

# Linguistic representations and text analysis

Maurice Gross

UNDERSTANDING A TEXT, whether by a human being or by a computer, implies that units of meanings be identified in the text, and that rules composing these units and the corresponding meaning units provide the complete meaning of the text. Such a statement raises many fundamental questions we shall not be concerned with (e.g. What is meaning?). We will limit ourselves to lexical and grammatical procedures that lead to the recognition of patterns of words on which the process of understanding is based.

First, we will illustrate the patterns of words to be detected by analyzing a short text in English (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Already a large variety of grammatical combinations of words will be encountered. Then, we will discuss the implications of these observations for the construction of an explicit system of understanding. We will illustrate the shape and the size of this system mostly through data obtained for the French language.

## Lexical analysis of simple words

Among the most obvious units of meaning are the simple words; they are defined as sequences of characters limited by consecutive spaces.

However, attributing meaning to a simple word runs into two fundamental problems:

- in many instances simple words are ambiguous, that is, they have several meanings, as recorded in ordinary dictionaries,
- often, they have no meaning at all by themselves, either because they are grammatical words used to combine words (e.g. *of*, *and*, *to be*) or else because they are part of compound words which

carry meanings only as a whole (e.g. the idiom *red herring*, and the noun *tunnel* in the technical term of quantum physics *tunnel effect*).

These two situations do not exclude each other, and they both require analysis of the context of the individual words whose interpretation is sought. For example, the word *show* can be either a noun or a verb, and each of these two grammatical forms has several meanings. The text of Figure 1 contains such meanings:

In the sequences *for showing that, showed that by using*, the verb has a basic construction which authorizes sentential complements, as in the normalized form:

$N_0 V N_1 =:$

The authors showed that their solution was coherent

The meaning of this construction,<sup>2</sup> roughly that of *to prove*, must be distinguished from the meaning found in the sentence:

$N_0 V N_1 \text{ to } N_2 =:$

The authors showed their book to Max

roughly that of *to exhibit*, but which has a different structure: two complements  $N_1$  and *to N<sub>2</sub>*, instead of one and where the direct complement is 'concrete';

In the sequences:

crystals that show icosahedral symmetry  
which shows an overall five-fold symmetry

the verb has practically no meaning, it has only a grammatical function that we call support verb (Z.S. Harris 1964, M. Gross 1981). It is approximately synonymous with *to have*, a more general support verb.

A priori, there are other meanings, as illustrated by the following examples:

The authors showed us into the conference room  
Max is showing off  
Results are showing up

We are now in a position to define more precisely the problem of the

formal analysis of a text. Texts are available as sequences of simple words (defined themselves as sequences of characters on a given alphabet). Simple words are described in dictionaries. An automaton acting very much as a beginner student of Greek or Latin, consults a dictionary which provides a whole range of solutions for the interpretation of a given word. In the example of the word *show*, we have already listed seven interpretations. In principle, texts are not ambiguous, at least with respect to these interpretations. Hence, six irrelevant interpretations have to be eliminated, which can only be done by exploration of the context of the word.

We just presented one class of problems of the analysis of the text, namely the recognition of the lexical units. Another challenge consists of providing the organization of these words into sentences, a problem to be generalized to the organization of the texts into autonomous discourses. We will now describe an example of syntactic analysis, clearly distinguished from lexical analysis by the fact that the grammar rules involved are largely independent of the words to which they apply. We will then discuss a more elaborate type of lexical analysis, and thus see that many rules apply only to interdependent lists of words, revealing the complex structure of the lexicon of a language.

### Syntactic analysis

Consider the sentence (extracted from our text):

- (1) The addition ... can be made to happen quickly and uniquely and in a way that is consistent with Penrose tiling

The rules of English grammar define the sequence:

- (1a) The addition can be made to happen

as a well-formed sentence containing the main verb. Clearly (1a) is the grammatical 'backbone' of (1), with a structure ( $S =: N_0 V$ ) (i.e. subject-verb, more precisely: subject-verbal complex). Other rules state that the adjunct of an adverb (Adv) to such a sentence results in a sentence. We can write the equation:

$$(R1) S =: S \text{ Adv} \quad \text{and apply it to our example: (1) = (1a) Adv}$$

This (recursive<sup>3</sup>) notation reflects the fact that any number of adverbs

can be added to a sentence S. But adverbs can also be built by means of the conjunction *and*, hence the rule (i.e. equation):

(R2)  $\text{Adv} =: \text{Adv and Adv}$

and it is clear that this rule applies twice in sentence (1), yielding the following analysis where phrases are delimited by parentheses marked with the grammatical symbols of the rules:

(1S) (The addition ... can be made to happen)<sub>S</sub> (((quickly)<sub>Adv</sub> and (uniquely)<sub>Adv</sub> and (in a way that is consistent with Penrose tiling)<sub>Adv</sub>)<sub>Adv</sub>

The deepest level of parentheses, for example those attached to *quickly* and *uniquely*, is the result of a dictionary look-up for these words.<sup>4</sup> The other levels are obtained by the application of the grammar rules (R1) and (R2), which here indicate the way a complex adverb is constituted from simpler adverbial shapes.

There are many other rules in the grammar, corresponding to the many other sentence shapes. Among others, we will have:

(R3)  $S \text{ and } S$

a rule stating that a sentence can be formed by conjoining two other sentences. As we are going to see, this particular rule has consequences for the analysis of (1). Let us now mimic a mechanical process of analysis for (1). To do so, we scan (1) from left to right. By definition of the problem, we know where the beginning of the sentence is (it is marked by a period, followed by a space, followed by a capital letter). Now, in order to locate the end of the sentence, let us attempt to define precisely the whole adverb (i.e. the outer level of adverb parentheses in (1S)).

