

Reference
Tracking and
Information
Structure in
Ob-Ugric

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Languages

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Reference Tracking Mechanisms and automatic annotation based on Ob-Ugric Information Structure

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Overview

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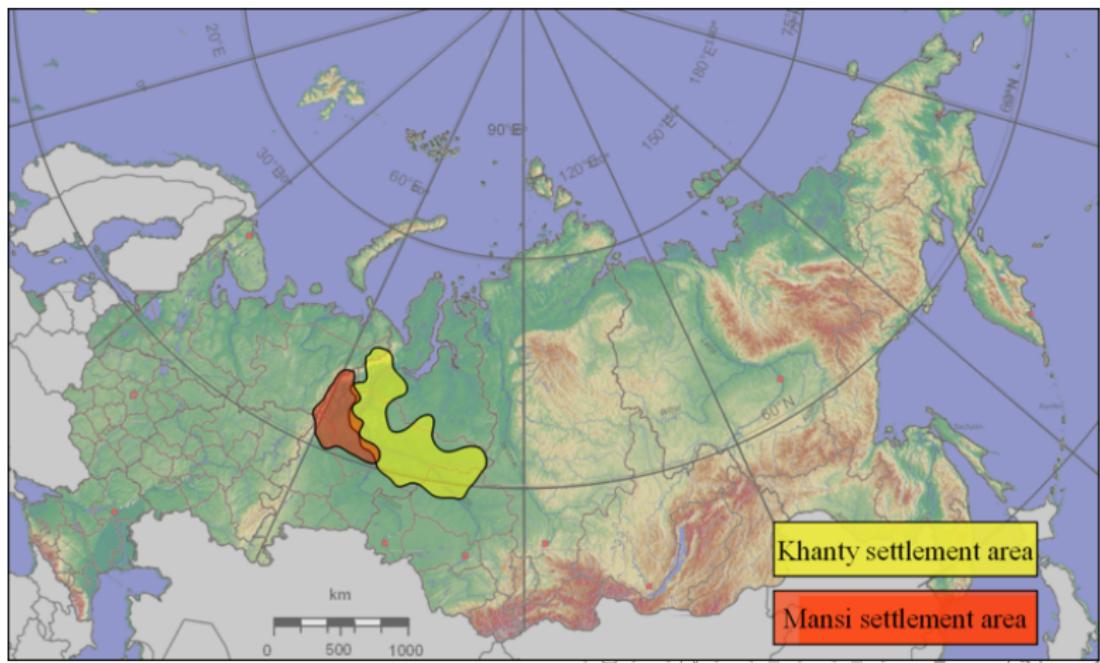
Passive

Dative Shift

6 Automatic Annotation

Ob-Ugric Languages

- branch of the Uralic language family
 - Khanty and Mansi (dialects)
 - spoken in Western Siberia, Ob + tributaries
 - highly endangered languages



Linguistic Typology

- mainly agglutinative
 - subject + object agreement on the verb
 - person as nominal category
 - large inventory of adverbial cases and/or postpositions
- marking of syntactic core roles by
 - word order (SOV)
 - verbal inflection
- tendency of leaving subject and object role unmarked
- pro-drop languages

Information Structure

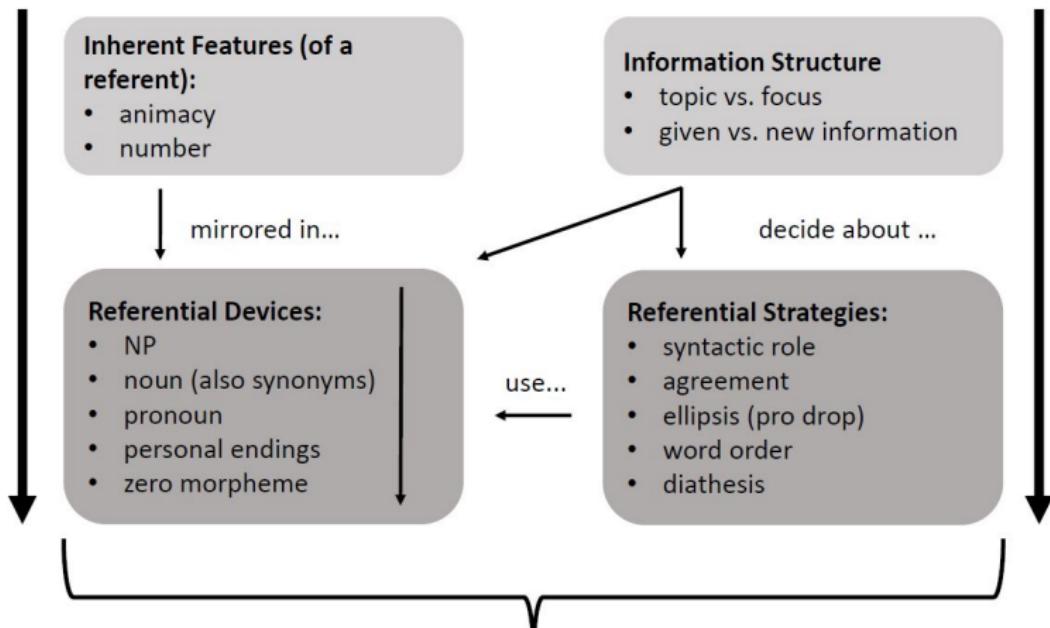
- discourse = grammar + communicative value
- communicative value is based on
 - text coherence and
 - balanced content of given and new information

