Data-driven deep-syntactic dependency parsing[†]

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Abstract

'Deep-syntactic' dependency structures that capture the argumentative, attributive and coordinative relations between full words of a sentence have a great potential for a number of NLP-applications. The abstraction degree of these structures is in between the output of a syntactic dependency parser (connected trees defined over all words of a sentence and language-specific grammatical functions) and the output of a semantic parser (forests of trees defined over individual lexemes or phrasal chunks and abstract semantic role labels which capture the frame structures of predicative elements and drop all attributive and coordinative dependencies). We propose a parser that provides deep-syntactic structures. The parser has been tested on Spanish, English and Chinese.

1 Introduction

State-of-the-art syntactic dependency parsing delivers *surface-syntactic structures* (SSyntSs), which are *per force* idiosyncratic in that they are defined over the entire vocabulary of a language (including governed prepositions, determiners, support verb constructions, etc.) and language-specific *grammatical functions* such as, e.g., SBJ, OBJ, PRD, PMOD, etc.; see, among others (McDonald *et al.* 2005; Nivre *et al.* 2007b; Kübler, McDonald and Nivre 2009; Bohnet and Kuhn 2012; Bohnet and Nivre 2012; Dyer *et al.* 2015). On the other hand, semantic (or deep) parsing delivers logical forms (LFs) or semantic structures (SemSs) equivalent to LFs,¹ PropBank

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¹ The first language understanding approaches dealt with abstract conceptual meaning representations that could be mapped onto LFs; see, among others, Bobrow and Webber (1981), Dahlgren (1988), Kasper and Hovy (1990).

(Palmer, Gildea and Kingsbury 2005) or FrameNet (Fillmore, Baker and Sato 2002) structures (SemSs). See, for instance, Miyao (2006), Oepen and Lønning (2006), Allen *et al.* (2007), Bos (2008) and the DM- and PAS-parsers of the SemEval 2014 shared task (Oepen *et al.* 2014) for LF outputs. Some approaches deliver PropBank structure output (Johansson and Nugues 2008a; Zhao *et al.* 2009; Gesmundo *et al.* 2009; Henderson *et al.* 2013), and FrameNet structure output (Das *et al.* 2014).

Parsers working with LFs tend to abstract not only over surface-oriented linguistic information (such as determination, tense, etc.) but also over distinctive (shallow) semantic relations. Thus, in Boxer (Bos 2008) and in other parsers that produce LFs, the phrases *the dancing girl* and *the girl dances* will result in the same relation between 'dance' and 'girl'. PropBank and FrameNet structures are forests of trees, defined over disambiguated lexemes or phrasal chunks and thematic roles (A0, A1, ..., ARGM-DIR, ARGM-LOC, etc., in the case of PropBank structures and Agent, Object, Patient, Value, Time, Beneficiary, etc., in the case of Frame structures), with usually omitted attributive and coordinative relations (be they within chunks or sentential).

For many NLP-applications, including machine translation, paraphrasing, text simplification, etc., neither SSyntSs nor LFs or SemSs are adequate: the high idiosyncrasy of SSyntSs is obstructive because of the recurrent divergence between the source and the target structures, while the high abstraction of LFs and SemSs is problematic because of the loss of linguistic structure information in the case of LFs and dependencies between chunks and the loss of meaningful content elements in the case of SemSs. 'Syntactico-semantic' structures in the sense of *deep-syntactic* structures (DSyntSs) as defined in the Meaning-Text Theory (Mel'čuk 1988) are in this sense arguably more appropriate. DSyntSs are situated between SSyntSs and LFs/SemSs. Compared to SSyntSs, they have the advantage to abstract from language-specific grammatical idiosyncrasies. Compared to LFs, PropBank and Frame structures, they have the advantage to be complete, i.e., capture all and distinguish all argumentative, attributive and coordinative dependencies between the meaning-bearing lexical items of a sentence, and to be connected. As a consequence, for instance, in the context of Machine Translation, DSyntSs help reduce the number and types of divergences between the source language \mathscr{L}_{S} and destination language \mathscr{L}_{D} structures to the minimum to make the transfer straightforward (Mel'čuk and Wanner 2006, 2008),² but are still syntactic and thus reflect the communicative intention of the speaker (Steedman 2000). Consider, for instance, a French-English sentence pair in (1).

(1) Fr. Qu'il soit l'invité de Mary me dérange lit. 'That he be the invited of Mary me bothers.'
≡ His being Mary's invitee bothers me.

In French, the subject has to be a full clause, hence the presence of a subordinating conjunction *que* 'that', which links the embedded verb and the main verb in the

² As shown by Mel'čuk and Wanner, the remaining morphological and syntactic mismatches at the DSyntS-level can be handled in a principled way.



(d) DRS of (1), as obtained with Boxer

Fig. 1. (Colour online) SSyntSs, PropBank structure, and DRS of (1).

SSyntS. In addition, *invité* 'invited' has to bear a determiner, and the genitive construction is realized through the use of the preposition *de* 'of' (which is also possible although less idiomatic in English). Figure 1 shows the corresponding SSyntSs, PropBank structure, and Discourse Representation Structure (DRS) (the Propbank structure and DRS are, in principle, the same for both the French and the English sentence). As can be observed, the SSyntSs differ considerably, while the PropBank structure provides only a partial argumental structure, and the DRS blurs the difference between the main and the embedded clauses.³ None of the variants is thus optimal for MT.

³ The DRS has been obtained automatically with the Boxer demo version at http://svn.ask.it.usyd.edu.au/trac/candc/wiki/Demo. In other words, we cannot ensure that it is the correct DRS; see Kamp and Reyle (1993) for a theoretical presentation of DRSs. However, since we focus on the type of information stored in a DRS, this does not invalidate our argumentation.



Fig. 2. DSyntSs of (1).

The respective DSyntSs in Figure 2 avoid the idiosyncrasies of SSyntSs and the over-generalizations of PropBank/DRS. They are isomorphic and facilitate thus a straightforward transfer.

Based on these observations, we propose to put on the research agenda of statistical parsing the task of deep-syntactic parsing. This task is not really novel. Thus the idea of the surface \rightarrow surface syntax \rightarrow deep syntax pipeline goes back at least to Curry (1961) and is implemented in a number of more recent works; cf. (Klimeš 2006, 2007), which produces tectogrammatical structures in the sense of the Prague school,⁴ de Groote (2001), which obtains a deep categorial grammar structure, and Rambow and Joshi (1997), which provide a deep analysis in the TAG-framework. Moreover, in the SemEval 2014 shared task on Broad-Coverage Semantic Dependency Parsing, the target structures (Oepen *et al.* 2014) show a similarity with DSyntSs. However, as pointed out above and as will be argued further below in more detail, DSyntSs still show some advantages over most of the other common structures. Nonetheless, the primary goal of this paper is not to push forward the use of DSyntSs. Rather, we aim to propose a novel way to obtain DSyntSs (or structures that are equivalent to DSyntSs) from a SSynt dependency parse using data-driven tree transduction in a pipeline with a syntactic parser.

The paper is an extension of the paper presented by Ballesteros *et al.* (2014). Compared to Ballesteros *et al.* (2014), it contains a more detailed discussion of the theoretical background and of the data sets, more exhaustive experiments with more challenging baselines not only on Spanish, but also on Chinese and English, and a deeper analysis of the outcome of these experiments. The latest version of the source code and the package distribution of our DSynt parser are available at https://github.com/talnsoftware/deepsyntacticparsing/wiki.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we introduce DSyntSs and SSyntSs. Section 3 discusses the fundamentals of SSyntS–DSyntS transduction. Section 4 describes the experiments that we carried out on Spanish, Chinese and English material, and Section 5 presents their outcome. Section 6 summarizes the related work, before in Section 7 some conclusions and plans for future work are presented.

⁴ Bojar, Cinková and Ptáček (2008) even discuss an MT-model at the tectogrammatical layer.

2 Linguistic fundamentals of SSyntS-DSynt transduction

Before we set out to discuss the principles of the SSyntS–DSynt transduction, we define the notions of DSyntS and SSyntS as used in our experiments and the types of correspondences between the two.

2.1 The surface- and deep-syntactic structures

SSyntSs and DSyntSs are directed, node- and edge-labeled dependency trees with standard feature-value structures (Kasper and Rounds 1986) as node labels and dependency relations as edge labels. Both differ, however, with respect to the abstraction of linguistic information: DSyntSs capture predicate-argument relations between meaning-bearing lexical items, while these relations are not captured by SSyntSs. At the same time, DSyntSs maintain the sentence structure (as SSyntSs do).

