# Restricted Non-Projectivity: Coverage vs. Efficiency

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In the last decade, various restricted classes of non-projective dependency trees have been proposed with the goal of achieving a good tradeoff between parsing efficiency and coverage of the syntactic structures found in natural languages. We perform an extensive study measuring the coverage of a wide range of such classes on corpora of 30 languages under two different syntactic annotation criteria. The results show that, among the currently known relaxations of projectivity, the best tradeoff between coverage and computational complexity of exact parsing is achieved by either 1-endpoint-crossing trees or  $MH_k$  trees, depending of the level of coverage desired. We also present some properties of the relation of  $MH_k$  trees to other relevant classes of trees.

**NOTE:** this is a preprint version of an article accepted for publication in Computational Linguistics.

## 1. Introduction

A syntactic dependency tree is **projective** if the yield of each node is a substring of the sentence; or equivalently, if no dependencies cross when drawn above the words.<sup>1</sup> Projectivity is advantageous for efficient parsing: exact inference for parsing models restricted to projective trees can be achieved in cubic time (Eisner 1996); and shift-reduce parsers can process them with very simple transitions in linear time (Nivre 2006). For this reason, and because crossing dependencies have traditionally been rare in corpora of languages like English, Chinese or Japanese, many implementations of dependency parsers assume projectivity (Nivre 2006).

However, crossing dependencies are needed to represent some linguistic phenomena like topicalization, scrambling, wh-movement or extraposition; so it is necessary for natural language parsers to support non-projectivity, especially when working with languages with flexible word order. Unfortunately, exact inference is intractable for models that support arbitrary non-projective trees, except under strong independence assumptions (McDonald and Satta 2007). For this reason, researchers have proposed various classes of **mildly non-projective** trees: restricted classes of trees that allow a limited degree of non-projectivity, permitting crossing dependencies only under certain conditions. The goal of these classes is to combine a high coverage of the syntactic phenomena found in real sentences with efficient parsing.<sup>2</sup>

Submission received: 4 February 2016; accepted for publication: 25 April 2016.

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<sup>1</sup> We will assume the conventional representation of syntactic dependency analyses as trees rooted at a dummy node. Its presence and location (Ballesteros and Nivre 2013) has no effect on the coverage of the considered classes of trees, except for 1-endpoint-crossing trees and crossing-interval trees. In these cases, we assume that the dummy root is located on the left, as in the papers where they were defined.

<sup>2</sup> Another option is to use models that forgo exact inference, but still achieve competitive results for non-projective parsing in quadratic (Nivre 2008) or even linear time (Nivre 2009).

In this article, we perform a comparison of a wide range of these relaxations of projectivity, with the goal of evaluating them in terms of the tradeoff between coverage and efficiency. For this purpose, we measure their coverage on a set of syntactic treebanks of 30 languages, analyzed under two different annotation criteria.

Thus, the main contribution of this work is that we provide homogeneous measurements of the coverage of a wide range of mildly non-projective classes of trees on a large collection of treebanks, relating them to their computational properties for parsing. To our knowledge, this is the first study providing an extensive comparison of such classes: while Havelka (2007) also measured the coverage of several restrictions on non-projectivity, little was known at the time about which restrictions could be exploited for efficient parsing, so only a few of the classes discussed there are relevant for parsing. Furthermore, existing coverage data in the literature (both in that study and in the papers describing subsequently discovered classes of trees, cited below) refers to small sets of treebanks that vary across reports, when it has been reported at all.

Additionally, we present some results relating  $MH_k$  trees, one of the sets with the best coverage-efficiency tradeoff, with other classes of mildly non-projective trees.

## 2. Classes of mildly non-projective trees

We now list the classes of trees considered in this study, outlining them very briefly. A full description of each class, with all the required definitions, is outside the scope of this article. We refer the reader to the provided references for further information.

*Projective.* Projective dependency trees can be parsed in  $O(n^3)$  (see Section 1). We will denote the set of projective trees by **Pr**.

