AUTOLEX: An Automatic Framework for Linguistic Exploration

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Abstract

Each language has its own complex systems 002 of word, phrase, and sentence construction, the guiding principles of which are often summarized in grammatical descriptions for the consumption of linguists or language learners. 006 However, manual creation of such descriptions across many languages is a fraught process, as 800 creating language descriptions which describe the language in "its own terms" without bias or error requires both a deep understanding of the language at hand and linguistics as a 012 whole. We propose an automatic framework AUTOLEX that aims to ease linguists' discovery and extraction of concise descriptions of linguistic phenomena. Specifically, we apply this framework to extract descriptions for three linguistic phenomena: morphological agree-017 ment, case marking, and word order, across several languages. We evaluate the extracted 020 descriptions with the help of language experts 021 and propose a method for automated evaluation when human evaluation is infeasible.¹

1 Introduction

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Languages are amazingly diverse and complex, consisting of different systems such as sound structure (*phonology*), word formation and inflection (*morphology*), phrase and sentence construction (*syntax*), and meaning (*semantics*). These systems are governed by a set of guiding principles, technically described as *grammar*. Creating a humanreadable description that highlights salient grammar points of a language is one of the major endeavors undertaken by linguists. Such descriptions form an indispensable component of *language documentation*, the goal of which is to create a lasting, multipurpose record of a language (Himmelmann, 1998). Further, grammatical descriptions play a major role in educational materials, which are also used in the preservation and revitalization of endangered languages (Himmelmann, 1998; Hale et al., 1992; Moseley, 2010). Furthermore, if descriptions can be created in a machine-readable format they can be used as a basis for developing language technologies, which aboriginal language activist Williams (2019) has contended also plays a significant role in language survival, stating "languages that miss the opportunity to adopt language technologies will be less and less used".

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Linguists and researchers have undertaken initiatives to collect properties of language in a machinereadable format across a broad variety of languages. WALS (Dryer and Haspelmath, 2013) is one such database which describes linguistic properties for thousands of languages. For instance, WALS can tell us that typically English objects occur after verbs, or that Turkish pronouns have symmetrical case marking i.e. pronouns have a separate case marker for different cases (nominative, accusative). However, because WALS presents these properties across a wide range of diverse languages, these properties are necessarily defined at a coarsegrained level, and cannot capture language-specific nuances. WALS does not inform us of any exceptions to its general rules (e.g. the cases when English objects come before verbs), and there are many aspects of linguistic description that are not covered by the WALS features at all (e.g. it does not describe when a Turkish pronoun takes the accusative marker and when the nominative).

There are significant challenges to diving deeper and creating (computer-readable) detailed linguistic descriptions across many languages. For most of the world's 6,500+ languages there are few or no formally trained linguists who are native speakers, making it necessary to rely on either non-native linguists, or community members who have less linguistics training than may be ideal. Even in the ideal case where there is a linguist who is well-

¹Code and data are released on https://github.com/ emnlp-autolex/autolex. Currently, the online web site (https://emnlp-autolex.github.io/autolex) shows all rules for some languages, we are working on adding the rest.



(a) (Most) Declarative sentences show subject-verbobject.



(b) (Some) Interrogative sentences show object-subject-verb.

Figure 1: Example of word order variations in English.

versed in the language, there are a plethora of linguistic phenomena to be covered in a detailed grammatical description, and it is hard to enumerate every single one through introspection. This is particularly the case when linguistic behaviors vary across different settings, such as when there are differences between spoken and written language, or when there are dialectal variations.

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Thanks to the advances in NLP methods, it is now possible to automate some local aspects of linguistic analysis such as POS tagging (Toutanvoa and Manning, 2000; Petrov et al., 2012), dependency parsing (Kiperwasser and Goldberg, 2016; Kulmizev et al., 2019) or morphological analysis (Malaviya et al., 2018), to name a few. Recent advances in cross-lingual transfer learning have demonstrated that this analysis is possible, to an extent, even for under-resourced languages (Kondratyuk and Straka, 2019; Nguyen et al., 2021). There is also a small amount of prior work that has proposed methods for answering questions about specific aspects of an entire language, such as analysis of word order (Östling, 2015; Wang and Eisner, 2017) and morphological agreement (Chaudhary et al., 2020), or extraction of detailed grammars from inter-linear glossed text (Bender et al., 2002) (see Table 2 of the Appendix for a detailed comparison of different linguistic questions answered by our and related work).

In this work, we propose AUTOLEX, an automatic framework to aid linguistic exploration and description, with the goal of helping linguists develop fine-grained understanding of different linguistic phenomena. The framework allows the linguist to ask a question such as "what are the rules of object-verb order?" in English, or "when do pronouns take the accusative case in Turkish?", and automatically acquire first-pass answers to these

questions. Based on analysis of texts in the corresponding languages, it finds answers such as in English "typical declarative constructions show VO but interrogative sentences can show OV" (Figure 1), or in Turkish "object pronouns take the accusative case." In order to do so, we follow a three-step process. First, we define the linguistic question as a classification problem (e.g. "does the object come before the verb or not"; § 2). Second, we extract syntactic, semantic, and surface-level features that may be predictive of the answer to this question (\S 3). Third, we train an interpretable classifier such as a decision tree to identify the underlying patterns that answer this question, and extract and visualize interpretable rules (§ 4). This methodology is inspired by previous work on discovering fine-grained distinctions for individual linguistic phenomena (Chaudhary et al., 2020; Wang and Eisner, 2017), but is significantly more general - we demonstrate its ability to discover interesting features regarding word order, case marking, and morphological agreement, and the framework could be easily applied to other phenomena as well. 117

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We experiment with 61 languages and explore questions across these three linguistic phenomena. We design an automated evaluation protocol which informs us how successful our framework is in discovering valid grammar rules and how well the rules extracted over one dataset generalize across other. We further conduct a user study with linguists to evaluate how correct, readable, and novel the rules are perceived to be. Finally, we apply this framework on an endangered language, Hmong, to evaluate how well our framework extracts rules under zero-resource conditions.

2 Formalizing Linguistic Questions

The first step in applying AUTOLEX to answer a particular question is to determine whether we can formulate it as a classification task, with training data $\{\langle \mathbf{x_1}, y_1 \rangle, \langle \mathbf{x_2}, y_2 \rangle \cdots, \langle \mathbf{x_n}, y_n \rangle\}$, where $\mathbf{x_i} \in X$ are the input features and $y_i \in Y$ is the label indicating the linguistic phenomenon of interest. Below, we describe how we define the label space Y for each of the three phenomena we analyze in our experiments, and discuss how to construct X in the following section. We use the UD annotation schema (McDonald et al., 2013) for representing the syntactic and morphological information.

Case Marking is a system of "marking syntactic dependents for the type of grammatical relation

(subject, object, etc.) they bear to their syntactic 167 heads" (Blake, 2009). Although there are differ-168 ent theories on how to formalize case marking, in 169 this work we commit to the viewpoint that there 170 are two types of cases: abstract and morpholog*ical*, where abstract case is a universal property 172 and morphological case is the overt realization that 173 is triggered under certain conditions and varies 174 cross-linguistically (Chomsky, 1993; Halle et al., 175 1993; Legate, 2008). Given this background, we 176 formulate the explanation of case marking as de-177 termining when a word class (e.g. nouns) marks a 178 particular case (e.g. accusative, nominative, etc.). 179 Formally, for each POS tag t we learn a separate 180 model, where the input examples x_i are the words 181 having POS tag t with the case feature marked (e.g. Case=Nominative or Case=Accusative etc.). The 183 model is trained to predict an output label $(y_i \in Y)$, where Y is the discrete label set of all the case 185 values observed in the data for that language.

Word Order describes the relative position of the syntactic elements in the sentence (Dryer., 188 2007), and is one of the major axes of linguistic 189 description appearing in grammatical sketches or 190 linguistic databases such as WALS. We consider the following five WALS relations R: subject-verb 192 (82A), object-verb (83A), adjective-noun (87A), 193 adposition-noun (85A) and numeral-noun (89A). 194 In contrast to WALS, which only provides a single 195 canonical order for the entire language, we pose 196 the linguistic question as determining when does one word in such a relation appear before or after 198 the other. Formally, the pair of words involved in 199 the syntactic relation $\langle w_i^a, w_i^b \rangle \in r$ form the input example x_i and the binary output label $y_i \in Y$ 201 where $Y = \{\text{before, after}\}$.

Agreement is the process where one word or 204 morpheme selects a morphological form that agrees with that of another word/phrase in the sentence (Corbett, 2003). We follow a similar problem formulation as Chaudhary et al. (2020), which asks the question when is agreement required between a head (w_h) and its dependent (w_d) 209 for a morphological attribute m. In this work, 210 we focus on the morphological attributes M ={gender, person, number}, which more often show 212 agreement than other attributes (Corbett, 2009), 213 and train a separate model for each m. The pair of 214 head-dependent words which both mark the mor-215 phological property m form the input example x_i 216



Figure 2: Features extracted for training the adjectivenoun word order model in Spanish. The sentence translates to **"Four** books were bought".

and the output labels (y_i) are binary denoting if agreement is observed or not between the pair.

