towards an inferential lexicon of event selecting predicates for french

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motivation

this work

Inferential lexicon for French

- describes effect of predicates selecting event denoting arguments
- ▶ on event argument
- in terms of certainty and polarity

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He failed to event selecting predicate resign embedded event resign event \rightarrow certain, polarity – (did not happen)
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Long-term goal

- ► Factuality assessment of events in French newspaper texts
- Cf. [Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2012] for English

automatic factuality assessment

[Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2009, Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2012]:

automatically determine certainty and polarity of events.

[Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2012]'s DeFacto:

- computes factuality using 3 lexical resources
 - polarity particles: not, none, ...
 - ▶ modality particles: may, necessary, . . .
 - ▶ event selecting predicats (ESPs): manage to, fail to, ...

This work:

- build a seed lexicon of event selecting predicates for French
- capturing the effect on the factuality of embedded events

outline

Motivation

Related work

Towards a French ESP lexicon

Findings

Conclusion and Outlook

References

related work

English FactBank and French TimeBank

[Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2009, Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2012, Bittar, 2010, Bittar et al., 2011]

Lexicon from Language and Natural Reasoning (Stanford) [Karttunen, 1971, Nairn et al., 2006]

the english factbank

[Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2009, Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2012]:

- corpus annotated with event factuality
- TimeBank [Pustejovsky et al., 2005]: events are assigned factuality profiles
 - manually [Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2009]
 - automatically [Saurí and Pustejovsky, 2012]
- automatic detection based on a lexicon of event selecting predicates

	CT (certain)		PR (probable)		PS (possible)	
polarity	+ -		+ -		+	_
fail	CT-	CT+	PR-	PR+	PS-	PS+

▶ She has failed to leave the country.

 $CT+ \rightarrow CT-$

the french timebank

[Bittar, 2010, Bittar et al., 2011]

- same principles as the English TimeBank
- additional markup for linguistic phenomena not yet covered and specific to French

Most relevant for this work

- modal, implicative, factive verbs marked up as events
 (fully acceptable with perfective and imperfective aspect)
- account of grammatical tense/aspect system of French eg. imparfait (not grammaticalised in English)

French TimeBank offers

- a sample of French ESPs used in newspaper texts
- ► typical embedded events

inferential lexicon

- lexical resource for English from Language and Natural Reasoning group (Stanford) [Nairn et al., 2006]
- ▶ complement-taking verbs (ESPs, ≈ 250)
- classified w.r.t. polarity of complement clauses (EMB)
 obtained under positive and negative polarity of ESPs
- ▶ She has failed to leave_e the country. ESP+ \rightarrow EMB-
- ▶ She has not failed to leave_e the country. ESP $-\rightarrow$ EMB+

	polarity		
ESP	+ -	signature	semantic class
fail to	- +	-1 1	2-way implicative

inferential lexicon: probabilistic signatures

- ▶ introduced by [Karttunen et al., 2016, Karttunen, 2016]
- ► reflect the variable strength of the inference

be able $\rightarrow 0.9|-1$

▶ under polarity+ ~> strong (but defeasible) inference

Ann was able to speak up → Ann very probably did speak up

- ▶ but...
 - few examples (\approx 40),
 - not empirically validated (yet).

inferential classification

	Polarity of ESP		Sample	Signature
	+ -		predicate	
factives	+	+	forget that	1 1
counterfactives	_	_	pretend that	-1 -1
2-way	2-way +		manage to	1 -1
implicatives		+	fail to	-1 1
1-way	+	N	force to	1 0.5
+implicatives	_	N	prevent to	−1 0.7
1-way	N	_	get chance to	0.9 -1
-implicatives	implicatives N +		hesitate to	N 1
Neutral	N	N	want to	N N

towards a french esp lexicon

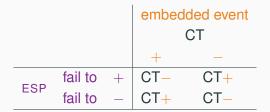
towards a french ESP lexicon: our experiments

Observation

Inferential semantic classes → ESP lexicon

ESP	+	_	signature	semantic class
fail to	_	+	-1 1	2-way implicative





towards a french ESP lexicon: our experiments

Recipe adopted for our French ESP lexicon:

1. start with verbs in

inferential classification translated to French

ESPs in French TimeBank

- 2. collect verbal readings as delineated in French lexicons
- 3. assign probabilistic inferential signatures to readings

Our research questions:

- do inferential signatures vary with outer aspect and animacy of the (deep) subject?
- do inferential signatures vary with other semantic/syntactic properties?

our data: verbs

ESPs from French TimeBank FTiB [Bittar, 2010, Bittar et al., 2011]



manual translations of inferential classification by [Nairn et al., 2006]

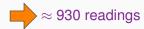


our data: readings

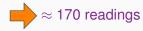
1. Extraction of all readings for 49 French verb lemmas from two French valency lexicons:

LVF - [François et al., 2007] refuser 09 Il refuse que Pierre sorte.

Lglex - [Constant and Tolone, 2010] refuser (Table 9) J'ai refusé que Max prenne ma voiture.



