Abstract

Numerative classifiers are ubiquitous in many Asian languages. This paper proposes a method to construct a taxonomy of numerative classifiers based on a noun-classifier agreement database. The taxonomy defines superordinate-subordinate relations among numerative classifiers and represents the relations in tree structures. The experiments to construct taxonomies were conducted for evaluation by using data from three different languages: Chinese, Japanese and Thai. We found that our method was promising for Chinese and Japanese, but inappropriate for Thai. It confirms that there really is no hierarchy among Thai classifiers.

1 Introduction

Many Asian languages do not mark grammatical numbers (singular/plural) in noun form, but use numerative classifiers together with numerals instead when describing the number of nouns. Numerative classifiers (hereafter “classifiers”) are used with a limited group of nouns, in particular material nouns. In English, for example: “three pieces of paper”. In Asian languages these classifiers are ubiquitous and used with common nouns. Therefore the number of classifiers is much larger than in Western languages. An agreement between nouns and classifiers is also necessary, i.e., a certain noun specifies possible classifiers. The agreement is determined based on various aspects of a noun, such as its meaning, shape, pragmatic aspect and so on.

This paper proposes a method to automatically construct a taxonomy of numerative classifiers for Asian languages. The taxonomy defines superordinate-subordinate relations between classifiers. For instance, the Japanese classifier “頭 (tō)” is used for counting big animals such as elephants and tigers, while “匹 (hiki)” is used for all animals. Since “匹” can be considered more general than “頭”, “匹” is the superordinate classifier of “頭”, represented as “匹” ≻ “頭” in this paper. The taxonomy represents such superordinate-subordinate relations between classifiers in the form of a tree structure. A taxonomy of classifiers would be fundamental knowledge for natural language processing. In addition, it will be useful for language learners, because learning usage of classifiers is rather difficult, especially for Western language speakers.

We evaluate the proposed method by using the data of three Asian languages: Chinese, Japanese and Thai.

2 Noun-classifier agreement database

First, let us introduce usages of classifiers in Asian languages. In the following examples, “CL” stands for classifier.

- Chinese: yi-ju dian-hua ··· a telephone (CL) (telephone)
- Japanese: inu 2 hiki ··· 2 dogs (dog) (CL)
- Thai: nakrian 3 khon ··· 3 students (student) (CL)
As mentioned earlier, the agreement between nouns and classifiers is observed. For instance, the Japanese classifier “hiki” in the above example agrees with only animals. The agreement is also found in Chinese and Thai.

The proposed method to construct a classifier taxonomy is based on agreement between nouns and classifiers. First we prepare a collection of pairs \((n, c)\) of a noun \(n\) and a classifier \(c\) which agrees with \(n\) for a language. The statistics of our Chinese, Japanese, and Thai database are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Noun-classifier agreement database

|                | Chinese | Japanese | Thai  |
|----------------|---------|----------|-------|
| No. of \((n,c)\) pairs | 28,202  | 9,582    | 9,618 |
| No. of nouns (type)    | 10,250  | 4,624    | 8,224 |
| No. of CLs (type)      | 205     | 331      | 608   |

The Japanese database was built by extracting noun-classifier pairs from a dictionary (Iida, 2004) which enumerates nouns and their corresponding classifiers. The Chinese database was derived from a dictionary (Huang et al., 1997). The Thai database consists of a mixture of two kinds of noun-classifier pairs: 8,024 nouns and their corresponding classifiers from a dictionary of a machine translation system (CICC, 1995) and 200 from a corpus. The pairs from the corpus were manually checked for their validity.

3 Proposed Method

3.1 Extracting superordinate-subordinate relations of classifiers

We extracted superordinate-subordinate classifier pairs based on inclusive relations of sets of nouns agreeing with those classifiers. Suppose that \(N_i\) is a set of nouns that agrees with a classifier \(c_i\). If \(N_i\) subsumes \(N_j\) \((N_i \supset N_j)\), we can estimate that \(c_i\) subsumes \(c_j\) \((c_i \supset c_j)\). For instance, in our Japanese database, the classifier “たき (ten)” agrees with shops such as “drug store”, “kiosk” and “restaurant”, and these nouns also agree with “軒 (ken)”, since “軒” is a classifier which agrees with any kind of building. Thus, we can estimate the relation “たき” \(\supset “店”\).

Given a certain classifier \(c_j\), \(c_i\) satisfying the following two conditions (1) and (2) is considered as a superordinate classifier of \(c_j\).

\[
|N_i| > |N_j| \quad (1)
\]

\[
IR(c_i, c_j) \geq T_{ir} \quad (2)
\]

where \(IR(c_i, c_j) \overset{\text{def}}{=} \frac{|N_i \cap N_j|}{|N_j|}\). Condition (1) requires that a superordinate classifier agrees with more nouns than a subordinate classifier. \(IR(c_i, c_j)\) is an inclusion ratio representing to what extent nouns in \(N_j\) are also included in \(N_i\) (the ratio of the light gray area to the area of the small circle in Figure 1).

