A Linguistically Interpreted Corpus of German Newspaper Text

Wojciech Skut, Thorsten Brants, Brigitte Krenn, Hans Uszkoreit
Universität des Saarlandes, Computational Linguistics
D-66041 Saarbrücken, Germany
{skut,brants,krenn,uszkoreit}@coli.uni-sb.de
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Abstract
In this paper, we report on the development of an annotation scheme and annotation tools for unrestricted German text. Our representation format is based on argument structure, but also permits the extraction of other kinds of representations. We discuss several methodological issues and the analysis of some phenomena. Additional focus is on the tools developed in our project and their applications.

1 Introduction
Parts of a German newspaper corpus, the Frankfurter Rundschau, have been annotated with syntactic structure. The raw text has been taken from the multilingual CD-ROM which has been produced by the European Coding Initiative ECI, and is distributed by the Linguistic Data Consortium LDC.

The aim is to create a linguistically interpreted text corpus, thus setting up a basis for corpus linguistic research and statistics-based approaches for German. We developed tools to facilitate annotations. These tools are easily adaptable to other annotation schemes.

2 Corpora for Data-Driven NLP
An important paradigm shift is currently taking place in linguistics and language technology. Purely introspective research focussing on a limited number of isolated phenomena is being replaced by a more data-driven view of language. The growing importance of stochastic methods opens new avenues for dealing with the wealth of phenomena found in real texts, especially phenomena requiring a model of preferences or degrees of grammaticality.

This new research paradigm requires very large corpora annotated with different kinds of linguistic information. Since the main objective here is rich, transparent and consistent annotation rather than putting forward hypotheses or explanatory claims, the following requirements are often stressed:

- **Descriptivity:** phenomena should be described rather than explained as explanatory mechanisms can be derived (induced) from the data.
- **Data-drivenness:** the formalism should provide means for representing all types of grammatical constructions occurring in the corpus.
- **Theory-neutrality:** the annotation format should not be influenced by theory-internal considerations. However, annotations should contain enough information to permit the extraction of theory-specific representations.

In addition, the architecture of the annotation scheme should make it easy to refine the information encoded, both in width (adding new description levels) and depth (refining existing representations). Thus a structured, multi-stratal organisation of the representation formalism is desirable.

The representations themselves have to be easy to determine on the basis of simple empirical tests, which is crucial for the consistency and a reasonable speed of annotation.

3 Why Tectogrammatical Structure?
In the data-driven approach, the choice of a particular representation formalism is an engineering problem rather than a matter of ‘adequacy’. More important is the theory-independence and reusability of linguistic knowledge, i.e., the recoverability of theory/application specific representations, which in the area of NL syntax fall into two classes:

- **Phenogrammatical structure:** the structure reflecting surface order, e.g. constituent structure or topological models of surface syntax, cf. (Ahrenberg, 1990), (Reape, 1994).

- **Tectogrammatical representations:** predicate-argument structures reflecting lexical argument structure and providing a guide for assembling actual sentences.

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1This is what distinguishes corpora used for grammar induction from other collections of language data. For instance, so-called test suites (cf. (Lehmann et al., 1996)) consist of typical instances of selected phenomena and thus focus on a subset of real-world language.
meanings. This level is present in almost every theory: D-structure (GB), f-structure (LFG) or argument structure (HPSG). A theory based mainly on tectogrammatical notions is dependency grammar, cf. (Tesnière, 1959).

As annotating both structures separately presents substantial effort, it is better to recover constituent structure automatically from an argument structure treebank, or vice versa. Both alternatives are discussed in the following sections.

3.1 Annotating Constituent Structure
Phenogrammatical annotations require an additional mechanism encoding tectogrammatical structure, e.g., trace-filler dependencies representing discontinuous constituents in a context-free constituent structure (cf. (Marcus, Santorini, and Marcinkiewicz, 1994), (Sampson, 1995)). A major drawback for annotation is that such a hybrid formalism renders the structure less transparent, as is the phrase-structure representation of sentence (1):

(1) daran wird ihn Anna erkennen, dass er weint
‘Anna will recognise him at his cry’

Furthermore, the descriptivity requirement could be difficult to meet since constituency has been used as an explanatory device for several phenomena (binding, quantifier scope, focus projection).

The above remarks carry over to other models of phenogrammatical structure, e.g. topological fields, cf. (Bech, 1955). A sample structure is given below:

![Phrase-Structure Example](attachment://figure.png)

Here, as well, topological information is insufficient to express the underlying tectogrammatical structure (e.g., the attachment of the extrapoosed that-clause).

