Probing Syntactic Dependencies with Conditional Mutual Information and Grammatical Constraints

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Abstract

 Unsupervised dependency parsing is a funda- mental task in understanding syntactic depen- dency structures of natural language. Previous parameter-free methods for probing the depen- dency structure recover a non-trivial amount 006 of dependencies by assuming a correlation be- tween the syntactic dependency (a word-to- word relation) and bi-lexical dependence scores (a metric measuring one word's influence on 010 the other word). However, these studies as-011 sume the correlation without verifying the exis- tence of the correlation. Furthermore, previous studies failed to utilize grammatical constraints 014 that are beneficial to parsing performance in grammar-based unsupervised parsing methods. In this paper, we investigate the correlation between the syntactic dependency and Condi- tional Mutual Information (CMI) scores, a bi- lexical statistical dependence metric. We pro- pose *delta-energy*, an unbiased estimate of the CMI, and apply it to unsupervised dependency parsing. We further assist the parsing model with three grammatical constraints. We found the delta-energy score capable of effectively 025 separating syntactic dependencies from non- dependencies. Our unsupervised parsing model outperforms baseline parameter-free probing models in parsing performance, excelling in recovering semantically-related dependencies. The ablation study shows that the three gram- matical constraints contribute to the recovery of dependencies that are semantically related and that have strong Part-Of-Speech requirements.

034 1 Introduction

 Syntactic dependency structures are important to downstream Natural Language Processing tasks, such as Information Extraction [\(Tian et al.,](#page-9-0) [2021;](#page-9-0) [Gamallo et al.,](#page-8-0) [2012\)](#page-8-0), Machine Transla- tion [\(Bugliarello and Okazaki,](#page-8-1) [2020;](#page-8-1) [Ma et al.,](#page-8-2) [2020\)](#page-8-2), and Question Answering [\(Lyu et al.,](#page-8-3) [2021\)](#page-8-3). However, training a supervised dependency parser requires expensive human-annotated dependency

Figure 1: The correlation between syntactic dependencies and conditional mutual information scores. The lower part plots the dependency structure, and the upper part plots the conditional mutual information score. The blue box in the heatmap indicates a syntactic dependency between the corresponding words.

structures, which are only available for some lan- **043** guages and domains. Parameter-free probing meth- **044** [o](#page-9-2)ds [\(Hoover et al.,](#page-8-4) [2021;](#page-8-4) [Wu et al.,](#page-9-1) [2020;](#page-9-1) [Zhang](#page-9-2) **045** [and Hashimoto,](#page-9-2) [2021\)](#page-9-2) directly extract the depen- **046** dency structure from pre-trained language models **047** without the structure annotation (a.k.a. unsuper- 048 vised parsing). These methods predict the depen- **049** dency structure by finding a set of dependencies **050** that form a tree-shaped structure and that have max- **051** imum bi-lexical dependence scores. **052**

Fig[.1](#page-0-0) [1](#page-0-1) illustrates the syntactic dependency struc- **053** ture and Conditional Mutual Information (CMI) **054** scores, a bi-lexical statistical dependence metric. **055** The syntactic dependency, represented as a word **056** pair, encodes a word-to-word grammatical relation. **057** For example, the dependency ("long", "line") with **058** the label amod indicates that "long" serves as an **059**

 1 Conditional mutual information is a symmetric score. We study the undirected syntactic dependency to put the conditional mutual information and other dependence scores on an equal footing.

 adjective modifier to "line". On the other hand, the CMI score is a metric measuring one word's influ- ence on the other word. The higher the CMI score, the stronger the influence. For example, the CMI score for the word pair ("long", "line") is high, in- dicating a strong bi-lexical dependence. The above example shows a correlation between syntactic de- pendencies and high CMI scores. Such correlation is the cornerstone of the parameter-free probing **069** method.

 Despite the cornerstone role of the correlation, the parameter-free probing method assumes the correlation without verifying it. Whether and how much their dependence scores separate the syntac- tic dependency from non-dependencies (i.e., word pairs that are not connected by a syntactic depen- dency) remains a question. Furthermore, the prob- ing method failed to incorporate grammatical con- straints that have been shown beneficial to parsing performance by grammar-based unsupervised pars- ing methods [\(Noji et al.,](#page-9-3) [2016;](#page-9-3) [Naseem et al.,](#page-9-4) [2010;](#page-9-4) [Xu et al.,](#page-9-5) [2021\)](#page-9-5).

082 In this paper, we present a study on the corre-**083** lation between the syntactic dependency and the **084** CMI score. Our contributions are three-fold:

 1. We propose *delta-energy*, an unbiased esti- mate of the CMI score, and derive an unsu- pervised parsing model from the delta-energy score. We further enhance the parsing model with three grammatical constraints: a Part-Of- Speech (POS) constraint, an adjacent-connect constraint, and a function word head con-**092** straint.

 2. We verify the correlation between the syntac- tic dependency and the delta-energy score and show that the delta-energy score is an effective metric for separating syntactic dependencies from non-dependencies.

 3. We build a state-of-the-art parameter-free un- supervised parsing model that excels at re- covering semantically-related dependencies. Ablation analysis shows that the grammati- cal constraint has a significant contribution to the recovery of dependencies that are semanti- cally related and that tend to have strong POS requirements.

