

Formalisation of the word-formation meaning in language data resources

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unless otherwise stated

Introduction of word-formation meaning

State-of-the-art in the formalisation of word-formation meaning

Experiments

- Delimiting word-formation meanings

- Labelling word-formation meanings

- Selecting different affixes within one word-formation meaning

- Conveying the same word-formation meaning across languages

Conclusion & Future perspectives

Word-formation meaning? Example of affixation.

- The sum of the input words and the undergone changes is denoted as WORD-FORMATION or STRUCTURAL MEANING (Dokulil, 1962, Štekauer, 2005)

(<i>x</i>)		(<i>y</i>: a person who does [<i>x</i>])
<i>učit</i> 'to teach'	→	<i>učitel</i> 'teacher'
<i>hrát</i> 'to act'	→	<i>herec</i> 'actor'
<i>bojovat</i> 'to fight'	→	<i>bojovník</i> 'fighter'
<i>kouřit</i> 'to smoke'	→	<i>kuřák</i> 'smoker'

- Many-to-many relationship of form and meaning

(<i>x</i>)			
<i>skříň</i> 'cupboard'	→	<i>skříňka</i> 'small cupboard'	(<i>y</i>: a small [<i>x</i>])
<i>učitel</i> 'teacher'	→	<i>učitelka</i> 'female teacher'	(<i>y</i>: a female counterpart of [<i>x</i>])
<i>obalit</i> 'to wrap'	→	<i>obálka</i> 'envelope'	(<i>y</i>: an instrument of [<i>x</i>])

Formalisation of word-formation meaning in affixation

COMPARATIVE SEMANTIC CONCEPTS

= fundamental concepts of cognition rooted in cognitive linguistics; relevant for cross-linguistic research (Haspelmath, 2010)

- Bagasheva (2018) elaborates on the idea for affixation (52 labels applicable across pos)

ability	directional	manner ⁱ	relational
abstraction	distributive	ornative	resultative
action	durative	patient	reversative
agent	dweller	pejorative	saturative ⁱⁱ
anticausative	entity	perceptive	semelfactive
augmentative ⁱⁱⁱ	experiencer	pluriactionality	similative
causative	female	possessive	singulative
collectivity	hyperonymy	privative	state
comitative	hyponymy	process	subitive
composition	inceptive	purposive	terminative
cumulative	instrument	quality	temporal
desiderative	iterative	reciprocal	undergoer
diminutive ^{iv}	location	reflexive	

In Bagasheva (2018, pp.53–56):

agent

killer

dweller

villager

patient

amputee

undergoer

čuhppojuvvot [Saami, Uralic]
(*to be cut (of somebody)*)

ⁱ viewpoint ⁱⁱ total ⁱⁱⁱ ameliorative/intensive ^{iv} attenuative

Formalisation in language resources

- Bagasheva's labels implemented in the research into derivational networks for 40 languages (Körtvélyessy et al., 2020)

Labels in CroDeriv (Croatian).

action	literary type
agent, female	location
anatomical part	number of men involved
animal, female	person, both sexes
deprivation	plant
diminutive	possibility
disease	quantity
drink	result
event	temporal mark
instrument	thing
linguistic term	

Labels in Morpho-semantic database (English).

agent	material
body-part	property
by-means-of	result
destination	state
event	undergoer
instrument	uses
location	vehicle

Labels in Derivancze (Czech).

Label	Example
k1verb	<i>bití</i> ← <i>bít</i>
k2pas	<i>bit</i> ← <i>bít</i>
k2rpas	<i>bitý</i> ← <i>bít</i>
k2proc	<i>bijící</i> ← <i>bít</i>
k2rakt	<i>zabivší</i> ← <i>zabít</i>
k2ucel	<i>bicí</i> ← <i>bít</i>
k1ag	<i>badatel</i> ← <i>bádat</i>
k1prop	<i>hluchota</i> ← <i>hluchý</i>
k6a	<i>dobře</i> ← <i>dobry</i>
k2pos	<i>otcův</i> ← <i>otec</i>
k2rel	<i>mrázový</i> ← <i>mráz</i>
k1f	<i>doktorka</i> ← <i>doktor</i>
k1jmf	<i>Novotná</i> ← <i>Novotný</i>
k1jmr	<i>Novotní</i> ← <i>Novotný</i>
k1obyv	<i>Kanaďan</i> ← <i>Kanada</i>
k1dem	<i>domek</i> ← <i>dům</i>
k5freq	<i>bádávat</i> ← <i>bádat</i>
var	<i>komunismus</i> ↔ <i>komunizmus</i>

