Syntax in Universal Dependencies

Daniel Zeman

■ April 13, 2023





Outline

- Same Annotation
- Syntax Tour
- Copula
- Prague Dependency Trees vs. Universal Dependencies
- **5** Core vs. Oblique

Same Annotation

Universal Dependencies

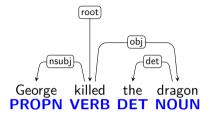
- Same things annotated same way across languages...
- ... while highlighting different coding strategies

Manning's Law

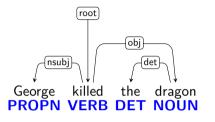
The secret to understanding UD is to realize that the design is a very subtle compromise between approximately 6 things:

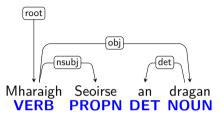
- UD must be satisfactory on linguistic analysis grounds for individual languages.
- ② UD must be good for linguistic typology, i.e., providing a suitable basis for bringing out cross-linguistic parallelism across languages and language families.
- **1** UD must be suitable for rapid, consistent annotation by a human annotator.
- UD must be easily comprehended and used by a non-linguist, whether a language learner or an engineer with prosaic needs for language processing. ... it leads us to favor traditional grammar notions and terminology.
- **10** UD must be suitable for computer parsing with high accuracy.
- **Output** UD must support well downstream language understanding tasks (relation extraction, reading comprehension, machine translation, ...)

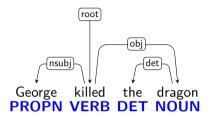
It's easy to come up with a proposal that improves UD on one of these dimensions. The interesting and difficult part is to improve UD while remaining sensitive to all these dimensions.

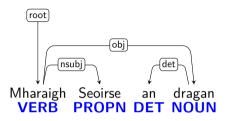


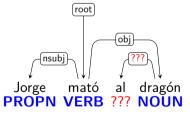


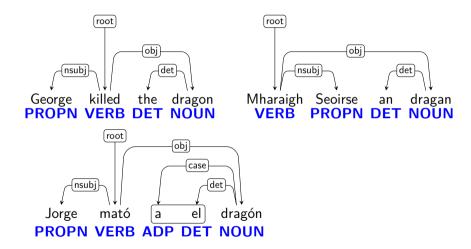


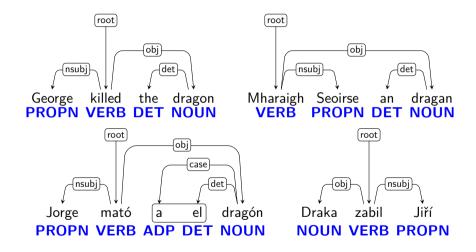


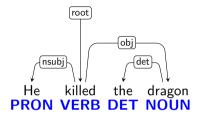


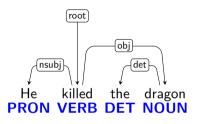


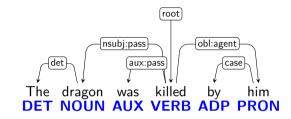


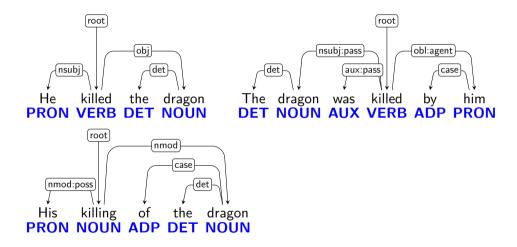


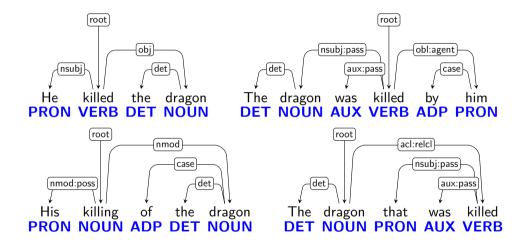




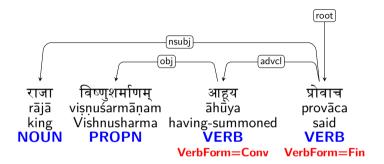




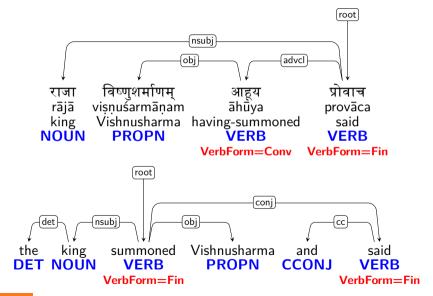




Language-specific Preferences



Language-specific Preferences



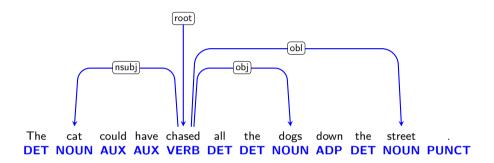
Syntax Tour

Outline

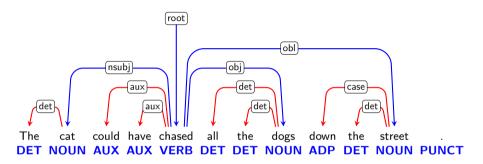
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The cat could have chased all the dogs down the street .