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3 Feature Extraction

Now that we have provided three examples of formulating linguistic questions into classification tasks, we design different features to help predict the answer of the linguistic question based on prior literature. In Figure 2, we demonstrate an example of some of the features extracted from a Spanish sentence for training the adjective-noun word order model. Going forward, we refer to the words participating in an input example x_i as *focus words*. These include the words describing the relation itself (e.g. the adjective *cuatro* and its noun *libros*) and also their respective heads and dependents.

Syntactic Features Prior research (Blake, 2009; Kittilä et al., 2011; Corbett, 2003) has discussed the role of syntactic relations and morphological properties of the syntactic heads being important for determining the case and agreement. In Figure 2, we show a subset of features extracted for some of the focus words. We derive syntactic features from the POS tag (e.g. "is-adj"), morphological properties (e.g. "is-ordinal") and the dependency relation it is involved in (e.g. "deprel-is-mod"). Similarly, we extract features from the syntactic head of the adjective, which is *libros* (e.g. "head-is-noun").

Lexical Features An influential family of linguistic theories – lexical functional grammar (Kaplan et al., 1981), head-driven phrase structure grammar (Pollard and Sag, 1994), combinatory categorial grammar (Steedman, 1987), and lexicalized tree adjoining grammar (Joshi and Schabes, 1991) – place most of the explanatory weight for

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morphosyntax on the lexicon – the properties of the
head word (and other words) drive the realization
of the rest of the phrase or sentence. Therefore, we
add lemma for the focus words (e.g. "dep-lemmais-cuatro", "head-lemma-is-libros") as features.

Semantic Features There is also a strong inter-257 action between semantics and sentence structure. Some well-known examples are that the animacy or semantic class of a word determines case marking (Dahl and Fraurud, 1996) and word order (Thuilier 260 et al., 2021) for some languages. Continuous word 261 vectors (Mikolov et al., 2013; Bojanowski et al., 262 2017) have been used to capture semantic (and 263 syntactic) similarity across words. However, most continuous vectors are high-dimensional and not easily interpretable, i.e. what semantic/syntactic 267 property each individual vector value represents is not obvious. Since our primary goal is to extract comprehensible descriptions of linguistic phenom-269 ena, we generate sparse non-negative representa-270 tions (Subramanian et al., 2018), such that each 271 dimension of the embedding has a higher level of 272 interpretability. For each dimension, we then ex-273 tract the top-k words having a high positive value, 274 resulting in features like dim-1={radio,nuclear}, 275 dim-2={hotel,restaurante}. This helps us interpret 276 what property each dimension is capturing, for ex-278 ample, dim-1 refers to words about nuclear technology while dim-2 refers to accommodations. Now 279 that we can interpret what each feature (dimension) corresponds to, we directly add the continuous vec-281 tor as features. In Figure 2, a semantic feature (e.g. "dep-word-is-like = {ochenta, sesenta}"²) extracted for cuatro informs us that the adjective denotes a numeric quantity.

4 Learning and Extracting Rules

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Training Data To construct the training data D_{train}^p for each task p, we start with the raw text D of the language in question and perform syntactic analysis over the raw text, producing POS tags, lemmatization, morphological analysis and dependency parse trees for each sentence. Based on this analysis, for each sentence in D, we identify the focus word(s) and extract features forming the input example ($\mathbf{x_i} = \{x_i^0, x_i^1, \dots, x_i^k\}$).

Model Training Given that the learned model must be interpretable to linguists using the system, we opt to use decision trees (Quinlan, 1986), which

split the data into leaves, where each leaf corresponds to a portion of input examples following common syntactic/semantic/lexical patterns.

Rule Extraction Each leaf in the decision tree is assigned a label based on the distribution of examples within that leaf. For instance, if a leaf for the adjective-noun word order decision tree has 60% of examples having adjectives before their nouns, the leaf is labeled as before. However, a majoritybased threshold alone is insufficient as it does not account for leaves with very few examples, which may be based on spurious correlations or nonsensical feature divisions. Instead, we use a statistical threshold for leaf-labeling, where we perform a chi-squared test to first determine which leaves correspond to statistically significant distribution (Chaudhary et al. (2020); details in Appendix B). Leaves that pass this test are then assigned the majority label and correspond to a rule that will be shown to linguists, where the "rule" is described by the syntactic/semantic/lexical features on the branch that lead to that leaf.

Rule Visualization For each rule, we extract illustrative examples and visualize them in an interface. We describe the example extraction process along with the interface in Appendix B.

5 Automated Evaluation Protocol

In the next two sections, we devise protocols for evaluation of the extracted rules using both automatic metrics (for rapid evaluation that can be applied widely across languages), and evaluation by human language experts (as our gold-standard evaluation). We first describe below the process of automatic evaluation per linguistic phenomenon.

Case Marking As noted earlier, we use the UD annotation scheme for deriving the training data. Under this scheme, not every word is labeled with *case*, therefore we can only train and evaluate our model on the words which are labeled with the *case* feature. For such words, we consider *case* to be a universal property i.e. each word marks a particular *case* value and, we evaluate whether our model can correctly predict that value. Thus, we measure the accuracy on a test example $\langle \mathbf{x_i}, y_i \rangle \in D_{\text{test}}^t$, comparing the models prediction $\hat{y_i}$ with the observed case value y_i . We compare our model against a frequency-based baseline which assigns the most frequent case value in the training data to all input examples.

²This translates to {eight, sixty}

adjective is before its head noun



Figure 3: A rule extracted for Spanish adjective-noun word order.

Word Order Similar to case marking, we can assume that every input example has a word order value, for example subjects will occur either before or after the verbs. Therefore, for an input example, we can consider the observed order to be the ground truth and compute the accuracy by comparing it with the model's prediction. We compare against a frequency-baseline where the most frequent word order value is assigned to all input examples.

Comparing the model's prediction with the observed order is reasonable for languages which have a dominant word order. There are a considerable set of languages which have a freer word order. WALS labels such relations as "no dominant order" (e.g. subject-verb order for Modern Greek). For such cases, considering accuracy alone might be insufficient as there is no ground truth. Therefore, we also report the entropy over the predicted output distribution:

$$H_{\rm wo}^r = -\sum_{k=\text{before, after}} p_k \log p_k$$

$$p_k = \frac{\sum_{\langle \mathbf{x_i^r}, y_i \rangle \in D_{\text{test}}^r} \mathbbm{1} \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} 1 & \hat{y_i} = k \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{array} \right.}{|D_{\text{test}}^r|}$$

For languages which have no dominant word order, the model should be uncertain about the predicted word order and we expect the model's entropy to be high. The accuracy computed against the observed word order is still useful, as despite there being "no dominant order", speakers tend to prefer one word order over the other and a high accuracy would entail that the model was successful in capturing this "preferred order."

Agreement We use the automated rule metric (ARM) proposed by Chaudhary et al. (2020) which computes accuracy by comparing the ground truth label to the predicted label. The ground truth label of an example is decided using a predefined threshold on the leaf to which the example belongs. ARM does not use the observed agreement between the head and its dependent as ground truth because an observed agreement might not necessarily mean required agreement. We compare with Chaudhary et al. (2020), which uses simple syntactic features such as POS of the head, the dependent and, the dependency relation between them.

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6 Human Expert Evaluation Protocol

Since our primary objective is to extract rules which are human-readable and of assistance to the linguists, we enlist the help of language experts to evaluate the rules on three parameters: correctness, prior knowledge, feature correctness. Before starting with the actual evaluation, we first ask the expert to provide answers regarding the linguistic questions we are evaluating. For example, we ask questions such as "when are subjects after verbs in Greek", and they are required to provide a brief answer (e.g. "for questions or when giving emphasis to a subject"). We then direct them to our interface (Figure 3), where we show the extracted features and a few illustrative examples for the rule, then ask questions regarding each of the three parameters (as shown in Figure 9 in the Appendix).

Regarding correctness, the expert is asked to annotate whether the illustrative examples, shown for that rule, are governed by some underlying grammar rule. If so, they are then required to judge how precise it is. Consider some rules extracted for Spanish adjective-noun order in Table 1. Looking at the examples and features for the Type-1

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Туре	Rule Features	Examples	Label	
Type-1 Adj is a Ordinal (valid)		También se utilizaba en las primeras grabaciones y arreglos jazzísticos. It was also used in <i>early</i> jazz <u>recordings</u> and arrangements. Las primeras 24 <u>horas</u> son cruciales. The first 24 <u>hours</u> are crucial.		
Type-2 (valid, not informative)	Adj belongs to group: con,como,no,más,lo	Matisyahu piensa editar pronto un nuevo <u>disco</u> grabado en estudio. Matisyahu plans to release a new <u>studio-recorded</u> album soon. Es una experiencia nueva <u>estar</u> desempleado. It's a new <u>experience</u> being unemployed	Before	
Type-3 (valid, too general) Adj's is NOT Ordinal		Además de una gran <u>variedad</u> de aplicaciones In addition to a great <u>variety</u> of applications. Una <u>unión</u> solemnizada en un país extranjero An <u>union</u> solemnized in a foreign country		
Type-4 (valid, too specific)	Adj's lemma is numeroso	En África hay numerosas lenguas tonales In Africa there are numerous tonal languages Ellas poseen varios libros They own several <u>books</u>	Before	
Type-5 (invalid)	Adj's head noun is a conjunct	Las consecuencias de cualquier (colapso) de divisa e <u>inflación</u> masiva . <i>The consequences expected from any currency collapse and massive inflation.</i> (Realizan) trabajos de alta calidad , muy buenos profesionales <i>They do high quality work, very good professionals</i>	After	