Thus the field model can be viewed as a non-standard phrase-structure grammar which needs additional tectogrammatical structure grammar which needs additional tectogrammatical annotations.

3.2 Argument Structure Annotations
An alternative to annotating surface structure is to directly specify the tectogrammatical structure, as shown in the following figure:

![Argument Structure Example](attachment://figure.png)

This encoding has several advantages. Local and non-local dependencies are represented in a uniform way. Discontinuity does not influence the hierarchical structure, so the latter can be determined on the basis of lexical subcategorisation requirements, agreement and some semantic information.

An important advantage of tectogrammatical structure is its proximity to semantics. This kind of representations is also more theory-neutral since most differences between syntactic theories occur at the phenogrammatical level, the tectogrammatical structures being fairly similar.

Furthermore, a constituent tree can be recovered from a tectogrammatical structure. Thus tectogrammatical representations provide a uniform encoding of information for which otherwise both constituent trees and trace-filler annotations are needed.

Apart from the work reported in this paper, tectogrammatical annotations have been successfully used in the TSNLP project to construct a language competence database, cf. (Lehmann et al., 1996).

3.3 Suitability for German
Further advantages of tectogrammatical annotations have to do with the fairly weak constraints on German word order, resulting in a good deal of discontinuous constituency. This feature makes it difficult to come up with a precise notion of constituent structure. In the effect, different kinds of structures are proposed for German, the criteria being often theory-internal.

In addition, phrase-structure annotations augmented with the many trace-filler co-references would lack the transparency desirable for ensuring the consistency of annotation.

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2 LSB, RSB stand for left and right sentence bracket.
3 Even annotating grammatical functions is not enough as long as we do not explicitly encode their tectogrammatical attachment of such functions.
4 Methodology

The standard methodology of determining constituent structure (e.g., the Vorfeld test) does not carry over to tectogrammatical representations, at least not in all its aspects. The following sections are thus concerned with methodological issues.

4.1 Structures vs. Labels

The first question to be answered here is how much information has to be encoded structurally. Rich structures usually introduce high spurious ambiguity potential, while flat representations (e.g., category or function labels) are significantly easier to manipulate (alteration, refinement, etc.).

Thus it is a good strategy to use rather simple structures and express more information by labels.

4.2 Structural Representations

As already mentioned, tectogrammatical structures are often thought of in terms of dependency grammar (DG, cf. (Hudson, 1984), (Hellwig, 1988)), which might suggest using conventional dependency trees (stemmas) as our representation format. However, this would impose a number of restrictions that follow from the theoretical assumptions of DG. It is mainly the DG notion of heads that creates problems for a flexible and maximally theory-neutral approach. In a conventional dependency tree, heads have to be unique, present and of lexical status, requirements other theories might not agree with.

That is why we prefer a representation format in which heads are distinguished outside the structural component, as shown in the figure below, sentence (2)\(^5\):

\[
(2) \text{Bäcker} \text{ wollte er nie werden}
\]

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{B} & \text{acker} & \text{wollte} & \text{er} & \text{nie} & \text{werden} \\
\text{NN} & \text{VMFIN} & \text{PPER} & \text{ADV} & \text{VAINF} \\
\end{array}\]

The tree encodes three kinds of information:

- **tectogrammatical structure**: trees with possibly crossing branches (no non-tangling condition);
- **syntactic category**: node labels and part-of-speech tags (Stuttgart-Tübingen Tagset, cf. (Thиelen and Schiller, 1995)).

4.3 Classification of Labels

Compared to the fairly simple structures employed by our annotation scheme, the functional annotations encode a great deal of linguistic information. We have already stressed that the notion *head* is distinguished at this level. Accordingly, it seems to be the appropriate stratum to encode the differences between different classes of dependencies.

For instance, most linguistic theories distinguish between complements and adjuncts. Unfortunately, the theories do not agree on the criteria for drawing the line between the two classes of dependents. To this date there is no single combination of criteria such as category, morphological marking, optional-ity, uniqueness of role filling, thematic role or semantic properties that can be turned into a transparent operational distinction linguists of different schools would subscribe to.