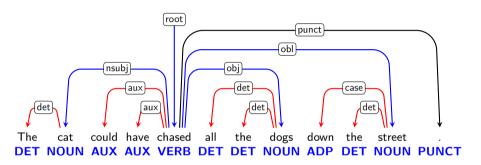
DET NOUN AUX AUX VERB DET DET NOUN ADP DET NOUN PUNCT



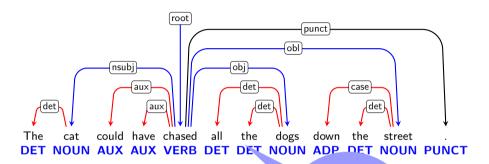
Content words are related by dependency relations



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- Function words attach to closest content words

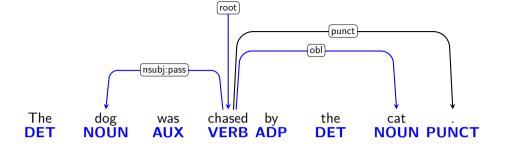


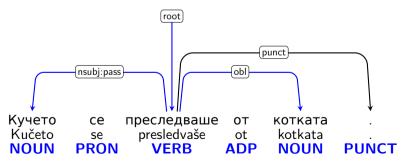
- Content words are related by dependency relations
- Function words attach to closest content words
- Punctuation attach to head of phrase or clause

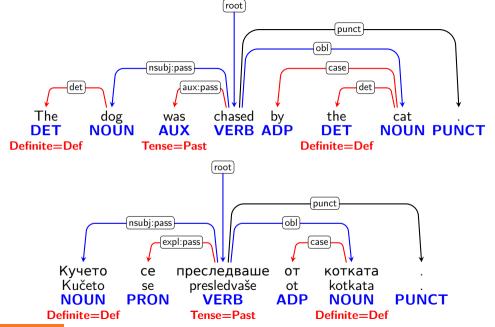


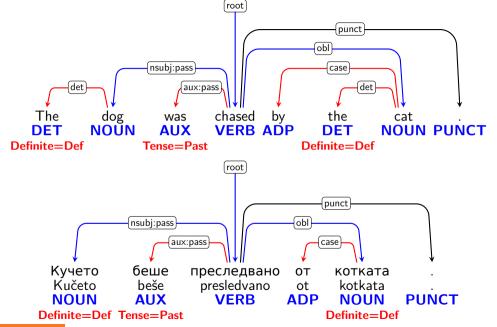
Not
"dependency"
in the strictly
syntactic
sense!

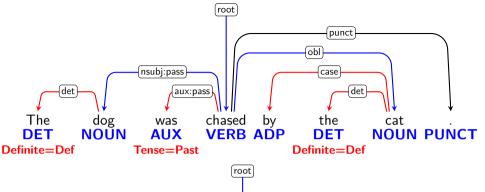
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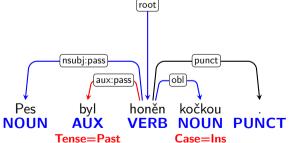












Dependents of Clauses (Verbal or Not)

Nominal

Manainal

Core Non-Core	nsubj obl vocative dislocated expl	csubj advcl	advmod discourse	aux cop mark

Modifier

Function

NA-4:4:--

Clausal

Dependents of Verbs, Adjectives and Adverbs

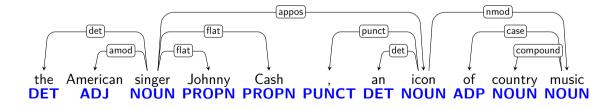
	Nominai	Ciausai	Modifier
Core	obj	ccomp	
	iobj	xcomp	
Non-Core	obl	advcl	advmod
	expl		

Dependents of Nominals

	Nominal	Claus	al Modifie	er Function
	nmod	acl	amod	det
Syntax in Universal Dependencies	Same Annotation	Syntax Tour Copula	Prague Dependency Trees vs. U	niversal Dependencies Core vs. Ob

Noun Phrase

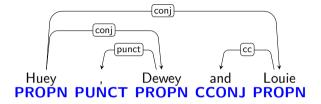
Dependents of Nominals Nominal Modifier Clausal Function nmod acl amod det appos nummod case clf compound flat



14/106

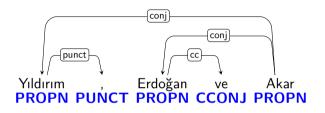
Coordination





- Coordinate structures are headed by the first conjunct
 - Subsequent conjuncts depend on it via the conj relation
 - Conjunctions depend on the next conjunct via the cc relation
 - Punctuation marks depend on the next conjunct via the punct relation

But Some Languages Might Prefer the Opposite





- Coordinate structures would be headed by the last conjunct
 - Preceding conjuncts would depend on it via the conj relation
 - Conjunctions would depend on the preceding conjunct
 - Punctuation marks would depend on the preceding conjunct

