

Universal Dependencies Dubious Linguistics and Crappy Parsing?

Joakim Nivre Uppsala University Department of Linguistics and Philology

Based on collaborative work with Marie-Catherine de Marneffe, Filip Ginter, Yoav Goldberg, Jan Hajic, Christopher Manning, Ryan McDonald, Natalia Silveira, Slav Petrov, Sampo Pyysalo, Sebastian Schuster, Reut Tsarfaty, Francis Tyers, Daniel Zeman and many others

Introduction

Introduction

Growing interest in multilingual and cross-lingual NLP

- Multilingual evaluation campaigns to test generality of approaches
- Cross-lingual learning to support low-resource languages

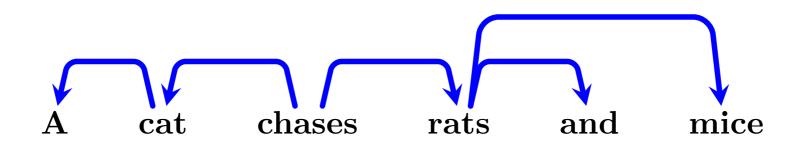
Introduction

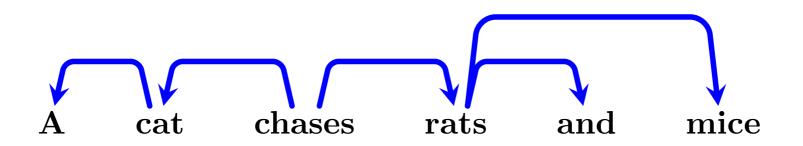
Growing interest in multilingual and cross-lingual NLP

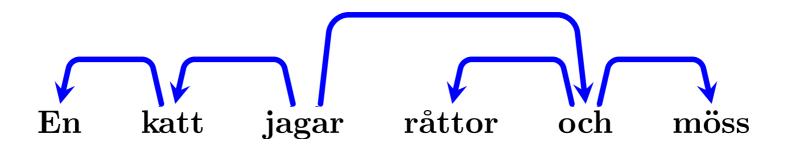
- Multilingual evaluation campaigns to test generality of approaches
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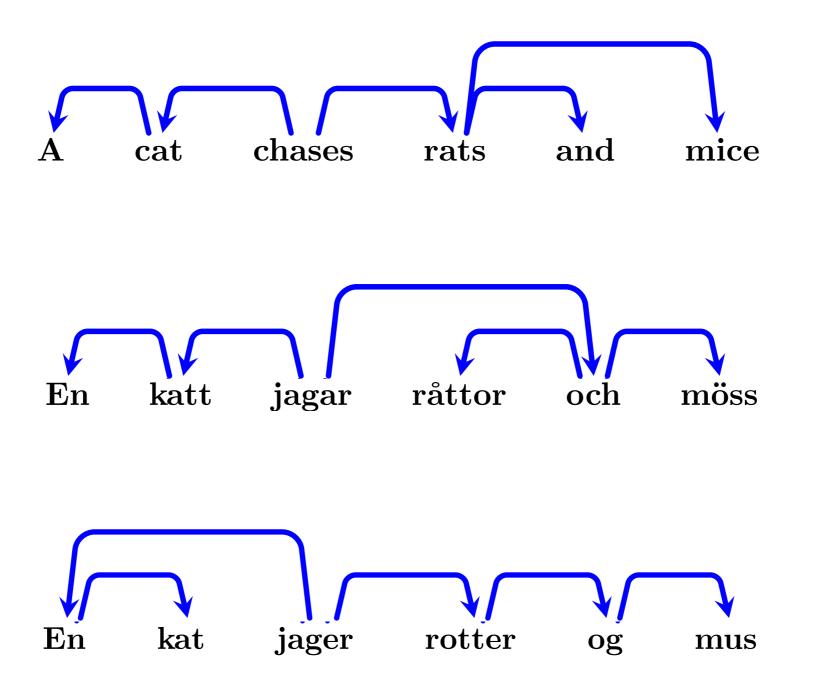
Growing awareness of methodological problems

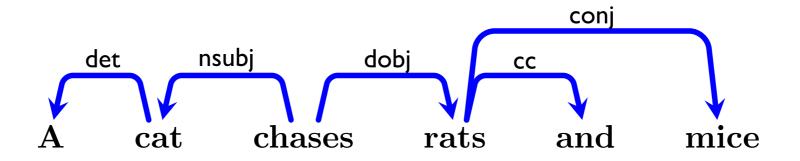
- Current NLP relies heavily on linguistic annotation
- Annotation guidelines vary across languages

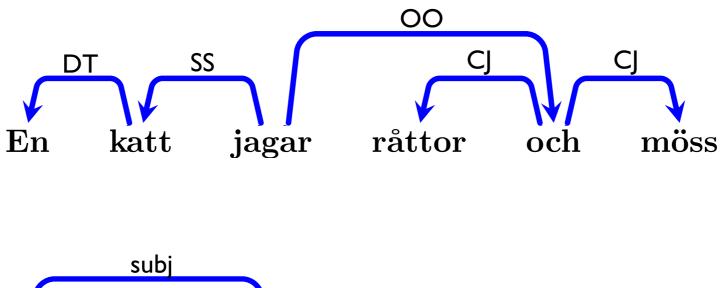


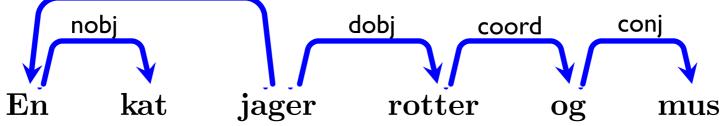


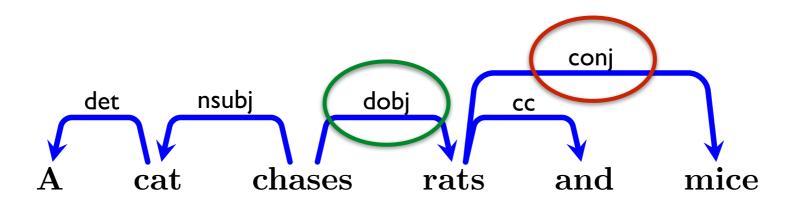


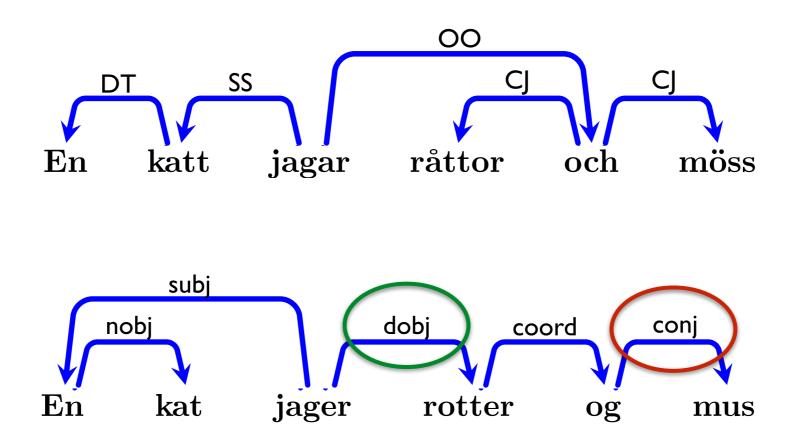












• Hard to compare empirical results across languages

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- Hard to usefully do cross-lingual structure transfer

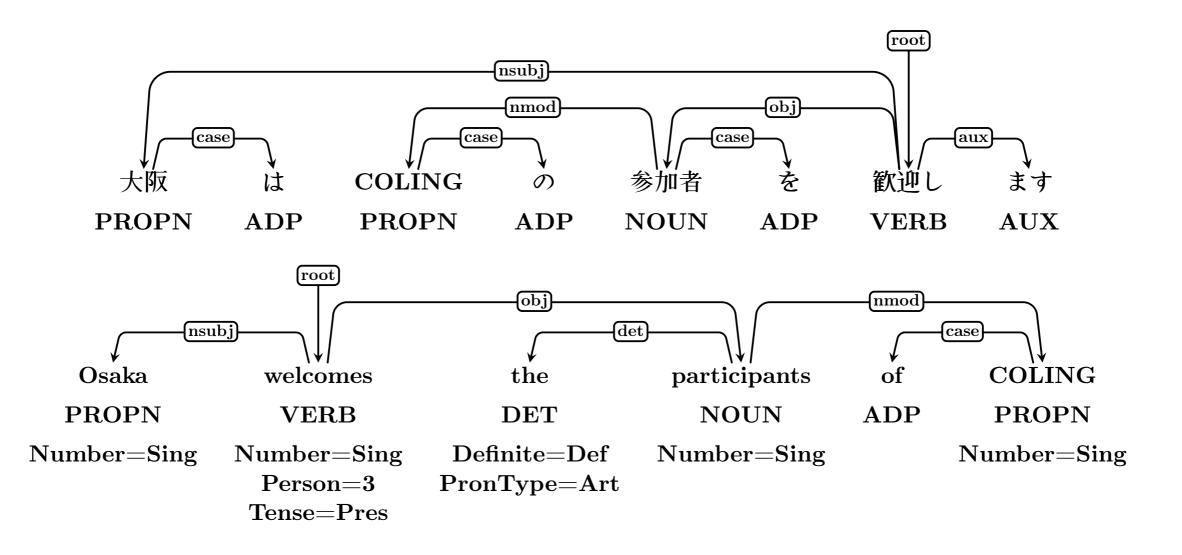
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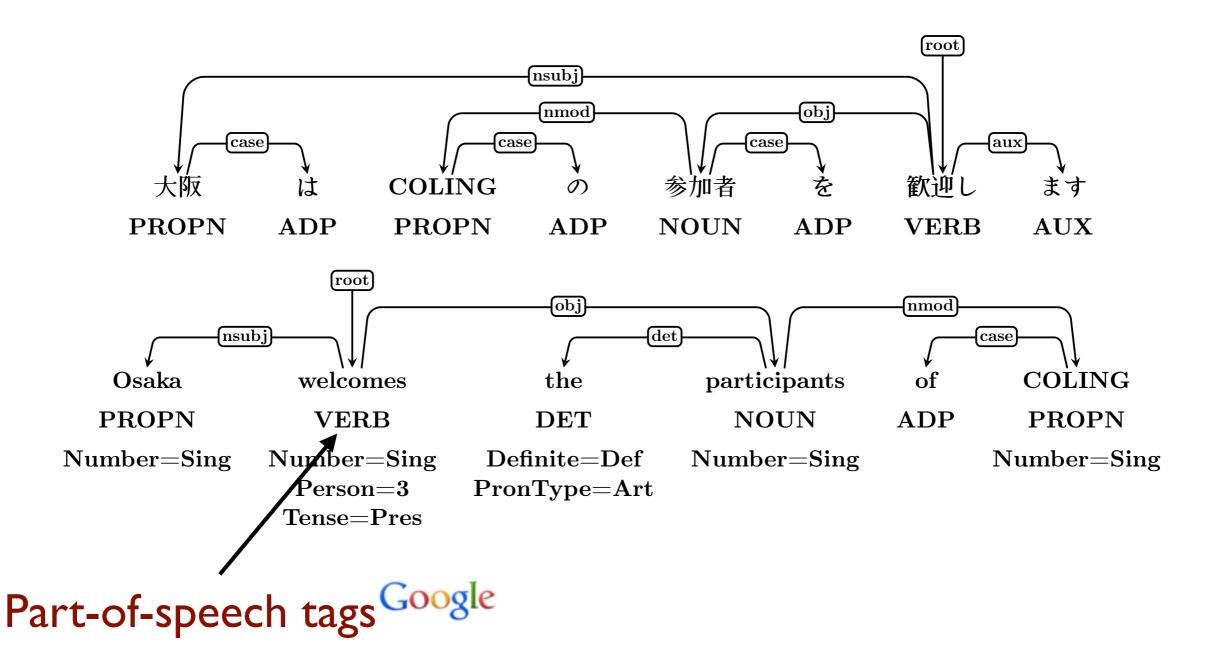
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- Hard to build and maintain multilingual systems