In our scheme, we try to stay away from a theoretical commitment concerning borderline decisions. The distinction between functional labels such as SB and DA – standing for traditional grammatical functions – on the one hand and phrases labelled MO on the other should not be interpreted as a classification into complements and adjuncts. For the time being, functional labels different from MO are assigned only if the grammatical function of the phrase can easily be detected on the basis of the linguistic data. MO is used, e.g., to label adjuncts as well as prepositional objects. Likewise the label OC is used for easily recognisable clausal complements. Other embedded sentences depending on the verb are labelled as MO\(^6\). This is consistent with our philosophy of stepwise refinement. We are in the process of designing a more fine-grained classification of functional labels together with testable criteria for assigning them. This classification will not contain a distinction between complements and adjuncts. Thus the locative phrase *in Berlin* in the sentence *Peter wohnt in Berlin* (Peter lives in Berlin) will just be marked as a locative MO with the category PP. As linguistic theories disagree on the question, we will not ask the annotators to decide whether this phrase is a complement of the verb.

This strategy differs from the one pursued by the creators of the Penn Treebank. There the difference between complements and adjuncts is encoded in the hierarchical structure. Verbal complements are encoded as siblings of the verb whereas adjuncts are adjoined at a higher level. In a case of doubt, the annotators are asked to select adjunction. We con-

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\(^5\)Edge labels: HD head, SB subject, OC clausal complement, PD predicative, MO modifier. Note that crossing edges indicate discontinuous constituency.

\(^6\)MO is inspired by the usage of the term ‘modifier’ in traditional structuralist linguistics where some authors (Bloombfield, 1933) use it for adjuncts and others also for complements (Trubetzkoy, 1939).
sider this structural encoding less suitable for refinement than a hierarchy of functional labels in which MO can be further specified by sublabels.

5 Annotation Tools

The development of linguistically interpreted corpora presents a laborious and time-consuming task. In order to make the annotation process more efficient, extra effort has been put into the development of the annotation software.

5.1 Structural Annotation

The annotation tools are an integrated software package that communicates with the user via a comfortable graphical interface (Plaehn, 1998). Both keyboard and mouse input are supported, the structure being annotated is shown on the screen as a tree. The tools can be employed for the annotation of different kinds of structures, ranging from our rudimentary predicate-argument trees to standard phrase structure annotations with trace-filler dependencies, cf. (Marcus, Santorini, and Marcinkiewicz, 1994). A screen dump of the annotation tool is shown in figure 1.

The kernel part of the annotation tool supports purely manual annotation. Further modules permit interaction with an external stochastic or symbolic parser. Thus, the tools are not dependent on a particular automation method. Also the degree of automation can vary from part-of-speech tagging and recognition of grammatical functions to full parsing.

In our project, we rely on an interactive annotation mode in which the annotator specifies rather small annotation increments that are then processed by a stochastic parser. The output of the parser is immediately displayed and the annotator edits it if necessary. Currently, the annotator’s task is to specify substructures containing up to 20 – 30 words; their internal structure as well as the labels for grammatical functions and categories are assigned by the parser. The precision of the parser is about 96% for the assignment of labels and 90% for partial structures (Brants and Skut, 1998; Skut and Brants, 1998a; Skut and Brants, 1998b).

Another part of our software package is the corpus search tool. It is very helpful for both linguistic investigations and detecting annotation errors. As for this latter application, we have also developed programs that compare annotations. Each sentence is annotated independently by two annotators. During the comparison, inconsistencies are highlighted, and the annotators have to correct errors and/or agree on one reading.

In addition to the treebank project, the tools are currently used in the VerbMobil project to annotate transliterated spoken dialogues in English and German (Stegmann and Hinrichs, 1998), in the FLAG project to annotate spelling errors in German newsgroup texts, and it is planned to employ them in the DiET project to build a linguistic competence database (Netter et al., 1998).

5.2 Automation

The graphical surface communicates with several separate programs to perform the task of semi-automatic annotation. Currently, these separate programs are a part-of-speech tagger, a tagger for grammatical functions and phrasal categories and an NP/PP chunker.

The part-of-speech tagger is a trigram part-of-speech tagger that is trainable for a wide variety of languages and tagsets (Brants, 1996). We trained it on all previously annotated material in our corpus, using the Stuttgart-Thomas taggingset, and it currently achieves an accuracy of 96% on new, unseen text.

In our project, annotation is an interactive task. After the annotator has specified a partial structure, the tool automatically inserts all the labels into the structure, i.e. the grammatical functions (edge labels) and phrasal categories (node labels). This task is performed by a tagger for grammatical functions and phrasal categories (Brants, Skut, and Krenn, 1997). The underlying mechanism is very similar to part of speech tagging. There, states of a Markov model represent tags, and outputs represent words. For tagging grammatical functions, states represent grammatical functions, and outputs represent terminal and non-terminal tags. Thus, tagging is applied to the next higher level.