Labels in DeriNet (Czech).

diminutive
female
iterative
aspect
possessive

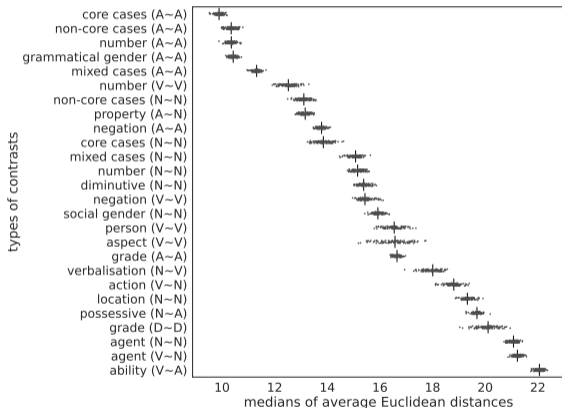
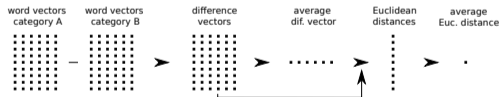
Labels in Démonette (French).

action
agent
property

(1) How to delimit word-formation meanings?

An experiment to observe the inflexion-derivation scale and diversity of meanings in Czech.

- Word pairs from DeriNet (Vidra et al., 2021) / MorfFlex (Hajič et al., 2020); represented as vectors of distributional semantics (Mikolov et al., 2013)
- Bootstrapped samples of 200 word pairs (token freq > 50); cf. Mickus et al. (2019)



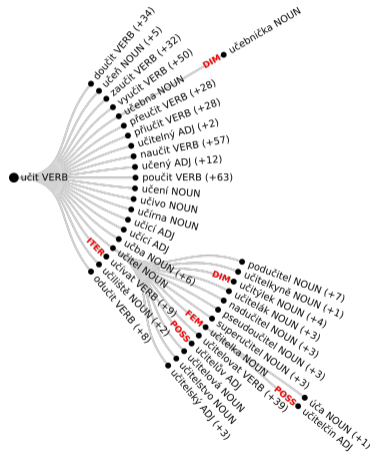
L. Kyjánek and O. Bonami. [A Distributional Approach to Inflection vs. Derivation in Czech.](#)

In *Word-Formation Theories VI & Typology and Universals in Word-Formation V*, pages 21–22, Košice, 2022

(2) How to label word-formation meanings?

An experiment on labelling several selected word-formation meanings in DeriNet for Czech.

- Selected meanings: FEMALE, DIMINUTIVE, ASPECT, ITERATIVE, and POSSESSIVE.
- Multinomial Logistic Regression model developed on the existing annotations from the digitised language data resource for Czech
- Features: [pos, gender, aspect, final character n-grams ($n = 2, \dots, 6$), possessivity tag of derivatives and base words]
- Evaluated on testing data set; F-score = 98 %



M. Ševčíková and L. Kyjánek. [Introducing semantic labels into the DeriNet network.](#)

Journal of Linguistics/Jazykovedný časopis, 70(2):412–423, 2019

(3) What selects the affix within word-formation meanings?

An experiment to observe formal-linguistic features in the agent nouns formations in Czech.

