Verbal Phraseology From a Valency Dictionary...

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Plan:

Lectures 1 and 2:

- about valency (including the infamous argument/adjunct distinction),
- about two valency dictionaries with rich phraseological component:
- PDT-Vallex (Czech),
 Walenty (Polish)
- phraseology in these two valency dictionaries.

Lectures 3 and 4: using such a dictionary (Walenty) in a grammar-based parser (POLFIE).



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Introduction

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Some terminology:

- **dependents** of a predicate: all phrases introduced / made possible by the occurrence of the predicate,
- examples:
 - [John] **put** [the book] [on the chair] [yesterday].
 - [John] read [the book] [on the chair] [yesterday].
- traditional (early XX century; mostly obsolete) distinction:
 - dependents which denote participants in the eventuality (state or event),
 - dependents which denote circumstances (place, time, manner, etc.) of the eventuality,
- modern (since Tesnière 1959 and Chomsky 1965) distinction:
 - arguments: specific to the predicate, often obligatory,
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- John put the book on the chair yesterday.
- He resides in La Rochelle.
- He behaved nicely to John.
- He treated the book with respect.
- He worded the letter carefully.
- He **spent** two hours solving the puzzle.
- Preparing this lecture **took** him three days.
- He militates for Minimalism.
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More examples of **arguments expressing circumstances** rather than participants:

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But how to distinguish arguments from adjuncts?



Introduction

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Obligatoriness: arguments are obligatory, adjuncts are optional.

Problem 1: syntactically optional arguments (even in English):

- I lost 20 lbs and nobody has **noticed**. Feeling down about it.
- He will tell you everything when he has **finished**.
- Andrew has already **eaten** and isn't hungry.

In all these cases **direct (passivisable) objects** – that is, clear cases of arguments – are omitted.

Attempted solution: it's **semantic obligatoriness**, not syntactic obligatoriness, that counts (Panevová 1974, Fillmore 1969, 1986).

Fewer predicates affected, but still a problem for predicates such as EAT:

- He's already **noticed** (*but I have no idea **what** he's noticed).
- He's already **finished** ("but I have no idea **what** he's finished).
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Also, the application of semantic obligatoriness tests depends on context and imagination (Recanati 2010):

Consider a scenario with a patient who has been in a semi-coma, and a technician in another room is reading the output of an EEG... [A] trained technician could know when brain activity signals 'noticing', and since for the semi-coma patient, the fact that he's noticing (something) is all that's important, one might imagine the technician being able to shout 'He's noticing!' without being in any position to know or say what it is that the patient is noticing.



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*The house was built.

Introduction

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- The house was built...
 - ... yesterday.
 - ...in ten days.
 - ...in a bad part of town.
 - ...only with great difficulty.
 - ... by a French architect.

- The claim was **believed** *(in the seventh century / in the South).
- The car **drives** *(like a boat / easily / 365 days a year / only in the
- Pat laughed a *(hearty / quiet) laugh.





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Also e.g. (Goldberg and Ackerman 2001):

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Iterability: adjuncts – but not arguments – of the same type may iterate (Bresnan 1982):

- Fred deftly [Manner] handed a toy to the baby by reaching behind his back [Manner] over lunch [Temp] at noon [Temp] in a restaurant [Loc] last Sunday [Temp] in Back Bay [Loc] without interrupting the discussion [Manner].
- *John escaped from prison with dynamite [Inst] with a machine gun [Inst].

Problem: iteration is possible if iterated dependents of the same type specify the same entity, but then **also iteration of arguments** (Zaenen and Crouch 2009, Goldberg 2002):

- I count on you, on your kindness.
- He lives in France, in a small village.
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Specificity: adjuncts may occur with all verbs, arguments are specific to certain classes of verbs.

Problem: counterexamples easy to find, e.g. (McConnell-Ginet 1982):

- •*Annie weighs 120 pounds {heavily, beautifully, quickly, elegantly}.
- *Annie weighs 120 pounds {for her mother, with a fork, in an hour, toward Detroit}.

Koenig *et al.* 2003:

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- manual examination of 3909 English verbs (by two independent examiners),
- 0.2% (8) of them do not combine with temporal dependents,
- 1.8% (70) do not combine with locative dependents,
- probably many more with manner, instrument, etc. where to put the boundary?