Grammatical functions have a different distribution within each type of phrase, so each type of phrase is modeled by a different Markov model. If the type of phrase is known, the corresponding model is used to assign grammatical functions. If the type is not known, all models run in parallel and the model assigning the highest probability is used. This determines at the same time the phrasal category. The tagger is also trained on all previous material of the corpus and achieves 97% accuracy for assigning phrasal categories, and 96% accuracy for assigning grammatical functions.

When tagging for part-of-speech, grammatical functions, and phrasal categories, we additionally calculate the second best assignment and its probability. This is used to estimate the reliability of the first assignment. If the probability of the alternative is close to that of the best assignment, the first choice is regarded as unreliable, whereas it is reliable if the alternative has a much lower probability. Reliable and unreliable are distinguished by a threshold on the distance of the best and second best assignment. The annotation tool simply inserts all reliable labels and asks the human annotator for confirmation in the unreliable cases.
The next level of automation is concerned with the structure of NPs and PPs which can be fairly complex in German (see figure 2). As shown in (Brants and Skut, 1998), recognition of complete NP/PP structures can also efficiently performed with Markov models, encoding relative structures, i.e. stating that a word is attached lower, higher or at the same level as its predecessor. The annotator no longer has to build the structure level by level, but marks the boundaries of NPs and PPs, and the internal structures is generated automatically. This approach has an accuracy of 85 – 90%, depending on the exact task.

6 Applications of the Corpus

The corpus provides training and test material for stochastic approaches to natural language processing. It is also a valuable source of data for theoretical linguistic investigations, especially into the relation of competence grammar and language usage.

6.1 Statistical NLP

As described in section 5, statistical annotation methods have been developed and implemented. In our bootstrapping approach, the accuracy of the models is improved and functionality increases as the annotated corpus grows, thus leading to completely automatic NLP methods. For instance, the chunk tagger initially designed to support the annotator is used for the recognition of major phrases in unrestricted text pre-tagged with part-of-speech information (Skut and Brants, 1998a; Skut and Brants, 1998b).

Apart from these applications, the corpus is already used in other projects to train rule-based and statistical taggers and parsers.

6.2 Corpus Linguistic Investigations

The treebank has been successfully used for corpus-linguistic investigations. In this regard, two major classes of applications have arisen so far. Firstly, a search program enables the user to find examples of interesting linguistic constructions, which is espe-
cially useful for testing predictions made by linguistic theories. It has also proved to be a great help in teaching linguistics.

The second, more ambitious class of applications consists in statistical evaluation of the corpus data. In a study on relative clause extraposition in German (Uszkoreit et al., 98), we were able to verify the predictions made by the performance theory of language formulated by Hawkins (1994). The corpus data made it possible to measure the influence of the factors heaviness and distance on the extraposition of relative clauses. The results of these investigations are also supported by psycholinguistic experiments.

For investigations on statistics-based collocation extraction, various portions of the Frankfurter Rundschau Corpus have been automatically annotated with parts-of-speech and phrase chunks like NP, PP, AP. The part-of-speech tagger (Brants, 1996) and the chunker (Skut and Brants, 1998b) have been trained on the annotated and hand-corrected corpus. Although error rates of 10 to 15% occur at the stage of chunking, collocation extraction benefits from structurally annotated corpora because of the accessibility of syntactic information (1) accuracy of frequency counts increases, i.e. more syntactically plausible collocation candidates are found, and (2) grammatical restrictions on collocations can mostly be automatically derived from the corpus, cf. (Krenn, 1998b).

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Syntactically preprocessed corpora are also a valuable source for insights into actual realisations of collocations. This is particularly important in the case of partially flexible collocations. In order to provide material for investigations into collocations as on the one hand grammatically flexible and on the other hand lexically fixed constructions, collocation examples found in syntactically annotated corpora are stored in a database together with competence-based analyses, cf. (Krenn, 1998a).

7 Conclusions

The increasing importance of data-oriented NLP requires the development of a specific methodology, partly different from the generative paradigm which has dominated linguistics for nearly 40 years. The importance of consistent and efficient encoding of linguistic knowledge has absolute priority in this new approach, and thus we have argued for easing the burden of explanatory claims, which has proved to be a severe constraint on linguistic formalism.

We have presented a number of linguistic analyses used in our treebank and examples of the interaction of different syntactic phenomena. We also have shown how the particular representation chosen enables the derivation of other, theory specific representations. Finally we have given examples for applications of the corpus in statistics-based NLP and corpus linguistics. Our claims are backed by an annotated corpus of currently about 12,000 sentences, all of which have been annotated twice in order to ensure consistency.

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