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### Annotating Verbal Multiword Expressions in Arabic: Assessing the Validity of a Multilingual Annotation Procedure

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#### Abstract

This paper describes our efforts to extend the PARSEME framework to Modern Standard Arabic. The applicability of the PARSEME guidelines was tested by measuring the inter-annotator agreement in the early annotation stage. A subset of 1,062 sentences from the Prague Arabic Dependency Treebank PADT was selected and annotated by two Arabic native speakers independently. Following their annotations, a new Arabic corpus with over 1,250 annotated VMWEs has been built. This corpus already exceeds the smallest corpora of the PARSEME suite, and enables first observations. We discuss our annotation guideline schema that shows full MWE annotation is realizable in Arabic where we get good inter-annotator agreement.

Keywords: Arabic multiword expressions, PARSEME, annotation guidelines

#### 1. Introduction

The importance of multi word expressions (MWEs), such as **by and large** 'generally', a cheap shot 'a cruel verbal attack', or to eat 'to have to accept bad treatment', has long been recognized in Natural Language Processing (NLP) (Baldwin and Kim, 2010; Constant et al., 2017). Their idiosyncratic (i.e. special and peculiar) behavior calls for language resources in which they are explicitly identified and described. Moreover, in order to enable cross-language studies of idiosyncrasy, MWE modelling should ideally be performed in a unified framework. The PARSEME community has undertaken such an effort of setting up unified annotation guidelines for verbal MWEs (VMWEs) in many languages (Savary et al., 2018; Ramisch et al., 2018; Ramisch et al., 2020). The principle of this framework is to represent in a unified way only those phenomena which are truly similar, thus emphasizing those which are specific to particular languages. So far, twenty-five national teams have prepared corpora in their languages, annotated manually for VMWEs according to the unified guidelines, and released under open licenses. This boosted the development of MWE-aware NLP tools, most prominently VMWE identifiers.

Each time a new language joins PARSEME, the guidelines are tested for their applicability to this language, and modified or extended if needed. This paper describes such an ongoing effort of extending PARSEME framework to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), henceforth called Arabic for short.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 describes previous works dedicated to Arabic MWEs, Section 3 is an introduction to the Arabic language from the NLP perspective, Section 4 describes linguistic properties of Arabic MWEs,

Section 5 explains the construction of the Arabic VMWE-annotated corpus, including the validation and adaptation of the annotation guidelines, as well as some specific features of Arabic relevant to the annotation process. In Section 6 we report on the inter-annotator agreement at the early annotation stage. In Section 7 we present the first quantitative results of the Arabic VMWEs annotated so far and compare them to those in other languages of the PARSEME suite. Finally, in Section 8 we conclude and evoke perspectives for future work.

#### 2. Related work

Several studies and research have been carried out on Arabic MWEs (AMWEs). Attia (2006) handles MWEs in Arabic via a finite-state machinery and the Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG). Fixed (in a nutshell) and adjacent semi-fixed (traffic light) MWEs are first processed by a composition of finite-state lexical transducers which simultaneously divides one-word phrases into components (e.g. والى الوزير andtominister o and @to@minister)and joins MWEs into words with spaces (e.g. وزير الحارجية minister@foreign o minister الخارجية eign minister'). The latter are then handled at the syntactic parsing stage as single tokens. Syntactically flexible MWEs are handled by grammar rules as syntactically compositional but as semantically non-compositional, due to the lexical selection rules. Lexical selection rules also cover phrasal verbs, e.g. a rule states that the object of rely has to be preceded by the preposition on. This shows strong links between LFG lexical rules and valence dictionaries.

Attia et al. (2010) present a semi-automatic linguistic method based on regular expressions for extracting MWEs in Arabic texts. They proposed 3

approaches that focus on nominal AMWEs. The first approach relies on the correspondence asymmetries between page titles in Arabic Wikipedia and Wikipedia page titles in 21 different languages. The second approach collects English MWEs from Princeton WordNet 3.0, translates this collection into Arabic using Google Translate, and applies different search engines to validate the output. The last approach uses lexical association measures to extract MWEs from a large unannotated corpus. Hawwari et al. (2012) created an Arabic MWE list based on a collection of 5,000 expressions manually extracted from Arabic dictionaries and grouped based on their syntactic type.

