = prepNom:Preposition for nominal or prepositional subjects is ignored by PredSCVP. Can we distinguish on the type level between verb phrases taking a nominal from those taking a sentential subject? (With dependent categories one can do it, but what is the price in grammar writing, and what is the gain in correctness?)
Todo 43: Discuss that many extractions (focussing) of partial phrases will not be covered in LangGer, like "gern gelesen hat er den Brief nicht" and "gelesen hat er den Brief nicht gern".

## Construction of Sentences

The rules to construct sentences
UseCl : Temp -> Pol -> Cl -> S ; -- she had not slept
is simply implemented by selecting, from the paradigm cl.s of a clause cl, the strings for given values $t:$ Temp for tense and $p: P o l$ for polarity:

```
UseCl t p cl = {
    s = \\o => t.s ++ p.s ++ cl.s ! t.m ! t.t ! t.a ! p.p ! o
    } ;
```

The values t:Temp and p:Pol provide empty strings t.s and p.s as well as values t.m : Mood, t.t : Tense, t.a : Anteriority and p.p : Polarity. These are used to select from the paradigm

```
cl.s : Mood => ResGer.Tense => Anteriority => Polarity => Order => Str
```

a corresponding table of type Order => Str as paradigm of the sentence (see Section 5.10).

## Modification of Sentences

A sentence can be modified by adding an adverb, using

```
AdvS : Adv -> S -> S ; -- then I will go home
```

The adverb is added at the beginning. To obtain a sentence in inverted or main verb order, the argument sentence in inverted verb order follows (giving a sentence in main order); to obtain a sentence in subordinate order, the argument sentence in subordinate order follows:

```
AdvS a s = {s = table {Sub => a.s ++ s.s ! Sub ; o => a.s ++ s.s ! Inv}} ;
```

Remark 81. This is too simple; in inverted and subordinate clauses, the adverb ought to be in third position, following the finite verb and the subject, e.g. "würde man heute nicht bereit sein" and "(wenn) man heute nicht bereit sein würde", but we get

```
TestLang> l -table (AdvS today_Adv
    (UseCl (TTAnt TCond ASimul) PNeg (GenericCl ready_VP)))
s : today one wouldn't be ready
s Main : heute würde man nicht bereit sein
s Inv : heute würde man nicht bereit sein
s Sub : heute man nicht bereit sein würde
```

It seems this construction should only be used with Main order. (For inverted and subordinated order, use AdvVP or AdvVPSlash to adverbially modify the verb phrase, not the sentence.)

Remark 82: Adverbs can be split, e.g. dort, wo $S$, and the parts are often separated, e.g. wir wollen dort wohnen, wo es schön ist, Q55: Is dort the correlate of the adverb wo $S$, or dort the adverb and wo $S$ a relative clause, i.e. do we want Adv $=\{\mathrm{s}: \operatorname{Str} ; \operatorname{cor}: S t r\}$ or Adv $=\{\mathrm{s}: \operatorname{Str}$ ; rc:Str\}?

To modify a sentence by an adverbial clause, a separate construction

```
ExtAdvS : Adv -> S -> S ; -- next week, I will go home
```

is used that attaches a comma to the sentence-initial adverbial clause:

```
ExtAdvS a s =
    {s = table {Sub => a.s ++ "," ++ s.s ! Sub ;
    o => a.s ++ "," ++ s.s ! Inv}} ;
```

This covers subjunctive clauses, but these can also be added to the end, using

$$
\text { SSubjS : S -> Subj } \rightarrow \text { S -> S ; -- I go home, if she comes }
$$

The implementation attaches to the end of the given sentence $\mathrm{a}: \mathrm{S}$ a modifying sentence $\mathrm{b}: \mathrm{S}$ in subordinate verb order with leading comma and subjunction s : Subj:

$$
\text { SSubjS a } \mathrm{s} \text { b }=\{\mathrm{s}=\backslash \backslash \circ=>\mathrm{a} . \mathrm{s} \text { ! } 0++ \text { ", " ++ s.s ++ b.s ! Sub }\} \text {; }
$$

The modification of a sentence by a relative clause, i.e. the construction

$$
\text { RelS : S } \rightarrow \text { RS } \rightarrow \text { S ; -- she sleeps, which is good }
$$

appends, in each of the three orders, a comma-separated relative clause at the end, introduced by the relative pronoun was:

```
RelS s r = {s = \\o => s.s ! o ++ "," ++ r.s ! RSentence} ; --- "was"
```


## Incomplete Clauses and Incomplete Sentences

An incomplete clause is a clause missing a nominal object. Incomplete clauses are used to construct relative clauses (p. 139) and (object-) questions (p. 141): these have a clause-initial relativizing or interrogative noun (or prepositional) phrase in the case of the missing object, followed by the incomplete clause. An incomplete sentence is a sentence missing a nominal object.

## Categories ClSlash and SSlash

The implementation categories are those of clauses and sentences, extended by a field c 2 for the (preposition and) case of the missing nominal object:

```
ClSlash = {
    s : Mood => ResGer.Tense => Anteriority => Polarity => Order => Str ;
    c2 : Preposition
    } ;
SSlash = {s : Order => Str} ** {c2 : Preposition} ;
```

The paradigm type of ClSlash.s ends in Order => Str rather than Str, because both relative clauses and object questions are derived from incomplete clauses, and these use different order: from the clause er hat ihr einen Brief geschickt we can relativize the object by (der Brief), den er ihr geschickt hat with order Sub of the incomplete clause er hat ihr _ geschickt, and we can form an object-question welchen Brief hat er ihr geschickt, with order Inv in the incomplete clause.

Remark 83: The category ClSlash should have a result type Agr => Str or RelGenNum => Case => Str instead of Str in field s, as RCl already has. Then we could implement SlashVP by a modification mkClSlash of mkClause that resolves reflexives against the (yet unknown) object, or at least does not resolve them against the inserted subject. (The values of GenNum have to be extended by a value for the relative pronoun was for clauses

```
RelGenNum = RGenNum GenNum | RSentence ;
```

See the Section ?? on relative clauses for details.)

## Construction and Modification of Incomplete Clauses ClSlash

The main constructions are:

```
SlashVP : NP -> VPSlash -> ClSlash ; -- (whom) he sees
AdvSlash : ClSlash -> Adv -> ClSlash ; -- (whom) he sees today
SlashPrep : Cl -> Prep -> ClSlash ; -- (with whom) he walks
SlashVS : NP -> VS -> SSlash -> ClSlash ; -- (whom) she says that he loves
```

Currently, the rule

```
SlashVP : NP -> VPSlash -> ClSlash ; -- (whom) he sees
```

is implemented by mkClause:

```
SlashVP np vp =
    let subj = mkSubject np vp.c1
    in mkClause subj.s subj.a vp ** {c2 = vp.c2} ;
```

Problem 7. This implementation of SlashVP assumes that open reflexives in its argument vp refer to the subject and so dependencies on Agr are instantiated to the agreement of the subject. But the resulting (SlashVP np vp) is an incomplete clause, missing a nominal object to which the reflexives may have to refer, depending on vp.objCtrl.

TestLang> 1 (RelSlash IdRP (SlashVP (UsePron i_Pron) (SlashV2V lassen_V2V (ReflVP (SlashV2a wash_V2)))))
that I let wash myself
den ich mich selbst waschen lasse

In the definition of SlashVP, we must modify mkClause to mkClSlash: . . => Agr => Str, obtained like mkClause with open constituents, so to speak. We seem to need

```
RelSlash : RP -> ClSlash -> RCl ; -- whom John loves
```

such that RelSlash rp cls = rp.s ++ cls.s! (rp.agr). But this would make ClSlash rather expensive, extending the table ClSlash.s by a factor of $|\mathrm{Agr\mid}|=3 * 2 * 3=18$. But if we let ClSlash.s end in RelGenNum => Str instead of Agr $\Rightarrow$ Str, due to |RelGenNum/ $=5$ this is reasonably efficient and good enough to have reflexive resolution with the following modified SlashVP and RelSlash:

```
SlashVP np vp =
    let subj = mkSubject np vp.c1
    in mkClSlash subj.s subj.a vp ** \{ c2 = vp.c2 \} ;
RelSlash rp slash = \{
    \(\mathrm{s}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{p}, \mathrm{gn}=>\)
        (appPrep slash.c2 rp) ! gn ++ slash.s ! m ! t ! a ! p ! Sub ;
    c = slash.c2.c
    \} ;
```

For SlashVP and RelSlash, we use the following modification of ClSlash and mkClSlash in TestLangGer.gf. The point is to let ag : Agr depend on objCtrl:

```
lincat
    ClauseSlash = {
        s : Mood => ResGer.Tense => Anteriority => Polarity => Order
                        => RelGenNum => Str ;
        c2 : Preposition
        } ;
oper
    gnToAgr : RelGenNum -> Agr = \gn ->
        case gn of {RGenNum (GSg g) => AgSgP3 g ;
                            RGenNum GPl => AgPl P3 ;
                            RSentence => AgSgP3 Neutr} ;
    mkClSlash : Str -> Agr -> ResGer.VPSlash -> ClauseSlash = \subj,agr,vp ->
    let vps = useVP vp in lin ClauseSlash {
```

```
    c2 = vp.c2 ;
    s = \\m,t,a,b,o,gn =>
    let
        ord = case o of {
            Sub => True ; -- glue prefix to verb
            _ => False
            } ;
        verb = vps.s ! ord ! agr ! VPFinite m t a ;
        haben = verb.inf2 ;
        neg = negation ! b ;
        ag : Agr = case vp.objCtrl of {True => gnToAgr gn ; _ => agr} ;
        obj1 = (vp.nn ! ag).p1 ++ (vp.nn ! ag).p2 ; -- refl ++ pronouns ++ light nps
        obj2 = (vp.nn ! ag).p3 ; -- pp-objects and heavy nps
        obj3 = (vp.nn ! ag).p4 ++ vp.adj ++ vp.a2 ; -- pred.AP|CN|Adv, via useComp HL 6/201
        compl : Str = obj1 ++ obj2 ++ neg ++ obj3 ;
        infObjs = vp.inf.inpl.p1 ! ag ;
        infPred = vp.inf.inpl.p2 ;
        infCompl : Str = case <t,a,vp.isAux> of {
            <Fut|Cond,Anter,True> => [] ; _ => infObjs ++ infPred } ;
        pred : {inf, infComplfin : Str} = case <t,a,vp.isAux> of {
            <Fut|Cond,Anter,True> => --# notpresent
                {inf = infObjs ++ haben ++ infPred ++ verb.inf ; --# notpresent Duden
                infComplfin = -- es ++ wird ++ haben ++ tun ++ wollen --# notpresent
                        infObjs ++ verb.fin ++ haben ++ infPred ++ verb.inf} ; --# notpresent
            <_,Anter,True> => --# notpresent
                {inf = verb.inf ++ haben ; --# notpresent
                infComplfin = -- es ++ wird/hat/hatte ++ tun ++ wollen --# notpresent
                infObjs ++ verb.fin ++ infPred ++ verb.inf ++ haben} ; --# notpresent
            <Pres,_,_> =>
                {inf = verb.inf ++ haben ;
                infComplfin = -- es zu tun ++ [] ++ [] ++ versucht
                        infCompl ++ verb.inf ++ haben ++ verb.fin}
            _ => --# notpresent
                {inf = verb.inf ++ haben ; --# notpresent
                infComplfin = -- es zu tun ++ versucht ++ [] ++ hat --# notpresent
                                    infCompl ++ verb.inf ++ haben ++ verb.fin} --# notpresent
            } ;
        extra : Str = (vp.inf.extr) ! ag ++ vp.ext ;
    in
    case o of {
        Main => subj ++ verb.fin ++ compl ++ infCompl ++ pred.inf ++ extra ;
        Inv => verb.fin ++ subj ++ compl ++ infCompl ++ pred.inf ++ extra ;
        Subj => subj ++ compl ++ pred.infComplfin ++ extra
    }
} ;
```

Q56: Is the position of the adverbs vp.a2 in obj3 correct or dubious?
Todo 44: To resolve reflexive possessive against the missing nominal object, we may have to
use rp.a: RAgr $=$ RNoAg / RAg Number Person to compute a different agreement value for specializing vp.nn. (For example: "wir, die wir(!) dies unser(!) Schicksal so gut erkannten")

The other uses of ClSlash are adapted to this ClauseSlash in TestLangGer.gf. (The RelGenNum (and ip.a?) plays a role in forming object questions from incomplete clauses, to resolve reflexives and reflexive possessives: "wer hat seinem (eigenen!) Kind versprochen, sich(!) zu bessern?".)

```
QuestSlash ip slash =
    let gn : GenNum = case ip.n of {Sg => GSg Masc ; _ => GPl}
    in {
            s = \\m,t,a,p =>
            let
                cls = slash.s ! m ! t ! a ! p ;
                who = appPrep slash.c2 ip.s ;
            in table {
                QDir => who ++ cls ! Inv ! (RGenNum gn);
                QIndir => who ++ cls ! Sub ! (RGenNum gn)
                }
    } ;
AdvSlash slash adv = {
    s = \\m,t,a,b,o,gn => slash.s ! m ! t ! a ! b ! o ! gn ++ adv.s ;
    c2 = slash.c2
} ;
SlashPrep cl prep = {
    s = \\m,t,a,p,o,gn => cl.s ! m ! t ! a ! p ! o ;
    c2 = prep
} ;
SlashVS np vs slash =
    let subj = mkSubject np PrepNom ;
            vp = insertExtrapos (conjThat ++ slash.s ! Sub) (predV vs) -- comma?
    in mkClSlash subj.s subj.a (vp ** {c2 = slash.c2 ;
                        objCtrl = False}) ; -- pseudo
UseSlash t p cl = {
    s = \\o => t.s ++ p.s ++ cl.s ! t.m ! t.t ! t.a ! p.p ! o ;
    c2 = cl.c2
    } ;
```

Some occurrences of ClSlash in Extra/Extend remain to be adapted to ClauseSlash:

## Construction of Incomplete Sentences SSlash

```
UseSlash : Temp -> Pol -> ClSlash -> SSlash ; -- (that) she had not seen
```


## Construction of Embedded Sentences SC

The three constructions for sentential, interrogative and infinitival complements

```
EmbedS : S -> SC ; -- that she goes
EmbedQS : QS -> SC ; -- who goes
EmbedVP : VP -> SC ; -- to go
```

are implemented by

```
EmbedS s = {s = conjThat ++ s.s ! Sub} ; -- no leading comma, if
EmbedQS qs = {s = qs.s ! QIndir} ; -- sentence-initial
EmbedVP vp = {s = useInfVP False vp} ;
```

As noted in the comment, a leading comma is not part of the complements, because they can also be used as subjects, in sentence-initial position. (Q57: Is then the first letter capitalized by token Predef. CAPIT:Str?)

Remark 84: useInfVP has been changed and needs to be adapted here and in CatGer.

### 5.4.3. Relative Clauses and Relative Sentences

## Categories RP of Relative Pronoun and RCl of Relative Clause

A relative clause basically is obtained from a clause (in subordinate, verb final order) by dropping a nominal complement of its verb and putting a relative pronoun (or relativizing noun phrase or prepositional phrase) in front of the resulting incomplete clause. Usually, the dropped nominal complement is in third person, but first and second person are possible as well: du, dem ich oft geholfen habe, or wir, die wir(!) dies unser Schicksal so gut erkannten (G. Seferis). The relative pronoun inflects for case, as the nominal complement, but also for the gender of the (head) noun of the dropped nominal complement; an additional form is used to relativize a sentential complement, e.g. die Sonne schien, was uns freute.

```
RelGenNum = RGenNum GenNum | RSentence ;
```

The 4 -valued paramater domain GenNum was introduced for noun phrases (p.59). The relative pronoun agrees in person and number with the finite verb, and an additional agreement value RNoAg is used when the relative pronouns represents a sentential complements of the verb. ${ }^{97}$ :

```
RAgr = RNoAg | RAg Number Person ;
```

Therefore, the implementation category RP of relative pronoun is:

```
RP = {s : RelGenNum => Case => Str ; a : RAgr} ;
```

The category of relative clauses is similar to that of incomplete clauses, ClSlash, but instead of c2:Preposition we have the simpler field c:Case (since contractions like an dem $=a m$ only occur with article dem, not with relative pronoun dem) and the paradigm RCl.s varies in RelGenNum, which determines the form of the relative pronoun:

```
RCl = {s : Mood => Tense => Anteriority => Polarity => RelGenNum => Str ;
    c : Case} ;
```

[^59]As subordinate clauses, relative clauses have the fixed order Sub, i.e. the verb is at the end.
Q58: The flag RCl.c classifies relative clauses and relative sentences. It is set in RelCl, RelVP and RelSlash below. As far as I see, it is used only in UseRCl, to set RS.c, and RS.c is used only in ConjunctionGer, to set the flag c of the category of lists of relative clauses:

```
lincat
    [RS] = {s1,s2 : RelGenNum => Str ; c : Case} ;
lin
    BaseRS x y = twoTable RelGenNum x y ** {c = y.c} ;
    ConsRS xs x = consrTable RelGenNum comma xs x ** {c = xs.c} ;
```

As there is no comparison of c in different list members, these flags could be removed, I think.
Remark 85: In principle, a relative clause ought to inflect not for RelGenNum, but for Agr, because possessives in the clause depend on person, e.g. du, der|die du deine Kinder liebst. But this was too complex for ClSlash, so it probably will be too complex for RCl , too.