Table 1: Types of rules discovered by the model for Spanish adjective-noun word order. **Adjectives** are highlighted and the <u>nouns</u> they modify are underlined. Illustrative examples under each rule are also shown with their English translation in italics. Label denotes the predicted order.

rule, it is evident that this rule precisely defines 416 the linguistic distinction.³ Some rules, although 417 valid, may be too general (Type-3) or too specific 418 (Type-4). Finally, a rule may not correspond to any 419 underlying grammar rule, like the Type-5 where 420 the model simply discovered a spurious correlation 421 in the data. For prior knowledge, if an extracted 422 rule was indeed a valid grammar rule, then we ask 423 the expert whether they were aware of such a rule. 424 This will inform us how useful our framework is in 425 discovering rules which a) align with the expert's 426 427 prior knowledge and, b) are novel i.e. rules which the expert were not aware of apriori. Finally, for 428 *feature correctness*, we ask whether the features 429 selected by the model accurately describe said rule. 430 For the Type-1 rule, the answer would be yes. But 431 432 for rules like Type-2, the features are not informative even though the corresponding examples do 433 follow a common pattern. 434

7 Gold-standard Analysis Experiments

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In this section, we present results to demonstrate that our framework can discover the conditions, to some extent, which govern the different linguistic phenomena. Specifically, we experiment with goldstandard syntactic analysis derived from the SUD treebanks, and run experiments to answer questions about word order, agreement, and case marking (§ 7.1). Next, we manually verify a subset of these extracted rules (§ 7.2).

³https://www.thoughtco.com/ ordinal-numbers-in-spanish-3079591 Data and Model We use the Syntactic Universal Dependencies v2.5 (SUD) (Gerdes et al., 2019) treebanks which are based on the Universal Dependencies (UD) (Nivre et al., 2016, 2018) project, the difference being that SUD treebanks allow function words to be syntactic heads (as opposed to UD's preference for content words), which is more conducive to our goal of learning grammar rules. We experiment with treebanks for 61 languages, which are publicly available with annotations for POS tags, lemmas, dependency parses and morphological analysis. We use the same train, validation and test split as provided in the treebanks to create the training data to answer each linguistic question. We use the XGBoost (Chen and Guestrin, 2016) library to learn the decision tree. Details on the setup are discussed in Appendix D.

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7.1 Automated Evaluation Results

We train models using syntactic features for all languages covered by SUD, wherever the linguistic question is applicable. We find that our models outperform the respective baselines by an (avg.) accuracy of +7.3 for word order, +28.1 for case marking, and +4.0 ARM for agreement. We present the breakdown by individual relations in Appendix (Table 3).

As motivated in § 3, the conditions which govern a linguistic phenomena vary considerably across languages, which is also reflected through our model performance. For example, the model trained on syntactic features alone is sufficient to



Figure 4: Comparing the effect of different features on the word order and case marking.

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reach a high accuracy (avg. 94.2%) for predicting the adjective-noun order in Germanic languages. But for Romance languages, using only syntactic features leads to much lower performance (avg. 74.6%). We experiment with different features and report results for a subset of languages in Figure 4. Observe that for Spanish adjective-noun order adding lexical features improves the performance significantly (+11.57) over syntactic features, and semantic features provide an additional gain of +4.48. Studying the languages marked as having "no dominant order" in WALS, we find our model does show a higher entropy. SUD contains 8 such languages for subject-verb order, and our model produces an (avg.) entropy of 1.09, as opposed to (avg.) 0.75 entropy for all other languages. For noun case marking in Greek, syntactic features already bring the model performance to 94%. For Turkish, the addition of semantic features raises the model performance by +9.38. The model now precisely captures that nouns for locations like ev,oda,kapı,dünya⁴ typically take the locative case.

> To confirm that these *discovered conditions generalize to the language as a whole and not the specific dataset on which it was trained on*, we train a model on one treebank of a language and apply the trained model directly on the test portions of other treebanks of the same language. There are 30 languages in the SUD which fit this requirement. Figure 7 in the Appendix demonstrates one such setting for understanding the word order patterns across different French corpora, where the models have been trained on the largest treebank

(fr-gsd). For subject-verb order, all treebanks except the fr-fqb show similar high test performance (>90% acc.). Interestingly, the model severely underperforms (28% acc.) on fr-fqb which is a question-bank corpus comprising of only questions, and questions in French can have varying word order patterns.⁵ The model fails to correctly predict the word order because in the training treebank only 1.7% of examples are questions making it challenging for the model to learn word order rules for different question types.

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Through this tool, a linguist can potentially inspect and derive insights on how the patterns discovered for a linguistic question vary across different settings, both within a language and across different languages as well.

7.2 Human Evaluation Results

Through the above experiments, we automatically evaluated that the extracted rules are predictive (to some extent) and applicable to the language in general. Before applying this framework on an endangered language we first perform a manual evaluation ourselves for English and Greek. We select these languages based on the availability of human annotators, using one expert each for English and Greek. First, we note that the total number of rules for English (29) are much less than that for Greek (161), the latter being more morphologically rich. We find that 80% of the rules (across all phenomena) are valid grammar rules for both languages. A significant portion (40%) of the valid rules are either too specific or too general, which highlights that there is scope of improvement in the feature and/or model design. Interestingly, even for English, there were 7 rules which the expert was not aware of. For example, the following rule for adjective-noun order - "when the nominal is a word like something, nothing, anything, the adjective can come after the noun.". For Greek, almost all valid rules were known to the expert, except for one Gender agreement rule⁶. Regarding feature correctness, the Greek expert found 69% of the valid rules to be readable and informative, while the English expert found 58% of such rules. We show the individual results in Appendix (Figure 8).

⁴house,room,door,world

⁵In questions such as *Que signifie l' acronyme NASA?* ("What does the acronym NASA mean?"), the <u>verb</u> comes before its **subject**, but for questions such as *Qui produit le logiciel ?* ("Who produces the software?") the **subject** is before the <u>verb</u>.

⁶The rule was, "proper-nouns modifiers do not need to necessarily agree with their head nouns".



Figure 5: Test accuracy for word order in Hmong.

8 Endangered Language Study

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Finally, to test the applicability of the proposed method in a language documentation situation, we apply our framework on Hmong, an endangered language, spoken across US, China, Laos, Vietnam, Thailand. We had access to 445k Hmong sentences, which were collected from the soc.culture.hmong Usenet group and subjected to rudimentary filtering. The number of people who speak a variety mutually intelligible with this one is closer to 1M. The study on Hmong presents a realistic setting of language analysis wherein there is no expert-annotated syntactic analysis available.

To obtain syntactic analyses, we train Udify (Kondratyuk and Straka, 2019), a multilingual automatic parser that jointly predicts POS tags, lemmas, morphological analysis and dependency parses, on Vietnamese, Chinese and English treebanks and apply it to the Hmong text. We randomly split the parsed data into a train and test set (80:20) and apply our general framework to extract rules (details in Appendix F).

Results Hmong has no inflectional morphology so we only train the model to answer word order questions. In Figure 5, we present the accuracy of the model trained using syntactic features on the test split. We find that the model outperforms the baseline slightly, except for the object-verb model where it is on par. An on-par performance could indicate that either there were not many examples whose word order deviated from the dominant order or the model needs improvement.⁷ We conduct the expert evaluation for four relations (Subj-V, Adj-N, Num-N, Adp-N), where our model does outperform the baseline. First, we ask the expert, a linguist who studies Hmong, to describe the rules (if any) for each relation.

Comparing with the expert's provided rules, we 592 find that the model is successful in discovering 593 the dominant pattern for all relations. However, 594 of the 30 rules (across all relations) presented to 595 the expert for annotation, only 5 rules (1 rule for 596 subject-verb, 4 rules for numeral-noun) were found 597 to precisely describe the linguistic distinction. For 598 instance, according to the expert, numerals can-599 not occur immediately before nouns, rather they 600 always occur before classifiers which always occur 601 before nouns. Our model was able to discover this 602 rule, although the features used to describe that rule 603 were only partially correct. Interestingly, one of 604 rules captured some examples where the numerals 605 were occurring immediately before nouns without 606 the classifiers. The expert was not aware of such 607 a construction⁸. On one hand, this is promising 608 as the model, despite being trained on noisy sen-609 tences and syntactic analyses, was able to discover 610 instances of interesting linguistic behavior. How-611 ever, the expert noted that a large portion of the 612 rules were difficult to annotate as most of these re-613 ferred to examples which were incorrectly parsed, 614 some of which even described the English portion 615 of code-mixed data. This poses a new challenge for 616 zero-shot dependency parsers, even the relatively 617 strong model of Kondratyuk and Straka (2019) re-618 sulted in a high enough error rate that it impacted 619 the effectiveness of our method, and methods with 620 higher zero-shot accuracy may further improve the 621 results of end-to-end generation of grammatical 622 descriptions. 623

9 Next Steps

While we have demonstrated that our automatic framework can answer linguistic questions across different languages, the rules we discover are limited by the SUD annotation decisions. For example, several nouns in German are not annotated for the default case, which means these nouns get ignored by our model in the current setting. Possibly, using language-specific annotations or heuristics could help alleviate this problem. As noted in the Hmong study, the quality of rules depends on the quality of underlying parses. We plan to devise an iterative process where a linguist, assisted by an automatic parser, can improve syntactic parsing. The model extracts rules using the improved analyses, which the linguist can inspect and provide more inputs to further improve.