2 Background **¹⁰⁶**

2.1 Conditional Mutual Information **107**

In this paper, we measure bi-lexical statistical de- **108** pendence scores using Conditional Mutual Infor- **109** mation (Eq. [1\)](#page-1-0). Given a sentence $x = (x_1, ..., x_n)$, 110 CMI measures one word's (X_i) influence on the 111 other word's (X_i) distribution under side information *c*. The side information can include various types of information, contextual or gram- **114** matical. For example, the two words' context **115** $x_{-ij} = (x_1, ..., x_{i-1}, x_{i+1}, ..., x_{j-1}, x_{j+1}, ..., x_n)$ 116 can be the side information. CMI computes the ex- **117** pected log probability ratio between the joint prob- **118** ability $p(x_i, x_j | c)$ and the product of the marginal 119 probabilities $p(x_i|c)p(x_j|c)$. CMI measures the **120** distance between the joint distribution from the **121** marginal product distribution. The higher the CMI **122** score, the further the joint and the marginal product **123** distribution are, the stronger the statistical depen- **124** dence is between X_i and X_j . **125**

$$
I(X_i; X_j|c) := \mathop{\mathbb{E}}\limits_{X_i X_j|c} \left[\log \frac{p(x_i, x_j|c)}{p(x_i|c)p(x_j|c)} \right] \tag{1}
$$

(1) **126**

2.2 Extracting Syntactic Dependency via **127** Measuring Bi-Lexical Dependence **128**

[Hoover et al.](#page-8-4) [\(2021\)](#page-8-4); [Wu et al.](#page-9-1) [\(2020\)](#page-9-1) measure the **129** bi-lexical dependence score of word pairs (X_i, X_j) 130 under the context x_{-ij} . They define the depen- 131 dence score as the difference between the informed **132** probability $p(x_j | x_i, x_{-ij})$ and the null probability 133 $p(x_j | X_i = [MASK], x_{-ij})$ given by a masked lan- **134** guage model. The informed probability measures **135** the probability of x_j given the content of x_i , while **136** the null probability measures the probability of **137** x_j without knowing the content of x_i . The null 138 probability can serve as an approximation to the **139** marginal probability $p(x_j | x_{-ij})$ [\(Xu et al.,](#page-9-6) [2020\)](#page-9-6). 140 After obtaining the dependence score for all word **141** pairs, the probing method selects a dependency tree **142** that maximizes the sum of the dependence scores **143** using Maximum Spanning Tree algorithms [\(Prim,](#page-9-7) **144** [1957;](#page-9-7) [Eisner,](#page-8-5) [1997;](#page-8-5) [Edmonds,](#page-8-6) [1967\)](#page-8-6). **145**

[Hoover et al.](#page-8-4) [\(2021\)](#page-8-4) uses a log ratio of the in- **146** formed and the null probability (pmi, Eq. [2\)](#page-2-0) as the **147** dependence score. The pmi score is a single-point **148** estimate of the CMI score, and the single-point es- **149** timation is well-known to have a high estimation **150** variance. Moreover, the pmi score uses the null **151** probability to approximate the marginal probabil- **152** ity, which adds further bias to the estimation. The **153** two issues of the pmi score make it an unreliable [e](#page-9-1)stimate of the CMI score. On the other hand, [Wu](#page-9-1) [et al.](#page-9-1) [\(2020\)](#page-9-1) uses the Euclidean distance between the embedding generating the informed probability 158 einformed_prob and the embedding generating the null **probability** $e_{\text{null_prob}}$ (Eq. [3\)](#page-2-1). This method operates in the embedding space instead of the probabilis- tic space and is not directly comparable with our **162** method.

163
$$
I_{ij}^{pm} := \log \frac{p(x_j | x_i, x_{-ij})}{p(x_j | X_i = [MASK], x_{-ij})}
$$
(2)

$$
I_{ij}^{pert} := ||e_{\text{informed_prob}} - e_{\text{null_prob}}||^2 \tag{3}
$$

165 2.3 Sampling from Language Models

 Monte Carlo estimation is the standard approach to estimating the CMI score reliably. [Goyal et al.](#page-8-7) [\(2022\)](#page-8-7) proposes a Metroplis-Hastings (MH) algo- rithm to sample from language models. Starting with a sentence x with arbitrary content on the word X_i and X_j , the MH method iteratively performs the following steps over the two words:

- 173 **1. samples a proposal word** x'_i **from a proposal** 174 **distribution** $q(x'_i|x)$. In this case, the proposal **175** distribution would be a mask language model 176 **distribution with** X_i **set to [MASK].**
- **177** 2. computes the acceptance probability based **178** on the proposal probability and the tar-179 **179 get probability** $p(x')$. Here, p is the lan-180 **guage model distribution of choice and** $x' =$ 181 $(x_1, ..., x_{i-1}, x'_i, x_{i+1}, ..., x_n)$
- **182** 3. accepts or rejects the proposal word accord-**183** ing to the acceptance probability. If accepted, 184 $x \leftarrow x'$. Otherwise, $x \leftarrow x$.