Well-nested with bounded gap degree. Well-nested trees (Bodirsky, Kuhlmann, and Möhl 2005) are those that do not contain disjoint subtrees whose yields interleave (those that do are called ill-nested). Well-nested trees whose gap degree (the number of discontinuities –or **gaps**– in a node's yield) does not exceed a constant k can be parsed in time  $O(n^{5+2k})$  (Gómez-Rodríguez, Weir, and Carroll 2009; Gómez-Rodríguez, Carroll, and Weir 2011); and we will call them  $\mathbf{WG}_k$  trees.  $\mathbf{WG}_k$  trees have connections to constituent grammar formalisms, as tree-adjoining grammars induce  $\mathbf{WG}_1$  trees and coupled context-free grammars induce  $\mathbf{WG}_k$  trees (Kuhlmann 2010).

 $\mathit{Mild+1-Inherit}$  and  $\mathit{Gap-Minding}$ . Gap inheritance (Pitler, Kannan, and Marcus 2012) is a restriction on the number of children of a node that can have arcs that cross a gap in its yield. Imposing gap inheritance bounds as additional restrictions on  $WG_1$  trees, two relevant classes of trees are obtained: Mild+1-Inherit (M1I) trees can be parsed in  $O(n^6)$ , and Mild+0-Inherit (M0I) trees, or gap-minding trees, in  $O(n^5)$ .

*Head-Split*. The head-split property is a restriction that forbids trees where a node's yield has a gap that includes its head, but not the gap in its head's yield. This allows dynamic programming parsers to split subtrees into two at the position of their heads, reducing the complexity of parsing several subclasses of  $WG_1$  trees: Satta and Kuhlmann (2013) show how  $WG_1$  trees with the head-split property ( $WG_1S$ ) can be parsed in  $O(n^6)$ , while for M1I trees with the head-split property (WIS) the complexity is  $O(n^5)$ .

Mildly ill-nested. A superset of  $WG_k$  trees, mildly ill-nested trees of gap degree up to k ( $MG_k$ ) include all the dependency trees that have at least one binarization of gap degree k. They can be parsed in time  $O(n^{4+3k})$  (Gómez-Rodríguez, Carroll, and Weir 2011). Note that this is the same complexity as for  $WG_k$  for k = 1, but larger for k > 1.

Attardi degree 2. The set of trees that can be parsed with the transitions of degree up to 2 in the transition system of Attardi (2006) is also amenable to dynamic programming parsing, in time  $O(n^7)$  (Cohen, Gómez-Rodríguez, and Satta 2011). This set, which we will call  $\mathbf{AD}_2$ , includes ill-nested trees and trees with unbounded gap degree.

 $MH_k$  trees. Gómez-Rodríguez, Carroll, and Weir (2011) define a generalization of the tabular algorithm obtained from the shift-reduce parser of Yamada and Matsumoto (2003), or from the arc-hybrid transition system (Gómez-Rodríguez, Carroll, and Weir 2008; Kuhlmann, Gómez-Rodríguez, and Satta 2011). This parser, called  $MH_k$ , has items representing a span dominated by several head nodes (hence the acronym, for "multiheaded"). It has complexity  $O(n^k)$  and is projective for k=3, but covers increasingly large sets of non-projective trees for values of k>3, which we will call  $\mathbf{MH}_k$  trees.

1-Endpoint-Crossing. Pitler, Kannan, and Marcus (2013) define 1-Endpoint-Crossing trees (1EC trees) as dependency trees such that all the arcs that cross a given arc have a common vertex. This set of trees includes trees that are ill-nested and have unbounded gap degree, and can be parsed in  $O(n^4)$  (Pitler, Kannan, and Marcus 2013; Pitler 2014).

k-Planar trees (**k-P**, equivalent to k-page book embeddings in graph theory) are those whose non-dummy arcs can be partitioned into k sets (called **planes**), in such a way that arcs belonging to the same plane do not cross (Yli-Jyrä 2003). No globally optimal parser is known for these trees, but they can be handled by a linear-time transition-based parser with k stacks (Gómez-Rodríguez and Nivre 2010, 2013).

