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# Working out Statistical Profiles of Negative Polarity Items

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Methods and Statistics for linguistic Research

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# Outline

- Introduction:
  - Polarity Items
  - Degrees of Negation - Classes of NPI's
- Extraction of NPI candidates
- Classification of NPI's

# Introduction: Polarity Items

Negative Polarity Item (NPI):

- He hasn't seen **any** student.  
\* He has seen **any** student.
- **Niemand** von uns war **jemals** im Jemen.  
\* Jeder von uns war **jemals** im Jemen.

# Introduction: Polarity Items

Negative Polarity Item (NPI):

- **Niemand** von uns war **jemals** im Jemen.  
\* Jeder von uns war **jemals** im Jemen.

Positive Polarity Item (PPI):

- Bill has **already** arrived in Munich.  
\* Bill has **not already** arrived in Munich.
- Bill ist **bereits** in München angekommen.  
\* Bill ist **nicht bereits** in München angekommen.

# Introduction: Polarity Items

- A **NPI** must be within the scope of a **trigger for negation**.
- A **PPI** must **not** be within the scope of a **trigger for negation**.

⇒ Collocational behaviour

# State of documentation

- Rich linguistical literature (formal semantics)
- No systematic documentation of PI's in German (Welte 75, Kürschner 83)

# Degrees of negation

- Negation (antimorphic contexts):
  - $f(X \cap Y) = f(X) \cup f(Y)$   
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  - Deutschland habe **nicht** die Absicht, **jemals** Belgien oder Frankreich anzugreifen.
  - Mehrmals war es ihr schon so ergangen, **ohne** dass sie ... **jemals** davon gesprochen hätte.
  - Aus diesem Dokument kann man **keinesfalls** ersehen, ... daß sie es **jemals** gesehen hat.

# Degrees of negation

- Negation (antimorphic c.): *nicht, ohne*
- N-words (anti-additive contexts):
  - $f(X \cup Y) = f(X) \cap f(Y)$
  - ... und **niemand** von der CDU/CSU-Fraktion hat **jemals** erklärt, daß diese Verträge nicht existent seien.
  - Nein, diese Gedichte darf **kein** Fremder **jemals** erblicken.



# Degrees of negation

- Negation (antimorphic c.): *nicht, ohne*
- N-words (anti-additive c.): *niemand, kein-*
- Monotone decreasing contexts:
  - $f(X \subseteq Y) \rightarrow f(Y) \subseteq f(X)$
  - Sehr **wenige** Männer oder Frauen haben **jemals** die Gelegenheit, so viel Gutes zu tun wie James Grant.
  - In seiner Heimat sei **kaum jemals** ein großer dramatischer Stil entstanden, ...
  - Aber wie **jeder** weiß, **der jemals** einem hölzernen Kuckuck gelauscht hat, ...

# Degrees of negation

- Negation (antimorphic c.): *nicht, ohne*
- N-words (anti-additive c.): *niemand, kein-*
- Monotone decreasing c.: *wenige, kaum*
- Further contexts

# Further contexts for *jemals*

- Adversative predicates:

Bis zum vergangenen Sonntag **weigerte** sich sein Vater vehement,  
**jemals** CDU zu wählen.

# Further contexts for *jemals*

- Adversative predicates: s. *weigern*

- *if*-clauses:

**wenn** ich **jemals** einen Anflug von Moralität . . . verspürte, jetzt ist jeder Gedanke daran verschwunden.

- Questions:

Hat Cäsar **jemals** germanische Kohorten gehabt?

# Further contexts for *jemals*

- Adversative predicates: s. *weigern*
- *if*-clauses, questions
- Comparative/superlative degrees:
  - er war so in Angst, dass er sich toter stellte **als jemals** vorher.
  - Es soll die größte . . . Ausstellung werden, **die jemals** abgehalten wurde.
  - er ist **zu** weit fort, um ihn **jemals** zu finden.

# Further contexts for *jemals*

- Adversative predicates: s. *weigern*
- *if*-clauses, questions
- Comparative/superlative degrees
- *nur*:
  - In ganz Schleswig-Holstein gibt es **nur** einen Mann, der **jemals** die Meisterprüfung abgelegt hat.
  - Nur ein Drittel von ihnen nimmt **jemals** psychiatrische Hilfe in Anspruch.

# Further contexts for *jemals*

- Adversative predicates: s. *weigern*
- *if*-clauses, questions
- Comparative/superlative degrees
- *nur*
- Certain temporal conjunctions:
  - Er hatte ... den Titel geholt, noch **bevor** er **jemals** australischer Meister war.

# NPI classes

- Superstrong: only antimorphic c.
- Strong: antimorphic und anti-additive c.
- Weak: monotone decreasing c.
- Class of the other contexts unclear



# Superstrong NPI's

- Example: *mals* (ndl.)
- Distribution:
  - Antimorphic (AM):  
Zijn oordelen waren vaak **niet mals**.
  - Anit-additive (AA):  
\* **Niet één** van zijn oordelen was **mals**.
  - Monotone decreasing (DE):  
\* **Weinig** van zijn oordelen waren **mals**.
- German: no superstrong NPI?