185 The (x_i, x_j) samples produced by the MH algo- rithm are guaranteed to converge to the target dis-187 tribution $p(x_i, x_j | x_{-ij})$ as long as the target distri- bution is irreducible and aperiodic [\(Besag,](#page-8-8) [2004\)](#page-8-8). Common language model distributions satisfy the [i](#page-8-7)rreducibility and aperiodicity conditions [\(Goyal](#page-8-7) [et al.,](#page-8-7) [2022\)](#page-8-7).

 Nonetheless, the convergence speed of the MH algorithm can be slow in practice. Multi-try MH algorithms [\(Martino,](#page-8-9) [2018\)](#page-8-9) mitigate the slow con- vergence problem by independently proposing n samples and accepting the sample with the highest probability in the target distribution. This approach enables the multi-try MH algorithm to explore the high-probability region of the target distribution more efficiently than the original MH algorithm, **200** leading to faster convergence. **201**

3 Method **²⁰²**

Our method consists of two stages: inducing CMI **203** scores and decoding syntactic dependency struc- **204** ture from the CMI score. We incorporate the POS **205** constraint in the induction stage and incorporate **206** the adjacent-connect and the function word head **207** constraint in the decoding stage. **208**

3.1 Inducing CMI Scores **209**

We define the bi-lexical dependence score as the **210** CMI between two words X_i and X_j under side in- 211 formation c. The side information includes, manda- **212** torily, the context x−ij and, optionally, the POS **²¹³** constraint y_i and y_j for X_i and X_j . We compute the **214** CMI with Eq. [4](#page-2-2) and use a causal language model **215** (CLM) distribution for p. Our experiments show **216** that CLMs provide higher-quality samples than **217** masked language models. Eq. [4](#page-2-2) is an equivalent **218** form of Eq. [1](#page-1-0) that is more suitable for the sampling- **219** based estimation of the CMI score. The first term is **220** the expected probability of samples from the joint **221** distribution $X_i X_j |c$, whereas the second term is the **222** expected probability of samples from the marginal **223** product distribution $X_i|c \otimes X_j|c$. 224

$$
I_{ij}(x) = \mathop{\mathbb{E}}_{(x_i, x_j) \sim X_i X_j | c} [\log p(x_i, x_j, c)]
$$
\n
$$
- \mathop{\mathbb{E}}_{[x_i, x_i] \sim X_i X_j | c} [\log p(x'_i, x'_i, c)]
$$
\n(4)

$$
-\mathop{\mathbb{E}}_{(x'_i, x'_j)\sim X_i|c \otimes X_j|c} [\log p(x'_i, x'_j, c)] \quad (4)
$$

3.1.1 Sampling with the POS Constraint **227**

Directly applying the MH algorithm to the CLM **228** could not incorporate the POS constraint into the **229** CMI score because the CLM predicts the next word **230** based on its preceding context without consider- **231** ing any POS constraint. We incorporate the POS **232** constraint by applying a mask over the CLM's out- **233** put distribution. [Rijkhoff](#page-9-8) [\(2007\)](#page-9-8) points out that **234** POS is a set of words with the same grammati- **235** cal properties. By the definition, we can impose **236** a POS constraint y_i for the word X_i by masking 237 out words that do not have the grammatical prop- **238** erty specified by the POS. We translate the idea **239** into Eq[.5.](#page-3-0) Eq[.5](#page-3-0) defines the conditional distribu- **240** $\text{tion } p(x_i | x_j, x_{-ij}, y_i)$ by renormalizing the CLM 241 probability of a word $p(x_i|x_j, x_{-ij})$ with the total 242 probability of all words satisfying the POS con- **243** straint $\sum_{X_i} p(x_i | x_j, x_{-ij}) \mathbb{1}_{(Y(X_i) = y_i)}$

244

245

$$
p(x_i|x_j, x_{-ij}, y_i) = \frac{p(x_i|x_j, x_{-ij}) \mathbb{1}_{(Y(X_i) = y_i)}}{\sum_{X_i} p(x_i|x_j, x_{-ij}) \mathbb{1}_{(Y(X_i) = y_i)}} \tag{5}
$$

246 3.1.2 Estimating with the POS constraint

 Estimating the CMI requires computing the joint 248 probability of the sentence (x_i, x_j, x_{-ij}) and the **POS** constraint (y_i, y_j) . Unfortunately, one can not compute the joint probability straightforwardly as the CLM does not model the POS constraint. We propose *delta-energy* (Eq[.6\)](#page-3-1), an unbiased es- timate of the CMI score, to overcome this issue. Compared to the CMI score, the delta-energy score 255 eliminates the POS constraint y_i and y_j inside the expectation, enabling straightforward computation of the probability using CLM. We prove that the elimination is safe such that the delta-energy score is equivalent to the CMI score when the side infor- mation c contains only the POS constraint and the remaining context (Appendix [A.1\)](#page-10-0)

262
$$
I_{ij}^{DE}(x) = \mathbb{E}_{(x_i, x_j) \sim X_i X_j | c} [\log p(x_i, x_j, x_{-ij})] - \mathbb{E}_{(x'_i, x'_j) \sim X_i | c \otimes X_j | c} [\log p(x'_i, x'_j, x_{-ij})]
$$
(6)

263

264 3.2 Decoding Syntactic Dependency from **265** Delta-Energy Scores

 We apply Prim's algorithm [\(Prim,](#page-9-7) [1957\)](#page-9-7) to decode an undirected dependency tree from the symmet- ric delta-energy score. We additionally apply two grammatical constraints at this stage: the adjacent- connect constraint and the function-word head con-**271** straint.