Multiword Expressions

goeswith

Relation	Examples
fixed	as well, by and large, according to, more than
flat	president Havel, New York, four thousand
compound	phone book, dress up

• UD annotation almost does not permit "words with spaces"

notwith standing, with out

- Multiword expressions are analyzed using special relations
- The fixed, flat and goeswith relations are always head-initial
- The compound relation reflects the internal structure
- Words with spaces allowed in exceptional cases:
 - Vietnamese (spaces delimit syllables, not words)
 - Numbers ("1 000 000")
 - Possibly other approved cases, e.g. multi-word abbreviations

Other Relations

Other Relations

Relation

Evolunation

Relation	Explanation
parataxis	Loosely linked clauses of same rank
list	Lists without syntactic structure
orphan	Orphans in ellipsis linked together
reparandum	Disfluency linked to (speech) repair
dep	Unspecified dependency
root	The single syntactically independent element of the sentence

Language-specific Relation Subtypes

- Language-specific relations are subtypes of universal relations added to capture important phenomena
- Subtyping permits us to "back off" to universal relations

Language-specific Relation Subtypes

Relation	Explanation
acl:relcl	Relative clause (the boy who lived)
compound:prt	Verb particle (dress up)
nmod:poss	Possessive nominal (Mary 's book)
obl:agent	Agent in passive (saved by the bell)
cc:preconj	Preconjunction (both and)
det:predet	Predeterminer (all those)

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Copula

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Nonverbal Predicate and Copula

• Some languages use a copula verb:



• Some languages use a copula pronoun:

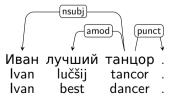


Nonverbal Predicate and Copula

• Some languages use a copula verb:



• Some languages omit the copula:



Nonverbal Predicate and Copula

• Some languages use a copula verb:



• Some languages use it only in some tenses:

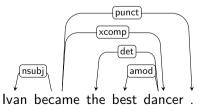


Copula Verbs: We Are Restrictive!

• To be is copula:



To become is not copula:



Once Copula, Always Copula!

• This is parallel with Russian:



• This is also parallel with Russian:

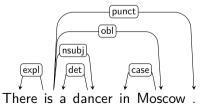


Well, Almost...

• This is parallel with Russian:

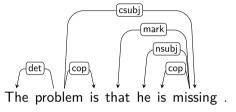


• But not with this in English:

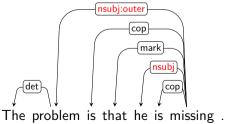


Clauses and Copula

A clause can be the subject:

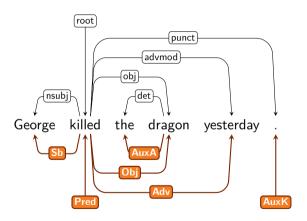


• A clause can be the nonverbal predicate:

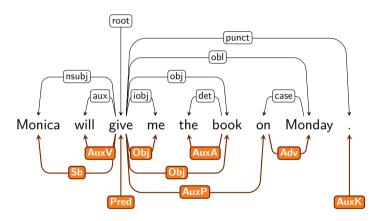


Prague Dependency Trees vs. Universal Dependencies

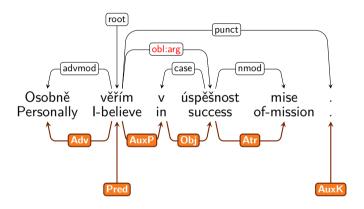
Simple Clauses



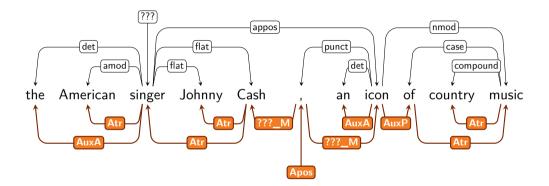
Simple Clauses



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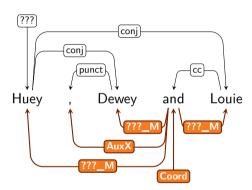