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Do so test: verbal proforms such as **do so** must refer to a verb with **all its arguments** (apart from subject) and optionally some adjuncts:

- John ate a banana yesterday, and Geraldine did so today.
- John ate a banana yesterday, and Geraldine did so, too.
- •*John ate a banana, and Geraldine *did so* an apple.

- Robin broke the window with a hammer and Mary did the same to the vase.
- John turned the hot dog down flat, but he wouldn't have done so with filet mignon.





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Do so test: verbal proforms such as *do so* must refer to a verb with **all its arguments** (apart from subject) and optionally some adjuncts:

- John ate a banana yesterday, and Geraldine did so today.
- John ate a banana yesterday, and Geraldine *did so*, too.
- •*John ate a banana, and Geraldine *did so* an apple.

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Valency dictionaries for your languages?





Electronic valency dictionaries of **Czech** made in Prague:

- **VALLEX** created by lexicographers, based to a large extent on their intuition, contains complete descriptions of lemmata.
- PDT-Vallex heavily based on the *Prague Dependency Treebank*,
- both:

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- developed since early 2000s,
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An example of non-phraseological valency in PDT-Vallex:

- Řekl o své ženě, že je zvědavá. (Czech) said.M.SG about REFL wife.LOC.F.SG that is.SG nosy.F.SG 'He said about his wife that she is nosy.'
- říci ACT(1) ADDR(3) $EFF(4; \downarrow že; \downarrow aby)$?PAT(o+6)

- o optional information about semantic optionality of the argument,
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- Jan adresował list do Marii.
 Jan.NOM addressed letter.ACC to Maria.GEN
 'Jan addressed a/the letter to Maria.'
- adresować: _: imperf: subj{np(str)} + obj{np(str)} + {prepnp(do,gen)}

- negation (here any) and aspect (here imperfective)
- three arguments separated by +, each in {},
- grammatical functions: subject and object,
- grammatical classes (NP, PP, etc.)
- preposition lemma,
- values of morphosyntactic categories (case, etc.)
- structural case (morphological form depends on context)





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'Are you afraid of unemployment and that you'll have no means of subsistence?'

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• bać się: _: imperf:
  subj{np(str)} + {np(gen); cp(że)}
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- inherent reflexive marker is part of lemma (unlike real reflexive pronouns),
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 Boisz się bezrobocia i że zabraknie Ci środków na fear.2.SG RM unemployment.GEN and that lack you means for utrzymanie? subsistence

'Are you afraid of unemployment and that you'll have no means of subsistence?'

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• bać się: _: imperf:
  subj{np(str)} + {np(gen); cp(że)}
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- inherent reflexive marker is part of lemma (unlike real reflexive pronouns),
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Examples: kazać 'order', obiecać 'promise'



- Jan kazał Marii śpiewać.
 Jan.NOM ordered Maria.DAT sing.INF
 'Jan ordered Maria to sing.'
- kazać: _: perf: subj{np(str)} +
 controller{np(dat)} + controllee{infp(_)}
- Jan obiecał Marii śpiewać.
 Jan.NOM promised Maria sing.INF
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- obiecać: _: perf: subj,controller{np(str)} +
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Features

- infinitival arguments (here: of any aspect),
- syntactic control (also raising).



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Features:

Introduction

- infinitival arguments (here: of any aspect),
- syntactic control (also raising).





- Jan dobrze funkcjonuje w nowej roli.
 Jan.NOM well functions in new.LOC role.LOC
 'Jan functions well in his new role.'
- funkcjonować: _: imperf:
 subj{np(str)} + {xp(mod)} + {xp(locat)}

- arguments defined semantically:
 - manner,
 - location,
 - ablative, adlative, perlative, temporal, durative,
- morphosyntactic realisations defined externally (specific PPs, adverbial, etc.).