Abdou (2012) explored an 83-million-word Arabic corpus in order to examine AMWEs, mainly MSA idioms, with regard to their semantics, discursive, lexical and grammatical properties. He established the main patterns of the linguistic behavior of AMWEs and developed an empirical taxonomy of six AMWE types: verb-subject, verbal, nominal, prepositional, adjectival and adverbial idioms (i.e. expressions syntactically headed by verbs, nouns, prepositions, adjectives, and adverbs, respectively). Let us take a closer look at the first two classes. A verbal idiom consist of a verb and its direct object (mostly noun) that is, at least semantically, idiomatic, e.g. سابق الريح (sābaqa l-rīḥ-a | lit. 'he raced the wind') 'he ran very fast'. Verb-subject idioms are composed of one verb at least and its subject with or without any other constituents, e.g. ('afala najmu | lit. 'the star set') 'the glory أفل نجّم or fame of somebody/something ended'. However, the author clarified that the verb-subject idiom term should be taken only as a label rather than as a detailed description by itself. What is certain is that idiomatic combinations of verb and noun constitute a notable subclass of MWE due to their pervasiveness and their great lexical and semantic variability.

Ghoneim and Diab (2013) used LDC GALE newswire parallel Arabic-English corpus to represent MWEs in a Statistical Machine Translation (SMT) pipeline. Various types of MWEs were considered for the proposed approach: Verb-based MWEs (verb-noun constructions, verb-particle constructions, light verb constructions), Nounbased MWEs (noun-noun constructions, named entity constructions), Adjective- (AJ) and Adverb- (AV) based MWEs. A list of MWEs extracted from English WordNet database 3.0 is also used and named entities are also considered as a type of MWEs.

Al-Badrashiny et al. (2016) used a paradigm detector on the Arabic Treebank (ATB)(Maamouri and Bies, 2010) and Arabic Gigawords corpus to build a AMWE resource. They managed to extract automatically 1,884 AMWEs. Each type of these

1,884 MWEs has 20 different forms on average due to the morphological or inflectional changes of the MWE components.

This previous work on AMWEs mainly concerned the construction of lexical and grammatical resources, as well as selected MWE-aware applications. We, conversely, focus on the construction of a MWE-annotated Arabic corpus. We chose to model AMWEs within the unified multilingual PARSEME framework (cf. Section 1). Thus, we focus not only on idioms, but also other types of VMWEs, and we test the appropriateness of the PARSEME VMWE typology for Arabic. In PARSEME, the case of Arabic is special, since efforts have already been taken towards creating an Arabic PARSEME corpus (Ramisch et al., 2018). These efforts, however, did not fully follow the PARSEME methodology, the corpus has not been openly released and is no longer available. Due to these corpus availability constraints, Arabic has never been covered by the systems developed within the PARSEME shared tasks on automatic identification of VMWEs. In order to fill this gap, we undertook the construction of a PARSEME Arabic corpus from scratch. This paper describes the first steps taken towards this aim.

#### 3. Arabic language specificities

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the universal language of the Arab world. It is a modernized and standardized version of Classical Arabic used in writing and more formal settings, such as education and media. MSA has a complex linguistic structure with a rich morphology and complex syntax (Azmi and Almajed, 2015). In this section, we give an overview of the Arabic specificities that have an impact on AMWE modelling and processing.

The Arabic language has a right-to-left writing and ambiguous shapes. It is mainly characterized by: the lack of diacritics (dedicated letters to represent short vowels), complex agglutination, pro-drop structure, and free word order structure. These characteristics make Arabic processing particularly challenging. For instance, Farghaly and Senellart (2003) estimated that the average number of ambiguities for a token in MSA can reach 19.2 (compared to 2.3 in most other languages). MSA can be fully discritized, partially discritized, or non diacritized. Short vowels are not often explicitly marked in writing. They are neither written in the Arabic handwriting of everyday use, nor in general publications. A non diacritized word could have different morphological features and, in some cases, different POS, especially when it is taken out of its context. In addition, even if the context is considered, the POS and the morphological features could remain ambiguous.

In addition to a concatenative morphology, where words are formed via a sequential concatenation process, the Arabic language is characterized by the presence of a templatic morphology where a morpheme is built from a root (a sequence of most often three, less so four, or very rarely five consonants), vocalisms (a collection of short vowels) and a pattern (an abstract template in which roots and vocalisms are inserted). For example, the word stem أَخُذ 'take' is constructed from the root أَخُذ 'to take', the pattern 1V2V3 and the vocalism aa (Habash, 2010). Concatenative morphemes can be stems, affixes or clitics. A clitic depends phonologically on another word or phrase and has the syntactic characteristics of a word. Clitics include prepositions, conjunctions, and pronouns. For instance, prepositions (like 3 'for'), conjunctions (like, 'and'), articles (like  $\mathring{U}$  'the') and pronouns (like • 'he') can be affixed to nouns, adjectives, particles and verbs which may cause several lexical ambiguities. Indeed, the word فهم can be a noun 'understanding', a verb (that means to understand) or a conjunction  $\dot{\omega}$  'then' followed by the pronoun  $\alpha$  'they'.