We have analyzed (1a) intuitively as a sentence, the application of rule (R1) forces us to do the same for the following two other subsequences of (1):

- (1b) The addition ... can be made to happen quickly
- (1c) The addition ... can be made to happen quickly and uniquely
- (1b) has the shape (S Adv), that is, (1a) *quickly*
- (1c) has the shape (S Adv), that is, (1a) *quickly and uniquely*

We can paraphrase this analysis in the following way: we intend to analyze (1) as a full sentence S. Our grammar is composed of the

three rules (R1), (R2) and (R3), a priori this grammar proposes two global competing structures for a sentence such as (1): (S Adv) and (S and S). We already analyzed the adverbial structure (S Adv) in (1S), we now have to delimit all the sequences that are determined as Ss by the grammar in order to check for the possible presence of the structure (S and S). The beginning of the sentence is the left-most word *The*, and an end for S is a priori possible after *quickly*, or after *uniquely*, or at the period.

(i) Consider the hypothesis 'end of S after *quickly*'. In order to be validated, it must be followed by the structure (and S), then (1) would have the global form:

(1b) and S

But when we examine the rest of the sentence:

(2) and uniquely and in a way that is consistent with Penrose tiling  
we verify that this sequence of words is not a sequence (and S), hence the hypothesis must be rejected.

(ii) Let us finally consider the hypothesis 'end of S after *uniquely*', the rest of (1) is:

(3) and in a way that is consistent with Penrose tiling

this sequence has been analyzed in (1S) as a conjoined adverbial complement of the form:

(and in a way that S)<sub>Adv</sub>

However, if we examine the sequence (3) more closely, we do find another possibility of analysis, with a sentential rest of the form (and S):

- the sequence *in a way* is by itself an adverb, as in: *in a way, Bob is wrong*,
- the word *that* is a subordinating conjunction in the previous analysis, but the dictionary also tells us that it can be a pronoun,<sup>5</sup> similar to *this*.

Let us now combine these two possibilities to produce the following variant of sentence (1):

(4) The addition ... can be made to happen quickly and uniquely, and in a way, that (= this) is consistent with Penrose tiling

(4S) ((The addition ... can be made to happen)<sub>S</sub> ((quickly)<sub>Adv</sub> and (uniquely)<sub>Adv</sub>)<sub>S</sub> and ((in a way)<sub>Adv</sub>, (that (= this) is consistent with Penrose tiling)<sub>Adv</sub>)<sub>Adv</sub>)<sub>S</sub>)<sub>S</sub>

To reach this analysis, the only modifications we made<sup>6</sup> are the two commas delimiting *and in a way*. These commas induce a substantial change in intonation and in meaning for sentence (1). But the use of commas in mechanical syntactic analysis is far from reliable; as a consequence, the analysis we have just arrived at forces us to consider that our initial sentence (1) is twice ambiguous, with the second reading (4).

### Lexical analysis of complex forms

We mentioned the existence of complex sequences of words which function as simple words. In general, they can be tagged by the usual names of parts of speech; examples are:

- the compound nouns *red herring* and *tunnel effect*, already mentioned,
- *from time to time*, *now and then* which are complex, compound, frozen or idiomatic adverbs, there is no fixed terminology for qualifying such constructs,
- *as soon as*, *inasmuch as*, are complex conjunctions, etc.

The intuition lying behind the notion of complex words can be termed semantic non-compositionality, in other words, the meaning of the sequence cannot be obtained by composing the meanings of the component words. This notion is also relevant to adjectives and verbs:

- *solid blue* and *well to do* are complex adjectives,
- *to take the bull by the horns* and *Bob's dream came true* are complex verbs (or equivalently, complex elementary sentences).

Practically all the examples we have given are idiomatic, hence their semantic non-compositionality was fairly obvious. There are however many examples where this is not so. A compound such as *cruise missile* has the meaning of *missile*, however, the word *cruise* cannot by itself indicate the supplement of meaning which corresponds to the

special guiding system of this type of missile. Most complex technical terms are made of simple words that evoke parts of the meaning of the whole, but the complete definition lies outside the range of meaning of each word. The text we examine has for its main theme the term: *perfect Penrose tiling structure*, whose meaning is given by a mathematical definition which cannot be deduced from the words.

Such complex terms are quite numerous in languages that handle science and technology. A new technical problem is associated with them. Today, practically all texts (books, newspaper, journals, commercial mail, etc.) are produced by means of computers. Hence, in principle, archives can now be stored in computer form. Computer programs could search the texts of such archives for specific information. But information given in a linguistic form, that is in terms of words, always presents the difficulties of interpretation discussed for words: ambiguity and compositionality.

Let us return to our text, and study the occurrences of the technical term *perfect Penrose tiling structure*. We observe the following occurrences:

perfect Penrose	tiling	structure
perfect Penrose	tiling	
Penrose	tiling	
Penrose		structure

namely, we observe the full name and variable abbreviations. One can safely predict that the following forms will also occur in texts dealing with the same theme:

Penrose	tiling	structure
	tiling	structure
perfect	tiling	structure

There is however a difficulty in drawing up such a list: whereas it is clear that the list of terms found in the text refer to one given object, this is less clear with the last three constructions; in fact, the use of a set of abbreviations is determined by a stylistic choice that may vary with the subject of each paper and within a given domain of knowledge. More generally, given a long term as in our example, two types of abbreviations have to be distinguished:

- a set of institutional abbreviations, that is, short forms used instead of the long form by the community of specialists of the

- domain,
- short forms used by individual authors in specific papers; there, forms may be different from the concensual abbreviations, determining their full form is a problem similar to the search of an antecedent for a pronoun.

As a consequence, different treatments apply to both situations:

- institutional abbreviations are listed *a priori*, that is, they are recorded in a dictionary,
- other abbreviations are to be detected during the analysis of a particular text.