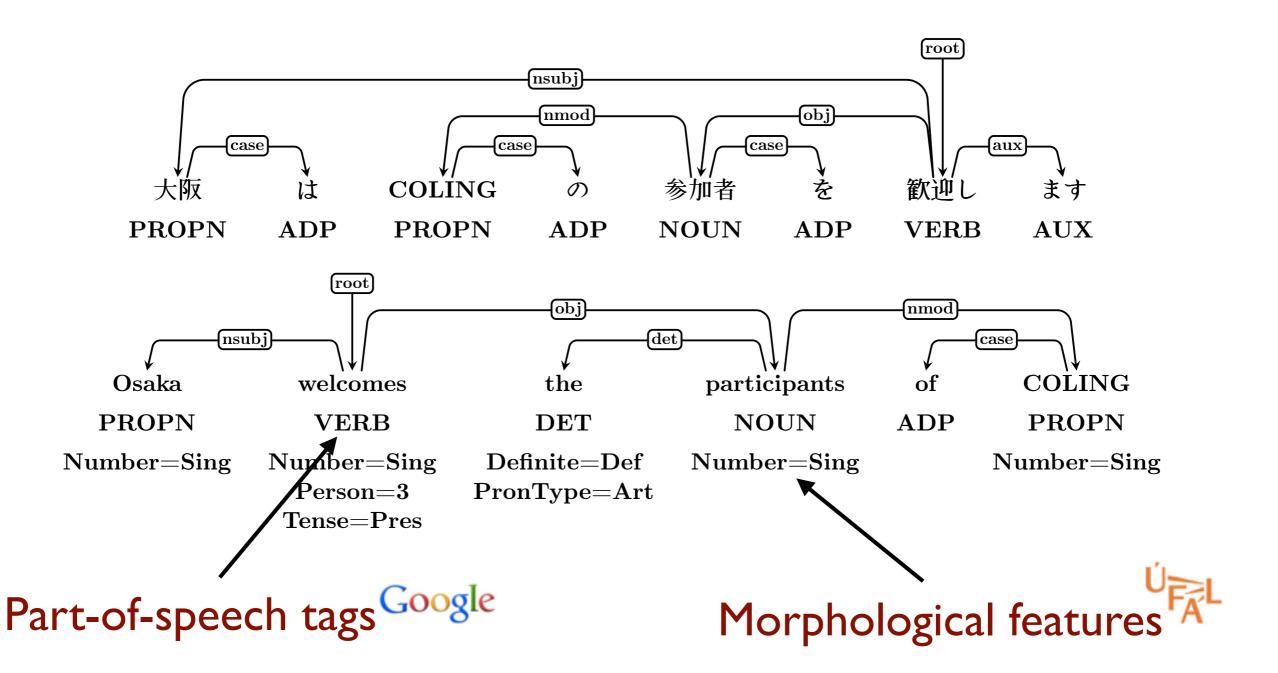
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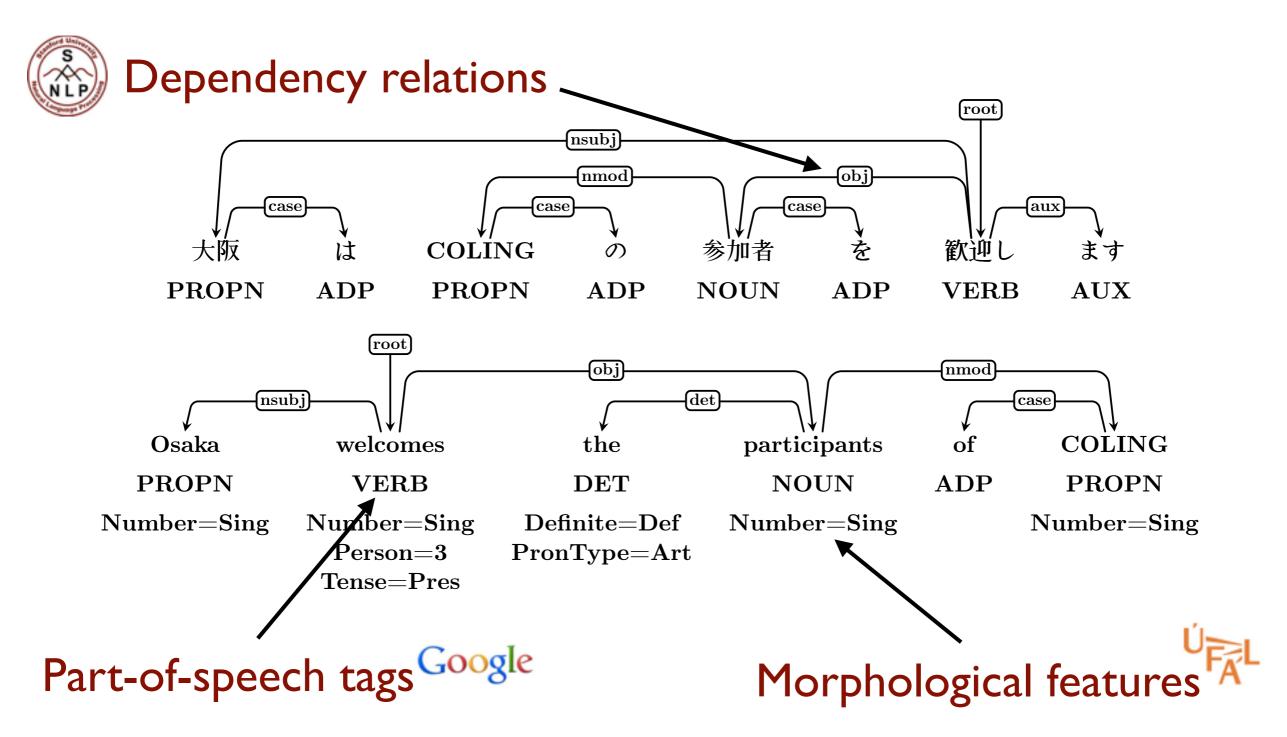
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- Hard to build and maintain multilingual systems
- Hard to make comparative linguistic studies
- Hard to validate linguistic typology
- Hard to make progress towards a universal parser

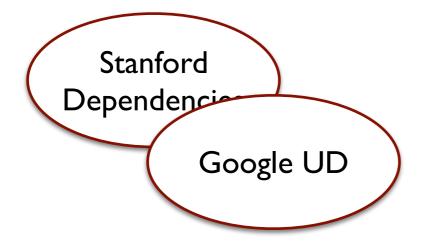


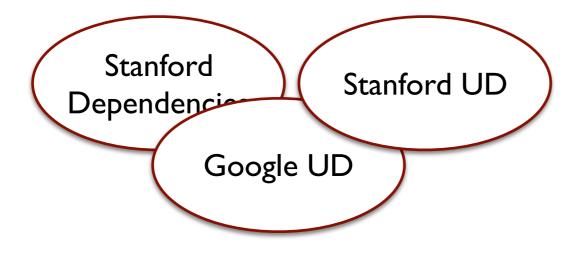


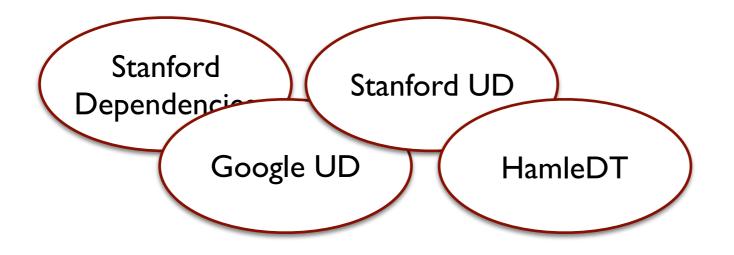


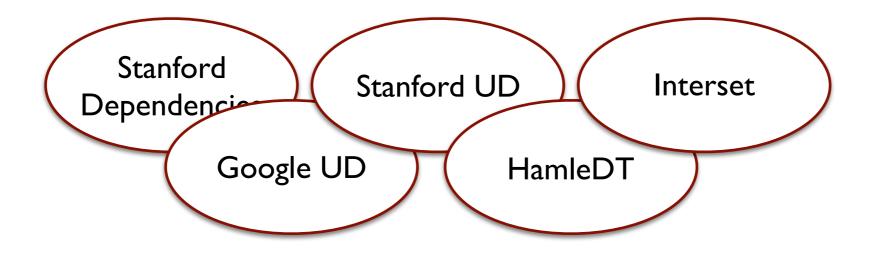


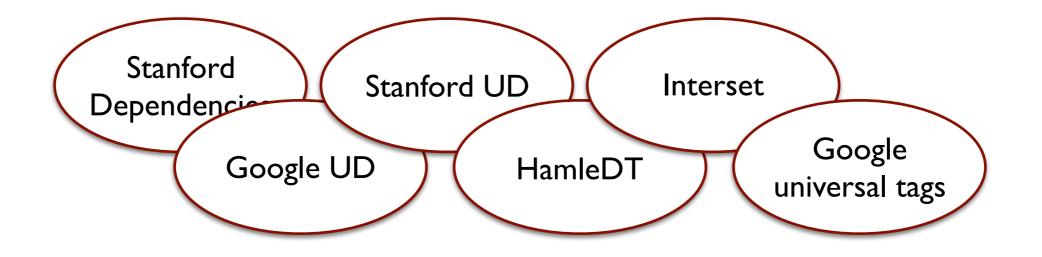


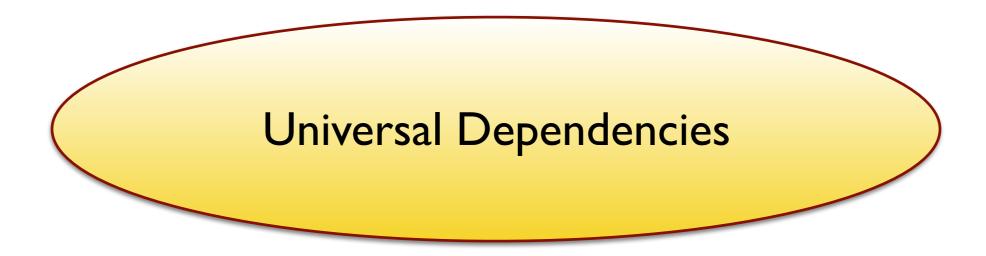




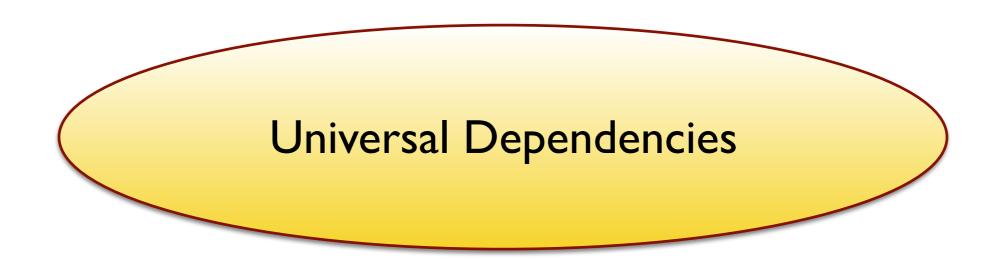








http://universaldependencies.org



Milestones:

- Kick-off meeting at EACL in Gothenburg, April 2014
- Release of annotation guidelines, v1, October 2014
- Releases of treebanks every 6 months, v1.0-v1.4
- Release of annotation guidelines, v2, December 2016

Open community effort – anyone can contribute!

UD Treebanks

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December 13, 2016:

- 47 languages
- 64 treebanks
- I45 contributors
- 7000+ downloads

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- treebanks
- 5 contributors
- 00+ downloads

Documentation Task Force

UD Japanese



Masayuki Asahara Hiroshi Kanayama Yuji Matsumoto Yusuke Miyao Shinsuke Mori Takaaki Tanaka Sumire Uematsu

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A guided tour of the UD framework

A guided tour of the UD framework

Why such weird dependency trees?

A guided tour of the UD framework

Why such weird dependency trees?

Dubious linguistics?

Crappy parsing?