According to Koch and Wieser (1983), Arabic writings are characterized by repetition¹ (frequent use of lexical couplets العون والمساعدة ('help and assistance') or الومم والخيال ('illusion and imagination'). The authors say that Arabic argumentative style has its roots in the oratory of an oral culture, and that it is therefore somehow "oral". Compared to other languages, Arabic writers favour coordination at the expense of subordination with an extensive use of coordination particles (such as 'and' and 'then') (Othman et al., 2004).

Finally, the Arabic language has a pro-drop specificity i.e. dropping the subject pronoun. In addition, word order is fairly flexible. Indeed, the change of certain position of words does not alter the meaning of the sentence.

## 4. Arabic MWEs and the PARSEME guidelines

Like in other languages, MWEs in Arabic are composed of no less than two (possibly discontinuous) components and occur in a wide range of lexical and syntactic configurations: as collocations, e.g. and syntactic configurations: as collocations, e.g. (ibtsāmt 'crīḍt | lit. 'large smile') 'wide smile'; idioms e.g. أجرب به عرض الحائط (drb bh 'crḍ al-ḥā'oit | lit. 'hit him off the wall') 'gave him the cold shoulder'; compounds e.g. إلى (gist 'cāmt' | lit. 'general session') 'plenary hearing'; named entities, e.g. البحر الميت (al-bḥr al-mīt) 'Dead Sea', etc. If a typology based on syntactic structure and distribution is regarded (Baldwin and Kim, 2010),

AMWEs can be divided into nominal, verbal, adjectival, adverbial, prepositional, etc.

We have decided to focus on verbal MWEs (VMWEs) as the first step in our research and we test how well Arabic VMWEs (AVMWEs) are captured by the VMWE categories defined in PARSEME (Savary et al., 2018). This allows us to integrate Arabic into a multilingual framework, which facilitates cross-lingual linguistic studies and the development of MWE-aware tools according to common standards. For PARSEME, our work also offers the validation and extension of the unified framework to a new language.

To this aim, we firstly adopted the basic PARSEME terms, including: (i) the lexicalized components, i.e. the required and nonsubstitutable constituents of a MWE, (ii) the canonical form, i.e. the least syntactically marked syntactic structure of an expression which preserves its meaning (e.g. القلوب التي حطمها (al-qlūb altī hṭmhā | heartswich broke | lit. 'hearts which are broken') contains a plural inflection of the noun and an extraction and is therefore more syntactically marked than حطم قلبها (ḥṭm qlbhā | break heart her | lit. 'he broke her heart') therefore the latter is a canonical form of the former).<sup>2</sup> PARSEME puts forward a classification of VMWEs together with annotation guidelines for their identification and categorization. We performed pilot annotation following these guidelines, and identified the following 4 categories relevant to Arabic.

A Light Verb Construction (LVC) is formed by a (light) verb and a (predicative) noun (with an optional adposition). Its particularity lies in the fact that it is not the verb that fulfills the function of the predicate of the sentence, but rather the predicative noun. In other words, in such structures the noun expresses the action or state, while the verb carries little semantic content. The common verbs that can function as light verbs<sup>3</sup> include أخطى 'give', etc. Let us consider the 2 following sentences:

أعطى كتابا (A'ata kitab | lit. 'he handed a book') 'he gave a book'.

أعطى نصيحة (A'ata nasiha | lit. 'he handed an advice') 'he gave an advice'.

Both sentences are grammatically correct and they have the same structure: The verb أعطى 'gave' oc-

 $<sup>^1\</sup>mathrm{Pairs}$  of words coordinated with  $_{\mathfrak{I}}$  and which are nearly or completely synonymous

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The transformation of a candidate sequence to its canonical form is necessary because the linguistic tests used in the PARSEME guidelines are syntax-driven. For instance, the headword of the canonical form of the candidate sequence is required to be a verb, which is indeed the case in 'broke her heart', while a non-canonical variant such as 'hearts which are broken' is headed by a noun.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$ Light verbs are called ركيزة فعلية /rakizih feeliya in Arabic (Ibrahim, 2002).

curs in past tense and the two nouns are complements of the verb. However, in the first case the action is expressed by the verb أعطى 'gave', while in the second it is expressed by the noun نصيحة 'advice'.

PARSEME defined two subcategories for LVCs: LVC.full (the syntactic subject of the verb is the semantic argument of the noun) and LVC.cause (the subject of the verb is the cause or source of the event or state expressed by the noun). An LVC-specific decision diagram is also provided to decide whether a VMWE candidate should be annotated as an LVC.full, LVC.cause or neither of the two. Examples of these subcategories are shown in Section 5.