## Construction of Relative Clauses

A somewhat rare way to turn a clause into a relative clause,

```
RelCl : Cl -> RCl ; -- such that John loves her
```

is to use the clause in subordinate order, introduced by derart, daß:

```
RelCl cl = \{
    \(\mathrm{s}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}, \ldots\) => "derart" ++ conjThat ++ cl.s ! m ! t ! a ! b ! Sub ;
    \(c=\) Nom
    \} ;
```

(The English clause relativization by such that does not correspond to the German so da $\beta$, which introduces a "consecutive clause". But derart dass or Kleist's dergestalt daß are also in little use; is this a clause relativization at all? The clause relativization Johann liebt Maria, was mich freut is different, RelVP rp vp below.)
The two standard ways to relativize are by relativizing the nominal subject or object of a clause. If the subject of a clause PredVP np vp is relativized using

```
RelVP : RP -> VP -> RCl ; -- who loves John
```

we build a clause from the verb phrase vp with a suitable form of the relative pronoun rp as subject; the verb in the relative clause has to agree in person and number with the omitted subject, so we need the agreement features RP. a to choose the proper form of the verb vp.s:

```
RelVP rp vp = {
    s = \\m,t,ant,b,rgn =>
        let
            gn = case rgn of {
            RGenNum gf => gf ;
            RSentence => GSg Neutr
            } ;
```

```
        agr = case rp.a of {
            RNoAg => agrP3 (numGenNum gn) ;
            RAg n p => Ag Neutr n p
            } ;
        cl = mkClause (rp.s ! rgn ! Nom) agr vp
    in
    cl.s ! m ! t ! ant ! b ! Sub ;
c = Nom
} ;
```

Remark 86: First and second person subjects can be relativized as well, using "ich, der|die ich $\ldots t u e ", " d u$, der|die $d u \ldots$...tust", etc., but not with RelNP : NP $\rightarrow$ RS $\rightarrow$ NP, since RS and RCl deliver a table . . $\Rightarrow$ RelGenNum $\Rightarrow$ Str intended to relativize a subject in third person.

Todo 45: Add a special rule RelPronVP : Pron $\rightarrow$ VP $\rightarrow$ NP that builds, so to speak, pron, rp ++ (mkClause pron vp)! Sub. (From pron. a we get gender, number and person, so we can use a suitable value for RelGenNum in rp. But in Structural, i_Pron has inherent gender Masc, youSg_Pron inherent gender Fem, so one has to add iFem_Pron and youSgMasc_Pron.) $\triangleleft$
If a nominal object of a clause is relativized, we combine the incomplete clause obtained by dropping the object with a suitable form of the relative pronoun, using

```
RelSlash : RP -> ClSlash -> RCl ; -- whom John loves
```

Only the direct object (ClSlash.c2) can be relativized by RelSlash; an indirect object of a ternary verb has to be turned into a direct one by the Slash2V3-rule. The implementation is:

```
RelSlash rp slash = {
    s = \\m,t,a,p,gn =>
        (appPrep slash.c2 rp) ! gn ++ slash.s ! m ! t ! a ! p ! Sub ;
    c = slash.c2.c
    } ;
```

See the correction of this above (p. 139) concerning the dependence on RelGenNum.
The relativization of a nominal object combines the preposition used to attach the object with the relative pronoun: ich warte auf den $T a g \mapsto$ der Tag, auf den ich warte.

```
TestLang> l (RelSlash IdRP (SlashVP (UsePron i_Pron) (SlashV2a wait_V2)))
that I wait for
auf den ich warte
```

This is done by the appPrepIP case of appPrep, which also implements the contraction auf was $=$ worauf $: 98$

```
Lang> l -table (UseRCl (TTAnt TPres ASimul) PPos
    (RelSlash IdRP (SlashVP (UsePron i_Pron) (SlashV2a wait_V2))))
s (RGenNum (GSg Masc)) : auf den ich warte
```

[^60]```
s (RGenNum (GSg Fem)) : auf die ich warte
s (RGenNum (GSg Neutr)) : auf das ich warte
s (RGenNum GPl) : auf die ich warte
s RSentence : worauf ich warte
```

Relative clauses can also be obtained by relativising the noun phrase of an adverbial:

```
Lang> l DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (RelCN (UseN house_N)
    (UseRCl (TTAnt TPres ASimul) PPos (RelSlash IdRP
    (SlashPrep (PredVP (UsePron we_Pron) (UseV sleep_V)) in_Prep))))
das Haus , in dem wir schlafen
```

Here, SlashPrep : Cl -> Prep -> ClSlash considers Prep as a partial adverb, Prep = Adv/NP.

## Construction of Relative Pronouns

There are two constructions of relative pronouns. The first one,

```
IdRP : RP ; -- which
```

is implemented by

```
IdRP = {s = relPron ; a = RNoAg} ;
```

where relPron : RelGenNum => Case => Str is a paradigm of the four cases of der, die, das in singular and die in plural, and the four cases was, was, was, wessen for RSentence, and RNoAg the special value for agreement of relative pronouns. ${ }^{99}$
Ambiguity: die Frau, mit der er verheiratet ist:

```
RelSlash IdRP (SlashVP np (VPSlashPrep vp prep))
= RelSlash IdRP (SlashPrep (PredVP np vp) prep)
```

The other construction of relative pronouns is by

```
FunRP : Prep -> NP -> RP -> RP ; -- the mother of whom
```

An application FunRP $p$ np $r p$ is a relative pronoun that, for $g n: R e l G e n N u m$ and $c: C a s e, ~ e x-~$ tends the np in case c by the given rp applied to gn , and stores number and person of the $\mathrm{np} . \mathrm{a}$ in its agreement field:

```
FunRP p np rp = \{
    s = \\gn, c => np.s ! False ! c ++ appPrep p (rp.s ! gn) ;
    a = RAg (numberAgr np.a) (personAgr np.a)
    \} ;
```

(Can the construction reasonably be iterated?) der Aufstieg auf den Berg war schwierig $\mapsto$ (der Berg), der Aufstieg auf den schwierig war [wouldn't we rather say: (der Berg), auf den der Aufstieg schwierig war?]

[^61]This calls for a discussion: FunRP seems to be intended for relativizing an embedded nominal in a nominal object: I know the mother of John $\mapsto$ John, the mother of whom I know. For a possessive genitive, we need a different linearization, Extend. GenRP: die Mutter von|des Johann $\mapsto$ (Johann), dessen Mutter. Todo 46: Implement GenIP and GenRP.
The most complicated cases are relativizations of nominals in infinitival or sentential objects. he promised us to provide a proof of the claim $\mapsto$ (the claim) he promised us to provide a proof of, Ger (die Behauptung), von der er uns einen Beweis zu liefern versprach. These are only addressed in Extra/Extend.

There are no modification rules for relative clauses and relative sentences.

## Relative Sentences

A relative sentence is obtained from a relative clause by fixing values for mood, tense, anteriority and polarity. Its category therefore consists of a field $s$ for an inflection paradigm that simplifies the one for relative clauses by dropping dependencies on mood, tense and antiority, and of a field c for a case (holding the case of the relative pronoun?):

```
RS = {s : RelGenNum => Str ; c : Case} ;
```

The only way to construct a relative sentence is by specializing a relative clause using

```
UseRCl : Temp -> Pol -> RCl -> RS ; -- that had not slept
```

This rule is implemented by selecting from the paradigm cl.s of a given relative clause cl the string for given values $\mathrm{t}:$ Temp and $\mathrm{p}: \mathrm{Pol}$ :

```
UseRCl t p cl = {
    s = \\r => t.s ++ p.s ++ cl.s ! t.m ! t.t ! t.a ! p.p ! r ;
    c = cl.c
    } ;
```

The values $t: T e m p$ and $t: P o l$ contribute empty strings $t . s$ and p.s to the strings in the paradigm and provide parameter values t.m, t.t, t.a and t.p for mood, tense, anteriority and polarity for the selcection from $\mathrm{cl} . \mathrm{s}$.

### 5.4.4. Interrogative Clauses and Questions (improve!)

## Categories of Interrogative Clause and Question

The implementation type of interrogative clauses is similar to that of (definite) clauses. It consists of a field $s$ of an inflection paradigm varying in mood, tense, anteriority, polarity and position of the finite verb:

```
QCl = {s : Mood => Tense => Anteriority => Polarity => QForm => Str} ;
```

However, while in (definite) clauses the finite verb position varies according to the 3 -valued paramter type Order, in interrogative clauses there are only two values,

```
param
    QForm = QDir | QIndir ;
```

In direct interrogative clauses, e.g. hast du gut geschlafen, the finite verb is in initial position, i.e. QDir corresponds to the value Inv of Order, while in subordinate interrogative clauses, e.g. ob du gut geschlafen hast, the finite verb is in final position, i.e. QIndir corresponds to Sub. The implementation category for questions consists of a field for an inflection paradigm varying only according to QForm:

```
QS = {s : QForm => Str} ;
```

Interrogative clauses are either Yes-No-questions (built from an ordinary clause by intonation or word order) or build from a verb phrase by adding an interrogative noun phrase or adverb at the beginning, or an interrogative complement of a copula verb. We first introduce these interrogative categories (IP, IAdv, IComp) and their construction and modification rules, and then come back to interrogative clauses.

### 5.4.5. Interrogative Noun Phrases

Lang has a limited notion of interrogative noun phrase, a category IP called interrogative pronoun in GF. I prefer to use the more general name ${ }^{100}$, since IP also covers noun phrases with interrogative determiners, e.g. welcher bekannte Autor or wessen bedeutendes Buch ${ }^{101}$, and noun phrases with interrogative attributes, e.g. die Bücher welcher Autoren or die Weine aus welchem Land. I will use "interrogative pronoun" in the traditional sense, i.e. for wer and was. Interrogative noun phrases are always in third person, e.g. wer or welche Studenten, vary in case and have an inherent number:

```
IP = {s : Case => Str ; n : Number} ;
```

The field n :Number is the analogon of the field NP.a:Agr for agreement features. The interrogative pronouns wer and was are singular, but other interrogative noun phrases are plural, so as subjects, they determine the number of the finite verb, e.g. welcher Student bestand das Examen vs. welche Studenten bestanden das Examen.

[^62]Remark 87: The linearization type IP needs corrections. Instead of n :Number, a more general agreement field a:GenNum is needed: as subject, an interrogative noun phrase also determines reflexive possessive attributes of objects, e.g. welches Kind hat seine Mutter gesucht vs. welche Mutter hat ihr Kind gesucht. We may also have to add a field isPron : Bool to distinguish interrogative pronouns from more general interrogative noun phrases. E.g., the possessive can be expressed by a pre-nominal interrogative possessive pronoun, e.g. wessen Wagen, or by a post-nominal interrogative complex noun phrase in genitive, e.g. der Wagen welcher Person, but hardly the other way round, at least not * der Wagen wessen.

Interrogative noun phrases are constructed from interrogative determiners by

```
IdetCN : IDet -> CN -> IP ; -- which five songs
IdetIP : IDet -> IP ; -- which five
```

e.g. wie viele Brüder von Johann, welches kleine Kind, welche drei Kinder, welche drei. These constructions correspond to the constructions

```
DetCN : Det -> CN -> NP ;
DetNP : Det -> NP ;
```

of noun phrases in Section 4.1. So we first consider interrogative determiners.

## Interrogative determiners and quantifiers

In analogy to the construction of determiners by DetQuant, interrogative determiners are build from an interrogative quantifier or possessive pronoun and a cardinal number, e.g. welcher eine (große Fehler) or wessen drei (kleine Kinder).
An interrogative determiner varies in gender (in singular) and case and has an inherent number. They also determine the adjective inflection in interrogative noun phrases: welches eine gute Buch liebst du, wessen gutes Buch liebst du. So, the linearization type is

```
IDet = {s : Gender => Case => Str ; n : Number ; a : Adjf} ;
```

An interrogative quantifier, e.g. welche, welcher, welches, varies in gender (in singular) ${ }^{102}$, number and case, and determines the adjective inflection:

```
IQuant = {s : GenNum => Case => Str ; a : Adjf} ;
```


## Construction of Interrogative Quantifiers and Determiners

The only interrogative quantifier in Lang is the lexical element welcher, welche, welches, defined in StructuralGer by

```
which_IQuant = {s = \\gn,c => "welch" + detEnding ! gn ! c ; a = Strong} ;
```

An interrogative determiner is either a lexical element, e.g. wieviel, wieviele (eng. how much, how many), the second of which defined by

[^63]```
how8many_IDet = {
    s = \\g,c => "wie viel" + detEnding ! (gennum g Pl) ! c ;
    n = Pl ; a = Strong
} ;
```

in StructuralGer, or constructed with

```
IdetQuant : IQuant -> Num -> IDet ; -- which (five)
```

from an interrogative quantifier by fixing the grammatical number obtained from the cardinal:

```
IdetQuant iquant num =
    let
        \(\mathrm{n}=\) num.n
    in \{
    \(\mathrm{s}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{c}=>\) iquant.s ! (gennum g n) ! c ++ num.s ! g ! c ;
    \(\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{n}\)
    \} ;
```

For example, this gives welche drei and welche 13.

```
Lang> p -cat=IDet "welche drei"
IdetQuant which_IQuant
    (NumCard (NumNumeral (num (pot2as3 (pot1as2 (pot0as1 (pot0 n3)))))))
```


## Construction of Interrogative Noun Phrases

An interrogative noun phrase can be a lexical element, i.e. an interrogative pronoun, e.g. was and wer, or a noun phrase constructed with an interrogative determiner and possibly a cardinal, e.g. wie viele Brüder von Johann, welches kleine Kind, welche drei Kinder, welche drei.

Within an interrogative noun phrase constructed by

```
IdetCN : IDet -> CN -> IP ; -- which five songs
```

the interrogative determiner agrees (in singular) with the gender of the common noun, governs the adjective declination and number of the common noun, e.g. welcher junge Hund, welche junge Katze, welches junge Tier, wie viele alte Hunde; the interrogative noun phrase inflects according to case only:

```
IdetCN idet cn =
    let
        \(\mathrm{g}=\mathrm{cn} . \mathrm{g}\);
        \(\mathrm{n}=\) idet. n
    in \{
        \(\mathrm{s}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{c}=>\) idet.s ! g ! c ++ cn.s ! idet.a ! n ! c
                ++ cn.adv ++ cn.rc ! n ++ cn.ext ;
        \(\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{n}\)
    \} ;
```

The rule

```
IdetIP : IDet -> IP ; -- which five
```

is similar, but with fixed gender Neutr and without a common noun.
Remark 88: To ask for the possessor of something, whose car, wessen Wagen, use Extend.GenIP or Extend.GenModIP. There seems to be no rule to ask with post-nominal interrogative possessive, e.g. the car of whom, der Wagen von wem. We also cannot ask with indefinite interrogative noun phrases, like what (kind of) a car (is this), was für ein Wagen (ist das)? [But: the contraction mit was $\mapsto$ womit does not apply to mit was für einem N.neutr.]

## Modification of Interrogative Noun Phrases

An interrogative noun phrase can be modified by

```
AdvIP : IP -> Adv -> IP ;
```

This just expands an interrogative noun phrase by an adverb at the end:

```
AdvIP ip adv = {
    s = \\c => ip.s ! c ++ adv.s ;
    n = ip.n
    } ;
```

e.g. wer hier or wer in unserer Stadt. Probably, the construction should not be used with adverbial sentences adv, e.g. *wer, weil die Sonne scheint.
Remark 89: Interrogative noun phrases built by IDetCN id cn can have relative clauses in the cn constituent. But relative clauses can in German also be combined with interrogative pronouns, e.g. wer, der bei Verstand ist, würde das tun? Todo 47: Add a rule RelIP : IP -> RelS -> IP, an interrogative version of RelNP, to ExtendGer or ExtraGer.

### 5.4.6. Interrogative Adverbs

An interrogative adverb is an adverb which turns a clause into an interrogative clause or question. Semantically, it questions when or where the fact expressed by the clause holds, or how or why the action expressed is performed, etc.
Interrogative adverbs, e.g. wann or an welchem Ort, do not vary at all, so their implementation type is

```
IAdv = {s : Str} ;
```

Q59: Maybe we need a second field s2:Str, e.g. wann (wollen wir arbeiten), wenn nicht jetzt?

## Construction of Interrogative Adverbs

An interrogative adverb can be a lexical element like wie, wann, wo, warum, defined by

```
how_IAdv = {s = "wie"} ;
when_IAdv = {s = "wann"} ;
where_IAdv = {s = "wo"} ;
why_IAdv = {s = "warum"} ;
```

in StructuralGer. Interrogative adverbs can also be constructed with

```
PrepIP : Prep -> IP -> IAdv ; -- with whom
```

by applying a preposition to an interrogative noun phrase:

```
PrepIP p ip = {
    s = appPrep p ip.s ;
    } ;
```

e.g. mit was, mit wem or mit welchem Freund. However, since the clause cl in QuestIAdv iadv cl can already have an adverb, the same adverbial function of the clause may get filled twice, e.g. warum arbeitet Johann, weil er Geld braucht. (While there is a category ClSlash = Cl/NP for clauses missing a nominal object, there is no category $\mathrm{Cl} / \mathrm{Adv}$ for a clause missing an adverb, hence there are no specific constructions of type IAdv $\rightarrow \mathrm{Cl} / \mathrm{Adv} \rightarrow \mathrm{QCl}$.)

Remark 90: In German there are also many contractions of wo with a preposition, e.g. womit $=$ mit was, wofür, wohin, worin; some of these are interrogative pronominal adverbs, e.g. womit in womit habt ihr das gemacht, but some can (also or only) be used to introduce a relative clause: das Ereignis, woran wir denken. (Todo 48: implement these adverbs, by opers of types Prep -> IPron $->$ IAdv and Prep $\rightarrow$ RelPron $\rightarrow$ RAdv, similar to the contraction of prepositions with definite article singular or as tree transformations.)

Remark 91: In German (and other languages), one may ask for the value on the implicit scale provided by an adjective, as in wie alt, wie lang, wie kalt. These can be used as interrogative complement to a copula, e.g. wie kalt ist das Wasser (c.f. IComp), but also attributively, e.g. in wie kaltem Wasser schwimmst du? So we may need a construction HowA : A $\rightarrow$ IAP to build an interrogative adjective phrase from an adjective (possibly derived from a participle: e.g. ein wie berühmter Autor ist er?). So far, there is no category IAP in Grammar or Extend.