The graph of Figure 2 is a dictionary entry structured in order to make explicit the equivalence of the possible forms. The formalism of finite automata has been applied to it (M. Gross, D. Perrin 1989). More exactly, Figure 2 is a directed acyclic graph that reads as follows: the nodes of the graph are called states, the leftmost state is the initial state, circled states are final states. Arrows are labelled by simple words, the empty (zero) word is labelled *E*. An utterance is characterized by a path between an initial and a final state.

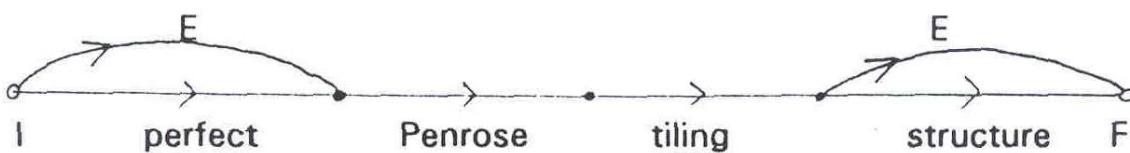


Figure 2. Representation of families of strings by finite automata

*Note:* This automaton represents the four strings found in the text and the string *Penrose tiling structure* in addition. The symbol *E* represents the null string.

The representation by finite automata of families of strings that are semantically equivalent is well adapted to noun phrases, and particularly to phrases corresponding to concrete or technical notions. It could also be used to represent families of strings belonging to other grammatical categories. We list in Figure 3 complex units found in the text.

The formal variations of noun phrases representing technical terms are limited. We discussed their abbreviations, but other variations are possible for such terms:

## Complex nouns of various shapes:

## Adj N:

physical sciences  
 local rule  
 icosahedral symmetry  
 experimental study  
 growing cluster

## N Prep N:

laws of crystallography  
 solution to a problem

## Other shapes of noun phrases:

five-fold symmetry  
 local rules of interaction

## Complex adverbs:

in part  
 one by one  
 that is,  
 in a way

## Complex adjectives:

three-dimensional

## Figure 3. Complex lexical units

- morphological variations (singular, plural, case),
- adjuncts of determiners (definite or indefinite articles, quantifiers, etc.),
- adjuncts of modifiers (adjectives, noun complements, relative clauses, etc.)

Adjuncts can only occur to the left or to the right of the sequence of words representing the term. This is not the case for sentences which can vary greatly in shape and which can be combined in quite complex ways.

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## Verbs:

showing that	$N_0$ show that S
showed that	
be grown by	$N_0$ grow $N_1$
been taken as	$N_0$ take $N_1$ as $N_2$
believed that	$N_0$ believe that S
adding ...to	$N_0$ add $N_1$ to $N_2$

## Nouns:

award for	$N_0$ be an award for $N_1$
a solution to	$N_0$ be a solution to $N_1$
the problem of whether	Whether S or S is a problem
a model for	$N_0$ is a model for $N_1$
the connection between	There is a connection between $N_1$ and $N_2$
the addition of ... to	$N_0$ make the addition of $N_1$ to $N_2$
the link between	There be a link between $N_1$ and $N_2$

## Adjectives:

consistent with	$N_0$ be consistent with $N_1$
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## Adverbs:

in contradiction with	$N_0$ be in contradiction with $N_1$
according to	$N_0$ (occur + happen) according to $N_1$
in a way that	$N_0$ (occur + happen) in a way that S

Figure 4. Government of Prepositions and Conjunctions by the four major categories.

Note: In the left part of the table, we have the 'binary' combinations, and in the right part, a corresponding elementary sentence shape in a normal form which, in a minimal way, makes explicit the meaning of the relations determined by government. For nouns, we give a full sentence with a support verb.

## Sentential components

### 1 Frozen sentences

We will also consider the following complex verbs (i.e. frozen sentences written in their normal form) and we will return to the problem of retrieving their information content from the text:

$N_0$  receive an award  
 $N_0$  fill (space) non-periodically  
 $N_0$  grow (a cluster + a tiling)  
 There exist  $N_1$

### 2 Government

A text contains many other elements that contribute to its meaning. We proceed to analyze our text in order to show that these other elements must also be represented, but in a different way, namely in terms of sentences, not of phrases, as already suggested by the preceding frozen sentences.

As a first general step, we will pay attention to the grammatical phenomenon called government, that is to situations where a word belonging to one of the four major categories, Noun, Verb, Adjective, Adverb determines the use of a grammatical word (Preposition or Conjunction) which in turn introduces some complement. We list in Figure 4 the combinations found in the text.

The notion of government can be extended to combinations of verbs, as in the following examples found in the text:

can fill  
 could not be grown  
 came to be  
 can be made to happen

### 3 Transformations

Z.S. Harris (1952) proposed a model for describing sentence variations, based on the notion of transformation. Transformations between sentences are equivalence relations that leave invariant the basic meaning of the sentence: rules such as [Passive], [Modal introduction] and [Negation introduction] are transformations written as in the following examples, again taken from the text:

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[Passive]	=	$N_0$ grew a Penrose tiling
[Modal i.]	=	A Penrose tiling was grown
[Negation i.]	=	A Penrose tiling could be grown
		A Penrose tiling could not be grown
[Passive]	=	$N_0$ believed (that $S_1$ )
[Extraposition]	=	(That $S_1$ ) was believed
		It was believed (that $S_1$ )

The transformation of Relativization combines two sentences into (1):

=	$N_0$ adds $N_1$ to a cluster. This cluster is growing
=	$N_0$ adds $N_1$ to a cluster that is growing
=	$N_0$ adds $N_1$ to a growing cluster

It relates the elementary sentence  $N_0$  grow a cluster to the noun phrase a growing cluster.