Condition (2) means that if \(IR(c_i, c_j)\) is greater than a certain threshold \(T_{ir}\), we estimate a superordinate-subordinate relation between \(c_i\) and \(c_j\). The basic idea is that superordinate-subordinate relations are extracted when \(N_j\) is a proper subset of \(N_i\), i.e. \(IR(c_i, c_j) = 1\), but this is too strict. In order to extract more relations, we loosen this condition such that relations are extracted when \(IR(c_i, c_j)\) is large enough. If we set \(T_{ir}\) lower, more relations can be acquired, but they may be less reliable.

Table 2: Extraction of superordinate-subordinate relations

|                | Chinese | Japanese | Thai  |
|----------------|---------|----------|-------|
| \(T_{ir}\)   | 0.7     | 0.6      | 0.6   |
| No. of extracted relations | 251   | 322      | 239   |
| No. of CLs not in the extracted relations | 36    | 76       | 395   |
| (18%)         | (23%)   | (61%)    |

Table 2 shows the results of our experiments to extract superordinate-subordinate relations of classifiers. The threshold \(T_{ir}\) was determined in an ad hoc manner for each language. The numbers of extracted superordinate-subordinate relations are shown in the second row in the table. Manual inspection of the sampled relations revealed that many reasonable relations were extracted. The objective evaluation of these extracted relations will be discussed in 4.2.
The third row in Table 2 indicates the numbers of classifiers which were not included in the extracted superordinate-subordinate relations with its ratio to the total number of classifiers in the database in parentheses. We found that no relation is extracted for a large number of Thai classifiers.

### 3.2 Constructing structure

The structure of a taxonomy is constructed based on a set of superordinate-subordinate relations between classifiers. Currently we adopt a very naive approach to construct structures, i.e., starting from the most superordinate classifiers as roots, we extend trees downward to less general classifiers by using the extracted superordinate-subordinate relations. Note that since there is more than one classifier that does not have any superordinate classifiers, we will have a set of trees rather than a single tree.

When constructing structures, redundant relations are ignored in order to make the structures as concise as possible. A relation is considered redundant if the relation can be inferred by using other relations and transitivity of the relations. The formal definition of redundant relations is given below:

\[ c_a \succ c_b \text{ is redundant iff } \exists c_m : c_a \succ c_m, c_m \succ c_b \]

Statistics of constructed structures for each language are shown in Table 3. More than 50 isolated structures (trees) were obtained for Chinese and Japanese, while more than 100 for Thai. We obtained several large structures, the largest containing 45, 85 and 23 classifiers for Chinese, Japanese and Thai, respectively. As indicated in the fifth row in Table 3, however, many structures consisting of only 2 classifiers were also constructed.

| No. of structures | Chinese | Japanese | Thai |
|-------------------|---------|----------|------|
| 52                | 54      | 102      |

| No. of CLs in a structure | Chinese | Japanese | Thai |
|---------------------------|---------|----------|------|
| Average                   | 4.9     | 6.3      | 3.3  |
| Maximum                   | 45      | 85       | 23   |

| Max. depth of structures  | Chinese | Japanese | Thai |
|---------------------------|---------|----------|------|
| 4                         | 3       | 3        |

| No. of structures with 2 CLs | Chinese | Japanese | Thai |
|-----------------------------|---------|----------|------|
| 18                          | 24      | 54       |

### 4 Discussion

In this section, we will discuss the results of our experiments. First 4.1 discusses appropriateness of our method for the three languages. Then we evaluate our method in more detail. The evaluation of extracted superordinate-subordinate relations is described in 4.2, and the evaluation of structures in 4.3.

#### 4.1 Comparison of different languages

According to the results of our experiments, the proposed method seems promising for Chinese and Japanese, but not for Thai. From the Thai data, no relation was obtained for about 60% of classifiers (Table 2), and many small fragmented structures were created (Table 3).

This is because of the characteristic that nouns and classifiers are strongly coupled in Thai, i.e., many classifiers agree with only one noun. In our Thai database, 252 (41.5%) classifiers agree with only one noun. This means that the overlap between two noun sets \( N_i \) and \( N_j \) can be quite small, making the inclusion ratio \( IR(c_i, c_j) \) very small. Our basic idea is that we can extract superordinate-subordinate relations between two classifiers when the overlap of their corresponding noun sets is large. However, this assumption does not hold in Thai classifiers. The above facts suggest that there seems to be no hierarchical taxonomy of classifiers in Thai.

