# Literal Occurrences of Multiword Expressions: Rare Birds That Cause a Stir 

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## Multiword expressions are. . .

## Definition

Combinations of words which exhibits lexical, morphosyntactic, semantic, pragmatic and/or statistical idiosyncrasies

## Characteristics

- Discontinuous $\rightarrow$ Carlos made an unusual presentation
- Non compositional $\rightarrow$ a hot dog is not a dog
- Ambiguous $\rightarrow$ a piece of cake is something easy or something to eat - . . .


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- ...


## This presentation is about MWE ambiguity

## MWEs can have literal occurrences

(1) The boss was pulling the strings from prison.
'The boss was making use of his influence while in prison.'
(2) You control the marionette by pulling the strings.


## But what is a literal occurrence?

(3) As an effect of pulling, the strings broke.
(4) He strings paper lanterns on trees without pulling the table.
(5) Determine the maximum force you can pull on the string so that the string does not break.
(6) My husband says no strings were pulled for him.
(7) She moved Bill by pulling wires and strings.
(8) The article addresses the strings which the journalist claimed that the senator pulled.
(9) The strings pulled the bridge.
(10) He was there, pulling the strings, literally and metaphorically. (EN)

## Three research questions

(1) How to define literal occurrences of MWEs?
(2) How frequent are literal occurrences of MWEs?

- Should MWE identification systems take ambiguity into account?
- Should downstream NLP applications care about them?
(3) What are the cross-lingual characteristics of literal occurrences?
- Study them in Basque, German, Greek, Polish and Portuguese


## Context

Focus on verbal multiword expressions (VMWEs) in the PARSEME corpora using Universal Dependencies as syntactic formalism

## Outline

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## Sequence



## Sequence

A sentence is viewed as a sequence $s:\{1,2, \ldots,|s|\} \rightarrow W$ $W$ is the set of all possible word forms (including punctuation)
Equivalently: $s=\left\{s_{1}, s_{2}, \ldots, s_{|s|}\right\}=\left\{\left(1, w_{1}\right),\left(2, w_{2}\right), \ldots,\left(|s|, w_{|s|}\right)\right\}$

Example: $s=\{(1$, My $),(2$, husband $),(3$, says $), \ldots,(9$, him $),(10,)$.

## Subsequence



## Subsequence

$p$ subsequence of $s$ iff there is an injection sub ${ }_{p}^{s}:\{1, \ldots,|p|\} \rightarrow\{1, \ldots,|s|\}$ :
(1) $\forall i \in\{1,2, \ldots|p|\}, p(i)=s\left(\operatorname{sub}_{p}^{s}(i)\right)$
(2) $\forall i, j \in\{1,2, \ldots|p|\}$, if $i<j$, then $\operatorname{sub}_{p}^{s}(i)<\operatorname{sub}_{p}^{s}(j)$.

Example: $p=\left\{p_{1}, p_{2}\right\}=\{(1$, strings $),(2$, pulled $)\} \operatorname{sub}_{p}^{s}(1)=5$ and $\operatorname{sub}_{p}^{s}(2)=7$

## Dependency graph



## Dependency graph

A dependency graph of a sequence $s$ is a tuple $\left\langle V_{s}, E_{s}\right\rangle$ :

- $V_{s}=\left\{\left\langle 1, \operatorname{surface}\left(s_{1}\right), \operatorname{lemma}\left(s_{1}\right), \operatorname{pos}\left(s_{1}\right)\right\rangle, \ldots,\langle | s \mid\right.$, surface $\left(s_{|s|}\right)$, lemma $\left.\left.\left(s_{|s|}\right), \operatorname{pos}\left(s_{|s|}\right)\right\rangle\right\}$
- $E_{s}$ is the set of labeled edges connecting nodes in $V_{s}$

Example: label $\left(s_{2}\right)=\operatorname{nsubj}, \operatorname{parent}\left(s_{2}\right)=s_{4}, \operatorname{label}\left(s_{4}\right)=\operatorname{root}, \operatorname{parent}\left(s_{4}\right)=\operatorname{nil}$

## Dependency subgraph



## Dependency subgraph

A dependency subgraph $\left\langle V_{p}, E_{p}\right\rangle$ is a minimal weakly connected graph ${ }^{\text {a }}$ containing at least the nodes corresponding to $p$.
${ }^{a}$ Connected, ignoring the directions of edges.

