Core Arguments in Universal Dependencies



Daniel Zeman

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Universal Dependencies

- Unified annotation of...
 - Segmentation to "syntactic" words
 - Morphology (lemma, POS, features)
 - Surface syntax
- Same things annotated same way across languages...
- ... while highlighting different coding strategies

The secret to understanding UD is to realize that the design is a very subtle compromise between approximately 6 things:

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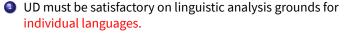
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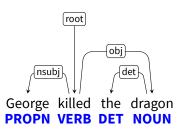


3 / 58

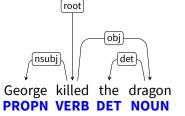
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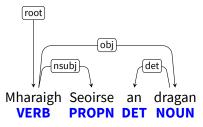
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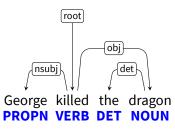
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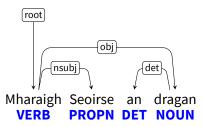




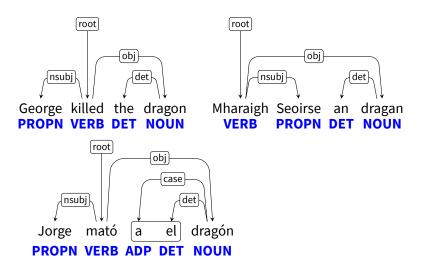




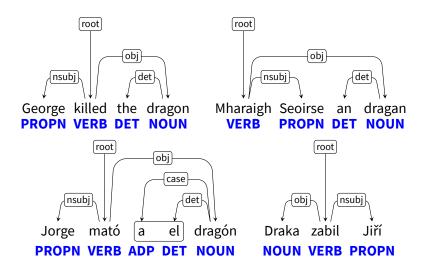






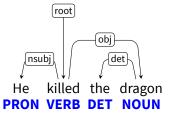


4 / 58



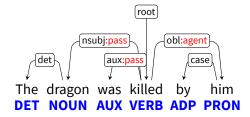
4 / 58

Same Meaning ≠ Same Construction!

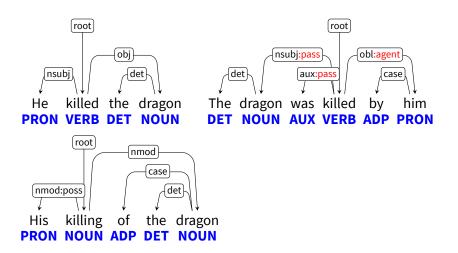


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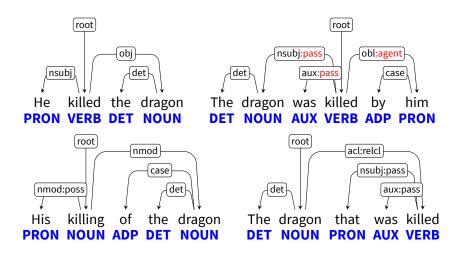


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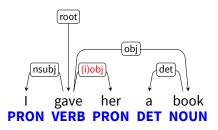
5 / 58

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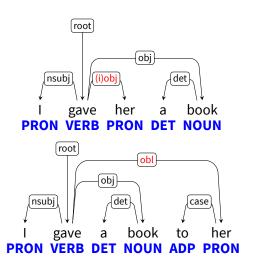


5 / 58

Information Packaging



Information Packaging



Dependents of Clauses (Verbal or Not)

| | Nominal | Clausal | Modifier | Function |
|----------|------------|---------|-----------|----------|
| Core | nsubj | csubj | | |
| Non-Core | obl | advcl | advmod | aux |
| | vocative | | discourse | сор |
| | dislocated | | | mark |
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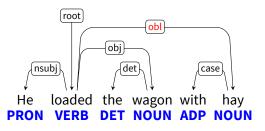
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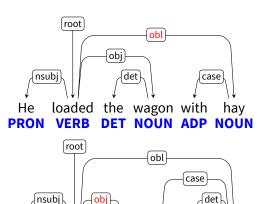
Dependents of Nominals

| Nominal | Clausal | Modifier | Function |
|---------|---------|----------|----------|
| nmod | acl | amod | det |
| appos | | nummod | case |

Information Packaging



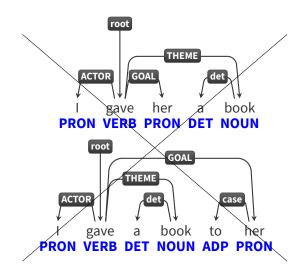
Information Packaging



 \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow He loaded hay on the wagon **PRON VERB NOUN DET ADP NOUN**

8 / 58

UD is NOT about Semantic Roles!



