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Frozen Sentences of Portuguese: Formal Descriptions for NLP

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Abstract

This paper presents on-going research on the building of an electronic dictionary of frozen sentences of European Portuguese. It will focus on the problems arising from the description of their formal variation in view of natural language processing

1 Introduction

Defining frozen sentences is not easy, and many conceptual and terminological disputes on concurrent terms ('idioms', 'collocations', 'phrasèmes', etc.) can be found in the literature (M. Gross 1988; G. Gross 1996; Mejri 1997; Mel'cuk 1993; Mogorón-Huerta 2002; Gaatone 2000; Jurafsky & Martin 2000: 571-573; McKeown & Rodev 2000; Mutsimoto 2003: 395). As a first approach to a (consensual?) definition, frozen sentences are elementary sentences where the main verb and at least one of its argument noun-phrases are distributionally constraint, and usually the global meaning of the expression cannot be calculated from the individual meaning of its component elements when they are used independently (M. Gross 1982, 1989, 1996; G. Gross 1996; Ranchhod 2003). For that reason, the whole expression must be taken as a complex, multiword lexical unit. For example, in: (1) *O João matou dois coelhos de uma cajadada* (lit: 'John killed two rabbits with one blow', John killed two birds with one stone) the verb-object combination (*matar-coelhos*) is frozen. One cannot replace *coelhos* (rabbits) for another animal and the numeral determinant is necessarily *dois* (two). Also, it is not possible to modify *coelhos* with any free adjective (*dois coelhos *gordos/ *grandes*, two fat/big rabbits). In addition, the adverbial *de uma cajadada* (with one blow) can hardly be ze-

roed, or the meaning of the sentence becomes literal. On the other hand, frozen sentences usually present some, often highly constraint, formal variation. For the most part, this variation is strictly lexical. In this case, in the adverbial, the noun *cajadada* (lit: a blow with a stick) can be replaced by *assentada* and *vez* (turn), but the meaning of the expression remains unchanged. This variation does not happens elsewhere. Furthermore, if we disregard proverbs¹, completely frozen sentences are rare. Usually, one or more of its argument noun phrases are distributionally free. In this case, any human noun can adequately occupy the structural position of subject. The frozen verb-noun combination is responsible for this distributional constraint, which can be considerably different from the constraints imposed by the verb when functioning as an independent lexical unit. For example, the verb *matar* (to kill) admits both human and non-human (animate and abstract) nouns for its subject when its object is *coelhos* (rabbits): (2a) *O João/a raposa/o tiro/a praga matou dois coelhos* (John/the fox/ shooting/ plague killed two rabbits). Another way frozen sentences often differ from free sentences is the fact that they block transformations that should otherwise be possible, given the syntactic properties of the main verb and its arguments. Hence, while it is possible to form from (2a) the passive sentence (2b): (2b) *Dois coelhos foram mortos pelo João/ a raposa/ o tiro/ a praga* (Two rabbits were killed by John/ the fox/ shoot-

¹ Proverbs differ from frozen sentences (a) from not having any free elements, (b) in the way they function in discourse, which is similar to quotations and (c) for their general value as advices or as atemporal truths about human life. However, partly because of their being an oral tradition, even proverbs can show some formal variation (Chacoto 1994).

ing/ plague), the same does not happen with (1): (1a) *°Dois coelhos foram mortos pelo João de uma cajadada* (Two rabbits were killed by John with one blow), since the meaning of the sentence becomes literal (this is shown by symbol ‘°’). Finally, frozen sentences constitute a non-trivial problem for many NLP applications. Since they are multiword expressions functioning as meaning units, they have to be identified as a block. However, their elements can appear discontinuously and they can also present some formal variation. They are often ambiguous, the same sequence having both a literal and a figurative meaning – and in this case, only an extended context can disambiguate them. They constitute an important part of the lexicon, comparable to (but probably much larger than) simple verbs.