$$
\text { Example: } \begin{array}{ccc}
\text { pulling } & \text { wires } & \text { strings } \\
\text { pull } & \text { wire } & \text { string } \\
\text { VERB } & \text { NOUN } & \text { NOUN }
\end{array}
$$

## Coarse syntactic structure (CSS)



## Coarse syntactic structure (CSS)

The coarse syntactic structure $\operatorname{css}(p)=\left\langle V_{\operatorname{css}(p)}, E_{\mathrm{css}(p)}\right\rangle$ of a subsequence $p$ is a directed graph:

- $V_{\mathrm{css}(p)}=\left\{\left\langle\operatorname{lemma}\left(p_{1}\right), \operatorname{pos}\left(p_{1}\right)\right\rangle, \ldots,\left\langle\operatorname{lemma}\left(p_{|p|}\right), \operatorname{pos}\left(p_{p}\right)\right\rangle\right\}_{\mathrm{ms}} \cup\left\{D_{1}, \ldots, D_{k}\right\}$ $D_{i}$ are dummy nodes replacing the intervening words
- $E_{\mathrm{css}(p)}=E_{p}$

$$
\text { Example: } \underset{\text { VERB }}{\text { pull }} \underset{\substack{\text { sobj } \\ \text { soun }}}{\substack{\text { coni }) ~}}
$$

## VMWE token

## VMWE token

A VMWE token $e$ is a subsequence of a sentence $s$ :
(1) $e$ has at least two words, that is, $|e|>1$
(2) all components $e_{1}, \ldots, e_{|e|}$ are lexicalized ${ }^{a}$
(3) the head of each of e's canonical forms must be a verb
(9) $\operatorname{css}(e)$ has no dummy nodes, i.e. e yields a weakly connected graph
(3) $e$ in $s$ must have an idiomatic meaning (e.g. using PARSEME tests)
${ }^{\text {a }}$ If they are absent, the VMWE looses the idiomatic meaning.

## Canonical form, canonical structure

## Canonical form

A canonical form is a minimal VMWE token in its least marked form:

- Finite verb, active voice (if possible)
- No extraction, relative clause, negation (if possible)
- Singular nouns (if possible)

Example: he pulled the strings

## Canonical structure

The canonical structure of a VMWE is the coarse syntactic structure (CSS) of its canonical forms

$$
\text { Example: } \underset{\text { verb }}{\substack{\text { pull } \\ \text { string } \\ \text { NOUN }}}
$$

## VMWE type

## VMWE variant set

A VMWE variant set is an (infinite) set of VMWE tokens sharing the same CSS and the same meaning.

Example: $\{$ he pulled the strings, we pull some strings, ... \}

## VMWE type

A VMWE type is an (infinite) set of VMWE variant sets sharing the same set of CSS vertices and the same meaning.

Example: $\{$ he pulled the strings, we pull some strings, ... $\}$ $\cup\{$ no strings were pulled, many strings are pulled... $\}$ $\cup \ldots$

## Idiomatic, literal and coincidental occurrences I

- $s$ is a sentence of length $|s|$
- $t$ is a VMWE type $t=\left\{\left\langle\operatorname{css}_{1}, \sigma_{I D}\right\rangle, \ldots,\left\langle\operatorname{css}_{|t|}, \sigma_{I D}\right\rangle\right\}, \operatorname{css}_{i}=\left\langle V, E_{i}\right\rangle$
- A potential occurrence $p$ of $t$ in $s$ is a subsequence of $s, V_{c s s(p)}=V$


## Idiomatic, literal and coincidental occurrences II

## Idiomatic occurrence (IO)

(1) The CSS of $p$ is identical to one of the CSSes in $t$
(2) $p$ occurs with the meaning $\sigma_{I D}$

## Literal occurrence (LO)

(1) There is a rephrasing $s^{\prime}$ of $s$ (possibly identical) such that:
(1) $s^{\prime}$ is synonymous with $s$
(2) there is a subsequence $p^{\prime}$ in $s^{\prime}$ such that $V_{\operatorname{css}(p)}=V_{\mathrm{css}\left(p^{\prime}\right)}$
(3) the CSS of $p^{\prime}$ is equal to the canonical structure of $t$
(2) $p$ does not occur with the meaning $\sigma_{I D}$

## Coincidental occurrence (CO)

- there is no rephrasing $s^{\prime}$ of $s$ which fulfills conditions (1-3) of an LO.