*k-Crossing Interval. k-*Crossing Interval trees (**k-C**) are defined by Pitler and McDonald (2015) with a restriction on intervals formed by crossing arcs. 2-C trees can be parsed accurately with a linear-time shift-reduce parser with two registers (Pitler and McDonald 2015). 2-C trees are a subset of 1EC trees, which in turn are a subset of 2-P trees.

## 3. Materials and Methods

Corpora. We evaluate the coverage of each class described above on HamleDT 2.0 (Rosa et al. 2014), a collection of harmonized versions of existing treebanks of 30 diverse languages, under two different annotations: Prague and Universal Stanford dependencies. Both annotation styles are interesting for parsing: the former tends to be easier to learn for monolingual parsers, but the latter is advantageous in multilingual settings (see (Rosa 2015) and references therein). Thus, apart from spanning a variety of languages, these datasets allow us to see the influence of annotation criteria on the coverage of different restrictions on non-projectivity.

*Methodology.* For the classes of trees that have a known characterization independent of their parsers (i.e., all except  $AD_2$  and  $MH_k$ ), we determine whether each tree in the treebanks belongs to the class by using scripts that check for the required conditions. In the case of  $AD_2$ , we run an implementation of the oracle by Cohen, Gómez-Rodríguez, and Satta (2012) for the Attardi parser restricted to degree 2, which has been shown to recognize exactly the trees of  $AD_2$  and its implementation checked against the dynamic programming algorithm of Cohen, Gómez-Rodríguez, and Satta (2011). Finally, in the case of  $MH_k$ , we run a dynamic programming implementation of the parser itself.

All programs to measure coverage have been extensively tested with examples from the literature, custom-built sets of cases, known relations between classes (e.g.  $MH_3=Pr$ ,  $2-C\subseteq 1EPC\subseteq 2-P$ ,  $WG_k\subseteq MG_k$ , etc.), runs on other treebanks to compare with previously reported coverages, and in some cases, comparison of more than one implementation.

#### 4. Results

The results of the coverage analysis are shown in Tables 1 and 2. For space reasons, we omit some of the classes with less direct practical interest: 1-P (a very mild relaxation of projectivity, of limited interest for expanding coverage), k-C and k-P for k > 2 (transition systems for them are possible in theory, but likely impractical due to the extra transitions needed) and those whose best known parser is slower than  $O(n^9)$ , like WG<sub>k</sub> for k > 2.

The results provide interesting insights into the coverage of the different classes on a diverse set of corpora with varying amounts of non-projectivity, ranging from the total projectivity of the Prague-style Romanian treebank to the very high non-projectivity in the corpora of classical languages — probably influenced by the presence of poetic texts in them — or in the Stanford-annotated Arabic dataset.

Annotation criteria have a large influence on the adequacy of the different restrictions on non-projectivity. The Stanford treebanks not only tend to contain more non-projectivity than the Prague ones, but also more ill-nested trees and trees with higher gap degree. For example, the average proportion of trees that are not in  $WG_1$  is more than double on Stanford than on Prague treebanks, with huge differences in some cases (e.g., 14.84% vs. 0.20% on the Arabic corpora). The same trend appears in the other classes requiring well-nestedness and bounded gap degree. The finding that  $WG_1$  covers almost all phenomena found in treebanks, reported in smaller datasets in the past (Kuhlmann 2010; Gómez-Rodríguez, Carroll, and Weir 2011) is questionable for Stanford treebanks, as it excludes more than 5% of the trees in 9 languages.

However, this does not mean that Stanford dependencies are less amenable to mildly non-projective parsing in general, as the Attardi parser and the  $\mathrm{MH}_k$  parsers for k>4 have better coverage for the Stanford than for the Prague-annotated treebanks. Thus, the lower coverage of the well-nested parsers on the Stanford treebanks does not exclusively owe to them having more non-projectivity in a general sense, but rather different kinds of non-projectivity that are better captured with different restrictions.