 The adjacent-connect constraint is a default strat- egy when a word is not statistically dependent on 274 the rest of the sentence (i.e., $\forall j, I_{ij}(x) \approx 0$). In that case, we default the word to be connected with its right neighbor, inspired by the high pars- ing performance of a trivial baseline that connects adjacent words [\(Klein and Manning,](#page-8-10) [2004\)](#page-8-10). We set a threshold τ such that a word is automatically connected to its right neighbor if the accumulative delta-energy score between the word and the rest 282 of the sentence is below τ .

 The function-word head constraint [\(Noji et al.,](#page-9-3) [2016\)](#page-9-3) prevents function words from being a syn- tactic head in the decoded structure. In the context of undirected dependencies, the constraint prevents function words from having more than one connec-tion to other words. We enforce the constraint by gradually decreasing delta-energy scores related to **289** the function word that violates the constraint. As **290** we will see in Section [4,](#page-3-2) the two constraints are **291** effective in improving the parsing performance. **292**

4 Experiment **²⁹³**

4.1 Experiment Setup 294

We use three datasets for experiments: EWT-10, **295** WSJ-10 [\(Klein and Manning,](#page-8-10) [2004\)](#page-8-10), and PUD. **296** Among the three, the EWT-10 and the WSJ-10 **297** dataset contain sentences shorter than 10 words **298** (excluding punctuations) from the English Web **299** Treebank [\(Bies, Ann et al.,](#page-8-11) [2012\)](#page-8-11) and the Penn **300** Treebank [\(Marcus, Mitchell P. et al.,](#page-8-12) [1999\)](#page-8-12) respec- **301** tively. The main reason for using the EWT-10 **302** and the WSJ-10 datasets is the high computational **303** cost of the delta-energy estimation. For example, **304** running the delta-energy estimation on the develop- **305** ment section of EWT-10 takes 48 GPU hours on a **306** single A100 GPU. In addition, the WSJ-10 dataset 307 is widely used for unsupervised dependency pars- **308** ing [\(Klein and Manning,](#page-8-10) [2004;](#page-8-10) [Cohen and Smith,](#page-8-13) **309** [2009\)](#page-8-13). The PUD dataset contains the full English **310** section of the Parallel Universal Dependency tree- **311** bank [\(Zeman et al.,](#page-9-9) [2018\)](#page-9-9). The EWT-10 and the **312** PUD dataset contain dependencies annotated in the **313** universal dependency format [\(Nivre et al.,](#page-9-10) [2020\)](#page-9-10) **314** while the WSJ-10 contains dependencies annotated 315 [i](#page-8-14)n the Stanford dependency format [\(de Marneffe](#page-8-14) **316** [and Manning,](#page-8-14) [2008\)](#page-8-14). We use the development sec- **317** tion of the EWT-10 dataset (i.e., EWT-DEV-10) to **318** analyze the correlation between the syntactic de- **319** pendency and the delta-energy score and to evalu- **320** ate the parsing model derived from the delta-energy **321** score. We use the test section of the EWT-10 **322** dataset, the WSJ-10 dataset, and the PUD dataset **323** to evaluate the models' parsing performance on **324** universal dependencies, on Stanford dependencies, **325** and on long sentences, respectively. The parsing **326** performance is measured in Unlabelled Undirected **327** Attachment Score (UUAS) [\(Nivre and Fang,](#page-9-11) [2017\)](#page-9-11) **328** due to the symmetricity of the delta-energy score. **329** We compute the UUAS score for syntactic depen- **330** dencies that connect actual words for all experi- **331** ments (i.e., we exclude the root dependency from **332** the evaluation). **333**

We use the bert-large-cased model [\(Devlin](#page-8-15) **334** [et al.,](#page-8-15) [2019\)](#page-8-15) for the proposal distribution and the **335** gpt2-large model [\(Radford et al.,](#page-9-12) [2019\)](#page-9-12) for the **336** target distribution when sampling for the EWT-10 **337** and the WSJ-10 datasets. For the PUD dataset, we **338**

Dependence Scores	P-Value (\downarrow)	Cohen's $d(\uparrow)$
delta-energy	$0.00E + 00$	1.14
pmi	2.38E-214	0.69
perturbed-masking	$0.00E + 00$	1.11

Table 1: P-value and Cohen's d value for the three scores in separating the syntactic dependency from the nondependency. The p-value indicates whether the score can separate the two dependencies, and the d value indicates the separation effect. A low p-value and a high d value indicate a good separation score.

 alternatively use the opt-125m model [\(Zhang et al.,](#page-9-13) [2022\)](#page-9-13) for the target distribution to speed up the sampling process. We take one sample for every 12 sampling steps to avoid correlation between sub- sequent samples. In total, we collect 128 samples for every word pair. We limit words that can be sampled from the bert-large-cased model to the vocabulary of the bert model to reduce the compu- tational and implementation complexity. We use the POS tag provided in the dataset for implement- ing the POS constraint and the function word head constraint. We run each experiment once because our method is parameter-free and also because of the high computational cost.