The features of the node labels in **SSyntSs** are *lex*, which captures the name of the lexical item, and 'syntactic grammemes' of this name, i.e., *number*, *gender*, *case*, *person* for nouns and *tense*, *mood* and *finiteness* for verbs. The value of *lex* can be any (either full or functional) lexical item. The edge labels of a SSyntS are grammatical functions 'subj', 'dobj', 'det', 'modif', etc. In other words, SSyntSs are syntactic structures of the kind as encountered in the standard dependency treebanks: dependency version of the Penn Treebank (PTB) (Johansson and Nugues 2007) for English, Prague Dependency Treebank for Czech (Hajič *et al.* 2006), AnCora for Spanish (Taulé, Martí and Recasens 2008), Copenhagen Dependency Treebank for Danish (Buch-Kromann 2003), etc. In formal terms, which we need for the outline of the transduction below, a SSyntS is defined as follows:

Definition 1 (SSyntS)

An SSyntS of a language \mathscr{L} is a quintuple $T_{SS} = \langle N, A, \lambda_{l_s \to n}, \rho_{r_s \to a}, \gamma_{n \to g} \rangle$ defined over all lexical items L of \mathscr{L} , the set of syntactic grammemes G_{synt} , and the set of grammatical functions R_{gr} , where

- the set N of nodes and the set A of directed arcs form a connected tree,
- $\lambda_{l_s \to n}$ assigns to each $n \in N$ an $l_s \in L$,
- $\rho_{r_s \to a}$ assigns to each $a \in A$ an $r \in R_{gr}$,
- $\gamma_{n \to g}$ assigns to each $\lambda_{l_s \to n}(n)$ a set of grammemes $G_t \in G_{synt}$.

The top structure in Figure 3 shows a sample SSyntS, where the feature-value information for three nodes is made explicit for illustration. A more common graphical representation of a SSyntS (which does not show explicitly the features and their corresponding values) is displayed in Figure 4(a).

The features of the node labels in **DSyntSs** are *lex* and 'semantic grammemes' of the value of *lex*, i.e., *number* and *definiteness* for nouns and *tense*, *finiteness*, *mood*, *voice* and *aspect* for verbs.⁵ In contrast to *lex* in SSyntS, DSyntS's *lex* can be any *full*, but not a *functional* lexeme. In accordance with this restriction, in the case of *look after a person*, AFTER will not appear in the corresponding DSyntS

⁵ Most of the grammemes have a semantic and a surface interpretation; see Mel'čuk (2013).



Fig. 3. SSyntS (top) and DSyntS (bottom) for the sentence *The producer thinks that the new* song will be successful soon.

since it is a functional (or governed) preposition. In contrast, AFTER in *leave after* the meeting will remain in the DSyntS because there it has its own meaning of 'succession in time'. The edge labels of a DSyntS are 'deep-syntactic' relations I,...,VI, ATTR, COORD, APPEND. 'I',...,'VI' are argument relations, analogous to A0, A1, etc. in the PropBank annotation. 'ATTR' subsumes all (circumstantial) ARGM-x PropBank relations as well as the modifier relations not captured by the PropBank and FrameNet annotations. 'COORD' is the coordinative relation as in: John-COORD-and-II-Mary, publish-COORD-or-II-perish, and so on. APPEND subsumes all parentheticals, interjections, direct addresses, etc., as, e.g., in Listen, John!: listen-APPEND-John. DSyntSs thus show a strong similarity with PropBank structures, with four important differences: (i) their lexical labels are not disambiguated;⁶ (ii) instead of circumstantial thematic roles of the kind

⁶ As a matter of fact, in genuine DSyntSs as defined in Mel'čuk (1988), lexical labels are disambiguated. It is only in our current interpretation that they are not.



Fig. 4. SSyntS and DSyntS for the sentence Almost 1.2 million jobs have been created by the state in that time.



Fig. 5. PropBank structure of the sentence Almost 1.2 million jobs have been created by the state in that time.

ARGM-LOC, ARGM-DIR, etc. they use a unique ATTR relation; (iii) they capture all existing dependencies between meaning-bearing lexical nodes and (iv) they are connected. Formally, a DSyntS is defined as follows:

Definition 2 (DSyntS)

A DSyntS of a language \mathscr{L} is a quintuple $T_{DS} = \langle N, A, \lambda_{l_s \to n}, \rho_{r_s \to a}, \gamma_{n \to g} \rangle$ defined over the full lexical items L_d of \mathscr{L} , the set of semantic grammemes G_{sem} , and the set of deep-syntactic relations R_{dsynt} , where

- the set N of nodes and the set A of directed arcs form a connected tree,
- $\lambda_{l_s \to n}$ assigns to each $n \in N$ an $l_s \in L_d$,
- $\rho_{r_s \to a}$ assigns to each $a \in A$ an $r \in R_{dsynt}$,
- $\gamma_{n \to g}$ assigns to each $\lambda_{l_s \to n}(n)$ a set of grammemes $G_t \in G_{sem}$.

The bottom structure in Figures 3 and 4(b) show examples of DSyntSs.

As mentioned, a number of other annotations have resemblance with DSyntSs. In particular, as already pointed out, DSyntSs show some resemblance but also some important differences with PropBank structures, mainly due to the fact that the latter concern phrasal chunks and not individual nodes. Figure 5 shows the PropBank structure that corresponds to the SSyntS and DSyntS in Figure 4. The square brackets in the PropBank structure indicate the constituents that implicitly form part of the arguments of A1 and AM-TMP, respectively.

The target structures of the SemEval 2014 shared task on Broad-Coverage Semantic Dependency Parsing (Oepen *et al.* 2014) also show some similarities with DSyntSs. For instance, the DELPH-IN annotation, which is a rough conversion of the Minimal Recursion Semantics treebank (Oepen and Lønning 2006) into bilexical dependencies, also captures the lexical argument (or valency) structure and eliminates some functional elements (such as *be* copula and prepositions). The Enju annotation (Miyao 2006) is a pure predicate-argument graph over all the words of a sentence. However, it distinguishes arguments of functional elements (auxiliaries, infinitive and dative TO, THAT, WHETHER, FOR complementizers, passive BY) in that they are attached to the semantic heads of these elements (rather than to



Fig. 6. Collapsed Stanford dependency structure of the sentence Almost 1.2 million jobs have been created by the state in that time.

the elements themselves). This facilitates the disregard of functional elements – as in DSyntSs (cf. Ivanova *et al.* (2012) for a more complete overview of Enju and DELPH-IN).

The degree of 'semanticity' of DSyntSs can be directly compared to Prague's tectogrammatical structures (PDT-tecto (Hajič et al. 2006)), which contain autosemantic words only. Synsemantic elements such as determiners, auxiliaries, prepositions and conjunctions are not kept in tectogrammatical structures. Thanks to the distinction between argumental and non-argumental edges, tectogrammatical structures are trees, not graphs. That is, as in the DSyntSs, they maintain the syntactic structure of the sentence. The main differences between DSyntSs and tectogrammatical structures are: (i) in tectogrammatical structures, no distinction is made between governed and non-governed prepositions and conjunctions, and (ii) in tectogrammatical structures, the vocabulary used for edge labels emphasizes 'semantic' content over predicateargument information. For instance, a label like ADDR (addressee) indicates that the dependent is an argument of its governor, but does not say which slot is occupied in the valency frame of the latter. At the same time, this tag indicates that the dependent is the recipient of a message, which a simple ARG2 label for instance does not encode.⁷ DSyntSs, on the other hand, have the advantage to directly encode predicate-argument structures and thus be straightforwardly connected to existing lexical resources such as PropBank or NomBank, and through these to deeper representation such as VerbNet (Schuler 2005) and FrameNet structures; see Palmer (2009).

Although the annotations are not really of the same nature, DSyntSs can be furthermore contrasted to the *Collapsed Stanford Dependencies (SD)* (de Marneffe and Manning 2008). Collapsed SDs differ from DSyntSs (apart from the fact that that they may be (sometimes) disconnected graphs) in that: (i) in the same fashion as in the Prague Dependency Treebank, they collapse only (but all) prepositions, conjunctions and possessive clitics, whereas DSyntSs omit all functional nodes (all auxiliaries, some determiners, and some prepositions and conjunctions); (ii) they do not involve any removal of (syntactic) information since the meaning of the preposition remains encoded in the label of the collapsed dependency, while DSyntSs omit or generalize the purely functional elements; (iii) they do not add semantic information compared to the surface annotation. That is, Collapsed SDs

⁷ See Oepen *et al.* (2014) for a parallel illustration of DELPH-IN, Enju and tectogrammatical structures.

keep the surface-syntactic information, representing it in a different format, while DSyntSs keep only deep-syntactic information. Consider Figure 6 for illustration.⁸

As in all mentioned annotations (except in SD), the opposition between active and passive voice is neutralized in the DSynSs – for instance, both the first object of an active verb and the subject of a passive verb are annotated as second arguments. As in PDT-tecto, PropBank and SD, in DSyntSs multi-word expressions (MWEs) are handled through a specific dependency relation; in DRS and DELPH-IN, special predicates exist, which take as arguments the components of a MWE, while in Enju, MWEs are not annotated. In our current version of the DSyntSs (as in SD, DRS, DELPH-IN, and Enju), predicates are not disambiguated and light verb constructions, which are the most common type of MWEs, are annotated as regular constructions. In contrast, in the PropBank and PDT-tecto annotations, verbs and nouns are disambiguated, and an independent resource with lexical units and their valency frames is compiled (PropBank lexicon and PDT-VALLEX). In PropBank and PDT-tecto, light verb constructions are also annotated: as MWEs in PDT-tecto, and as independent lexical units in the PropBank lexicon. Finally, in DSyntSs, argument sharing is not represented, since at this level the structures must be trees and one node can thus receive one and only one incoming arc. In the Meaning-Text framework, argument sharing is made explicit at the semantic layer, where the structures are predicate-argument graphs. The PDT-tecto annotation is also arborescent, but its authors made the choice to annotate argument sharing by duplicating shared arguments in the tree for control and coordinate structures.⁹ PropBank, SD, DRS, DELPH-IN and Enju, are graph representations, so shared arguments in coordinate and control constructions are not an issue. However, in PropBank and SD, special relations are used in some case of control constructions (and other phenomena), respectively C-AM and xsubj relations.