Wo-المتلازمة اللفظية Verbal Idioms (VIDs), called المتلازمة اللفظية talazimat laafd'ya' in Arabic, have various syntactic structures and are often used in particular contexts and meanings. Any idiomatic expression that has at least two lexicalised components, including a head verb and at least one of its dependents, can be considered a VID, as long as it does not pass the linguistic tests for the remaining categories. Although VIDs are relatively infrequent, it is notoriously difficult to automatically distinguish them from literal uses of the same word combinations. For instance أدار له ظَهْره (adār lh ṣahrh | lit. 'turn his back') may, depending on the context, imply that we do not want to deal with someone or that we are heading in the opposite direction. In fact, the first apparent meaning of this expression is 'to let him behind' but it can be also used as an idiomatic expression meaning 'to make him run away' or 'to turn away from him'. In order to differentiate a literal from an idiomatic reading, we sometimes need to know the morpho-syntactic variations allowed or prohibited by a VID. For instance, in أخذ يده (ahd bīdh | took with+hand+his | lit. 'took his hand') 'gave a helping hand' the noun is agglutinated with a possessive and the preposition ب (bi) 'for/with', which yields the idiomatic reading. Conversely, in اً خذ في يده (ahd fī īdh | took in hand+his | lit. 'he took something in his hand') the noun is accompanied by another preposition في (fi) 'in', which imposes the literal reading. PARSEME offers five possible tests that allow to define if a VMWE is a VID according to its lexical, morphological, syntactic or morpho-syntactic inflexibility.

An Inherently Adpositional Verb (IAV) is an experimental category.<sup>4</sup> An IAV consists of a verb

or a VMWE and an idiomatically selected adposition, i.e. a preposition or a postposition. The adposition is either always required or, if present, distinctly changes the meaning of the verb. For example, the verb اشاد (ašād) can be translated as 'to raise', as in e.g. أشاد البناء (ašād al bina) 'he raises the construction'. When associated with the preposition ب (bi) 'for/with', it indicates praising someone or something, as in e.g. أشاد بالبناء (ašād bi al binā | lit. 'he raised for the construction') 'he praised the construction'.

Multi-verb constructions (MVCs) are composed of two adjacent verbs (in a language-dependent order). They usually have the same subject, denote actions that are closely connected and may be seen as part of the same event and function together as a single predicate like the Arabic proverb اصبر تن (aṣbr tnl | lit. 'be patient you'll get') 'be patient and you'll get what you want'. The last step in adapting the PARSEME guidelines to Arabic was the insertion of (dozens of) Arabic examples, mostly stemming from the pilot annotation, as illustrations of the VMWE categories and linguistic tests. Figure 2 shows a sample test with examples displayed for Arabic and English.

#### 5. Corpus construction

Once the annotation guidelines were tested against sample texts in pilot annotation, we proceeded to systematic annotation of a pre-existing syntactically annotated corpus.

#### 5.1. Source Corpus

The PARSEME format builds upon morphosyntactic annotation in the CoNLL-U format<sup>6</sup>, which is a de facto standard for dependency annotation defined by Universal Dependencies (UD). Since, additionally, our Arabic corpus is to be released openly, we chose the only Arabic UD corpus whose data are fully openly available, i.e. the Prague Arabic Dependency Treebank (PADT)(Hajic et al., 2009). It was initially created as a multi-layer dependency treebank, with a morphological, an analytical (surface-syntax) and a tectogrammatical (deep-syntax) layer, and further converted to the CoNLL-U format. It currently has 7,664 annotated sentences (282,384 tokens) from newswire sources.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>In PARSEME, this category is annotated optionally, as the associated linguistic tests proved partly satisfactory. We annotate them in Arabic (also experimentally), notably so as to discuss terminological issues on the boarder with verb-particle constructions, mentioned in related work on Arabic. We will further decide if these annotations are reliable enough to be kept in the final corpus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>This category is easily mistaken for a Verb Particle Construction, also defined in the PARSEME typology. In Arabic, particle added to a verb can be either a proclitic or a preposition, thus, the term particle is often used to denote both. The appropriate term here is the preposition since a verb with its preposition will always be followed by a noun phrase otherwise the sentence will be incomplete.

 $<sup>^6 {\</sup>rm https://universaldependencies.org/format.}$  html

#### 5.2. VMWE Annotations

The PARSEME annotation guidelines<sup>7</sup> are conceived so as to ensure reproducibility of the VMWE identification and categorization. Namely, they are organized as decision diagrams based on linguistic tests. As long as the answers to the atomic tests are the same, the final annotation decision remains stable.

Based on these guidelines, we manually annotated VMWE occurrences in PADT. The guidelines make us proceed as follows. Firstly, we identify a candidate, that is, a combination of a verb with at least one other word which could form a VMWE. The candidate is then transformed to its canonical form (cf. Section 4), and the subsequent tests are applied to this form. Secondly, we determine the lexicalized components (cf. Section 4). Thirdly, we apply tests according to the decision trees of the candidate's possible category (e.g. Figure 1 represents the LVC-specific decision tree). After these tests, we are able to decide whether the candidate is indeed a VMWE, and, if so, what is its category. Finally we apply the (optional) tests for IAVs.