## Applying the definitions

(11) The boss was pulling the strings from prison.
(12) You control the marionette by pulling the strings.
(13) As an effect of pulling, the strings broke.
(14) He strings paper lanterns on trees without pulling the table. (None)
(15) The force you can pull on the string so that it does not break. (CO)
(16) My husband says no strings were pulled for him.
(17) She moved Bill by pulling wires and strings.
(18) The strings which he claimed that the senator pulled.
(19) The strings pulled the bridge.
(20) He was there, pulling the strings, literally and metaphorically.

## Outline

## Corpus

- PARSEME shared task v1.1 corpora
- Manual annotation for VMWE tokens:
- Inherently reflexive verbs (IRV)
- Ligt-verb constructions (LVC)
- Verb-particle constructions (VPC)
- Verbal idioms (VID)
- Manual or automatic lemmas, UD POS tags, UD morphological features, UD dependency trees


## Corpus stats

| Lang. | Sent. | Tokens | VMWEs | Morphology | Syntax |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | :--- | :--- |
| Basque | 11,158 | 157,807 | 3,823 | partly manual | partly manual |
| German | 8,996 | 173,293 | 3,823 | automatic | automatic |
| Greek | 8,250 | 224,762 | 2,405 | automatic | automatic |
| Polish | 16,121 | 274,318 | 5,152 | partly manual | partly manual |
| Portuguese | 27,904 | 638,002 | 5,536 | partly manual | partly manual |

## Outline

## Relaxed non idiomatic occurrences (RNOs)

Goal: extract potential LOs from the corpus for annotation

## Procedure

(1) extract each VMWE token $e=\left\{e_{1}, \ldots, e_{|e|}\right\}$ in each sentence $s$
(2) for each extracted $e$, for each sentence $s^{\prime}=\left\{s_{1}^{\prime}, s_{2}^{\prime}, \ldots, s_{\left|s^{\prime}\right|}^{\prime}\right\}$ :
(3) $r$ is a relaxed non-idiomatic occurrence (RNO) of $e$ in $s^{\prime}$, if:

- $r$ is a subsequence of $s^{\prime}$
- $|r|=|e|$
- there is a bijection $\operatorname{rno}_{e}^{r}:\{1, \ldots,|e|\} \rightarrow\{1, \ldots,|e|\}$ such that:
- for $i \in\{1,2, \ldots,|e|\}$ and $j=\operatorname{rno}_{e}^{r}(i)$,
$c f\left(\right.$ lemmasurface $\left.\left(e_{i}\right)\right) \in\left\{c f\left(\right.\right.$ lemma $\left.\left(r_{j}\right)\right), c f\left(\right.$ surface $\left.\left.\left(r_{j}\right)\right)\right\}$
- $r$ is not a VMWE token


## LO candidates

- WindowGap: all matched tokens of the RNO must fit into a sliding window with no more than $g$ external elements (gaps). We use $g=2$.
- BagOfDeps: the RNO must corresponding to a weakly connected unlabeled subgraph with no dummy nodes
- Unlabeled: the RNO must correspond to a connected unlabeled graph with no dummy nodes, that is, the dependency labels are ignored but the parent relations are preserved.
- Labeled: the RNO must be a connected labeled graph with no dummy nodes, in which both the parent relations and the dependency labels are preserved.

The resulting set of LO candidates is the union of the 4 heuristics output

## Outline

## First phase: initial checks

- $e=\left\{e_{1}, e_{2}, \ldots, e_{|e|}\right\}$ is a VMWE token annotated in a sentence $s$
- cs is the canonical structure of e's type
- $c=\left\{c_{1}, c_{2}, \ldots, c_{|c|}\right\}$ is an LO candidate extracted by the heuristics
(1) [FALSE] Should $e$ have been annotated as an IO of an MWE at all?
- NO $\rightarrow$ annotate $c$ as ERR-FALSE-IDIOMATIC
- YES $\rightarrow$ go to the next test
(2) [SKIP] Is $c$ an IO of an MWE that annotators forgot/ignored?
- YES, it is a verbal MWE $\rightarrow$ annotate $c$ as ERR-SKIPPED-IDIOMATIC
- YES, but a non-verbal MWE $\rightarrow$ annotate $c$ as NONVERBAL-IDIOMATIC
- UNSURE, not enough context $\rightarrow$ annotate $c$ as missing-CONTEXT
- NO $\rightarrow$ go to the next test
(3) [LEX] Do c's components have the same lemma and POS as cs's?
- NO $\rightarrow$ annotate $c$ as WRONG-LEXEMES
- YES $\rightarrow$ go to the next test


## Second phase: classification

(1) [COINCIDENCE] Are the syntactic dependencies in $c$ equivalent to those in cs? Dependencies are considered equivalent if a rephrasing (possibly identical) of $s$ is possible, keeping its original sense and producing dependencies identical to those in cs.