Overall, the class with the best coverage among those with known globally optimal parsers running in time  $O(n^4)$  is 1EC, which even surpasses WG<sub>1</sub> ( $O(n^7)$ ) on average on the Stanford treebanks. But if we are willing to accept larger complexities, the best tradeoff is achieved with the MH<sub>k</sub> parsers. The average coverage is close to 99.5% for MH<sub>5</sub>, and practically full for MH<sub>7</sub>, only excluding 177 trees out of the more than 800000 analyzed overall. MH<sub>12</sub> (not shown in the tables) has full coverage of the 60 treebanks.

The results for the 2-P and 2-C classes, parsable with transition systems, are less surprising, with similar coverages as reported for smaller sets of treebanks in the respective papers (Gómez-Rodríguez and Nivre 2013; Pitler and McDonald 2015). Note that, although 2-C has notably less coverage than 2-P, its transition system has been shown to have very good empirical accuracy, probably due to an easier to learn model.

## 5. Discussion

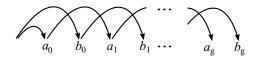
We have measured the coverage of a wide range of classes of mildly non-projective dependency trees on a large collection of treebanks with two different annotation styles, providing valuable data to compare said classes in terms of balance between coverage and efficiency. The relative coverage of the different classes varies across languages and annotation criteria. Explaining the concrete factors affecting it for each individual language is outside the scope of this work, and an interesting subject for studies focused on particular languages and corpora. However, despite this variability, there are very clear trends in the results. A relevant one is that the best general tradeoff is achieved by

**Table 1** Loss of coverage for each of the classes of restricted non-projective trees that have exact parsing algorithms running in  $O(n^k)$  for k <= 7. The value of k is shown below the name of the class. For each treebank and class, we report the **percentage** of trees that **do not** belong to the class (i.e., lower is better). The best coverage for each complexity bound is highlighted in boldface.