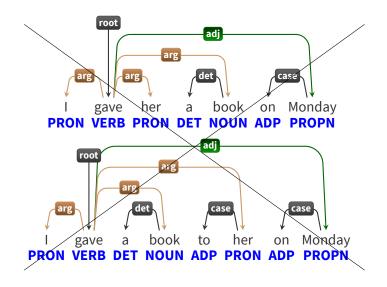
Manning's Law - What If We Do Semantic Roles?

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UD Avoids Argument-Adjunct Distinction!



- From the guidelines:
 - Subtle, unclear, and frequently argued over
 - Questionable as a categorical distinction
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- AND I will argue that
 - Core-oblique distinction is unclear and argued over too
 - (Though I will not propose to discard it.)

So What Is Core and Why?



Community Confusion

- UD v1 guidelines took core-oblique for granted
- English (simplified):
 - ▶ Bare noun phrase ⇒ core argument (nsubj, obj, iobj)
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- Other languages: not necessarily! (Spanish, Japanese)
 - But some people simply took the English rule...
 - Manning's law: non-linguists!
- Clash with traditional terminology
 - Grammars of German, Czech etc. define prepositional objects
 - But these are not necessarily core...
 - Yet some people took their national definition of object...

Language-specific Coding Strategy

- Idea:
 - Oblique arguments are marked similarly to adjuncts (prepositions, certain morphological cases…)
 - Core arguments are marked differently
 - ★ ⇒ easy for annotators and non-linguists!
- Why are core arguments special?
 - They tend to be targeted by grammatical rules
 - Passivization
 - ★ Control verbs
 - * Reflexives
 - ★ ...

- Core vs. oblique is not defined in traditional grammar
- How shall we define it?

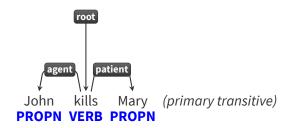
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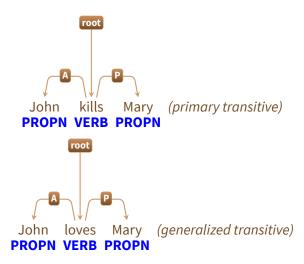
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 - Then define:
 - ★ function A ⇒ nsubj
 - ★ function P ⇒ obj

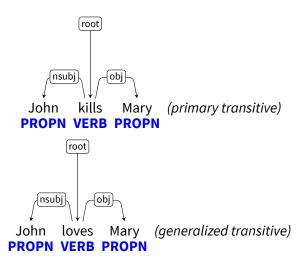
Transitive Predicates in English



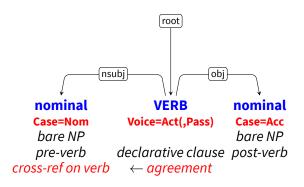
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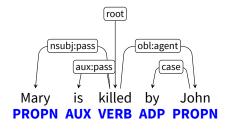


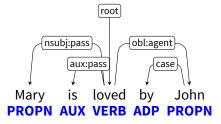






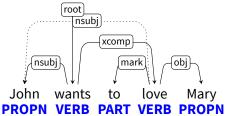




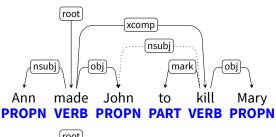


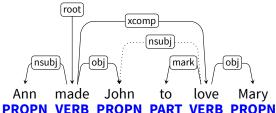
Subject Control in English





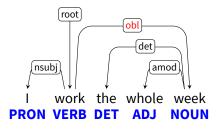








- Some temporal adjuncts are bare noun phrases
 - ► I work the whole week.
 - I work every Friday.



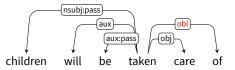
- At least it cannot passivize:
 - ▶ *The whole week is worked by me.
 - *Every Friday is worked by me.
- But...