- $\mathrm{NO} \rightarrow$ annotate $c$ as COINCIDENTAL
- YES $\rightarrow$ go to the next test
(2) [MORPH] Could the knowledge of morphological constraints allow us to automatically classify $c$ as an LO?
- YES $\rightarrow$ annotate $c$ as LITERAL-MORPH
- NO or UNSURE $\rightarrow$ go to the next test
(3) [SYNT] Could the knowledge of syntactic constraints allow us to automatically classify $c$ as an LO?
- YES $\rightarrow$ annotate $c$ as LITERAL-SYNT
- NO or UNSURE $\rightarrow$ annotate $c$ as LITERAL-OTHER


## Examples

- ERR-FALSE-IDIOMATIC:
- She [...] brought back a branch of dill.
- ERR-SKIPPED-IDIOMATIC:
- Bring down in Any insult [...] brings us all down
- NONVERBAL-IDIOMATIC:
- After the major kill-offs, wolves [...]
- MISSING-CONTEXT:
- Enron is blowing up.
- WRONG-LEXEMES:
- Then take your finger and place it under their belly
- COINCIDENTAL: (do the job)
- [...] why you like the job and do a little bit of [...]
- LITERAL-MORPH: (get gōing)
- At least you get to go to Florida [...]
- LITERAL-SYNT: (have to do with something)
- [...] we have better things to do.
- LITERAL-OTHER: (come of it)
- [...] we've come out of it quite good friends


## Known limitations

## Syntactic framework (UD) can change annotation

- the presentation was made
- his presentation made a good impression
- we made a surprise at her presentation


## Granularity of relations can change the annotation

- Reflexive clitics annotated as expl with "semantic" subrelations


## Outline

## Overall results

|  | DE | EL | EU | PL | PT |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Annotated IOs | 3,823 | 2,405 | 3,823 | 4,843 | 5,536 |
| LO candidates | 926 | 451 | 2,618 | 332 | 1,997 |
| ERR-FALSE-ID. | 21.5\% (199) | 12.0\% (54) | 9.4\% (246) | 0.0\% (0) | 3.8\% (76) |
| ERR-SKIPPED-ID. | 27.0\% (250) | 47.5\% (214) | 17.3\% (453) | 5.4\% (18) | 10.7\% (213) |
| NONVERBAL-ID. | 0.0\% (0) | 0.0\% (0) | 0.2\% (6) | 0.0\% (0) | 0.5\% (9) |
| MISSING-CONTEXT | 0.3\% (3) | 0.2\% (1) | 0.5\% (12) | 2.1\% (7) | 0.7\% (13) |
| WRONG-LEXEMES | 40.1\% (371) | 0.9\% (4) | 26.7\% (700) | 1.8\% (6) | 38.1\% (760) |
| COINCIDENTAL (COs) | 2.6\% (24) | 27.9\% (126) | 42.4\% (1110) | 61.1\% (203) | 33.5\% (668) |
| LITERAL (LOs) | 8.5\% (79) | 11.5\% (52) | 3.5\% (91) | 29.5\% (98) | 12.9\% (258) |
| $\hookrightarrow$ LITERAL-MORPH | 0.8\% (7) | 5.5\% (25) | 1.9\% (51) | 1.2\% (4) | 3.7\% (73) |
| $\hookrightarrow$ LITERAL-SYNT | 1.5\% (14) | 2.0\% (9) | 0.7\% (19) | 8.1\% (27) | 2.2\% (44) |
| $\hookrightarrow$ LITERAL-OTHER | 6.3\% (58) | 4.0\% (18) | 0.8\% (21) | 20.2\% (67) | 7.1\% (141) |
| Idiomaticity rate | 98\% | 98\% | 98\% | 98\% | 96\% |