- Agent nouns formed by 8 most frequent suffixes (*-tel*, *-č*, *-ík/-ník*, *-ář/-ař*, *-ce*, *-ák*, *-ec*, *-čí*)

agent noun	verb.IPVF PFV	noun	adjective
<i>sjednot-i-tel</i> 'unifier'	- <i>sjednot-i-t</i> 'unify'		
<i>sjednoc-ova-tel</i> 'unifier'	<i>sjednoc-ova-t</i> - 'unify'		
<i>model-ář</i> 'modeler'	<i>model-ova-t</i> - 'model'	<i>model</i> 'model'	
<i>zvon-ík</i> 'bell-ringer'	<i>zvon-i-t</i> - 'ring'	<i>zvon</i> 'bell'	
<i>závod/n/ík</i> 'racer'	<i>závod-i-t</i> - 'race'	<i>závod</i> 'race'	<i>závod-n-í</i> 'racing'
<i>boj-ov/n/ík</i> 'fighter'	<i>boj-ova-t</i> - 'fight'		<i>boj-ov-n-ý</i> 'fighting'
<i>střel-ec</i> 'shooter'	<i>stříl-e-t</i> <i>střel-i-t</i> 'shoot'	<i>střel-a</i> 'shot'	
<i>kup-ec</i> 'purchaser'	<i>kup-ova-t</i> <i>koup-i-t</i> 'purchase'	<i>koup-ě</i> 'purchase'	

- Assigned with formal-linguistic features divided into four subsets
- Decision Tree and Logistic Regression models were trained for each subset of features to predict an agent affix for an input verb

(3) What selects the affix within word-formation meanings?

válečník válčit – válka – válečný
warrior make war – war.n – war.adj

- related to the motivating verb(s)
 - final consonant of the root
 - number of prefixes
 - theme
 - aspect
 - conjugation class
- related to the derivational paradigm
 - which motivating items available?
 - does the verb have a suffixed aspectual counterpart?
 - does an inanimate homonym exist?
 - absolute corpus frequency of all items
 - motivating items ordered by frequency

target_noun_suffix -ník/-ík

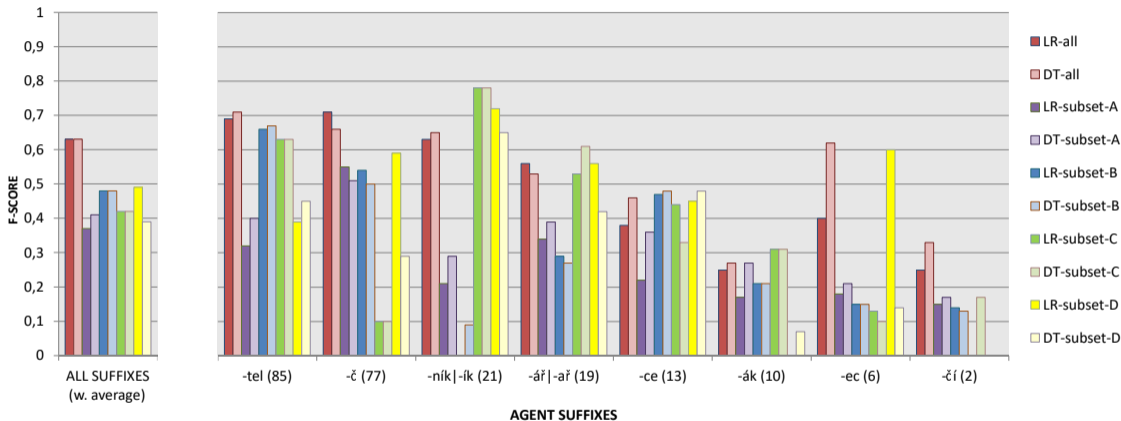
root_final č
root_final_cvs consonant
root_final_vertical affricate
root_final_horizontal postalveolar

number_prefixes 0
v1_theme i
v1_aspect imp
v1_conjug 4
v2_theme –
v2_aspect –
v2_conjug –

v1_suf_asp_counterpart no
paradigm_type NNA-V-
inanim_noun no

freq_parent_noun 25,895
freq_parent_adj 4,953
freq_parent_v1 499
freq_parent_v2 –
freq_slots VAN

(3) What selects the affix within word-formation meanings?



M. Ševčíková, L. Kyjánek, and B. Vidová Hladká. *Agent noun formation in Czech: An empirical study on suffix rivalry*.

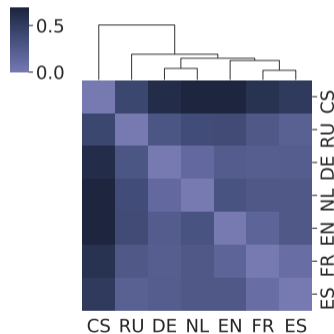
In *Second Workshop on Paradigmatic Word Formation Modelling (ParadigMo II)*, page 65, Bordeaux, 2021

(4) How are word-formation meanings conveyed across languages?