Cross-linguistically consistent grammatical annotation

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Support multilingual research in NLP and linguistics

- Meaningful linguistic analysis within and across languages
- Syntactic parsing in monolingual and cross-lingual settings
- Useful information for downstream language understanding tasks

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Build on common usage and existing de facto standards

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- Useful information for downstream language understanding tasks

Build on common usage and existing de facto standards

Complement – not replace – language-specific schemes

The UD Philosophy

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Maximize parallelism – but don't overdo it

- Don't annotate the same thing in different ways
- Don't make different things look the same
- Don't annotate things that are not there

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Maximize parallelism – but don't overdo it

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- Don't make different things look the same
- Don't annotate things that are not there

Universal taxonomy with language-specific elaboration

- Languages select from a universal pool of categories
- Allow language-specific extensions

Dependency

- Widely used in practical NLP systems
- Available in treebanks for many languages

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Lexicalism

- Basic annotation units are words syntactic words
- Words have morphological properties
- Words enter into syntactic relations

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Lexicalism

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Recoverability

• Transparent mapping from input text to word segmentation

What is a word?

- Single part-of-speech tag
- Real syntactic relation

Two-level segmentation

What is a word?

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Two-level segmentation



What is a word?

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Two-level segmentation

Text	Words
del	di il

What is a word?

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Two-level segmentation

Text	Words	
del	di il	
dámelo	da me lo	

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Two-level segmentation

Text	Words	
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Two-level segmentation

Text	Words		
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dámelo	da me lo		
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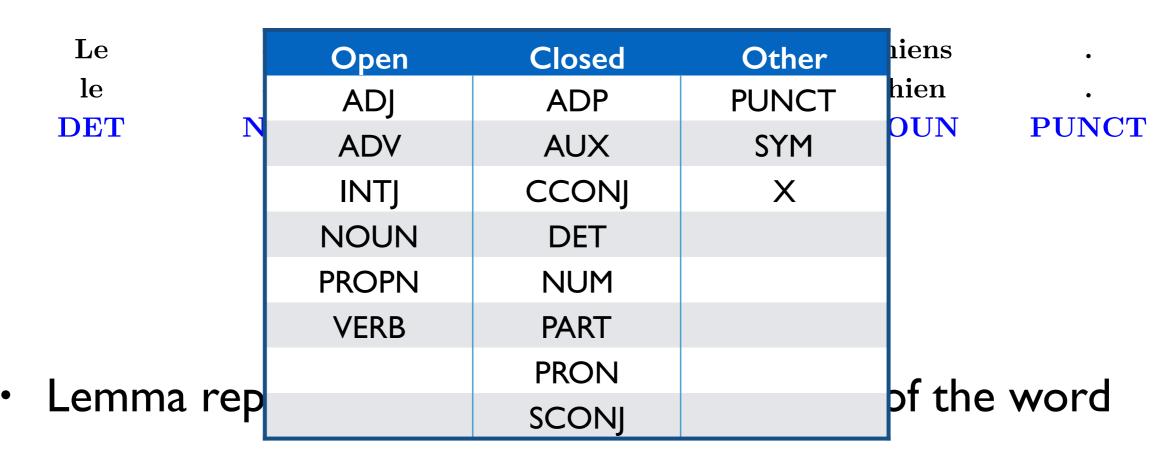
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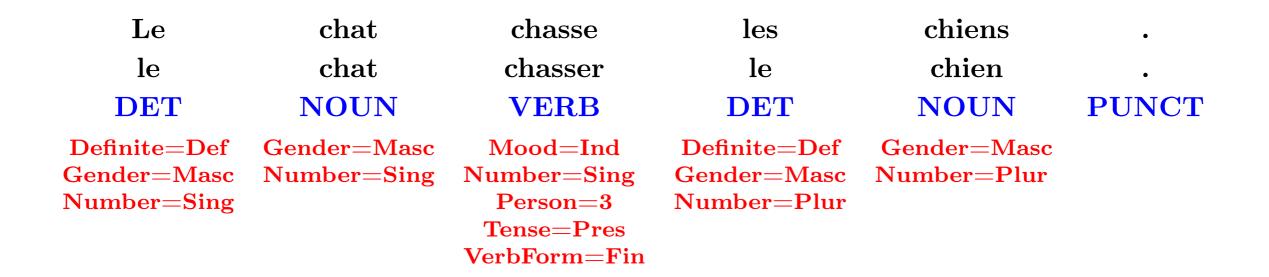
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- Lemma representing the semantic content of the word
- Part-of-speech tag representing its grammatical class



• Part-of-speech tag representing its grammatical class

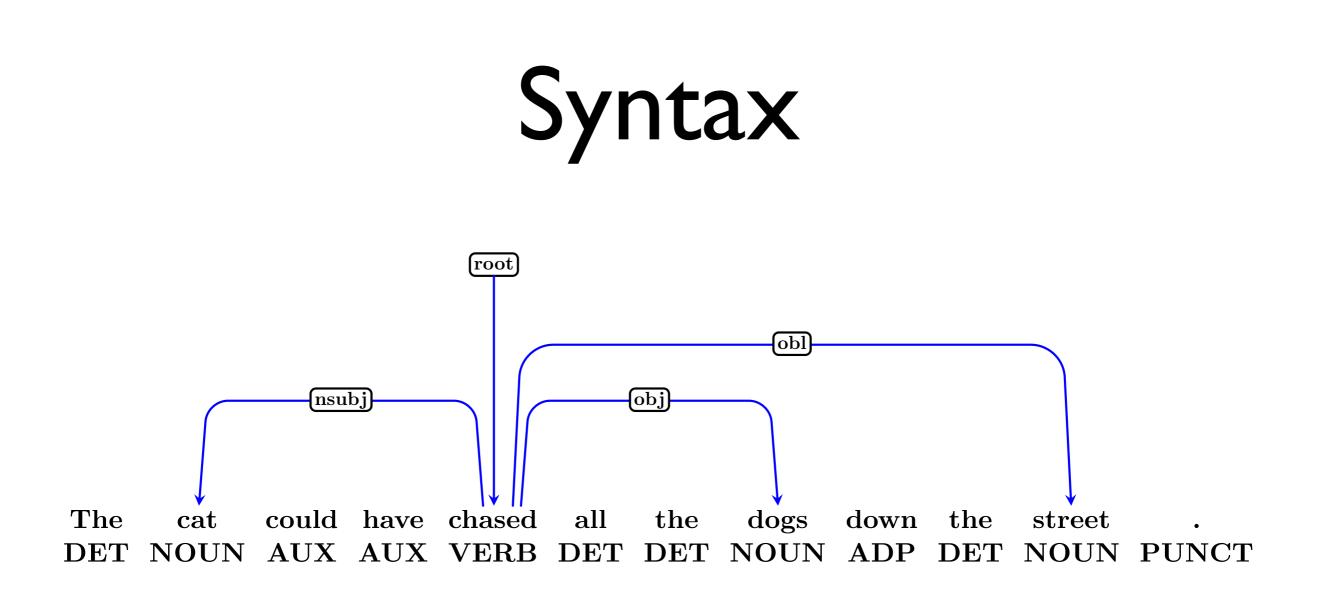


- Lemma representing the semantic content of the word
- Part-of-speech tag representing its grammatical class
- Features representing lexical and grammatical properties of the lemma or the particular word form

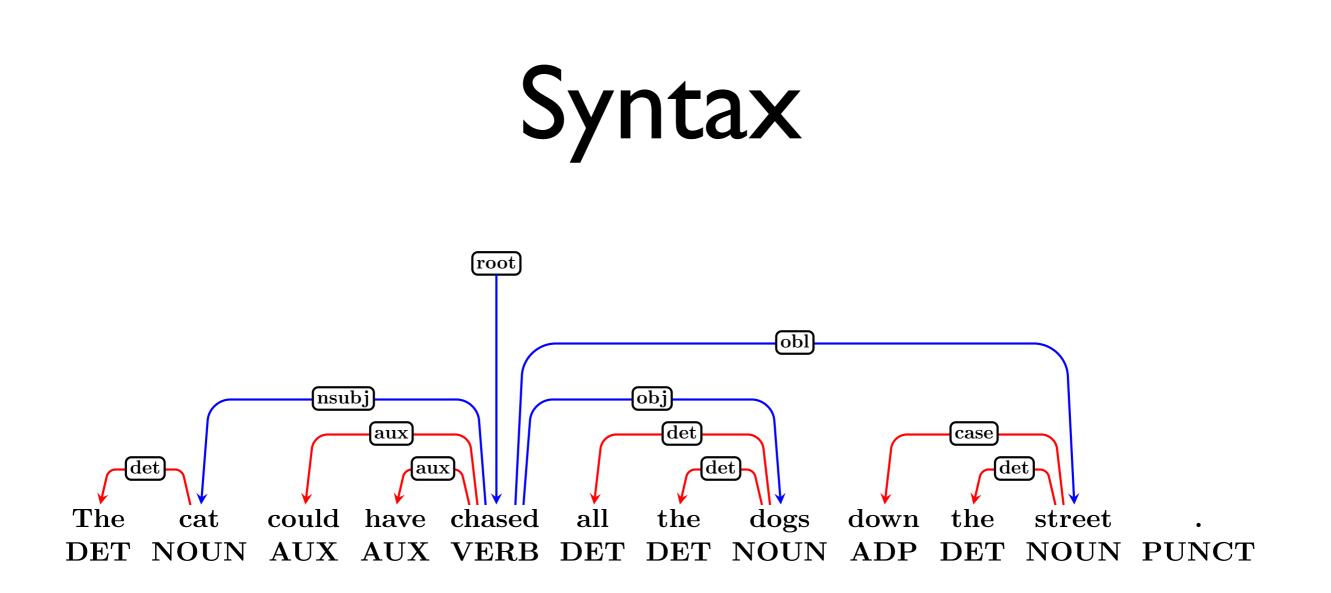
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	Poss	Number	Tense	er=Plur
	Reflex	Case	Aspect	
	Foreign	Definite	Voice	
	Abbr	Degree	Evident	
 Lemma rep 			Polarity	of the word
			Person	
 Part-of-spe 			Polite	tical class

 Features representing lexical and grammatical properties of the lemma or the particular word form

Syntax

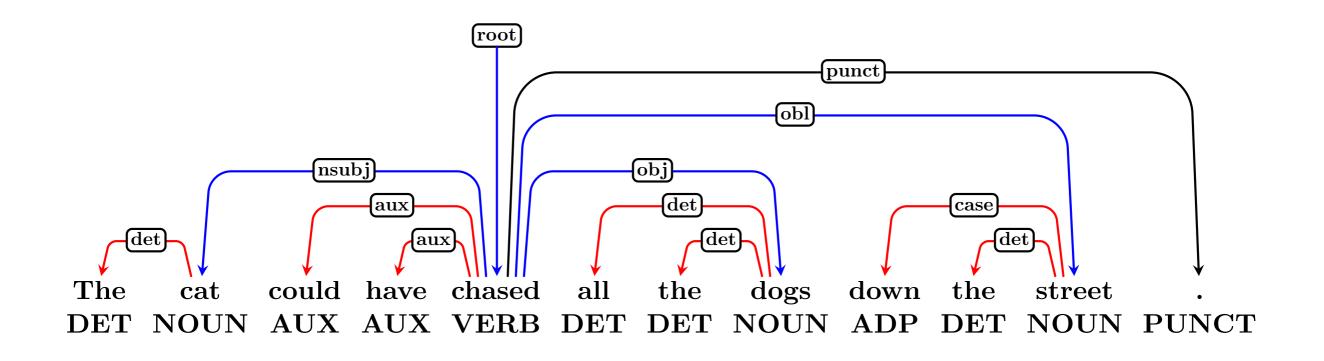


Content words are related by dependency relations

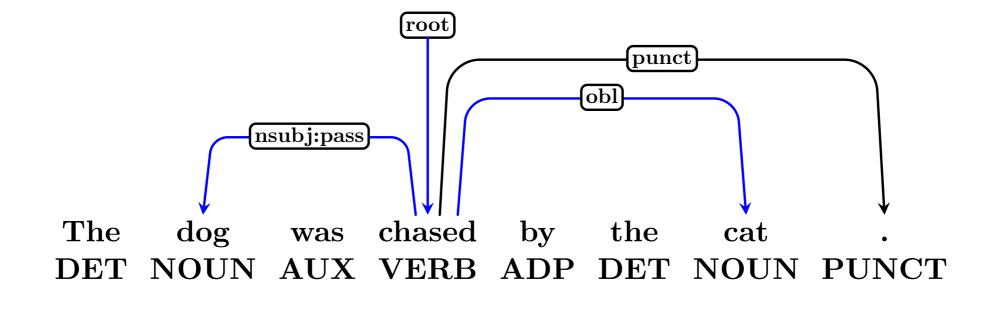


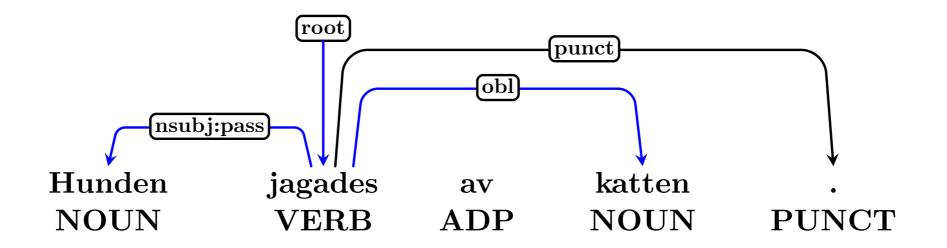
- Content words are related by dependency relations
- Function words attach to the content word they modify