2. Manual selection of ESP readings & and suppression of duplicates



our data: annotation

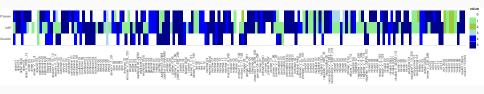
170 readings → 3 probabilistic inferential signatures by FM

- with two different aspectual values: perfective PFV and imperfective IMP
 - ► French: inferential profiles vary with outer aspect [Hacquard, 2006]
- ► ±animate (deep) subject for perfective aspect
 - inferential profiles vary with animacy of (deep) subject [Martin and Schäfer, 2012]

value	strength of inference		
±1	certain		
±0.9	very (un-)likely		
±0.8	(un-)likely		
±0.7	(not) very possible		
±0.6	(not) quite possible		
N	no inference		

(obliger 02						
	Pierre/cela a obligé Marie à partir.						
	'Peter/something force-PAST-PFV.3SG Mary to go.'						
	PFV+anim PFV-anim IMP						
	0.9 N 1 N N N						

our data: annotation



col	description	sample sign.	#sign.	inferential classes
5 max inference		1 1, 1 = 1	177	(counter-)factives, 2-way implicatives
4 max under 1 polarity		1 N, 0.9 - 1	77	1-way implicatives
3	strong, not max, under 2 polarities	0.9 -0.9	9	2-way quasi implicatives
2	strong, not max, under 1 polarity	0.9 N, N - 0.9	8	1-way quasi implicatives
1	neutral, no inference	NIN	78	neutral
0	not applicable or not grammatical	NA or UNGR	161	

- signatures for either PFV+anim or PFV-anim context
- ▶ PFV+anim > PFV-anim → ESPs often [+anim] only
- ▶ PFV darker than IMP → stronger inferences with PFV

findings

results: overview

Counts-based evidence for co-variation of inferential profile with:

Semantics: outer aspect and animacy

Syntax: types of embedded clauses

results: overview

Counts-based evidence for co-variation of inferential profile with:

Semantics: outer aspect and animacy

Syntax: types of embedded clauses

outer aspect: implicatives (but not factives) have an aspect-dependent profile

factives: same entailment under both polarities, signature

implicatives: entailment at least under one polarity eg.

$$1|-1, 1|N, -0.7|-1$$

	with IMP signature	IMP sign≠PFV sign
Factives under PFV	54	2 (4%)
Implic. under PFV	77	36 (48%)



factive verbs: no influence of outer aspect

implicative verbs: more change with outer aspect

outer aspect: imperfective aspect weakens implicativity

Observation for implicatives:

PFV entailment

IMP at most a defeasible inference

- A ce moment-là, elle a réussi à s'enfuir_{EMB}.
 #Mais finalement, elle ne s'est pas enfuie.
 'At that moment, she managed to escape. But at the end, she didn't escape.'
- A ce moment-là, elle réussissait (encore) à s'enfuir_{EMB}.
 OK Mais finalement, elle ne s'est pas enfuie.
 'At that moment, she 'was still managing' to escape. But at the end, she didn't escape.'

outer aspect: imperfective aspect weakens implicativity

Question about implicatives:

- ▶ Does *réussir* instantiate a more general pattern?
- Is the inference generally stronger with PFV than with IMP?

77 implicative readings with PFV & IMP:

IMP~weaker infer	IMP	no change	
44.2% (34)	2.6% (2)	53.2% (41)	



- inferential profile often varies with outer aspect;
- inference with IMP almost always weaker.

animacy: stronger inference with -animate subject

Reminder:

- Pierre/cela a obligé Marie à partir=obliger 02 'Peter/this oblige-PFV-3SG Mary to go.'
- ▶ obliger 02 PFV/+ANIM:

0.9|N

obliger 02 PFV/-ANIM:

1|-0.9

Most implicatives (8 of 13) with PFV+anim and PFV-anim

→ PFV-anim triggers stronger inference

Most factives (33 of 42) require an animate subject.

results: overview

Counts-based evidence for co-variation of inferential profile with:

Semantics: outer aspect and animacy

Syntax: types of embedded clauses

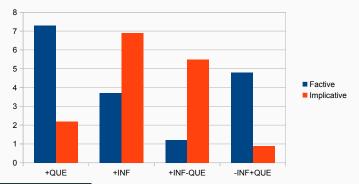
syntax disambiguates verbs with implicative and factive readings

Previous observations for English:

- [White, 2014] verbs which can be either implicative or factive are disambiguated by the type of clauses they embed:
 - ► remember that (factive)
 - ► remember to (implicative)
- ► [Landau, 2001] implicatives
 - ▶ do not take finite (that)-clauses
 - take infinitival complement clauses

syntax disambiguates verbs with implicative and factive readings

French: 20 verbs w. (41) factive and (45) implicative readings \sim clear differences in the embedded clauses accepted by implicative vs. factive readings:



conclusion and outlook

this study

- Set up of a (small) seed lexicon for French
 - based on inferential properties of ESPs
 - capturing the effect of ESPs
 - → certainty and polarity of the embedded event
- Can be used to automatically determine factuality of embedded events
- Support of hypotheses for French about ESP inferences:
 - implicatives, but not factives have an aspect dependent inferential profile in French
 - 2. implicativity with IMP aspect
 - 3. implicativity with + animate subject
 - 4. syntactic type of embedded clauses:

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implicatives: + infinitive clause, - tensed clause factives: - infinitive clause, + tensed clause
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to do

- Use annotated data as seed
 - to identify semantic/syntactic properties characteristic of inferential classes
 - to look for similar candidates
- ► Check hypotheses on larger data sets
- (Semi-)automatically determine inferential signature?

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