

## Three New Probabilistic Models for Dependency Parsing: An Exploration\*

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### Abstract

After presenting a novel  $O(n^3)$  parsing algorithm for dependency grammar, we develop three contrasting ways to stochasticize it. We propose (a) a lexical affinity model where words struggle to modify each other, (b) a sense tagging model where words fluctuate randomly in their selectional preferences, and (c) a generative model where the speaker fleshes out each word's syntactic and conceptual structure without regard to the implications for the hearer. We also give preliminary empirical results from evaluating the three models' parsing performance on annotated *Wall Street Journal* training text (derived from the Penn Treebank). In these results, the generative model performs significantly better than the others, and does about equally well at assigning part-of-speech tags.

## 1 Introduction

In recent years, the statistical parsing community has begun to reach out for syntactic formalisms that recognize the individuality of words. Link grammars (Sleator and Temperley, 1991) and lexicalized tree-adjoining grammars (Schabes, 1992) have now received stochastic treatments. Other researchers, not wishing to abandon context-free grammar (CFG) but disillusioned with its lexical blind spot, have tried to re-parameterize stochastic CFG in context-sensitive ways (Black et al., 1992) or have augmented the formalism with lexical headwords (Magerman, 1995; Collins, 1996).

In this paper, we present a flexible probabilistic parser that simultaneously assigns both part-of-speech tags and a bare-bones dependency structure (illustrated in Figure 1). The choice of a

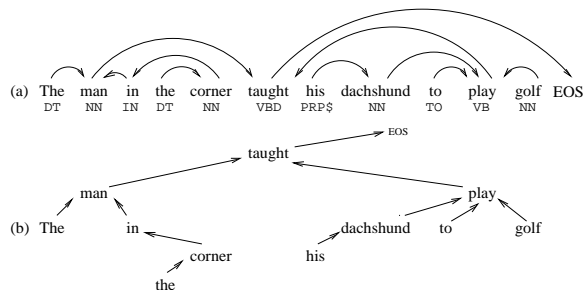


Figure 1: (a) A bare-bones dependency parse. Each word points to a single **parent**, the word it modifies; the head of the sentence points to the **EOS** (end-of-sentence) mark. Crossing links and cycles are not allowed. (b) Constituent structure and subcategorization may be highlighted by displaying the same dependencies as a lexical tree.

simple syntactic structure is deliberate: we would like to ask some basic questions about where lexical relationships appear and how best to exploit them. It is useful to look into these basic questions before trying to fine-tune the performance of systems whose behavior is harder to understand.<sup>1</sup>

The main contribution of the work is to propose three distinct, lexicalist hypotheses about the probability space underlying sentence structure. We illustrate how each hypothesis is expressed in a dependency framework, and how each can be used to guide our parser toward its favored solution. Finally, we point to experimental results that compare the three hypotheses' parsing performance on sentences from the *Wall Street Journal*. The parser is trained on an annotated corpus; no hand-written grammar is required.

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<sup>1</sup>Our novel parsing algorithm also rescues dependency from certain criticisms: "Dependency grammars ... are not lexical, and (as far as we know) lack a parsing algorithm of efficiency comparable to link grammars." (Lafferty et al., 1992, p. 3)

## 2 Probabilistic Dependencies

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that a *grammatical representation* (dependency parses, tag sequences, phrase-structure trees) does not entail any particular *probability model*. In principle, one could model the distribution of dependency parses in any number of sensible or perverse ways. The choice of the right model is not *a priori* obvious.

One way to build a probabilistic grammar is to specify what sequences of moves (such as shift and reduce) a parser is likely to make. It is reasonable to expect a given move to be correct about as often on test data as on training data. This is the philosophy behind stochastic CFG (Jelinek et al. 1992), “history-based” phrase-structure parsing (Black et al., 1992), and others.

However, probability models derived from parsers sometimes focus on incidental properties of the data. This may be the case for (Lafferty et al., 1992)’s model for link grammar. If we were to adapt their top-down stochastic parsing strategy to the rather similar case of dependency grammar, we would find their elementary probabilities tabulating only non-intuitive aspects of the parse structure:

$Pr(\text{word } j \text{ is the rightmost pre-}k \text{ child of word } i \mid i \text{ is a right-spine strict descendant of one of the left children of a token of word } k, \text{ or else } i \text{ is the parent of } k, \text{ and } i \text{ precedes } j \text{ precedes } k).$ <sup>2</sup>

While it is clearly necessary to decide whether  $j$  is a child of  $i$ , conditioning that decision as above may not reduce its test entropy as much as a more linguistically perspicuous condition would.