## Modification of Interrogative Adverbs

An interrogative adverb can be modified by

```
AdvIAdv : IAdv -> Adv -> IAdv ;
```

which attaches an adverb at the end of the interrogative adverb, e.g. wo in diesem Land:

```
AdvIAdv i a = {s = i.s ++ a.s} ;
```

This may be applied to some atomic adverbs, e.g. wo überall, but not to all, e.g. * wo nirgends. Similarly for wie gern, wie oft. The construction can also be used to ask for the value of an adverbially used adjective, e.g. wie gut or how well in how well did you sleep:

```
Lang> l AdvIAdv how_IAdv (PositAdvAdj good_A)
how well
wie gut
```

(In particular, we don't need an additional rule HowAdv : A -> IAdv.)
Remark 92: One may also ask for the difference of values on the implicit scale provided by an (adverbially used) adjective, e.g. wie viel besser geht es dir heute (als gestern)? or wieviel lieber trinkst du Wein als Bier? There is an interrogative adverb

```
how8much_IAdv = {s = "wieviel"} ;
```

in StructuralGer, which at least gives

Lang> 1 AdvIAdv how8much_IAdv (ComparAdvAdj more_CAdv good_A (MassNP (UseN bread_N))) how much more well than bread wieviel besser als Brot

Todo 49: So, we might need a rule HowmuchA : A -> Adv that uses the comparative degree of the adjective to form an adverb, e.g. how much better than - as. Or else the above modification AdvIAdv iadv adj : IAdv should be able to use a degree of adj depending on the iadv. Also, it should be possible to drop the comparison part.
Q60: It seems that we need to distinguish (interrogative) adverbs in positive from adverbs in comparative degree, and both are split phrases: Johann ist genau so schnell gefahren wie du and Johann ist schneller gefahren als du, as well as wieviel schneller ist Johann gefahren als du?

### 5.4.7. Interrogative Verb Phrases

Todo 50: Implement the four constructions of interrogative verb phrases QVP, ComplSlashIP, QuestQVP, AdvQVP and AddAdvQVP. (Lincat QVP = ?)

### 5.4.8. Interrogative Complements to Copula Verbs

Finally, interrogative complements of copula verbs vary in agreement, so they can be adapted to the agreement features of the nominal subject, e.g. was für ein Narr ist Johann, was für Narren waren wir for number, but in some contexts also for gender (or rather sex), e.g. * was für eine Mutter ist Johann, though was für eine Bestie|Flasche ist er is grammatical.

```
IComp = {s : Agr => Str ; ext : Str} ;
```

In Lang, there are only two ways to construct interrogative complements:

```
CompIAdv : IAdv -> IComp ; -- where (is it)
CompIP : IP -> IComp ; -- who (is it)
```

implemented by

```
CompIAdv a = {s = \\_ => a.s ; ext = ""} ;
CompIP ip = {s = \\_ => ip.s ! Nom ; ext = "" } ;
```

The second one also allows interrogative complements as e.g. which car in which car do you like. A further construction from an interrogative adjective phrase

```
ICompAP : AP -> IComp ; -- "how old"
```

is given in Extend resp. Extra. However, it can also be used with adjective phrases in comparative or superlative degree and then gives poor results, e.g. how much older as an IComp.

Extend also provided a construction from an interrogative quantifier,

```
CompIQuant : IQuant -> IComp ; -- which (is it) [agreement to NP]
```


## Constructions of Interrogative Clauses

First, interrogative Yes-No-clauses, in all moods, tenses, anteriorities and polarities, are built from a clause by

```
QuestCl : Cl -> QCl ; -- does John walk
```

They begin with a finite verb (and should end in a question mark ?), but as subordinate clauses, start with $o b$ (eng. whether) and have the finite verb at the end:

```
QuestCl cl = {
    s = \\m,t,a,p =>
        let cls = cl.s ! m ! t ! a ! p
        in table {
            QDir => cls ! Inv ;
            QIndir => "ob" ++ cls ! Sub
                }
    } ;
```

The second construction of an interrogative clause

```
QuestVP : IP -> VP -> QCl ; -- who walks
```

puts an interrogative pronoun as nominal or prepositional subject in front of a verb prase:

```
QuestVP ip vp = {
    s = \\m,t,a,p =>
        let
            who = appPrep vp.c1 ip.s ;
            cl = (mkClause who (agrP3 ip.n) vp).s ! m ! t ! a ! p ;
        in table {
            QDir => cl ! Main ;
            QIndir => cl ! Sub
            }
    } ;
```

Remark 93: In QuestionGer, the subject string was ip.s ! Nom, so the rule did not work for (passive) verb phrases with prepositional subject, like auf wen wird gewartet, or with (active) verbs with non-nominative subject, e.g. wen friert, wem ist kalt. (But frieren can also have nominative subject: ich friere, man fror.)
Third, an interrogative clause can be built with

```
QuestSlash : IP -> ClSlash -> QCl ; -- whom does John love
```

by adding an interrogative nominal or prepositional object in front of an incomplete clause:

```
QuestSlash ip slash = {
    s = \\m,t,a,p =>
        let
            cls = slash.s ! m ! t ! a ! p ;
```

```
    who = appPrep slash.c2 ip.s ;
        in table {
    QDir => who ++ cls ! Inv ;
    QIndir => who ++ cls ! Sub
    }
} ;
```

This rule (and the original implementation of SlashVP using mkClause) is used in parsing e.g. wen liebt ihr, welche Bücher habt ihr gelesen or auf was wartet ihr.

Lang> 1 (QuestSlash whoSg_IP (SlashVP (UsePron youPl_Pron) (SlashV2a love_V2))) whom do you love
wen liebt ihr
Lang> l (QuestSlash whatSg_IP (SlashVP (UsePron youPl_Pron) (SlashV2a wait_V2)))
what do you wait for
auf was wartet ihr
Todo 51: Does the modified implementation of SlashVP in TestLangGer using mkClSlash allow us to parse reflexives correctly, i.e. examples like welches seiner (eigenen) Werke liebt man am meisten, wer liebt seine (eigenen) Kinder nicht?

Fifth, interrogative clauses can also consist of an interrogative adverb followed by a clause:

```
QuestIAdv : IAdv -> Cl -> QCl ; -- why does John walk
```

In direct questions, the finite verb follows the interrogative adverb, e.g. warum geht Johann, in subordinate question, the finite verb is at the end, e.g. (ich weiß,) warum Johann geht:

```
QuestIAdv iadv cl = {
    s = \\m,t,a,p =>
            let
                cls = cl.s ! m ! t ! a ! p ;
                why = iadv.s
            in table {
                QDir => why ++ cls ! Inv ;
                QIndir => why ++ cls ! Sub
                }
    } ;
```

Copula verbs can be combined to clauses with complements of category Comp, which can be an AP, NP, Adv or CN, and nominal subjects. Accordingly, there is a rule

```
QuestIComp : IComp -> NP -> QCl ; -- where is John
```

to construct an interrogative clause by combining a copula verb and its nominal subject with an interrogative complement IComp, which can be an interrogative AP, e.g. wie klug bist du, an interrogative NP resp. IP, e.g. wer bin ich, an interrogative Adv resp. IAdv, e.g. wo seid ihr, an interrogative CN, e.g. was für ein Mensch ist Johann, ein wie alter Junge ist Johann. ${ }^{103}$ The

[^64]interrogative complement can be splittable and admits extraction of a part, e.g. wieviel älter bist du, als wir vermutet haben.

The implementation of QuestIComp puts the extractable part of the given interrogative complement icomp into the ext-field of the verb phrase vp built from the copula verb, combines the nominative form of the given noun phrase np with the vp to a clause cls , and prefixes this clause with the non-extracted part of icomp adapted to the agreement features of the np :

```
QuestIComp icomp np = {
    s = \\m,t,a,p =>
            let
                vp = predV sein_V ** {ext = icomp.ext};
                subj = mkSubject np vp.c1 ;
                cls = (mkClause subj.s subj.a vp).s ! m ! t ! a ! p ;
                why = icomp.s ! np.a
            in table {
            QDir => why ++ cls ! Inv ;
            QIndir => why ++ cls ! Sub
                }
    } ;
```


## Construction of Questions

The only way to construct a question or interrogative sentence is by fixing the tempus and polarity arguments of an interrogative clause:

```
UseQCl : Temp -> Pol -> QCl -> QS ; -- who had not slept
```

This construction is implemented, like the corresponding one for sentences on p.136, by selecting from the paradigm cl.s of an interrogative clause cl the strings for given values $t . m$ of mood, $t . t$ of tense, $t . a$ of anteriority and $t . p$ of polarity, which are selected from arguments $t: T e m p$ and p :Pol:

```
UseQCl t p cl = \{
    s = \\q => t.s ++ p.s ++ cl.s ! t.m ! t.t ! t.a ! p.p ! q
    \} ;
```

Recall from p. 136 that t.s and p.s are empty strings.
There are no modification rules for interrogative clauses and questions.

### 5.4.9. Imperatives

## Category

The implementation type of the category Imp of imperatives

```
Imp = {s : Polarity => ImpForm => Str} ;
```

consists of an inflection paradigm varying in polarity and imperative form. There are singular and plural forms, and polite and familiar forms, (given in common/ParamX.gf):

```
param
    ImpForm = ImpF Number Bool ; -- True = polite, False = familiar.
```

There are two familiar forms in each polarity, e.g. schäme dich (nicht), schämt euch (nicht), and two polite forms, e.g. schämen Sie sich (nicht), helfen Sie einander (nicht). Notice that for polite forms, a difference in number is apparent in the use of reflexive versus reciprocal pronoun in the verb phrase.

## Construction of Imperatives

-- An imperative is straightforwardly formed from a verb phrase.
-- It has variation over positive and negative, singular and plural.

```
ImpVP : VP -> Imp ; -- love yourselves
```

A nicer example would be love each other, but reciprocal pronouns are not part of Lang.
To build an imperative ImpVP vp from a verb phrase vp, the function ImpVP first generates the finite verb forms of the verb phrase, in particular the imperative verb forms (contained in vps $=$ useVP vp), and then constructs a paradigm varying in polarity pol and imperative form n : for familiar imperative form, the second person imperative verb form in the number given by n is chosen, with separable verb prefixed separated. The imperative verb form comes in front, the negation, objects, adverbs and infinite verb part follow.

```
ImpVP vp = let vps = useVP vp in {
    s = \\pol,n =>
        let
                ps = case n of {
            ImpF _ True => <P3,"Sie",True> ; -- setzen Sie sich
            => <P2,[],False>
            } ;
            agr = Ag Fem (numImp n) ps.p1 ; --- g does not matter
            verb = vps.s ! False ! agr ! VPImperat ps.p3 ;
            inf = vp.inf.inpl.p2 ++ verb.inf ; -- HL .s/.inpl.p2
            obj = (vp.nn ! agr).p2 ++ (vp.nn ! agr).p3 ++ (vp.nn ! agr).p4 ++ vp.adj
        in
        verb.fin ++ ps.p2 ++ (vp.nn ! agr).p1
            ++ vp.a1 ++ negation ! pol ++ obj ++ vp.a2 ++ inf ++ vp.ext
} ;
```

The parameters pol:Polarity of imperatives is fixed by turning imperatives into utterances, using UttImpSg and UttImpPl from the module Phrase, p.162. In particular, since CatGer. linref VP uses positive polarity as default, imperatives with positive polarity can be parsed as Imp, but those with negative polarity can only be parsed as Utt.

```
Lang> p -cat=Imp "komm"
ImpVP (UseV come_V)
Lang> p -cat=Imp "komm nicht"
The parser failed at token 2: "nicht"
Lang> p -cat=Utt "komm nicht"
UttImpSg PNeg (ImpVP (UseV come_V))
```

Remark 94: Gender g does not matter, because the singular polite imperative form $\operatorname{ImpF} \mathrm{Sg}$ True is never used. If it were, we had agr $=\mathrm{Ag} \mathrm{g} \mathrm{Sg} \operatorname{P3}$, so a possessive object (vp.nn ! agr).p2 depended on gender, e.g. seine Pflicht versus ihre Pflicht (eng. one's duty). For the plural polite imperative form ImpF Pl True we need a "polite possessive pronoun", which Lang does not provide: tu deine Pflicht, tut eure Pflicht, tun Sie Ihre Pflicht. Actually, number is irrelevant for the polite imperative in German; the parameter type could be a 3 -valued domain:

```
ImpForm = Familiar Number | Polite
```

Todo 52: Maybe the adverb vp.a2 comes too late, or always_AdV has to be inserted into vp.a1. More testing is needed. Some mistakes are

1. A predicate with copula verb and reflexive nominative complement like to always be oneself = immer man selbst sein has the personal pronoun as part of the complement, so the imperatives are sei immer du selbst, seid immer ihr selbst, seien Sie immer Sie selbst.
```
Lang> gr -tr -cat=Imp ImpVP ? | l
ImpVP (SelfAdvVP (AdVVP always_AdV UseCopula))
always be yourself
sei immer selbst
```

2. Modal verbs do not have imperatives. Instead of müsse singen, a sentence (with emphasis on the infinite verb) is used: du mußt singen, du kannst gehen, du darfst schlafen, du willst das. But copula verbs have imperatives: sei still, bleibe hier, werde erwachsen.
```
ImpVP (ComplVV must_VV (UseV sing_V))
have to sing
müss singen
```

One might write a tree transformation to handle this.

## Modification of Imperatives

The abstract grammar of Lang has a rule to modify imperatives by adverbs:

```
AdvImp : Adv -> Imp -> Imp ; -- please love yourselves
```

However, the please in the example shown is not an adverb, but a vocative: please_Voc:Voc. Vocatives are added at the end, not at the beginning, of an utterance by a phrase construction PhrUtt : PConj $\rightarrow$ Utt $\rightarrow$ Voc $\rightarrow$ Phr in the module Phrase. It might be reasonable to allow for a vocative at the beginning or in the midst of imperatives, i.e. to introduce rules

```
VocImp : Voc -> Imp -> Imp ; ImpVocVP : Voc -> VP -> Imp ;
```

to get bitte，Herr Ober，bringen Sie mir ein Bier and bringen Sie mir，bitte，ein Bier． The rule AdvImp is implemented for Eng，Bul，Romance，and Scand only，mostly by

```
AdvImp adv imp = {
    s = \\pol,impform => adv.s ++ imp.s ! pol ! impform
} ;
```

Since the verb phrase argument of ImpVP ：VP $\rightarrow$ Imp may already contain an adverb，a rule to add an adverb to an imperative seems unnecessary．
But：there are imperatives with a leading conditional：wenn du Hilfe brauchst，ruf mich an，and imperatives where the adverb follows the verb：üb＇immer Treu＇und Redlichkeit or quäle nie ein Tier im Scherz．

Q61：Do we want to explain the remaining modules of Grammar，i．e．Conjunction，Phrase， Text，Structural，Idiom，Transfer？

## 5．5．Conjunction（todo）

For many categories，a list of two or more expressions of this category can be conjoined to an expression of the category，mainly by putting a conjunction like and＿Conj：Conj between the final two elements and a comma between the remaining elements of the list．
For any conjoinable category $C$ there is a category ListC and a conjoin construction

```
ConjC : Conj -> ListC -> C ;
```

and two list constructors

```
BaseC : C -> C -> ListC ;
ConsC : C -> ListC -> ListC ;
```

Implementations of these are provided in ConjunctionGer．gf or ExtendGer．gf．A conjunction word is a split string，e．g．〈entweder，oder〉 or $\langle$ sowohl，als auch〉．The implementation category for conjunctions therefore is

```
Conj = {s1,s2 : Str ; n : Number} ;
```

where the field n ：Number is relevant only for noun phrase coordination．Some examples of conjunction words are given in StructuralGer，

```
and_Conj = {s1 = [] ; s2 = "und" ; n = Pl} ;
or_Conj = {s1 = [] ; s2 = "oder" ; n = Sg} ;
if_then_Conj = {s1 = "wenn" ; s2 = comma ++ "dann" ; n = Sg} ;
```

We begin with conjunctions for a category with simple implementation type $\{\mathrm{s}: \operatorname{Str}\}$ ．

## Conjunction of interrogative adverbs

Because the implementation category of interrogative adverbs is IAdv $=\{\mathrm{s}:$ Str $\}$, the implementation category of ListIAdv, with special notation [IAdv], is

```
[IAdv] = {s1,s2 : Str} ;
```

Here, s2 is the field for the final element of the list. The constructors are implemented by

```
BaseIAdv x y = {s1 = x.s ; s2 = y.s} ;
ConsIAdv x xs = {s1 = x.s ++ comma ++ xs.s1 ; s2 = xs.s2} ;
ConjIAdv conj ss = {s = conj.s1 ++ ss.s1 ++ conj.s2 ++ ss.s2} ;
```

For example, a conjunction of three interrogative adverbs is as follows:

```
TLang> l (ConjIAdv and_Conj (ConsIAdv where_IAdv (BaseIAdv when_IAdv how_IAdv)))
where , when and how
wo , wann und wie
```


## Conjunction of adverbs

The conjunction of adverbs is implemented similarly. (GF provides some support to ease such implementations, which we don't use here.)

```
TLang> l ConjAdv neither7nor_DConj
    (BaseAdv (PrepNP in8front_Prep (DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN house_N)))
        (PrepNP in_Prep (DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN garden_N))))
neither in front of the house nor in the garden
weder vor dem Haus noch im Garten
```

So far, there is no possibility to separate the initial from the final part of the conjoined adverb, as e.g. in wir haben weder im Haus gearbeitet noch im Garten.

## Conjunction of prepositions (todo)

A coordination of prepositions expecting the same case is quite common, e.g. das Buch lag weder auf noch unter dem Tisch. But since the category Prep does not fix the case governed by prepositions, this restriction cannot be implemented in the coordination of prepositions.
Q62: Since there are several types of Preposition, i.e. cases, pre-, post-, circumpositions, and contracting prepositions, a coordination rule would probably be overgenerating in unexpected ways. Better leave it?