Tree-	Trees	Pr	1EC	$MH_4$	M0I	M1IS	$MH_5$	M1I	WG <sub>1</sub> S	$MH_6$	$WG_{\underline{1}}$	$MG_1$	$AD_2$	$MH_{7}$
bank	1	. 3	4	4	5	5	5	6	6	6	7	7	7	7
Stanford annotation 7541 7710 294 426 1625 1402 291 1494 1402 200 1494 1464 2006 2010														
ar bo	7541 13221	72.19 17.56	2.84 0.51	4.36 1.28	16.25 1.23	14.92 1.03	0.21 0.05	14.84 1.03	14.92 1.03	$0.08 \\ 0.01$	14.84 1.03	14.64 1.01	0.86 0.25	0.040 0.008
bg bn	1129	7.00	0.31	0.44	0.89	0.27	0.00	0.27	0.27	0.00	0.27	0.09	0.23	0.000
ca	14924	23.69	0.97	2.61	2.37	2.29	0.02	2.28	2.29	0.00	2.28	2.12	0.31	0.000
cs	87913	26.28	2.22	3.00	3.37	2.71	0.17	2.65	2.71	0.01	2.65	2.32	1.00	0.002
da	5512	29.75	2.99	5.59	5.77	3.37	0.65	3.32	3.37	0.11	3.32	2.54	3.18	0.018
de	38020	36.21	5.13	5.77	9.19	6.43	0.61	5.57	6.43	0.08	5.57	4.44	3.42	0.011
el	2902	34.36	3.48	4.20	5.17	3.86	0.10	3.48	3.86	0.00	3.48	3.14	0.90	0.000
en	18791	23.18	1.24	2.80	3.48	3.24	0.27	3.23	3.24	0.02	3.23	2.72	0.94	0.011
es	15984	24.46	1.33	2.24	1.71	1.69	0.01	1.69	1.69	0.00	1.69	1.51	0.30	0.000
et	1315	2.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.000
eu	11225 12455	25.58 23.85	2.69 <b>2.38</b>	2.17 2.72	7.34 4.34	6.25 2.40	0.23 0.49	6.17 2.18	6.25 2.40	0.03 0.16	6.17 2.18	0.87 1.46	1.28 1.68	$0.000 \\ 0.048$
fa fi	4307	14.95	1.49	2.02	2.28	1.93	0.49	1.93	1.93	0.10	1.93	1.83	1.28	0.048
grc	21173	67.84	30.64	26.55	31.81	27.42	3.64	26.21	27.40	0.12	26.19	12.44	8.45	0.009
hi	13274	23.11	3.36	3.33	5.58	2.92	0.62	2.76	2.92	0.17	2.76	1.36	2.66	0.045
hu	6424	31.97	5.74	10.13	12.16	7.22	1.90	7.19	7.22	0.30	7.19	6.74	7.38	0.078
it	3359	31.08	3.16	1.67	2.89	3.01	0.18	2.14	3.01	0.00	2.14	1.76	0.83	0.000
ja	17753	29.44	5.04	2.43	5.05	3.68	0.25	3.59	3.66	0.03	3.57	1.04	1.17	0.011
la	3473	50.13	15.98	15.78	17.48	11.49	2.74	10.48	11.46	0.32	10.45	6.82	8.52	0.029
nl	13735	43.25	8.24	9.07	8.85	6.50	1.01	5.03	6.50	0.17	5.03	4.54	5.81	0.058
pt	9359	30.11	2.09	6.03	7.84	6.32	0.42	6.21	6.32	0.04	6.21	6.09	2.29	0.011
ro	4042	3.66	0.00	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.000
ru	34895 57408	18.34 23.17	0.86 2.31	1.02 2.78	0.97 3.44	0.55 2.87	0.03 0.23	0.52 2.71	0.54 2.87	0.00 0.02	0.52 2.70	0.34 2.48	0.46 1.00	0.000 0.005
sk sl	1936	27.27	3.98	4.18	4.34	3.20	0.23	3.05	3.20	0.02	3.05	2.74	2.22	0.003
SV	11431	21.25	2.07	2.19	3.17	2.09	0.44	2.00	2.07	0.18	1.97	1.11	1.26	0.061
ta	600	3.33	0.00	0.00	0.83	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.000
te	1450	1.79	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.000
tr	5935	24.72	3.30	3.17	8.91	6.87	0.73	6.82	6.87	0.24	6.82	5.81	1.90	0.051
Macro		26.39	3.81	4.25	5.90	4.49	0.53	4.25	4.48	0.08	4.24	3.07	1.99	0.020