- Some transitive verbs cannot passivize
 - ▶ John has a new car.
 - ★ *A new car is had by John.
 - Friday does not suit me.
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- Some transitive verbs cannot passivize
 - John has a new car.
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 - Friday does not suit me.
 - ★ *I am not suited by Friday.
- Some prepositional verbs can passivize
 - You can rely on Ben.
 - ★ Ben can be relied on.
 - They will take care of your children.
 - ★ Your children will be taken care of.



Tentative Summary?



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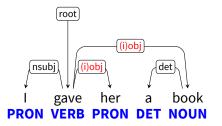
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- ... but does not work as strict criterion
- Semantic roles needed when starting a new language
- Argument-adjunct needed to describe exceptions (the whole week)

Intransitive Predicates

- Just one core argument
 - We already "know" how to find out if there are two
- ⇒ function S
 - Regardless of semantic role:
 - ★ John runs.
 - ⋆ John sleeps.
 - ⋆ John falls.
- Then define:
 - ▶ function S ⇒ nsubj

Ditransitive Predicates

- Three core arguments
- Is one of them "least core"? ⇒ iobj
- (Alternatively, we could look at the semantic roles once again.)

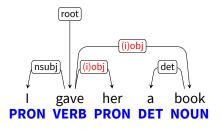


Passivization:

- ▶ She was given a book by me.
- ?A book was given her by me.

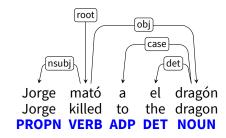
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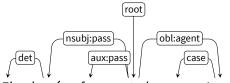
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• Andrews (2007): the status of the notion of 'indirect object' is problematic and difficult to sort out. The top priority is to work out what properties recipients and themes do and do not share with P arguments of primary transitive verbs.

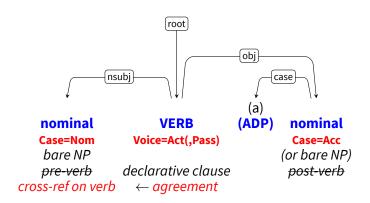




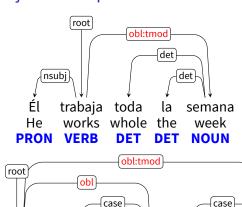


El dragón fue matado por Jorge The dragon was killed by Jorge DET NOUN AUX VERB ADP PROPN

Spanish Transitive Clauses

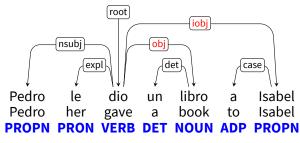


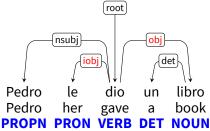
Spanish Adjunct Exceptions



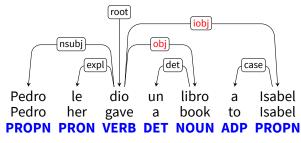


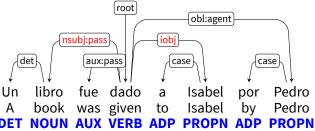
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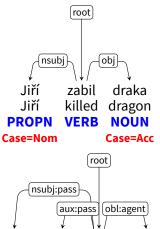


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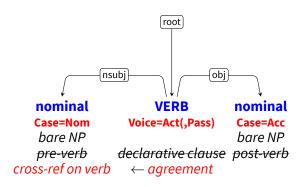




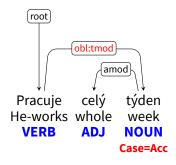




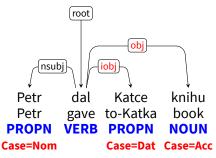


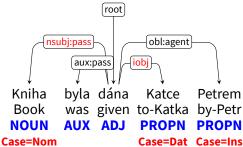


Czech Adjunct Exceptions

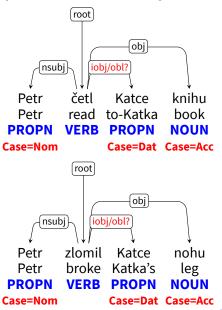


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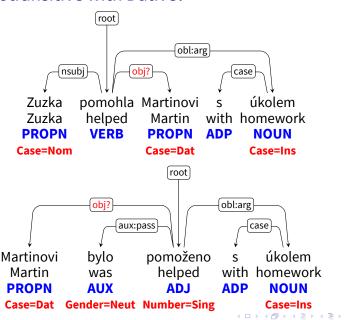