2.2 SSyntS–DSyntS correspondences

The implementation of the transduction from SSyntS to DSyntS requires a prior detailed analysis of the correspondences between elements of SSyntS and DSyntS. Let us thus discuss the correspondences between the two types of structures, based on the example in Figure 7 (in which the grammemes are not shown for the sake of clarity); we use a Spanish example (instead of, e.g., an English one) because it allows us to illustrate all relevant phenomena.

The following correspondences between the SSyntS S_{ss} and DSyntS S_{ds} of a sentence need to be taken into account during the SSyntS–DSyntS transduction:¹⁰

⁸ Figure 6 has been obtained through manual revision of the output of the online Stanford demo page (http://nlp.stanford.edu:8080/parser/index.jsp); we are responsible for possible erroneous dependencies.

⁹ Actually, given their annotation of coordinations, shared arguments do not always have to be duplicated: with the conjunction as the governor of all the conjuncts, shared arguments are simply made dependents of the conjunction.

¹⁰ In what follows, the structures in Figure 7 are used to illustrate the correspondences (i)– (vii); we are aware that the citation of the same structures is somehow repetitive, but we



Fig. 10. A fragment of the S_{ss} tree corresponds to a single node in S_{ds} .

- (i) A node in S_{ss} is a node in S_{ds} (Figure 8): The node *mucho* 'a-lot' has a single correspondent in the DSyntS. This is also the case of the node *profesor*.
- (ii) A relation in S_{ss} corresponds to a relation in S_{ds} (Figure 9): The SSynt relation *subj* is mapped to the DSynt relation *I*. Note that the relation-to-relation mapping is not necessarily unique. Thus, *subj* is mapped to *II* (rather than to *I*) if the verb in the SSyntS is in passive.
- (iii) A fragment of the S_{ss} tree corresponds to a single node in S_{ds} (Figure 10): The words *dice* 'say' and *que* 'that' and the dependency between them (*dobj*) correspond to one single node in DSynt (*decir* 'say'); in other words, *que* 'that' is not reflected in the DSyntS.

believe that it makes the presentation much clearer. For English glosses of the Spanish words, see Figure 7.







Fig. 12. A grammeme in S_{ss} is a grammeme in S_{ds} .



Fig. 13. A node in S_{ss} is conflated with another node in S_{ds} .

(iv) A relation with a dependent or governor node in S_{ss} is a grammeme in S_{ds} (Figure 11):

The relation *det* and its dependent, the definite determiner *el* 'the', are stored in the DSyntS as the grammeme of definiteness associated to the node *profesor* 'professor'. Similarly, the auxiliary relations and their governors correspond to a grammeme of voice, tense, or aspect on the node of the dependent verb.¹¹

(v) A grammeme in S_{ss} is a grammeme in S_{ds} (Figure 12):

Number grammemes are maintained on nodes which can carry semantic number (that is, on nodes which do not have a number only for agreement reasons, as it can be the case for verbs in English, verbs, determiners and adjectives in Spanish and other languages, etc.), such as singular number on the node *profesor* 'professor'. Other grammemes, such as those of tense, mood, or finiteness are mapped the same way.

- (vi) A node in S_{ss} is conflated with another node in S_{ds} (Figure 13): For this correspondence, the reflexive pronoun *se* 'itself'/'each other' is part of the lemma of the verb in the DSyntS. In the SSyntS, it is separated in order to produce the sentence *se quejan*, lit. 'themselves they-complain'.
- (vii) A node in S_{ds} has no correspondence in S_{ss} (Figure 14):

In Spanish, which is a pro-drop language, the subject of a finite verb does not need to be realized, even though there is a node at the DSynt level which accounts for the agreement found on the verb, for instance (third person plural in this case).

¹¹ Note that the fact that the determiner and its dependency are mapped onto a grammeme entails that the governing noun actually has a one-to-one correspondence with its DSyntS counterpart, even though we consider that both nodes form a hypernode (see Section 3.1).



Fig. 14. A node in S_{ds} has no correspondence in S_{ss} .

3 SSyntS-DSyntS transduction

In this section, we first flesh out the principles of the transduction between SSyntSs and DSyntSs and detail it then step by step.

3.1 Principles of the SSyntS-DSyntS transduction

In the above list of SSynt-DSynt correspondences, the grammeme correspondences (iv) and (v) and the 'pseudo' correspondences in (vi) and (vii) are few or idiosyncratic and are best handled in a rule-based post-processing stage; see Section 3.5. The main task of the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer is thus to cope with the correspondences (i)–(iii). For this purpose, we consider SSyntS and DSyntS trees as two-dimensional matrices $I = N \times N$ (with N as the set of nodes $\{1, \ldots, m\}$ of a given tree and $I(i, j) = \rho_{r, \rightarrow a}(n_i, n_j)$ if $n_i, n_j \in N$ and $(n_i, n_j) = a \in A$ $(i, j = 1, \ldots, m; i \neq j)$ and I(i, j) = 0 otherwise.¹² That is, for a given SSyntS, I(i, j) contains in the cell $(i, j), i, j = 1, \ldots, m$ (with $i \neq j$) the name of the SSynt-relation that is encountered in the given tree between the nodes n_i and n_j . If no relation holds between n_i and n_j , the cell I(i, j) contains '0'. In analogy, for a given DSyntS, the cells contain DSyntS-relations between the corresponding nodes.

Starting from the matrix I_s of a given SSyntS, the task is therefore to obtain the matrix I_d of the corresponding DSyntS, that is, to identify correspondences between i_s respectively j_s , (i_s, j_s) and groups of (i_s, j_s) of I_s with i_d respectively j_d and (i_d, j_d) of I_d ; see (i)–(iii) above. In other words, the task consists in identifying and removing all functional lexemes, and attach correctly the remaining nodes between them.¹³

As already the projection of a chain of tokens onto an SSyntS, the SSyntS–DSyntS projection can be viewed as a classification task. However, while the 'chain \rightarrow surface-syntactic tree' projection is isomorphic, the latter is not (see (iii)). In order to make it appear as an isomorphic projection, it is convenient to interpret SSyntS and the targeted DSyntS as collection of *hypernodes*; cf. Definition 3:

Definition 3 (Hypernode)

Given a SSyntS S_s with its matrix I_s and a DSyntS S_d with its matrix I_d , a node partition p (with $|p| \ge 1$) of I_s/I_d is a hypernode h_{s_i} / h_{d_i} iff p corresponds to a partition p' (with $|p'| \ge 1$) of S_d/S_s .

¹² As the reader will have noticed, we use here the graph notation (n_i, n_j) to refer to an arc between the (starting) node n_i and the (target) node n_j in a tree. See also the formal definitions of SSyntS and DSyntS in the previous section.

¹³ Particularly challenging is the identification of functional prepositions: based on the information found in the corpus only, our system must decide if a given preposition is a full or a functional lexeme. That is, we do not resort to any external lexical resources.

In other words, a SSyntS hypernode, known as *syntagm* in linguistics, is any SSyntS configuration with a cardinality ≥ 1 that corresponds to a single DSyntS node. The notion of hypernode is quite generic. It subsumes several types of correspondences discussed in Section 2.2 (namely, (i), (iii), (iv) and (vi)). For instance, *dice que* 'says that', *el profesor* 'the professor', and *se quejan* '(they) complain' from the example above constitute hypernodes. Hypernodes can also contain more than two nodes, as in the case of more complex analytical verb forms, e.g., *ha sido invitado* 'he-has been invited', which corresponds to the node *invitar* 'invite' in the DSyntS.

In this way, the SSyntS–DSyntS correspondence boils down to a correspondence between individual hypernodes and between individual arcs, such that the transduction embraces the following three (classification) subtasks: (i) hypernode identification, (ii) DSynt tree reconstruction and (iii) DSynt arc labeling, which are completed by (iv) post-processing.

3.2 Hypernode identification

The hypernode identification consists of a binary classification of the nodes of a given SSyntS as nodes that form a hypernode of cardinality 1 (i.e., nodes that have a one-to-one correspondence to a node in the DSyntS) versus nodes that form part of a hypernode of cardinality > 1. In practice, hypernodes of the first type (henceforth, 'type 1' or 'h1') will be formed by: (1) noun nodes that do not govern (in)definite determiner or functional preposition nodes, (2) full verb nodes that are not governed by any auxiliary verb nodes and that do not govern any functional preposition node and (3) adjective, adverbial, and semantic preposition nodes which do not govern functional preposition nodes.