#### 4 Sentences with support verbs

Transformations with support verbs introduce an equivalence relation called nominalization (notated [Nomin]) between sentences constructed with a noun and sentences built around a verb, as in:

(1)	=	$N_0$ (relates + links) $N_1$ (and + with) $N_2$
[Nomin]	=	$N_0$ (makes + establishes) a (relation + link) of $N_1$ with $N_2$
[Sym]	=	$N_0$ (makes + establishes) a (relation + link) between $N_1$ and $N_2$
(1) [Passive]	=	$N_1$ is (related + linked) with $N_2$
[Sym]	=	There is a (relation + link) between $N_1$ and $N_2$
[Nomin]	=	$N_0$ added $N_1$ to $N_2$
	=	$N_0$ made the addition of $N_1$ to $N_2$
	=	There was an addition of $N_1$ to $N_2$
	=	An addition of $N_1$ to $N_2$ happened
[Causative i.]	=	$N_0$ made to happen an addition of $N_1$ to $N_2$
[Passive]	=	An addition of $N_1$ to $N_2$ was made to happen
[Nomin]	=	$N_0$ contradicts $N_1$
[Sym]	=	$N_0$ (is + enters) in contradiction with $N_1$
		There is a contradiction between $N_0$ and $N_1$

The possibility for a verb or a noun to enter into a given syntactic

form, that is to undergo a transformation, cannot be predicted from its meaning or from other properties. For example, the nouns *relation*, *link* and *contradiction* are observed in the same symmetrical construction ([Sym]), but *link*, contrary to the other two, is not accepted in the construction with support verbs (*be* + *enter*) *in*:

\*N<sub>1</sub> (is + enters) in link with N<sub>2</sub>

This restriction is hard to attribute to the fact that *to link* does not have the transitive construction of *to contradict*:

N<sub>1</sub> (connects + links) N<sub>2</sub>

In fact we can observe a transformation such as:

[Nomin]	==	N <sub>0</sub> communicates with N <sub>1</sub> N <sub>0</sub> (is + enters) in communication with N <sub>1</sub>
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which does not apply to an identical structure containing *to relate*:

N<sub>1</sub> relates to N<sub>2</sub>

This situation is quite general; we present under "Lexicon-grammars" the solution adopted to represent such lexical dependencies.

The sample of sentential phenomena and descriptions we have given was arbitrary in the sense that they were observed in a randomly selected and rather short text. The broad types of facts we have collected are quite general and they occur in most texts. Adding new texts would provide many new particular situations attached to specific lexical items but no basically new phenomena; however, the need to classify these detailed facts would become urgent.

We have performed such a classification for French and we have discovered that a rather small number of classificationary features were powerful enough to accommodate a large number of lexical items, which at first sight seemed to enter into an endless variety of structures. In order to reach such a stage, it is essential to distinguish two types of linguistic elements:

- (i) terms in the form of noun phrases: a technical term such as *perfect Penrose tiling structure* is a typical example. Such forms are to be described in dictionaries, possibly dictionaries of automata,
- (ii) words or compounds that must be described within sentences. They are described in "Lexicon-grammars".

These two components of a language are not independent. In fact, an electronic lexicon of simple words (called DELAS) has been constructed (B. Courtois 1990), it contains about 80,000 entries, which can be automatically inflected<sup>7</sup> and used as keys to enter from texts into the lexicon-grammar and into the dictionaries of compound words. The main dictionaries of compound words which have been constructed so far for French include:

- compound nouns (G. Gross 1988, M. Silberztein, 1989; cf. Figure 5),
- compound adverbs (M. Gross, 1990) which can also be described with their supporting verb, (cf. Table 1),
- compound conjunctions (M. Piot, 1978).

### Lexicon-grammars

The theory of lexicon-grammar is founded on the following axiom:

The linguistic unit of meaning is the sentence.

As a consequence of this axiom, words are not units of meaning, a statement that needs to be justified:

- that simple words are not units of meaning is obvious for compound words. Since by definition compound words have no compositional meaning, the simple words used to form them cannot be said to carry meaning. It turns out that compound nouns are much more numerous than simple nouns in the lexicon of any language. The technical vocabulary (up to several millions of terms) is constituted of compound nouns;
- frozen (e.g. idiomatic) sentences also are more numerous than ordinary sentences, the simple words that constitute them cannot be said to have a meaning of their own.

These quantitative observations have been confirmed during the study of French, Italian, Spanish, English and Portuguese.

That sentences are elementary units of meaning is clear in the case of verbs: verbs cannot be considered without their subject and possible objects.<sup>8</sup> The same is true for *to be Adjective* forms, and also for predicative nouns and adverbs, although in a less obvious way (cf. Figure 4). Converging observations led to this theoretical position: more syntactic properties of sentences than usually thought depend on

bateau/à//aubes	un/N3/ms; - +
bateau/à//moteur	un/N3/ms; - +
bateau/à//rames	un/N3/ms; - +
bateau/à//vapeur	un/N3/ms; - +
bateau/à//voile	un/N3/ms; - +
bateau/à//voiles	un/N3/ms; - +
battage/à//la/batteuse	un/N1/ms; - +
battage/à//le/fléau	un/N1/ms; - +
batterie/à//barbettes	une/N21/fs; - +
batteur/à//oeufs	un/N1/ms; - +
batteuse/à//vapeur	une/N21/fs; - +
baux/à//fermage	des/mp; --
baux/à//métayage	des/mp; --
bavoir/à//festons	un/N1/ms; - +
bec/à//gaz	un/N1/ms; - +
bergère/à//oreilles	une/N21/fs; - +
bête/à//concours	une/N21/fs; - +
bête/à//cornes	une/N21/fs; - +
bête/à//laine	une/N21/fs; - +
bête/à//poils	une/N21/fs; - +
bête/à/bon/dieu	une/N21/fs; - +
bibi/à//plumes	un/N1/ms; - +
bière/à//la/pression	une/N21/fs; - +
bifteck/à//les/pommes	un/N1/ms; - +
bijoux/à//la/sciure	des/mp; --
billet/à//ordre	un/N1/ms; - +
billet/à//le/porteur	un/N1/ms; - +
biscuit/à//la/cuiller	un/N1/ms; - +
biscuit/à//le/beurre	un/N1/ms; - +
biscuit/à//le/fromage	un/N1/ms; - +