An experiment on conveying the same word-formation meaning across seven languages.

CS	RU	NL	DE	EN	FR	ES
uklízečka	[ubórshchitsa]	schoonmaakster	Putzfrau	cleaning lady	femme de ménage	mujer de limpieza
derivative	derivative	derivative	compound	synt. phrase	synt. phrase	synt. phrase

- 3,746 female counterparts translated from Czech to six above-listed languages
- Naming strategies annotated automatically (Svoboda and Ševčíková, 2022): *derivation, compounding, syntactic phrase, unmotivated word, unmarked for female social gender*
- Similarity between probability distributions measured by information radius (Jensen-Shannon divergence)
- Distributions for conveying female social gender demonstrate some resemblances with the genetic classification of languages



Conclusion & Future perspectives

- Promising approaches:
 - **Distributional semantics:** Bonami and Naranjo (2023) exemplify modelling and predicting word-formation meanings in affixation
 - **Machine translation:** Gast (2022) and Gast and Borges (2022) exemplify cross-lingual transfer of word-formation meanings by using back translation
- ToDo: Formalisation of word-formation meanings in conversion and compounding

Future: Formalisation of Conversion

to butcher ↔ *a butcher*

to kennel ↔ *a kennel*

- The same set of word-formation meanings as for affixation seems viable
- Identification of particular meanings is difficult (no formal changes)
- Clark and Clark (1979) exploit paraphrases
 - *agent and experiencer verbs*, e.g.,
to butcher in 'John butchered the cow.' vs. *a butcher* in 'John did to the cow the act that one would normally expect [a butcher to do to a cow].'
 - *location and duration verbs*, e.g.,
to kennel in 'John kenneled the dog.' vs. *a kennel* in 'John did something to cause it to come about that [the dog was in a kennel].'
- Models of distributional semantics might be promising here, not only in affixation

Future: Formalisation of Compounding

strong + *man* → *strongman*
ice + *man* → *iceman*
fire + *fighter* → *firefighter*
pick + *pocket* → *pickpocket*
guitar + *player* → *guitar_player*

- Scalise and Bisetto (2009) propose rather syntactic classification
 - Tectogramatical functors (PDT)?
 - ACT for *dřevorubec* 'lumberjack'
 - PAT for *senoseč* 'haymaking'
 - RSTR for *modrooký* 'blue eyed'
- Štekauer (2016) applies the onomas. theory to compounds with regular components

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Q: Discriminative approach for the purpose of annotation

- Tomaschek et al. (2021): Phonetic effects of morphology and context
 - discriminative learning to observe differences in the duration of word-final S in English inflexion
 - structures of words ending with S (for inflection) learnt and the influence of phonetics effects measured based on the learnt models
- Baayen et al. (2019): The Discriminative Lexicon
 - incorporates the insight from machine learning that end-to-end modeling instead of a cascade of models targeting individual subtasks
 - simple linear networks are used for mapping form onto meaning and meaning onto form
 - their model: recognises words and produces words correctly, understands and produces novel complex words, and correctly predicts a wide array of experimental phenomena in lexical processing

Q: Criteria of harmonization for picking (or not picking) one nomenclature over the other?

- The existing approaches have a similar goal but labelling, e.g.,
 - *female* in Bagasheva (2018) expects only affixation;
 - *social gender* in Bonami and Boyé (2019) includes derivatives and compounds;
 - *feminitives* in Nessel et al. (2022) refers to female professionals but not animals.
- The task is not to harmonise the existing approaches.
- To label word-formation meanings consistently, we finding "optimal":
 - **granularity of meanings**
 - **formal-linguistic features**
 - **method for labelling**
- Proceeding *with respect to the data*

Q: The sampling method in the inflexion–derivation experiment

- MorfFlexCZ to find word pairs more precisely
- The bootstrapping samples were created from the corpus (text)
- The samples have the ability to represent the distribution in the text (with frequent pairs more likely to be chosen)