Nominals

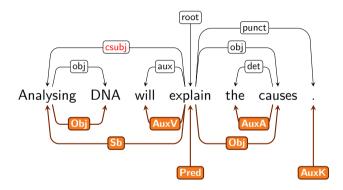


Coordination

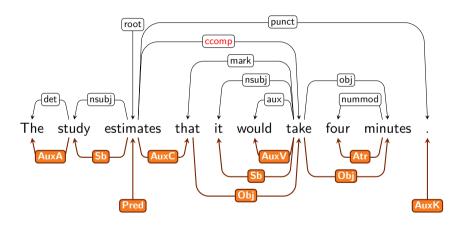




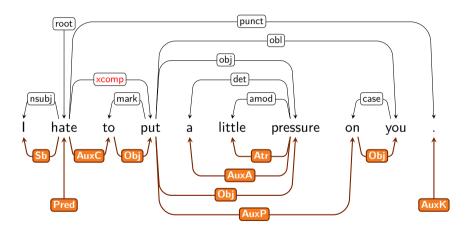
Subject Clauses



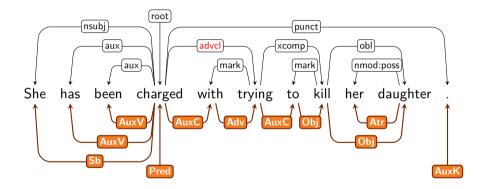
Complement (Object) Clauses



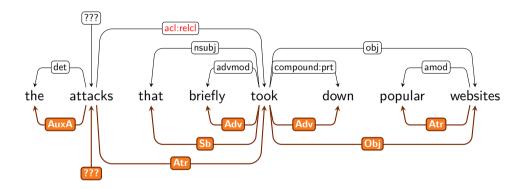
Open Clausal Complements



Adverbial Clauses

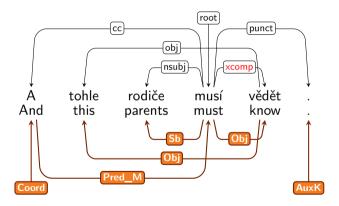


Adnominal Clauses



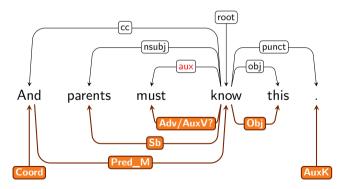
Modal Verbs

- In Czech, modal verbs are not considered auxiliary
 - \Rightarrow modal verb + infinitive = 2 clauses!

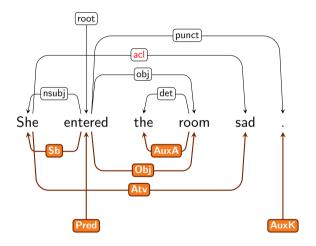


Modal Verbs

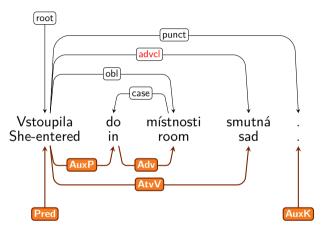
- In English UD, modal verbs are considered auxiliary
 ⇒ modal verb + infinitive = 1 clause!
- Analytical layer in PCEDT is estimated automatically from the tectogrammatical layer
 modals come out as adverbial modifiers there.



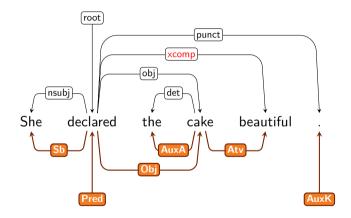
Secondary Predication ("Doplněk" in Czech Grammar)



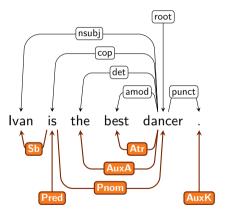
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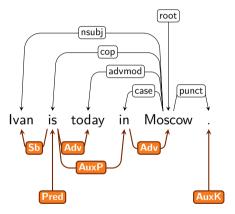
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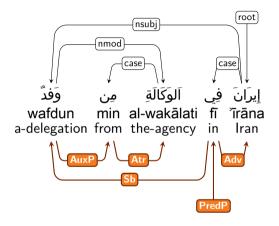
Nonverbal Predicates with Copulas



Locative Predicates with Copulas

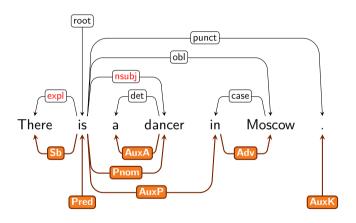


Nonverbal Predicates without Copula

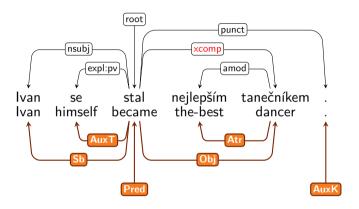


"A delegation from the Agency is in Iran."

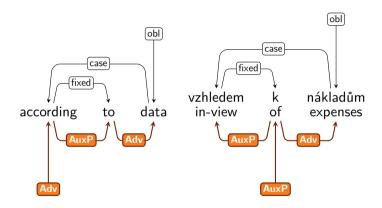
English Existential Clauses



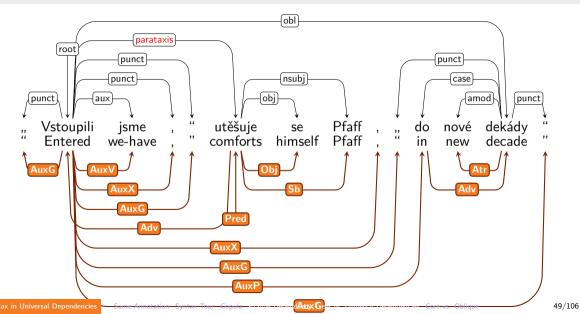
Pseudo-Copulas



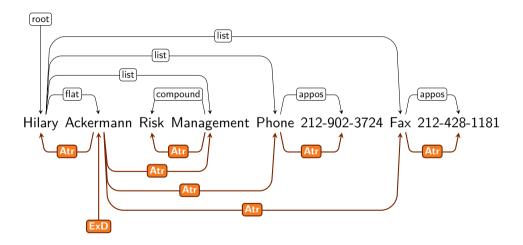
Fixed Multiword Expressions



Direct Speech Interspersed with Reporting Clause



Lists



Core vs. Oblique

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Clausal

Modifier

Function

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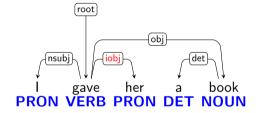
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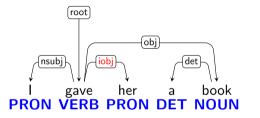
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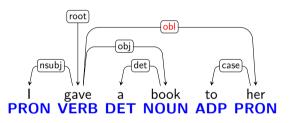
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	Nominal	Clausal	Modifier	Function	
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Information Packaging