## Conjunction of determiners

It seems that for GF, roughly, the initial part of a (simple) noun phrase obtained by dropping the noun is considered as a determiner with adjective phrase, or DAP $=\mathrm{NP} / \mathrm{N}$, e.g. the third best book $\mapsto$ the third best. Since DAP has paradigms s,sp for usage with following adjective phrase and for stand-alone usage, the implementation type for ListDAP is

```
[DAP] = {s1,sp1,s2,sp2 : Gender => Case => Str ; n : Number ; a : Adjf} ;
```

(We ignore here the contraction of prepositions with a leading definite article in singular and hence omit the flags hasDefArt and isDef.) The list constructors concatenate forms for each paradigm separately:

```
BaseDAP x y = {
    s1 = x.s ; sp1 = x.sp ; s2 = y.s ; sp2 = y.sp ; n = y.n ; a = y.a} ;
ConsDAP x xs = {
    s1 = \\g,c => x.s!g!c ++ comma ++ xs.s1!g!c ;
    sp1 = \\g,c => x.sp!g!c ++ comma ++ xs.sp1!g!c ;
    s2 = xs.s2 ; sp2 = xs.sp2 ; n = xs.n ; a = xs.a} ;
```

The conjoin construction is (preliminarily) implemented by

```
ConjDet conj ss = {
    s = \\b,g,c => conj.s1 ++ ss.s1!g!c ++ conj.s2 ++ ss.s2!g!c ;
    sp = \\b,g,c => conj.s1 ++ ss.sp1!g!c ++ conj.s2 ++ ss.sp2!g!c ;
    n = conj.n ;
    a = Weak ; isDef,hasDefArt = False} ; -- ad hoc
```

It may be better to use the values of the adjective inflection from the last list element and the definiteness values of the first list element. Perhaps, conjunctions like the following hardly occur:

```
TLang> l ConjDet and_Conj
    (ConsDAP (DetDAP (DetQuant DefArt NumSg))
                (ConsDAP (AdjDAP (DetDAP somePl_Det) (PositA brown_A))
                (BaseDAP (DetDAP (DetQuant this_Quant NumSg))
                            (DetDAP few_Det))))
```

der , einige braune , dieser und wenige

Conjunction of adjective phrases (todo)
How should split adjectives ap = \{s:AForm => Str; s2:Case => Str\} be coordinated? A problem here is the conjunction of comparison parts s2: colder than water and warmer than ice is fine predicatively, but how to use the conjunction attibutively in German? eine kältere Flüssigkeit als Wasser und wärmere als Eis? Or rather as in English, with post-nominal attribute: eine Flüssigkeit, kälter als Wasser und wärmer als Eis? What if some, but not all conjuncts are split? E.g. eine rote, aber flüssigere Farbe als Blut, or eine rote Farbe, aber flüssiger(e?) als Blut? If we had a boolean flag to test whether one of the s2-fields is nonempty, we could force a postnominal coordinated attribute.

As a compromise, we currently combine the comparison noun phrase (in nominative!) to the inflection part of each conjunct. This gives a wrong case for adjectival objects (of a V2A) in
male die Erde sowohl kleiner als die Sonne als auch größer als der Mond
and a strange, but comprehensible prenominal attribute in
viele sowohl kleinere als die Sonne als auch größere als der Mond Sterne

## Conjunction of sentences

In the coordination of sentences, it seems that the conjunction can restrict the order of the component sentences. For example, und uses the same order for all sentences of the list,

> Main sie liest das Buch und er trinkt das Bier Inv liest sie das Buch und trinkt er das Bier (?)
> Sub (wenn) sie das Buch liest und er das Bier trinkt
but $\langle$ weder, noch $\rangle$ or $\langle$ einerseits,andererseits $\rangle$ demand order Inv on both conjunct sentences,
Main weder liest sie das Buch, noch trinkt er das Bier
Inv weder liest sie das Buch noch trinkt er das Bier (?) - liest weder ...
Sub (wenn) weder sie das Buch liest noch er das Bier trinkt
Moreover, if_then_Conj $=\langle$ wenn, dann $\rangle$ expects Sub in the first and Inv in the second conjunct:
wenn sie das Buch liest, dann trinkt er das Bier
Remark 95: It seems to me that $\langle$ wenn, dann> is not a conjunction, but a subjuctor wenn or falls (constructing an adverbial sentence) and an adverb correlate dann, so that falls sie das Buch liest, dann is an adverb in a basic sentence.

The current implementation of sentence conjunction is:

```
BaseS x y = { -- twoTable Order ;
    s1 = x.s ;
    s2 = table {Inv => y.s ! Main ; o => y.s ! o}
    } ;
ConsS x xs = { -- consrTable Order comma ;
    s1 = \\o => x.s ! Inv ++ comma ++ xs.s1 ! case o of {Inv => Main ; _ => o} ;
    s2 = xs.s2
    } ;
ConjS conj ss = conjunctDistrTable Order conj ss ;
```

But this gives, for example, at least an incorrect inverse order:

```
TLang> p -cat=S "Mary reads the book and John drinks the beer" | l -table
s : Mary reads the book and John drinks the beer
s Main : Maria liest das Buch und Johann trinkt das Bier
s Inv : liest Maria das Buch und Johann trinkt das Bier
s Sub : Maria das Buch liest und Johann das Bier trinkt
```

So it seems that in Sub resp. Inv order, both component sentences have to be in Sub resp. Inv order, but in Main order, the order of the component sentences is determined by the conjunct.
Q63: Do we have to change the implementation type of Conj to

```
Conj = {s1,s2 : Str ; n : Number ; o1,o2 : Order}
```

and adapt the constructors for sentence coordination?

## Conjunction of infinitives (todo)

Expl. Um die Region zu mythisieren, musste Kundera nicht nur deren Gegenwart verkennen, sondern auch ihre Geschichte kräftig schönen. (der Freitag, 18. Januar 2024)

## Conjunction of noun phrases

Nominal objects can be coordinated, but to parse them as noun phrases, they have to be given in nominative (by the restriction in linref NP). For example, nicht nur die Frauen, sondern auch die Männer has the tree

```
ConjNP notonly_butalso_Conj
    (BaseNP (DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumPl) (UseN woman_N))
            (DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumPl) (UseN man_N)))
```

Q64: How can we implement a coordination of prepositional objects, e.g. (wir warten) weder auf dich noch auf ihn or (er arbeitet) sowohl für die Firma als auch für sich selbst? Since GF has no category of prepositional phrases, it is not obvious how to handle this.

## Conjunction of imperatives

Since the linearization category of imperatives is Imp = \{s : Polarity => ImpForm => Str\}, the implementation of conjoined imperatives is clear:

```
lincat
    [Imp] = {s1,s2 : Polarity => ImpForm => Str} ;
lin
    BaseImp x y = {s1 = \\p,f => x.s ! p ! f ; s2 = \\p,f => y.s!p!f} ;
    ConsImp x xs =
        {s1 = \\p,f => x.s ! p ! f ++ comma ++ xs.s1 ! p ! f ; s2 = xs.s2} ;
    ConjImp conj xs =
        {s = \\p,f => conj.s1 ++ xs.s1 ! p ! f ++ conj.s2 ++ xs.s2 ! p ! f} ;
```

Here is an example:

```
TLang> l ConjImp and_Conj
    (BaseImp (AdvImp now_Adv (ImpVP (UseComp (CompAP (PositA froh_A)))))
                        (ImpVP (UseV laugh_V)))
jetzt sei froh und lache
```


### 5.6. Phrase

The module Phrase contains, among other things, constructions of utterances. These are expressions of category Utt, which has the implementation type

```
Utt = {s : Str} ;
```

There are imperatives to a single or to several persons, and polite imperatives in plural:

```
UttImpSg : Pol -> Imp -> Utt ; -- (don't) love yourself
UttImpPl : Pol -> Imp -> Utt ; -- (don't) love yourselves
UttImpPol : Pol -> Imp -> Utt ; -- (don't) sleep (polite)
```

These are implemented by

```
UttImpSg pol imp = {s = pol.s ++ imp.s ! pol.p ! ImpF Sg False} ;
UttImpPl pol imp = {s = pol.s ++ imp.s ! pol.p ! ImpF Pl False} ;
UttImpPol pol imp = {s = pol.s ++ imp.s ! pol.p ! ImpF Sg True} ;
```


### 5.7. Text

### 5.8. Structural

Remark 96. The implementations of the pre-determiners in StructuralGer

```
all_Predet = {s = appAdj (regA "all") ; c = noCase ; a = PAgNone} ;
most_Predet = {s = appAdj (regA "meist") ; c = noCase ; a = PAgNone} ;
oper noCase : {p : Str ; k : PredetCase} = {p = [] ; k = NoCase} ;
```

do not work properly, yielding"all myself" = "aller ich" and"most myself" = "meister ich". These combinations do not make much sense. At least we should have a plural agreement in

```
all_Predet = {s = appAdj (regA "all") ; c = noCase ; a = PAg Pl} ;
```

(or do we want to allow "all mein schönes Geld", too?) Then we get "ich liebe alle meine jungen Kinder", although likewise "alle mein junges Kind". Maybe we could let all_Predet be empty in combination with singular forms of ReflPron, and "wirlihr|sie alle" in plural.

It seems that most, "die meisten" in German, is more a quantifier than a pre-determiner.

```
most_Predet = {
    s = \\n,g,c => let gn = MorphoGer.gennum g n ;
                        adj = (P.mkA "viel" "mehr" "meiste").s ! Superl
            in
                        MorphoGer.artDef ! gn ! c ++ adj ! (agrAdj Weak gn c) ;
    c = {p = [] ; k = PredCase Gen} ;
    a = PAg Pl} ;
```

By the test for pronoun in PredetRNP, this gives "die meisten von uns", but "die meisten meiner kleinen Kinder". (MorphoGer subsumes ResGer.)

The prepositions

```
possess_Prep = P.von_Prep ; -- mkPrep "von" P.dative ;
part_Prep = P.von_Prep ; -- mkPrep "von" P.dative ;
```

are obsolete; they can be used with PrepNP prep np to build an adverbial, which is incorrect. Better use the possessive and partitive constructions PossNP, PartNP : CN -> NP -> CN and load Structural - [possess_Prep, part_Prep] in a grammar used for parsing.

The determiner someSg_Det:Det implemented by

```
someSg_Det = {
    s = \\_,g,c => "ein" + pronEnding ! GSg g ! c ; -- ein, eine, ein
    sp = \\_, g,c => "ein" + detEnding ! GSg g ! c ; -- einer, eine, eines
    n = Sg ; a = Mixed ; isDef = False ; hasDefArt = False
} ;
```

and the construction DetQuant IndefArt NumSg from the indefinite article in singular are the same (up to the irrelevant aPl:Adjf), which causes unnecessary ambiguities.

Q65: For parsing, can we omit someSg_Det from the abstract syntax, or normalize one to the other? Todo 53: Check ParseGer!

Remark 97: There are three "phrase-beginning conjunctions" in Structural,

```
but_PConj = {s = "aber"} ;
otherwise_PConj = {s = "sonst"} ;
therefore_PConj = {s = "deshalb"} ;
```

This cannot work for sentences, since aber expects Main sentence order, the other two expect Inv sentence order. But UttS forces Main order, leading to wrong orders for deshalb and sonst:

```
Lang> p -tr -lang=Eng "therefore she laughs" | l
PhrUtt therefore_PConj (UttS (UseCl (TTAnt TPres ASimul) PPos
    (PredVP (UsePron she_Pron) (UseV laugh_V)))) NoVoc
therefore she laughs
deshalb sie lacht
```

In German, deshalb is an adverb, not a PConj. Q66: Does PConj make sense for German, and can we expect a strict correspondence between PConj expressions of different languages? One can put aber or und in front of a sentence in Main order (so these are PConjs), for example the famous first sentence Aber Jakob ist immer quer über die Gleise gegangen. in Uwe Johnson's novel "Mutmassungen über Jakob".

### 5.9. Idiom (todo)

Discuss at least

```
ImpersCl vp = mkClause "es" (agrP3 Sg) vp ; -- it is cold
GenericCl vp = mkClause "man" (agrP3 Sg) vp ;
```

For German, we don't need to add an indefinite personal pronoun man in the lexicon, since reflexive and possessive forms are the same as those of er and obtained from the agreement value agrP3 Sg. (But in English, there are special forms oneself and one's, so at least a separate agreement value is needed.) Notice that although man has singular agreement, it can be used with plural reciprocal pronoun: man hilft einander.

Check: A generic clause GenericCl vp is a simple clause; sentences like wenn man ..., dann ... man ... have to be built using SubjS and two generic clauses.
Q67: What about man=einer, in das können die doch nicht mit einem machen!
Q68: Are there rules in Grammar (or Extend) that care about correlates? I.e. sentences with an additional (non-complement) es or das at the "original position" from where a sentential
complement is moved? It may be a subject sentence, as in es ist seltsam, dass die Erde nicht flach ist, or an object senctence, as in wir glauben es|das nicht, dass die Erde eine Scheibe ist. Likewise with infinitival complements: es ist schön, im Meer zu schwimmen and wir glauben es kaum, euch schon wieder zu treffen.
Bug 1: There is no difference between the it in an ImpersCl and the personal pronoun $i t$. While an infinitival subject is recognized correctly,

```
Lang> p -cat=Cl "to sleep is good"
PredSCVP (EmbedVP (UseV sleep_V)) (UseComp (CompAP (PositA good_A)))
```

when the infinitival subject is moved and replaced by a correlate $i t$, we get the wrong trees

```
Lang> p -cat=Cl "it is good to sleep"
ImpersCl (UseComp (CompAP (SentAP (PositA good_A) (EmbedVP (UseV sleep_V)))))
PredVP (DetNP (DetQuant DefArt NumSg))
    (UseComp (CompAP (SentAP (PositA good_A) (EmbedVP (UseV sleep_V)))))
PredVP (UsePron it_Pron)
        (UseComp (CompAP (SentAP (PositA good_A) (EmbedVP (UseV sleep_V)))))
```

What is wrong here is that SentAP builds an adjective phrase good to sleep, which can then be turned into a verb phrase

```
(UseComp (CompAP (SentAP (PositA good_A) (EmbedVP (UseV sleep_V)))))
```

which can be combined with the expletive it of it rains (and ImpersCl) as well as the pronoun $i t$, as well as any noun phrase as subject. This would similarly allow a predicate hard to follow in your argument is hard to follow, which must be analyzed as a version of it is hard to follow your argument or to follow your argument is hard. Similarly: a good man is hard to find.
But this gives Chomsky's John is easy to please and John is eager to please examples:

```
Lang> p -cat=Cl "John is good to see"
PredVP (UsePN john_PN) (UseComp (CompAP (SentAP (PositA good_A) (EmbedVP (ComplSlash (SlashV2a
Lang> p -cat=Cl "John is good to sleep"
PredVP (UsePN john_PN) (UseComp (CompAP (SentAP (PositA good_A) (EmbedVP (UseV sleep_V)))))
```


### 5.10. Tense

Recall from Section 3.1.15 that the grammar Lang has syntactic catetegories Temp, Tense, Ant and Pol that are used to select $16=4 \times 2 \times 2$ forms of clauses for all languages in the library. Each clause form is defined by a selection of one out of four values for tense, two for anteriority and two for polarity. Eight "expressions" of the syntactic category Temp are constructed by the

```
TTAnt : Tense -> Ant -> Temp ;
```

from the four constants TPres, TPast, TFut, TCond of Tense and two constants ASimul, AAnter of Ant. The module abstract/Tense.gf also provides two constants PPos, PNeg of Pol.
For German, the implementation categories of Temp, Tense, Ant and Pol are

```
lincat
    Temp = {s : Str ; t : ResGer.Tense ; a : Anteriority ; m : Mood} ;
    Tense = {s : Str ; t : ResGer.Tense ; m : Mood} ;
    Ant = {s : Str ; a : Anteriority} ;
    Pol = {s : Str ; p : Polarity} ;
```

Besides a field $s$ for a string, the records of these types have fields $t, a, m$ or $p$ for a value of the parameter types (c.f. Section 5.4.2)

```
param
    Tense = Pres | Past | Fut | Cond ;
    Anteriority = Simul | Anter ;
    Mood = MIndic | MConjunct ;
    Polarity = Pos | Neg ;
```

The constants of categories Ant and Pol are interpreted by empty strings [] = "" and corresponing parameters (via a module TenseX):

```
lin
    ASimul = {s = [] ; a = Simul} ;
    AAnter = {s = [] ; a = Anter} ; --# notpresent
    PPos = {s = [] ; p = Pos} ;
    PNeg = {s = [] ; p = Neg} ;
```

In Grammar, the syntactic categories Tense and Ant are used only as argument categories of TTAnt : Tense -> Ant -> Temp, and only Temp and Pol are argument categories of other syntactic constructions (namely, UseCl, UseQCl, UseRCl and UseSlash). The four constants of category Tense and the construction TTAnt to interpret the 16 values of category Temp are implemented as follows:

```
concrete TenseGer of Tense =
    CatGer [Tense,Temp], TenseX [Ant,Pol,AAnter,ASimul,PNeg,PPos]
    ** open ResGer in {
    lin
        TTAnt t a = {s = t.s ++ a.s ; t = t.t ; a = a.a ; m = t.m} ;
        TPres = {s = [] ; t = Pres ; m = MIndic} ;
        TPast = {s = [] ; t = Past ; m = MIndic} ; --# notpresent
        TFut = {s = [] ; t = Fut ; m = MIndic} ; --# notpresent
        TCond = {s = [] ; t = Cond ; m = MIndic} ; --# notpresent
}
```

The paradigm temp.s of any expression temp $=$ TTAnt t a : Temp is the empty string, temp. s $=$ t.s ++ a.s. Likewise, the paradigm p.s of the two expressions p:Pol is the empty string. Hence, an application of UseCl : Temp $\rightarrow$ Pol $\rightarrow$ Cl $\rightarrow \mathrm{S}$ can turn any clause cl:Cl into a sentence $s: S$ by parsing empty substrings of the input to any of the eight values of Temp and two values of Pol. For example, we have

```
Lang> p -cat=S "wir schlafen nicht"
UseCl (TTAnt TPres ASimul) PNeg (PredVP (UsePron we_Pron) (UseV sleep_V))
```

Notice that the four values of category Tense are implemented by four values of the linearization category TenseGer that have indicative mood MIndic built in, but there are four more values with conjunctive mood MConjunct. The paradigm of a clause,

```
Cl = {s : Mood => ResGer.Tense => Anteriority => Polarity => Order => Str} ;
```

covers $2 \times 4 \times 2 \times 2=32$ sentences, i.e. paradigms of type Order $=>$ Str. To parse sentences in conjunctive mood, one can add values like (c.f. ExtraGer)

```
TImpfSubj = {s = [] ; t = Past ; m = MConjunct} ; --# notpresent
```

to the category Tense, but these would not be linearized to other languages in the library.