## Distribution of LOs



## Performance of the heuristics

| Language | WindowGap |  |  | BagOfDeps |  |  | Unlabeled |  |  | Labeled |  |  | All (union) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | P | R | F | P | R | F | P | R | F | P | R | F | P | R | F |
| Basque | 3 | 91 | 7 | 6 | 89 | 11 | 5 | 58 | 9 | 6 | 22 | 10 | 3 | 100 | 7 |
| German | 8 | 78 | 14 | 12 | 90 | 22 | 13 | 90 | 22 | 14 | 77 | 23 | 9 | 100 | 16 |
| Greek | 11 | 87 | 20 | 15 | 90 | 26 | 16 | 83 | 27 | 16 | 52 | 24 | 12 | 100 | 21 |
| Polish | 33 | 96 | 49 | 43 | 81 | 56 | 49 | 73 | 59 | 52 | 23 | 32 | 30 | 100 | 46 |
| Portuguese |  | 98 | 25 | 17 | 62 | 27 | 20 | 59 | 30 | 34 | 37 | 36 | 13 | 100 | 23 |

## Outline

## LOs of IRVs

(21) Nesse rio se encontraram muitos tipos de peixe. In.this river RCLI found/met many kinds of fish.
'Many kinds of fish were found in this river.'
Finding: Some IRVs are ambiguous with middle-passive and impersonal

## LOs of LVCs

(22) Nie mają wymaganego zezwolenia na pracę.

Not have.3rd.PL required permission for work.
'They have no permission to work.'
(23) Kierowcy mieli sfałszowane zezwolenia.

Drivers had falsified permissions.
'The drivers had false driving licenses.'
Finding: LOs of LVCs occur when the predicative noun is polysemous

## Portuguese-specific LVC LOs I

Resultatives:
(24) Ele tem sua forca renovada quando descansa. He has his strength renewed when rests. 'His strength gets renewed when he rests.'
(25) A criança tem uma alimentação equilibrada.

The child has a diet balanced.
'The child has a balanced diet.'

## Portuguese-specific LVC LOs II

Secondary predication:
(26) João tem [seu irmão] ${ }_{\text {obj }}[\text { como um demônio }]_{\text {iobj }}$. John has his brother as a demon. 'João considers his brother a demon.'
(27) Eles tem [essa atividade] $]_{\text {obj }}[\text { como uma opção }]_{i o b j}$. they have this activity as an option.
'This activity is a possible option for them.'
Finding: some language-specific phenomena require syntactic constraints to distinguish LOs from IOs

## LOs of VIDs I

(28) Gaixo dago eta ez da joateko gauza.

Sick is and no is going thing
$\mathrm{He} / \mathrm{She}$ is sick and is no thing to go.
'He/She is sick and is unable to go.'
(29) Horiek beste garai bat-eko gauza-k dira.

These other time one-GEN thing-PL AUX
These are things from the past.
'These things belong to the past.'
Finding: many VID LOs can be identified with morphological constraints

## LOs of VIDs II

(30) Służenie nam mają we krwi.
serving us have.3rd.PL in blood
They have serving us in blood. 'Serving us is their innate ability.'
(31) Miał we krwi ponad 1,5 promila alkoholu had.3rd.SING in blood over 1.5 per-mille alcohol
'His blood alcohol level was 1.5.'
Finding: domain-specific uses can be LOs of general-purpose IOs

## Basque-specific VID LOs I

(32) Kontu-a-n hartu du lagun-a-ren account-ART-LOC take AUX friend-ART-GEN iritzi-a.
opinion-ART.ABS
Took into account the opinion of his/her friend.
'He/She took his/her friend's opinion into account.'
(33) Diru-a hartu du kontu-tik. money-ART.ABS take AUX account-ABL
Took money from the account. 'He/She withdraw money from the account.'

Finding: lemmas + POS in CSSes inadequate for agglutinative languages

## Outline

## Take-home message

(1) Good parsers (taggers, etc.) are required to distinguish IOs from COs
(2) LOs are theoretically possible, but not so frequent in practice (2-4\%)
(3) Simple heuristics + special cases could identify most VMWE IOs
(9) Do we need machine learning to identify known VMWEs?
(3) What kind of constraints need to be encoded in lexicons? And how?
(0) Can these constraints be discovered using semi-supervised learning?

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## Literal occurrences of VMWEs are rare birds that cause a stir