We believe it is fruitful to design probability models independently of the parser. In this section, we will outline the three lexicalist, linguistically perspicuous, qualitatively different models that we have developed and tested.

### 2.1 Model A: Bigram lexical affinities

$N$ -gram taggers like (Church, 1988; Jelinek 1985; Kupiec 1992; Merialdo 1990) take the following view of how a tagged sentence enters the world. First, a sequence of tags is generated according to a Markov process, with the random choice of each tag conditioned on the previous two tags. Second, a word is chosen conditional on each tag.

<sup>2</sup>This corresponds to Lafferty et al.’s central statistic (p. 4),  $Pr(W, \leftarrow \mid L, R, l, r)$ , in the case where  $i$ ’s parent is to the left of  $i$ .  $i, j, k$  correspond to  $L, W, R$  respectively. Owing to the particular recursive strategy the parser uses to break up the sentence, the statistic would be measured and utilized only under the condition described above.



Figure 3: (a) The correct parse. (b) A common error if the model ignores arity.

Since our sentences have links as well as tags and words, suppose that after the words are inserted, each sentence passes through a third step that looks at each pair of words and randomly decides whether to link them. For the resulting sentences to resemble real corpora, the probability that word  $j$  gets linked to word  $i$  should be *lexically sensitive*: it should depend on the (tag, word) pairs at both  $i$  and  $j$ .

The probability of drawing a given parsed sentence from the population may then be expressed as (1) in Figure 2, where the random variable  $L_{ij} \in \{0, 1\}$  is 1 iff word  $i$  is the parent of word  $j$ .

Expression (1) assigns a probability to every possible tag-and-link-annotated string, and these probabilities sum to one. Many of the annotated strings exhibit violations such as crossing links and multiple parents—which, if they were allowed, would let all the words express their lexical preferences independently and simultaneously. We stipulate that the model discards from the population any illegal structures that it generates; they do not appear in either training or test data. Therefore, the parser described below finds the likeliest *legal* structure: it maximizes the lexical *preferences* of (1) within the few hard linguistic *constraints* imposed by the dependency formalism.

In practice, some generalization or “coarsening” of the conditional probabilities in (1) helps to avoid the effects of undertraining. For example, we follow standard practice (Church, 1988) in  $n$ -gram tagging by using (3) to approximate the first term in (2). Decisions about how much coarsening to do are of great practical interest, but they depend on the training corpus and may be omitted from a conceptual discussion of the model.

The model in (1) can be improved; it does not capture the fact that words have arities. For example, *the price of the stock fell* (Figure 3a) will typically be misanalyzed under this model. Since stocks often fall, *stock* has a greater affinity for *fell* than for *of*. Hence *stock* (as well as *price*) will end up pointing to the verb *fell* (Figure 3b), resulting in a double subject for *fell* and leaving *of* childless. To capture word arities and other subcategorization facts, we must recognize that the children of a word like *fell* are not independent of each other.

The solution is to modify (1) slightly, further conditioning  $L_{ij}$  on the number and/or type of children of  $i$  that already sit between  $i$  and  $j$ . This

$$Pr(\text{words, tags, links}) = Pr(\text{words, tags}) \cdot Pr(\text{link presences and absences} \mid \text{words, tags}) \quad (1)$$

$$\approx \prod_{1 \leq i \leq n} Pr(\text{tword}(i) \mid \text{tword}(i+1), \text{tword}(i+2)) \cdot \prod_{1 \leq i, j \leq n} Pr(L_{ij} \mid \text{tword}(i), \text{tword}(j)) \quad (2)$$

$$Pr(\text{tword}(i) \mid \text{tword}(i+1), \text{tword}(i+2)) \approx Pr(\text{tag}(i) \mid \text{tag}(i+1), \text{tag}(i+2)) \cdot Pr(\text{word}(i) \mid \text{tag}(i)) \quad (3)$$

$$Pr(\text{words, tags, links}) \propto Pr(\text{words, tags, preferences}) = Pr(\text{words, tags}) \cdot Pr(\text{preferences} \mid \text{words, tags}) \quad (4)$$