### 5.11. Transfer (todo)

Transfer contains only two structural transfer functions active2passive : Cl -> Cl and digits2numeral : Card -> Card (with some auxiliary transfer function for the latter).
More transfer functions seem useful ${ }^{104}$, but this would need more syntactic constructions $f$ be declared by data $f$ rather than fun $f$. (Though structural change can be done outside of GF, I would prefer more structural transformations inside GF.)

1. For example, we might have a normalization function nfNP : NP -> NP given by
```
nfNP (DetCN det (RelCN cn rs)) = DetCNRS det cn rs ;
nfNP (RelNP (DetCN det cn) rs) = DetCNRS det cn rs ;
nfNP np = np ;
```

that would reduce the two trees on the left to the same tree on the right built with a new construction DetCNRS : Det -> CN $\rightarrow$ RS $\rightarrow$ NP. As long as no syntactic effect is explained by the two different trees, one could leave it to semantics to distinguish whether a relative clause modifies a noun phrase or its immediate common noun constituent. (But could one replace RelNP and RelCN in favour of a single construction DetCNRS, or would RelCN not under DetCN still be needed? It is not clear if we can do with less constructions and trees. There seems to be a relativization of noun phrases, e.g. Johann und sein Bruder, die ich gut kenne, so we can't remove RelNP.
2. We might also want to translate or normalize negations of an indefinite noun phrase, e.g.

```
nfS (UseCl tmp PNeg (ExistNP something_NP)) =
    UseCl tmp PPos (ExistNP nothing_NP)
```

to transform es würde nicht etwas geben into es würde nichts geben. It seems difficult to incorporate such a transformation into the parsing process, i.e. make the negative polarity of $i$ ch lese ein Buch be ich lese kein Buch; the problem is that the existence of an (negated) indefinite article in the noun phrase had to be coded by parameters in the linearization; this makes rules with noun phrase arguments even more complex! It is quite hopeless to make the sentence polarity depend on negated embedded constituents like no_Quant:

[^65]```
Lang'> l (PredVP (UsePron i_Pron)
    (ComplSlash (SlashV2a read_V2)
    (DetCN (DetQuant no_Quant NumSg) (UseN book_N))))
ich lese kein Buch
```

3. Another possible transfer could contract prepositions with definite article or demonstrative to obtain pronominal adverbs, e.g. to transfer

Lang> l -table PrepNP with_Prep (DetNP (DetQuant DefArt NumSg))
s : mit dem
into an atomic damit_Adv (=dámit, not damít = damit_Subj). Likewise wegen des(sen) $\mapsto$ deswegen, etc. Hm, the contraction also occurs for complements: damit ( $=$ mit dem) hatte ich nicht gerechnet, for which a tree damit_Adv is not appropriate.
4. What about tree transformations toEng : Grammar -> AllEng to replace constructions in Grammar by language-specific ones in AllEng, or converse transformations fromEng: AllEng -> Grammar, fromGer : AllGer $\rightarrow$ Grammar to a common core? For example, we might embed GrammarEng to AllEng - [ReflVP] by translating (ReflVP vps) $\mapsto$ (ReflRNP vps ReflPron), to avoid unnecessary trees. (Can such a Transfer-module contain both ReflVP and ReflRNP?)
Lexical transfer: it seems that most_Predef is specific to Eng, e.g. most of [the children | my old articles]. In Ger, we'd rather need a quantifier most_Quant, e.g. die meisten [der Kinder | meiner alten Artikel] (c.f. Remark 96.) So we seem to need a transfer Eng.most_Predet $\mapsto$ Ger.most_Quant. Maybe most:Predet is incorrect even for English. Some transfer rules have to be given as transfer of predicates, not of words in given word categories: Eng:to be ashamed of $\mapsto$ Ger:sich schämen für.
5. Another possible transfer function could transfer DetCN det (PossCN cn (UsePron p)) to (?)DetCN det.sp (DetQuant (PossPron p) NumPl) cn, i.e. der|ein kleine (r) Hund ihrer $\mapsto$ der|einer ihrer kleinen Hunde (but how would we get ihr kleiner Hund?).
6. The indefinite personal pronoun, eng. one, and its reflexive (and reciprocal) forms need special translations involving tree transformations: one should care about one's health $\mapsto$ man sollte auf die eigene Gesundheit achten. (Alternatively, one could have an abstract indefinite personal pronoun one_Pron with special agreement value and provide these reflexive form in reflPron.)
7. In ComparAdvAdj adv adj np, one normally transforms the comparison adverb into a comparative form of the adjective: mehr kalt $=$ kälter, while weniger kalt $\neq$ wärmer.

```
(ComparAdvAdj more_CAdv adj np) : Adv => AP2Adv (ComparA adj np) : Adv
```

where some rule AP2Adv : AP $\rightarrow$ Adv would be needed. There are also cases where this is not applied: sie taten es mehr schlecht als recht. (i.e. schlechter als es recht/richtig wäre)

Remark 98: Ancient Greek has 11 participles, while English or German only have two. To translate the participles of Ancient Greek, we must use differently structured expressions (like relative or adverbial clauses), hence we need tree transformations. They should be part of GF, not implemented in separate languages like Haskell.

### 5.12. Extension of LangGer to AllGer

There is a module abstract/Extend.gf with declarations of constructions that are available in several languages, but perhaps cannot be implemented for all languages of the resource grammar library. Implementations of the common abstract language Grammar, Extend can be obtained by means of a default implementation common/ExtendFunctor.gf of the declarations in

Extend. The language-specific implementation ExtendGer overwrites those default implementations where needed.

There is also a module ExtraGer of constructions declared in ExtraGerAbs that are specific for German. ${ }^{105}$ This leads to a grammar

```
abstract AllGerAbs =
    Lang,
    IrregGerAbs,
    Extend --, Extra
    ** {} ;
```

with implementation

```
concrete AllGer of AllGerAbs =
    LangGer,
    IrregGer,
    ExtendGer
    ** open ExtraGer in {} ---- to force compilation
    ;
```

Notice that in order to be able to linearize trees obtained with AllGer to other languages of the library, the target languages must share the same abstract grammar AllGerAbs, although they need not provide implementations for the irregular verbs of IrregGerAbs.

### 5.12.1. ExtendGer (todo)

## Determiners:

The construction Extend.GenNP : NP -> Quant generalizes PossPron : Pron -> Quant. It is implemented in ExtendGer as

```
GenNP np = {
    s,sp = \\gn,c => np.s ! False ! Gen ++ np.ext ++ np.rc ;
    a = Strong ;
    isDefArt = False ;
    delCardOne = False
    } ;
```

BUT: the rule leads to many trees. Since UseDAP is intended to replace DetNP, compare the number of trees with either rule, after correcting DefArt.sp:

```
AllGerAbs> p -cat=NP "des Mannes Wagen" | ? wc -l ==> 182
AllGerAbs> p -cat=NP "des Mannes Wagen" | ? grep -v DAP | wc -l ==> 56
AllGerAbs> p -cat=NP "des Mannes Wagen" | ? grep -v DetNP | wc -l ==> 56
```

And dessen alter Wagen has 228 trees!

[^66]```
AllGerAbs> p -cat=NP "dessen alter Wagen" | ? wc -l ==> 228
AllGerAbs> p -cat=NP "dessen alter Wagen" | ? grep -v DetNP | wc -l ==> 66
AllGerAbs> p -cat=NP "dessen alter Wagen" | ? grep -v DAP | wc -l ==> 2
```

The linearization of trees seems correct (all versions with endings -es and -e not shown):

```
AllGerAbs> l -table
DetCN (DetQuant (GenNP (DetCN (DetQuant (PossPron i_Pron) NumSg) (UseN man_N))) NumSg)
    (AdjCN (PositA old_A) (UseN dog_N))
s False Nom : meines Manns alter Hund
s False Acc : meines Manns alten Hund
s False Dat : meines Manns altem Hund
s False Gen : meines Manns alten Hunds
ext :
rc :
```

But one cannot parse all forms, and the number of trees is rather absurd:

```
AllGerAbs> p -cat=Utt "meines Manns alter Hund" | ? wc -l ==> 2700
AllGerAbs> p -cat=Utt "meines Manns alten Hund" | ? wc -l ==> 120
AllGerAbs> p -cat=Utt "meines Manns altem Hund" | ? wc -l ==> 0
AllGerAbs> p -cat=Utt "meines Manns alten Hunds" | ? wc -l ==> 12240
AllGerAbs> p -cat=Utt "meines Manns alte Hunde" | ? wc -l ==> 60
AllGerAbs> p -cat=Utt "meines Manns alten Hunden" | ? wc -l ==> 0
AllGerAbs> p -cat=Utt "meines Manns alter Hunde" | ? wc -l ==> C-c C-c thread killed
```

Remark 99: Notice that (GenNP np) in DetCN (DetQuant (GenNP np) num) cn) simultaneously fulfills two synactic roles, both the role of a determiner and the role of a possessive. Similarly, in ACI-constructions, e.g. wir sahen den Hund die Katze jagen, the accusative noun phrase den Hund is the object of the main verb sehen as well as the implicit subject of the embedded verb kommen.

## Reflexive Noun Phrases

The abstract module Extra contains a category RNP of reflexive noun phrases, which is implemented in ExtraGer by

```
RNP = {s : Agr => Case => Str ; rc,ext : Str ; isPron : Bool} ;
```

Reflexive noun phrases admit a verb phrase construction ReflRNP : VPSlash -> RNP -> VP that generalizes the construction ReflVP : VPSlash -> VP of Verb. An rnp:RNP cannot be used as subject of a clause, as it has no inherent agreement value. ${ }^{106}$ While the inflection table np.s : Bool => Case => Str of a noun phrase np varies in Bool and Case to handle contractions of preposition and definite articles, the inflection table rnp.s : Agr => Case => Str of a reflexive noun phrase rnp varies in agreement and case. The first construction of reflexive noun phrases,

[^67]```
ReflPron : RNP ;
```

-- myself (oneself)
is just the reflexive (non-nominative) usage of personal pronouns, with special form sich instead of ihn, sie, es in third person singular:

```
ReflPron = { -- personal pronoun, with "sich" in P3 Sg
    s = ResGer.reflPron ; rc,ext = [] ; isPron = True } ;
```

The second construction is the possessive usage of personal pronouns,

```
ReflPoss : Num -> CN -> RNP ; -- my family, one's nose
```

A proper implementation needs a case distinction on the construction of num by NumSg, NumPl, or NumCard card: mein kleines Kind, meine kleinen Kinder, but instead of wenigstens 3 meine Kinder we need wenigstens 3 meiner Kinder. Since this case distinction is impossible in GF, to get at least the tolerable meine wenigstens 3 Kinder we put the possessive in front:

```
ReflPoss num cn = { -- HL 5/2022, mixed adjf, Duden 477
    s = \\a,c => let adjf = case num.n of {Sg => Strong | Pl => Weak}
        in possPron a num.n cn.g c ++ num.s ! cn.g ! c
            ++ cn.s ! adjfCase adjf c ! num.n ! c ++ cn.adv ;
    ext = cn.ext ;
    rc = cn.rc ! num.n ;
    isPron = False } ;
```

It is not quite clear to me what is intended with the third construction

```
PredetRNP : Predet -> RNP -> RNP ; -- all my brothers
```

In ExtraEng, an application PredetRNP pdet rnp puts the fixed string pdet.s:Str in front of the strings of the paradigm rnp.s : Agr => Str. This works with the pre-determiner only, but for all and the reflexive pronoun, is all we meant to be replaced by all of us or we all (and what about all I or most we)? For Ger, we use a flag RNP.isPron to allow for a special combination of pre-determiners with ReflPron in the implementation by

```
PredetRNP pred rnp = rnp ** {
    s = \\a,c => let n = case pred.a of {PAg n => n ; _ => numberAgr a} ;
            g = genderAgr a ;
            d = case pred.c.k of {NoCase => c ; PredCase k => k}
        in case rnp.isPron of {
            True => pred.s ! Pl ! Masc ! c ++ "von" ++ rnp.s ! a ! Dat ;
            _ => pred.s ! n ! g ! c ++ pred.c.p ++ rnp.s ! a ! d} ;
    isPron = False} ;
```

The special case with "von" makes only sense for "die meisten von uns" or "alle von uns", but is wrong for other pre-determines, e.g. gives "nur von uns" instead of "nur wir". Perhaps, as the name pre-determiner indicates, they should not be used in combination with ReflPron.

The construction PredetRNP can be used iteratively, which makes sense for nur nicht ich, nicht nur ich, nicht alle meine Freunde, but less or not so for e.g. die meisten nur meiner Freunde.

A final construction

```
ConjRNP : Conj -> RNPList -> RNP ; -- my family, John and myself
```

builds a reflexive noun phrase from a list of reflexive (and non-reflexive) noun phrases by a conjunction like und, oder, or a split conjunction like sowohl _ als auch _. The category of lists of reflexive noun phrases is a record of two paradigms,

```
RNPList = {s1,s2 : Agr => Case => Str} ;
```

and the conjunction rule is implemented by a built-in operation conjunctDistrTable2:

```
ConjRNP conj rnps = conjunctDistrTable2 Agr Case conj rnps
    ** {isPron = False ; ext,rc = []} ;
```

which constructs a paradigm $s:$ Agr $\Rightarrow$ Case $=>$ Str by putting a comma or the conjunction conj between the strings of the paradigms in the list of $n+2$ elements. The list constructors

```
Base_rr_RNP : RNP -> RNP -> RNPList ; -- my family, myself
Base_nr_RNP : NP -> RNP -> RNPList ; -- John, myself
Base_rn_RNP : RNP -> NP -> RNPList ; -- myself, John
Cons_rr_RNP : RNP -> RNPList -> RNPList ; -- my family, myself, John
Cons_nr_RNP : NP -> RNPList -> RNPList ; -- John, my family, myself
```

are implemented by turning the non-reflexive noun phrases into a constant paradigm (containing sentential or infinitival objects and relative clauses) before combining the paradigms:

```
Base_rr_RNP x y = twoTable2 Agr Case x y ;
Base_nr_RNP x y =
    twoTable2 Agr Case {s = \\_,c => x.s ! False ! c ++ x.ext ++ x.rc} y ;
Base_rn_RNP x y =
    twoTable2 Agr Case x {s = \\_,c => y.s ! False ! c ++ y.ext ++ y.rc} ;
Cons_rr_RNP x xs = consrTable2 Agr Case comma x xs ;
Cons_nr_RNP x xs = consrTable2 Agr Case comma
    {s = \\_,c => x.s ! False ! c ++ x.ext ++ x.rc} xs ;
```

The rule Verb. ReflVP : VPSlash $\rightarrow$ VP inserts a reflexive pronoun into the field vp.nn.p1 of an incomplete verb phrase vp. A more general rule is needed that can insert any reflexive noun phrase instead. This rule

```
ReflRNP : VPSlash -> RNP -> VP ; -- support my family and myself
```

is so far implemented by

```
ReflRNP vps rnp =
    insertObj (\\a => appPrep vps.c2 (rnp.s ! a)) vps ;
```

Here, insertObj obj vps adds obj to vps.nn.p4, ignoring whether the obj is derived from a pronoun rnp or not. Now that we have added fields isPron, rc and ext to RNP, we can improve ReflRNP to make it generalize ReflVP. At least closer to a generalization of ReflVP is

```
ReflRNP vps rnp = insertObjReflNP vps rnp ;
```

where the operation insertObjRef1NP vps rnp distinguishes between (reflexive) pronouns and non-pronons, and considers all non-pronouns as light nominal objects inserted into vps.nn.p2.