To illustrate these steps, let us consider the 4 following examples:

- (a) أسدى النصيحة (asda al-naṣīḥṭˈ | lit. 'he weaves an advice') 'he gives an advice'
- (أucaridu lilhaṭari | lit. 'offers to the danger') 'exposes someone or something to danger' (c) وضعه على الرف (waḍacahu calai al-rwaf | lit. 'put it on the shelf') 'put it aside or ignore it'
- (d) شهد إعصار (šahida i<sup>c</sup>ṣār | lit. 'witness hurricane') 'experience a hurrican'

```
Apply test LVC.0 - [N-ABS: Is the noun abstract?]
4 NO ⇒ It is not an LVC, exit
4 YES or UNSURE ⇒ Apply test LVC.1
    [N-PRED: Is the noun predicative?]
     NO ⇒ It is not an LVC, exit
    4 YES or UNSURE ⇒ Apply test LVC.2
       - [V-SUBJ-N-ARG: Is the subject of the verb a semantic argument of the noun?]
        4 YES or UNSURE ⇒ Apply test LVC.3
           - [V-LIGHT: The verb only adds meaning expressed as morphological features?]
           4 NO ⇒ It is not an LVC, exit
           4 YES ⇒ Apply test LVC.4
               - [V-REDUC: Can a verbless NP-reduction refer to the same event/state?]
              4 NO ⇒ It is not an LVC, exit
              4 YES ⇒ It is an LVC.full
            [V-SUBJ-N-CAUSE: Is the subject of the verb the cause of the noun?]
           4 NO ⇒ It is not an LVC, exit
           4 YES ⇒ It is an LVC.cause
```

Figure 1: LVC-specific decision tree.

Each of these examples contains a head verb and a complement, possibly introduced by an adposition. In such a case, the global decision diagram (not shown here), first redirects to the LVCspecific decision tree (in Fig. 1). Example (a) passes the first 4 tests: The noun النصيحة 'advice' is abstract (LVC.0) and predicative (LVC.1); the subject of the verb is a semantic argument of the noun (LVC.2); the verb أسدى 'gives' adds no meaning to the noun (it only expresses performing the activity of the noun, LVC.3) and lastly the verb reduction yields an NP referring to same event as the one expressed by the noun (LVC.4).

As for (b), the noun خطر 'danger' is abstract (LVC.0) and predicative (LVC.1), but it does not pass test LVC.2. Fig.2 contains an excerpt with some examples to illustrate how to use test LVC.2. In (b), the subject of the verb (he) is not the agent of the noun خطر 'danger' but rather the cause of the predicate expressed by the noun. In other words, the subject of the verb represents the source of the state 'to be exposed to danger' referred to by the noun. Thus, (b) passes test LVC.5 and is annotated as an LVC.cause.

Example (c) fails test LVC.0 since the noun المرف 'the shelf' is not abstract, therefore it is not an LVC, so we go on with the VID decision tree. There, (unlike in the LVC tree) the candidate needs to pass at least one inflexibility test. Example (c) exhibits lexical inflexibility: If we replace one of its components, in this case الأف 'the shelf', by a semantically related word (taken from a relatively large semantic class), such as المعاولة 'the table', we loose the idiomatic sense of the expression.

The last example (d) does not pass est LVC.2 since the noun إعصار 'hurricane' has no semantic argument. It also fails all the VID tests. Therefore, it is neither LVC nor VID and cannot be considered a VMWE.

Figure 2: Excerpt from PARSEME guidelines: Test LVC.2 - Verb's subject is noun's semantic argument?

#### 5.3. Challenging phenomena

The manual annotation task brought us its own set of challenges. We encountered various issues,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>https://parsemefr.lis-lab.fr/parseme-st-guidelines/1.2

summarized below, related to the source corpus, the annotation process, and the specificities of the Arabic language.

Identification of a candidate Identifying the canonical form of a candidate as well as selecting only its lexicalized elements proved to be, sometimes, complicated. We encountered various syntactic structures of a candidate and since the applied tests are structure-driven, we had to neutralize variation before we applied the tests. For instance, أسدى نصيحة (asdi nṣīḥit | lit. 'he weaves an advice') 'he gives an advice' can have variants such as: إسداء النصح (isdāo al-nṣḥ | lit. 'weaving an advice') 'giving an advice' and النصيحة التي أسداها (al-nṣīḥit al-tī asdāhā | lit. 'the advice that he wove') 'the advice that he gave'.

Grammatical ambiguity of the corpora The texts from the source corpus come from online newspapers which have spelling and grammatical errors, to the point of making some sentences hard to understand. Annotation errors (in morphology and syntax) can also occur. This makes VMWE identification harder.