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⁷Although ObjV order doesn't vary much in this corpus, the model achieves only 87% accuracy, which could be due to error in object, verb identification.

⁸Details in Appendix F

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A Related Work

Prior work (Lewis and Xia, 2008; Hellan, 2010; Bender et al., 2013; Howell et al., 2017) have proposed methods to map descriptive grammars, present in the form of inter-linear glossed text (IGT), to existing head-phrase structure grammar (HPSG) based grammar system which is machinereadable. Lewis and Xia (2008) enrich IGT data with syntactic structures to determine canonical word order and case marking observed in the language. They do note that, while a linguist carefully chooses the examples to create the IGT corpus such that they are representative of the linguistic phenomena of interest, insights derived from IGT may suffer from this bias as the data doesn't encompass many of the naturally-occurring examples. Hellan (2010) present a sentence-level annotation code which maps the properties of the sentence to discrete labels. These discrete labels form a template which are then mapped to in a mixed to HPSG or LFG format (Pollard and Sag, 1994; Kaplan et al., 1981). Bender et al. (2013) extract majorconstituent word order and case marking properties from the IGT for a diverse set of languages. Potentially, grammar rules can also be derived from existing projects such as the LinGO Grammar Matrix (Bender et al., 2002), ParGram (Butt et al., 2002; King et al., 2005). These are grammar development tools designed to write and create grammar specifications that support a wide range of languages, in a unified format. They focus on mapping simple description of languages, obtained from existing IGT-annotated data or input from a linguist, to precision grammar fragments, grounded in a grammar formalism such as HPSG, LFG. Our work differs in that, 1) we attempt to discover and explain the local linguistic behaviors for the language in general, 2) we do not extract rules for an individual sentence in isolation, as some of the HPSG/LFG-based approaches do, 3) we discover these behaviors from naturally occurring sentences. We do note that the rules we present in this work are based on the SUD annotation scheme, but the current framework can be easily extended to any other such scheme. In Table 2, we outline the different linguistic questions answered by our work and the related work. There has also been work on developing toolkits

Lepp et al. (2019) present a web-based system to explore different morphological analyses. They also allow a user to improve the analyses thereby also improving the grammar specification which relies on those analyses.

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B Learning and Extracting Rules

Statistical Threshold for Rule Extraction Similar to Chaudhary et al. (2020), we apply statistical testing to label leaves. They define a null hypothesis H_0 for morphological agreement which states that *each leaf denotes chance-agreement*. This means that there is no required agreement between a head and its dependent on the morphological attribute m. The hypothesis to be tested for is H_1 which states that *the leaf denotes requiredagreement*. If the observed example distribution under a leaf is deemed to be statistically significant when compared to an expected empirical distribution (computed over the training data), we can reject H_0 and accept H_1 . We follow a similar approach for case marking and word order.

For case marking and word order, we define the hypotheses as:

 H_0 : Each leaf can take any label. 928 H_1 : The leaf takes the label dominant under that leaf 929 For case marking, we can design H_0 as above be-930 cause under the abstract case viewpoint (\S 3), case 931 is a universal property for each word. Similarly 932 for word order relation, the words participating in 933 the relation can either be before or after the other. 934 Therefore, to apply the chi-squared goodness of fit 935 test, we compute the expected probability distri-936 bution for H_0 considering a uniform distribution. 937 For example, if a noun can take four possible case 938 values (nominative, accusative, locative, dative) 939 then p = 0.25 and, for word order p = 0.5 (bi-940 nary labels before, after). We then compute the 941 test statistic and p-value as explained in detail in 942 Chaudhary et al. (2020). The leaves which are not 943 statistically significant are given the label of cannot 944 decide, which informs a user that the model was 945 uncertain about the label. 946

Rule Visualization Under each rule, we present a subset of examples from the training portion of the treebank to illustrate the rule. To not overwhelm the user, we only present 10 positive and 10 negative examples. Positive examples refer to the examples which have the features (from that rule) and follow the label as predicted by that leaf. However, there could be examples in the training data which have the same features as defined under

Linguistic Phenomena	Work	Rule-Type	Corpus Type
WordOrder	Ours	C+FG	Raw text
	Grammar Matrix (Bender et al., 2002)	C+FG	IGT text*
	Lewis and Xia (2008)	C	IGT text
	Bender et al. (2013)	C	IGT text
	Östling (2015)	C	Raw text
	Wang and Eisner (2017)	C	Raw text
	WALS Dryer and Haspelmath (2013)	C	Reference grammar*
Case Marking	Ours	C+FG	Raw text
	Grammar Matrix (Bender et al., 2002)	C+FG	IGT text*
	WALS Dryer and Haspelmath (2013)	C	Reference grammar*
	Howell et al. (2017)	C	IGT text
Agreement	Ours	C+FG	Raw text
-	Grammar Matrix (Bender et al., 2002)	C+FG	IGT text*
	Chaudhary et al. (2020)	C+FG	Raw text
Sentence construction	Hellan (2010)	FG	IGT text*

Table 2: An overview of linguistic questions *automatically* answered by our current work and existing related work. Some of them combine semi-automatic approaches with manually annotated resources, there are marked with *. Rule-Type denotes the type of rule extracted for a language, C refers to coarse-grained such as rules for canonical word order, FG refers to fine-grained i.e. rules extracted at a local level.

that rule, but these example do not follow the predicted label. We refer to these examples as negative examples. In Figure 3, we demonstrate one such rule with the examples.

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Since we only show a small set of examples, we select these examples to be concise and representative. We first group the examples under the rule by the lemmatized forms of the focus words. For example, under the Type-1 rule (Table 1) extracted for Spanish adjective-noun word order, the focus words are the **adjective** (w_a) and the <u>noun</u> (w_b) . We group these examples by the lemmatized forms of the adjective and noun $\langle l_a, l_b \rangle$. The examples grouped under a lemmatized pair $\langle l_a, l_b \rangle$ are then sorted by their lengths. For each lemmatized pair $\langle l_a, l_b \rangle$, we select the top shortest examples. Finally, all selected examples are shuffled and we randomly select 10 examples.

C Human Evaluation Setup

For a given linguistic question, ideally, we would 975 like to present the rules extracted from best per-976 forming decision tree. However, it is highly likely 977 that a tree with a large depth is the best-performing, 978 which could then result in a large set of rules. In order to not overwhelm the linguist who is reviewing the rules, we select the tree, from which we 981 extract the rules, based on two metrics: accuracy 982 and conciseness. We use Pareto analysis (Pareto, 1964) which is a creative way to visualize the best

options, in our case the best model to extract rules. In Figure 6, we show the Pareto analysis for Spanish adjective-noun word order models. The x-axis denotes the number of leaves which acts as a proxy for conciseness and the y-axis is the model accuracy. Each point on the plot denotes a model trained with a different hyperparameter. The models on the blue line denote the best choices to select from. For example, a model on the far upper right on the line although has the best accuracy, but it has 80+ leaves, which can be overwhelming to review. For our annotation setup, we select a model on the line which is as high performing as possible but with an upper limit of number of leaves being <30. We then extract rules from that model and each rule is then presented with an annotation form, as shown in Figure 9.

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D Experimental Setup

Training Data Syntactic and lexical features 1003 are directly extracted from the syntactic analyses, 1004 which we obtain either from a expert annotated 1005 treebank or an automatic model trained on similar 1006 data. The treebanks have been annotated with POS 1007 tags, lemmas, morphological analyses and dependency parse information, per the SUD annotation 1009 scheme (Gerdes et al., 2019). Semantic features 1010 are derived from continuous word representations, 1011 on which we apply the transformation proposed by 1012 Subramanian et al. (2018). We use 300-dimentional 1013



Figure 6: Visualizing different models for Spanish adjective-noun word order on two parameters, accuracy and conciseness.

pretrained word embeddings released by fasttext⁹. 1014 These are pretrained on Wikipedia and are available for 157 languages. We use the same hyperparameters as described in the code¹⁰ from Subramanian et al. (2018) to transform these pretrained embed-1018 dings into sparse vectors. We experiment with 1019 hdim={1000, 2000} and scale the reconstruction loss by $\{5,10\}$. We select those embeddings which have a sparsity level between 85-90%.

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Model As described in the main text, we use the XGB00ST to learn a decision tree. We perform a grid search over a set of hyperparameters and select the best performing model based on the validation set performance. Here the hyperparameters we use:

- criterion: {gini, entropy}
- max-depth: {3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 20}
- n-estimators: 1
- learning-rate: 0.1
- objective: multi:softprob

Gold-standard Experiments Е

Automated Evaluation Results E.1

In the main text we reported the average improvement for the word order, agreement and case marking models. In Table 3 we present the breakdown per each question. The word order results are reported over 56 languages, agreement over 38 and

Linguistic Phenomena	Model	Gain
Word Order	adjective-noun subject-verb object-verb numeral-noun noun-adposition	2.61 6.95 10.78 9.88 2.31
Agreement	Gender Person Number	4.02 1.08 4.95
Case Marking	NOUN PRON DET PROPN ADJ VERB ADP NUM	30.03 32.66 47.33 29.77 35.59 18.76 15.4 25.81

Table 3: Breakdown of the performance gain (over the baseline) for each linguistic question. The performance of the agreement models is compared with the models trained over simple syntactic features in Chaudhary et al. (2020).