Hypernodes of the second type (henceforth, 'type 2' or 'h2') will be formed by: (1) noun nodes + (in)definite determiner + functional preposition nodes they govern, (2) verb nodes + auxiliary nodes they are governed by + functional preposition nodes they govern + reflexive pronoun *se* 'oneself' when it is part of the lemma of the verb and (3) adjective, adverbial, and semantic preposition nodes + functional preposition nodes they govern.

The following sentence shows different examples of hypernodes of type 1 (h1) and type 2 (h2):

(2) [El capitán de]_{h2} [la embarcación]_{h2} [se ha puesto a]_{h2} [cantar]_{h1} [cuando]_{h1} [ha visto a]_{h2} [cuatro]_{h1} [delfines]_{h1} [adultos]_{h1} [saltar]_{h1} [cerca de]_{h2} [nosotros]_{h1}.
'[The captain of]_{h2} [the boat]_{h2} [(reflexive+has) started to]_{h2} [sing]_{h1} [when]_{h1} [he-has seen prep]_{h2} [four]_{h1} [dolphins]_{h1} [adults]_{h1} [jump]_{h1} [next to]_{h2} [us]_{h1}.'

3.3 DSynt tree reconstruction

The outcome of the hypernode identification stage is thus the set $H_s = H_{s_{|p|=1}} \cup H_{s_{|p|>1}}$ of hypernodes of two types. With this set at hand, we can define an isomorphic function $\tau : H_s \to H_{d_{|p|=1}}$ (with $h_d \in H_{d_{|p|=1}}$ consisting of $n_d \in N_{ds}$, i.e., the set of nodes of the target DSyntS). τ is the identity function for $h_s \in H_{s_{|p|=1}}$. For $h_s \in H_{s_{|p|>1}}$, τ maps the functional nodes in h_s onto grammemes (attribute-value tags) of the

Algorithm 1: DSyntS tree reconstruction

for $\forall n_i \in N_d$ do if $\exists n_i : (n_i, n_i) \in S_s \land \tau(n_i) \in N_d$ then // the equivalent of the governor node of n_i is // included in DSyntS $(n_i, n_i) \to S_d$ else if $\exists n_j, n_a : (n_j, n_i) \in S_s \land \tau(n_j) \notin N_d \land$ $\tau(n_a) \in N_d$ then $//n_a$ is the first ancestor of n_i that has //an equivalent in DSyntS //the equivalent of the governor node of n_i //is not included in DSyntS, but the $//ancestor n_a$ is $(n_a, n_i) \to S_d$ else //the equivalent of the governor node of n_i //is not included in DSyntS, but several //ancestors of it are $n_b := BestHead(n_i, S_s, S_d)$ $(n_b, n_i) \to S_d$ endfor





Fig. 16. A sentence in its surface representation that shows two paths: $[dep_1] + [dep_2] + [dep_3]$ for the *node*₃ and $[dep_1] + [dep_4]$ for *node*₄. The nodes *governor*, *node*₃ and *node*₄ are kept in the deep structure. The other nodes (*node*₁ and *node*₂) are not included in the deep structure. The system has to decide whether *node*₃ or *node*₄ are attached to the governor.

meaning-bearing node in h_d and identifies the meaning-bearing node as governor. Some of the dependencies of the obtained nodes $n_d \in N_{ds}$ can be recovered from the dependencies of their sources. Due to the node removals (e.g., the projection of functional nodes to grammems), some dependencies will be also missing and must be introduced. The algorithm in Figure 15 recalculates the dependencies for the target DSyntS S_d , starting from the matrix I_s of SSyntS S_s to obtain a connected tree.

BestHead recursively ascends S_s from a given node n_i until it encounters one or several governor nodes $n_d \in N_{ds}$. In case of several encountered governor nodes, the one which governs the highest frequency dependency is returned. Consider Figure 16 for illustration.

3.4 DSynt arc labeling

The tree reconstruction stage produces a 'hybrid' connected dependency tree $S_{s \to d}$ with DSynt nodes N_{ds} , and arcs A_s labeled by SSynt relation labels (cf. left part of Figure 17), i.e., a matrix I^- , whose cells (i, j) contain SSynt labels for all



Fig. 17. Input (left) and output (right) of DSynt arc relabeling.

 $n_i, n_j \in N_{ds}$: $(n_i, n_j) \in A_s$ and '0' otherwise. The next and last stage of SSyntto-DSyntS transduction is thus the projection of SSynt relation labels of $S_{s\to d}$ to their corresponding DSynt labels, or, in other words, the mapping of I^- to I_d of the target DSyntS (see Tables 2 and 3 for concrete examples).

There are some labels that have a direct transduction (see Table 2 for direct SSynt-DSynt label correspondences in Spanish), while others have several candidates. For instance, and as shown in Table 3 for Spanish, the labels *coord* and *copred* are always transduced to *COORD* and *ATTR* respectively, while *obl_obj* may be mapped to *II*, *III*, *IV* or *VI*, depending on the other dependents of the governor of the current node. This is why it is necessary to include higher-order features based on the siblings of the node that is about to be transduced. Figure 17 shows an example of the relabeling: on the left side of the figure, the dependency labels are superficial (dep_x), whereas on the right side of the figure, the labels are the ones usually found in a DSyntS (dep_{Deepx}).

The system learns the SSynt-to-DSynt label projection (in training time) in order to be able to infer it during the test time. The training procedure outputs a multiclass classifier that detects the best DSynt label for each node, taking into account the features that are included in the procedure. Again, this module allows for two kinds of features: local features related to a node and higher-order features related to the governor node of a node that is being processed and features related to the sibling nodes.

3.5 Postprocessing

As mentioned in Section 2, there is a limited number of idiosyncratic correspondences between elements of SSyntS and DSyntS. The correspondences (iv-vii), depicted in Section 2.2 can be straightforwardly handled by a rule-based post-processor because (a) they are non-ambiguous, i.e., $a \leftrightarrow b, c \leftrightarrow b \Rightarrow a = c \land a \leftrightarrow b, a \leftrightarrow d \Rightarrow b = d$, and (b) they are few. The rule-based post-processor creates/copies grammemes and creates respectively collapses some nodes in the DSyntS:

- Tense and voice grammemes are introduced for verbal lexemes in accordance with the corresponding SSynt dependency relation (e.g., analyt_fut gives rise to 'tense=FUT(ure)', analyt_perf to 'tense=PAST', analyt_pass to 'voice=PASS(ive)', etc.); definiteness grammemes are introduced for nominal lexemes (e.g., the←detgives rise to 'def=DEF').
- (2) If a number or tense grammeme is already assigned to a node n_s in the SSyntS, it is copied to the node n_d corresponding to n_s in the DSyntS.
- (3) A reflexive verb particle that is part of the verb lemma (as e.g., *se* in Spanish or *si* in Italian) or a pronoun (as e.g., *sich* in German) and its verbal governor in the SSyntS are collapsed in the DSyntS into a single node.



Fig. 18. Setup of a deep-syntactic parser.

(4) If a pronoun in the SSyntS of a pro-drop language is omitted, a pronoun node is created and related to its verbal governor in the DSyntS. So far, this case has been implemented only for the zero subject in Spanish, for which the pronoun node is created, furnished with the number and person grammemes derived from the SSyntS and related to its verbal governor by an actantial relation which depends on the voice of the verb: *I* for *active* and *II* for *passive*, respectively.

4 Experiments

In order to validate the SSyntS–DSyntS transduction described in Section 3 and to assess its performance in combination with a surface dependency parser, i.e., starting from a plain sentence, we carried out a number of experiments in which we implemented the transducer and integrated it into the pipeline. Figure 18 shows the whole pipeline we set up.

4.1 The SSyntS and DSyntS treebanks

We carried out experiments on Spanish, English and Chinese.¹⁴

For Spanish, we use the AnCora-UPF SSyntS and DSyntS treebanks (Mille, Burga and Wanner 2013) in CoNLL format,¹⁵ which we adjusted for our needs. In particular, we removed from the 79-tags SSyntS treebank the semantically and information structure influenced relation tags to obtain an annotation granularity closer to the granularities used for previous parsing experiments (55 relation tags; see Mille *et al.* (2012)). Unlike, e.g., PTB, in which syntactic (Penn TreeBank) and semantic role (ProbBank/NomBank) annotations are superimposed in the same CoNLL repository, in AnCora-UPF the SSyntSs and DSyntSs are separate treebanks,¹⁶ which have been validated manually (Mille *et al.* 2013).

¹⁴ The Spanish treebank served us as the main source for the development of the system. Therefore, as the reader will notice below, we used a development dataset for Spanish, but not for English and Chinese.

 ¹⁵ The corpus underlying both treebanks is the same: AnCora from 2008 (Taulé *et al.* (2008)).
 ¹⁶ The separation of SSyntS and DSyntS benefits our experiments since treebanks in which SSyntS and DSyntS are superimposed are problematic for training *pro-drop* language models (such as Spanish) because some nodes that do not appear in SSyntS are introduced in the DSyntS.