$$\approx \prod_{1 \leq i \leq n} Pr(\text{tword}(i) \mid \text{tword}(i+1), \text{tword}(i+2)) \cdot \prod_{1 \leq i \leq n} Pr(\text{preferences}(i) \mid \text{tword}(i))$$

$$Pr(\text{words, tags, links}) = \prod_{1 \leq i \leq n} \left( \prod_{c=-(1+\#\text{left-kids}(i)), c \neq 0}^{1+\#\text{right-kids}(i)} Pr(\text{tword}(\text{kid}_c(i)) \mid \text{tag}(\text{kid}_{c-1}(i)), \text{tword}(i)) \right) \quad (5)$$

or  $\text{kid}_{c+1}$  if  $c < 0$

Figure 2: High-level views of model A (formulas 1–3); model B (formula 4); and model C (formula 5). If  $i$  and  $j$  are tokens, then  $\text{tword}(i)$  represents the pair  $(\text{tag}(i), \text{word}(i))$ , and  $L_{ij} \in \{0, 1\}$  is 1 iff  $i$  is the parent of  $j$ .

means that in the parse of Figure 3b, the link  $\text{price} \rightarrow \text{fell}$  will be sensitive to the fact that  $\text{fell}$  already has a closer child tagged as a noun (NN). Specifically, the  $\text{price} \rightarrow \text{fell}$  link will now be strongly disfavored in Figure 3b, since verbs rarely take two NN dependents to the left. By contrast,  $\text{price} \rightarrow \text{fell}$  is unobjectionable in Figure 3a, rendering that parse more probable. (This change can be reflected in the conceptual model, by stating that the  $L_{ij}$  decisions are made in increasing order of link length  $|i - j|$  and are no longer independent.)

## 2.2 Model B: Selectional preferences

In a legal dependency parse, every word except for the head of the sentence (the EOS mark) has exactly one parent. Rather than having the model select a subset of the  $n^2$  possible links, as in model A, and then discard the result unless each word has exactly one parent, we might restrict the model to picking out one parent per word to begin with. Model B generates a sequence of tagged words, then specifies a parent—or more precisely, a *type* of parent—for each word  $j$ .

Of course model A also ends up selecting a parent for each word, but its calculation plays careful politics with the set of other words that happen to appear in the sentence: word  $j$  considers both the benefit of selecting  $i$  as a parent, *and* the costs of spurning all the other possible parents  $i'$ . Model B takes an approach at the opposite extreme, and simply has each word blindly describe its ideal parent. For example, *price* in Figure 3 might insist (with some probability) that it “depend on a verb to my right.” To capture arity, words probabilistically specify their ideal children as well: *fell* is highly likely to want only one noun to its left. The form and coarseness of such specifications is a parameter of the model.

When a word stochastically chooses one set of

requirements on its parents and children, it is choosing what a link grammarian would call a *disjunct* (set of selectional preferences) for the word. We may thus imagine generating a Markov sequence of tagged words as before, and then independently “sense tagging” each word with a disjunct.<sup>3</sup> Choosing all the disjuncts does not quite specify a parse. However, if the disjuncts are sufficiently specific, it specifies at most one parse. Some sentences generated in this way are illegal because their disjuncts cannot be simultaneously satisfied; as in model A, these sentences are said to be removed from the population, and the probabilities renormalized. A likely parse is therefore one that allows a likely and consistent set of sense tags; its probability in the population is given in (4).

## 2.3 Model C: Recursive generation

The final model we propose is a **generation** model, as opposed to the **comprehension** models A and B (and to other comprehension models such as (Lafferty et al., 1992; Magerman, 1995; Collins, 1996)). The contrast recalls an old debate over spoken language, as to whether its properties are driven by hearers’ acoustic needs (comprehension) or speakers’ articulatory needs (generation). Models A and B suggest that speakers produce text in such a way that the grammatical relations can be easily decoded by a listener, given words’ preferences to associate with each other and tags’ preferences to follow each other. But model C says that speakers’ primary goal is to flesh out the syntactic and conceptual structure for each word they utter, surrounding it with arguments, modifiers, and function words as appropriate. According to

<sup>3</sup>In our implementation, the distribution over possible disjuncts is given by a pair of Markov processes, as in model C.

model C, speakers should not hesitate to add extra prepositional phrases to a noun, even if this lengthens some links that are ordinarily short, or leads to tagging or attachment ambiguities.