⇒ information structure
- information structure is determined by
 - speaker's intention and
 - speaker's assumption of the hearer's knowledge

Reference Tracking

- monitoring a participant in an on-going discourse (Nagaya 2006: 3)
 - using the principle of coreference
- use of referential devices and strategies
 - based on information structure
 - including inherent features of a referent
- the referents to be tracked are topical
- reference tracking = visualization of information structure in a text

Reference Tracking



Reference Tracking Mechanisms

- several kinds of topics depending on their involvement in the discourse:
 - primary topic (TOP1) (Nikolaeva 2001)
 - secondary topic (TOP2) (Nikolaeva 2001)
 - sentence topic(s) (Reinhard 1982)
- reference tracking mechanisms monitor TOP1 as well as TOP2 referents

Reference Tracking Mechanisms

- strong correlation between syntactic and pragmatic role

syntactic hierarchy:	S	DO	IO	ADV
pragmatic hierarchy:	Top1	Top2	...	

- overrules the correlation between syntactic and semantic role

semantic hierarchy:	AG	PAT	REC	...
→ diathesis changes				

TOP1: Passive

- subject = patient
- referent in agent role is not mandatory
 - syntactic non-core role if mentioned
 - Mansi: DLAT
 - Khanty: LOC

(1) OUDB Pelym Mansi Corpus. Text ID 1277, Nr. 27
opmpnə purx itwəs.

Ø	opmp	-nə	pur	-x	it	-w	-əs	-Ø
Ø	dog	-DLAT	bite	-INF	want	-PASS	-PST	-3SG
S/PAT	ADV/AG							

A dog wanted to bite him.

TOP1: Passive

- subject = recipient/beneficient

(2) OUDB Surgut Khanty Corpus. Text ID 734, Nr. 20
tot tuβətət mət̪o.

Ø	tot	t <u>u</u> βət -et	mə -t̪-o
Ø	there	fire -INSC	give -PRS -PASS.2SG
S/REC	ADV/PAT		

There you will be given with fire.

TOP1: Passive

- subject = locative (Kulonen 1989)
- recipient in sentences with verbs of motion

(3) OUDB Pelym Mansi Corpus. Text ID 1335, Nr. 11
ta ke:m wuləmnə t'i joxtows.

Ø	ta ke:m	wuləm-nə	joxto -w -s -Ø
Ø	to an extent	sleep -DLAT	come -PASS-PST -3SG
S/LOC		ADV/AG	

She was completely overcome by sleep.

TOP1: Passive

- subject = ADR
- verba dicendi

(4) OUDB Surgut Khanty Corpus. Text ID 734, Nr. 20
muβət̪inə təyə mu:n̪it̪o.

Ø	m <u>u</u> βət̪i -nə	təyə	mu:n̪it̪j -Ø -o
Ø	what -LOC	here	tell tales -PST -PASS.2SG
S/ADR	ADV/AG		

What has told you here?