The treebanks have been divided into: (i) a *training set* (3,036 sentences, 57,665 tokens in the DSyntS treebank and 86,984 tokens in the SSyntS treebank); (ii) a *development set* (219 sentences, 3,271 tokens in the DSyntS treebank and 4,953 tokens in the SSyntS treebank); (iii) a held-out *test set* for evaluation (258 sentences, 5,641 tokens in the DSyntS treebank and 8,955 tokens in the SSyntS treebank).

For English, we use the PTB 3 (Marcus et al. 1994) dependency version (Hajič et al. 2009) as SSynt annotation. To derive from it the DSynt annotation,¹⁷ we implemented graph-transduction grammars in the MATE environment (Bohnet and Wanner 2010).¹⁸ The derivation removes all determiners, auxiliaries, that complementizers, infinitive markers to, punctuations and functional prepositions of verbs and predicative nouns. In order to obtain a DSynt annotation of a quality that is close to the quality of our annotation of the Spanish corpus, we used existing (manually annotated) lexical resources during the derivation, namely, PropBank (Kingsbury and Palmer 2002) and NomBank (Meyers et al. 2004).¹⁹ In these two resources, 11,781 disambiguated predicates (5,577 nouns and 6,204 verbs) are described and their semantic roles are listed. For each of them, an important share of functional prepositions can be retrieved. To access the list of arguments of each predicate and for each argument the list of its functional prepositions, we draw upon two fields of the XML files of these resources: the last word of the field 'descr'in 'roles', and the first word of the field of the corresponding role in 'example'. In this way, we obtain, for instance, for the lexical unit beg.01 (Figure 19), the preposition from for the semantic role 1, and the preposition for for role 2. From the example field, we also retrieve for for role 2.

For each disambiguated predicate of PropBank and NomBank, we add a new entry with the semantic roles and associated functional prepositions. The resulting dictionary allows us to obtain a DSynt layer freed from around 25,000 such prepositions.

Table 1 shows the quality of the obtained DSynt layer. The quality figures are based on the comparison of the DSyntSs of 300 sentences (6,979 SSynt and 4,976 DSynt tokens) of the PTB annotated manually with their automatically obtained equivalents. According to our error analysis, most errors of the automatic annotation are due to the fact that during the annotation, the only information that is available concerns verbs and nouns which govern preposition(s). In other words, functional prepositions governed by adjectives, adverbs or prepositions (e.g., *thanks to*) cannot be identified automatically. Neither can be identified argument slots in genitive noun compounds, as explained in Sections 4.3.1-3 for Spanish. However,

¹⁷ For English, our derived DSyntS annotation of the PTB is the first DSyntS annotation for English.

¹⁸ Ribeyre, Candito and Seddah (2014) perform a similar automatic conversion of the French Treebank.

¹⁹ We use PropBank and NomBank instead of VerbNet because (i) the latter covers five times less (2,380) predicates found in the PTB, and (ii) one predicate can be associated to more than one class, i.e., the valency pattern can be ambiguous. We are carrying out experiments on merging all these resources together (Mille and Wanner 2015).



Fig. 19. (Colour online) Sample PropBank entry.

Table 1. Quality of the automatic annotation of the PTB with the DSyntS layer

Node removal/addition	
Measure	Automatic annotation
p_h r_h	97.00 (4974/5128) 99.96 (4974/4976)
<i>F</i> 1 _{<i>h</i>} Attachmen	98.40
Measure	Automatic annotation
LAP UAP LA-P	88.53 (4540/5128) 93.88 (4814/5128) 90.00 (4615/5128)
LAR UAR LA-R	91.24 (4540/4976) 96.74 (4814/4976) 92.75 (4615/4976)

the automatic annotation is still of reasonable quality that allows us to use it for our experiments.

For our experiments, we kept the same training and test dataset split as in the CoNLL Shared Task 2009 (Hajič *et al.* 2009): 39,279 sentences for the training set and 2,399 sentences for the test set. This meant in the case of the training set 958,167 tokens in the SSyntS treebank and 711,491 tokens in the DSyntS treebank, and in the case of the test set 57,676 tokens in the SSyntS treebank and 42,467 tokens in the DSyntS treebank.

For Chinese, we use the Chinese Dependency Treebank (Xue *et al.* 2004), which was mapped to the DSyntSs along the same lines as PTB 3, but using a graph transduction grammar tuned to Chinese syntax and without lexical resources. The mapping removes (i) aspectual markers (PoS AS), (ii) prepositions in beneficiary constructions (PoS BA), in verbal modifier constructions (PoS DER and DEV), in passives (PoS LB), and in verbal and nominal constructions with PoS DEC, DEG, and P in the case of the word *jiu*, (iii) localizers when they are combined with prepositions, (iv) certain particles (PoS SP and a subclass of MSP) and (v) punctuations.²⁰

The Chinese treebank has been divided into a training set of 31,131 sentences (718,716 tokens in the SSyntS treebank and 553,290 tokens in the DSyntS treebank) and a test set of 10,180 sentences (241,247 tokens in the SSyntS treebank and 186,710 tokens in the DSyntS treebank).

4.2 Getting the SSyntS

To obtain the SSyntS of all three languages with which we experiment, we use Bohnet and Nivre (2012)'s transition-based parser, which combines PoS tagging and syntactic labeled dependency parsing. The parser uses a number of various techniques to obtain competitive accuracy such as beam search, a hash kernel that can employ a large number of features, and a graph-based completion model that re-scores the beam to capture the tree structure in terms of completed structures composed by up to three edges.

The parser was trained in twenty-five training iterations, using in each iteration the model from the preceding iteration for further processing. Given that the parser combines PoS and dependency parsing, we let the parser choose between the two best PoS tags. The threshold for the inclusion of PoS tags was set to a score of 0.25, and the size for the beam of the alternative PoS tags to 4.

4.3 From SSyntS to DSyntS

In what follows, we first present the realization of the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer and then the baseline that we use for the evaluation of the performance of the transducer. Given that we did the main development work on the Spanish treebanks, the examples in this subsection are given for Spanish and the performance reported for the development data set is for Spanish.

4.3.1 SSyntS–DSyntS transducer

As outlined in Section 3, the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer is composed of three main submodules ((1) Hypernode identification, (2) Tree reconstruction and (3) Relation

²⁰ We are conscious that this fully automatically obtained treebank cannot be of highest quality and is thus not optimal as training material. However, we believe that it is useful to demonstrate that our proposal is applicable to typologically quite different languages.

label classification) and a post-processing submodule. Let us discuss each of them separately.

(1) Hypernode identification: For hypernode identification, we trained a binary Support Vector Machine (SVM) with polynomial kernel from The library for Support Vector Machines (LIBSVM) (Chang and Lin 2001). The SVM allows for both features that are related to the processed node and higher-order features, which can be related to the governor node of the processed node or to its sibling nodes. After several feature selection trials, we chose the following features for each node n:

- lemma or stem of the label of *n*,
- label of the relation between *n* and its governor,
- surface PoS of *n*'s label,²¹
- label of the relation between *n*'s governor to its own governor,
- surface PoS of the label of *n*' governor node.

After an optimization round of the parameters available in the SVM implementation, the hypernode identification achieved over the Spanish gold development set 99.78% precision and 99.02% recall (and thus 99.4% F1).²² That is, only very few hypernodes are not identified correctly. The main (if not the *only*) error source are *governed prepositions*; cf. Section 2: the classifier has to learn when to assign a preposition an own hypernode (i.e., when it is lexically meaning-bearing) and when it should be included into the hypernode of the verb/noun (i.e., when it is functional). Our interpretation is that the features we use for this task are appropriate, but that the training data set is too small. As a result, some prepositions are erroneously removed from or left in the DSyntS.

(2) Tree reconstruction: The implementation of the tree reconstruction module shows an unlabeled dependency attachment precision of 98.18% and an unlabeled dependency attachment recall of 97.43% over the Spanish gold development set. Most of the errors produced by this module have their origin in the previous module, that is, in the hypernode identification. When a node has been incorrectly removed, the module errs in the attachment because it cannot use the node in question as the destination or the origin of a dependency, as it is the case in the gold-standard annotation; cf. Figure $20.^{23}$

When a node has erroneously not been removed, no dependencies between its governor and its dependent can be established since DSyntS must remain a tree (which gives the same LAS and UAS errors as when a node has been erroneously removed); cf. Figure 21.

²¹ The SSynt and DSyntS treebanks distinguish between surface and deep PoS.

²² For the definition of the evaluation measures we use, see Section 5.1.

²³ Note that a large majority of prepositions and conjunctions that have to be removed are second arguments, and that their dependents are by chance their second arguments too. If the example given in Figure 20 gives a labeled and unlabeled attachment errors, the labeling accuracy is not impaired (the node is in both cases the dependent of an edge II). This explains why the labeling accuracy is significantly higher than the labeled attachment score (see Section 5.2).