```
insertObjReflNP : RNP -> ResGer.VPSlash -> ResGer.VP =
    \rnp,vp -> insertObjRNP rnp vp.c2 vp ;
insertObjRNP : RNP -> Preposition -> ResGer.VPSlash -> ResGer.VP =
    \rnp, prep, vp ->
    let obj : Agr => Str =
        \\a => prep.s ! CPl ++ rnp.s ! a ! prep.c ++ rnp.ext ++ rnp.rc
    in vp ** \{
        \(\mathrm{nn}=\backslash \backslash \mathrm{a}=>\)
            let vpnn = vp.nn ! a in -- acc-pron < pron < non-pron nominal < prep.
                case <prep.t, rnp.isPron, prep.c> of \{
                    <isCase,True, Acc> => <obj ! a ++ vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
                        <isCase,True,_> => <vpnn.p1 ++ obj ! a, vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
                        <isCase,False,_> => <vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2 ++ obj ! a, vpnn.p3, vpnn.p4> ;
                        <_, , _> <vpnn.p1, vpnn.p2, vpnn.p3 ++ obj ! a, vpnn.p4> \}
    \} ;
```

To prove that this ReflRNP generalizes ReflVP : VPSlash -> VP, do we need more than showing that ReflRNP vps RelfPron amounts to ReflVP vps for any vps:VPSlash?

Of the additional constructions using RNP declared in abstract/Extend, the first one,

```
AdvRNP : NP -> Prep -> RNP -> RNP ; -- a dispute with his wife
```

is a variation of AdvNP : NP $->$ Adv $\rightarrow$ NP in which the adverb is built by an implicit reflexive version of PrepNP : Prep $->$ NP $\rightarrow$ Adv. The construction is implemented (in ExtraGer) by

```
AdvRNP np prep rnp = {s = \\a,c => np.s ! False ! c
    ++ appPrep prep (rnp.s ! a) ++ rnp.ext ++ rnp.rc ;
    ext = np.ext ; rc = np.rc ; isPron = False} ;
```

It is not quite clear whether a sentential, infinitival or interrogative complement np.ext of the argument noun phrase np should be separated by a sentential, infinitival or interrogative complement and relative clause in the modifying adverbial, as e.g. in (wir haben) den Beweis für seine Behauptung, dass ihm alle glauben, (nicht abgewartet), den er angekündigt hatte.
As mentioned earlier, the example (a) dispute with his wife appears to be a complementation construction (say, RComplN2 : N2 -> RNP $\rightarrow$ RCN). But modifications by reflexive adverbials are possible, e.g. ein Baum in seinem Garten, or Virginia Woolf's title a room of one's own.

The construction

```
ReflA2RNP : A2 -> RNP -> AP ; -- indifferent to their surroundings
```

ought to build a reflexive adjective phrases, in which the complement depends on Agr. ${ }^{107}$ As long as AP.c : Str * Str does not depend on Agr, we can only use a default agreement value:

[^68]```
ReflA2RNP adj rnp = -- would need AP.c : Agr => Str * Str
    let -- without reflexive APs,
        compl = appPrep adj.c2 (rnp.s ! agrP3 Sg) ; -- use a fixed agreement
    in {
        s = adj.s ! Posit ;
        isPre = True ;
        c = case adj.c2.isPrep of {False => <compl, []> ; True => < [], compl>} ;
        ext = rnp.ext ++ rnp.rc
    } ;
```

The construction of modifying an adjective phrase by a reflexive adverb RAdv $=$ Prep + RNP

```
AdvRAP : AP -> Prep -> RNP -> AP ; -- adamant in his refusal
```

can preliminarily be implemented by

```
AdvRAP ap prep rnp =
    let -- ? Ger: adv ++ ap.s ! af
        adv = appPrep prep (rnp.s ! agrP3 Sg) ; -- bug: fixed agreement
    in ap ** { s = \\af => ap.s ! af ++ adv } ; -- e.g. unknown in one's youth
```

Remark 100: It might be better if AP had a field AP.adv : Agr $\Rightarrow$ Str where a reflexive adverb could be inserted. Todo 54: order by adv ++ ap.s: (eine) in meinen Augen gute (Lösung). The relative order of complements and adverb in an adjective phrase needs to be considered.
Remark 101: When using a reflexive ap : AP, one has to concatenate ap.s ! (AMod gn c) or ap.s ! APred with ap.c ! agr. E.g. ein auf seine(!) Taten stolzes Kind or sie ist stolz auf ihre(!) Taten, and, with reflexive adverb, sie war in ihrer Jugend stolz auf ihre Taten.

The construction of modifiying a verb phrases vp by a reflexive adverb prep +rnp ,
AdvRVP : VP -> Prep -> RNP -> VP ; -- lectured about her travels
would force us to make vp.a2:Str depend on Agr and relate it with object-control: er traf sich mit ihr in seinem Haus vs. er traf sich mit ihr in ihrem Haus. An implementation would make verb phrases more complex, and probably lead to memory problems in grammar compilation, so we don't implement AdvRVP. As mentioned earlier, the example suggests a complementation rule, and reflexive nominal (and prepositional) objects can already be inserted into vp.nn.
Finally, an implementation of

```
PossPronRNP : Pron -> Num -> CN -> RNP -> NP ;
    -- his abandonment of his wife and children
```

uses the possessive of the given pronoun and the given numeral to build a determiner, which then combines the common noun with a possessively used reflexive noun phrase:

```
PossPronRNP pron num cn rnp =
    DetCN (DetQuant (PossPron pron) num)
        (PossNP cn (lin NP {s = \\pc => usePrepC pc (\c -> rnp.s ! pron.a ! c) ;
                    a = pron.a ;
                w = WLight ;
                ext = rnp.ext ;
                rc = rnp.rc})) ;
```

This gives (randomly generated) examples like

```
AllGerAbs> l PossPronRNP we_Pron NumPl (UseN student_N)
    (ReflPoss NumPl (UseN camera_N))
unsere Studenten von unseren Kameras
```

But the provided English example suggests that a complementation rule is intended, taking a reflexive noun phrase as complement and yielding a reflexive common noun, e.g. abandonment of one's family (called RComplN2 : N2 $\rightarrow$ RNP $\rightarrow$ RCN above). We would then probably have

```
(PossPronRNP pron num (UseN2 n2) rnp).s =
    (ReflPoss num (RComplN2 n2 rnp)).s ! pron.a
```

to build one's abandonment of one's family.

## Reflexive Predicates

Q69: How far do we want to push reflexive noun phrases? Besides the reflexive pronouns, the reflexive noun phrases are of the form predet ++ (reflposs ++ cn), where a sentential object or relative clause of the common noun cn does not contain reflexives. For example, since rnp.ext:Str, the infinitival object in

```
TestLang> p -cat=Cl "ich fürchte meine Gründe , meinen Hund zu fürchten ,"
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron) (ReflRNP (SlashV2a fear_V2)
    (ReflPoss NumPl (SentCN (UseN reason_N) (EmbedVP
            (ComplSlash (SlashV2a fear_V2)
                    (DetCN (DetQuant (PossPron i_Pron) NumSg) (UseN dog_N)))))))
```

contains PossPron i.Pron, not ReflPoss. But of course relative clauses and infinitival complements can contain reflexives in German, e.g. man soll seine Anstrengungen, seine (eigenen) Fehler zu korrigieren, nicht übertreiben.
In preliminary modules german/Refl.gf, german/ReflGer.gf and german/ReflEng.gf I have implemented some extensions to use reflexive noun phrases. In general, all constructions $f: A$ -> NP $\rightarrow$ B call for a modification Rf:A $\rightarrow$ RNP $\rightarrow$ RB, where fields d:D $\Rightarrow$ Str of B have to be changed in RB to d:Agr => D => Str, if $f(a, n p)$ embeds strings np.s ! c : Str obtained from a parameter c:Case to field B.d. For example, PrepNP : Prep -> NP -> Adv needs a modification to PrepRNP : Prep -> RNP $\rightarrow$ RAdv, to turn Adv.s : Str into RAdv.s : Agr => Str, so that we get reflexive adverbs like in my (own) house, more precisely, in one's house. How many "reflexive" versions of categories do we need to add to GrammarGer, and how many can we add within the limits of grammar compilation? RNP, RAdv, AP with reflexive object AP.c, CN with reflexive adverb CN.adv or RCN with reflexive nominal object incorporated in RCN.s etc.? So far, VP and VPSlash have reflexive nominal objects VP.nn and reflexive infinitival complemente VP.inf, but sentential complements or relative clauses are not dependent on Agr. (Infinitival complements should be reflexive because of control verbs.)

Remark 102. How can an application grammar define a unary predicate "to brush one's teeth"? Should we be able to distinguish between the possessive "his" and the reflexive possessive "his own", as in "he explained it to his (own?) child". Should we write "sein eigener" to distinguish the reflexive possessive from the personal possessive "sein", or rather "sein" and "dessen"?

For Eng, ReflRNP has to insert a reflexive noun phrase like "one's teeth"or "one's own car" of type Agr => Str into an incomplete verb phrase vps and must update vps.s2 : Agr => Str to $s 2=\backslash \backslash a=>$ vps.s2!a ++ rnp!a. We need a new value AgPO:Agr with persPron!AgPO="one", possPron! AgPO ="one's", reflPron ! AgPO ="oneself" and (ReflPoss num cn).s ! AgPO $=$ one's ++ num.s ++ cn.s ! num.n, and should define linref RNP using AgPO [instead of adding a one_Pron:Pron with one_Pron. a = AgPO:Agr and one_Pron.s ! Nom = "one"]. Since Ger uses Ag Masc Sg P3 as agreement of the implicit subject of the infinitive in EmbedVP (and of the subject "man" in GenericCl), we get the intended infinitives in Ger, but not in Eng:

AllGerAbs> 1 EmbedVP (ReflRNP (SlashV2a love_V2) (ReflPoss NumSg (UseN dog_N))) seinen Hund zu lieben AllEngAbs> l EmbedVP (ReflRNP (SlashV2a love_V2) (ReflPoss NumSg (UseN dog_N))) to love its dog

For Eng, all tables Agr => Str have to be extended. GenericCl has to use "one" as subject and must update reflexives in vp by instantiating vp.s2 to AgPO, as EmbedVP has to, in order to make the reflexives depend on the missing subject's agreement. (See also RelPronVP, p. 5.4.3.)

Remark 103: There is a kind of "semireflexive predicates", i.e. predicates with reflexive reference to an object: jmdn ermahnen, sich anzustrengen in sie ermahnten uns, uns anzustrengen.

Todo 55: Explain more of the constructions in Extend. At least

- adjust mkClause, ComplVPIVV, MkVPS, DisToCl in Extra and Extend


### 5.12.2. ExtraGer (todo)

Constructions specific to German may be lexical items, e.g. the modal verb

```
moegen_VV : VV ; -- ich mag/möchte singen
```

or forms of passive from ternary verbs, like

```
Pass3V3 : V3 -> VPSlash ; -- wir bekommen den Beweis erklärt
```

or constructions with correlate es for sentential or infinitival complements (or for adverbs).

```
EsVV : VV -> VP -> VP ; -- ich genieße es zu schlafen
EsV2A : V2A -> AP -> S -> VP ; -- ich finde es schön, dass ...
```

Notice that many verbs with a sentential complement can as well have an infinitival complement, and conversely. For example, ich genieße es, zu schlafen, but also ich genieße es, dass die Sonne scheint. Likewise, ich finde es schön, daß die Sonne scheint and ich finde es schön, im See zu schwimmen. In a sense, es and das are correlates for "direct" sentential complements (analogs to nominal objects in accusative), in contrast to the following "prepositional" sentential complements (analogs to prepositional objects).

As we can use prepositions to combine complements with a verb, we can use the CAdvPron field of contracting prepositions to insert a correlate for an infinitival or sentential complement.

## Correlates for infinitival and sentential complements of nouns (sketch)

For noun complements, a possible rule could be

```
SentN2 : N2 -> SC -> CN ;
```

with implementation (so far, in gf-rgl/tests/german/TestLexiconGer.gf)

```
SentN2 n2 sc =
    let cor : Str = case n2.c2.t of {
        R.isContracting => n2.c2.s ! R.CAdvPron ; _ => []}
    in {
        s = \\_, n,c => n2.s ! n ! c ++ cor ++ P.bindComma ;
        ext = sc.s ;
        rc = \\_ => [] ;
        adv = [] ;
        g = n2.g
    } ;
```

With hope_NV:N2 and

```
hope_NV = mkN2 (mkN "Hoffnung" feminine) aufs_Prep ;
```

this would give, for example:

```
TLang> gr -tr -cat=NP (DetCN ? (SentN2 hope_NV (EmbedVP ?))) | l
DetCN few_Det (SentN2 hope_NV (EmbedVP tired_VP))
few hopes to be tired
wenige Hoffnungen darauf , müde zu sein
```

This seems somewhat more restrictive than the modification of an arbitrary common noun by a sentential "complement", SentCN : CN -> SC -> CN. First, SentN2 applies to binary nouns only (although a separate category NV were better than N2). Second, the correlate darauf depends on the complement condition hope_NV.c2 $=$ aufs_Prep. A possible drawback is that we can always also add a nominal complement, by ComplN2 : N2 -> NP $\rightarrow \mathrm{CN}^{108}$. Since PrepNP auf np also is an adverb, we get three trees for die Hoffnung auf $n p$,

```
DetCN defArt (ComplN2 hope np)
DetCN defArt (AdvCN (UseN2 hope) (PrepNP auf np))
AdvNP (DetCN defArt (UseN2 hope)) (PrepNP auf np)
```

Q70: How can the readings as adverb be suppressed by an existing reading as complement?
Alternatively, instead of combining a sentential complement sc:SC with a (binary) noun, we could be more specific and use categories NS of nouns with sentential object, NV of nouns with infinitival object, and NQ of nouns with interrogative objects. We could then use

```
lincat NV = N2 ;
```

[^69]and use the prepositions in nv.c2 to add a correlate in the complementation rule

```
ComplNS : NS -> S -> CN ;
```

implemented by

```
ComplNS ns s =
    let p = ns.c2 ;
        cor = case p.t of {isContracting => p.s ! CAdvPron ; _ => []}
    in {
        s = \\a,n,c => ns.s ! n ! c ++ cor ++ comma ;
        rc = \\n => [] ;
        ext = conjThat ++ s.s ! Sub ; -- alternatively: s ! Main in conjunctive ?
        adv = [] ;
        g = ns.g
    } ;
```

E.g., to add the correlate daran in (der) Glaube daran, dass die Erde eine Kugel ist. Clearly, such correlates are strongly related to the prepositions used in corresponding verbs, i.e. glauben an etwas. Without a separate construction to add a nominal object, (der) Glaube an das Christkind would not be accepted. Analogously to UseN2 : N2 -> CN, we would need a rule

```
UseNS : NS -> CN ;
```

to use the noun without its sentential complement (and without its correlate, of course).
An object sentence can also take the form of a sentence in subjunctive mood (Konjunktiv), e.g. (der) Glaube , die Erde sei eine Kugel. Such a construction can however not be implemented in GF with argument type S . Instead, we have to use a clause Cl :

```
ComplConjNS : NS -> Cl -> CN ;
```

We can then ignore the correlate and use conjunctive mood in the object clause:

```
ComplConjNS ns cl = {
    s = \\a,n,c => ns.s ! n ! c ++ comma ;
    rc = \\n => [] ;
    ext = cl.s ! MConjunct ! Pres ! Simul ! Pos ! Main ; -- special case
    adv = [] ;
    g = ns.g
    } ;
```

However, this fixes tense, anteriority and polarity as well, and thus gives only a special case of what we want.

Todo 56: To admit variation in tense, anteriority and polarity, the implementation could add values TPresConj,..., TCondConj of category Tense like

```
TPresConj = {s = [] ; t = Pres ; m = MConjunct} ;
```

let ComplConjNS have additional input types Tense, Ant and Pol and put

```
ComplConjNS ns cl t a p = {
    s = \\_,n,c => ns.s !n ! c ++ comma ;
    ext = cl.s ! MConjunct ! t ! a ! p ! Main ;
    ... } ;
```

Perhaps somewhat better, a construction UseClConj : Cl -> Temp -> Pol -> SConj could build sentences in conjunctive mood and ComplConjNS had an argument category SConj instead of $S$ or $C l$.

Remark 104: However, instead of a single rule SentN2, such a solution needs more lexical work to specify the categories of nouns, and some computational overhead (at least six rules UseNS, UseNV, UseNQ, ComplNS, ComplNV, ComplNQ).

## Correlates for infinitival and sentential complements of verbs (sketch)

Grammar has rules ComplVS : VS -> S $\rightarrow$ VP and SlashV2S : V2S -> S $\rightarrow$ VPSlash to add complement sentences to verbs expecting an object sentence. If we would use VS $=\mathrm{V} 2$ instead of VS $=$ Verb, we could have sentential correlates with verbs of category VS, at least if vs.c2 contains a contracting preposition. An implementation of a rule SentVS : VS -> SC -> VP similar to SentN2 above could insert the correlate to vp.nn as prepositional object and the sc to vp.ext, so that correlate and sentential object could be separated, e.g. wir hatten nicht daran geglaubt, dass es möglich sei. Perhaps a separate construction CorVS : VS -> VP would be needed to only add the correlate, e.g. to get wir hatten daran nicht geglaubt. Namely, there is no syntactic category for correlates ${ }^{109}$, and correlates cannot be used to replace a prepositional object, e.g. sie starren an die Wand $\nvdash$ sie starren daran. (But if the sentential object is combined with the verb without a preposition, e.g. ich sehe (es) ein, dass 5 ungerade ist, is there a difference between a correlate es and a pronoun es in ich sehe es ein?)
It may seem that any verb that takes an infinitival object also takes a sentential object, e.g. sie hofft das Spiel zu gewinnen $\mapsto$ sie hofft, daß sie das Spiel gewinnt. But this is apparently not the case: manche versuchen, den Ärmelkanal zu durchschwimmen $\nvdash \rightarrow$ manche versuchen, dass sie den Ärmelkanal durchschwimmen. Hence the argument category SC in SentVS may be too crude and better be replaced by $S$ (respectively, by VP in SentVV : VV $\rightarrow$ SC $\rightarrow$ VP).

Remark 105: For ComplCorVS : VS -> S -> VP, the insertion of a correlate by

```
ComplCorVS vs s =
    let cor : Str = "es"
    in R.insertExtrapos (P.bindComma ++ R.conjThat ++ s.s ! R.Sub)
        (R.insertObj (\\_ => cor) (R.predV vs)) ;
```

sometimes has the position of es and nicht wrong

```
s MIndic Pres Simul Neg Main : ich fürchte nicht es , dass es regnet
```

Todo 57: It still remains to handle correlates for adverbs, e.g. ich gehe deshalb schlafen, weil ich müde bin for weil ich müde bin, gehe ich schlafen and deshalb gehe ich schlafen. Q71: Do we have the same double realisation of a syntactic role in ich sah ihn kommen, den Hund?

[^70]
## Moving extractions (todo)

Some implementation categories have a field ext:Str for sentential, infinitival or interrogative complements. These fields, like the field for a relative sentence in noun phrases or for a comparison noun phrase in adjective or adverb phrases, contain parts of a phrase that may be separated from the other part. Typically, the past participle of a verb may be inserted between a noun and a relative clause, or between an adjective and its comparison noun phrase.
So far, such constructions are not implemented yet.