Prague	e annotatic													
ar	7541	11.50	0.29	0.62	3.29	0.21	0.08	0.20	0.21	0.01	0.20	0.16	0.54	0.000
bg	13221	11.10	0.17	4.32	4.33	0.16	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.08	0.16	0.16	4.30	0.015
bn	1129	5.93	0.18	0.35	0.97	0.18	0.00	0.18	0.18	0.00	0.18	0.00	0.27	0.000
ca cs	14924 87913	5.87 23.61	0.02 1.33	0.47 1.59	0.22 2.82	$0.09 \\ 0.74$	0.03 <b>0.10</b>	0.09 0.59	0.09 0.74	$0.01 \\ 0.01$	0.09 0.59	0.09 0.49	0.45 0.96	0.000 0.003
da	5512	15.62	0.71	3.05	3.83	0.35	0.10	0.33	0.74	0.31	0.33	0.22	2.85	0.109
de	38020	37.01	5.48	6.10	10.65	5.74	0.67	4.77	5.74	0.10	4.77	3.96	4.04	0.024
el	2902	21.57	1.34	2.14	5.31	1.00	0.14	0.79	1.00	0.03	0.79	0.79	1.55	0.000
en	18791	6.38	0.71	1.01	1.20	0.63	0.15	0.62	0.63	0.03	0.62	0.08	0.95	0.011
es	15984	7.31	0.02	0.34	0.69	0.16	0.03	0.16	0.16	0.00	0.16	0.16	0.26	0.000
et	1315	0.84	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.000
eu	11225	17.53	1.61	1.97	3.71	0.86	0.29	0.72	0.86	0.05	0.72	0.45	1.39	0.009
fa	12455	20.72	2.39	3.01	6.79	1.46	0.72	1.30	1.46	0.30	1.30	0.68	2.51	0.120
fi	4307	11.82	0.58	0.79	1.16	0.16	0.14	0.12	0.16	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.63	0.070
grc	21173	77.44	30.97	31.61 5.94	30.86 7.70	17.80	4.42 1.79	10.22	17.80	0.28	10.22 1.72	8.65	10.67	0.019 0.196
hi hu	13274 6424	29.95 27.41	2.52 4.39	9.17	11.40	1.82 5.98	1.79	1.73 5.95	1.81 5.98	0.49 0.23	5.95	1.21 5.62	5.14 7.22	0.196
it	3359	8.16	0.45	1.07	2.50	0.54	0.09	0.54	0.54	0.23	0.54	0.36	0.92	0.123
ja	17753	5.29	1.43	0.45	4.05	0.57	0.03	0.54	0.54	0.00	0.57	0.57	0.19	0.000
la	3473	50.45	15.06	14.77	21.16	11.09	2.45	9.56	11.03	0.32	9.50	5.82	10.28	0.086
nl	13735	35.75	4.27	9.55	9.54	4.40	1.51	3.44	4.40	0.24	3.44	3.36	7.82	0.066
pt	9359	19.95	0.67	4.57	7.01	4.77	0.49	4.73	4.77	0.10	4.73	4.68	2.56	0.032
ro	4042	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.000
ru	34895	9.61	0.29	0.70	1.14	0.21	0.04	0.20	0.21	0.00	0.20	0.10	0.54	0.000
sk	57408	17.84	0.97	1.32	2.92	0.77	0.12	0.68	0.77	0.02	0.68	0.56	0.87	0.007
	1936	20.87	1.14	1.96	3.41	0.88	0.26	0.78	0.88	0.00	0.78	0.67	1.65	0.000
sl			7 44	1.55	3.26	1.02	0.35	0.98	1.01	0.14	0.97	0.50	1.11	0.061
sl sv	11431	11.03	1.44					0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.000
sl sv ta	11431 600	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.000
sl sv ta te	11431 600 1450	2.00 0.83	0.00 0.00	0.00 0.00	$1.00 \\ 0.14$	0.00 0.00	0.00 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 0.00	0.000
sl sv ta	11431 600 1450 5935	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00						0.00	