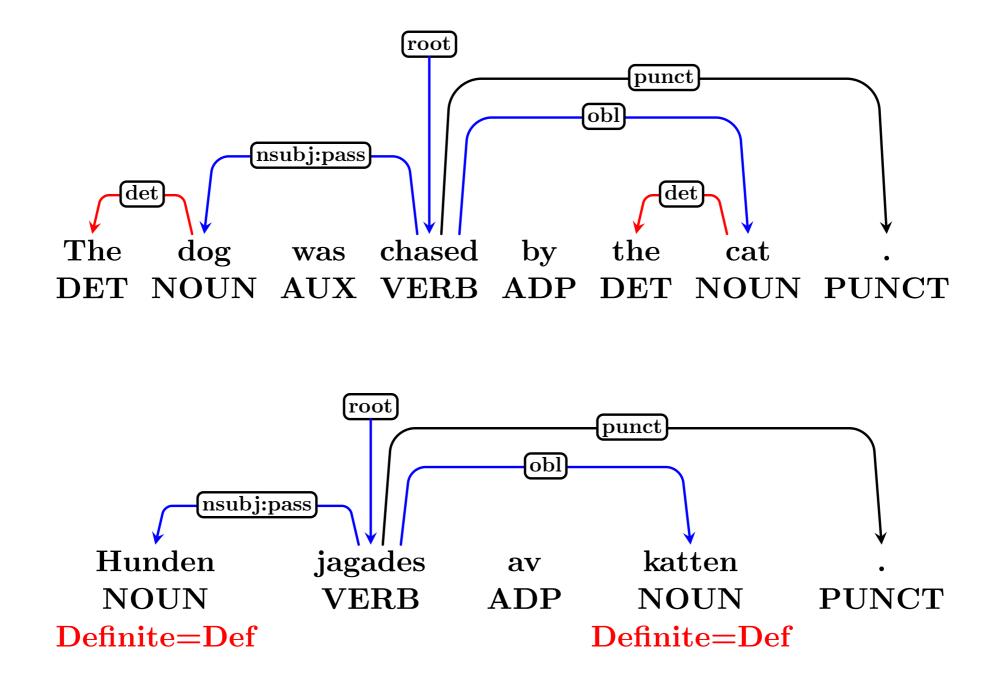
Syntax

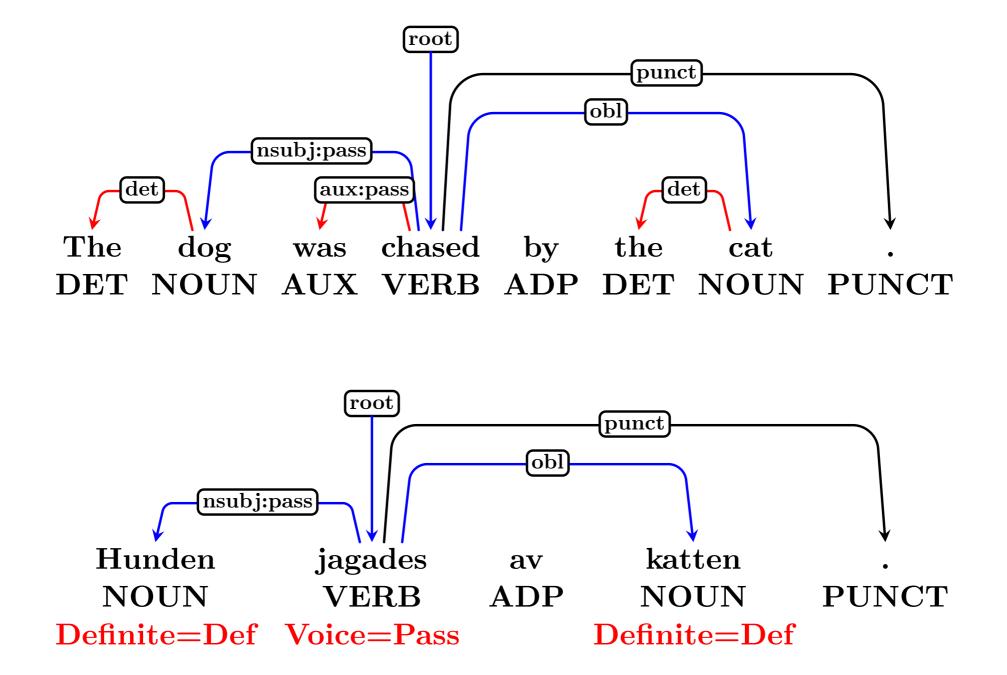


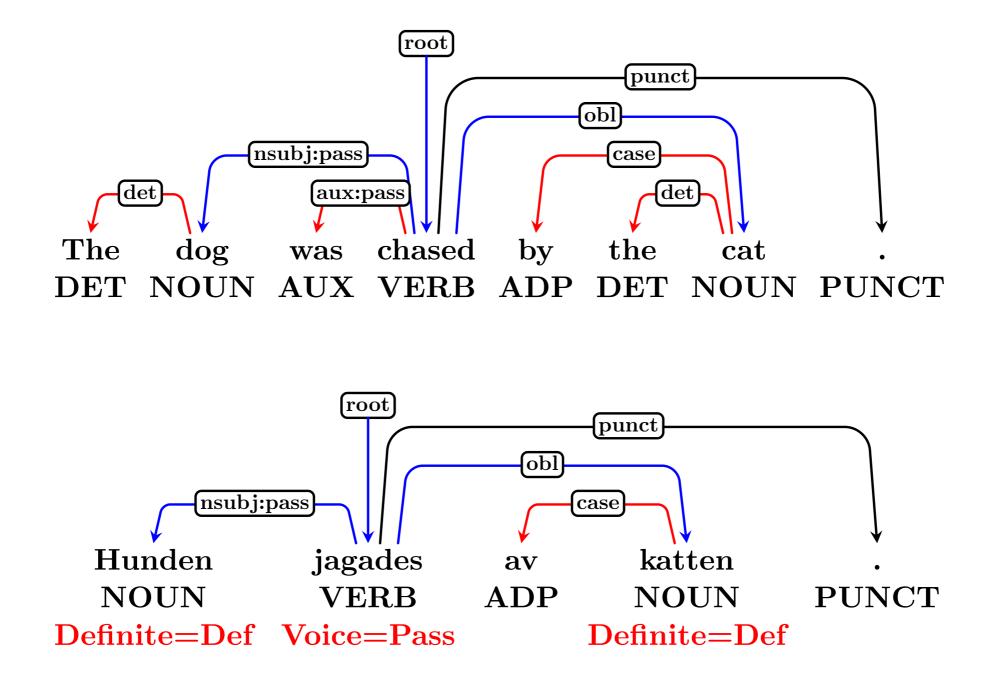
- Content words are related by dependency relations
- Function words attach to the content word they modify
- Punctuation attach to head of phrase or clause











Syntactic Relations

Syntactic Relations

Taxonomy of 37 universal syntactic relations

- Three types of structures: nominals, clauses, modifiers
- Core arguments vs. other dependents (not complements vs. adjuncts)
- Language-specific subtypes

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Taxonomy of 37 universal syntactic relations

- Three types of structures: nominals, clauses, modifiers
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- Language-specific subtypes

Basic and enhanced representations

- Basic dependencies form a (possibly non-projective) tree
- Additional dependencies in the enhanced representation

Syntactic Relations

	Nominal	Clause	Modifier Word	Function Word
Core Predicate Dep	nsubj obj iobj	csubj ccomp xcomp		
Non-Core Predicate Dep	obl vocative expl dislocated	advcl	advmod* discourse	aux cop mark
Nominal Dep	nmod appos nummod	acl	amod	det clf case
Coordination	MWE	Loose	Special	Other
conj cc	fixed flat compound	parataxis list	orphan goeswith reparandum	punct root dep

* Generalized modifier of predicates and (non-nominal) modifiers

Universal relations

Broad categories to allow cross-linguistic comparison

Language-specific relations

Universal relations

Broad categories to allow cross-linguistic comparison

Language-specific relations



Universal relations

Broad categories to allow cross-linguistic comparison

Language-specific relations

Universal	Subtype
acl	acl:relcl

Universal relations

Broad categories to allow cross-linguistic comparison

Language-specific relations

Universal	Subtype
acl	acl:relcl
compound	compound:prt

Universal relations

• Broad categories to allow cross-linguistic comparison

Language-specific relations

Universal	Subtype
acl	acl:relcl
compound	compound:prt
nmod	nmod:poss

This page pertains to UD version 2.

Universal Dependencies v2

Executive summary of changes from v1 to v2

- <u>Tokenization and word segmentation</u>
- Morphology
 - <u>General principles</u>
 - <u>Universal POS tags (single document)</u>
 - Universal features (single document)
 - Language-specific features
 - Conversion from other tagsets
- Syntax
 - General principles
 - Basic dependencies
 - Simple clauses
 - Nominals
 - <u>Complex clauses</u>
 - Other constructions
 - Enhanced dependencies
 - <u>Universal dependency relations (single document)</u>
 - Language-specific relations
 - CoNLL-U format

This is the online documentation for Universal Dependencies, version 2 (2016-12-01). Note: The treebanks listed below still follow the v1 guidelines available here.