Figure 7: Comparing the accuracy of the model across different treebanks. Each model is trained on the frgsd treebank and directly applied on the other treebanks. Shaded bars denote the best model performance trained using all features while solid bars denote the most-frequent baseline for that treebank.

case marking over 35 languages. ¹¹ We also show
individual results per each language for word or-
der (Table 5, Table 6), agreement (Table 7), case
marking (Table 8, Table 9).

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E.2 Human Evaluation Results

We conduct expert evaluation for English and Greek. For English, a total of 15 rules were evaluated for agreement, 11 for word order and 3 for case marking. For Greek, a total of 35 rules were evaluated for agreement, 11 for word order and

⁹https://fasttext.cc/docs/en/pretrained-vectors. html

¹⁰https://github.com/harsh19/SPINE

¹¹Some languages have very little training data on which we couldn't fit a model while for some languages the linguistic questions was not applicable. Some experiments are still in progress.



Figure 8: Evaluating rule correctness (left), prior knowledge (middle) and feature correctness (right). Top plot shows the results for English while the bottom plot shows for Greek.

115 for case marking. We discussed the results in the main text, here we present the figures for English and Greek (Figure 8). For English, there were some rules which the expert was not aware of. We discussed one example for word order in the main text, we show an example for agreement and case marking in Table 4.

tically related) but they were not aware of other constructions which also didn't have the classifiers such as: "1 noun-1, 2 noun-2. 3 noun-3, ..., n noun-n"

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F Endangered Language Study

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Data We experimented with Hmong in this setting, specifically the data includes different varieties (hnj and mww). Since the data was scraped from the web, this data was noisy and intermixed with English data. Therefore, we automatically cleaned the corpus. We trained a character-level language model on English data and automatically filtered sentences which had a low-perplexity. This removed 61k English-only sentences, although this did not remove the English code-mixed sentences. That is one reason why some of the rules identified were on the English portion of the data. We chose Vietnamese, Chinese and English to train udify model as they share syntactic and lexical similarity with Hmong.

1073**Results**In the main text, we discussed the example of rules extracted for numeral-noun. The expert1074ple of rules extracted for numeral-noun. The expert1075was aware of constructions such as "1 clf-1 noun-10761" where clf-1 is the classifier which comes after1077the numeral but before the noun. They were aware1078of one construction where numerals occurred be-1079fore the nouns without the classifier – "1 noun-110801 noun-2" (where noun-1 and noun-2 are seman-

Linguistic Phenomena	Rule	Examples	Label
Number Agreement	dependent's head is a NOUN	Kids fun games are added to the building. Nationalist groups are coming to the conference.	Not-required-agreement
Object Case Marking	Pronoun is a oblique	Because Large Fries give you FOUR PIECES ! Give him a call tommorow	Accusative

Table 4: Some example of rules for agreement and case marking, which the expert annotator was not aware of. The **focus word** is highlighted, for agreement we also underline the <u>head</u> with which the dependent's agreement is checked. The examples under number agreement demonstrate that when dependent's head is a noun the **dependent** need not agree with its <u>head</u>. We show one example where the first example shows the dependent matches the number of the head, and the second example shows that it didn't not match.

Q1. Looking at the examples below, is the rule precisely defining a linguistic distinction
○ too specific
\bigcirc too general
O not corresponding to a real linguistic distinction in the language
 cannot decide as the examples are incorrectly parsed
Q2. If you selected any of the first three options in Q1, does it match the rules you provided earlier? If you selected the fourth option in Q1, leave blank.
Yes, precisely
 Yes, not exactly but somewhat
O No, but I was aware of such a construction
No, I was not aware of this before
Q3. Do the features accurately describe the group of positive samples below? If this is a "default" rule, leave blank. Ves
○ No
O Partially correct
If there's an alternative set of features that more accurately or concisely describe them, please briefly describe them i
the comment box.
Other comments:

Figure 9: Rule evaluation form presented to the language expert.

Туре	Lang	Train - Test - Baseline	Туре	Lang	Train - Test - Baseline
adjective-noun	it-vit	70.71 - 69.51 - 66.02	object-verb	cu-proiel	80.37 - 82.72 - 76.03
adjective-noun	no-nynorsk	97.68 - 97.92 - 97.76	object-verb	be-hse	87.79 - 95.38 - 95.38
adjective-noun	ro-nonstandard	87.46 - 95.19 - 92.95	object-verb	sv-lines	96.75 - 96.79 - 95.31
adjective-noun	bg-btb	97.27 - 98.49 - 97.23	object-verb	uk-iu	82.77 - 87.16 - 83.16
adjective-noun	gl-ctg	79.02 - 79.2 - 79.2	object-verb	ga-idt	94.89 - 91.55 - 82.8
adjective-noun	cs-pdt	94.69 - 94.36 - 93.69	object-verb	sk-snk	81.84 - 86.17 - 80.91
adjective-noun	fi-tdt	98.56 - 99.09 - 99.09	object-verb	hu-szeged	73.23 - 68.26 - 53.73
adjective-noun	pl-pdb	65.61 - 68.0 - 61.84	object-verb	got-proiel	74.58 - 80.15 - 72.44
adjective-noun	la-ittb	63.64 - 59.65 - 40.2	object-verb	hr-set	89.27 - 92.2 - 83.32
adjective-noun	nl-alpino	98.38 - 98.65 - 98.65	object-verb	lzh-kyoto	97.86 - 98.01 - 95.7
adjective-noun	mt-mudt	78.91 - 82.84 - 82.84	object-verb	lv-lvtb	85.03 - 82.95 - 75.24
adjective-noun	ja-bccwj	99.4 - 98.69 - 98.69	object-verb	et-edt	76.03 - 79.51 - 69.67
adjective-noun	orv-torot	71.39 - 65.76 - 53.48	object-verb	fro-srcmf	79.62 - 81.82 - 48.25
adjective-noun	pt-gsd	70.31 - 74.54 - 71.63	object-verb	af-afribooms	82.72 - 96.19 - 86.03
adjective-noun	cu-proiel	84.96 - 84.98 - 84.98	object-verb	hy-armtdp	71.47 - 74.58 - 44.92
adjective-noun	sv-lines	98.3 - 98.29 - 95.67	object-verb	en-ewt	98.33 - 98.94 - 97.26
adjective-noun	uk-iu	94.68 - 95.19 - 95.19	object-verb	fr-gsd	98.89 - 97.18 - 86.33
adjective-noun	sk-snk	96.11 - 95.17 - 95.17	object-verb	el-gdt	97.18 - 96.2 - 86.0
adjective-noun	got-proiel	79.51 - 79.51 - 72.48	object-verb	es-gsd	97.47 - 95.99 - 90.4
adjective-noun	hr-set	96.24 - 96.78 - 96.36	object-verb	tr-imst	95.38 - 96.64 - 96.64
adjective-noun	lv-lvtb	98.93 - 98.84 - 98.84	object-verb	ru-syntagrus	87.47 - 88.33 - 85.63
adjective-noun	et-edt	99.57 - 99.36 - 99.01	object-verb	sl-ssj	84.16 - 88.24 - 72.92
adjective-noun	fro-srcmf	73.84 - 74.42 - 73.26	object-verb	id-gsd	99.33 - 98.99 - 95.97
adjective-noun	en-ewt	97.84 - 98.25 - 96.77	object-verb	lt-alksnis	80.76 - 79.02 - 69.73
adjective-noun	fr-gsd	71.04 - 73.8 - 73.6	object-verb	ar-nyuad	96.27 - 95.91 - 95.63
adjective-noun	el-gdt	97.34 - 99.29 - 99.29	object-verb	grc-proiel	72.98 - 75.87 - 67.05
adjective-noun	es-gsd	76.27 - 71.46 - 68.1	subject-verb	it-vit	82.95 - 82.53 - 71.76
adjective-noun	ru-syntagrus	97.84 - 98.0 - 96.54	subject-verb	no-nynorsk	83.42 - 85.33 - 70.34
adjective-noun	sl-ssj	98.22 - 98.27 - 97.78	subject-verb	ug-udt	95.32 - 95.13 - 95.13
adjective-noun	id-gsd	93.41 - 92.79 - 92.79	subject-verb	ro-nonstandard	69.06 - 74.27 - 54.36
adjective-noun	lt-alksnis	98.61 - 98.3 - 98.3	subject-verb	bg-btb	78.86 - 79.65 - 72.73
adjective-noun	ar-nyuad	99.65 - 99.64 - 99.64	subject-verb	gl-ctg	84.54 - 85.5 - 82.14
adjective-noun	grc-proiel	65.23 - 72.33 - 64.82	subject-verb	cs-pdt	67.13 - 73.18 - 63.33
adjective-noun	de-hdt	99.47 - 99.66 - 99.26	subject-verb	fi-tdt	88.11 - 90.57 - 88.19
object-verb	it-vit	96.28 - 94.88 - 84.92	subject-verb	pl-pdb	78.19 - 80.6 - 72.1
object-verb	no-nynorsk	97.73 - 98.68 - 95.86	subject-verb	la-ittb	80.29 - 82.69 - 72.54
object-verb	ro-nonstandard	86.05 - 87.79 - 65.06	subject-verb	zh-gsd	99.78 - 99.44 - 97.39
object-verb	bg-btb	92.18 - 92.43 - 80.66	subject-verb	nl-alpino	70.62 - 72.11 - 67.12
object-verb	gl-ctg	92.71 - 94.17 - 82.2	subject-verb	mt-mudt	83.91 - 84.96 - 72.03
object-verb	cs-pdt	82.35 - 83.91 - 73.97	subject-verb	orv-torot	72.38 - 66.07 - 60.46
object-verb	fi-tdt	84.21 - 86.62 - 77.98	subject-verb	he-htb	73.43 - 70.7 - 63.44
object-verb	pl-pdb	88.89 - 90.28 - 81.07	subject-verb	pt-gsd	89.4 - 93.15 - 87.47
object-verb	la-ittb	65.96 - 65.36 - 52.63	subject-verb	cu-proiel	73.88 - 76.31 - 62.48
object-verb	zh-gsd	93.4 - 94.12 - 87.75	subject-verb	be-hse	82.86 - 83.33 - 81.11
object-verb	nl-alpino	90.32 - 94.69 - 47.48	subject-verb	sv-lines	80.17 - 80.72 - 73.06
object-verb	mt-mudt	95.66 - 94.96 - 94.96	subject-verb	uk-iu	76.89 - 77.14 - 74.56
object-verb	wo-wtb	91.6 - 91.81 - 75.11	subject-verb	ga-idt	99.33 - 99.28 - 85.25
object-verb	orv-torot	76.71 - 72.56 - 65.51	subject-verb	sk-snk	63.43 - 73.69 - 73.69
object-verb	he-htb	97.87 - 98.03 - 98.03	subject-verb	hu-szeged	75.91 - 74.59 - 72.43
object-verb	pt-gsd	95.17 - 95.02 - 88.45	subject-verb	got-proiel	67.56 - 73.2 - 66.17
00,000 0010	Pr Sou		subject forb	500 Proter	57.55 7512 00.17