**Table 2** Loss of coverage for classes of restricted non-projective trees not shown in Table 1. For classes that have exact parsing algorithms running in  $O(n^k)$ , the value of k is shown below the name of the class. For each treebank and class, we report the **percentage** of trees that **do not** belong to the class (i.e., lower is better). The best coverage for each complexity bound is shown in boldface.

Treebank	MH <sub>8</sub>	$WG_2$	MH <sub>9</sub>	2-P	2-C	Treebank	MH <sub>8</sub>	$WG_2$	MH <sub>9</sub>	2-P	2-C
Stanford ann.	8	9	9	n/a	n/a	Prague ann.	8	9	9	n/a	n/a
ar (Árabic)	0.027	3.819	0.027	0.278	31.044	ar	0.000	0.066	0.000	0.013	0.756
bg (Bulgarian)	0.008	0.098	0.000	0.045	1.482	bg	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.015	0.613
bn (Bengali)	0.000	0.177	0.000	0.000	0.266	bn	0.000	0.177	0.000	0.000	0.354
ca (Catalan)	0.000	0.281	0.000	0.067	2.627	ca	0.000	0.013	0.000	0.000	0.181
cs (Czech)	0.001	0.543	0.001	0.415	4.094	cs	0.002	0.131	0.002	0.099	2.894
da (Danish)	0.000	0.998	0.000	0.744	5.443	da	0.036	0.127	0.000	0.018	1.361
de (German)	0.008	2.078	0.003	1.231	8.951	de	0.000	1.228	0.000	1.021	9.771
el (Mod. Greek)	0.000	0.965	0.000	0.379	7.271	el	0.000	0.103	0.000	0.172	2.757
en (English)	0.005	0.841	0.005	0.644	2.522	en	0.011	0.596	0.005	0.553	0.798
es (Spanish)	0.000	0.282	0.000	0.069	2.803	es	0.000	0.025	0.000	0.000	0.119
et (Estonian)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	et	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
eu (Basque)	0.000	5.826	0.000	0.249	4.686	eu	0.000	0.374	0.000	0.143	2.601
fa (Persian)	0.024	1.124	0.008	0.385	4.906	fa	0.064	0.923	0.032	0.225	3.605
fi (Finnish)	0.023	0.395	0.000	0.859	1.788	fi	0.023	0.023	0.000	0.070	0.882
grc (Anc. Greek)	0.005	20.247	0.000	6.282	36.565	grc	0.000	2.829	0.000	3.495	39.347
hi (Hindi)	0.015	1.944	0.000	0.203	4.821	ĥi	0.045	0.768	0.023	0.105	5.176
hu (Hungarian)	0.000	2.086	0.000	0.794	8.266	hu	0.016	1.666	0.016	0.607	5.791
it (Italian)	0.000	0.804	0.000	0.298	6.490	it	0.000	0.268	0.000	0.060	0.744
ja (Japanese)	0.000	3.002	0.000	0.107	6.095	ja	0.000	0.101	0.000	0.000	1.594
la (Latin)	0.000	5.845	0.000	3.974	21.250	ĺa	0.000	5.644	0.000	3.858	21.653
nl (Dutch)	0.015	1.172	0.007	0.961	14.503	nl	0.007	0.197	0.000	1.201	9.661
pt (Portuguese)	0.000	1.036	0.000	0.224	5.204	pt	0.032	0.801	0.011	0.107	1.667
ro (Romanian)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.049	ro	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ru (Russian)	0.000	0.201	0.000	0.077	1.656	ru	0.000	0.100	0.000	0.026	0.516
sk (Slovak)	0.002	0.597	0.000	0.493	4.053	sk	0.002	0.172	0.000	0.099	2.045
sl (Slovenian)	0.000	0.723	0.000	1.188	6.095	sl	0.000	0.155	0.000	0.052	2.583
sv (Swedish)	0.026	1.233	0.009	0.744	3.351	sv	0.026	0.656	0.026	0.542	2.021
ta (Tamil)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.167	ta	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
te (Telugu)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	te	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
tr (Turkish)	0.017	4.482	0.017	0.253	5.173	tr	0.034	3.370	0.000	0.084	10.025
Macro average	0.006	2.027	0.003	0.699	6.721	Macro avg.	0.010	0.684	0.004	0.419	4.317



**Figure 1** An ill-nested dependency tree with gap degree g that is in MH<sub>4</sub>. It can be parsed by the MH<sub>4</sub> parser starting by building the item  $[b_{g-1}, a_g, b_g, b_g + 1]$  and then proceeding from right to left.

$$\begin{split} \textbf{Item form:} \ \, [h_1,h_2,\dots,h_m] \, , 0 &\leq h_1 < h_2 < \dots < h_m \leq n+1; \, 2 \leq m \leq 4 \\ \textbf{Goal:} \ \, [0,n+1] \quad \textbf{Axioms:} \ \, [i,i+1] \, , 0 \leq i \leq n \\ \textbf{Deduction steps:} \quad \frac{[h_1,h_2,\dots,h_m][h_m,h_{m+1},\dots,h_p]}{[h_1,h_2,\dots,h_p]} \ \, (Combine) \, , \, p \leq 4 \\ \frac{[h_1,h_2,\dots,h_m]}{[h_1,h_2,\dots,h_{j-1},h_{j+1},\dots,h_m]} \ \, (Link;h_i \to h_j) \, , 1 < j < m, 1 \leq i \leq m, j \neq i \end{split}$$

**Figure 2** Deduction system for the  $MH_4$  parser for a string of length n.

1-Endpoint-Crossing trees (for complexity  $O(n^4)$ ) and  $\mathrm{MH}_k$  trees (for larger polynomial complexities).