### 4.2 Evaluation of extracted relations

#### 4.2.1 Analysis of Nouns in \( N_j \setminus N_i \)

As explained in 3.1, our method extracts a relation \( c_i \succ c_j \) even when \( N_i \) does not completely subsume \( N_j \). We analysed nouns in the relative complement of \( N_i \) in \( N_j \) (\( N_j \setminus N_i \)), i.e., the dark gray area in Figure 1. The relation \( c_i \succ c_j \) implies that all nouns which are countable with a subordinate classifier \( c_j \) are also countable with its superordinate classifier \( c_i \), but there is no guarantee of this for nouns in \( N_j \setminus N_i \), since we loosened the condition as in (2) by introducing a threshold.

To see to what extent nouns in \( N_j \setminus N_i \) agree with \( c_i \) as well, we manually verified the agreement of nouns in \( N_j \setminus N_i \) and \( c_i \) for all extracted relations \( c_i \succ c_j \). The verification was done by native speakers of each language. Results of the validation are summarized in Table 4. For Japanese and Chinese, multiple judges verified the results. When judgments conflicted, we decided the final decision by a discussion of two judges for Japanese, and by majority voting for Chinese. The 4th and 5th rows
in Table 4 show the agreement of judgments. The “Agreement ratio” is the ratio of cases that judgments agree. Since three judges verified nouns for Chinese, we show the average of the agreement ratios for two judges out of the three. The agreement ratio and Cohen’s $\kappa$ is relatively high for Japanese, but not for Chinese. We found many uncertain cases for Chinese nouns. For example, “ных” can modify nouns such as “political prisoner” or “local villain” is rather uncertain.

Table 4: Analysis of nouns in $N_j \setminus N_i$

|                | Chinese | Japanese | Thai |
|----------------|---------|----------|------|
| No. of nouns in $N_j \setminus N_i$ | 1,650   | 579      | 43   |
| No. of nouns countable | 1,195   | 241      | 24   |
| with $c_i$ as well | 72%     | 42%      | 56%  |
| No. of judges       | 3       | 2        | 1    |
| Agreement ratio     | 0.677   | 0.936    | –    |
| Cohen’s $\kappa$    | 0.484   | 0.868    | –    |

Table 4 reveals that a considerable number of nouns in $N_j \setminus N_i$ are actually countable with $c_i$, meaning that our databases do not include noun-classifier agreement exhaustively.

4.2.2 Reliability of relations “$>$”

Based on the analysis in 4.2.1, we evaluate extracted superordinate-subordinate relations. We define the reliability $R$ of the relation $c_i \succ c_j$ as

$$ R(c_i \succ c_j) = \frac{|N_j \cap N_i| + |NC_{j,i}|}{|N_j|}, \quad (3) $$

where, $NC_{j,i}$ is a subset of $N_j \setminus N_i$ consisting of nouns which are manually judged to agree with $c_i$. We can consider that the more strictly this statement holds, the more reliable the extracted relations will be.

Figure 2 shows the relations between the threshold $T_{ir}$ and both the number of extracted relations and their reliability. The horizontal axis indicates the threshold $T_{ir}$ in (2). The bar charts indicate the number of extracted relations, while the line graphs indicate the averages of reliability of all extracted relations. Of course, if we set $T_{ir}$ lower, we can extract more relations at the cost of their reliability. However, even when $T_{ir}$ is set to the lowest value, the averages of reliability are relatively high, i.e. 0.98 (Chinese), 0.91 (Japanese) and 0.99 (Thai). Thus we can conclude that the extracted superordinate-subordinate relations are reliable enough.

4.3 Evaluation of structures

As in ordinary ontologies, we will assume that properties of superordinate classifiers can be inherited to their subordinate classifiers. In other words, a classifier taxonomy suggests transitivity of agreement with nouns over superordinate-subordinate relations as

$$ c_1 \succ c_2 \land c_2 \succ c_3 \Rightarrow c_1 \succ c_3. $$

In order to evaluate the structures of our taxonomy, we verify the validity of transitivity.

First, we extracted all pairs of classifiers having an ancestor-descendant relation from our classifier taxonomy. Hereafter we denote ancestor-descendant pairs as $(c_a, c_d)$, where $c_a$ is an ancestor and $c_d$ an descendant. The path from $c_a$ to $c_d$ on the taxonomy can be represented as

$$ c_0(=c_a) \succ c_1 \succ ... \succ c_n(=c_d). \quad (4) $$

We denote a superordinate-subordinate relation derived by transitivity as $\succ^*$, such as $c_0 \succ^* c_n$. Among all ancestor-descendant relations, we extracted ones with a path length of more than one, or $n > 1$ in (4). Then we compare $R(c_a \succ c_d)$, the reliability of a relation derived by transitivity, with $R(c_i \succ c_{i+1})$ ($0 \leq i < n$), the reliability of direct relations in the path from $c_a$ to $c_d$. If these are comparable, we can conclude that transitivity in the taxonomy is valid.