353 We use three baselines for analyses: the pmi **354** baseline [\(Hoover et al.,](#page-8-4) [2021\)](#page-8-4), the perturbedmasking baseline [2](#page-4-0) **355** [\(Wu et al.,](#page-9-1) [2020\)](#page-9-1), and the **356** adjacent-connect baseline [\(Klein and Manning,](#page-8-10) **357** [2004\)](#page-8-10).

358 4.2 Correlation between Syntactic **359** Dependencies and Dependence Scores

 The core question we seek to answer in this pa- per is: whether and to what degree does the syn- tactic dependency correlate with bi-lexical depen- dence scores? We answer this question by studying whether and how much the dependence score can separate the syntactic dependency from the non- dependency. We compare the delta-energy score with the dependence score derived from the pmi and the score derived from the perturbed-masking baseline. The experiment shows that the delta- energy score can separate and separates the syn-tactic and the non-dependency well.

 The first column in Table [1](#page-4-1) shows the p-value for the t-test with a null hypothesis that the syn- tactic dependency and the non-dependency have the same mean dependence score. All three scores

Figure 2: Cohen's d value by linear dependency lengths

have a p-value of 0 or close to 0, suggesting that all $\frac{376}{ }$ dependence scores can separate the syntactic and **377** the non-dependency as two statistical populations. **378**

The second column shows Cohen's d value, **379** which measures the separation effect of the dependence score. The delta-energy score has the **381** highest d value of 1.14^{[3](#page-4-2)} among the three depen- 382 dence scores. The perturbed-masking score has a **383** medium d value of 1.11, and the pmi score has the 384 lowest d value of 0.69. This result indicates that **385** the delta-energy score is the best score for separat- **386** ing the dependency and the non-dependency group. **387** The high d value suggests that the delta-energy **388** model could perform better than the two baseline **389** models in parsing performance, as we will see in **390** the next section. **391**

However, syntactic dependencies are not uni- **392** formly distributed across all dependency lengths. **393** The syntactic dependency, on average, has shorter **394** lengths than the non-dependency. The discrepancy **395** creates a concern that the above analysis is not only **396** measuring the separation of the syntactic depen- **397** dency and the non-dependency but also the effect **398** of the short and the long dependency. To counteract **399** the concern, Fig. [2](#page-4-3) breaks down the d value by the 400 linear dependency length (i.e., the number of words 401 between the word pair). The delta-energy score has **402** the highest d value for most dependency lengths. **403** The result reinforces the observation derived from **404** Table [1](#page-4-1) that the delta-energy score is the best score **405** in separating the syntactic dependency from the **406** non-dependency. 407

4.3 Parsing Performance of the Delta-Energy **408 Model** 409

Table [2](#page-5-0) shows the parsing performance of the delta- **410** energy model and the baseline parsing models on **411**

²we use the released code for the experiment but corrected an implementation bug. See Appendix[.A.3](#page-10-1)

 $3A$ d value of 0.5 indicates a medium effect, 0.8 a large effect, and 1.2 a very large effect [\(Sawilowsky,](#page-9-14) [2009\)](#page-9-14)

Dependence Score	UUAS
delta-energy	0.631
pm	0.559
perturbed-masking	0.586
adjacent-connect	0.497

Table 2: UUAS scores of the delta-energy and the baseline models on the EWT-DEV-10 dataset

Figure 3: UUAS scores for syntactic dependencies of different lengths on the EWT-DEV-10 dataset

 the EWT-DEV-10 dataset. The delta-energy model performs the best, leading the perturbed-masking model (the second-best model) by 0.046. The delta- energy, the perturbed-masking, and the pmi model outperform the adjacent-connect baseline by a large margin. The result confirms that the delta-energy score is the best score for separating the syntactic dependency from the non-dependency. The high performance of the delta-energy, the perturbed- masking, and the pmi model indicates that one can recover a non-trivial amount of syntactic de- pendencies by measuring the bi-lexical dependence **424** score.

 Fig. [3](#page-5-1) plots the UUAS scores of the delta-energy model and the baseline models for recovering the syntactic dependency of different lengths. The delta-energy model performs the best for the syn- tactic dependency with lengths up to 3, performs similarly to the perturbed-masking model for the syntactic dependency with a length of 4, and per- forms the worst for the syntactic dependency with lengths 5 and 6. The result reveals the source of the delta-energy model's improvement: the short- length dependency, which makes up the majority of the syntactic dependency. For example, the EWT- DEV-10 dataset has 484 dependencies of lengths greater or equal to 4 while containing 4036 depen-dencies of lengths less than 4.

440 Fig. [4](#page-5-2) shows the UUAS scores for relations

Figure 4: UUAS of relations where the performance difference between the delta-energy and the perturbedmasking model is greater than 0.1. The left part plots the relations where the delta-energy model performs better, and the right part plots the relations where the perturbed-masking model performs better.

where the performance difference between the 441 delta-energy and the perturbed-masking model is **442** more than 0.1. The delta-energy model outper- **443** forms the perturbed-masking model in recovering **444** the semantically-related dependencies while un- **445** derperforming in recovering functionally-related **446** dependencies. The result indicates that the delta- **447** energy model is more sensitive to semantically- **448** related dependencies than functionally-related de- **449** pendencies. **450**

4.4 Ablation Study **451**

Table 3: Ablation analysis for the delta-energy model. +UPOS indicates the use of the POS constraint, +ADJC indicates the adjacent-connect constraint, and +FNWH indicates the function word head constraint.