## 6. Lose Ends

### 6.1. How to Prove Properties of a Resource Grammar?

We can do testing, but how can we prove correctness, or any other property of GF's resource grammars? This is a difficult question.

- First, all grammars are incomplete: for example, the resource grammars have no verbal category of verbs of arity greater than 3 , but languages have such verbs.
- Second, the prepositions of the RGL are English prepositions, and neither do they cover all prepositions, nor do the given ones map one-to-one to prepositions of other languages, likewise for adverbs (then/when/when? in Eng corresponds to dann/als|sobald/nachdem/wann? in Ger). So, correct translation of adverbials calls for a comprehensive set of adverb constructors, possibly organized in several adverbial dimensions, i.e. temporal, local, directional, causal, etc. prepositions or pro-adverbs.
Similarly, categories such as PConj for "phrase-beginning conjuncts" will not contain "the same" words in all languages, and hence they cannot have a simple translation.
- Third, different sequences of rule applications may produce the same record in one language, but different ones in another language. For example, the sequence may be relevant for the word order in one language but not in the other. How can the word orders be made corresponding between those language where order matters?

On the other hand, the advantage of writing grammar rules is that we can improve and correct them, so we can reason about the constructions, and guarantee certain properties. For example, we would like to prove that the two trees

```
ComplSlash (Slash3V3 v np3) np2 === ComplSlash (Slash2V3 v np2) np3
```

have the same linarizations, for all v:V3 and np2:NP, np3:NP, in all languages (or are different trees intended for different word orders, c.f. below). Putting the implementation issues aside, can we prove such properties using the intended mathematical interpretation of abstract terms (trees) by records with string and parameter fields?
A better example may be

```
ImpersCl vp === PredVP (UsePron it_Pron) vp
```

since

```
IdiomEng.gf: ImpersCl vp = mkClause "it" (agrP3 Sg) vp ;
SentenceEng: PredVP np vp = mkClause (np.s ! npNom) np.a vp ;
IdiomGer.gf: ImpersCl vp = mkClause "es" (agrP3 Sg) vp ;
SentenceGer: PredVP np vp = let subj = mkSubject np vp.c1
    in mkClause subj.s subj.a vp ;
ResGer.mkSubject (UsePron it_Pron) Nom = {s = "es" ; a = agrP3 Sg}
```

So it seems that ImpersCl can be reduced to the "core" language without Idiom. This could be expected, but in fact the implementations in IdiomEng, IdiomGer are based on ResEng, ResGer, not only on constructors of other grammar modules (which contain it_Pron). However, the use of it_Pron here is in fact a correlate for the moved infinitival subject, or sentential subject: es ist gut, dass $S$, or es ist gut, ... zu tun.
More generally, it would be nice to implement normalization of trees (say, to give a normal form to realize a possessive function, or relate passive clauses to active ones, or translate adjectival attributes to relative clauses, etc. (This should be part of Transfer.)
Having such proofs, it would be nice to record the assumptions used, and re-establish them after grammar modifications. (i.e. do regression tests of general properties of the grammars, not just of individual parse results.)
Word order and parsing: do we want two trees, or use a new ComplV3 instead?

```
Lang> p -tr -lang=Eng -cat=Cl "I sell the dog to the man" | l
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron) (ComplSlash (Slash2V3 sell_V3
(DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN dog_N)))
(DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN man_N)))
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron) (ComplSlash (Slash3V3 sell_V3
(DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN man_N)))
(DetCN (DetQuant DefArt NumSg) (UseN dog_N)))
I sell the dog to the man
ich verkaufe dem Mann den Hund
I sell the dog to the man
ich verkaufe dem Mann den Hund
```

If we insert objects into the same nn :Str field, the order of objects must be reflected in the tree. If we insert the objects in separated components of nn:Str *...* Str, different trees have the same record, and the record is more abstract than the trees. We then need a default relative ordering of the nn fields. Or some (invisible) parameters that choose between the possible relative orders, similar to the $t$ :Temp with empty string component.
Q72: What is needed of RNP to be able to prove that ReflRNP : VPSlash -> RNP $\rightarrow$ VP is a generalization of ReflVP : VPSlash -> VP?

Generally, when is an abstract rule implemented correctly? For example, are there criteria how a constituent constructed by a Slash*-rule has to behave? If the constituent embedded in a relative clause (with the relativizing element extracted) or if it embedded in a complementation rule works correctly?

### 6.2. Problems

Todo 58: There are some problems with the existing LangGer.

- Nesting depth of VV or V2V complements:
- Rules f : A $\rightarrow$ C need to inspect the construction of their arguments, see Remark 74.
- Sometimes, a comparison of Ger with Eng is useful or needed to understand the motivation of constructions in the RGL. For example, the difference between AdvVP and AdVVP apparently makes little sense for Ger, because only English has a distinction between adverbs coming before and adverbs coming after the verb.
- Modification rules can be applied iteratively, which may be ok for AdvCN:CN -> Adv -> CN, but is dubious for RelCN:CN $->$ RelS $\rightarrow$ CN. In some cases, only a single modification is correct. However, GF does not allow us to have partial rules that are not applicable to a CN already modified (though the iterated modification might return its argument cn unchanged).
- Inflection paradigms s : Parameters => Str
- Adjectives with object sentences or object infinitives have category A, e.g. probable_AS and fun_AV. Hence, an object sentence can also be analysed as an adverbial sentence, which makes no sense, e.g. John is glad that he can sleep, c.f. the remark to lexical adjectives in Section 5.2.
- Compound nouns in DictGer are often not inflected correctly: if they are composed of adjective and noun, like grasgruene_taeubling, the adjective is not inflected: e.g. *des Grasgrüne_ Täublings.
- CAdv is used in combination with an adjective in

```
ComparAdvAdj : CAdv -> A >> NP -> Adv ; -- more warmly than John
ComparAdvAdjS : CAdv >> A -> S -> Adv ; -- more warmly than he runs
```

to form an adverb, and with

```
CAdvAP : CAdv -> AP -> NP -> AP ; -- as cool as John
```

to form an adjective phrase. In the first usage, the comparative adverb can govern the degree of the adjective, e.g. more + good $=$ good $!$ Compar $=$ better, in the second usage, it cannot, as the adjective phrase has a fixed degree. Q73: Can we let CAdv determine the degree of an adjective and still add complements? If we had

```
CAdvAP : CAdv -> A -> NP -> AP ;
CAdvA2P : CAdv -> A2 -> NP -> NP -> AP ;
```

we could build genau so stolz auf np1 wie np2 and stolzer auf np1 als np2. If we let AP.s : Degree => AForm => Str, each usage of an ap has to somehow choose a degree.
Theres is yet no ComplComparA2 : A2 -> NP -> AP for adding an object to an A2 in comparative, e.g. stolzer auf sein Kind (als wir).

- Sometimes, prefixverbs have a modifiable prefix, e.g. wohlfühlen_rV:V = sich wohlfühlen. But how can we modify the separable prefix, as in "der Pazifische Makrelenhecht, der sich bei 15 bis 18 Grad im Wasser am wohlsten fühlt" (SZ 16.Februar 2024, Nr.39, S.14)
- How to parse damals war es für sie so, als sei ...der Fall ?

Remark 106: The rule ExtraGer.PassVPSlash : VPSlash -> VP is overwritten in TestLangGer.

Example problems:

- Left extraction: SZ 26.2.2022 hat die EU gegen Russland das härteste Sanktionspaket in der Geschichte des Wirtschaftsblocks erlassen from Paket von Sanktionen gegen Russland.
- PossNP and AdvNP: Notice the complement auf die Ukraine of Angriff, in contrast to the adverbial modification für die Ukraine of Folgen in
- die wirtschaftlichen Folgen des russischen Angriffs auf die Ukraine
- die wirtschaftlichen Folgen des russischen Angriffs für die Ukraine

It seems that objects are closer to $N$ than possessive genitives, and these closer than adverbial modifiers.

Q74: Can we accept variants and generate a normal form of an expression? This would be very useful to let less used variants be accepted in parsing, but only a specific form be generated in linearization. For example, ConstructionGer defines

```
timeunitAdv n time =
    let n_hours_NP : NP = mkNP n time
    in SyntaxGer.mkAdv (for_Prep | P.accPrep) n_hours_NP ;
```

with alternative tree constructions. Both "elf Wochen" and "für elf Wochen" are parsed to the same tree

```
timeunitAdv (NumNumeral (num (pot2as3 (pot1as2 pot111)))) week_Timeunit
```

But the first construction seems to be the "normal form" for generation:

```
Lang> p -tr -cat=Adv "elf Wochen" | l
timeunitAdv (NumNumeral (num (pot2as3 (pot1as2 pot111)))) week_Timeunit
für elf Wochen
```

The other form is also generated when linearizing the full inflection table (using l -table):

```
Lang> p -cat=Adv "elf Wochen" | l -table
s : für elf Wochen
s : elf Wochen
```

A resource grammar perhaps ought not to have such alternatives, but for application grammars, it seems rather useful, provided this works similarly for nested alternatives and the selection of the "normal form" is stable under compiler optimizations.

Remark 107: ApposCN, DetNP and MassNP cause rather incorrect trees, e.g. for er lebt in seinem Haus seiner Frau:

```
PredVPRAdv (UsePron he_Pron) (UseV live_V)
    (PrepRNP in_Prep (ReflPoss NumSg (ApposCN (ApposCN (UseN house_N)
            (DetNPFem (DetQuant (PossPron i_Pron) NumSg))) (MassNP (UseN woman_N)))))
```

A lot $(78 \%)$ of incorrect trees are obtained by

```
ReflPredicates>
p -cat=VP "seinem Chef seinen Hund zu verkaufen" | ? wc -l => 79
p -cat=VP "seinem Chef seinen Hund zu verkaufen" | ? grep MassNP | wc -l => 62
p -cat=VP "seinem Chef seinen Hund zu verkaufen" | ? grep ApposCN | wc -l => 62
p -cat=VP "seinem Chef seinen Hund zu verkaufen"
    | ? grep -v ApposCN | grep -v he_Pron | grep -v it_Pron
ComplRSlash (SlashR3V3 sell_V3 (ReflPoss NumSg (UseN boss_N)))
    (ReflPoss NumSg (UseN dog_N))
ReflRNP (SlashR3V3 sell_V3 (ReflPoss NumSg (UseN boss_N)))
    (ReflPoss NumSg (UseN dog_N))
```


### 6.3. ExtraGer: what to do to improve parsing

1. Exclude Noun. DetNP and replace it by DetNPMasc, DetNPFem, DetNPNeutr : Det -> NP. We cannot define DetNP : Det $\rightarrow$ NP that takes a Gender argument, since Gender is not a syntactic category.
2. Exclude MassNP : CN $\rightarrow$ NP, add replace it by a category MN of mass nouns, a category CMN of common mass nouns, and rules UseMN : MN -> CMN and DetCMN : Det -> CMN -> NP to generate water_MN:MN, klares Wasser:CMN and viel klares Wasser:NP. However, count nouns are also used without article, e.g. Überfischung und Klimawandel sind die Hauptgründe für die Entwicklung.
3. Implement splittable adjective and adverb phrases, e.g. weil die Inflation größer war als die Lohnerhöhungen, dass die Bürger weniger konsumieren als erwartet
4. Add complement frames to nouns and adjectives in LexiconGer, e.g. Grund für etwas, Hoffnung auf etwas
5. Implement sentential correlates: (Gründe) dafür, daß sich die Wirtschaft nur zaghaft erholt, and allow them as alternative to prepositional objects.

### 6.3.1. Structural ambiguiuties

1. An adverb may be moved from a subordinate clause to the main (or superordinate) clause, and can be read as adverb of the main clause: dass die Forscher wegen des Rückgangs der Inflation damit rechnen, dass die Zentralbanken [?] die Zinsen wieder senken
2. Replace the rules to modify a noun by AP, Adv, RelS to a joint modification, so that different orders of modifiers are ignored. (With dependent category ( CN am advm rsm) as in the Riga Summerschool?)
3. A binary adjective a 2 or noun n 2 that combines with a nominal object np by a preposition a2.c2 : Prep or n2.c2 : Prep can always be used without complement via UseA2 a2 : AP or UseN2 n2 : CN and the result be modified by the adverb adv = PrepNP p np via

AdvVP (UseComp (CompAP (UseA2 a2))) adv
AdvVP (UseComp (CompCN (UseN2 n2))) adv

How can one enforce that complementation precedes modification? An operator precedence declaration should instruct the parser to only extract one of the two structures from the parse table. (This is similar to the examples with $\mathrm{v} 2: \mathrm{V} 2$.)
4. German adjectives can be read as adverbs, in context where they shouldn't:

```
TLang> p -cat=Cl "ich bin jung"
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron) (UseComp (CompAP (PositA young_A)))
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron) (UseComp (CompAdv (PositAdvAdj young_A)))
PredVP (UsePron i_Pron) (AdvVP UseCopula (PositAdvAdj young_A))
```

Todo 59: Add testfiles *.gfs or *.gftest?

Remarks: 107, Todos: 59, Questions: 74, Proposals: 4

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Todo 1: relate these to the head-complement-structures and head-adjunct-structures of HPSG

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ which of course is an idealization

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ One says the monotone function $k \mapsto m \cdot k$ is residuated and has $n \mapsto m \backslash n$ as its residual function, likewise for $k \mapsto k \cdot m$ and $n \mapsto n / m$.
    ${ }^{4} A / B$ has arity $n+1$, if $A$ has arity $n$.

[^3]:    ${ }^{5}$ unless we view predicates as modifiable in various dimensions and treat the adverb as dimension argument. But adverbs are largely optional, which complicates the treatment as dimension argument.

[^4]:    ${ }^{6}$ though not uniquely: if the grammar is ambiguous, the same string may be the linearization of different trees

[^5]:    ${ }^{7}$ We here only sketch a fragment where the abstract language is a language of simply typed terms and ignore that GF more generally admits dependent types, although these can be very useful for natural languages, e.g. to define categories NP Sg and NP Pl of noun phrases in singular and plural, respectively.

[^6]:    ${ }^{8} 113$ data declarations +273 fun declarations in Grammar - 108 fun declarations in Structural

[^7]:    ${ }^{16}$ LangGer seems to hande fronting with special rules, but extraposition via the ext-field of phrase records.

[^8]:    ${ }^{17}$ I use common name for the lexical noun categories and common noun for their extensions by complement, adjectival or adverbial attribute, and relative clause, i.e. the basic noun phrase missing a determiner. Both N, N2, N3 and CN are called common noun in GF's resource grammar Lang.
    ${ }^{18}$ Should we consider a reflexive function of nominal objects in clauses?

[^9]:    ${ }^{19} \mathrm{Q} 10$ : For reflexive verbs, it seems that the short reflexive pronoun sich instead of sich selbst is preferred, e.g. er hat ihn sich vorgeknöpft, or sich schämen, not sich selbst schämen. Do we use sich selbst only for the reflexive usage of non-reflexive verbs? (To test the implementation, it is useful to differ between personal mich,dich and reflexiv mich selbst, dich selbst, while for third person, the difference between ihn,sie,es and sich is apparent.)
    ${ }^{20}$ The possessive function corresponds closely to the subject function of the auxiliary verb haben, i.e. er hat eine Frau $\mapsto$ seine Frau, and to the subject function of full verbs, e.g. er versucht, einzuschlafen $\mapsto$ sein Versuch, einzuschlafen.

[^10]:    ${ }^{21}$ There are also verbs with very few possible objects, e.g. es|das|nichts|etwas|manches|vieles|alles tun
    ${ }^{22}$ Todo 14: prepositional complements
    ${ }^{23} \mathrm{We}$ count the subject as first complement, the objects as second, third etc. to be specified by c1, c2,...in GF.
    ${ }^{24}$ C.S.Peirce's: person $x 0$ rents person $x 1$ a thing $x 2$ in place $x 3$ for an amount $x 4$ from time $x 5$ to time $x 6$.
    ${ }^{25}$ i.e. verb phrases as defined below and denoted by Inf or Inf-zu here, consisting of a verb in Infinitiv or Infinitiv-zu form, combined with objects and adverbials.

[^11]:    ${ }^{26}$ or rather direct < indirect < subject, to make it the reverse of the typical ordering in subordinate clauses like weil er ihr einen Blumenstrauß schenkt? Compare accdatV in ResGer|Eng. For more than 3 complements, there is no intuitively "standard" ordering, so a convention for the arity of words in a multilingual lexicon is needed.
    ${ }^{27}$ English: give sb sth as opposed to give sth to-sb. May, for German, one object be in dative?
    ${ }^{28}$ The reflexive pronoun sich in third person singular can be dative or accusative.

[^12]:    ${ }^{29}$ sollen can be used to circumscribe indirect imperatives: er soll schweigen! or sie meinen, ich soll arbeiten!
    ${ }^{30}$ But lassen is also a passive auxiliary verb (lassen-Passiv): ich lasse mich täuschen $=$ ich lasse zu, dass ich getäuscht werde, or ich lasse mir ein Haus bauen $=$ ich veranlasse, dass mir ein Haus gebaut wird.

[^13]:    ${ }^{31}$ In Head Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG), the basic verb phrase is a head-complement-structure, where the verb is the head, the other expressions are the complements. With respect to the syntactic arity of the verb, these are just the object complements of the verb. So, essentially, VP = Nom $\rightarrow$ Clause or VP $=\mathrm{NP} \backslash \mathrm{S}$.
    ${ }^{32}$ This correspondence is not precise, since complements and modifiers may contain quantifiers, hence don't represent individuals in the logical sense.
    ${ }^{33}$ These infinitival phrases often have a clear meaning as action ascribed to the implicit subject. The resource grammar Lang assumes verb phrases for all languages.

[^14]:    ${ }^{34}$ Most of the phenomena can be demonstrated with lexicon entries, if the semantics is ignored. An extension of Lang by a TestLexicon with entries to test specific syntactic properties is under construction, as well as a file lintest.gfs for linearizing all constructions in LangGer and LangEng, to support regression tests.