TOP1: Passive

- Any semantic role can be promoted in subject position
 - patient is not promoted
 - agent is not demoted
 - but TOP1 remains subject
- transitivity of the verb is not decisive for passivization
- passive is a reference-tracking mechanism used regardless of verb valency and semantic roles

TOP2: Dative Shift

- ditransitive sentence

- (5) OUDB Surgut Khanty Corpus. Text ID 1083, Nr. 22
nʉŋ me:ntem məj e:j n̊e:βreməle.

nʉŋ	me:ntem	məj -e	n̊e:βrem -əle
2SG	1SG.DAT	give -IMP.SG>2SG	child -DIM.MEL
S/AG	IO/REC		DO/PAT

You give me your [small] child!

TOP2: Dative Shift

- Dative Shift

- (6) OUDB Surgut Khanty Corpus. Text ID 1083, Nr. 22
t̪u:t me: n̪uŋet t̪uβətət məłəm.

t̪u:t me: n̪uŋet t̪uβət -ət mə -t̪-əm
then 1SG 2SG.ACC fire -INSC give -PRS -1SG
 S/AG DO/REC ADV/PAT

Then I will give you fire.

TOP2: Dative Shift

- marking of dative shift in SK:
 - DO/Recipient with ACC (pronominal)
 - ADV/Patient with INSC
- marking of dative shift in NM:
 - DO/Recipient unmarked (pro-drop)
 - ADV/Patient with INST
 - objective conjugation

TOP2: Dative Shift

(7) OUDB Northern Mansi Corpus. Text ID 1229, Nr. 6

n̊a:ləl wa:rilm̊

Ø Ø n̊a:l -əl wa:r -i -lum

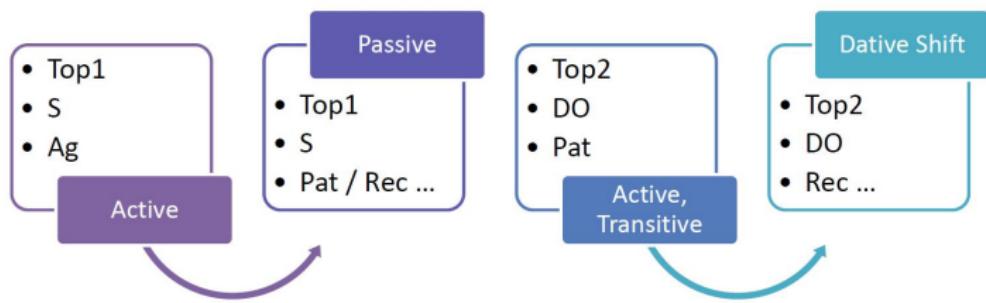
Ø Ø arrow -INST make -PRS -SG<1SG

S/AG DO/REC ADV/PAT

I make you an arrow.

- dative shift is a reference tracking mechanism to promote TOP2 into DO position

Summary



Automatic Annotation

- Ob-Ugric sentence structure exhibits regularities based on information structure
- these regularities can be used to develop (semi-)automatic annotation tools for texts
- DFG/FWF project Ob-Ugric Database (OUDB) –
www.oudb.gwi.uni-muenchen.de
 - functional
 - semantic
 - pragmatic
 - referential annotation

Basis for Automatic Annotation

- correlation of syntactic and pragmatic role
- agreement on the verb:
 - subject role
 - direct object role (objective conjugation)
- ellipsis (pro-drop):
 - topics in subject position can be dropped (TOP1)
 - TOP in direct object position triggers object agreement on the verb
 - → TOP2 can be dropped

Annotation Rules

- if the sentence consists only of a verb
→ zero anaphora occurs
- the sentence consists only of a verb with object-verb agreement
→ two zero anaphora occur

Ø	Ø	nja:ləl	wa:rilm
		nja:l-əl	wa:r-i-lum
		arrow-INST	make-PRS-SG<1SG
		subs-infl:n	v-infl:v-infl:v
		[33]	[34]
zero	zero	NP	okVP

Annotation Rules

- word order: zero anaphora occurs sentence-initial
 - first zero in the sentence is tagged S AG and TOP
 - second zero in sentence is tagged DO PAT and TOP

Ø	Ø	n̄:l̄:l̄	wa:r̄:l̄:m
		n̄:l̄-l̄	wa:r̄-i-l̄:m
		arrow-INST	make-PRS-SG<1SG
		subs-infl:n	v-infl:v-infl:v
		[33]	[34]
zero	zero	NP	okVP
S func	O func	ADV func	PRED func
AG sem	REC sem	PAT sem	sem
TOP pra	TOP pra	FOC pra	FOC pra

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Thank you for your attention

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