Secondly, majority of texts in Arabic are written using non-vowel letters which can create ambiguity of the grammatical category of the word. For instance, the word طرق that belongs to the AMWE طرق (lit. 'hit the doors') is lexically and gramatically ambiguous. It can be a noun طرق (torq) 'ways' or a verb طرق (trq) 'hit'. Note that its vocalized version is different depending on the POS. It can also be written with the prefix to produce: تطرق (tatroq) 'she+hit' and تطرق (tṛrawq | to cover) 'to talk about something'.

Discontinuities of lexicalized elements Sentences in Arabic are characterized by free word position. In general, we can have many insertions between the noun and the verb. This variability in the order of words causes syntactic ambiguities which makes the handled expressions challenging to understand when foreign language elements intervene in the core components of a candidate VMWE, as shown in the following example:

لعب الامين العام لمنظمة الوحدة الافريقية سليم احمد سليم ممثل (l°b al-āmīn al-cām lmnzmt al-ūḥdt al-āfrīqīt slīm aḥmd slīm mmtl al-āmm al-mtḥdt al-ḥāṣ llkūnġū kāml mrǧān dūr) 'played the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Salim Ahmed Salim, the United Nations Special Representative for the Congo, Kamel Morjane, a role'.

However, MWEs tend to appear in more restricted syntactic forms than literal verb-noun combinations. They frequently occur with up to 2 insertions such as a subject, a determiner, an adverb or a preposition.

**Agglutination** Since an agglutinated form can

have several possible segmentations, we had to choose the right lexicalized components of the expression carefully. Consider the AVMWE وضعه على (ūḍch cli al-rf | lit. 'put him on the shelf') 'ignored him'. Here, the agglutination of the verb وضع (ūḍc) 'to put' to the enclitic o (ho) 'him' is required. Furthermore, if we do not count the enclitic as a lexicalized component, we lose the idiomatic sense of the expression and it becomes a literal expression meaning 'to put something on the shelf'.

Consider another example: الضروري الإجراء وسيتخذ (thd al-iǧrā° al-ḍrūrī | and will take the action necessary) 'he will take the necessary action'. Here, the verb إِنْخَانُ [(ithd) 'to take' is agglutinated to 2 proclitics: و 'and' indicates coordination, while w 'will' indicates an action in the future. Also, the noun إجراء (iǧrā) 'procedure/action' is agglutinated to the enclitic الله (Al) 'the' which has the role of a determiner. In this case the agglutinated morphemes are not required for the idiomatic meaning to occur, so we select only the lexicalized components without agglutination يُخذ إجراء (īthd iǧrā° | lit. 'take an action').

Masdar is a specific Arabic part of speech defined as a noun of the verb, which expresses the same event as the corresponding verb stem, but without any reference of time. According to the PARSEME guidelines, meaning-preserving morphosyntactic variants of a VMWEs should be annotated. Therefore, if a verb in a VMWE is replaced by its masdar and the idiomatic meaning is kept, we consider that this is a valid occurrence of a VMWE like in the following example:

على الجتمع تحقيق نهضته (calai al-muğtamac taḥqīqa nahḍatihi | lit. 'on the society – its renaissance achievement') 'the society must achieve its renaissance'.

The meaning is carried by the noun نهضته (nahḍa) 'renaissance', while the masdar تحقيق (taḥqīq | lit. 'achievement') 'realization' derived from the verb حقق (haqqaqa) 'realize' behaves as a light verb. In this case, the candidate VMWE occurrence is تحقيق (lit. 'achievement renaissance') 'achievement of renaissance', and the canonical form to which the linguistic tests are applied is خقق نهضه (haqaq nahḍa | lit. 'realize renaissance') 'make a renaissance', which passes the LVC.full tests.

An interesting specificity of Arabic is the largely productive syntactic pattern (light verb + Masdar) where the verb and the Masdar are derived from the same verbal root, which leads to a semantic duplication, like in the following example: خرج خروجا (ḥrǧ ḥrūǧā | lit. 'he exited exit') 'he went out'. Such verb/masdar combinations pass the LVC.full tests and are annotated as such.

MWE categorisation challenge A major disagreement among annotators concerned the distinction between LVC and VID for candidates con-

sisting of a verb and a noun, where the noun is the direct object of the verb.

A VID candidate, can be read both literally and idiomatically in two different contexts. For example, قطع الطريق مسرعا (qṭ' al-ṭrīq mosr' | lit. 'cut road rushing') 'rush across the street' is a literal expression referring to the action of crossing the street. Conversely, قطع الطريق عليه (qṭ' al-ṭrīq 'lh | lit. 'cut the+road on+him') 'cutt off his road' is idiomatic, meaning 'to prevent someone from doing what he wants to do'. In such cases, the annotator should strive to fully understand the context of the expression and decide if it is indeed a VID.