Q: Negation for adjectives vs. negation for verbs

- Kovarikova et al. (2012):
 - **frequency criterion**: negation compared to ADJ.num
 - vebr. neg. is closer to ADJ.num than the adj. neg. is;
 - **gramatical criteria**: the same meaning, number of constituents, and full coverage within a word group; the first two are met in all cases, and the last one is more complicated with adjectives and adverbs
 - verb. neg. closer to other inflectional categories.
- Kyjánek and Bonami (2022): **distributional semantics**
 - verb. neg. is closer to categories like diminution or social gender
 - *Fine-grained picture*: our results claim that the context of words conveys verb. neg. are more diverse than the context of those for adj. neg. (different view).
 - *Big picture*: even in the Czech linguistic tradition the diminution and social gender are treated as being on the borderline of inflexion-derivation. So our results do not change the view of the category of verb. neg. as being closer to inflectional categories.

Q: The results of automatic labelling and its evaluation

- The labelling experiment was designed to label only five word-formation meanings:

DIMINUTIVE	<i>psík</i> 'small dog' ← <i>pes</i> 'dog'	5,072 rels. in DeriNet
FEMALE	<i>učitelka</i> 'female teacher' ← <i>učitel</i> 'teacher'	27,938 rels. in DeriNet
POSSESSIVE	<i>učitelův</i> 'teacher's' ← <i>učitel</i> 'teacher'	85,327 rels. in DeriNet
ASPECT	<i>obalovat</i> 'to wrap' ← <i>obalit</i> 'to wrap'	14,040 rels. in DeriNet
ITERATIVE	<i>chodívat</i> 'to walk repeat.' ← <i>chodit</i> 'to walk'	10,969 rels. in DeriNet

- Evaluation on the **testing data set** (2,000 pairs separated from training data set):

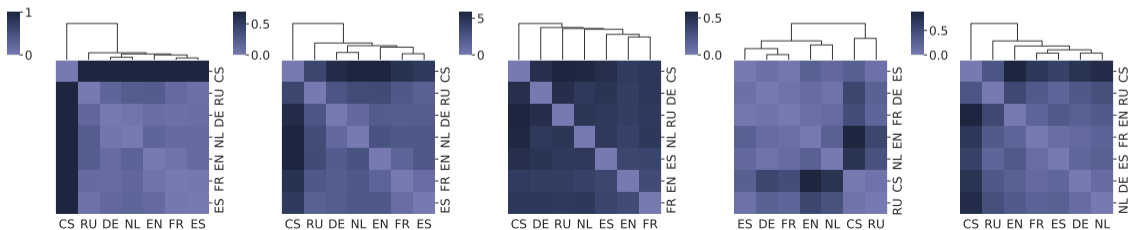
Model	Accuracy	Precision	Recall	F1-score
Baseline	0.827	0.813	0.827	0.792
MLR model	0.986	0.984	0.983	0.984

- Evaluation on the **predicted DeriNet data** (2,000 randomly selected pairs):

Gold/Pred.	DIMINUTIVE	FEMALE	POSSESSIVE	ITERATIVE	ASPECT	NONE
DIMINUTIVE	62	0	0	0	0	4
FEMALE	1	296	0	0	0	3
POSSESSIVE	0	0	905	0	0	1
ITERATIVE	0	0	0	135	4	0
ASPECT	0	0	0	3	170	1
NONE	1	39	1	0	0	374
PRECISION	0.969	0.982	0.999	0.985	0.987	0.948
RECALL	0.983	0.941	0.999	0.988	0.987	0.976

Q: Some genetic kinship and the Czech as a pivot language in the data-driven comparative research

- The Czech language served as a pivot language
 - we cannot claim: derivation is the most frequent naming strategy in Czech; but
 - we can claim: most of the seen instances which are formed as derivatives in Czech are also derivatives in Russian but gender-neutral words in English
- German + Dutch: the usage of derivation and compounding
- French + Spanish: the usage of syntactic phrases.
- The genetic kinship is only a trend, but the situation seems more complicated
(Distance measures: KL, JS, MI, Cos, Euc)



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<http://ufal.cz/node/2248>

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