SSynt	DSynt	 SSynt	DSynt
abbrev	ATTR	dobj_quot	II
abs_pred	ATTR	elect	ATTR
adv	ATTR	juxtapos	APPEND
adv_mod	ATTR	modal	II
appos	ATTR	modif	ATTR
attr	ATTR	num_junct	COORD
aux_phras	NAME	obj_copred	ATTR
aux_refl_dir	II	prepos	II
aux_refl_indir	III	prepos_quot	II
bin_junct	ATTR	prolep	APPEND
compl1	II	quant	ATTR
compl2	III	quasi_coord	COORD
compl_adnom	ATTR	quasi_subj	Ι
coord	COORD	relat	ATTR
copul	II	restr	ATTR
copul_clitic	II	sequent	ATTR
copul_quot	II	subj_copred	ATTR
dobj_clitic	II	 	

Table 2. Straightforward SSynt to DSyntS DepRel mappings (Spanish)



Fig. 20. Sample gold-standard and predicted DSyntSs: node erroneously removed from the DSyntS.



Fig. 21. Sample gold-standard and predicted DSyntSs: node erroneously left in the DSyntS.

(3) Relation label classification: For relation label classification, we use a multiclass linear SVM. The label classification procedure depends on the concrete annotation schemata of the SSyntS and DSyntS treebanks on which the parser is trained. Some DSynt relation labels may be easier to derive from the original SSyntS relation labels than others. In Tables 2 and 3, we summarize the DSynt relation label derivation for the Spanish treebank.²⁴ Table 2 lists all Spanish SSynt relation labels that have a straightforward mapping to DSyntS relation labels, i.e., (i) neither their dependent nor their governor are removed, and (ii) the SSyntS relation label always maps to the same DSynt label. Table 3 shows SSyntS relation–DSyntS relation label correspondences that are not straightforward.

Given that SSyntS is highly language-dependent, the SSyntS–DSyntS mappings must necessarily capture these idiosyncrasies. For instance, for Spanish as a

²⁴ We show explicitly only the derivation for Spanish, first, because the SSyntS–DSyntS projection for Spanish is the most complex in our collection of treebanks. Second, because showing additionally the derivation for English and Chinese would not provide any further argumentation or illustration, while occupying several pages of the paper.

Table 3. Complex SSyntS to DSyntS mappings (Spanish); 'Dep' = 'dependent', 'Gov' = 'governor', 'DepRel' = 'DSynt dependency relation'

SSynt DepRel	Mapping operations to DSynt
agent analyt_fut analyt_pass analyt_perf analyt_progr aux_refl_lex aux_refl_pass compar compar_conj	remove Dep; DepRel I remove Gov and Dep; add tense=FUT remove Gov; invert I and II; add voice=PASS remove Gov; add tense=PAST remove Gov; add tem_constituency=PROGR remove Dep; add <i>se</i> at the end of Gov's lemma remove Dep; invert I and II; add voice=PASS remove Dep, if conjunction; map to DepRel II remove Dep, if governed preposition
coord_conj sub_conj	map to DepRel II
det	IF Dep=el—un: remove Dep add definiteness=DEF/INDEF IF Dep=possessive: map to DepRel ATTR I II III IF Dep=other: map to DepRel ATTR
dobj	remove Dep, if governed preposition map to DepRel I II
iobj	remove Dep, if governed preposition map to DepRel II III IV V VI
iobj_clitic	map to DepRel II III IV V VI
obl_compl	remove Dep, if governed preposition map to DepRel I II III IV V VI
obl_obj	remove Dep, if governed preposition map to DepRel II III IV V VI
punc(_init)	remove Dep
subj	remove Dep, if governed conjunction map to DepRel I II

pro-drop language we need to create in the DSyntS nodes that stand for zero subjects (i.e., subjects that do not appear in the SSyntS). Since the data-driven hypernode classifier only removes or keeps nodes, we implemented a simple rule-based approach for node creation. The system adds a node in the DSyntS when there is a finite verb that does not have a dependent which is a subject. This new node inherits the person and number from the verbal governor. This strategy is fully applicable to other languages as well since the system only needs as input the verbal PoS tag and the *subjectival* dependency relation.

The final set of features selected for label classification includes:

- lemma of the dependent node,
- dependency relation to the governor of the dependent node,
- dependency relation label of the governor node to its own governor,
- dependency relation to the governor of the sibling nodes of the dependent node, if any.

After an optimization round of the parameters set of the SVM model, relation labeling achieved 94.00% label precision and 93.28% label recall on the Spanish development set. The recall is calculated considering all the nodes that are included in the gold standard.

The error sources for relation labeling are mostly the dependencies that involve possessives and the various types of objects (see Table 3) due to their differing valency. For instance, the relation det in su 'his'/'her' $\leftarrow det-coche$ 'car' and su 'his'/'her' $\leftarrow det-llamada$ 'phone call' have different correspondences in DSyntS: $su \leftarrow ATTR-coche$ versus $su \leftarrow I-llamada$. That is, the DSyntS relation depends on the lexical properties of the governor. Once again, more training data is needed in order to classify better those cases.

(4) Post-processing: In the post-processing stage for Spanish, the following rules capture non-ambiguous correspondences between elements of the SSynt matrix $I_s = N_s \times N_s$ and DSyntS matrix $I_d = N_d \times N_d$, with $n_s \in N_s$ and $n_d \in N_d$, and n_s and n_d corresponding to each other (we do not list here identity correspondences such as between the number grammemes of n_s and n_d):

- if *n_s* is either dependent of *analyt_pass* or governor of *aux_refl_pass* relation, then the voice grammeme in *n_d* is *PASS*;
- if n_s is dependent of *analyt_progr*, then the voice grammeme in n_d is *PROGR*;
- if n_s is dependent of *analyt_fut*, then the tense grammeme in n_d is FUT;
- if n_s is governor of *aux_refl_lex*, then add the particle -SE as suffix of node label (word token) of d_d ;
- if any of the children of n_s with the dependency label *det* is labeled by one of the tokens UN, UNA, UNOS OF UNAS, then the definiteness grammeme in n_d is *INDEF*; this grammeme is *DEF* for the tokens EL, LA, LOS and LAS;
- if the n_s label is a finite verb and n_s does not govern a *subject* relation, then add to I_d the relation $n_d I \rightarrow n'_d$, with n'_d being a newly introduced node.

4.3.2 Baseline

For the evaluation of the performance of our SSyntS–DSyntS transducer, we use a rule-based SSyntS–DSyntS mapping baseline.

The baseline carries out the most direct SSynt–DSynt relation label projections following the SSyntS–DSyntS relation mapping tables compiled for each language (see Tables 2 and 3 for Spanish). It removes all nodes which are systematically absent from the DSynt corpus (determiners, auxiliaries, infinitive markers, punctuations, etc.), and also prepositions and conjunctions involved in a dependency which indicates the possible presence of a governed preposition (e.g., *compar_conj* or *dobj* in Table 3). The baseline always produces connected trees.

The rules of the rule-based baseline look as follows:

- 1 if (deprel==abbrev) then deep_deprel=ATTR
- 2 if (deprel==obl_obj) then deep_deprel=II

. . .

n if (deprel==punc) then remove(current_node)

5 Results and discussion

To assess the performance of our SSyntS–DSyntS transducer in isolation and in a pipeline with a SSyntS parser, we carried out a number of experiments on Spanish, English and Chinese. Before we report on the performance figures obtained during these experiments, let us first introduce the evaluation measures we use.

5.1 Evaluation measures

To measure the performance of the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer, we came up with a number of evaluation measures for hypernode detection and node attachment.

The measures for hypernode detection are:

- Precision of the hypernode detection: $p_h = |H_{corr}|/|H_{pred}|$ (with $|H_{corr}|$ as the number of correctly predicted hypernodes and $|H_{pred}|$ as the total number of predicted hypernodes);
- Recall of the hypernode detection: $r_h = |H_{corr}|/|H_g|$ (with $|H_{corr}|$ as the number of correctly predicted hypernodes and $|H_g|$ as the number of hypernodes in the gold standard);
- *F*-measure of the hyper-node detection: $F1_h = 2p_h r_h/(p_h + r_h)$.

The measures to assess the precision of node attachment are:

- Unlabeled attachment precision: $UAP = |N_{governor}|/|N|$ (with $|N_{governor}|$ as the number of nodes with a correctly predicted governor, and |N| as the total number of predicted nodes);
- Label assignment precision: $LA P = |N_{gov.rel.label}|/|N|$ (with $|N_{gov.rel.label}|$ as the number of nodes for whose governing relation the label has been correctly predicted, and |N| as the total number of predicted nodes);
- Labeled attachment precision: $LAP = |N_{governor,label}|/|N|$ (with $|N_{governor,label}|$ as the number of nodes with a correctly predicted governor and governing relation label, and |N| as the total number of predicted nodes).

The measures to assess the recall of the node attachment are:

- Unlabeled attachment recall: $UAR = |N_{governor}|/|N_g|$ (with $|N_{governor}|$ as the number of nodes with a correctly predicted governor, and $|N_g|$ as the total number of gold nodes);
- Label assignment recall: $LA R = |N_{gov.rel.label}|/|N_g|$ (with $|N_{gov.rel.label}|$ as the number of nodes for whose governing relation the label has been correctly predicted, and $|N_g|$ as the total number of gold nodes);
- Labeled attachment recall: $LAR = |N_{governor.label}|/|N_g|$ (with $|N_{governor.label}|$ as the number of nodes with a correctly predicted governor and governing relation label, and $|N_g|$ as the total number of gold nodes).