The second disagreement requires a double effort from the annotators while putting the expression in several contexts so that he can judge the type. For example, اشكل جزءا (škl ǧz² | lit. 'shape part') 'be part of' is a VID and not an LVC because it does not allow the verb to be omitted, although the noun is predicative and keeps its usual sense. Conversely, in the LVC.full أسدى (asda alnaṣīḥṭ | lit. 'he weaves an advice') 'he gives an advice', the verb أسدى 'to weave' is semantically rich in other contexts but in this expression it acts as the light verb equivalent to أعطى (a'ta) 'to give', and can be reduced as required by test LVC.4 (cf. Fig. 1).

#### 6. Inter-Annotator Agreement

The previous sections described the process of adapting the pre-exiting PARSEME VMWE annotation methodology and guidelines to Arabic. To qualitatively assess the reliability of this adaptation, we measured the inter-annotator agreement in the early annotation stage. A subset of 1,062 sentences from the PADT corpus was selected and annotated by two Arabic native speakers independently.

$\overline{A_1}$	$A_2$	$F_{\rm span}$	$\kappa_{\mathrm{span}}$	$\kappa_{\mathrm{cat}}$		
763	704	0.699	0.626	0.864		

Table 1: Inter-annotator agreement on a sample of 1062 sentences, with  $A_1$  and  $A_2$  VMWEs annotated by each annotator.  $F_{\rm span}$  is the F-measure between annotators,  $\kappa_{\rm span}$  is the agreement on the annotation span and  $\kappa_{\rm cat}$  is the agreement on the VMWE category.

Table 1 shows the inter-annotator agreement (IAA) calculated with the PARSEME tools<sup>8</sup>. Annotators  $A_1$  and  $A_2$  annotated 763 and 704 occurrences of VMWEs, respectively. Their agreement is measured separately for unitising (i.e. identifying the appropriate text spans) and for categorisation. As discussed by (Ramisch et al., 2018),  $F_{\rm span}$ 

is the MWE-based F-measure of A1's annotations with respect to A2, and vice versa. With this measure, an annotation is considered correct if both annotators identified precisely the same tokens as belonging to one VMWE (i.e. partial overlaps are considered fully erroneous). Then,  $\kappa_{\rm span}$  estimates to what extent the observed agreement  $P_O$  exceeds the expected agreement  $P_E$ , that is,  $\kappa = \frac{P_O - P_E}{1 - P_E}$ . The expected agreement  $P_E$  is approximated by the number of verbs in the text (a VMWE usually contains a verbal head). Finally,  $\kappa_{\rm cat}$  is calculated on those VMWEs for which both annotators agree on the precise spans.

We compared these initial IAA scores for Arabic to those of the PARSEME suite (editions 1.1 and 1.2).<sup>10</sup> Among the 26 IAA estimations<sup>11</sup> Arabic now has:

- the second highest (after Chinese) number of VMWE annotations used to estimate the IAA,
- the 12th, 14th and 12th best  $F_{\rm span}$ ,  $\kappa_{\rm span}$ , and  $\kappa_{\rm cat}$ , respectively.

Note that, for the other languages, the IAA corpus was often double-annotated at the final stage of the annotation campaign, when annotators' expertise has reached its optimum. The IAA for Arabic, conversely, was estimated at the early annotation stage, so as to control the sufficient preparedness of the annotators and the soundness of methodology at its start. Thus, not only does Arabic already have state-of-the-art IAA scores, but its consistency is expected to grow, notably when the final PARSEME consistency check procedures (Savary et al., 2018) have been applied.

#### 7. Corpus Analysis

Table 2 gives that statistics of the Arabic corpus in its current state (considering the annotator who identified the highest number of VMWEs). Its size, with over 1,250 annotated VMWEs, already exceeds the smallest corpora of the PARSEME suite, and enables first observations. The density of VMWEs is of about 0.68 VMWEs per sentence. The universality (i.e. presence in all the languages under study) of the VID and LVC categories is confirmed, with LVC.full being almost twice as frequent than VID, and LVC.cause being sporadic.

<sup>8</sup>https://gitlab.com/parseme/utilities

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Like for other languages, this approximation is slightly biased by the syntactic variants in which nominalizations or participles derived from verbs might be annotated as nouns or adjectives. Here, notably masdar variants are concerned (cf. section 5.3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Edition 1.0 is not considered here since it was based on a different version of the annotation guidelines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>For 3 languages in the PARSEME suite the IAA was estimated twice: once in edition 1.1 and once in 1.2. We neglect the previous publicly unavailable Arabic PARSEME corpus.

# Se	# Sent.	# Tok.		VMWE occurrences								
	# Sent.	# 10K.	VID	IRV	LVC.full	LVC.cause	VPC.full	VPC.semi	IAV	MVC	All	
ľ	1,847	70,498	345	0	673	68	0	0	165	1	1,252	

Table 2: Statistics of the Arabic VMWE corpus in its current state, in terms of the number of sentences and tokens, as well as the number of annotated VMWEs per category and in total.