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 brát si studenta na mušku take student on foresight 'to take aim at a/the student'

Introduction

(Czech)

• brát si ACT(1) DPHR(na-1[muška.S4]) PAT(4)





 brát si studenta na mušku take student on foresight 'to take aim at a/the student'

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na-1 = the preposition NA 'on'; S4 = SG ACC





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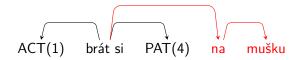


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- Zvládl to na výbornou. (Czech)
 mastered.M.SG it.ACC on excellent.F.SG.ACC
 'He handled it very well.'
- zvládnout
 ACT(1) DPHR(na-1[výborný.FS4@1\$11<A>]) PAT(4)
 - ACT(1) zvládnout PAT(4) na výbornou



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FS401\$11<A> = FSGACC POSITIVE AFFIRMATIVE





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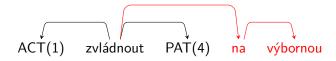


PAN

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- Bral na lehkou váhu, že se mu vysmívala. (Czech) took.M.SG on light weight that REFL him mocked 'He took it lightly that she mocked him.'
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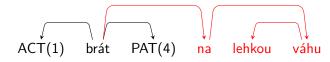
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ACT(1) brát PAT(4) na lehkou váhu
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- Firma žije z ruky do úst. (Czech)
 company lives from hand to mouth
 'The company hardly makes ends meet.'
- žít ACT(1) DPHR(z-1[ruka.S2],do-1[ústa.P2])





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A more complicated example – to be of some opinion:

být

Jsme všichni stejného názoru. We are all of the same opinion. (Czech)

Byli toho názoru, že je to pravda. They were of the opinion that it's true.





A more complicated example – to be of some opinion:

- být
 - ACT(1) DPHR(názor.S2[{jiný,stejný,podobný,opačný}.#];
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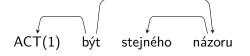


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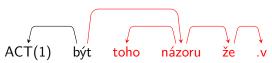
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(Czech)

Dying in PDT-Vallex



He's passed on! He has ceased to be! He's expired and gone to meet its maker! He's a stiff! Bereft of life, he rests in peace! If you hadn't nailed him to the perch he'd be pushing up the daisies! His metabolic processes are now history! He's off the twig! He's kicked the bucket, he's shuffled off his mortal coil, rung down the curtain and joined the bleedin' choir invisibile!

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PDT-Vallex-style formalisation of a humorous idiom for *dying* in your language?

Slovak: (Daniela Majchrakova)

- Otrčil kopytá. straightened.M.SG hooves.ACC 'He died'
- otrčiť ACT(1) DPHR(kopyto.P4)

- Prerano je otegnuo papke.
- otegnuti ACT(1) DPHR(papak.P4)

- ktoś
- wyciagnać ACT(1) DPHR(noga.P4)

PAN

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 'He died.'

• otrčiť ACT(1) DPHR(kopyto.P4)

Croatian:

(Ivana Matas Ivanković and Goranka Blagus Bartolec)

Prerano je otegnuo papke.
 too soon streched.M.SG hooves.M.ACC
 'He died too soon.'

• otegnuti ACT(1) DPHR(papak.P4)

Polish

Agata Savary)

- ktoś wyciągnął nogi somebody.NOM stretched legs.ACC 'somebody died'
- wyciągnąć ACT(1) DPHR(noga.P4)



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- ktoś wącha kwiatki od spodu somebody.NOM smells flowers.ACC from below.GEN
 'sombody is dead'
 (Jakub Waszczuk)
- wąchać ACT(1) DPHR(kwiatek.P4[od[spód.S2]])
- Bóg wezwał kogoś do siebie.
 God.NOM called somebody.ACC to self.GEN
 'Somebody died.' (Agata Savary)
- wezwać ACT(Bóg.S1) PAT(4) DPRH(do[siebie.S2])
- wezwać PAT(4) DPRH(Bóg.S1,do[siebie.S2])



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- Otišao je na onaj svijet. gone.M.SG on that world 'He died'
- otići ACT(1) DPHR(na[svijet.S4[onaj.#]])

- go frli topot
- frli ACT(1) DPHR(top.SD[toj.S4H])

• дубу дать дать ACT(1) DPHR(дуб.S3)

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(Aleksandar Petrovski)

- go frli topot him throws cannon 'to die' (lit. 'to throw the cannon')
- ACT(1) DPHR(top.SD[toj.S4H])

D = DEFINITE, H = SHORT FORM OF PRONOUN

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Russian:

• дубу дать
oak.DAT give
'to die' (lit. 'give to an oak')

дать ACT(1) DPHR(дуб.S3)



(Natalia Klyueva)



French:

(Agata Savary, Mathieu Constant)

- casser sa pipe break one's pipe
- casser ACT(1)

DPHR(pipe.S[son #subj.pers.num #obj.gend.num])

The problem is that 'son' (one's) agrees both with the subject (in person and number) and with the object (in gender and number). This means notably that 'son' can have two different genders at the same time. I don't think PDT-Vallex has operators to express this kind of agreement.