# Strong NPI's

- Example: *sonderlich, beileibe, auch nur irgendw-*
- Distribution:
  - AM: Der Lehrer war **nicht** **sonderlich** erfreut.
  - AA: **Kein** einziger Lehrer ist **sonderlich** erfreut gewesen.
  - Monoton decreasing:
    - \* **Nur wenige** Kaufleute sind **sonderlich** zufrieden gewesen.
  - Further contexts:
    - \* Sind die Kaufleute **sonderlich** zufrieden gewesen?

# Weak NPI's

- Example: *brauchen+zu-Inf.*, *ausstehen können*, *ein Auge zutun*, *viel davon halten*
- Distribution:
  - Monoton decreasing:  
Höchstens eine Frau wird sich zu verantworten brauchen.

# Summary

- Classification of licensing contexts and of NPIs available.
- No systematic documentation of the NPI inventory for German.

# Extraction of NPI candidates

- Corpus: TüPP-D/Z (Tübingen Partially Parsed Corpus of Written German)
- taz, 2.9.'86–7.5.'99; ca. 200 mio words.
- Annotation: lemmatisation, part of speech, morphology, clause boundaries, topological fields, chunks.

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- Annotation: lemmatisation, part of speech, morphology, clause boundaries, topological fields, chunks.
- Cutout: 1998 (ca. 1,2 mio sentences)
  - Context marking
  - Extraction of lemmata
  - Extraction of candidates

# Context marking

- Based on part of speech and lemmatisation.
- Sentence-wise context marking:

NEG	129,027	11.0%	<i>nich(t)</i>
AM	133,338	11.4%	<i>weder, , ohne</i>
AA	176,540	15.1%	<i>niemand, keiner, ...</i>
DE	245,464	21.0%	<i>wenige, selten, bevor</i>
DE?	308,156	26.3%	<i>ob, wer, ?</i>
<hr/>			
total	1,170,618		

# Extraction of lemmata

- Lemmata with an occurrence of min. 50 : 17,157

context	#	ratio
NEG	2,065,400	14.3%
AM	2,145,195	14.9%
AA	2,765,828	19.1%
DE	3,910,076	27.1%
DE?	4,681,993	32.3%
total	14,445,709	



# Extraction of candidates

- z-scores of frequency-ratios

- frequency-ratio:  $\frac{NegContext(w)}{Total(w)}$

- $z = \frac{x - \mu}{sd}$

(Deviation of observation and mean, scaled by the standard deviation)

# Extraction of candidates

- z-scores of frequency-ratios
- Significance level at 1.96 (p=0.05)?
  - Distribution not normal, but skewed to the right.

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std.Dev.	$\geq 1.96$
AM	-2.14607	12.35070	.0000000	1.00000000	554
DE	-2.78318	8.31527	.0000000	1.00000000	596

# Extraction of candidates

- z-scores of frequency-ratios
- Significance level at 1.96 (p=0.05)?
  - Distribution not normal, but skewed to the right.
  - low z-values of NPI's **beileibe** and **Hehl**:

	NEG	AM	AA	DE	DE?
lemma	beileibe	beileibe	Hehl	Hehl	Hehl
$z$	8.2	7.9	6.8	4.9	3.9

⇒ higher significance level?

# Extraction of candidates

- z-scores of frequency-ratios
- Significance level at 1.96 ( $p=0.05$ )?
- Considering the ranking by NEG z-score:

*hinwegtäuschen, hinnehmbar, verhehlen, notwendigerweise, sondern, sonderlich, zimperlich, antasten, wahrhaben, zurückschrecken, beileibe*

⇒ all reasonable candidates for NPI's !

# Application of associative measures

- Mutual Information:

- $I(w_1, w_2) = \log_2 \frac{P(w_1, w_2)}{P(w_1)P(w_2)}$

- Ranking by I-values for NEG:

*hinwegtäuschen, verhehlen, hinnehmbar, sondern,  
notwendigerweise, sonderlich, zimperlich, antasten,  
wahrhaben, zurückschrecken, durchsetzbar*

⇒ just slightly different from ranking by NEG z-scores!

# Application of associative measures

- Mutual Information

- Log-likelihood score:

- $H_1: P(w|c) = P(w|\neg c)$

- $H_2: P(w|c) \neq P(w|\neg c)$

- Ranking by LL-score for NEG:

*verhehlen, hinnehmbar, fechten, unerheblich, verderben, zurückschrecken, zimperlich, durchsetzbar, antasten, wahrhaben, unumstritten*

⇒ quite reasonable NPI candidates!

# Application of associative measures

- Mutual Information
- Log-likelihood score
- Pearson's  $\chi^2$  test:



$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i,j} \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}}$$

- Ranking by  $\chi^2$ -score for NEG:

*sondern, mehr, sein, die, gar, können, daß, aber, der,  
es, auch*

⇒ no reasonable NPI candidates!