Table [3](#page-5-3) presents an ablation study for the three **452** grammatical constraints. The UPOS, ADJC, and **453** FNWH represent the POS, the adjacent-connect, **454** and the function word head constraint, respectively. **455** The $+/-$ sign indicates whether the model uses the 456 constraint. The Table shows that removing the **457** POS or the FNWH constraint equally decreases **458** the UUAS and the precision score. On the other **459**

 hand, removing the ADJC constraint decreases the UUAS score more than the precision score. This is because, in some cases, the delta-energy score measures a 0 dependence score between one word and the rest of the sentence. The 0 dependence score creates an orphan problem in that the word is statistically disconnected from the rest of the sentence, resulting in an underprediction of the syntactic dependency. The ADJC constraint miti- gates the orphan problem by forcibly connecting the word to its right neighbor. The ablation study with the UUAS score indicates that all grammati- cal constraints benefit the parsing performance and that the adjacent-connect constraint is important in resolving the orphan problem.

 Fig. [5](#page-7-0) analyzes which relation the grammati- cal constraint helps the most. The figures plot the UUAS for the relation where removing the re- spective grammatical constraint causes more than 0.1 loss in UUAS. Fig. [5a](#page-7-0) shows that the ADJC constraint improves performance for a wide range of dependencies. Fig. [5b](#page-7-0) shows that the POS constraint improves performance for dependen- cies with strong POS requirements. For example, the conj relation requires two words to have the same POS tag. The parataxis relation also includes cases where the two words have the same POS tag [\(Nivre et al.,](#page-9-10) [2020\)](#page-9-10). Fig. [5c](#page-7-0) shows that the FNWH constraint improves performance for semantically- related dependencies. The nsubj, obl, and advcl dependencies connect words with their semantic arguments. The nmod and acl relation connect words with their modifiers. These dependencies contribute to the semantics of the sentence. The result suggests that grammatical constraints are im- portant for decoding syntactic dependencies from language models.

497 4.5 Comparison with State-of-the-Arts in **498** Unsupervised Parsing

Type	Models	EWT-TEST-10	$WSJ-10$	PUD
Parameter-free Probing Models	delta-energy	0.615	0.592	0.525
	perturbed-masking	0.591	0.584	0.507
	mlmbias	0.352	0.586	0.495
Grammar-based Models	dmy	0.611	0.597	0.484
	lcdmv	0.659	0.614	0.554

Table 4: Comparison of the delta-energy model with unsupervised parsing models. The best score for the parameter-free probing models is in bold.

499 Table [4](#page-6-0) compares the delta-energy model with **500** two parameter-free probing models (perturbed-**501** masking and mlmbias [\(Zhang and Hashimoto,](#page-9-2)

[2021\)](#page-9-2)) and two parametric grammar-based mod- **502** els (dmv [\(Klein and Manning,](#page-8-10) [2004\)](#page-8-10) and lcdmv **503** [\(Noji et al.,](#page-9-3) [2016\)](#page-9-3))^{[4](#page-6-1)}. The dmv model has the 504 same grammatical constraint as the delta-energy 505 model, while the lcdmv model has an additional 506 constraint that the sentence can not have a deep 507 recursive center-embedding structure [\(Noji et al.,](#page-9-3) **508** [2016\)](#page-9-3). Table [4](#page-6-0) shows that the delta-energy model **509** performs the best among the parameter-free prob- **510** ing models. Compared to the dmv model, the delta- **511** energy model performs better on the PUD dataset **512** and performs similarly on the EWT-TEST-10 and **513** the WSJ-10 datasets. The better performance on **514** the PUD dataset highlights the strength of the delta- **515** energy model in comparison with the dmv model, a 516 grammar-based model using the same grammatical **517** constraint. Nonetheless, the delta-energy model **518** falls behind the lcdmv model because the lcdmv **519** model has access to additional grammatical con- **520** straints. The result again reinforces the importance **521** of the grammatical constraint in recovering syntac- **522** tic dependencies from language models. **523**

5 Related Works 524

5.1 Parameter-free Probing Methods **525**

The pmi score [\(Hoover et al.,](#page-8-4) [2021\)](#page-8-4) measures the **526** bi-lexical dependence score using the log-ratio be- **527** tween the informed and the null probability given **528** by the BERT model. Besides the estimation prob- **529** lem mentioned in Section [2,](#page-1-1) the pmi score failed **530** to utilize the POS information. In comparison, our **531** method can utilize the POS information as a con- **532** straint and improves parsing performance with the **533** information. **534**

The perturbed-masking score [\(Wu et al.,](#page-9-1) [2020\)](#page-9-1) **535** measures the bi-lexical dependence score using the **536** Euclidean distance of the embedding that generates **537** the informed and the null probability. Despite the **538** simple approach, the perturbed-masking score per- **539** forms well in recovering the syntactic dependency. **540** However, the perturbed-masking score operates **541** in the embedding space, making it difficult to es- **542** tablish a direct connection between the syntactic **543** dependency and the language modeling objective. **544** In contrast, our delta-energy score operates in the **545** probabilistic space and, consequently, can establish **546** a more direct connection with the language model- **547** ing objective. Furthermore, the perturbed masking **548** score cannot utilize the POS information like the **549**

⁴We use the code released by [Noji et al.](#page-9-3) [\(2016\)](#page-9-3) for the dmv and the lcdmv model

Figure 5: Ablation analysis by dependency relations where removing the respective constraint causes more than 0.1 loss in UUAS score

550 pmi score, whereas our delta-energy score can uti-**551** lize the POS information for better performance.