Figure 5. Sample of dictionary for compound nouns

Note: This sample of compound nouns illustrates their representation in an electronic dictionary. The shape of the nouns of this class is: *N à (Det) N*, that is, a noun *N*, followed by the preposition *à*, possibly by a determiner *Det* and a second noun *N*. The signs '+' and '-' indicate authorized variations: feminine and plural. Numerical codes (e.g. *N1*, *N21*) are inflection codes describing the endings corresponding to these variations. An article and marks of gender and number (e.g. *ms* for masculine singular) are attached to each compound noun.

$N_0 = N_{num}$					$N = de \text{ V}_0 \text{ W}$
- +	plaire	dans	les	rangs	- - + - - -
+-	apprecier N	sous	le	rapport	- + - - - -
+-	agir	sur	la	recommandation	+ - + - - -
+-	donner N à N	en	-	reconnaissance	- + - + + - +
+-	réussir	en	-	regard	- + - - - -
+-	tricher	sous	le	regard	+ - + - - -
+-	voler N	à	le	regard	+ + - - - -
+-	tricher	sous	le	regard agacé	+ - + - - -
+-	tricher	sous	les	regards	+ - + - - -
- +	venir	en	-	règlement	- + - + - - -
+-	accepter N	à	le grand	regret	+ - + - - -
+-	cacher N	à	grand	renfort	- + - - - -
+-	cacher N	à	-	renforts	- + - - - -
+-	cacher N	à	grands	renforts	- + - - - -
+-	travailler	sous	-	réserve	- + - + + + +
+-	venir	-	-	réserve faite	- + - - + +
+-	agir	dans	le	respect	- + - - + +
+-	agir	dans	le	respect total	- + - - + +
++	voyager	sans	-	restriction	- + - - - -
+-	donner N à N	en	-	retour	- + - + - -
+-	travailler	à	le	risque	- + - - + + +
++	partir	à	les	risques et périls	+ + - - - -
+-	tricher	à	le	scandale	- + - - - -
- +	se produire	-	la	seconde	- + - - + +
- +	se produire	dans	la	seconde	- + - - + +
- +	se produire	-	la	seconde même	- + - - + +
- +	se produire	dans	la	seconde même	- + - - + +
- +	se produire	à	le	sein	- + - - - -

Table 1. Sample dictionary of compound adverbs

Note: Compound adverbs are described according to their syntactic shape. The above sample corresponds to structures *Prep (Det) C de N*, where the first noun *C* is frozen, it is followed by the preposition *de* and by a free noun phrase *N*. An example is: *Bob a agi sur la recommandation de Guy* (Bob acted on Guy's recommendation). In each column, syntactic properties appear. For example, the '+' sign in the leftmost column: *N =: de V<sub>0</sub> W* indicates that an infinite complement is accepted: *Bob a agi sur la recommandation de faire cela*.

the main verb. For example, determiners which are mostly represented as locally constrained by their noun are often selected by the verb to which their noun is attached:

Bob wants some beer  
 \*Bob loves some beer

Bob hunts the wild goose  
 \*Bob hunts a wild goose

The following sentence presents a constraint of number between its subject and its adverbial complement:

The soldier crossed the river during one hour

it has the interpretation of multiple crossings by the subject in the singular, whereas the sentence with a plural subject:

The soldiers crossed the river during one hour

can be interpreted with a single crossing by each soldier.

In the same way, many adjectives modifying a noun can be selected by the verb as can be seen from the variations of meaning in the pairs:

= Bob is building a future mansion  
 = Bob is building a mansion  
 ≠ Bob is eating a future cake  
 ≠ Bob is eating a cake

Sentences are built by assembling noun phrases with verbs *V*. Noun phrases are notated *N<sub>i</sub>*; where *i* is an integer starting from 0 (for the subject), they are fairly regular structures of the type:

<b>Preposition</b>	<b>Determiner</b>	<b>Adjective(s)</b>	<b>Noun</b>	<b>Modifier =:</b>
to	the	classical	laws	of
				crystallography

The preposition can be 'zero', the determiner too, as in:

<b>Preposition</b>	<b>Determiner</b>	<b>Adjective(s)</b>	<b>Noun</b>	<b>Modifier =:</b>
			experimental	studies of quasicrystals

The modifier can be sentential or a relative clause in:

<b>Preposition</b>	<b>Determiner</b>	<b>Adjective(s)</b>	<b>Noun</b>	<b>Modifier =:</b>
	a set of		tiles	that can fill space

*Maurice Gross: Linguistic representations*

Adverbs are considered as noun phrases, a stand justified by relations such as:

non-periodically = in a non-periodical way

Consequently, sentences can be schematized by the general formula:

$(N_i^m V^n N_j^p)^q$       m, n, p, q are integers

and the notation  $X^k$  means here that the sequence of symbols or words X is repeated k times.

We have already outlined a general method for representing noun phrases locally, that is, without attaching them to verbs. We now present a description of verbs or elementary sentences that aims at a full coverage of the phenomena we have presented in examples: government, frozen sentences, sentences with support verbs.