5.2 SSyntS–DSyntS transducer results

In Tables 4–6, the performance of the subtasks of the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer for Spanish, Chinese and English respectively is contrasted to the performance

Hypernode detection (Spanish)					
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS–DSyntS transducer			
 p_h	95.15 (5616/5902)	99.79 (5598/5610)			
r_h	99.55 (5616/5641)	99.24 (5598/5641)			
$F1_h$	97.31	99.51			
	Attachment and label	ing (Spanish)			
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS–DSyntS transducer			
 LAP	79.57 (4696/5902)	91.07 (5109/5610)			
UAP	88.95 (5250/5902)	98.32 (5516/5610)			
LA-P	88.74 (5006/5902)	92.37 (5182/5610)			
LAR	83.25 (4696/5641)	90.57 (5109/5641)			
UAR	93.07 (5250/5641)	97.78 (5516/5641)			
 LA-R	88.74 (5006/5641)	91.86 (5182/5641)			

 Table 4. Performance of the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer and of the rule-based baseline over the Spanish gold-standard held-out test set

of the rule-based baseline; we do not include the evaluation of the post-processing subtask for Spanish because the one-to-one projection of SSyntS elements to DSyntS captured by the rules of the post-processing submodule guarantees an accuracy of 100% of the operations performed, when starting from gold SSyntS trees.

The transducer has been applied to the gold standard test sets, which are the held-out test sets presented in Section 4.1, with gold standard PoS tags, gold-standard lemmas and gold-standard dependency trees. In the case of Spanish, the transducer outputs in total 5,610 nodes. The rule-based baseline produces an output that contains 5,902 nodes. As mentioned in Section 4.1, our gold standard includes 5,641 nodes. In the case of English, the transducer outputs in total 43,472 nodes. In this case, the rule-based baseline produces an output that contains 43,510 nodes, while the gold standard includes 43,301 nodes. Finally, for Chinese, the transducer outputs in total 186,809 nodes. The rule-based baseline produces an output with 192,078 nodes, while the gold standard has 186,710 nodes.

Our data-driven SSyntS–DSyntS transducer is significantly better than the baseline with respect to all evaluation measures. The transducer relies on distributional patterns identified in the training data set, and makes thus use of information that is not available to the rule-based baseline, which merely takes into account one node and its immediate parent at a time.

However, the rule-based baseline results also show that transduction that would remove a few nodes would obtain a performance close to a 100% recall for the hypernode detection because a DSynt tree is a subtree of the SSynt tree (if we ignore the nodes introduced by post-processing). This is also evidenced by the label and attachment recall scores.

For Spanish, which is the language we used for the system development (Ballesteros *et al.* 2014), the results of the transducer on the test and development sets are

Table 5. Performance of the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer and of the	rule-based
baseline over the English gold-standard held-out test set	<u>.</u>
0 0	

	Hypernode detection (English)					
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS-DSyntS transducer				
p_h	96.96 (42187/43510)	98.67 (42096/42663)				
r_h	99.31 (42187/42480)	99.10 (42096/42480)				
$F1_h$	98.12	98.88				
	Attachment and label	ing (English)				
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS–DSyntS transducer				
LAP	86.97 (37840/43510)	90.63 (38667/42663)				
UAP	90.77 (39494/43510)	93.70 (39974/42663)				
LA-P	90.89 (39545/43510)	93.90 (40060/42663)				
LAR	89.08 (37840/42480)	91.02 (38667/42480)				
UAR	92.97 (37840/42480)	94.11 (39974/42480)				

 Table 6. Performance of the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer and of the rule-based baseline over the Chinese gold-standard held-out test set

Hypernode detection (Chinese)				
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS-DSyntS Transducer		
p_h	97.12 (186547/192078)	99.88 (186587/186809)		
r_h	99.91 (186547/186710)	99.93 (186587/186710)		
$F1_h$	98.50	99.91		
	Attachment and labeli	ng (Chinese)		
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS–DSyntS Transducer		
LAP	96.04 (184463/192078)	99.07 (185069/186809)		
UAP	97.02 (186349/192078)	99.83 (186494/186809)		
LA-P	96.10 (184601/192078)	99.12 (185161/186809)		
LAR	98.80 (184463/186710)	99.12 (185069/186710)		
UAR	99.81 (186349/186710)	99.88 (186494/186710)		
LAD	08 87 (184601/186710)	00 17 (185161/186710)		

quite comparable. For convenience of the reader, the development set figures are repeated in Table 7.

The hypernode detection is even better on the test set. Label assignment precision and recall are the measures that suffer most from using unseen data during the development of the system. The attachment figures are more or less equivalent on both sets.

 Table 7. Performance of the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer over the Spanish development set

p_h	r_h	UAP	LAP	LA-P	UAR	LAR	LA-R	
99.78	99.02	98.18	92.64	94.00	97.43	91.43	93.28	

Table 8. Performance of Bohnet and Nivre's joint PoS-tagger+dependency parser trained on the Ancora-UPF treebank for Spanish, PTB treebank for English, and the CTB treebank for Chinese

	PoS	LEMMA	LAS	UAS
Spanish English Chinese	96.05 98.50 93.70	92.10 99.46	81.45 89.70 75.72	88.09 92.21 81.02

It is also worth noting that the Chinese results confirm that the SSyntS–DSyntS Chinese mapping is rather straightforward. This is why the baseline provides very competitive results. However, the data-driven system is capable of improving these results and even achieve figures that are very close to a perfect mapping. In English, the difference between the baseline and the data-driven system is significant, since, unlike in Chinese, the predicates are annotated using a manually supervised resource (see Section 4.1). The difference is even more striking with Spanish, due to the fact that the DSyntS treebank has been revised manually in several iterations (Mille *et al.* 2013).

5.3 Results of deep-syntactic parsing

Let us consider now the performance of the complete DSynt parsing pipeline, i.e., PoS-tagger+surface-dependency parser \rightarrow SSyntS-DSyntS transducer on the heldout test set. Table 8 displays the figures of the Bohnet and Nivre parser for Spanish, English and Chinese respectively. The figures are in line with the performance of state-of-the-art parsers for Spanish (Mille *et al.* 2012), English and Chinese (Ballesteros and Bohnet 2014). Note that for Chinese we did not predict the lemmas (there are no lemmatized forms in the treebank), but rather used gold standard forms instead.

Tables 9–11 show the performance of the pipeline when we feed the outputs of the syntactic parser to the rule-based baseline module and the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer for Spanish, English and Chinese, respectively.

In the case of Spanish, we observe a clear error propagation from the dependency parser (which provides 81.45% LAS) to the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer, which loses in tree quality about 18%: the difference between 90.57% (Table 4) and 67.26% LAS (Table 9) is more than 23%. For Chinese and English, we observe a similar behavior, but in this case the system is capable to recover better from the erroneous output of the surface parser. This is because the mapping from SSyntS to DSyntS is simpler,

	Hypernode detection (Spanish)				
Me	easure	Baseline	SSyntS-DSyntS transducer		
p_h		92.77 (5416/5838)	97.07 (5391/5554)		
r_h		96.01 (5416/5641)	95.57 (5391/5641)		
F1	h	94.36	96.31		
		Attachment and lab	eling (Spanish)		
Me	easure	Baseline	SSyntS-DSyntS transducer		
LA	Р	59.44 (3470/5838)	68.31 (5109/5554)		
UA	ΔP	70.14 (4095/5838)	77.31 (4294/5554)		
LA	-P	73.93 (4316/5838)	80.47 (4469/5554)		
LA	R	61.51 (3470/5641)	67.26 (3794/5641)		
UA	AR	72.59 (4095/5641)	76.12 (4294/5641)		
ΙA	-R	76 51 (4316/5641)	79 22 (4469/5641)		

 Table 9. Performance of the rule-based baseline and the SSyntS-DSyntS transducer over the Spanish predicted held-out test set

 Table 10. Performance of the rule-based baseline and the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer over the English predicted held-out test set

Hypernode detection (English)					
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS-DSyntS transducer			
p_h	96.82 (42104/43488)	98.38 (41974/42665)			
r_h	99.11 (42104/42480)	98.81 (41974/42480)			
$F1_h$	97.95	98.59			
	Attachment and labe	ling (English)			
Measure	Baseline	SSynS-DSyntS transducer			
LAP	78.53 (34152/43488)	81.70 (34856/42461)			
UAP	83.21 (36189/43488)	85.80 (36605/42461)			
LA-P	86.36 (37557/43488)	88.93 (37941/42641)			
LAR	80.40 (34152/42480)	82.05 (34856/42480)			
UAR	85.19 (36189/42480)	86.17 (36605/42480)			
LA-R	88.41 (37557/42480)	89.31 (37941/42480)			

and thus the system achieves a higher performance (closer to the performance of the surface parser).