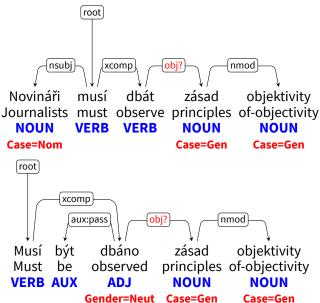
Dative: Recipient vs. Beneficiary



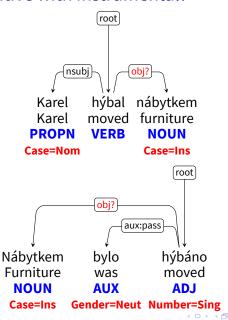
Monotransitive with Dative?



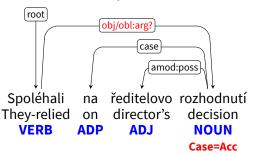
Monotransitive with Genitive?



Monotransitive with Instrumental?



Monotransitive with Preposition?





NOUN Case=Acc **AUX**

ADJ

ADP

ADJ

Tentative Summary 2



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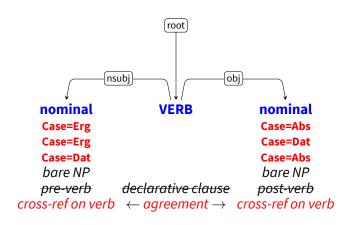


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- But perhaps we should go even further?
 - ▶ Nom, Acc > Gen, Dat, Ins, ADP + adjuncts

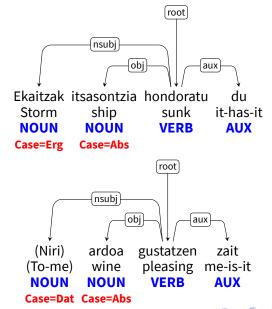


- There is a core-oblique scale:
- Nom > Acc > Gen,Dat > Ins > preposition
- Where is the borderline?
- UD Czech 1.0: object = argument
 - Nom, Acc, Gen, Dat, Ins, ADP > "adverbial"
- UD Czech 2.1: bare NP > PP
 - Nom, Acc, Gen, Dat, Ins > ADP + adjuncts
- But perhaps we should go even further?
 - ▶ Nom, Acc > Gen, Dat, Ins, ADP + adjuncts
 - ▶ ⇒ No ditransitives in Czech!

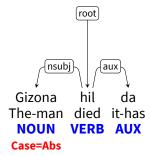
Basque Transitive Clauses

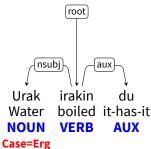


Basque Transitive Clauses

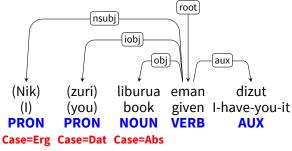


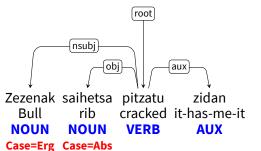




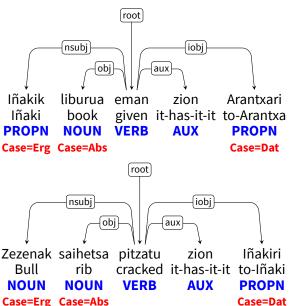


Basque Ditransitive Clauses

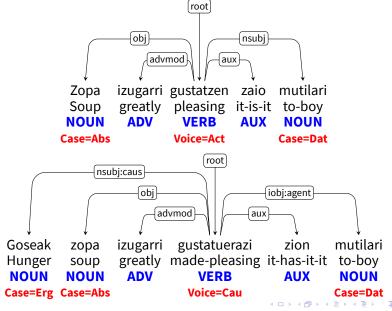




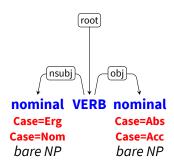
Basque Ditransitive Clauses



Basque Causative Applied to Dative Subject

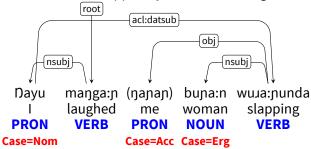


Yidin Transitive Clauses



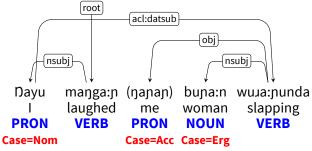


"I, (who) was slapped by the woman, laughed"





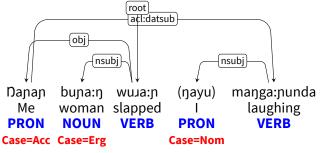
"I, (who) was slapped by the woman, laughed"



The coreferential (and elidable) NP must have S or P function.