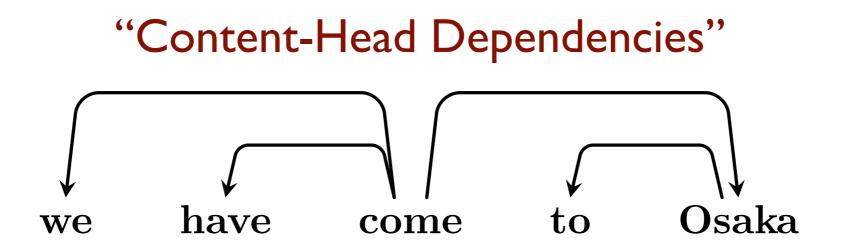
http://universaldependencies.org

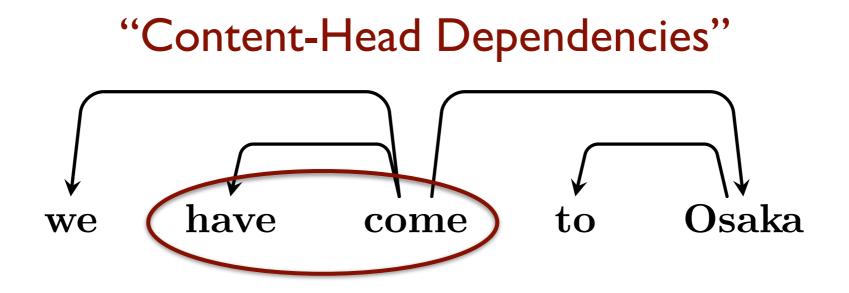
home edit page issue tracker

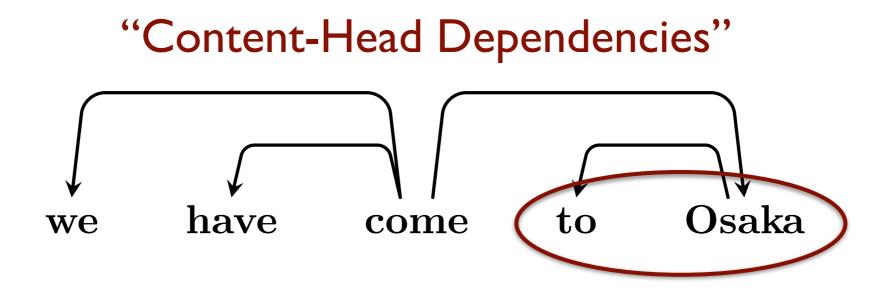
This page pertains to UD	version 2.
Universal D	home edit page issue tracker This page pertains to UD version 2. Simple Clauses
 Executive summary of c Tokenization and Morphology 	-
 <u>General providental secondaria de Conversal</u> <u>Language</u> <u>Conversio</u> 	In most clauses, the predicate takes the form of a verb, which may be intransitive or transitive.
 <u>General pression</u> Basic dependent Sinterior Sinterior	An intransitive verb takes a single argument (usually referred to as S in the literature on linguistic typology) with the <u>nsubj</u> relation. A transitive verb in addition takes an argument with the <u>obj</u> relation. When deciding which relation to use with which argument in a transitive clause, the <u>nsubj</u> relation should be used with the argument that most resembles the proto-agent (often called A in linguistic typology) and that satisfies additional language-internal criteria for subjecthood based on case-marking, agreement and/or linear position with respect to the predicate. The <u>obj</u> relation should be used for the argument that most resembles the proto-patient (often called O or P in linguistic typology) and that satisfies relevant language-internal criteria. Note that, while case-marking (whether morphological or analytic) can provide important evidence in specific languages, case alignment should not be used to decide the assignment of core argument roles. Thus, in ergative languages, the patient-like argument of a transitive verb (O/P) will take the the <u>obj</u> relation despite the fact that it carries the same case marking as the <u>nsubj</u> argument (S) of an intranstive verb. Some languages allow extended transitive clauses, where more than two dependents are realized as core arguments. The additional core arguments then receive the <u>iobj</u> relation (for "indirect object"), while the <u>obj</u> relation is reserved for the argument most patient-like non-subject argument. The criterion for deciding whether an additional dependent is a core argument is whether it has the typical encoding of a core argument with respect to case-marking, agreement and word order. For example, the English double object construction qualifies as an extended transitive clause because all three nominals appear without prepositions:
 <u>Language</u> <u>CoNLL-U format</u> 	3 she left him a note

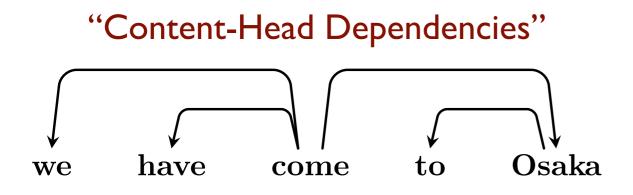
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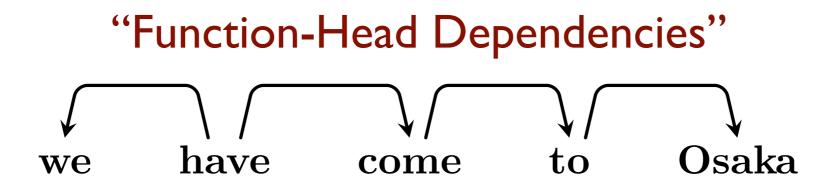
Why such weird dependency trees?

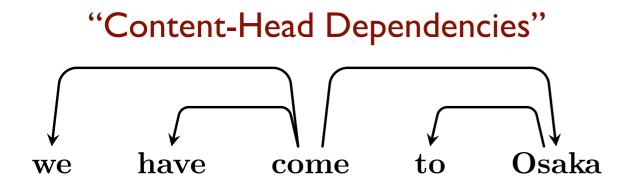


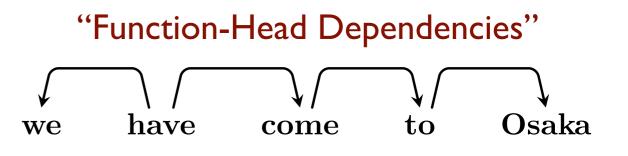


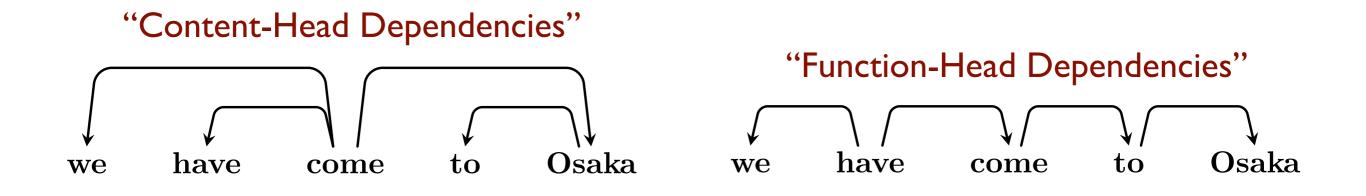






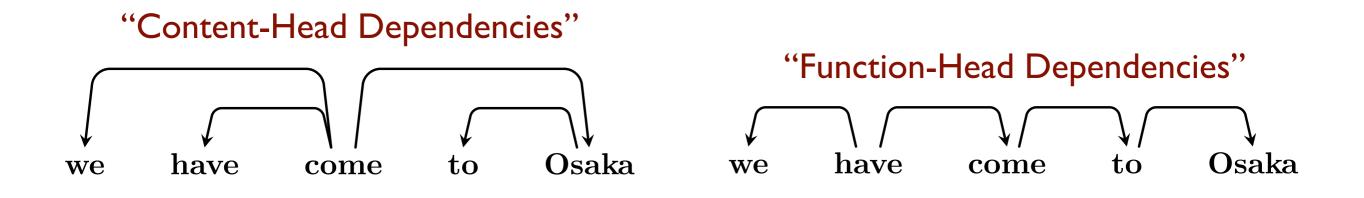






Dubious Linguistics?

"Such an approach to the syntax of natural languages is contrary to most work in theoretical syntax in the past 35 years, regardless of whether this work is constituency- or dependency-based." (Groß and Osborne, 2015)



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Crappy Parsing?

"It is now fairly well known that, while dependency representations in which content words are made heads tend to help semantically oriented downstream applications, dependency parsing numbers are higher if you make auxiliary verbs heads [...] and if you make prepositions the head of prepositional phrases." (De Marneffe et al., 2014)



The secret to understanding the design of UD is to realize that it is a very subtle compromise between approximately 6 things:

Manning's Law

- I UD needs to be satisfactory on linguistic analysis grounds for individual languages.
- 2 UD needs to be good for linguistic typology, i.e., providing a suitable basis for bringing out cross-linguistic parallelism across languages and language families.
- **3** UD must be suitable for rapid, consistent annotation by a human annotator.
- **4** UD must be suitable for **computer parsing** with high accuracy.
- 5 UD must be easily comprehended and used by a non-linguist, whether a language learner or an engineer with prosaic needs for language processing.
- 6 UD must support well downstream language understanding tasks (relation extraction, reading comprehension, machine translation, ...).

It's easy to come up with a proposal that improves UD on one of these dimensions. The interesting and difficult part is to improve UD while remaining sensitive to all these dimensions.

What is a head?

Semantic functor	V + NP (V)	P+NP (P)	NP+VP (VP)	Det + N (Det)	Aux + VF (Aux)	Comp+S (Comp)
(A) Semantic argument	•	•	•	•	•	•
(B) Determinant of concord	(*)		•	•		
(C) Morphosyntactic locus	=	~	=	•	=	
(D) Subcategorizand	=			=		=
(E) Governor	=	=	=		=	
(F) Distributional equivalent	=			٠	•	•
(G) Obligatory	=	==	=	•	•	•
(H) Ruler	=			•	•	=

Key: = same as entry for 'Semantic functor'

* different from entry for 'Semantic functor'

Zwicky (1985), summarised by Hudson (1987)

Head properties may be shared by several elements

• So neither content-head nor function-head can be quite right

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Linguistic theories capture this in different ways

- Lexical vs. functional heads (Chomsky, 1995)
- Surface syntax vs. deep syntax (Sgall et al., 1986; Mel'čuk, 1988)
- Dissociated nucleus (Tesnière, 1959)

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What about UD?

UD representations are mono-stratal – single tree

• Facilitates annotation, parsing and downstream tasks

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Tree structure primarily reflects lexical dependencies

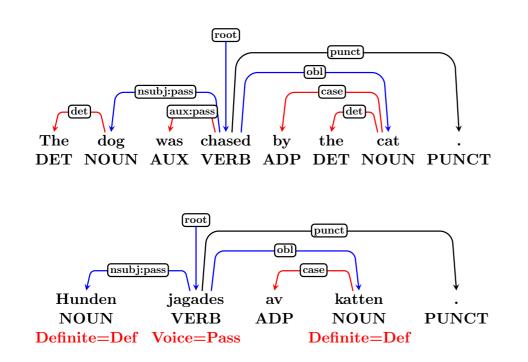
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- Reveals predicate-argument structure for downstream tasks

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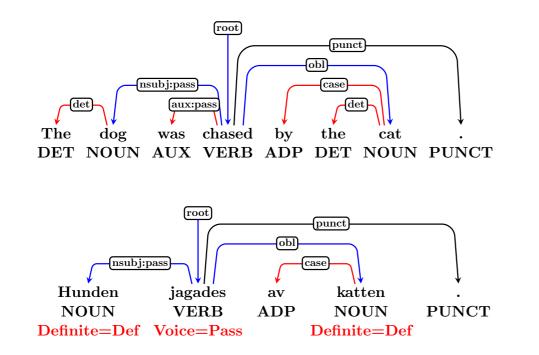


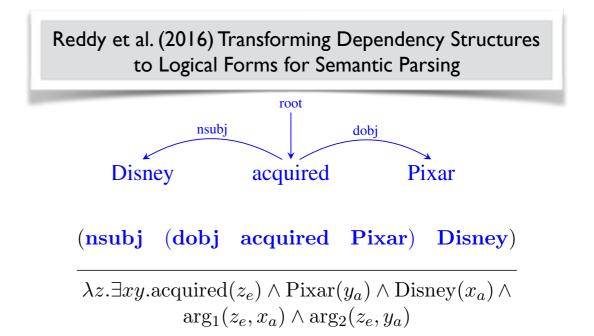
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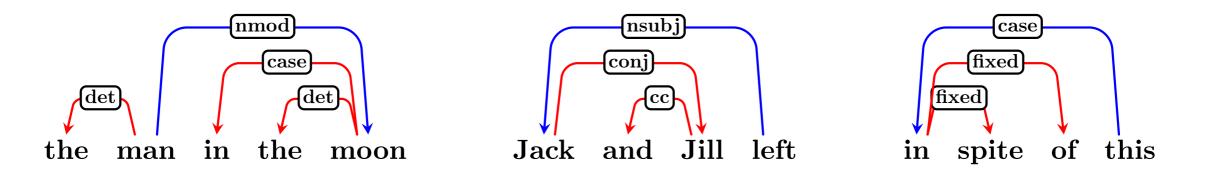
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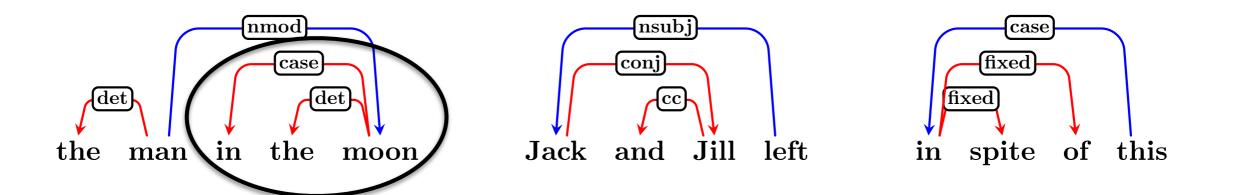