⇒ scale by occurrence of lemma!

# Application of associative measures

- Mutual Information
- Log-likelihood score
- Pearson's  $\chi^2$  test



$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i,j} \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}}$$

- Ranking by  $\chi^2$ -score for NEG, scaled by occurrence of lemma:

*hinwegtäuschen, hinnehmbar, verhehlen, notwendigerweise, sondern, sonderlich, zimperlich, antasten, wahrhaben, zurückschrecken, beileibe*

⇒ reasonable NPI candidates!



# Extraction of NPI's: Summary

- Simple z-score of frequency-ratios seems to suffice.
- List of NPI candidates looks promising.
- But:
  - Lists of candidates without compound NPI's (*wahrhaben wollen*)
  - Class definitions of negation triggers are holey (*jemals* at place 5196)
  - Small corpus

# Classification of NPI's

How can we decide the subclass of a NPI (superstrong, strong, weak)?

# Classification of NPI's

How can we decide the subclass of a NPI (superstrong, strong, weak)?

- $NEG \subseteq AM \subseteq AA \subseteq DE \subseteq DE?$
- In general we expect increasing frequencies along the enlargement of the contexts of negation.
- Find: Mean and standard deviation of increase.
- Find: z-score for steps of increase for every Lemma.

# Degree of increase

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
mean	5.6	43	79	53
sd	8	28	39	30
z max	24.2	23.9	14.4	20.9
z min	-0.72	-1.56	-2.1	-1.8

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**H1** Superstrong NPI's: Low z-scores for AM→AA, AA→DE and DE→DE?.

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**H2** Strong NPI's: Only low z-scores for AA→DE and DE→DE?.

# Degree of increase

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
mean	5.6	43	79	53
sd	8	28	39	30
z max	24.2	23.9	14.4	20.9
z min	-0.72	-1.56	-2.1	-1.8

**H3** Weak NPI's: z-scores at steps arbitrary.

# Degree of increase

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
mean	5.6	43	79	53
sd	8	28	39	30
z max	24.2	23.9	14.4	20.9
z min	-0.72	-1.56	-2.1	-1.8

**H4** Nominal NPI's: extreme high z-scores at AM→AA.



# H1: superstrong NPI's

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
hinwegtäuschen	0.68	-0.77	-1.49	-1.40
hinnehmbar	-0.71	-0.96	-2.01	-0.68
zimperlich	1.80	-0.85	-1.04	-0.47
verkneifen	-0.71	-1.56	0.33	-1.33

# H1: superstrong NPI's

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
hinwegtäuschen	0.68	-0.77	-1.49	-1.40
hinnehmbar	-0.71	-0.96	-2.01	-0.68
zimperlich	1.80	-0.85	-1.04	-0.47
verkneifen	-0.71	-1.56	0.33	-1.33

⇒ All candidates are weak NPI's.

## H2: strong NPI's

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
beileibe	-0.71	5.42	-2.06	-1.76
sondern	1.32	1.40	-1.82	-1.63
sonderlich	1.87	1.72	-1.66	-1.60
verhehlen	3.0	0.54	-0.93	-1.26

## H2: strong NPI's

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
beileibe	-0.71	5.42	-2.06	-1.76
sondern	1.32	1.40	-1.82	-1.63
sonderlich	1.87	1.72	-1.66	-1.60
verhehlen	3.0	0.54	-0.93	-1.26

⇒ Candidates seem to be strong NPI's.

# H3: weak NPI's

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
scheren	5.01	3.32	4.27	0.99
unerheblich	0.45	-0.58	-0.42	2.10

# H3: weak NPI's

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
scheren	5.01	3.32	4.27	0.99
unerheblich	0.45	-0.58	-0.42	2.10

⇒ Weak NPI's show diverse patterns of increase.

# H4: nominal NPEs

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
Seltenheit	-0.71	23.91	-2.10	-1.76
Ahnung	0.31	18.13	-0.26	-1.05
Hehl	0.21	19.70	-1.68	-1.53
Handhabe	1.75	16.59	-1.06	-1.13

# H4: nominal NPEs

	NEG→AM	AM→AA	AA→DE	DE→DE?
Seltenheit	-0.71	23.91	-2.10	-1.76
Ahnung	0.31	18.13	-0.26	-1.05
Hehl	0.21	19.70	-1.68	-1.53
Handhabe	1.75	16.59	-1.06	-1.13

⇒ Negative cohesion is responsible for this pattern of increase.



# Classification of NPI's: Summary

- Promising method for strong and nominal NPI's ...
- but again 'just' candidates.
- No superstrong NPI found.
- In preparation: Application of the mentioned associative measures.

# Outlook

- Refinement of the classes of negation triggers
- Enlargement of corpus cutout
- Implementation of collocational modules to detect multi-word NPI's
- PPI's