 [Zhang and Hashimoto](#page-9-2) [\(2021\)](#page-9-2) measures the bi- lexical dependence score using their formulation of the "conditional mutual information". However, their formulation has two theoretical issues. Firstly, their formulation has an upper bound of 0, in con- trast to the widely-known CMI, which is a strictly non-negative metric. Secondly, two statistically in- dependent variables can obtain the maximum value under their formulation. The two issues disqualify their formulation as a valid dependence score. We present the proof in Appendix [A.2.](#page-10-2)

563 5.2 Parametric Grammar-based Methods

 [T](#page-8-10)he Grammar-based parametric method [\(Klein and](#page-8-10) [Manning,](#page-8-10) [2004;](#page-8-10) [Noji et al.,](#page-9-3) [2016\)](#page-9-3) induces gram- mar by maximizing the likelihood of observed sen- tences. While the method can theoretically avoid the data availability problem of lacking depen- dency annotations, most studies assume the POS information [\(Han et al.,](#page-8-16) [2020\)](#page-8-16). Effectively, the grammar-based method is still constrained by the availability of the POS information. On the other hand, our method can utilize the POS informa- tion as supplementary information. Moreover, the grammar-based method requires a special initializa- tion [\(Klein and Manning,](#page-8-10) [2004;](#page-8-10) [Yang et al.,](#page-9-15) [2020\)](#page-9-15) or grammatical constraints [\(Noji et al.,](#page-9-3) [2016\)](#page-9-3) to induce grammar successfully. As shown in Sec[.4,](#page-3-2) our method can benefit from the constraint but does not require the constraint to extract the dependency properly.

⁵⁸² 6 Conclusions

583 In this paper, we studied the correlation between **584** syntactic dependencies and CMI scores derived **585** from causal language models and the application of the CMI score on unsupervised parsing. We **586** proposed delta-energy, an unbiased estimate of **587** the CMI score that allows the incorporation of **588** POS constraints. We verified that syntactically **589** connected words are more statistically dependent **590** under causal language model distributions. The **591** delta-energy score is the best metric for separat- **592** ing syntactic dependencies from non-dependencies. **593** We found that the unsupervised parsing model in- **594** duced by the delta-energy score outperforms base- **595** line models by a large margin. The delta-energy **596** model outperforms baseline models in recovering **597** semantically-related dependencies but underper- **598** forms in recovering functionally-related dependen- **599** cies. Our ablation study shows that the POS, the **600** adjacent-connect, and the function word head con- **601** straint benefit the parsing performance. The POS 602 constraint contributes to the recovery of dependen- **603** cies with strong POS requirements. The adjacent- **604** connect constraint boosts the performance in re- **605** covering a wide range of dependencies. The func- **606** tion word head constraint significantly contributes **607** to recovering semantically related dependencies. **608** The result indicates the importance of grammati- **609** cal constraints in extracting syntactic dependencies **610** from language models. The delta-energy model per- **611** forms strongly against state-of-the-art parameter- **612** free probing models and matches the performance **613** of the grammar-based parametric model using sim- **614** ilar grammatical constraints. **615**

7 Limitations **⁶¹⁶**

A concern we have is the high computational cost **617** of the MH algorithm. At every sampling step, the **618** MH algorithm has to evaluate the probability of the **619** sentence $x' = (x_1, ..., x_{i-1}, x'_i, x_{i+1}, ..., x_n)$ with 620 the proposal sample x'_i . Since we collect 128 sam- 621

 ples and take one sample for every 12 sampling steps, we have to evaluate the sentence probability 1536 times to estimate the CMI score for a word pair. The above is for the constant factor of the computational complexity. The total computational 627 complexity for a sentence with *n* words is $O(n^5)$ considering that the CLM model has a computa-**complexity of** $O(n^3)$ $(O(n^2)$ complexity for **one pass through the transformer model and** $O(n)$ steps to obtain the probability for each word in the sentence). The high computational cost pre- vents us from conducting a large-scale multilingual experiment for languages that have dependency annotations [\(Nivre et al.,](#page-9-10) [2020\)](#page-9-10) available.