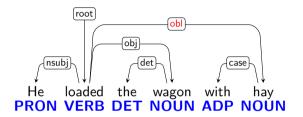


Information Packaging

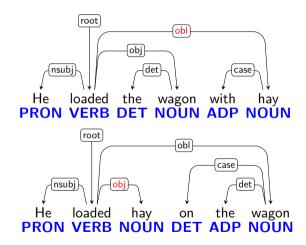




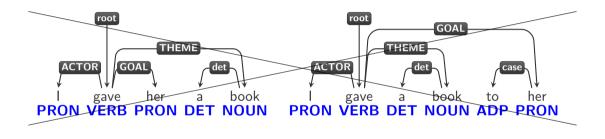
Information Packaging



Information Packaging



UD is **NOT** about Semantic Roles!



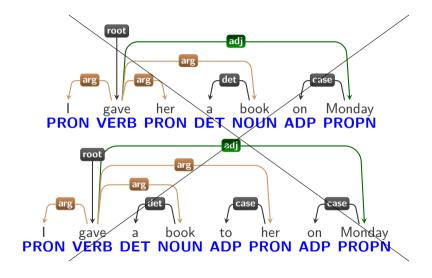
Manning's Law – What If We Do Semantic Roles?

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

- UD must be satisfactory on linguistic analysis grounds for individual languages.
- ② UD must be good for linguistic typology, i.e., providing a suitable basis for bringing out cross-linguistic parallelism across languages and language families.
- **1** UD must be suitable for **rapid**, **consistent annotation** by a human annotator.
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It's easy to come up with a proposal that improves UD on one of these dimensions. The interesting and difficult part is to improve UD while remaining sensitive to all these dimensions.

UD Avoids Argument-Adjunct Distinction!



Avoiding an Argument-Adjunct Distinction

- From the guidelines:
 - Subtle, unclear, and frequently argued over
 - Questionable as a categorical distinction
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 - Some people/data have it and want to keep it
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 - • ⇒ there is now a relation subtype obl:arg

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- BUT:
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 - Some people/data have it and want to keep it
 - It aligns well with traditional grammars
 - \$\Rightarrow\$ there is now a relation subtype obl:arg
- 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)
 - Prepositional phrase \Rightarrow oblique argument or adjunct (obl)

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 - But some people simply took the English rule...
 - Manning's law: non-linguists!

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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...

- 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?

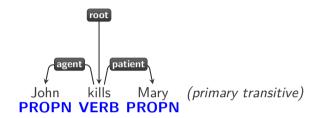
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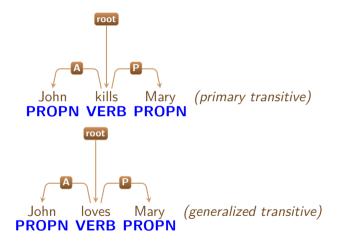
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 - Identify primary transitive predicates
 - We need semantic roles for this! (One-time only.)
 - Actor/agent = function A
 - Undergoer/patient = function P
 - Note the way they are coded
 - Note other grammatical rules that target them
 - Generalize to other predicates with same coding and rules

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- How shall we define it?
- Andrews, 2007 (In Shopen: Language Typology)
 - Identify primary transitive predicates
 - We need semantic roles for this! (One-time only.)
 - Actor/agent = function A
 - Undergoer/patient = function P
 - Note the way they are coded
 - Note other grammatical rules that target them
 - Generalize to other predicates with same coding and rules
 - Then define:
 - function A ⇒ nsubj
 - function $P \Rightarrow obj$