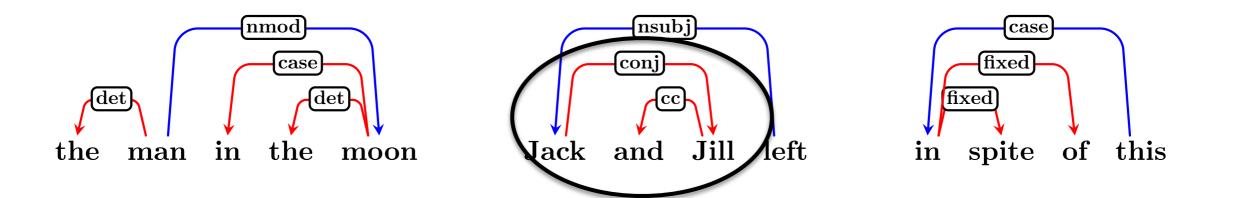
- Functional relations link functional heads to lexical heads
- Coordination relations link equivalent heads/dependents
- Multiword relations link elements of lexicalized expressions



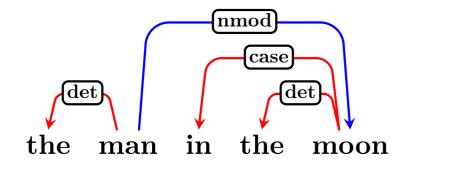
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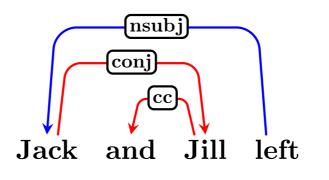


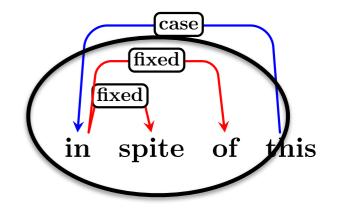
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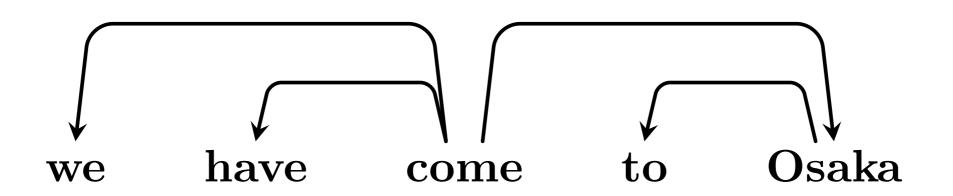


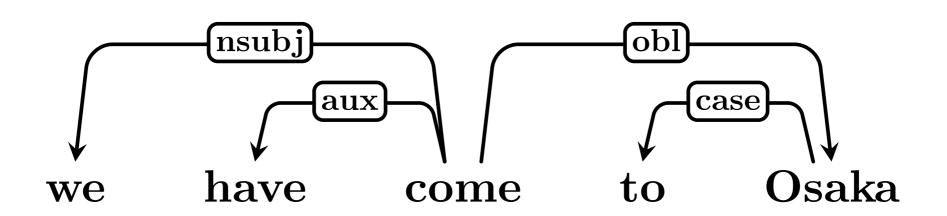
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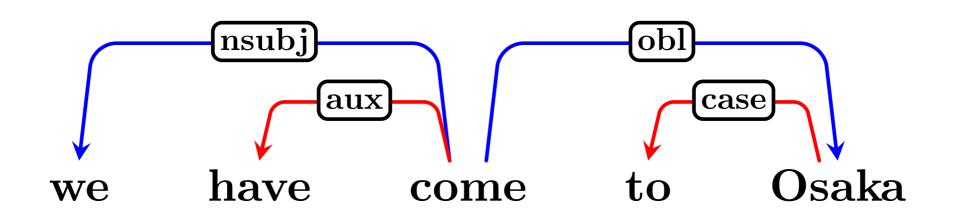




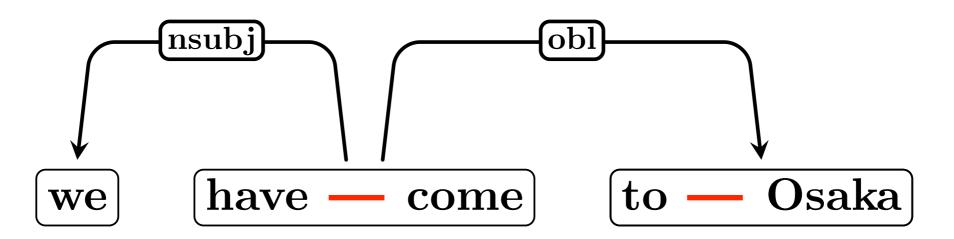


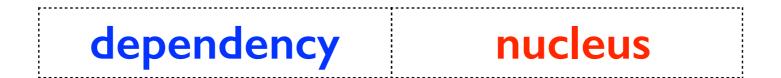




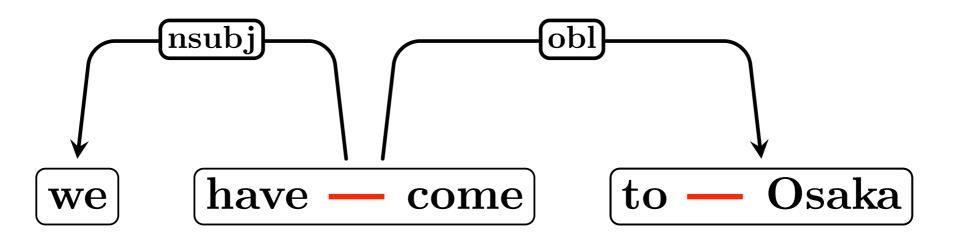






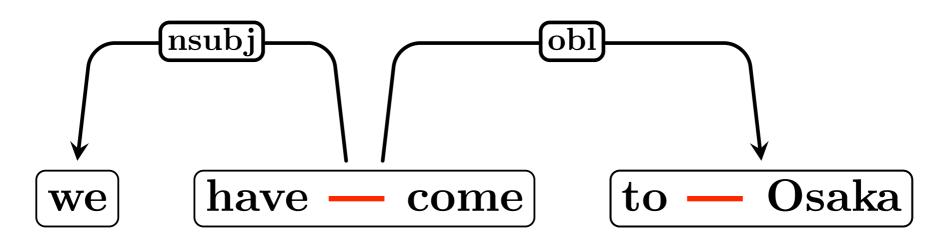




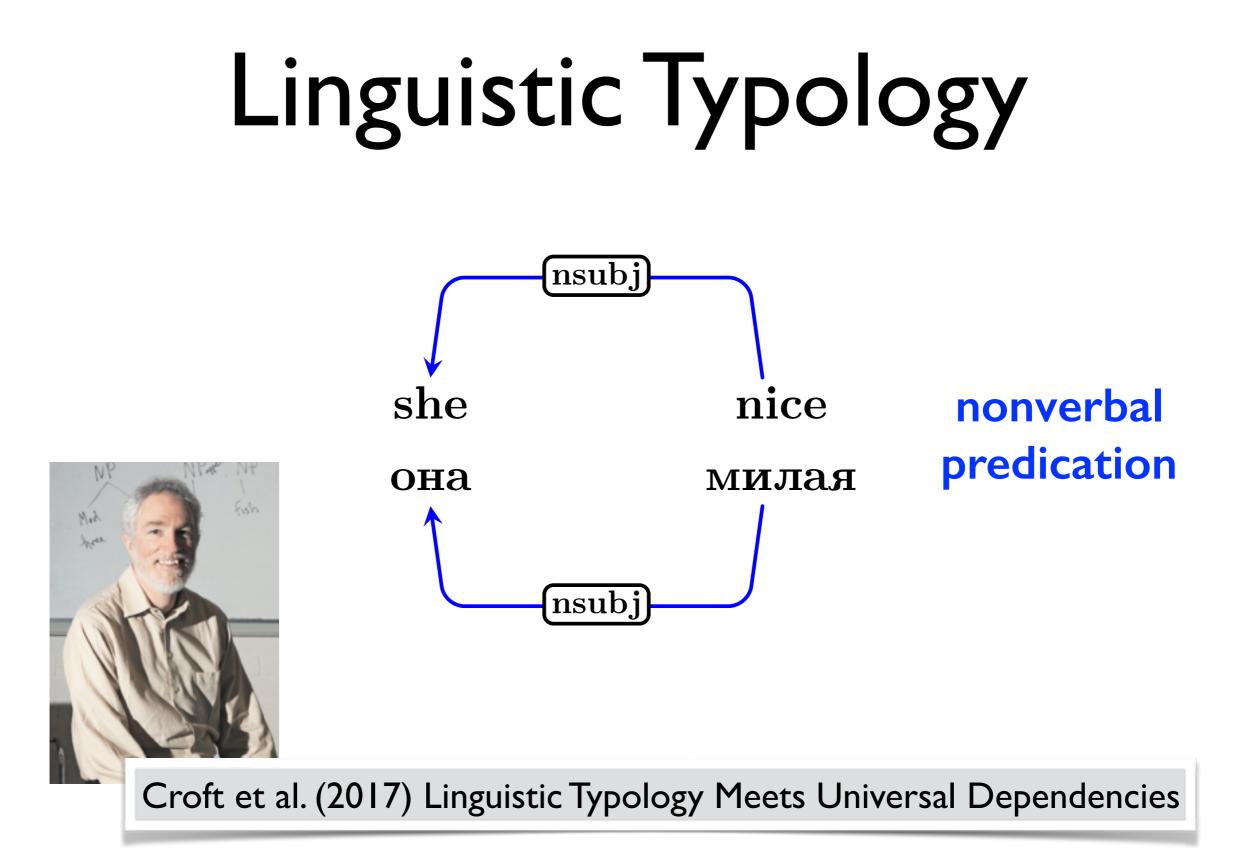


dependency	nucleus
karaka	vibhakti

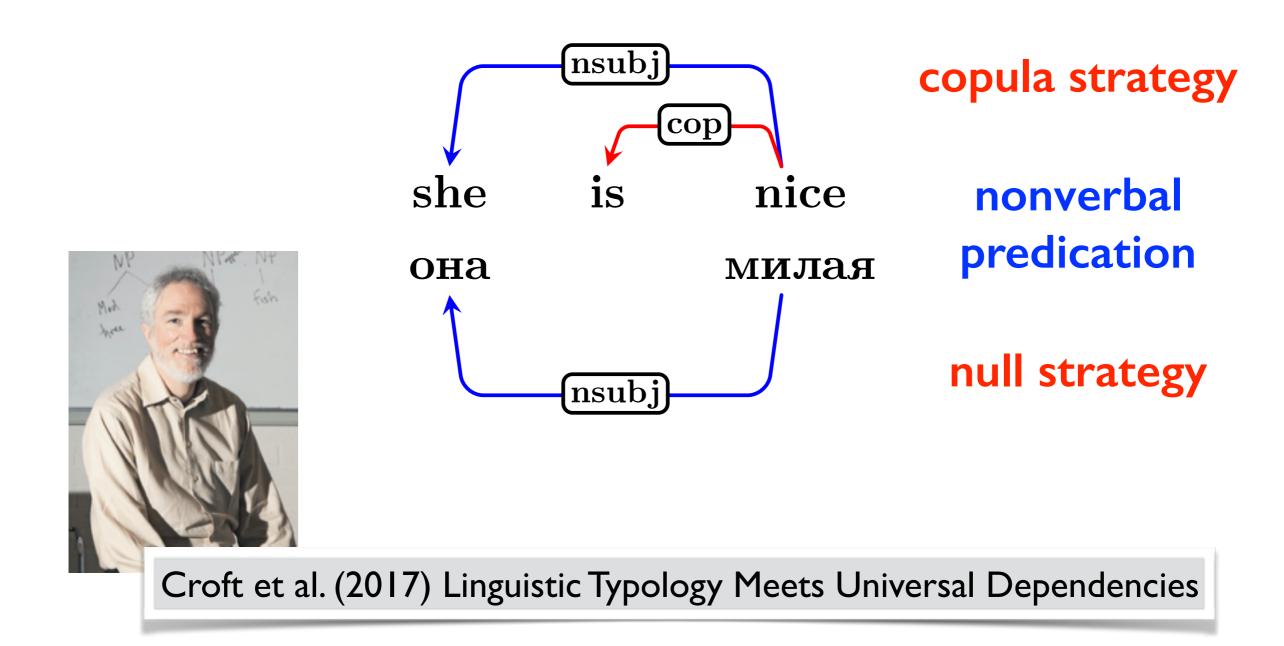




dependency	nucleus
karaka	vibhakti
kakariuke	bunsetsu

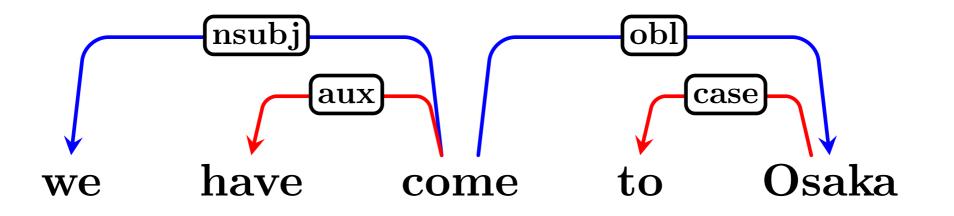


Linguistic Typology



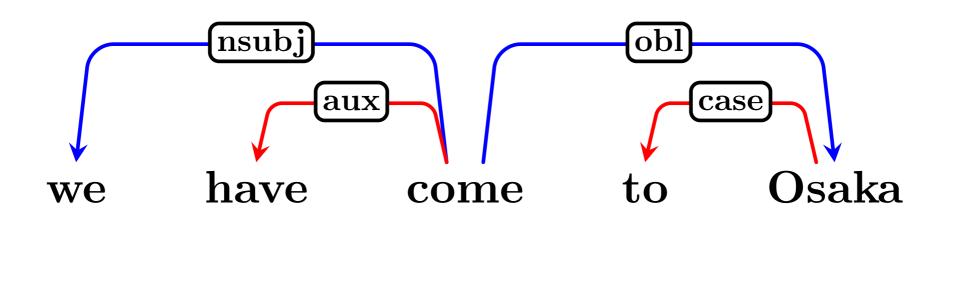
Linguistics vs. Parsing

- Mono-stratal but multi-relational representations
- Both lexical and functional heads can be extracted