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840 **A Appendix**

841 A.1 Equivalence of Delta-Energy and CMI

842 **Proposition 1.** I_{ij}^{DE} is equivalent with I_{ij} when **843** *the side information* c *contains only the POS infor-*844 mation (y_i, y_j) and the remaining context x_{-ij} *.*

845 We first look at the definition of CMI. Let $c =$ 846 (x_{-ij}, y_i, y_j)

$$
847 \t\t I_{ij}(x) \t\t (7)
$$

848
$$
:= \mathbb{E}_{X_i X_j \mid c} \left[\log \frac{p(x_i, x_j \mid c)}{p(x_i \mid c)p(x_j \mid c)} \right]
$$
(8)

$$
849 = \mathbb{E}_{X_i X_j | c} \left[\log \frac{p(x_i, x_j, c)}{p(x_i | c) p(x_j, c)} \right]
$$
(9)

850 =
$$
\mathbb{E}_{\substack{(x_i, x_j) \sim X_i X_j | c \\ (x'_i, x'_j) \sim X_i | c \otimes X_j | c}} \left[\log \frac{p(x_i, x_j, c)}{p(x'_i | c) p(x'_j, c)} \right]
$$
(10)

851 =
$$
\mathbb{E}_{\substack{(x_i, x_j) \sim X_i X_j \mid c \\ (x'_i, x'_j) \sim X_i \mid c \otimes X_j \mid c}} \left[\log \frac{p(x_i, x_j, c)}{p(x'_i, x'_j, c)} \right]
$$
(11)

852 =
$$
\mathbb{E}_{\substack{(x_i, x_j) \sim X_i X_j | c \ (x'_i, x'_j) \sim X_i | c \otimes X_j | c}} \left[\log \frac{p(x_i, x_j, x_{-ij}) \mathbb{1}_{Y(x_i, x_j) = y_i, y_j}}{p(x'_i, x'_j, x_{-ij}) \mathbb{1}_{Y(x'_i, x'_j) = y_i, y_j}} \right]
$$
(12)

853 =
$$
\mathbb{E}_{\substack{(x_i, x_j) \sim X_i X_j \mid c \\ (x'_i, x'_j) \sim X_i \mid c \otimes X_j \mid c}} \left[\log \frac{p(x_i, x_j, x_{-ij})}{p(x'_i, x'_j, x_{-ij})} \right]
$$
(13)

$$
854 \qquad \qquad = I_{ij}^{DE}(x) \tag{14}
$$

 The key to the proof lies in that the samples al-856 ways satisfy the condition $Y(x_i, x_j) = y_i, y_j$ and $Y(x'_i, x'_j) = y_i, y_j$. Consequently, the indicator function will always return 1 and enables us to safely remove the POS information inside the ex-pectation.

861 [A](#page-9-2).2 Theoretical Issues of [Zhang and](#page-9-2) **862** [Hashimoto](#page-9-2) [\(2021\)](#page-9-2)

863 They proposed a formulation of "conditional mu-**864** tual information" (Eq[.15\)](#page-10-3)

865
$$
I_{ij}^{ZH}(x) = \mathop{\mathbb{E}}_{X_i X_j | x_{-ij}} \left[\log p(x_i | x_j, x_{-ij}) - \log \mathop{\mathbb{E}}_{X_j | x_i, x_{-ij}} p(x_i | x_j, x_{-ij}) \right]
$$
(15)

867 We prove the following propositions

868 **Proposition 2.** *The upper bound of* I_{ij}^{ZH} is 0.

Proof.

(15) =
$$
\mathbb{E}_{X_i|x_{-ij}} \left[\mathbb{E}_{X_j|x_i, x_{-ij}} \log p(x_i|x_j, x_{-ij}) \right]
$$
 869

$$
-\log \mathbb{E}_{X_j|x_i, x_{-ij}} p(x_i|x_j, x_{-ij})
$$
 (16) 870

$$
\leq \mathop{\mathbb{E}}_{X_i|x_{-ij}} \left[\mathop{\mathbb{E}}_{X_j|x_i, x_{-ij}} \left[\log p(x_i|x_j, x_{-ij}) \right] \right] \tag{871}
$$

$$
-\mathop{\mathbb{E}}_{X_j|x_i, x_{-ij}} \log p(x_i|x_j, x_{-ij})\bigg] (17) \qquad 872
$$

$$
=0 \tag{18}
$$

$$
f_{\rm{max}}
$$

 \Box

874

Proposition 3. *Two statistically independent can* **875** *reach the maximum value of 0 under* I_{ij}^{ZH} . 876

Proof. Let the two random variables be defined 877 over a two-value set $X_i, X_j = \{0, 1\}$. Each value 878 has a probability of 0.5. Consequently, we have the **879** joint and the marginal probability as shown in the **880** following table.

881

885

$$
I^{ZH}(X_i; X_j) = (2 * 0.5) \Big[(0.5 * 2) \log 0.5 \qquad (19)
$$

$$
-\log(0.5 * 2 * 0.5)\bigg] \qquad (20)
$$

$$
=0 \tag{21}
$$

 \Box

A.3 Implementation bug in [Wu et al.](#page-9-1) [\(2020\)](#page-9-1) **886**

Table 5: UUAS of the released implementation vs. our corrected implementation on four datasets

[Wu et al.](#page-9-1) [\(2020\)](#page-9-1) applies a softmax normalizing **887** the dependence score I_{ij} based on all dependence 888 scores I_i related to the word X_i . However, we **889** found that their implementation produces a normal- **890** ized score with a value far greater than 1, which **891**