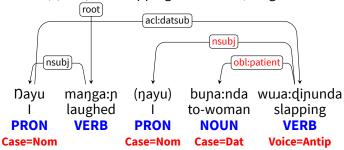
"I, (who) was lauging, was slapped by the woman"



The coreferential (and elidable) NP must have S or P function.

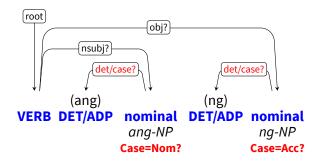


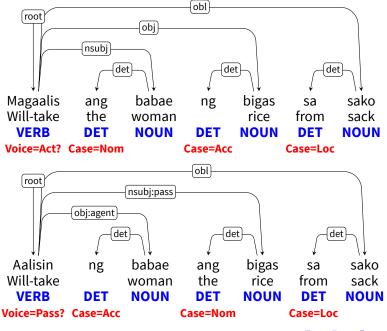
"I, (who) was slapping the woman, laughed"



Original P is now oblique and original A is now S.

Tagalog Transitive Clauses

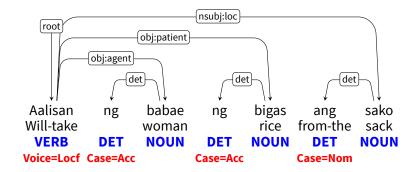




51/58

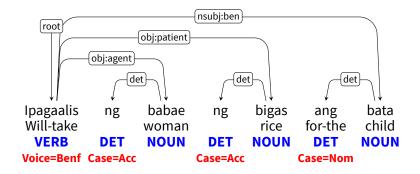


Tagalog Locative Voice ⇒ Ditransitive!

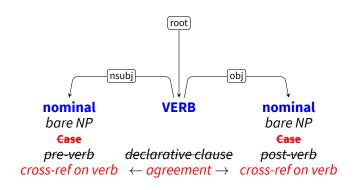




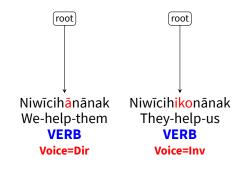
Tagalog Benefactive Voice ⇒ Ditransitive!



Plains Cree Transitive Clauses

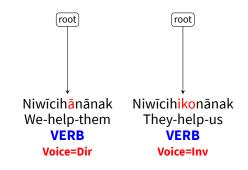


▶ Direct-Inverse Voice in Plains Cree



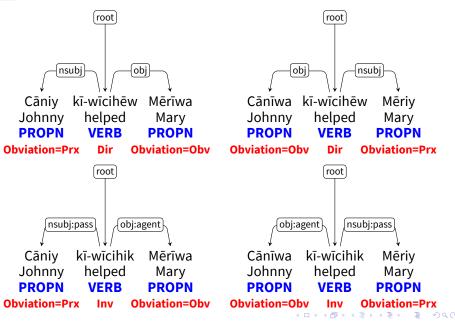
Animacy hierarchy: 1st person > 3rd person

▶ Direct-Inverse Voice in Plains Cree

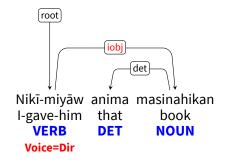


Animacy hierarchy: 1st person > 3rd person Should we set nsubj > obj?

Direct-Inverse Voice in Plains Cree



Plains Cree Ditransitive Clauses



The theme (not the recipient) is indirect object because it is not cross-referenced on the verb (it is inanimate, while the verb references an animate object).

Summary



UD guidelines: "UD taxonomy is centered around the fairly clear distinction between core arguments versus other dependents."

I have tried to find out how clear it is. There is a fair number of open questions.

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ANSWERS WELCOME! (Questions too.)