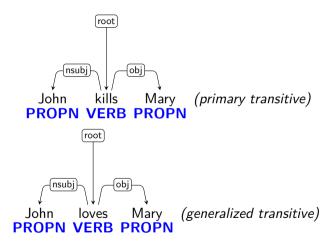




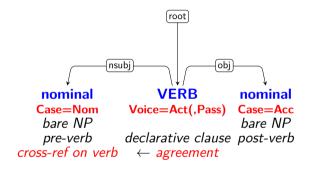






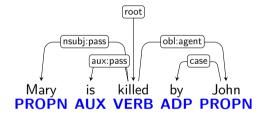


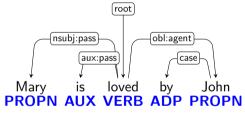




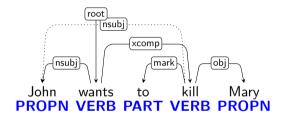


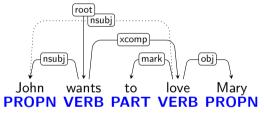
Passivization in English





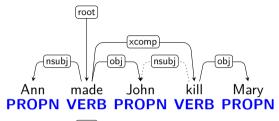


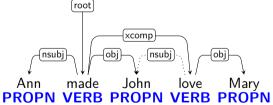






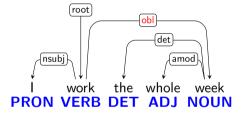
Object Control in English







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



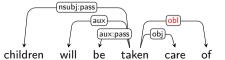
- At least it cannot passivize:
 - *The whole week is worked by me.
 - *Every Friday is worked by me.
- But...



- Some transitive verbs cannot passivize
 - John has a new car.
 - *A new car is had by John.
 - Friday does not suit me.
 - *I am not suited by Friday.



- Some transitive verbs cannot passivize
 - John has a new car.
 - *A new car is had by John.
 - 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.



Bare Temporal Adjuncts: Any Other Criteria?

- I work the whole week.
- I work every Friday.
- English has a fixed word order; adjuncts are less fixed than objects:
 - I work every Friday in Paris.
 - I work in Paris every Friday.
 - I spend every Friday in Paris.
 - *I spend in Paris every Friday.
- Unlike objects, adjuncts cannot be replaced by pronouns:
 - Where do you spend this Friday? I spend it in Paris.
 - Where do you work this Friday? *I work it in Paris.

Tentative Summary?



- The borderline is inherently fuzzy
- No universally applicable and exact algorithm
- Better described in terms of probability

Tentative Summary?



- The borderline is inherently fuzzy
- No universally applicable and exact algorithm
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- Oblique coding similar to most adjuncts
- Passivization etc. may help...
- ... but does not work as strict criterion

Tentative Summary?



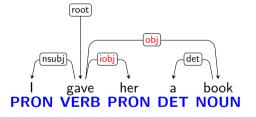
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- Core coding not favored by adjuncts
- Oblique coding similar to most adjuncts
- Passivization etc. may help...
- ... but does not work as strict criterion
- Semantic roles needed when starting a new language
- Argument-adjunct might help with exceptions
 - Although we managed to explain the whole week without it

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.
 - John relies on me. ... intransitive because on me is not a core argument!
- Then define:
 - function $S \Rightarrow nsubj$

Ditransitive Predicates

- Three core arguments: nsubj, obj, and iobj
- Which one is iobj? Language-specific rules. English: the one closer to the verb (i.e., the GOAL semantic role).
- NEW in 2023: iobj can be used even if obj is not present

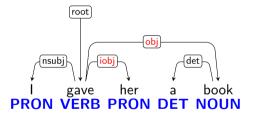


Passivization:

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

Ditransitive Predicates

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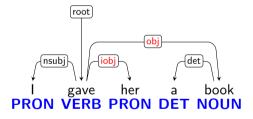


- Fronting in questions:
 - What did I give her?
 - *Who did I give a book?



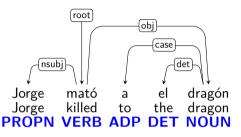
Ditransitive Predicates

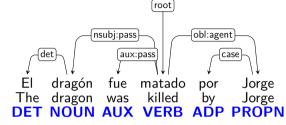
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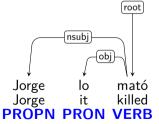


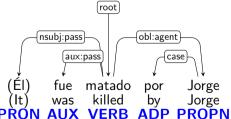
• Andrews (2007): the status of the notion of 'indirect object' is problematic and difficult to sort out. The top priority is to work out what properties recipients and themes do and do not share with P arguments of primary transitive verbs.