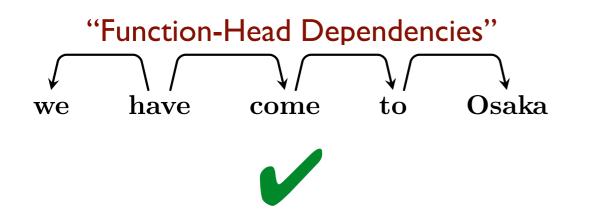


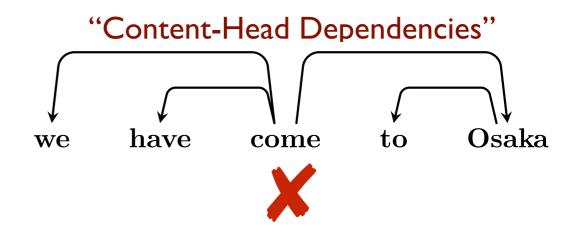
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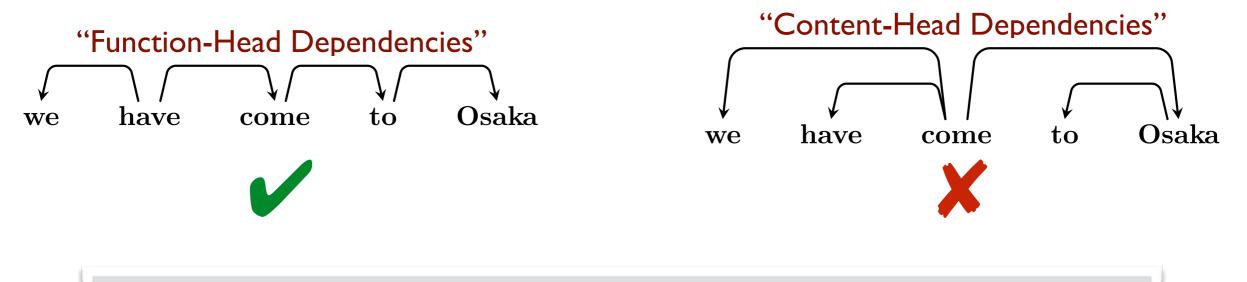
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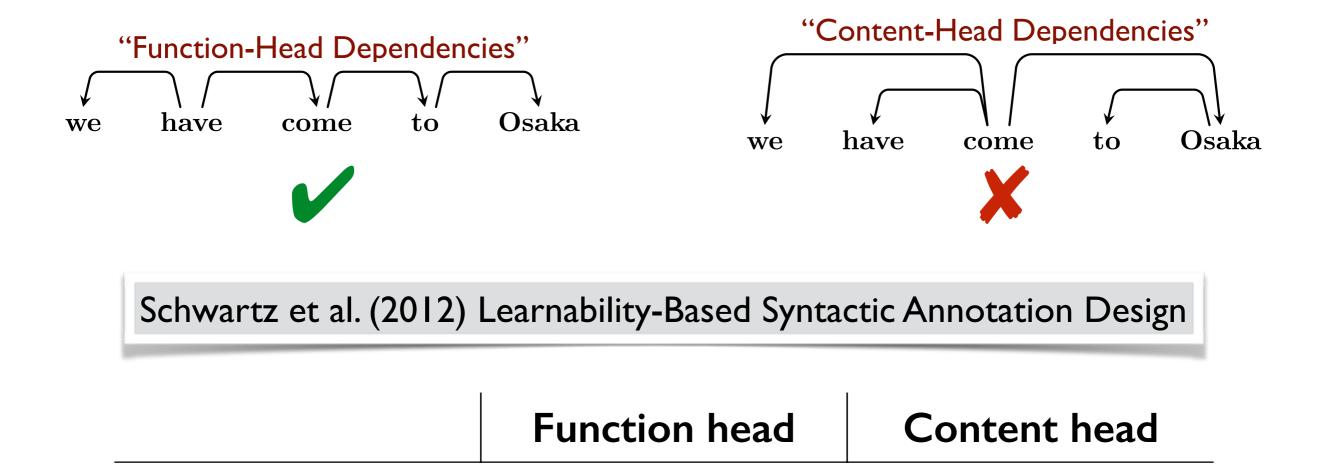


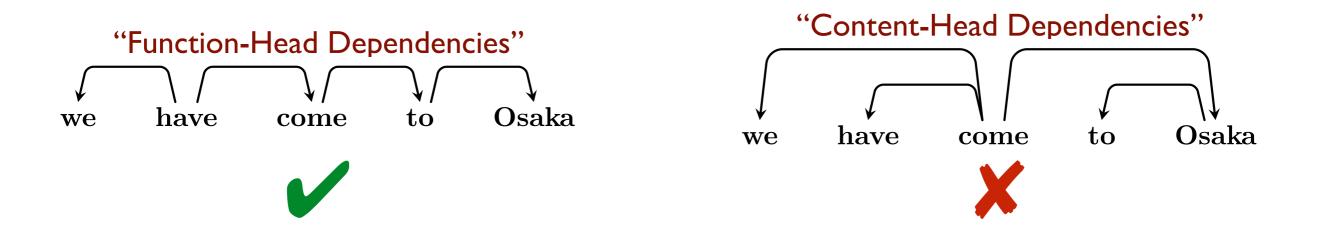
But syntactic parsers don't know this!?



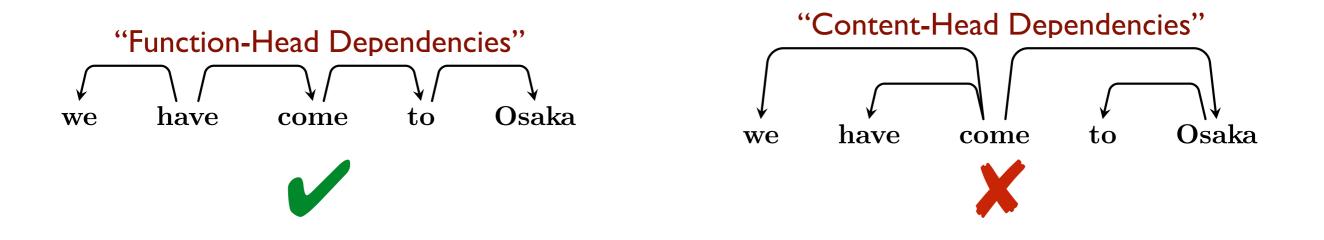




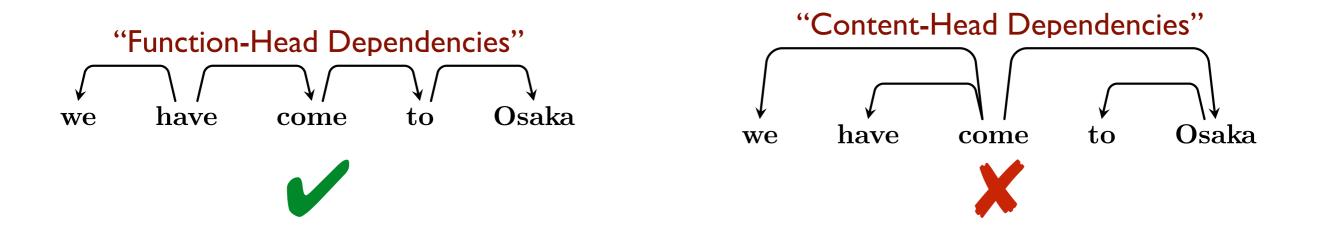




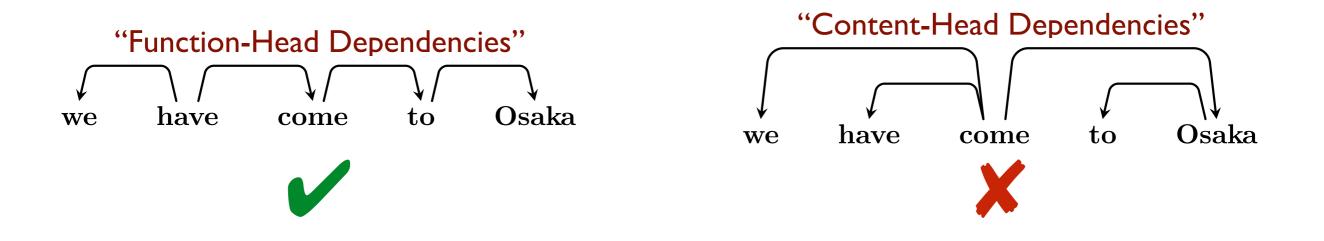
	Function head	Content head
Prep – Noun	 ✓ 	×



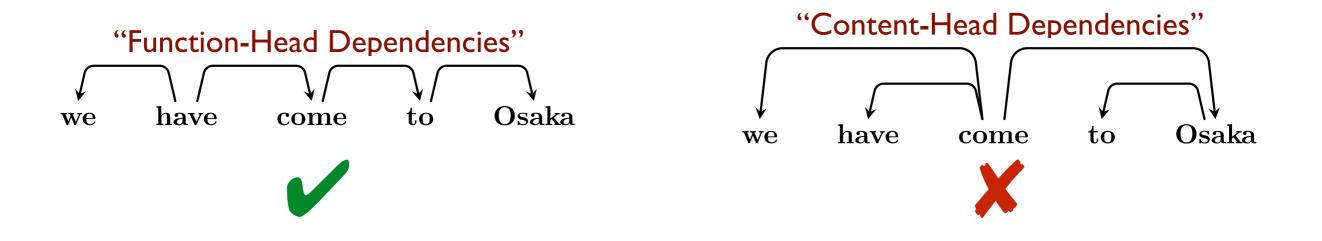
	Function head	Content head
Prep – Noun	~	×
Det – Noun	×	~



	Function head	Content head
Prep – Noun		×
Det – Noun	×	~
CC – Conj	×	~



	Function head	Content head
Prep – Noun	 ✓ 	×
Det – Noun	×	~
CC – Conj	×	~
Aux – Verb	?	?



	Function head	Content head
Prep – Noun	~	×
Det – Noun	×	~
CC – Conj	×	~
Aux – Verb	?	?
Mark – Infinitive	?	?

Silveira and Manning (2015) Monolingual parsing using transform-detransform	English	aux case cop	Inconclusive results
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Rosa (2015) Multi-source delexicalized transfer parsing	All	case	UD > PDT

Not so bad after all?

- No clear evidence that "content-head" is harder to parse in general
- In the cross-lingual setting, it even seems to work better

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- No clear evidence that "content-head" is harder to parse in general
- In the cross-lingual setting, it even seems to work better

Can we do better?