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Hungarian:

(Katalin Simkó)

- Feldobja a talpát. up+throw.3.SG the sole.POSS.3.SG.ACC lit. 'he throws his soles up'
- feldob ACT(1) DPHR(talp.S4.poss.3rd)

- Είδε τα ραδίκια ανάποδα.
- δίνω ACT(1) DPHR(τα.4[ραδίκια.4[ανάποδα]])
- Τίναξε τα πέταλα.
 - τινάζω ΑCT(1) DPHR(τα.4[πέταλα])

PAN

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Greek:

- Είδε τα ραδίκια ανάποδα.
 saw.M.SG the chicories.ACC upside down
 'He died.' (Elpiniki Margariti)
- δίνω $ACT(1) DPHR(\tau \alpha.4[\rho \alpha \delta i \kappa \iota \alpha.4[\alpha \nu \alpha \pi \sigma \delta \alpha]])$
- Τίναξε τα πέταλα.
 shaked.SG the horseshoes.ACC
 'He died.'
- **τινάζω** ACT(1) DPHR(τα.4[πέταλα])



PAN

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(George Zakis)

• **τινάζω** ACT(1) DPHR(τα.4[πέταλα])



- Janek wziął na wstrzymanie.
 Janek.NOM took on stoppage.ACC
 'Janek decided to wait / not to take action.'
- WZIĄĆ 'take': subj{np(str)} +
 {lex(prepnp(na,acc),sg,'wstrzymanie',natr)}
- Janek wziął stronę Marysi. Janek.NOM took side.ACC Marysia.GEN
 'Janek took Marysia's side.'
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- Janek wziął stronę Marysi.
 Janek.NOM took side.ACC Marysia.GEN
 'Janek took Marysia's side.'
- WZIĄĆ 'take': subj{np(str)} +
 {lex(np(str),sg,'strona',ratr1({possp}))}



- Janek wziął na wstrzymanie.
 Janek.NOM took on stoppage.ACC
 'Janek decided to wait / not to take action.'
- WZIĄĆ 'take': subj{np(str)} +
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- Goraca krew płynie w jego żyłach. hot NOM blood NOM flows in his LOC veins LOC 'Hot blood runs in his veins.'
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- Jak w jej cudownych ustach pełnych białych zębów brzmiało
 How in her wonderful mouth full white teeth sounded
 słowo "towarzysz"?
 word.NOM comerade.NOM
 'How did the word "comerade" sound in her wonderful mouth full of
 white teeth?'
- BRZMIEĆ 'sound': subj{np(str)} + {xp(mod)} +
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- apart from natr, ratr and ratr1, also:
 atr: any number of dependents of a given type,
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- Miłosierny Bóg wezwał kogoś do siebie. merciful.NOM God.NOM called somebody.ACC to self.GEN 'Somebody died.'
- wezwać ACT(Bóg.S1) PAT(4) DPRH(do[siebie.S2])
- wezwać PAT(4) DPRH(Bóg.S1,do[siebie.S2])
- WEZWAĆ 'call':
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Translating your phraseological expressions for *dying* from PDT-Vallex to Walenty?



Remaining slides based on: *Phraseology in two Slavic valency dictionaries: limitations and perspectives* (Adam Przepiórkowski, Jan Hajič, Elżbieta Hajnicz, Zdeňka Urešová), **International Journal of Lexicography**, 2016. PDF available on the web page of the journal.

PDT-Vallex and Walenty

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PDT-Vallex?