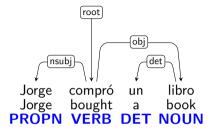


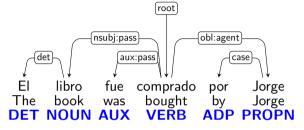


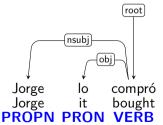


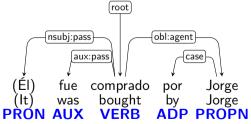






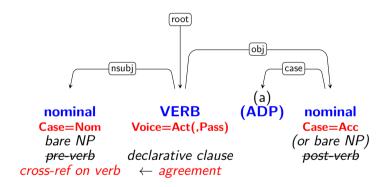






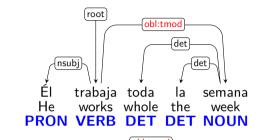


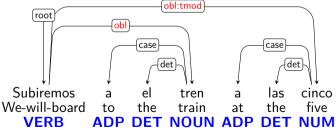
Spanish Transitive Clauses





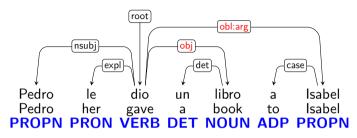
Spanish Adjunct Exceptions

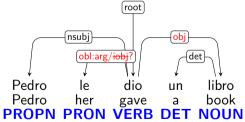






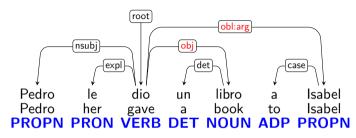
Spanish Ditransitive Clauses

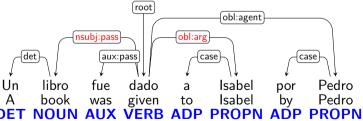




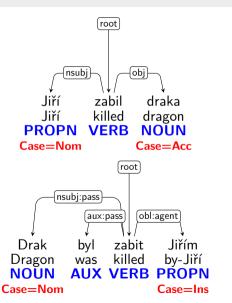


Spanish Ditransitive Clauses



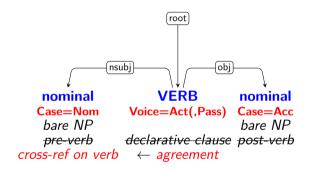






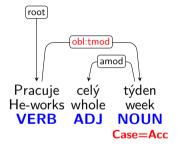


Czech Transitive Clauses



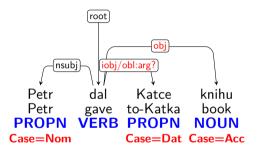


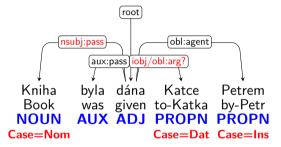
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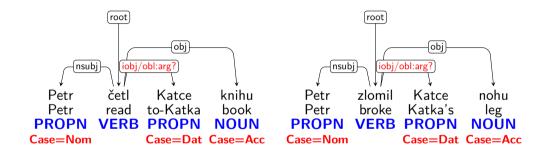
Czech Ditransitive Clauses





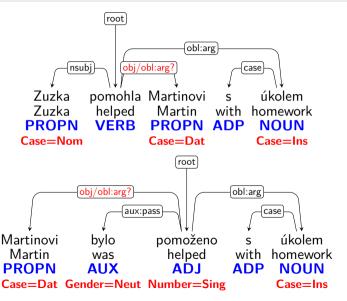


Dative: Recipient vs. Beneficiary



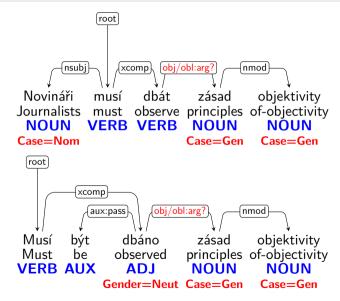


Monotransitive with Dative?



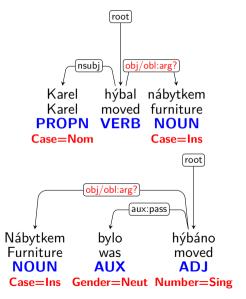


Monotransitive with Genitive?



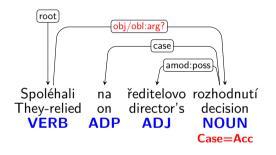


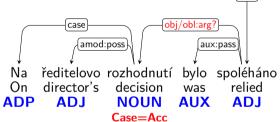
Monotransitive with Instrumental?





Monotransitive with Preposition?





root





- There is a core-oblique scale:
- Nom > Acc > Gen, Dat > Ins > preposition
- Where is the borderline?





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- UD Czech 1.0: object = argument
 - Nom, Acc, Gen, Dat, Ins, ADP > "adverbial"





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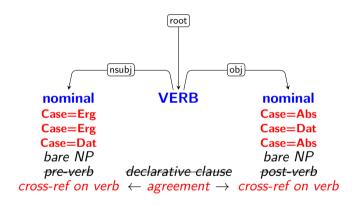




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- UD Czech 2.6 (May 2020):
 - Nom, Acc > Gen, Dat, Ins, ADP + adjuncts
 - ⇒ No ditransitives in Czech!
 - (Exception: *učit* "to teach" takes two Acc.)