To observe the influence of the automatic conversion of the DSyntS layer of the English treebank on the quality of the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer, we ran it on a manually annotated DSyntS test set of 300 sentences over the gold surface-standard held-out test set (Table 12) and over the predicted surface-standard held-out test set (Table 13). Compared to the performance on the automatically obtained DSyntS test

Hypernode detection (Chinese)				
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS-DSyntS transducer		
p_h	97.08 (186547/191866)	99.74 (186290/186784)		
r_h	99.77 (186547/186710)	99.78 (186290/186710)		
$F1_h$	98.41	99.76		
	Attachment and labeling	ng (Chinese)		
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS-DSyntS transducer		
LAP	75.00 (143903/191866)	77.18 (144163/186784)		
UAP	77.92 (149497/191866)	80.06 (149530/186784)		
LA-P	85.66 (164348/191866)	88.18 (164696/186784)		
LAR	77.07 (143903/186710)	77.21 (144163/186710)		
	00.07 (140.407/10(710)	20.00 (140520/196710)		
UAR	80.07 (1494977186710)	80.09 (149530/180/10)		

 Table 11. Performance of the rule-based baseline and the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer over the Chinese predicted held-out test set

Table 12. Performance of the rule-based baseline and the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer over the English surface gold-standard held-out test set and the manually annotated DSyntS test set

Hypernode detection (English)			
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS–DSyntS transducer	
p_h	94.46 (4918/5249)	95.72 (4918/5138)	
r_h	99.64 (4958/4976)	98.83 (4918/4976)	
$F1_h$	96.98	97.25	
	Attachment and lab	eling (English)	
Measure	Baseline	SSynS-DSyntS transducer	
 LAP	78.66 (4129/5249)	80.03 (4112/5138)	
UAP	86.11 (4520/5249)	87.27 (4484/5138)	
LA-P	82.98 (4356/5249)	84.84 (4359/5138)	
LAR	82.98 (4112/4976)	82.64 (4112/4976)	
UAR	90.84 (4520/4976)	90.11 (4484/4976)	
LA-R	87.54 (4356/4976)	87.60 (4359/4976)	

set (see Tables 5 and 10), the performance is somewhat lower (due to the fact that manually annotated, i.e., ideal, DSyntSs are more diverging from the SSyntSs than automatically derived ones). However, it is still high enough to provide reasonably well-formed and correct DSyntSs for downstream applications.

As we observe in Tables 12 and 13, the recall of the rule-based baseline is a little bit higher than the one obtained with the machine learning approach, however

Hypernode detection (English)			
Measure	Baseline	SSyntS-DSyntS transducer	
 p_h	93.34 (4952/5249)	95.53 (4912/5142)	
r_h	99.52 (4952/4976)	98.71 (4912/4976)	
$F1_h$	96.86	97.09	
	Attachment and lab	eling (English)	
Measure	Baseline	SSynS-DSyntS transducer	
 LAP	70.81 (3717/5249)	72.19 (3712/5142)	
UAP	78.83 (4138/5249)	79.75 (4101/5142)	
LA-P	78.83 (4138/5249)	80.69 (4149/5142)	
LAR	74.70 (3717/4976)	74.60 (3712/4976)	
UAR	83.16 (4138/4976)	82.42 (4101/4976)	
LA-R	83.16 (4138/4976)	83.38 (4149/4976)	

Table 13. Performance of the rule-based baseline and the SSyntS–DSyntS transducer over the English surface predicted held-out test set and the manually annotated DSyntS test set

the precision is much higher for the machine-learning system. Since the output trees of the rule-based baseline have more nodes, it provides a more recall oriented system, but it suffers more in precision, leading to lower F1 scores for all measures. Moreover, since the machine learning model is trained on partially (and not fully manually) validated sentences, the parser tries to predict the annotation provided in the partially validated sentences.

6 Related work

As already pointed out in Section 1, the idea of deep parsing is not novel: it goes back at least to Curry (1961) and has already been addressed in some depth in the early days of Natural Language Processing in the context of *language understanding* (Bobrow and Webber 1981; Dahlgren 1988). Over the years, some authors continued to work on rule-based proposals for deep parsing in different theoretical frameworks. Among others, Rambow and Joshi (1997) proposed a deep analysis proposal in the TAG-framework, de Groote (2001) proposed something similar in the CCG framework. There have also been proposals in the Prague School Dependency framework (Klimeš 2006). More recently, the importance of deep linguistic processing for parsing has been reiterated, e.g., by Baldwin *et al.* (2007). However, to the best of our knowledge, data-driven deep-syntactic parsing as proposed in this article is novel.

As data-driven *semantic role labeling, frame-semantic analysis*, and logical form analysis, DSynt parsing has the goal to obtain more semantically-oriented structures than those delivered by state-of-the-art syntactic parsing (McDonald *et al.* 2005; Nivre *et al.* 2007b; Kübler *et al.* 2009; Bohnet and Kuhn 2012; Bohnet and Nivre 2012; Dyer *et al.* 2015). Semantic role labeling received considerable attention in the CoNLL shared tasks for syntactic dependency parsing in 2006 and 2007 (Buchholz

and Marsi 2006; Nivre *et al.* 2007a), the CoNLL shared task for joint parsing of syntactic and semantic dependencies in 2008 (Surdeanu *et al.* 2008) and the shared task in 2009 (Hajič *et al.* 2009). The top ranked systems were pipelines that started with a syntactic analysis (as we do) and continued with predicate identification, argument identification, argument labeling, and word sense disambiguation (WSD); cf. Johansson and Nugues (2008b) and Che *et al.* (2009). At the end, a re-ranker that considers jointly all arguments to select the best combination was applied. Some of the systems were based on integrated syntactic and semantic dependency analysis; cf., e.g., Gesmundo *et al.* (2009); see also Lluís, Carreras and Màrquez (2013) for a more recent proposal along similar lines. However, all of them lack the ability to perform necessary structural changes – as, e.g., introduction of nodes or removal of nodes necessary to obtain a DSyntS.

Logical form analyzers such as Boxer (Bos 2008) tend also to pipeline syntactic and deep parsing, as we do. In the case of Boxer, a CCG parser is integrated into a pipeline with the DRS parser. However, they output abstract structures that are void of any syntactic dependencies – which can however be important for some applications (such as Machine Translation).

Finally, even though, as discussed in Section 2.1, the deep structures used in SemEval 2014 (Oepen *et al.* 2014) are different from DSyntSs, the systems solve a similar problem. Among the best performing systems, are Priberam (Martins and Almeida 2014) and CMU (Flanigan *et al.* 2014), which follow graph-based approaches. Alpage (Ribeyre, De La Clergerie and Seddah 2014) and Peking (Du *et al.* 2014) are similar to our approach since they propose transition-based parsing algorithms for DAGs, similar to the one presented by Sagae and Tsujii (2008), where the usual set of transitions is different in each task. Both Alpage and Peking transform graphs into trees. Turku (Kanerva, Luotolahti and Ginter 2014) is also similar to our proposal since it works with a cascade of classifiers. In contrast to Turku, however, we present a joint transition-based dependency parser tagger for getting the SSyntS from plain text sentences and a cascade of classifiers to transduce the SSyntS then to the DSyntS.

7 Conclusions and future work

We have presented a novel data-driven deep-syntactic parsing pipeline which consists of a state-of-the-art dependency parser and a SSyntS–DSyntS transducer. The DSyntSs provided by the pipeline can be used in different applications since they abstract from language-specific grammatical idiosyncrasies of the SSynt structures as produced by state-of-the art dependency parsers, but still avoid the complexities of genuine semantic analysis. DSyntS treebanks needed for data-driven applications can be bootstrapped by the pipeline. If required, a SSyntS–DSyntS structure pair can be also mapped to a pure predicate-argument graph such as the Enju conversion (Miyao 2006), to an DRS (Kamp and Reyle 1993), or to a PropBank structure. An online demo (Soler-Company *et al.* 2015) of our DSynt parser is available at http://dparse.multisensor.taln.upf.edu/main. In the future, we will carry out further in-depth feature engineering for the task of DSynt parsing. It proved to be crucial in semantic role labeling and dependency parsing (Che *et al.* 2009; Ballesteros and Nivre 2012); we expect it be essential for our task as well. Furthermore, we will join surface-syntactic and deep-syntactic parsing we kept so far separately; see, e.g., Zhang and Clark (2008), Bohnet and Nivre (2012), Lluís *et al.* (2013) for analogous proposals. Further research is required here since although joined models avoid error propagation from the first stage to the second, they need to bridge a broader abstraction moat – which is why pipelined models still prove to be competitive; cf. the outcome of CoNLL shared tasks.

We will try to improve the English and Chinese DSyntS treebanks we obtained by automatic conversion in order to make them genuine DSyntS treebanks (and thus more comparable to the Spanish DSyntS treebank we work with). This will allow our DSynt parser to also provide genuine DSyntSs, with no traces of SSyntSs left in its output.

Finally, our DSynt parser could be exploited in machine translation or summarization by using it jointly with a DSyntS generator such as the one presented by (Ballesteros *et al.* 2015).

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