Table 5: Accuracy results for all relations across different languages. Baseline is the most frequent order in the training data.

Туре	Lang	Train - Test - Baseline	Туре	Lang	Train - Test - Baseline
subject-verb	hr-set	81.87 - 86.62 - 77.44	noun-adposition	fi-tdt	97.88 - 98.12 - 89.47
subject-verb	cop-scriptorium	85.92 - 83.84 - 76.71	noun-adposition	pl-pdb	99.97 - 99.97 - 99.83
subject-verb	lv-lvtb	76.96 - 77.98 - 73.99	noun-adposition	nl-alpino	99.28 - 99.57 - 99.23
subject-verb	et-edt	68.13 - 71.93 - 61.02	noun-adposition	orv-torot	97.92 - 97.54 - 96.83
subject-verb	fro-srcmf	79.21 - 80.69 - 78.1	noun-adposition	he-htb	99.71 - 99.77 - 99.55
subject-verb	hy-armtdp	81.25 - 80.25 - 80.25	noun-adposition	cu-proiel	98.06 - 98.4 - 98.4
subject-verb	en-ewt	98.92 - 98.81 - 94.15	noun-adposition	sv-lines	98.6 - 98.11 - 98.11
subject-verb	fr-gsd	96.7 - 94.21 - 94.21	noun-adposition	uk-iu	99.74 - 99.8 - 99.54
subject-verb	el-gdt	77.04 - 77.93 - 73.56	noun-adposition	lzh-kyoto	95.58 - 96.61 - 96.61
subject-verb	es-gsd	79.15 - 84.14 - 71.52	noun-adposition	cop-scriptorium	99.92 - 99.78 - 99.18
subject-verb	tr-imst	91.12 - 92.96 - 92.96	noun-adposition	lv-lvtb	98.56 - 97.78 - 97.78
subject-verb	ru-syntagrus	72.33 - 80.49 - 72.94	noun-adposition	et-edt	98.92 - 98.77 - 81.84
subject-verb	sl-ssj	70.95 - 74.66 - 63.01	noun-adposition	fro-srcmf	99.75 - 99.42 - 99.42
subject-verb	id-gsd	99.09 - 99.34 - 99.34	noun-adposition	hy-armtdp	97.22 - 96.83 - 85.71
subject-verb	lt-alksnis	74.44 - 78.39 - 75.33	noun-adposition	en-ewt	99.67 - 99.42 - 99.42
subject-verb	ar-nyuad	91.01 - 91.32 - 87.82	noun-adposition	es-gsd	99.81 - 100.0 - 98.83
subject-verb	grc-proiel	69.46 - 72.23 - 65.71	noun-adposition	ru-syntagrus	99.24 - 99.41 - 99.13
subject-verb	de-hdt	68.1 - 76.23 - 61.84	noun-adposition	id-gsd	97.67 - 97.81 - 96.81
numeral-noun	it-vit	73.17 - 79.32 - 79.32	noun-adposition	ar-nyuad	99.84 - 99.87 - 99.48
numeral-noun		88.49 - 88.44 - 88.44	noun-adposition	grc-proiel	99.03 - 98.92 - 98.92
	no-nynorsk ro-nonstandard		noun-adposition	de-hdt	
numeral-noun		87.27 - 84.83 - 62.07 92.22 - 88.24 - 88.24	noun-auposition	ue-nut	99.98 - 99.98 - 99.37
numeral-noun	bg-btb				
numeral-noun	cs-pdt	84.4 - 88.65 - 69.59			
numeral-noun	fi-tdt	82.35 - 87.25 - 68.3			
numeral-noun	pl-pdb	97.27 - 97.27 - 97.27			
numeral-noun	la-ittb	88.0 - 87.16 - 53.21			
numeral-noun	nl-alpino	95.03 - 98.7 - 89.61			
numeral-noun	mt-mudt	69.77 - 70.77 - 70.77			
numeral-noun	wo-wtb	74.63 - 82.5 - 73.75			
numeral-noun	ja-bccwj	99.05 - 98.71 - 98.71			
numeral-noun	orv-torot	86.64 - 79.8 - 72.73			
numeral-noun	he-htb	85.21 - 80.0 - 64.0			
numeral-noun	pt-gsd	92.18 - 89.42 - 73.56			
numeral-noun	sv-lines	81.3 - 85.48 - 85.48			
numeral-noun	ga-idt	73.2 - 62.86 - 57.14			
numeral-noun	sk-snk	88.01 - 75.36 - 43.12			
numeral-noun	hr-set	95.39 - 97.28 - 96.94			
numeral-noun	et-edt	91.63 - 91.54 - 83.65			
numeral-noun	en-ewt	85.33 - 89.05 - 82.09			
numeral-noun	fr-gsd	79.7 - 81.88 - 60.87			
numeral-noun	el-gdt	88.2 - 80.6 - 80.6			
numeral-noun	es-gsd	87.17 - 89.43 - 75.61			
numeral-noun	ru-syntagrus	93.48 - 95.01 - 85.15			
numeral-noun	sl-ssj	84.08 - 78.45 - 78.45			
numeral-noun	id-gsd	61.04 - 68.12 - 53.44			
numeral-noun	ar-nyuad	88.96 - 91.79 - 47.9			
numeral-noun	grc-proiel	68.76 - 62.9 - 62.9			
noun-adposition	no-nynorsk	99.31 - 99.26 - 99.14			
noun-adposition	gl-ctg	99.33 - 99.32 - 99.18			
noun-adposition	cs-pdt	99.98 - 99.98 - 99.94			

Table 6: Accuracy results for all relations across different languages. Baseline is the most frequent order in the training data.