2 Classification of Frozen Sentences

Many frozen sentences, especially those that are most usual or most obviously idiomatic, have already been collected both in general and in specialized dictionaries of ‘idioms’. In these dictionaries, frozen sentences are usually undistinguished from other types of multiword expressions, such as compound nouns, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, proverbs, and so on. In order to build an electronic dictionary of frozen sentences of European Portuguese, several sources were used, including specialized dictionaries², and completed with newspapers, magazines, etc. and our knowledge as native speakers of Portuguese. The formal framework of M. Gross (1982, 1989, 1996; see Leclère 2002, for an updated overview) was adopted to classify frozen sentences. The classification is based on the sentence structure, the number and type of noun phrases attached to the main verb, their frozen or free nature, as well as the syntactic properties of the construction. Table 1 shows some formal classes³, their internal structure, an illustra-

² Basically, Mello 1986, Moreira 1996, Neves 2000, Santos 1990 and Simões 1993. The electronic dictionary of frozen sentences of Brazilian Portuguese (Vale 2001) was also consulted, but many of those sentences either do not exist in European Portuguese or else present substantial syntactical and lexical differences, so that a detailed comparative study is in order.

³ Frozen sentences with sentential subjects or objects, or with frozen subject noun phrases were not considered in this paper. *N* and *C* stand for noun phrases; *N* is a free

example, and the approximate number of sentences collected so far. Compared with figures available for other languages – French (+20,000; M.Gross 1996), Spanish (3,500; Mogorrón-Huerta 2002), Greek (4,500; Fotopoulou 1993) and Brazilian Portuguese (3,500; Vale 2001), it is clear that these lists are still far from complete and should, in fact, be completed, probably using other corpus-based methods for lexical acquisition (McKeown & Rodev 2000, Mutsimoto 2003).

Table 1- Classification of frozen sentences (extract)

| Class | Structure/Example | Size |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| C1 | $N_0 V C_1$ <i>O Pedro matou a galinha dos ovos de ouro</i> | 800 |
| CAN | $N_0 V (C de N)_1 = C_1 a N_2$ <i>O Pedro arrefecer os ânimos de=à Ana</i> | 200 |
| CDN | $N_0 V (C de N)_1$ <i>O Pedro queria a cabeça da Ana</i> | 100 |
| CP1 | $N_0 V Prep C_1$ <i>O Pedro bateu com a porta</i> | 900 |
| CPN | $N_0 V Prep (C de N)_1$ <i>O Pedro foi aos cornos do João</i> | 100 |
| C1PN | $N_0 V C_1 Prep N_2$ <i>O Pedro arrastou a asa à Ana</i> | 400 |
| CNP2 | $N_0 V N_1 Prep C_2$ <i>O Pedro tirou o relógio do prego</i> | 350 |
| C1P2 | $N_0 V C_1 Prep C_2$ <i>O Pedro deitou mãos à obra</i> | 400 |
| CPP | $N_0 V Prep C_1 Prep C_2$ <i>O Pedro foi de cavalo para burro</i> | 200 |
| CPPN | $N_0 V C_1 Prep C_2 Prep C_3$ <i>O Pedro deitou o bebé fora com a água do banho</i> | 50 |
| Total | | 3,500 |

3 Format of Dictionary

The electronic dictionary is composed of several matrices, one per formal class. In these matrices, each line is a frozen sentence and the columns contain the lexical elements of the sentence and their syntactic (distributional and transformational) properties. The set of matrices constitute the lexicon-grammar of frozen sentences. Table 2 is a sample of class CPN. This class is defined by having a prepositional phrase where only the head-noun *C* is frozen with the verb, while its determinative complement *de N* (of *N*) is free: $N_0 V Prep (C de N)_1$.

and *C* is frozen noun phrase; N_0 is the subject, N_1 and N_2 the first and second complement; *V* is the verb and *Prep* a preposition.

tween the verb and the prepositional phrase: (9) *A fama subiu (rapidamente/logo) à cabeça do Pedro* (Fame went up (quickly/soon) to Peter's head). As one can see, these properties may be independent from each other and some of them can appear in combination in the same sentence. For example, obligatory negation can combine with the reduction do possessive pronoun: (5a) *O Pedro não chega aos seus calcanhares* (lit: Peter

does not get to the his heels, Peter is not a match for him) or with the dative pronoun resulting from the noun phrase restructuring: (5b) *O Pedro não te chega aos calcanhares* (lit: Peter does not get you to the heels, Peter is not a match for you). In both cases, the pronouns appear inserted between the characteristic (and fixed) elements of this frozen sentence.