Table 5 shows the results of the analysis of transitivity. As indicated in the column “all” in Table 5, 78 and 86 ancestor-descendant pairs $(c_a, c_d)$ were extracted from the Chinese and Japanese classifier taxonomy, respectively. In contrast, only 6 pairs were extracted from the Thai taxonomy, since each structure of the Thai taxonomy is rather small as we already discussed with Table 3. Thus we have omitted further analysis of Thai. The extracted ancestor-descendant pairs of classifiers are then classified into three cases, (A), (B) and (C). Their numbers are shown in the last three rows in Table 5, where $\min_i$ and $\max_i$ denote the minimum and maximum of reliability among all direct relations $R(c_i \succ c_{i+1})$ in the path from $c_a$ to $c_d$. 

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In case (A), reliability of a relation derived by transitivity, $R(c_a \succ c_d)$, is less than that of any direct relations, $R(c_i \succ c_{i+1})$. In case (B), reliability of a transitive relation is comparable with that of direct relations, i.e. $R(c_a \succ c_d)$ is greater or equal to $\min_i$ and less than $\max_i$. In case (C), the transitive relation is more reliable than direct relations.

The average of the reliability of $c_a \succ c_d$ is relatively high, 0.88 for Chinese and 0.77 for Japanese. We also found that more than 70% of derived relations (case (B) and case (C)) are comparable to or greater than direct relations. The above facts indicate transitivity on our structural taxonomy is valid to some degree.

From a different point of view, we divided pairs of $(c_a, c_d)$ into two other cases, “direct” and “indirect” as shown in the columns of Table 5. The “direct” case includes the relations which are also extracted by our method. Note that such relations are discarded as redundant ones. On the other hand, the “indirect” case includes the relations which can not be extracted from the database but only inferred by using transitivity on the taxonomy. That is, they are truly new relations. In order to calculate reliability of “indirect” cases, we performed additional manual validation of nouns in $N_d \backslash N_a$.

However, the average of $R(c_a \succ c_d)$ in “indirect” cases is not so high for both Chinese and Japanese, as a large amount of pairs are classified into case (A). Thus it is not effective to infer new superordinate-subordinate relations by transitivity. Since we currently only adopted a very naive method to construct a classifier taxonomy, more sophisticated methods should be explored in order to prevent inferring irrelevant relations.

### 5 Related Work

Bond (2000) proposed a method to choose an appropriate classifier for a noun by referring its semantic class. This method is implemented in a sentence generation module of a machine translation system. Similar attempts to generate both Japanese and Korean classifiers were also reported (Paik and Bond, 2001). Bender and Siegel (2004) implemented a HPSG that handles several intricate structures including Japanese classifiers. Matsumoto (1993) reported his close analysis of Japanese classifiers based on prototype semantics. Sornlertlamanich (1994) presented an algorithm for selecting an adequate classifier for a noun by using a corpus. Their research can be regarded as a method to construct a noun-classifier agreement database au-
tomatically from corpora. We used databases derived from dictionaries except for a small number of noun-classifier pairs in Thai, because we believe dictionaries provide more reliable and stable information than corpora, and in addition they were available and on hand. Note that we are not concerned with frequencies of noun-classifier cooccurrence in this study. Huang (1998) proposed a method to construct a noun taxonomy based on noun-classifier agreement that is very similar to ours, but aims at developing a taxonomy for nouns rather than one for classifiers. There has not been very much work on building resources concerning noun-classifier agreement. To our knowledge, this is the first attempt to construct a classifier taxonomy.

6 Conclusion

This paper proposed a method to construct a taxonomy of numerative classifiers based on a noun-classifier agreement database. First, superordinate-subordinate relations of two classifiers are extracted by measuring the overlap of two sets of nouns agreeing with each classifier. Then these relations are used as building blocks to build a taxonomy of tree structures. We conducted experiments to build classifier taxonomies for three languages: Chinese, Japanese and Thai. The effectiveness of our method was evaluated by measuring reliability of extracted relations, and verifying validity of transitivity in the taxonomy. We found that extracted relations are reliable, and the transitivity in the taxonomy relatively valid. Relations inferred by transitivity, however, are less reliable than those directly derived from noun-classifier agreement.

Future work includes investigating a way to enlarge classifier taxonomies. Currently, not all classifiers are included in our taxonomy, and it consists of a set of fragmented structures. A more sophisticated method to build a large taxonomy including more classifiers should be examined. Our method should also be refined in order to make superordinate-subordinate relations inferred by the transitivity more reliable. We are now investigating a stepwise method to construct taxonomies that prefers more reliable relations, i.e. an initial taxonomy is built with a small number of highly reliable relations, and is then expanded with less reliable ones.

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