- Exploit the full representation lexical and functional heads
- Use typology of syntactic relations as a bias for learning

A Historical Perspective

A Historical Perspective

Constituency parsing – largely driven by PTB

- Perhaps too much emphasis on English (until recently)
- But deep analysis of categories and representations

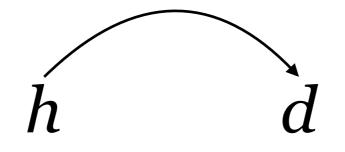
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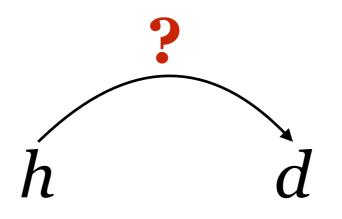
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Dependency parsing – largely driven by CoNLL data

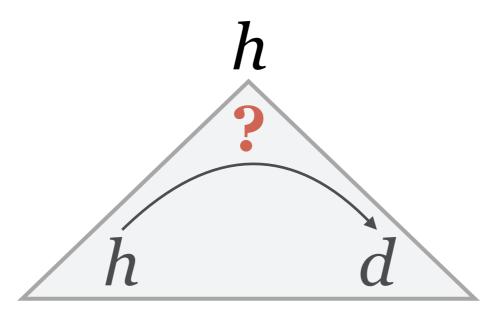
- More attention to typological diversity from the start
- But parsers had to remain agnostic about linguistic categories



• Parsers know only one type of syntactic relation



- Parsers know only one type of syntactic relation
- Parsers do not interpret dependency labels

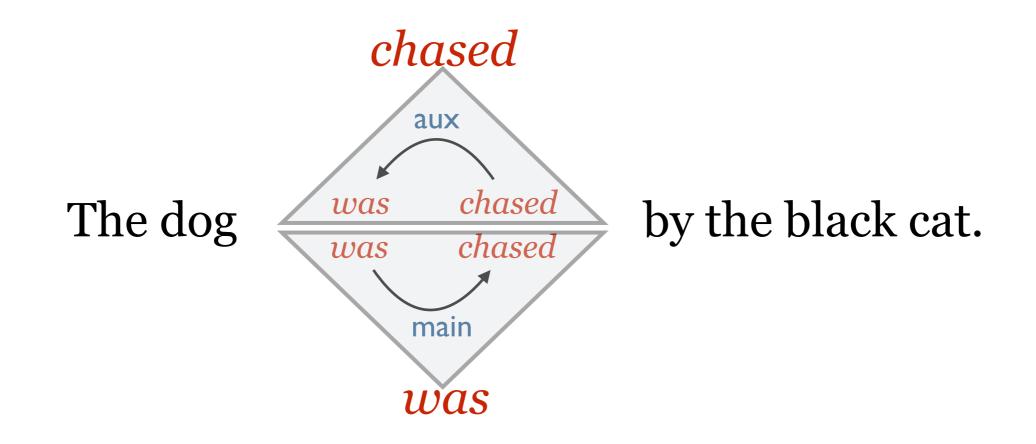


- Parsers know only one type of syntactic relation
- Parsers do not interpret dependency labels
- Parsers represent every construction by its "head"

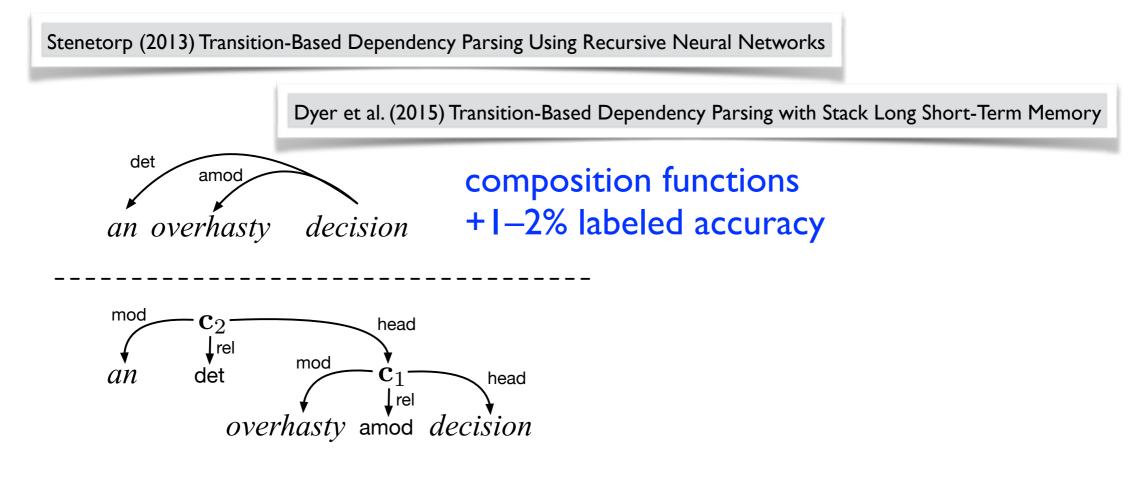


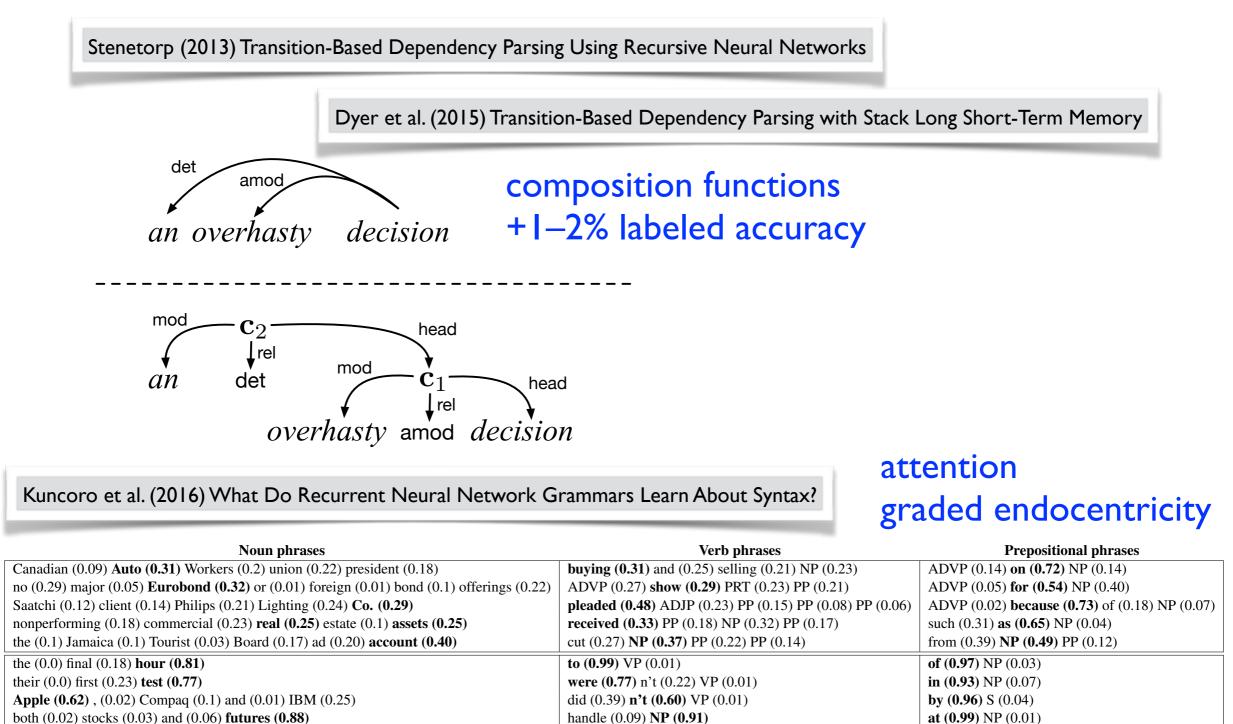


- Endocentric construction with cat as head
- Little (syntactic) information is lost by dropping black



- Dissociated nucleus consisting of was and chased
- Neither content-head nor function-head is right!

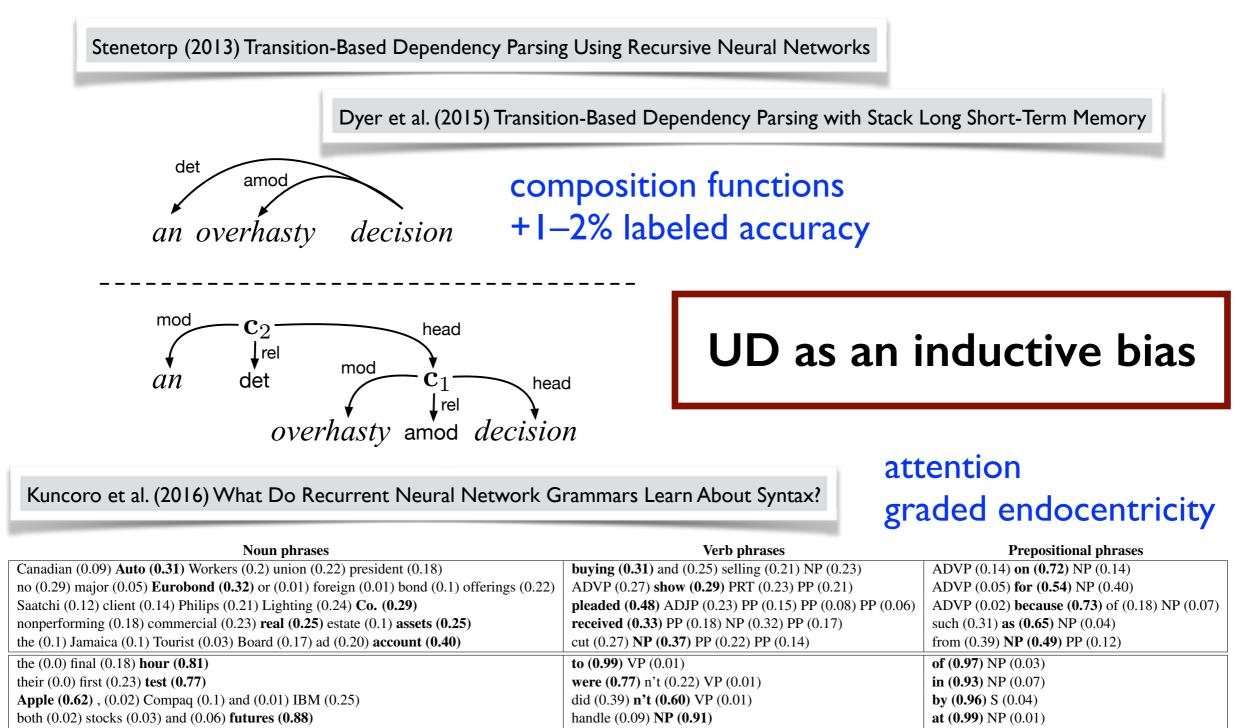




VP (0.15) and (0.83) VP 0.02)

NP (0.1) after (0.83) NP (0.06)

NP (0.01), (0.0) and (0.98) NP (0.01)



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Conclusion

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- Lexical dependencies and functional relations encoded in a single tree
- Grounded in linguistic typology and dependency grammar traditions

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- Lexical dependencies and functional relations encoded in a single tree
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Crappy parsing?

- Not so bad with existing parsers, especially for cross-lingual parsing
- Learn richer parsing models grounded in linguistic typology

UD Events in 2017

CoNLL-2017 Shared Task

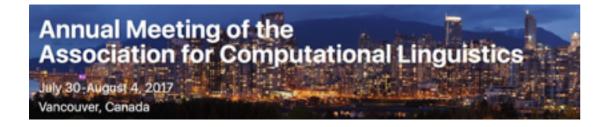
http://universaldependencies.org/conll17/

- Multilingual Parsing from Raw Text to Universal Dependencies
- Collocated with ACL, August 3–4, 2017, Vancouver, Canada
- Call for participation in December 2016, data release in March 2017

First Workshop on Universal Dependencies

http://universaldependencies.org/udw17/

- Collocated with NoDaLiDa, May 20, 2017, Gothenburg, Sweden
- Submission deadline: March 20, 2017





Thanks to all UD contributors!

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