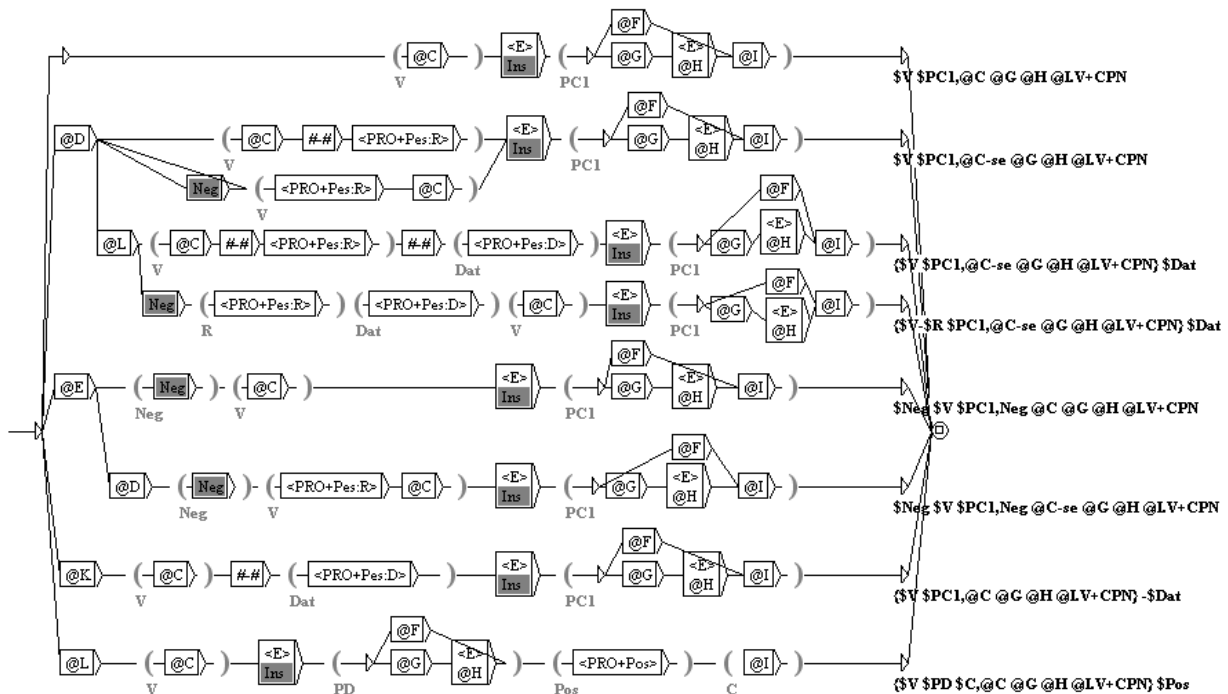


Figure 1. Reference graph for class CPN

5 Lexical Finite-State Transducers: building a reference graph

The lexicon-grammar of frozen sentences (i.e. the set of matrices) cannot be directly applied to recognize these expressions in texts. Using INTEX linguistic development platform (M. Silberztein 1993, 2004)⁵ it is now possible to build lexical finite state transducer that can identify and tag frozen sentences in the texts where they occur. This is done by building a reference graph for each matrix. Fig. 1 (above) shows a simplified version of the reference graph for class CPN.

This graph describes the formal sequences of the components of the frozen sentences. In this graph, variables such as @X refer to the content of

the matrix (at column X). Furthermore, this graph is an enhanced transducer, where it is possible to define variables containing strings of elements and to reuse these variables in the transduction.

For example, in the top line of the graph, variable *V* (inside brackets) stores the verb (represented by @C). This is followed by a facultative subgraph, for any eventual insertions (in the shadowed box), and it is then followed by variable *PC1*, containing the frozen prepositional phrase. The two variables are then reused in the transduction (the output in bold, on the right), providing the multiword lexical entry and its adequate tags: ***\$V \$PC1,@C @F @G @H @I.V+CPN***, so that for the frozen sentence: (7c) *O Pedro foi na cantiga do João* the system would produce the tag: *O Pedro {foi na cantiga,ir em a cantiga.V+CPN} do João*.

⁵ <http://www.nyu.edu/pages/linguistics/intex/>.