TypeLangTest - BaselineTypeLangTest - BaselGenderit-vit 71.01 - 67.19Genderhr-set71.32 - 72Personit-vit 70.83 - 62.5Personhr-set63.33 - 76Numberit-vit59.56 - 71.2Numberhr-set64.25 - 67Genderno-nynorsk 70.0 - 46.43Genderlv-lvtb 74.48 - 72Genderno-nynorsk70.0 - 70.21Personlv-lvtb 60.98 - 50Genderro-nonstandard61.05 - 63.95Numberlv-lvtb 72.78 - 68.3Personro-nonstandard 55.22 - 63.64 Genderhsb-ufal60.87 - 85.7 Numberro-nonstandard 62.86 - 62.63Numberhsb-ufal64.72 - 69.2Genderbg-btb 66.0 - 63.83Genderru-syntagrus64.96 - 69.4Personbg-btb 64.0 - 62.5Personru-syntagrus64.0 - 62.5
Person it-vit 70.83 - 62.5 Person hr-set 63.33 - 76.9 Number it-vit 59.56 - 71.2 Number hr-set 64.25 - 67.3 Gender no-nynorsk 70.0 - 46.43 Gender lv-lvtb 74.48 - 72.0 Number no-nynorsk 70.0 - 70.21 Person lv-lvtb 60.98 - 50.0 Gender ro-nonstandard 61.05 - 63.95 Number lv-lvtb 60.87 - 85.0 Person ro-nonstandard 55.22 - 63.64 Gender hsb-ufal 60.87 - 85.0 Number ro-nonstandard 62.86 - 62.63 Number hsb-ufal 46.72 - 69.0 Gender bg-btb 66.0 - 63.83 Gender ru-syntagrus 64.96 - 69.0
Number it-vit 59.56 - 71.2 Number hr-set 64.25 - 67.4 Gender no-nynorsk 70.0 - 46.43 Gender lv-lvtb 74.48 - 72.0 Number no-nynorsk 70.0 - 70.21 Person lv-lvtb 60.98 - 50.0 Gender ro-nonstandard 61.05 - 63.95 Number lv-lvtb 72.78 - 68.3 Person ro-nonstandard 55.22 - 63.64 Gender hsb-ufal 60.87 - 85.3 Number ro-nonstandard 62.86 - 62.63 Number hsb-ufal 46.72 - 69.3 Gender bg-btb 66.0 - 63.83 Gender ru-syntagrus 64.96 - 69.4
Gender no-nynorsk 70.0 - 46.43 Gender lv-lvtb 74.48 - 72.4 Number no-nynorsk 70.0 - 70.21 Person lv-lvtb 60.98 - 50.4 Gender ro-nonstandard 61.05 - 63.95 Number lv-lvtb 72.78 - 68.3 Person ro-nonstandard 55.22 - 63.64 Gender hsb-ufal 60.87 - 85.7 Number ro-nonstandard 62.86 - 62.63 Number hsb-ufal 46.72 - 69.7 Gender bg-btb 66.0 - 63.83 Gender ru-syntagrus 64.96 - 69.4
Number no-nynorsk 70.0 - 70.21 Person lv-lvtb 60.98 - 50.21 Gender ro-nonstandard 61.05 - 63.95 Number lv-lvtb 72.78 - 68.3 Person ro-nonstandard 55.22 - 63.64 Gender hsb-ufal 60.87 - 85.7 Number ro-nonstandard 62.86 - 62.63 Number hsb-ufal 46.72 - 69.3 Gender bg-btb 66.0 - 63.83 Gender ru-syntagrus 64.96 - 69.4 Person bg-btb 64.0 - 62.5 Person ru-syntagrus 64.0 - 62.5
Gender ro-nonstandard 61.05 - 63.95 Number lv-lvtb 72.78 - 68.3 Person ro-nonstandard 55.22 - 63.64 Gender hsb-ufal 60.87 - 85.3 Number ro-nonstandard 62.86 - 62.63 Number hsb-ufal 46.72 - 69.3 Gender bg-btb 66.0 - 63.83 Gender ru-syntagrus 64.96 - 69.4 Person bg-btb 64.0 - 62.5 Person ru-syntagrus 64.0 - 62.3
Gender ro-nonstandard 61.05 - 63.95 Number lv-lvtb 72.78 - 68.3 Person ro-nonstandard 55.22 - 63.64 Gender hsb-ufal 60.87 - 85.3 Number ro-nonstandard 62.86 - 62.63 Number hsb-ufal 46.72 - 69.3 Gender bg-btb 66.0 - 63.83 Gender ru-syntagrus 64.96 - 69.4 Person bg-btb 64.0 - 62.5 Person ru-syntagrus 64.0 - 62.3
Number ro-nonstandard 62.86 - 62.63 Number hsb-ufal 46.72 - 69.25 Gender bg-btb 66.0 - 63.83 Gender ru-syntagrus 64.96 - 69.25 Person bg-btb 64.0 - 62.5 Person ru-syntagrus 64.0 - 62.5
Gender Person bg-btb 66.0 - 63.83 Gender ru-syntagrus 64.96 - 69. bg-btb 64.0 - 62.5 Person ru-syntagrus 64.0 - 62.5
Person bg-btb 64.0 - 62.5 Person ru-syntagrus 64.0 - 62.5
Person bg-btb 64.0 - 62.5 Person ru-syntagrus 64.0 - 62.5
Number bg-btb 73.17 - 63.93 Number ru-syntagrus 60.24 - 59.0
Gender cs-pdt 75.09 - 56.44 Gender el-gdt 73.58 - 63.3
Person cs-pdt 57.78 - 59.09 Person el-gdt 65.0 - 66.6
Number cs-pdt 63.35 - 47.66 Number el-gdt 76.54 - 62.
Gender pl-pdb 71.11 - 64.53 Gender hi-hdtb 69.11 - 58.
Person pl-pdb 60.71 - 55.56 Number hi-hdtb 71.77 - 41.0
Number pl-pdb 66.06 - 63.68 Gender es-gsd 84.31 - 71.3
Gender la-ittb 77.78 - 73.53 Person es-gsd 91.67 - 59.0
Person la-ittb 19.05 - 19.05 Number es-gsd 88.89 - 64.3
Number la-ittb $65.14 - 57.89$ Gender ta-ttb $100.0 - 68$.
$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $
Number $nl-alpino$ 60.94 - 54.84 Person $ug-udt$ 37.93 - 52.
$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $
Person orv-torot $66.67 - 60.0$ Person fi-tdt $58.06 - 38.7$
Numberorv-torot $64.04 - 62.12$ Numberfi-tdt $60.0 - 50.2$
Gender he-htb 78.16 - 74.7 Person wo-wtb 52.17 - 55.
Person he-htb 78.95 - 73.68 Number wo-wtb 57.14 - 48.5
Number he-htb $58.14 - 58.54$ Person hu-szeged $39.39 - 44.5$
Gender cu-proiel 58.26 - 61.0 Number hu-szeged 38.34 - 39.
Personcu-proiel $61.54 - 66.67$ Personet-edt $68.75 - 61.2$
Number cu-proiel $60.4 - 67.21$ Number et-edt $61.21 - 64.8$
$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $
Person mr-ufal $28.57 - 72.73$ Number hy-armtdp $58.49 - 59.3$
Number mr-ufal $66.67 - 39.39$ Person en-ewt $100.0 - 81.2$
$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $
Number be-hse $65.82 - 64.62$ Person tr-imst $32.69 - 35.9$
Gender sv-lines 65.52 04.02 14 mist 52.09 53.65 Gender sv-lines 65.52 53.85 Number tr-imst 84.62 46.9
Number sv lines $60.0 - 64.29$ Number kmr-mg $55.56 - 78.2$
$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $
Derson uk-iu $72.73 - 70.0$ Number ar-antiboonis $00.73 - 00.0$ Person uk-iu $72.73 - 70.0$ Number fr-gsd $75.0 - 62.3$
Number $ uk-iu 65.78 - 64.67 1000 $
$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $
Gender ga-idt $73.77 - 04.0$ Person ga-idt $42.86 - 62.5$
Iterson ga-idt $42.80 - 02.3$ Number ga-idt $43.16 - 46.75$
Number ga-lut $43.10 - 40.73$ Gender sk-snk $71.9 - 69.16$
Person sk-snk 88.89 - 77.78
Person SK-SIK $00.09 - 77.76$ Number sk-snk $63.36 - 55.83$
Gender got-proiel 62.02 - 55.86
Person got-proiel 62.16 - 57.14
Version got-protein 02.10 - 57.14 Number got-protein 67.51 - 64.0

Table 7: Accuracy results for all relations across different languages. Baseline is Chaudhary et al. (2020)