[^15]:    ${ }^{35}$ We here skip two fields dealing with compound nouns
    ${ }^{36}$ For records $r$ and $s, r * * s$ is the extension of $r$ by the fields of $s$, where fields with a label common to $r$ and $s$ get their value from $s$.
    ${ }^{37}$ The implementation type of the syntactic category Prep is derived by lincat Prep $=$ Preposition ;

[^16]:    ${ }^{38}$ There are also: ans, am, aufs, beim, hinters, hinterm, ins, im, übers, überm, unters, unterm, vom, vors, vorm.

[^17]:    ${ }^{39}$ This parameter type Agr has $|\operatorname{Agr}|=\mid$ Gender $|*|$ Number $|*|$ Person $\mid=3 * 2 * 3=18$ values. But distinctions in gender are only made in third person singular, so we can replace the parameter type by

    ```
    Agr = AgSgP1 | AgSgP2 | AgSgP3 Gender | AgPl Person | AgPlPol ;
    ```

    which only has 9 values, including a value for the polite personal pronoun Sie, which has special reflexive and possessive forms, e.g. Sie sollten sich anstrengen und Ihr Bestes tun. For the indefinite personal pronoun, in German we can use man with agreement value AgSgP3 Masc, e.g. Man soll sich anstrengen und sein Bestes tun, but in English, this pronoun one needs a special agreement value to select its reflexive possessive form one's from reflPron, e.g. in One should try hard and do one's best, not his best. As far as I see, noun phrase agreement in plural noun phrases can only use gender as in "eine von ihnen" vs. "einer von ihnen". But this is such a special case that we restricted np.a to AgPl Person.

[^18]:    ${ }^{40}$ yielding an ambiguity: (Haus von Johann):CN auf dem Hügel versus Haus von (Johann auf dem Hügel):CN, using MassNP : CN $->$ NP and PossNP, if the possessive uses von.

[^19]:    ${ }^{41}$ But: the comparision part of an adjectival attribute may have to be put to np.ext: ich habe ein kleineres Haus [] gekauft als deines.
    ${ }^{42}$ Q20: Where is the negation put when the verb has a heavy and a light nominal object? ich schenke dem Kind nicht einen Ball with nicht einen $=$ keinen? With emphasis, we can say Ich schenke dem Kind (nicht einen) | keinen Ball, sondern einen Drachen, but also: Ich schenke dem Kind einen Ball nicht $=\underline{I c h}$ schenke dem Kind keinen Ball. Q21: How does the weight depend on the quantifier in the object-np? Ich lese diese viele Bücher nicht vs. *ich lese wenige Bücher nicht, at least *ich lese nicht manche Bücher

[^20]:    ${ }^{43}$ So far, LangGer > 1 PrepNP an_Prep (DetNP (DetQuant DefArt NumSg)) gives am dem, not daran.

[^21]:    ${ }^{44}$ If one adds them, one should also add embedding rules UseNS:NS -> CN, UseNQ:NQ -> CN, UseNV:NV -> CN.

[^22]:    ${ }^{45}$ But commata would disturb glass_of_CN np = N.ApposCN (mkCN (P.mkN "Glas" "Gläser" neuter)) np in ConstructionsGer. Shouldn't this be implemented by PartNP?. And also in Königin Elisabeth die zweite, ApposCN (ApposCN (UseN queen_N) (UsePN elisabeth_PN)) (DetNP (DetQuantOrd defArt ord)). So perhaps a separate rule ExtApposCN is needed that puts the apposition in commata to cn.ext.
    ${ }^{46}$ Q24: can we implement appositions as projections from relative clauses: Johann, der angeblich dein bester Freund ist $\mapsto$ Johann, angeblich dein bester Freund, and thereby ensure the agreement in number?

[^23]:    ${ }^{47}$ In the stand-alone usage, the gender must be given by the construction, e.g. DetNPMasc, DetNPFem in Extend.

[^24]:    ${ }^{48}$ for which computation rules of Transfer are needed, see Section 5.11

[^25]:    ${ }^{49}$ Todo 20: But don't we need some inflection for stand-alone usage: (den) dreien?

[^26]:    ${ }^{50}$ Q30: What is the reason for not having a digit $n 1: D i g i t ~ d e f i n e d ~ b y ~ n 1 ~=~ m k D i g i t ~ " e i n " ~ " e l f " ~ " z e h n " ~$ "erste" and then putting pot01 = pot0 n1 ** $\{\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{Sg}\}$ ? Currently, pot01 has DUnit,DTeen,DTen $=$ ein.

[^27]:    ${ }^{51}$ the predicative form of the underlying digits and numeral are 51 st and einundfünfzigst, respectively.

[^28]:    ${ }^{52}$ with the options in 1 -table -bind NumCard (NumDigits (IDig D_2)) to glue the stem with the endings

[^29]:    ${ }^{53}$ The grammar accepts the three first, but not the first three.
    ${ }^{54}$ Their types originally were Bool $\Rightarrow$ Number $\Rightarrow>$ Gender $\Rightarrow$ Case $\Rightarrow$ Str, which gives tables of $2 * 2 * 3 * 4=$ 48 strings, while the types (Bool $\Rightarrow>$ ) GenNum $\Rightarrow>$ Case $\Rightarrow>$ Str used here gives $\left(2^{*}\right) 4^{*} 4=(32) 16$ strings: in DetQuant and DetQuantOrd, we can see from quant.a = MixedStrong that quant=IndefArt, and then drop the quant part if num.isNum = True. (However, we need empty strings in DefArt.s!True! (GSg g) to avoid a metavariable being raised when parsing a contracted preposition, e.g. im Haus.)
    ${ }^{55}$ Namely, for DetQuant : Quant $\rightarrow$ Num $\rightarrow$ Det, we know in DetQuant quant num from quant.isDefArt, num.isNum and num.n, whether the quant.s is a definite article in singular, so we can drop it in the determiner paradigm.
    ${ }^{56}$ However, in stand-alone usage DetNP det, we don't want to contract preposition and definite article alone, e.g. have in dem, not im. Can we do this in PrepNP p np without an additional flag in $n p: N P$ remembering whether np is constructed with DetNP (DetQuant DefArt NumSg)? This is a fairly rare case, so we ignore it.

[^30]:    ${ }^{57}$ Q33: Are there still cases where einige popped up in unwanted contexts? Yes, e.g. glass_of_CN (DetNPFem somePl_Det) gives Glas einige, but singular Glas eines is also nonsense. How can we block using (DetQuant IndefArt NumPl).sp ! False in (DetNP det).s = det.sp?
    ${ }^{58}$ These can be seen as determinative usage of personal pronouns, in contrast to their nominal usage provided by UsePron : Pron $->$ NP.

[^31]:    ${ }^{59}$ The dependence on gender in plural is an artefact. Since determiners have an inherent number, the paradigms ought to have a type Bool => G n => Case $\Rightarrow$ Str depending on the number n , where G Sg $\simeq$ Gender and G Pl has a single value, respectively. Equivalently, we might have two separate categories DetSg and DetPl, with paradigms of types Bool => Gender => Case => Str and Bool => Case => Str, respectively.

[^32]:    ${ }^{60}$ If DetCN det en could inspect the abstract construction of det, this could be accounted for using slight modifications as provided by agrAdj.

[^33]:    ${ }^{61}$ Sometimes, defArt.sp is avoided, e.g. mit dem $\mapsto$ damit, wegen des $\mapsto$ deswegen, wegen der $\mapsto$ deretwegen.

[^34]:    ${ }^{62}$ Notice that rc and ext are lifted from the constituent cn. This suggests that the independent rule RelNP, p. 92, to relativize a full noun phrase by a relative clause is questionable, at least if proper names and pronouns can also be relativized (before embedding them into NP).
    ${ }^{63}$ For parsing, either use the rules ExtendGer.DetNP* or the more general rules ExtendGer. DAP*, but not both.

[^35]:    ${ }^{64}$ This can be seen from Adjective. ComplA2. The constructions Verb. ComplVA and Verb. SlashV2A use insertAdj adj $c$ ext vp to insert the nominal complement c.p1 to vp.nn.p2, but the adjective with the prepositional complement adj.s ++ c.p2 to vp.adj, and ext to vp.ext.

[^36]:    ${ }^{65}$ Todo 29: Check if Extend would accept this. The original implementation of ComparA stores the comparison part of an adjectival attribute in the field cn.s:Str, too, as in LangEng.

[^37]:    ${ }^{66}$ Q38: Can this be improved with incomplete adjective phrases APSlash $=$ AP/NP and appropriate complentation and modification rules?
    ${ }^{67}$ Since ap:AP, not ap:A, the use of the adjective's comparison object ap.s2 is to avoid a metavariable in the parse tree. This clearly indicates that the argument ap should not itself be constructed by CAdvAP, but it can.

[^38]:    ${ }^{68}$ Johann hat immer mir eine Zigarette angeboten or Johann hat mir eine Zigarette immer angeboten. For binary verbs, it may be different: Johann hat immer seine Arbeit gemacht and Johann hat seine Arbeit immer gemacht are used.
    ${ }^{69}$ One might distinguish pronominal adverbs, e.g. here, now, etc., from adverbial phrases in general and add a field isPron : Bool to the implementation type to mark the difference.

[^39]:    ${ }^{70}$ For appPrepNP, see p. 61.

[^40]:    ${ }^{71}$ The value of Bool is fixed when v:Verb is turned to a verb of a lexical category $\mathrm{V}, \ldots, \mathrm{V} 3$ and the paradigm v.s is extended to the paradigm of the lexical verb. Q40: Why is the dependence of the participle and infinite not marked by a Bool - because it is not needed in the present participle?
    ${ }^{72}$ Q41: What is the reason for this different grouping?

[^41]:    ${ }^{73}$ The comma and the extraction to the right are less common, if the complement is short.

[^42]:    ${ }^{74}$ Notice the ambiguity in (prep (DetCN det cn)) (prep np) versus (prep (DetCN det (cn prep np))), as for (am Abend) (beim Treffen) (in Brüssel) versus (am Abend) (beim (Treffen in Brüssel)).

[^43]:    ${ }^{75}$ In Eng, Ger of gf-3.9, vp.inf did just hold the infinite form of the verb vp.s (which was not used for eng), but we here change this to let vp.inf be the infinitival complement of vp.s. We should also not store an embedded infinitival complement separately, but distinguish between in-place and extracted infinitival complement. In gf-3.6, Ger. ComplVV v vp added infExt ++ vp.exp to rvp.ext, but this was the embedded infinitive.
    ${ }^{76}$ assuming that there is only one; but in general, a sentence can have several: to be is better than not to be.
    ${ }^{77}$ The object depends on Agr since it may be a reflexive pronoun, e.g. mir selbst in du wirst mich mir selbst haben helfen lassen wollen instead of du wirst mich dir haben helfen lassen sollen *(gesollt haben). The predicate, i.e. the verb's infinitive, modified by adverbs, does not depend on Agr. Q43: This is not true for adverbs: ich werde jmdn in seinem(!) Haus haben wohnen lassen müssen, where haben is inserted between adverb and verb infinitives!

[^44]:    ${ }^{78}$ Q44: The ext-field should not hold an np-part (e.g. a postponed relative clause), if it is to contain a sentential or infinitival complement. Can we ensure this? For example, v:V2 admits extracted relative clauses from nominal objects, e.g. ich habe den Beweis nicht verstanden, den du skizziert hast, but probably v:V2V does not: is ich bitte dich, den Beweis nochmal zu erklären, den du skizziert hast ok, or should it read ich bitte dich, den Beweis, den du skizziert hast, noch einmal zu erklären? But the first is just the infinitive of den Beweis verstehen, den ... Here we could glue the extraction to the verb infinitive, when using infVP isAux vp.

[^45]:    ${ }^{79}$ Remark 70: insertObjc to insert an np into a VPSlash is no longer used, except in ParseGer.

[^46]:    ${ }^{80}$ We need a second rule that adds the object sentence in conjunctive form: er behauptete, die Erde sei flach?

[^47]:    ${ }^{81}$ quite usual: wir hoffen, Ihnen hiermit geholfen zu haben or Sie glauben, mir damit nicht geschadet zu haben?

[^48]:    ${ }^{82}$ But there is the more general CompVV : VV -> Anteriority $\rightarrow$ Polarity $\rightarrow$ VP $->$ VP in ParseGer.
    ${ }^{83} \mathrm{Q} 48$ : are the adverbials, negation and adjectival complement properly ordered in obs and pred?
    ${ }^{84}$ The infinitival complement vp.inf.extr cannot be derived from vp.inf.inpl as $\backslash \backslash \mathrm{agr} \Rightarrow$ vp.inf.in.p1!agr ++ vp.inf.in.p2. This caused serious troubles for nesting, when in in-place vp.inf.inpl has to be turned into rvp.inf.extr depending on v.isAux!

[^49]:    ${ }^{85}$ Todo 37: shouldn't this instantiation be done by insertObjNP, so that it applies as well to SlashV2VNP in beg me to buy in to beg sb to love his (own!) neighbours? Would the default objCtrl=False conflict with insertObjNP used in Slash?V3's to insert an object to predVc v:V3? Or should this be reserved to reflexive noun phrases RNP of Extra/Extend? Are and should reflexive possessives in vps also be instantiated to $\mathrm{np} . \mathrm{a}$ ?
    ${ }^{86}$ Rethink this when adding a reflexive noun phrase rnp: to promise sb. to wash one's car vs. to ask sb. to wash his (own) car, so the rnp needs its own agreement rnp.a, c.f. I promised $\mid$ asked my wife to wash my $\mid$ her hair.
    ${ }^{87}$ or rather, the agreement features of the indefinite personal pronoun man (to be added). Maybe objAgr should differ between instantiating vp.nn and vp.inf: object-control is about the implicit subject of vps.inf; at least if the vps:VPSlash is obtained by adding complements to verbs of arity $n \geq 3$, the vps.nn should perhaps not be specialized by objAgr?

[^50]:    ${ }^{88}$ It is unclear why this deserves a special construction, but other copula verbs bleiben or werden don't. True, we can say hier sein-bleiben, but not hier werden, but this is not a strong reason to exclude bleiben and werden from being copula verbs.

[^51]:    ${ }^{89}$ For correct translation between ternary verbs, this convention is essential.

[^52]:    ${ }^{90}$ We may have vp.s.vtype $=$ VRefl c, but generally, a "reflexive" vp:VP (built with ReflVP : VPSlash -> VP) just has a reflPron inserted in vp.nn.p1, so we can't check if it is a reflexive vp, unless we add a field vp.vtype or can check if vp.nn.p1 is empty. Or can we use reflexive noun phrases Extra. RNP, which are inserted to $n n . p 4$, or misuse vp.s.vtype?.

[^53]:    ${ }^{91}$ So, when is an implementation of VPSlash correct? When a vp:VPSlash can be completed to a verb phrase (by ComplSlash), or to an incomplete clause (by SlashVP and RelSlash), or when it behaves "well" as top-level construct?

[^54]:    ${ }^{92}$ See Problem ??, p. ??, on the effect of VPSlash.objCtrl:Bool and VPSlash.c1|c2:Preposition on the complexity of compilation of SlashV2VNP.

[^55]:    ${ }^{93}$ it only makes a distinction between adverbs Adv and comparison adverbs CAdv

[^56]:    ${ }^{94}$ And what happens with modal verbs: "kann nicht immer schlafen" - "(kann nicht) (immer schlafen)" or "(kann (nicht immer)) schlafen"? Is this resolved by intonation?

[^57]:    ${ }^{95}$ The parameter type Tense $=$ ResGer. Tense is not the syntactic category cat Tense in Section 5.10.

[^58]:    ${ }^{96}$ For simplicity, we here identify the result type Clause:Type of MkCl ause with the linearization type Cl .

[^59]:    ${ }^{97}$ Check that this is really the usage of RNoAg.

[^60]:    ${ }^{98}$ Since the first value of RelGenNum, i.e. RGenNum (GSg Masc), is used for parsing a relative sentence, we cannot parse worauf ich warte, only auf den ich warte.

[^61]:    ${ }^{99}$ more precisely?

[^62]:    ${ }^{100}$ Maybe the category name should be INP, similar to the category RNP of "reflexive noun phrases" in Extend.
    ${ }^{101}$ provided as IQuant in ExtraGer

[^63]:    ${ }^{102}$ I changed the type by combining the Number and Gender, as I did for Quant, and by adding a:Adjf.

[^64]:    ${ }^{103}$ Recall that Lang has no class of copula verbs; the verbal phrase is always formed with to be. Aarne: Other copula verbs, e.g. to become or to remain, may not be combined with an arbitrary Comp or IComp: here where is John, but *here|where becomes John.

[^65]:    ${ }^{104}$ The GF-book presents a further transfer function aggr : S $->$ S for aggregation on p. 147, 148. The flag -transfer to the gf-shell command pt = put_tree no longer exists since gf-3.9. It used to go recursively down through the tree and apply a given transfer function to suitable subtrees; to apply a transfer function to a specific subtree might be difficult to specify.

[^66]:    ${ }^{105}$ Extra was a previous version of Extend. For many languages of the library, the concrete grammars for Extra and Extend overlap. For German, we have moved all constructions in Extra that are also declared in Extend to ExtendGer, so that ExtraGer is small and can be loaded in combination with ExtendGer. The plan is to put some constructions providing word-order variations to ExtraGer, in particular extractions of sentential complements.

[^67]:    ${ }^{106}$ But then the comment on a:PredetAgr in the type of Predet below makes no sense! Subjects like die meisten meiner Brüder need a fixed agreement value Ag Masc Pl P3, so the possessive cannot be constructed with ReflPoss, but must be built by PossPron i_Pron.

[^68]:    ${ }^{107}$ In Eng, we have AP.s : Agr $\Rightarrow$ Str and RNP.s : Agr $\Rightarrow$ Str, so there is no need to introduce RAP.

[^69]:    ${ }^{108}$ unless we use a new category NV with hope_NV:NV and lincat NV = N2

[^70]:    ${ }^{109}$ the correlate daran is not the pronominal adverb daran_Adv