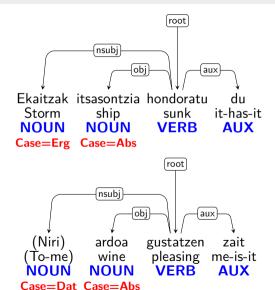


Basque Transitive Clauses



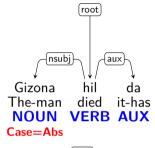


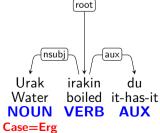
Basque Transitive Clauses





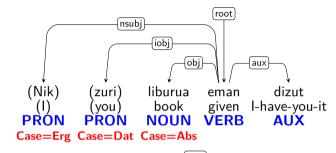
Basque Intransitive Clauses

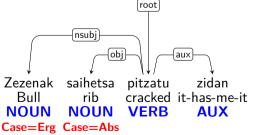






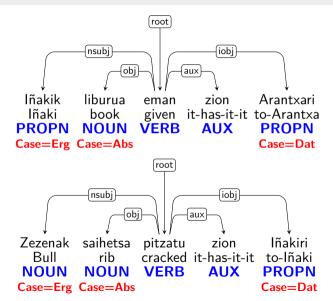
Basque Ditransitive Clauses





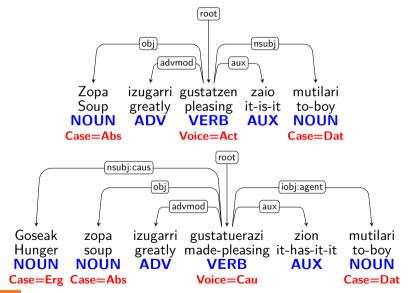


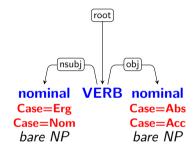
Basque Ditransitive Clauses





Basque Causative Applied to Dative Subject







"I, (who) was slapped by the woman, laughed" root acl:datsub (obj nsubi nsubj Ŋayu (ŋaɲaɲ) buna:n wuJa:nunda maŋga:ɲ laughed slapping me woman PRON **VERB PRON** NOUN **VERB** Case=Nom Case=Acc Case=Erg

Yidin "Dative" Adnominal Clauses

Nayu

PRON

Case=Nom

"I, (who) was slapped by the woman, laughed" root acl:datsub obj nsubi nsubi

Case=Acc Case=Erg

buna:n

woman

NOUN

wuJa:nunda

slapping

VERB

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

(ŋaɲaɲ)

me

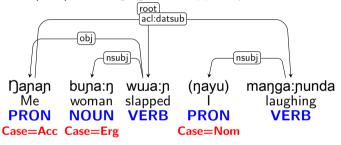
PRON

manga:n laughed

VERB

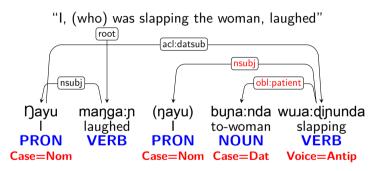
Yidin "Dative" Adnominal Clauses

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



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

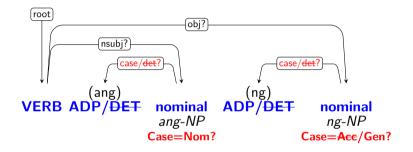
Yidin Antipassive

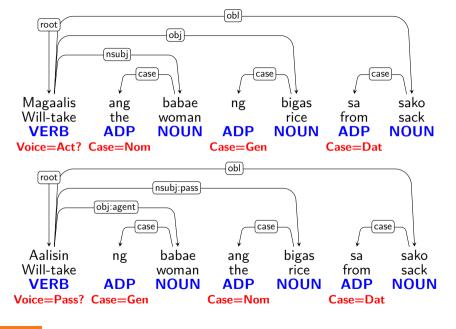


Original P is now oblique and original A is now S.



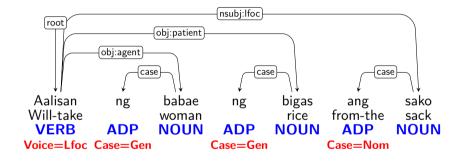
Tagalog Transitive Clauses





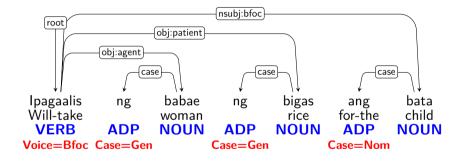


Tagalog Locative Voice ⇒ Ditransitive!



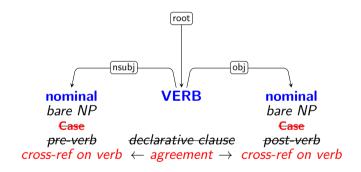


Tagalog Benefactive Voice ⇒ Ditransitive!



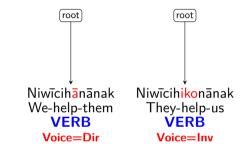


Plains Cree Transitive Clauses





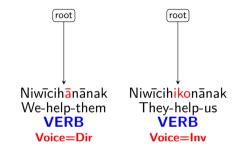
Direct-Inverse Voice in Plains Cree



Animacy hierarchy: 1st person > 3rd person



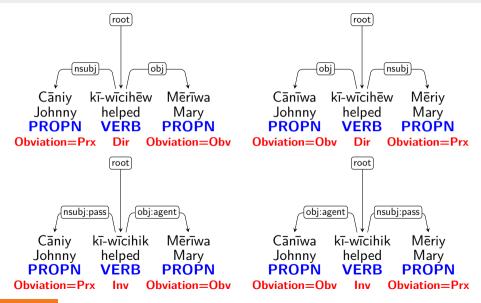
Direct-Inverse Voice in Plains Cree



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

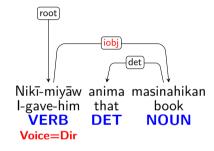


Direct-Inverse Voice in Plains Cree





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).

Syntax in Universal Dependencies

Summary

- Universal Dependencies
 - Unified annotation for all languages
 - Language-specific extensions
 - Content words higher than function words ... better parallelism
 - Clauses nominals modifier words
 - Core arguments vs. oblique dependents