While we have focused on the coverage-efficiency tradeoff, there are other aspects of mildly non-projective classes that one may wish to take into account, like their relation to constituency grammar formalisms (Kuhlmann 2010) or characterizability (Pitler and McDonald 2015). In this sense, it is worth noting that no characterization independent of the parsing algorithm itself is known for the  $\mathrm{MH}_k$  classes, for k > 3, just as happens with Attardi trees. In fact,  $\mathrm{MH}_k$  trees have been very little studied, and their empirical coverage was unknown prior to this work. Since it is notably high, finding a simple characterization of  $\mathrm{MH}_k$  trees is an interesting open problem, which may be solvable as  $\mathrm{MH}_k$  trees have some desirable formal properties that  $\mathrm{AD}_2$  trees lack, like left-right symmetry (reversing the order of the words of an  $\mathrm{MH}_k$  tree produces an  $\mathrm{MH}_k$  tree).

Two novel observations about the relation of  $MH_k$  trees to other classes of trees are that: (1)  $MH_4$  contains ill-nested trees with unbounded gap degree (and therefore, the same can be said of  $MH_k$  for k > 4, as  $MH_{k-1} \subseteq MH_k$  for all k); and (2)  $MH_4 \subseteq 2$ -P.

Observation (1) can be shown by example, with the tree in Figure 1, and an outline of the proof for (2) follows: given the MH<sub>4</sub> parser (shown in Figure 2), we build a variant MH<sub>4</sub><sup>2P</sup> that associates each arc with a plane  $\in \{P_0, P_1\}$ , satisfying the 2-P constraint. To do so, we annotate each index (node) on items with a forbidden plane, such that steps creating an arc  $h \to d$  always do so on a plane not forbidden for h or d. If both planes are allowed, then if the item has a node x between h and d with a forbidden plane, the arc is created on that plane (to avoid forbidding both planes on x at the same time), otherwise an arbitrary plane is chosen. Initial items do not have any restrictions, but when we create a right arc  $A = h_1 \to h_3$  with a Link step  $[h_1, h_2, h_3, h_4] \vdash [h_1, h_2, h_4]$  on plane  $P_i$ , we forbid  $P_i$  on node  $h_2$  (located between  $h_1$  and  $h_3$ ), which prevents arcs that cross A from being created on the same plane as A, and the symmetric is done for left arcs. Annotations are propagated across deductions together with their nodes.

Parsing a tree T with  $\mathrm{MH_4^{2P}}$  always produces a valid partition of T into planes, that is, it never reaches a situation where an arc cannot be created without violating 2-planarity because both planes are forbidden by the restrictions. This is shown by proving that each item has at most one node with a forbidden plane. To see this, note that the first and last nodes of an item cannot have any forbidden plane: by construction, restrictions always originate on the central node of a 3-node item, and no steps in the parser can move a node in the middle to the first or last position. Restrictions can propagate to 4-node items, but these always come from applying a *Combine* step on a 3- and a 2-node item, so again at most one node (the central one in the 3-node item) can have a forbidden plane. Thus, we can always associate a plane to an arc without violating restrictions, as there can be only one restriction per item and therefore at least one plane is allowed.

Note that this proof implicitly relies on the fact that, when the  $\mathrm{MH_4}$  parser creates an arc A, any subsequently built arcs crossing A must share an endpoint: for example, after the arc  $A=h\to d$  is created by a deduction step  $[h,x,d,y]\vdash [h,x,y]$ , the only endpoint located between h and d remaining available is x, so any subsequent arcs crossing A must be incident to x. This restriction is interestingly similar to the definition of 1EC trees, although weaker because it only affects arcs created after A.

The relation of  $\mathrm{MH_4}$  with the 2-P class, as well as its indirect relation with 1EC, may help obtain a characterization for the set of  $\mathrm{MH_k}$  trees. Their good balance between coverage and parsing efficiency makes this class, together with 1EC trees, very interesting for modeling the non-projectivity found in natural languages.

## Acknowledgments

The author is partially funded by the TELEPARES-UDC project from MINECO (FFI2014-51978-C2-2-R) and an Oportunius program grant from Xunta de Galicia.

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