Notice that the inflected form of the verb appearing in the text is lemmatized (after the coma) using the @X variables to retrieve the lexical elements in the matrix: in this case, the infinitive *ir* (to go); also in the lemma, the contraction (*na*) of preposition *em* and the definite article *a* is split in its component elements. Finally, variables @D, @E, @K and @L function as switches, reading the '+' or '-' of the corresponding columns in the matrix so that the remaining transitions are either activated or collapsed. These variables correspond to the syntactic properties of the entries. In this way, it is possible to compile a detailed FST that complies with the syntactic restrictions described in the matrix.

After building the reference graph, the system is then able to compile the lexical transducer for this class, exploring, for each line of the matrix, all the paths of the graph, and then determinizing and minimizing the resulting transducer. With this methodology, the linguistic information stored in the lexicon grammar is represented independently from the lexical transducers and can be regularly revised or updated. The reference graph can also be seen as describing linguistic information regarding the surface disposition of the lexical elements entering the frozen sentences of the matrix. Of course, strict formal coherence is needed between the reference graph and the matrix.

6 Application to texts: some experiences

In order to evaluate the performance of the electronic dictionary on real texts, experiences were made using INTEX⁶ on three different texts. Two smaller texts, one obtained from the on-line edition of the *Expresso* weekly newspaper⁷ and the other a composite text⁸ obtained from several sources and used on the *MorphOlimpics* evalua-

⁶ We also used an electronic dictionary of simple words of Portuguese (Ranchhod *et al.* 1999), from the public linguistic resources built by LabEL: <http://label.list.utl.pt>.

⁷ <http://www.expresso.pt/>. This is a 976 Kb text, with 83,269 (5,764 different) words.

⁸ http://acdc.linguateca.pt/aval_conjunta/morfolimpiadas/ts_ml.txt [29-03-2004] This is a 215 Kb text, with 35,053 (10,070 different) words.

tion campaign for Portuguese⁹. We also used a larger, publicly available, journalistic corpus (*CETEM-Público*)¹⁰. Tables 3 to 5 show results from the application of the modules of the four largest classes to these texts:

Table 3 – Application of dictionary of frozen sentences to text from Portuguese *MorphOlimpics*

| Class | DLE | ≠L | M | Precision |
|--------|-----|----|----|-----------|
| C1 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 100 % |
| C1P2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 100 % |
| C1PN | 5 | 5 | 6 | 100 % |
| CP1 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 100 % |
| Totals | 17 | 17 | 18 | 100 % |

Table 4 – Application of dictionary of frozen sentences to text from *Expresso* newspaper

| Class | DLE | ≠L | M | Precision |
|--------|-----|----|----|-----------|
| C1 | 15 | 13 | 16 | 75 % |
| C1P2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 100 % |
| C1PN | 24 | 18 | 33 | 94 % |
| CP1 | 37 | 32 | 39 | 100 % |
| Totals | 78 | 65 | 90 | 93 % |

Table 5 – Application of dictionary of frozen sentences to text from *CETEMPúblico*

| Class | DLE | ≠L | M | Precision |
|--------|-------|-----|-------|-----------|
| C1 | 541 | 217 | 939 | 78.4 % |
| C1P2 | 104 | 61 | 157 | 99.0 % |
| C1PN | 434 | 96 | 1,357 | 96.5 % |
| CP1 | 963 | 309 | 1,270 | 88.2 % |
| Totals | 2,042 | 638 | 3,723 | 89.6 % |

DLE – number of inflected lexical entries obtained from the text; **≠L** – number of different lemmas; **M** – number of matched strings in text.

These preliminary results must take into consideration the different size of the texts (number of words) and the number of matched sequences. Several comparisons are thus made in Table 6 (below). The size (in number of simple words - *W*) of *Expresso* is approximately 2.4 times larger than *MorphOlimpics*, and the size of *CETEMPúblico* is 116 times larger than *Expresso*:

$$W(\text{Exp})=2.4xW(\text{MO});W(\text{Pub})=116xW(\text{Exp}).$$

Naturally, the number of matches (*M*) does not increase in the same proportion:

⁹ http://acdc.linguateca.pt/aval_conjunta/morfolimpiadas/index.html [29-03-2004].

