

Applying Universal Dependency to the Arapaho Language

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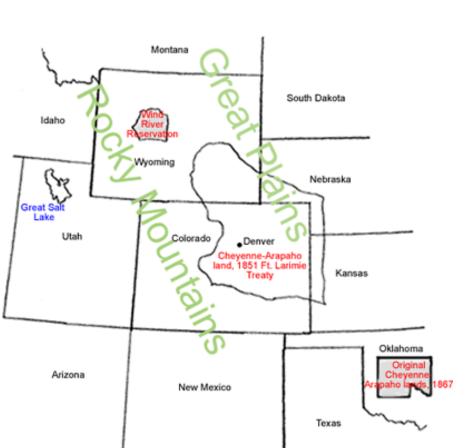
Objectives

Although Universal Dependency scheme is both comprehensive and eloquent, it also assumes certain grammatical structures to be cross-linguistically universal. Here, :

- we demonstrate the applicability of these assumptions to annotations of the Arapaho language;
- and propose language-specific guidelines to account for particular features of Algonquian syntax.

Arapaho Language

Figure 1: Traditional Arapaho territory



- Algonquian.
- Poly-synthetic agglutinating language.
- Critically endangered.
- Spoken in Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming, USA.
- Available transcribed and translated spoken corpus.

Problematic Features of Arapaho

Verbal Complexity

he'ih'ii-xoo-xook-bix-ohoe-koohuut-oo-no'
"Their hands would go right through them and appear on the
other side."

Transitivity

- Difference in syntactic and semantic transitivity is reflected in verbal morphology.
- All of the verbs may have two nominals they seem to agree with in meaning or none at all.

(1) nih-to'ow-oot.

PST-hit-3s/4

"S/he hit him/her"

(2) nih-'iikooko'uyei-3i' biino.
PST-pick things-3PL chokecherries

"They picked chokecherries"

Obviation

- When two or more third person animate nominals are present, one of them, the less pragmatically important one, is marked obviative, the verb agreeing with such noun is also marked.
- (3) hee3eihok hiinoon 3eeyokooxuu. say to s.o.-4/3s.subj his/her mother Tipi-pole Child His mother said to Under-the-Tipi-Pole Child.

Annotations

- Manual annotations by graduate students in Linguistics.
- Kept in spreadsheet format.
- Checked by a fluent non-native speaker.
- Two phases of annotations:

Phase 1: Initial annotations of traditional narratives.

- About 2,000 lines.
- Patterns of Algonquian syntax used for the guidelines.

Phase 2: Additional narratives and conversations.

- Stanford Dependencies (de Marneffe and Manning 2008) used as the base, annotations converted.
- + 3616 lines of elicited personal and traditional oral narratives
- + 593 lines of conversational data.
- Universal Dependency is adopted to account for conversational disfluencies.
- Previous annotations were converted according to the UD scheme.

Mapping to the UD scheme

• Out of 40 UD dependencies, **30 have one-to-one correspondence**. For example, the adverbial clause dependency:

Bih'iyoo-hok ce'-no'usee-ni'. dark-subjunct back-arrive-1pl

"When it's dark, we'll come back."

- Added 17 Arapaho-specific dependencies.
- Some dependencies were eliminated because they do not exist (e.g., xcomp, neg, amod, nummod, aux, auxpass, cop, expl, mark, mwe).

Subjects

- Subjects are not distinguished syntactically by word order.
- Obviation by itself also does not specify syntactic dependency but disambiguates between nominals.
- Only intransitive animate (VAI), intransitive inanimate (VII) and transitive inanimate verbs (VTI) exhibit agreement with syntactic subjects.

no'useeni3 nuhu' koo'ohwuu.

(5) VAI DET NA

no'usee-ni3 nuhu' koo'ohw-uu.

arrive-4s this coyote-obv.

"This coyote came."

Because transitive animate verbs (VTA) are marked for obviation and the direction of action, the agent distinction (nagent(:obv)) is used instead:

hiniisonoon heenei'itowuuneit.