The quasi-universal IRV and VPC categories (frequent in Romance and Slavic languages, as well as in German, but absent or rare in other languages) are not found in Arabic.<sup>12</sup>

Following, (Savary et al., 2018), we also analysed the corpus in terms of lengths (i.e. numbers of tokens) of the annotated VMWEs and of their discontinuities (i.e. numbers of external tokens occurring between the first and the last token of a VMWE). Discontinuities are a major challenge for the MWE identification task (Constant et al., 2017), therefore their distribution is an important feature of the language and of the corpus under study. Table 3 shows the results of this analysis. In particular, over 73% of all VMWEs contain 2 tokens (column 3), above 42% are continuous (column 7) but more than 17% (last column) have more than 3 gaps.

We compare these results to the 18 languages from the PARSEME suite in edition  $1.0.^{13}$  The average length of Arabic VMWEs (2.26 in column 1 of Table 2) is not an outlier, since in 17 (out of the 18) languages this factor is between 2.02 and 2.71. The non-existence or rareness of single-token  $VMWEs^{14}$  (0 in column 2 of Table 3) is also a feature of 14 languages (Hungarian, German and Portuguese being outliers in this category). In terms of discontinuities, Arabic is the second most outstanding language (after German). It has 1.97 gaps on average (German has 2.96, Slovene 1.47, Czech 1.35, Hungarian 1.01, and all other languages have less than 1). It also has the 2nd lowest percentage of continuous VWEs (42.17%) and the 2nd highest percentage of VMWEs with gaps longer than 3 (17.33%), after German (35.7% and 30.5%, respectively).

The corpus in its current state is already available in the PARSEME repository<sup>15</sup> under the CC-BY v4 license<sup>16</sup>, including the double-annotated IAA sample. Thus, the results presented here are fully reproducible, using the PARSEME utilities<sup>17</sup>.

#### 8. Conclusion and Future Work

The main contribution of this work is to create an openly accessible Arabic corpus enriched by VMWE annotations. For this, we manually annotated the PADT corpus using the PARSEME guidelines, which have shown their effectiveness on MSA. The VMWE types occurring in Arabic are verbal idioms, light verb constructions, multi-verb constructions inherently adpositional verbs. These phenomena were annotated on a sample of 1,062 sentences from the PADT corpus by 2 annotators and we get reasonable inter-annotator agreement. We have annotated 1,252 VMWE occurrences with a high rate of discontinuous expressions (58%).

We explained challenging phenomena, stemming from the rich and complex morphology, as well as to non-vocalized spelling, notably high level of ambiguity, agglutination, discontinuities and morphosyntactic variation.

Since PARSEME guidelines proved perfectly adaptable to MSA, we consider the initial initiative of the annotation task as validated. However, it is possible that we missed some types of variation not represented in our corpus. Ongoing work consists in annotating texts from new sources and genres. This might trigger Arabic-specific additions to the guidelines. We are also in the process of training MWE identifiers on the corpus, these results should be published soon.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>This is in contrast with the statistics of the previous PARSEME Arabic corpus, which we could not recalculate due to the unavailability of this corpus. There, 4,219 VMWEs were reported in 3,137 sentences (with the density of 1.35) split into: 1,769 LVCs.full, 1,320 VIDs, 1,080 VPCs, 17 IRVs, 33 MVC and 0 LVC.cause. Note in particular the absence of VPCs in our statistics. We claim that particles, as defined in PARSEME, are non-existant or very rare in Arabic. The VPCs from the Hawwari corpus might likely be IAVs.

 $<sup>^{13}{\</sup>rm The~statistics}$  from the following editions have not been published.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Note a token can contain several agglutinated words, so it can, indeed, be a MWEs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>https://gitlab.com/parseme/parseme\_corpus\_ar

 $<sup>^{16} {\</sup>tt https://creative commons.org/licenses/by/4.0/}$ 

<sup>17</sup> https://gitlab.com/parseme/utilities/-/blob/master/ st-organizers/corpus-statistics/mwe-stats-simple.py and https://gitlab.com/parseme/utilities/-/blob/master/ st-organizers/corpus-statistics/mwe-stats.py

	Lengths of VMWEs				Lengths of discontinuities					
Avg	%1	%2	%3	%>3	Avg	%0	%1	%2	%3	%>3
2.26	2.00	73.72	21.09	3.19	1.97	42.17	23.48	8.95	8.07	17.33

Table 3: Lengths and discontinuities of the Arabic VMWE occurrences: average number of tokens (Col. 1); percentage of VMWEs with 1, 2, 3 and more than 3 tokens (Col. 2–5); average length of discontinuities (Col. 6); percentage of VMWEs with discontinuities of length 0, 1, 2, 3 and more than 3 (Col. 7–11).

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