- DPHR(w[usta.P6]) NC
- DPHR(w[usta.P6[.n2;.a#]]) NC
- DPHR(w[usta.P6[.n2;.a#;.n2,.a#]]) NOT quite
- DPHR(w[usta.P6[.a#+;.n2,.a#*]]) YES (extends the formalism)



- How in her wonderful mouth full white teeth sounded słowo "towarzysz"? word NOM comerade NOM "How did the word "comerade" sounded in her wonderful mouth full of white teeth?'
- BRZMIEĆ 'sound': subj{np(str)} + {xp(mod)} + {lex(prepnp(w,loc),pl,'usta',ratr({adjp(agr)}+{possp}))}

PDT-Vallex?

- DPHR(w[usta.P6]) NO

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```

- {lex(prepnp(za,acc),sg,'pas',natr)}
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```

```
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```

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flax(nrann(za acc) sg 'nas' natr)}</pre>
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Problems with coordination:

- Zrozpaczona matka poruszyła niebo i ziemię. distraught.NOM mother.NOM moved heaven.ACC and earth.ACC
 'The distraught mather mayod heaven and earth.'
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- ...dzięki poruszeniu nieba i ziemi przez zrozpaczoną due to moving heaven.GEN and earth.GEN by distraught matkę...
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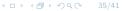


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Limitations

Further problems with coordination:

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 'The distraught mother moved heaven and earth.
- William obiecał Kate, że poruszy niebo oraz ziemię.
 'William promised Kate that he will move heaven as well as earth.'
- Manifest nie poruszył ani nieba, ani ziemi.
 'The manifesto did moved neither heaven, nor earth.'
- but

Introduction

- bawić się w kotka i myszkę play REFL in cat and mouse 'play cat and mouse'
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Koordynacja predykatów, np.:

- Cała Kolumbia chucha i dmucha na Falcao. whole Columbia puffs and blows on Falcao 'Whole Columbia cares about / dotes on Falcao.'
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Similar phraseological units in your languages?





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Another problem: paradigmatic constraints (dependence of phraseology on the form of the verb).

PDT-Vallex (and an example from Czech):



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PDT-Vallex (and an example from Czech):

- Jobs nenechal v Apple kámen na kameni.
 Jobs NEG left in Apple stone on stone
 'Jobs left no stone unterned in Apple.'
- nechat ACT(1) DPHR(kámen.S4,na-1[kámen.S6]) ---(.~)

Walenty (and an example from Polish)

- Nawet nie kiwnął palcem. 'He didn't even lift a finger even NEG lift finger
- subj{np(str)} + {lex(np(inst),sg,'palec',natr)
- Nawet nie chciał kiwnąć palcem.
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- utopić kogoś w łyżce wody drown somebody.ACC in spoon.LOC water.GEN 'to do cruel harm to somebody' only in:
 - infinitival
 - subjunctive
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But these treatments of negation **do not generalise** to other paradigmatic constraints, e.g. (Kosek 2008, 2013):

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Similarly constrained phraseological units in your languages?





Limitations

Another problem: **constructional valency**, e.g., resultative constructions such as:

• Pat sneezed the napkin off the table.

May be much more **complex** (and partially morphological), e.g., in Polish (Bogusławski and Danielewiczowa 2005: 266–267):

- ktoś za-V się na śmierć somebody ZA-V REFL on death 'somebody V-ed to death, somebody di
- ktoś zaćpał się na śmierć 'somebody drugged himself to death'
- ktoś zagadał się na śmierć somebody talked himself to death
- ktoś zabełkotał się na śmierć somebody mumbled himself to death
-



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May be much more **complex** (and partially morphological), e.g., in Polish (Bogusławski and Danielewiczowa 2005: 266–267):

- ktoś za-V się na śmierć somebody ${\rm ZA-V}$ REFL on death 'somebody V-ed to death, somebody died by V-ing'
- ktoś zaćpał się na śmierć 'somebody drugged himself to death
- ktoś zagadał się na śmierć somebody talked himself to death
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- based on the doubtful argument/adjunct distinction,
- but still **very useful** (for language learners, for parsing. . .).

- large valency dictionaries,
- with comprehensive linguistic information,
- and rich phraseological information,
- limited in some ways, including areas handled well by local grammars (Multiflex, etc.).



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Thank you for your attention!



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