(6) NA VTA

hi-niisonoon heen-ei'itowuun-eit.

3s-father.obv REDUP-tell s.o.-4/3s

His father tells him.

"My grandfathers were given (sth) by my father"

• When transitive verbs passivized, semantic agents may remain in the clause as obliques (*nagent:oblique*):

Neisonoo nihcihwonbiineihini3i nebesiiwoho'.

(7) NA VAI.PASS NA

ne-isonoo nih-cih-won-biin-eihi-ni3i ne-besiiwoho'

Objects

• Almost any semantic role can be expressed by an "object."

1s-father PST-to here-ALLAT-give-PASS-4PL 1s-grandfathers.obv

- Any "classic" object can be demoted and not marked verbally.
- Overt nominal expressions of an object are not always necessary.
- The only true direct object is the inanimate object of a VTI:

niico'ontonounowoo nuhu' niinen.

VTI DET NI

nii-co'on-tonoun-owoo nuhu' **niinen**.

IMPF-always-use-1s this piece of fat

"I always use this fat."

 Ditransitive constructions verbally mark only animate nominals, so the overt inanimate nominal is actually an indirect object:

Cihneeneeciihi hesiiseii.

9) VTA NI

Cih-nee-neeciih-i he-siiseii

EMPH.IMPER-REDUP-lend-1s.IMPER 2s-eyes

"Lend me your eyes."

 Semantic label "undergoer" is used to further specify the direct objects of transitive animate verbs:

Neisonoo nihcihwonbiinoot nebesiiwoho'.

NA VTA NA

ne-isonoo nih-cih-won-biin-oot ne-besiiwoho'
1s-father PST-to here-ALLAT-give-3s/4 1s-grandfathers.obv
"My father came to give [me] to my grandfather."

Non-Verbal Roots

- *root* is a pragmatically independent word, not a particular part of speech.
- In predicative constructions, the *root* is the topic, while the predicate is labeled as *backreference*

Ni'ook he'ne'nih'iisih'it.

(11) NAME VAI.PASS

Ni'ook he'ne'-nih-'iisih'i-t

Puffy Eyes that-PST-how named-3s

"Puffy Eyes, that is how he is named."

Noun Modifiers

• *nmod* relation is used to disambiguate between objects of transitive verbs and objects of intransitive verbs.

Ceebe'eiheinoo koxouhtiit
(12) VTA NI

ceebe'eih-einoo koxouhtiit.
IC.beat-3s/1s handgame

"He beats me in handgame."

• Specification *:objim* (implied object) is used with objects of semi-transitive verbs:

neeyeih'oonotooneenou'u bei'ci3ei'i.

(13)

NI

neeyeih-'oonotoonee-nou'u

IC.try-REDUP-borrow things-12.ITER money

"Whenever we try to borrow money."

Implied and incorporated objects can be modified by an adverbial participle, like prepositions, and are labeled as :objad – object of an adverbial:

nih'iinou'oo3i' neci' hi3oobei'i'

(14)

VAI

NA

PART

nih-'iinou'oo-3i' **nec-i' hi3oobei'-i'**PST-float around-3PL **water-Loc under sth-Loc**

"They were floating around under the water"

- *nmod:instr* (instrumentals) are introduced by instrumental verbal prefixes and corresponding particles: *hi'-, nohk-,* and *nii3-*.
- *nmod:poss* marks the possessor:

nii'ehihi' hi-siiseii

(15)

NA

NI

nii'eihihi' hi-siiseii
little bird 3s-eyes

"Little bird's eyes"

Future Research

- More manual annotations of conversational data.
- Double annotations to ensure inter-annotator agreement.
- Developing POS and dependency correspondences.
- Subject this scheme to machine learning.

Conclusions

- 1. Dependencies of nominal arguments should not rely purely on syntax but also include semantics and pragmatics.
- 2. Under-specification of semantic relationship for Arapaho leads to misrepresentation of some dependency relationships.
- 3. The guidelines developed for the Arapaho language demonstrate the use of both the universal patterns of syntax and the language-specific ones.

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