¹⁰ <http://www.linguateca.pt/CETEMPUBLICO/>. Only the first fragment of this corpus was used. This is a text file of approximately 60 Mb, with 9.6 million (177,368 different) words.

$$M(Exp)=5xM(MO);M(Pub)=41.38xM(Exp).$$

In fact, in the smaller texts, precision scores are not very significant in view of the reduced number of matches. However, precision does not drop abruptly in the larger corpus (*CETEM-Público*), even if the size of the text and the number of matches increase significantly.

Table 6 – Size of texts and scores of dictionary of frozen sentences (Classes C1, C1P2, C1PN, CP1)

| Text | W | ≠W | {S} |
|------|-----------|---------|---------|
| MO | 35,053 | 10,070 | 527 |
| Exp | 83,269 | 5,764 | 8060 |
| Pub | 9,632,623 | 177,368 | 447,125 |

| Text | DLE | ≠L | M | CM | P(%) |
|------|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|
| MO | 17 | 17 | 18 | 18 | 100.0 |
| Exp | 78 | 65 | 90 | 84 | 93.0 |
| Pub | 2,042 | 638 | 3,725 | 3,336 | 89.6 |

| Text | LexDiv | LexDiv/P | CMDiv | CMDiv/P | FS/S (%) |
|------|--------|----------|-------|---------|----------|
| MO | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.059 | 1.059 | 3.416 |
| Exp | 1.200 | 1.286 | 1.292 | 1.385 | 1.042 |
| Pub | 3.201 | 3.574 | 5.229 | 5.839 | 0.746 |

MO – *MorphOlympics*; **Exp** – *Expresso*; **Pub** – *CETEM-Público*; **W** – number of simple words; **≠W** – different simple words; **{S}** – sentences; **DLE** – lexical entries of frozen sentences; **≠L** – different lemmas of lexical entries; **M** – matches; **CM** – correct matches; **P** – Precision (%); **LexDiv** – lexical diversity of DLE (DLE/≠L); **CMDiv** – lexical diversity of correct matches (CM/≠L); **FS/S** – average number of frozen sentences per thousand sentences (%).

Another measure is the ratio between the lexical diversity (LexDiv) of DLE (number of entries/different lemmas) and precision (P). The higher the diversity of the DLE, the lower should be the precision. This, however, does not happen: even if the larger corpus shows lower DLE diversity, the ratio LexDiv/P is higher than in the two smaller texts. Therefore, lower precision in *CETEM-Público* is not significant. Similarly, one could compare ratio between the lexical diversity of correct matches (correct matches/different lemmas) and precision. In theory, this ratio should be smaller if the lexical diversity of correct matches were higher. Instead, *CETEM-Público* shows a higher CMDiv/P ratio than the two smaller texts, therefore confirming the significance of the precision rate obtained with the frozen sentences' dictionary. Finally, we present, as an indication of frequency, the average number of

correctly matched frozen sentences per thousand sentences in each text. This varies from 1.042 ‰ (*Expresso*) to 0.746 ‰ (*CETEM-Público*).

7 Discussion

As it was said above, precision of the results is relatively high. In fact, most word combinations in the dictionary of frozen sentences are unique, therefore, unambiguous combinations. The finite-state approach adopted here is based on matching strings that could correspond to the characteristic word sequence of each frozen sentence. However, going through the concordances manually, some incorrect matches were detected and it would be impossible to comment on all those cases here, so only a few cases (all from *CETEM-Público*), will be discussed.

Mostly, mismatches were due to morphologically (orthographically) ambiguous words. In the sentence: *O general António Ramalho Eanes está de volta à cena política* (General António Ramalho Eanes is back to the political scene) *volta* is not verb, but a noun. Still, this noun is a nominalization of *voltar* (with a resultative aspectual value): *voltar à cena = estar de volta a cena*, so that the overall meaning is still the same. Other nominalizations of the same kind were also founded, e.g. *usar da palavra = fazer uso da palavra* (to speak, in a formal situation). Therefore, the study of frozen sentences with verbal predicates should be extended to their corresponding nominalizations (M. Gross 1986). Another interesting aspect of this example is the fact that the noun *cena* appears with the adjective *política* (political, referring to politics). In the dictionary, the entry of the frozen sentence was just *voltar à cena*. As one can see, it will still be necessary to complete the dictionary allowing *C* to be modified by this kind of adjectives, with which they form compound nouns (G. Gross 1988).