The principle of representation of sentences in a lexicon-grammar is the following: an elementary sentence is described as a form subject-verb-essential complements. In usual grammars, the tradition distinguishes a particular set of syntactic forms: the declarative sentences. These forms are then taken as a point of reference for the descriptions of numerous syntactic variations. For example, the formation of Passive or of interrogative sentences is described as a modification of a declarative sentence. Modern transformational grammar has systematized this approach. Sentences are related when they share an invariant of meaning which can roughly be seen as their lexical content. By this token, the Passive form is related to the Active (i.e. declarative) one by the pairing of the two structures, that is, the rule or relation:

(1)  $N_0 V N_1$       =: Bob criticized the report  
 (2)  $N_1$  be V-ed by  $N_0$       =: The report was criticized by Bob

The invariant of meaning or lexical content is here the triple of words {Bob, criticize, report}. The Active-Passive relation is a synonymy relation, but other types of sentences share the same invariant and are thus related to (1) and (2):

(3) He criticized it  
 (4) The report cannot be criticized by him  
 (5) It is uncriticizable

Transformational relations are equivalence relations, they define

equivalence classes of sentences (e.g. (1)-(5)). Moreover, the relations between sentences are stated in combinatorial terms, that is by rules of transformations which all have the following formal features, which include:

- permutations of noun phrases (eg Passivization),
- operations of deletion and insertion involving mostly grammatical words, namely a fixed set of words such as: Prepositions, Conjunctions, Support verbs (e.g. *to be*, *to have*), etc.

Hence, the Passive relation involves permutation of the two noun phrases  $N_0$  and  $N_1$  and insertion of the preposition *by* and of the support verb *to be* governing the verbal suffix *-ed*. Pronominalization relations such as:

$N_i = \text{he}$ ,    Prep  $N_i = \text{him}$ ,     $N_i = \text{it}$ ,     $N_i = \text{who}$ , etc.,

and contraction rules such as:

by him = 'zero',  
can be V-ed = V-able,  
not V-sufx = un-V-sufx

are combinatorial operations too, they are entirely explicit and do not involve particular intuitions of meaning in order to be applied, that is intuitions of meaning that could be difficult to attach to the words of the lexicon of the language.

More precisely, the study of elementary sentences of French (i.e. subject-verb-objects) has shown that they all enter into one of the three general structures:

$N_0 V$   
 $N_0 V N_1$   
 $N_0 V N_1 N_2$

where  $N_0$  is the subject,  $N_1$  and  $N_2$  are two possible object (or essential) complements which may be preceded by a preposition notated Prep. In French, the main prepositions are 'zero', *à* and *de*. A limitation to two complements has been observed in the course of a detailed study of about 12,000 verbs or elementary structures.<sup>9</sup> Complex sentences can be described as obtained from two simple ones by rules of composition called binary transformations (Z.S. Harris 1952), as in the example discussed under Syntactic analysis.

A classification of these 12,000 elementary structures has been

constructed (J.-P. Boons, A. Guillet, C. Leclère 1976a, 1976b; M. Gross 1975; A. Guillet, C. Leclère 1991). It is based on the following features:

- the nature of the prepositions of  $N_1$  and  $N_2$ : 'zéro', *à*, *de*, and a few others;
- the content of the  $N_i$ s:  
**nominal** (ordinary nouns);  
**sentential**, that is, of the form *que S* or not (without excluding nouns);  
**frozen**, namely constituting a compound with the verb:  $C_0 V W$  or  $V C_i$ .

Such characters define syntactic tables (about 100) in which are represented the equivalence classes defined by the transformational rules or relations (see tables below). Hence, each table has a structural definition, namely, all of its verbs enter into one of the syntactic forms we have defined, a declarative form. Columns in the tables (over 500) correspond to equivalent syntactic forms. A verb given in a row may enter (it then has a '+' mark) or not (it has a '-' mark) into the forms represented in the columns. As a consequence, the '+' marks in a row define the content of the equivalence class of the verbal entry.

We have already discussed elementary structures found in the text of Figure 1. Further examples of the link between the text and the syntactic tables are:

$N_0$  receive  $N_1$  from  $N_2$ ,  
 $N_0$  =: Georges V Onoda and David P. Di Vincenzo,  
 $N_1$  =: Outstanding Innovation awards

but in the text, the complement *from  $N_2$*  is elliptical ( $N_2$  is a division of IBM), in a column, the property  $N_0 V N_1$  allows the possibility of indicating the absence of *Prep  $N_2$*  by marking it '+'. In the same sentence, the adverbial complement *for showing ...* is not considered as essential, it is analyzed in terms of the declarative form:

$N_0$  show  $N_1$ ,  $N_1$  =: that  $S$

The elliptical subject  $N_0$  of *showing* is the same as the subject of the sentence  $N_0$  receive  $N_1$ . The sentence  $S$  embedded in the complement  $N_1$  of *showing* is the passive form of:

(purely local rules)<sub>0</sub> can grow (a perfect Penrose tiling)<sub>1</sub>

Government phenomena in sentences, as discussed previously, are thus described in syntactic tables. Table 2 is extracted from a description of verbs with sentential complements.

Similar elementary structures containing a frozen element (cf. Figure 3) are described in Table 3.

Nouns are described in a similar way: by means of sentences with a support verb. The entries of tables are nouns, associated to a sentence with a minimal support verb: *to be*, *to have*, *to get*, *to put*, etc. (cf. Figure 4). Columns are the same as for the other two types of elementary sentences.