Туре	Lang	Train - Test - Baseline	Туре	Lang	Train - Test - Baseline
PRON	no-nynorsk	98.55 - 99.55 - 78.28	VERB	ug-udt	76.0 - 75.64 - 71.37
PRON	ug-udt	92.22 - 94.87 - 73.68	VERB	got-proiel	85.51 - 86.15 - 81.15
PRON	ro-nonstandard	89.77 - 91.2 - 38.33	VERB	lv-lvtb	96.43 - 95.61 - 75.58
PRON	sk-snk	83.19 - 83.9 - 34.75	VERB	tr-imst	67.53 - 66.58 - 46.13
PRON	hu-szeged	73.94 - 79.15 - 59.46	VERB	et-edt	86.95 - 86.08 - 82.91
PRON	got-proiel	87.97 - 91.05 - 36.79	VERB	hy-armtdp	86.63 - 94.34 - 39.62
PRON	hr-set	88.6 - 89.54 - 68.79	VERB	ur-udtb	96.01 - 98.95 - 98.95
PRON	lv-lvtb	90.64 - 90.85 - 54.03	VERB	lt-alksnis	94.86 - 95.0 - 52.5
PRON	en-ewt	97.74 - 96.76 - 81.48	ADP	ro-nonstandard	98.5 - 98.85 - 98.85
PRON	el-gdt	93.5 - 93.35 - 36.8	ADP	sk-snk	41.74 - 44.46 - 40.74
PRON	tr-imst	71.0 - 73.33 - 42.5	ADP	hr-set	45.85 - 48.42 - 37.96
PRON	sme-giella	85.31 - 76.82 - 47.05	ADP	hi-hdtb	85.57 - 86.99 - 52.34
PRON	es-gsd	95.89 - 96.14 - 53.71	ADP	ur-udtb	82.06 - 96.59 - 63.54
PRON	da-ddt	84.38 - 82.53 - 54.7	ADP	uk-iu	45.85 - 43.39 - 32.85
PRON	et-edt	79.75 - 81.58 - 45.26	ADJ	ro-nonstandard	98.14 - 96.9 - 96.42
PRON	af-afribooms	58.86 - 53.07 - 31.2	ADJ	ga-idt	95.47 - 93.25 - 90.18
PRON	hy-armtdp	78.1 - 79.05 - 63.81	ADJ	sk-snk	99.03 - 98.71 - 35.01
PRON	mr-ufal	71.58 - 78.95 - 78.95	ADJ	hu-szeged	98.73 - 98.25 - 92.58
PRON	be-hse	81.3 - 76.12 - 65.67	ADJ	got-proiel	88.48 - 92.33 - 38.36
PRON	ur-udtb	87.78 - 90.53 - 54.73	ADJ	hr-set	97.75 - 98.3 - 37.5
PRON	lt-alksnis	82.8 - 80.28 - 30.28	ADJ	lv-lvtb	93.85 - 94.37 - 39.59
PRON	bg-btb	95.73 - 95.78 - 46.78	ADJ	et-edt	94.13 - 95.16 - 41.07
PRON	sv-lines	99.32 - 99.41 - 58.02	ADJ	el-gdt	85.61 - 89.49 - 48.6
PRON	uk-iu	88.52 - 90.98 - 48.82	ADJ	hi-hdtb	84.36 - 84.34 - 70.48
NOUN	ug-udt	78.31 - 77.13 - 63.46	ADJ	tr-imst	56.45 - 60.22 - 51.88
NOUN	ro-nonstandard	96.68 - 97.53 - 87.8	ADJ	sme-giella	86.09 - 90.55 - 90.55
NOUN	kmr-mg	53.09 - 47.21 - 47.21	ADJ	ar-nyuad	94.15 - 96.94 - 62.54
NOUN	ga-idt	93.26 - 95.62 - 80.28	ADJ	be-hse	89.59 - 95.06 - 43.83
NOUN	sk-snk	91.27 - 92.27 - 20.61	ADJ	ur-udtb	99.04 - 98.81 - 62.02
NOUN	hu-szeged	72.25 - 72.1 - 47.6	ADJ	lt-alksnis	96.89 - 96.72 - 25.5
NOUN	got-proiel	84.89 - 87.12 - 27.72	ADJ	uk-iu	97.38 - 98.15 - 46.39
NOUN	hr-set	88.35 - 92.21 - 34.41	DET	ro-nonstandard	97.01 - 95.87 - 75.58
NOUN	lzh-kyoto	89.86 - 93.72 - 76.61	DET	sk-snk	95.7 - 93.24 - 43.74
NOUN	lv-lvtb	81.94 - 83.87 - 31.62	DET	got-proiel	94.78 - 96.25 - 32.29
NOUN	kk-ktb	49.24 - 53.32 - 53.32	DET	hr-set	94.87 - 95.64 - 42.81
NOUN	et-edt	62.6 - 66.51 - 27.65	DET	lv-lvtb	96.59 - 97.12 - 30.15
NOUN	el-gdt	91.02 - 94.69 - 49.72	DET	et-edt	96.73 - 96.19 - 34.25
NOUN	hi-hdtb	96.1 - 97.35 - 54.72	DET	el-gdt	91.42 - 93.64 - 47.48
NOUN	tr-imst	59.03 - 64.52 - 54.65	DET	hi-hdtb	88.89 - 92.87 - 76.1
NOUN	ta-ttb	77.24 - 76.49 - 68.02	DET	ur-udtb	95.79 - 95.91 - 64.33
NOUN	sme-giella	76.51 - 78.78 - 30.32	DET	lt-alksnis	79.46 - 83.65 - 39.92
NOUN	ar-nyuad	87.66 - 94.66 - 67.49	DET	uk-iu	94.31 - 94.86 - 27.93
NOUN	hsb-ufal	24.07 - 19.53 - 19.53	PROPN	ro-nonstandard	97.35 - 96.77 - 92.98
NOUN	hy-armtdp	78.17 - 80.2 - 46.08	PROPN	ga-idt	79.87 - 85.78 - 73.28
NOUN	mr-ufal	81.38 - 75.0 - 42.65	PROPN	sk-snk	90.24 - 88.9 - 46.39
NOUN	be-hse	69.27 - 75.95 - 46.1	PROPN	hu-szeged	91.47 - 89.36 - 89.36
NOUN	ur-udtb	92.1 - 96.81 - 51.25	PROPN	got-proiel	85.91 - 86.89 - 50.91
NOUN	lt-alksnis	85.08 - 82.93 - 39.07	PROPN	hr-set	92.42 - 94.67 - 48.27
NOUN	sv-lines	99.6 - 99.86 - 97.47	PROPN	lv-lvtb	88.64 - 90.13 - 39.91
NOUN	uk-iu	94.1 - 94.73 - 43.79	PROPN	el-gdt	91.44 - 90.32 - 32.58

Table 8: Accuracy results for all relations across different languages. Baseline is the most frequent case value in the training data.

Туре	Lang	Train - Test - Baseline	Туре	Lang	Train - Test - Baseline
VERB	ug-udt	76.0 - 75.64 - 71.37	PROPN	hi-hdtb	94.91 - 96.49 - 48.51
VERB	got-proiel	85.51 - 86.15 - 81.15	PROPN	tr-imst	73.55 - 71.73 - 68.0
VERB	lv-lvtb	96.43 - 95.61 - 75.58	PROPN	ta-ttb	97.99 - 94.84 - 93.55
VERB	tr-imst	67.53 - 66.58 - 46.13	PROPN	sme-giella	84.23 - 82.9 - 35.81
VERB	et-edt	86.95 - 86.08 - 82.91	PROPN	ar-nyuad	78.68 - 84.27 - 59.85
VERB	hy-armtdp	86.63 - 94.34 - 39.62	PROPN	et-edt	75.05 - 83.18 - 51.24
VERB	ur-udtb	96.01 - 98.95 - 98.95	PROPN	hy-armtdp	82.28 - 89.13 - 54.89
VERB	lt-alksnis	94.86 - 95.0 - 52.5	PROPN	be-hse	86.43 - 72.68 - 72.68
ADP	ro-nonstandard	98.5 - 98.85 - 98.85	PROPN	ur-udtb	92.7 - 97.65 - 59.77
ADP	sk-snk	41.74 - 44.46 - 40.74	PROPN	sv-lines	97.21 - 96.6 - 91.23
ADP	hr-set	45.85 - 48.42 - 37.96	PROPN	uk-iu	93.76 - 95.14 - 36.14
ADP	hi-hdtb	85.57 - 86.99 - 52.34	NUM	sk-snk	81.47 - 77.38 - 39.29
ADP	ur-udtb	82.06 - 96.59 - 63.54	NUM	got-proiel	44.0 - 45.83 - 33.33
ADP	uk-iu	45.85 - 43.39 - 32.85	NUM	hr-set	90.27 - 94.26 - 41.8
ADJ	ro-nonstandard	98.14 - 96.9 - 96.42	NUM	lv-lvtb	88.07 - 85.44 - 38.61
ADJ	ga-idt	95.47 - 93.25 - 90.18	NUM	el-gdt	75.75 - 73.17 - 58.54
ADJ	sk-snk	99.03 - 98.71 - 35.01	NUM	tr-imst	76.55 - 82.22 - 77.78
ADJ	hu-szeged	98.73 - 98.25 - 92.58	NUM	sme-giella	47.8 - 41.84 - 41.84
ADJ	got-proiel	88.48 - 92.33 - 38.36	NUM	et-edt	88.9 - 93.51 - 70.3
ADJ	hr-set	97.75 - 98.3 - 37.5	NUM	uk-iu	90.46 - 92.48 - 52.29
ADJ	lv-lvtb	93.85 - 94.37 - 39.59	ADV	fa-seraji	85.35 - 81.36 - 81.36
ADJ	et-edt	94.13 - 95.16 - 41.07		1	
ADJ	el-gdt	85.61 - 89.49 - 48.6			
ADJ	hi-hdtb	84.36 - 84.34 - 70.48			
ADJ	tr-imst	56.45 - 60.22 - 51.88			
ADJ	sme-giella	86.09 - 90.55 - 90.55			
ADJ	ar-nyuad	94.15 - 96.94 - 62.54			
ADJ	be-hse	89.59 - 95.06 - 43.83			
ADJ	ur-udtb	99.04 - 98.81 - 62.02			
ADJ	lt-alksnis	96.89 - 96.72 - 25.5			
ADJ	uk-iu	97.38 - 98.15 - 46.39			
DET	ro-nonstandard	97.01 - 95.87 - 75.58			
DET	sk-snk	95.7 - 93.24 - 43.74			
DET	got-proiel	94.78 - 96.25 - 32.29			
DET	hr-set	94.87 - 95.64 - 42.81			
DET	lv-lvtb	96.59 - 97.12 - 30.15			
DET	et-edt	96.73 - 96.19 - 34.25			
DET	el-gdt	91.42 - 93.64 - 47.48			
DET	hi-hdtb	88.89 - 92.87 - 76.1			
DET	ur-udtb	95.79 - 95.91 - 64.33			
DET	lt-alksnis	79.46 - 83.65 - 39.92			
DET	uk-iu	94.31 - 94.86 - 27.93			
PROPN	ro-nonstandard	97.35 - 96.77 - 92.98			
PROPN	ga-idt	79.87 - 85.78 - 73.28			
PROPN	sk-snk	90.24 - 88.9 - 46.39			
PROPN	hu-szeged	91.47 - 89.36 - 89.36			
PROPN	got-proiel	85.91 - 86.89 - 50.91			
PROPN	hr-set	92.42 - 94.67 - 48.27			
PROPN	lv-lvtb	88.64 - 90.13 - 39.91			
PROPN	el-gdt	91.44 - 90.32 - 32.58			
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Table 9: Accuracy results for all relations across different languages. Baseline is the most frequent value training data.