Sometimes, the matched string is formally ambiguous with free constructions: *Como resultado, a Comunidade dá de si uma imagem de paralisia* (Has a result, the Community gives of itself an image of paralysis). The expression *dar de si* (class CP1) usually has a non-human subject meaning 'to break', 'to fall apart'. In this case, however, we have a construction of the noun *imagem*, with two distributionally free complements, such as we find in the next example: *Isso*

deu uma imagem negativa da comunidade (That gave a negative image of the community). If it were possible to identify the noun phrase *a Comunidade* and its head as a human noun, and to associate a construction to the noun *imagem*, the ambiguity would not arise, since the distributional properties stated in the CP1 matrix for *dar de si* would prevent it from being tagged. However, this goes well beyond the mere task of lexical analysis and it would require some parsing procedure to avoid the incorrect lexical tag. Ambiguity also arises from the syntactic operations undertaken by a free sentence. These transformations may produce strings that are superficially identical to frozen sentences. In the following example: [...] *e em vez de se dirigir às máquinas, foi para a rua que Júlia Pinho teve de caminhar* [...] (instead of approaching the machines, it was to the street that JP had to walk), we find a cleft sentence with the form *foi* of verb *ser* (to be). This sentence can be obtained from: *JP teve de caminhar para a rua* (JP had to walk to the street). Now, *foi* of verb *ser* (to be) is ambiguous with *foi* of verb *ir* (to go/walk) appearing in the frozen sentence *ir para a rua* (lit: to go to the street, ‘to be fired’). Again, ambiguous strings will not be resolved unless some syntactic parsing is done in order to recognize transformations (in this case, clefting).

The components of certain frozen sentences may, also, be particularly apt to become ambiguous strings. For example, in the expression *fazer das suas* (lit: to do of his-fem.pl., to do mischief) the possessive pronoun is a lexical constant, invariable in both gender, and number, while agreeing in person with the subject: *Fergie tornou fazer das suas* (Fergie has done mischief again). However, the possessive often appears as a mere determinant on a free construction, e.g. *João Honrado nunca fez das suas certezas uma muralha de arrogância* (JH has never done of his certainties a wall of arrogance). One could think that people tend avoid this kind of ambiguity, but it is not always so: 6 out of 14 matched sequences *fazer das suas* do not correspond to the frozen sentence. Likewise, with the expression *partir do zero/nada* (to start from scratch) 7 out of 14 matches correspond to the compound adverb *a partir do zero/nada* (from scratch). Notice also that this frozen adverb, undoubtedly related with the frozen sentence but appearing with various verbs,

also composed of a compound preposition *a partir de* (from), so the expression is three times ambiguous grammatically. A similar ambiguity between occurs between frozen sentence N_0 *dizer respeito a N_2* (N_0 concerns to N_1 ; 299 matches) and the related compound adverb *no que diz respeito a N* (concerning N ; 215 matches).

Finally, while most frozen sentences constitute unique word combinations and present a clear-cut, single meaning (however difficult it may be to define it precisely), more rarely, some of them show multiple meanings. This is the case of *entrar em campo* (to enter the field) or *entrar em cena* (enter the scene) used in some sports or in theater jargon and as a general metaphor to ‘begin some activity’. These multi-meaning frozen sentences can be dealt with in the same way as polisemic simple words, by multiplying the number of entries in the lexicon-grammar.

8 Final words

Being an on-going research, it is still too early to write ‘conclusions’. We believe that with the continuation of current work the size of the electronic dictionary of frozen sentences of European Portuguese will still increase in a significant way. Present experiments on large corpora will undoubtedly contribute to this goal. Statistical methods for collecting frozen sentences should be combined with our more traditional method of perusing dictionaries.

Finite-state techniques prove to be adequately for the lexical analysis of frozen sentences. Frozen sentences constitute an important part of multiword lexical units of any language. Their identification is an essential part of lexical analysis of texts in view of many NLP applications. They present several, non-trivial difficulties to this task. They may be formed of non-adjacent words or allow some lexically constraint variation of some of their elements. They allow several syntactic transformations, but those operations are lexically determined. They may be ambiguous with free sentences, depending on the linear arrangement of their components. Their accurate recognition may often depend on the previous syntactic parsing of the sentence, which may include checking the semantic attributes of nearby noun phrases. On the other hand, parsing depends

on the availability of information regarding multiword lexical units.

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