There is however an important difference of structure for these tables: support verbs govern specific prepositions, namely complements of varied forms, in the same way as ordinary verbs do. But given a minimal support verb and its supported noun, one often observes that a set of equivalent support verbs can be substituted for the minimal verb, keeping the meaning invariant. As a consequence, each equivalent support verb must be described syntactically by means of specific columns. Hence, to each column containing an equivalent support verb, one must attach columns describing the properties of its constructions — a syntactic table representing its transformations. Let us consider the example of the class of symmetrical nouns (Nsym) that are defined by the following structures:

	$N_0$ have $N_{sym}$ with $N_1$
=	$N_0$ and $N_1$ have $N_{sym}$
=:	Bob has an agreement with Jo
=	Bob and Jo have an agreement

Some equivalent support verbs are: *There is*, *to be in* and *to sign*:

	$N_0$ be in $N_{sym}$ with $N_1$
=:	There is $N_{sym}$ between $N_0$ and $N_1$
=:	There is an agreement between Bob and Jo
=:	$N_0$ be in $N_{sym}$ with $N_1$
=:	Bob is in complete agreement with Jo
=:	$N_0$ sign $N_{sym}$ with $N_1$
=:	Bob signed an agreement with Jo

It is clear that each of these structures has specific properties (i.e. columns) which must be attached to each equivalent support verb. For example, *to sign* is the only verb here that has a Passive form:

**Table 2. Verbs with sentential complements**

Note: The class 6 corresponds to structures  $N_0 V (Qu S)_1$ , that is verbs with one sentential complement. The key element of the table is a simple verb.

N 0	N 2	281
N 0	N 2	282
N 0	N 2	283
N 0	N 2	284
N 0	N 2	285
N 0	N 2	286
N 0	N 2	287
N 0	N 2	288
N 0	N 2	289
N 0	N 2	290
N 0	N 2	291
N 0	N 2	292
N 0	N 2	293
N 0	N 2	294
N 0	N 2	295
N 0	N 2	296
N 0	N 2	297
N 0	N 2	298
N 0	N 2	299
N 0	N 2	300
N 0	N 2	301
N 0	N 2	302
N 0	N 2	303
N 0	N 2	304
N 0	N 2	305
N 0	N 2	306
N 0	N 2	307
N 0	N 2	308
N 0	N 2	309
N 0	N 2	310
N 0	N 2	311
N 0	N 2	312
N 0	N 2	313
N 0	N 2	314
N 0	N 2	315
N 0	N 2	316
N 0	N 2	317
N 0	N 2	318
N 0	N 2	319
N 0	N 2	321

Table 3. Elementary structures containing a frozen element

Note: The global structure of the entries of Table 3 is  $N_0 \vee (Qu\ S)_1\ Prep\ C_2$ . Such a table has two entries, the verb  $V$  and the noun  $C_2$  of the complement.

An agreement has been signed by Bob with Jo

Hence, to each support structure one must attach a set of properties that practically constitutes an autonomous syntactic table.

### Results and conclusions

Three groups of sentences (ordinary, frozen and those with support verbs) can be clearly distinguished in European languages, we have based their presentation on our experience of French, but we have verified that this classification is more general. This organization has been applied to languages other than French:<sup>10</sup> Tables 4-6 are samples of similar syntactic tables for English (M. Salkoff 1983), Italian (A. Elia 1984) and Spanish (C. Subirats 1986).

This formalization of the descriptions, including their practical presentation,<sup>11</sup> led to a number of results of a quantitative nature:

- The systematic description of French verbs (simple sentences) has shown that no two verbs have the same set of syntactic properties; as a consequence, verbs have to be described individually and not in terms of intensional classes.
- The proportion in the lexicon of idiomatic sentences, of metaphoric and technical sentences that have non compositional meanings, is very high. All these sentences or sentence types have anecdotal origins. The consequence is that they must be described individually, that is without reference to other classes of lexical combinations or of interpretation rules.
- The large number of verb-complement combinations that cannot be qualified in terms of semantic (i.e. selectional) restrictions leads to the notion of support verb. Their variety also implies detailed individual descriptions of nouns.

This method of construction of equivalence classes<sup>12</sup> for elementary sentences could be applied today to a whole language, leading to a coverage of structures so complete that computer analysis of syntactic forms would become possible for texts. Texts would then be reduced to sets of elementary units of meaning (Z.S. Harris 1982), allowing the tremendous variety of the expression of information to be reduced to a more tractable number of standardized forms.

N <sub>0</sub>	VERB	L. form	PREPOSITIONS	N <sub>1</sub>	Form	ADJ	N <sub>0</sub>	Other PREP	IN		TO		TO	OF, ON
									IN	IN	TO	TO		
								Plur	+	+	+	+	+	+
			sound						+	+	+	+	+	+
			N <sub>1</sub> be V-a P N <sub>0</sub>						+	+	+	+	+	+
			V-Y/V-ant						+	+	+	+	+	+
			N <sub>1</sub> be a-V P N <sub>0</sub>						+	+	+	+	+	+
			match ← B						+	+	+	+	+	+
			N <sub>1</sub> V match N <sub>0</sub>						+	+	+	+	+	+
			N <sub>1</sub> V						+	+	+	+	+	+
			bees						+	+	+	+	+	+
			body						+	+	+	+	+	+
			Plur						+	+	+	+	+	+
			thru						+	+	+	+	+	+
			in						+	+	+	+	+	+
			out of						+	+	+	+	+	+
			egregiate						+	+	+	+	+	+
			off						+	+	+	+	+	+
			down						+	+	+	+	+	+
			along						+	+	+	+	+	+
			across						+	+	+	+	+	+
			through						+	+	+	+	+	+
			into						+	+	+	+	+	+
			ever						+	+	+	+	+	+
			in						+	+	+	+	+	+
			around						+	+	+	+	+	+
			about/around						+	+	+	+	+	+
			N <sub>0</sub> V p N <sub>1</sub>						+	+	+	+	+	+
			N <sub>0</sub> V p N <sub>1</sub>						+	+	+	+	+	+
			N <sub>0</sub> V p N <sub>1</sub>						+	+	+	+	+	+
			N <sub>0</sub> V p N <sub>1</sub>						+	+	+	+	+	+
			ROLL											
			ROT											
			RUMBLE											
			RUN											
			RUN											
			RUN (A)RIOT											
			RUN OVER											
			RUSTLE											
			SAQ											
			SCAB, SCAR											
			OVER											
			SCINTILLATE											
			SCUM OVER											
			SEEP											
			SEE THE											
			SHAKE											
			SHIMMER											
			SHINE											
			SHIVER											
			BE SHORT											
			SHRIEK											
			SHRILL											

Table 4. Sample of syntactic table for English

Note: This is taken from M. Salkoff 1983, Figure 9: the table is defined by verbs entering into the two related forms:

Bees are swarming in the garden  
The garden is swarming with bees  
=

Num Nrr il Fatto Che F V1Ω	Italien	N <sub>0</sub> V contro Num N <sub>0</sub> V (presso+con) Num	Complément direct										Compl. Indirect	Français										
			Compleatives					Noms																
			che F	V <sup>0</sup> Ω	Aux V <sup>0</sup> Ω	di V <sup>0</sup> Ω	di Aux V <sup>0</sup> Ω	Neg., Interrog., cong.	Imp., cong.	che F cong.	F cong.	V <sup>0</sup> Ω	di V <sup>0</sup> Ω	(N <sub>1</sub> )(V <sup>1</sup> ·inf)	se F o se F	cio	Ppv	Num	Num	il Fatto Che F	? Che F	No V di Num	No V da N <sub>2</sub>	dal Fatto Che F
---	AMMETTERE	---	---	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	ADMETTRE
---	APPREZZARE	---	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	APPRECIER
---	ASSUMERE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ASSUMER
---	AVERE IN TESTA	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	AVOIR EN TETE
+++	AVVALORARE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	APPUYER
---	CALCOLARE	---	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CALCULER
---	CAPIRE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	COMPRENDRE
---	CENSURARE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CENSURER
+++	COMPENSARE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	COMPENSER
---	COMPRENDERE	---	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	COMPRENDRE
---	CONCEPIRE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CONCEVOIR
---	CONGETTURARE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CONJECTURER
---	CONSIDERARE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CONSIDERER
+++	CONTRADDIRE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CONTREDIRE
+++	CONTROBILANCIARE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CONTRE BALANCER
---	CONTROLLARE	---	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CONTROLER
+++	CONVALIDARE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	VALIDER
---	CREDERE	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CROIRE
---	CRITICARE	---	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CRITIQUER
+++	DARE PER SCONTATO	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	DONNER POUR EVIDENT

**Table 5. Sample of syntactic table for Italian**

Note: Taken from A. Elia 1984, Figure 10.

Sujet	Complément direct									
	Complétives					Noms				
Nhum (el hecho de ) Qu F										
HACER PUBLICO	que F									
HALAGAR	vo Ω									
HALLAR	N <sub>0</sub> V ((a) N <sub>1</sub> ) (V <sup>1</sup> -ndo Ω)									
HUSMEAR	Neg → Fsubj									
IDEAR	que Fsubj									
IDENTIFICAR	vo Ω									
IGNORAR	si F o si F									
IMAGINAR	eso									
IMAGINARSE	lo									
IMPLANTAR	Nhum									
IMPLICAR	N-hum									
IMPOSIBILITAR	el hecho de Qu F									
IMPRIMIR	[passif]									
IMPUGNAR	[se passif]									
IMPULSAR	[passif estar]									
INDAGAR	[attraction Ppv]									
INFRAVALDORAR										
INQUIRIR										
INSERTAR										
INSPECIONAR										
INSTAURAR										
INTERCALAR										
INTERIORIZAR										
INTERPRETAR ADVH										
INTUIR										
INVALIDAR										
INVENTAR (SE)										
INVESTIGAR										
JUSTIFICAR										
JUZGAR										

Table 6. Sample of syntactic table for Spanish

Note: Taken from C. Subirats 1986, Figure 11.

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## Notes

- 1 This text is taken from an IBM leaflet about research news.
- 2 Notations are the following: we write  $N_0$  for the subject,  $V$  for the verb,  $N_1$  for the first complement,  $N_2$  for the second, etc. We will define other categories in a similar intuitive way.
- 3 In a purely formal way, the equation we have written can be solved by successive approximations, which provides a non-commutative power series which is a representation of the language characterized by the equation (N. Chomsky and M.-P. Schützenberger 1963).
- 4 We did not tag all the words in this way, in order to keep simple the form (1S).
- 5 And also a demonstrative adjective, a hypothesis to be rejected, since it is followed by the verb form *is*.

- 6 As a matter of fact, we also used a new rule:  $S = \text{Adv } S$ , a stylistic variant of rule (R1). Also, the parentheses around *in a way* are obtained by looking up a dictionary of compound adverbs.
- 7 The lexicon of inflected forms (DELAF) contains over 700,000 forms. Both lexicons contain a phonemic transcription (E. Laporte 1988).
- 8 Hence, there are two notions of verbs which should not be confused: morphological verbs, that are simple words, a notion relevant to the morphological level of description (conjugation, derivational morphology); and syntactic verbs, that is, elementary sentences. Our use of the term verb should be clear from the context.
- 9 The small number of structures  $N_0 V N_1 N_2 N_3$  that have been found can be seen as exceptions on several grounds (i.e. frozen or support structures).
- 10 Studies on Arabic, Chinese, German, Korean and Madagascan have also been performed.
- 11 In order to maintain the lexicon-grammar and to use it in applications such as automatic syntactic analysis, it is necessary to access the database in a convenient way. An index of the simple words contained in the tables can be produced automatically, these words are used as keys to enter the tables (P. Vasseux 1978).
- 12 Choosing as a representative of equivalence classes either the elementary declarative sentences (Z.S. Harris 1952) or abstract structures (N. Chomsky 1965) is a minor theoretical difference (M. Gross 1979).