The generation process is straightforward. Each time a word  $i$  is added, it generates a Markov sequence of (tag,word) pairs to serve as its left children, and an separate sequence of (tag,word) pairs as its right children. Each Markov process, whose probabilities depend on the word  $i$  and its tag, begins in a special START state; the symbols it generates are added as  $i$ 's children, from closest to farthest, until it reaches the STOP state. The process recurses for each child so generated. This is a sort of lexicalized context-free model.

Suppose that the Markov process, when generating a child, remembers just the tag of the child's most recently generated sister, if any. Then the probability of drawing a given parse from the population is (5), where  $kid(i, c)$  denotes the  $c$ th-closest right child of word  $i$ , and where  $kid(i, 0) = \text{START}$  and  $kid(i, 1 + \#right-kids(i)) = \text{STOP}$ . ( $c < 0$  indexes left children.) This may be thought of as a non-linear trigram model, where each tagged word is generated based on the parent tagged word and a sister tag. The links in the parse serve to pick out the relevant trigrams, and are chosen to get trigrams that optimize the global tagging. That the links also happen to annotate useful semantic relations is, from this perspective, quite accidental.

Note that the revised version of model A uses probabilities  $Pr(\text{link to child} \mid \text{child, parent, closer-children})$ , where model C uses  $Pr(\text{link to child} \mid \text{parent, closer-children})$ . This is because model A assumes that the child was previously generated by a linear process, and all that is necessary is to link to it. Model C actually generates the child in the process of linking to it.

### 3 Bottom-Up Dependency Parsing

In this section we sketch our dependency parsing algorithm: a novel dynamic-programming method to assemble the most probable parse from the bottom up. The algorithm adds one link at a time, making it easy to multiply out the models' probability factors. It also enforces the special directionality requirements of dependency grammar, the prohibitions on cycles and multiple parents.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Labeled dependencies are possible, and a minor variant handles the simpler case of link grammar. Indeed, abstractly, the algorithm resembles a cleaner, bottom-up version of the top-down link grammar parser developed independently by (Lafferty et al., 1992).

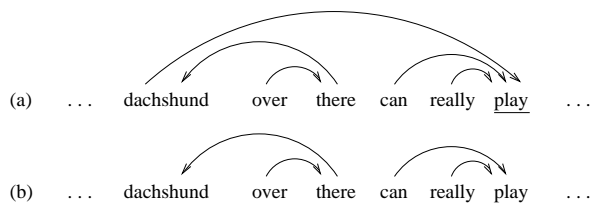


Figure 4: Spans participating in the correct parse of *That dachshund over there can really play golf!*. (a) has one parentless endword; its subspan (b) has two.

The method used is similar to the CKY method of context-free parsing, which combines analyses of shorter substrings into analyses of progressively longer ones. Multiple analyses have the same **signature** if they are indistinguishable in their ability to combine with other analyses; if so, the parser discards all but the highest-scoring one. CKY requires  $O(n^3 s^2)$  time and  $O(n^2 s)$  space, where  $n$  is the length of the sentence and  $s$  is an upper bound on signatures per substring.

Let us consider dependency parsing in this framework. One might guess that each substring analysis should be a lexical tree—a tagged headword plus all lexical subtrees dependent upon it. (See Figure 1b.) However, if a constituent's probabilistic behavior depends on its headword—the lexicalist hypothesis—then differently headed analyses need different signatures. **There are at least  $k$  of these for a substring of length  $k$ , whence the bound  $s = k = \Omega(n)$ , giving a time complexity of  $\Omega(n^5)$ .** (Collins, 1996) uses this  $\Omega(n^5)$  algorithm directly (together with pruning).

We propose an alternative approach that preserves the  $O(n^3)$  bound. Instead of analyzing substrings as lexical trees that will be linked together into larger lexical trees, the parser will analyze them as non-constituent **spans** that will be concatenated into larger spans. A span consists of  $\geq 2$  adjacent words; tags for all these words except possibly the last; a list of all dependency links among the words in the span; and perhaps some other information carried along in the span's signature. No cycles, multiple parents, or crossing links are allowed in the span, and each **internal word** of the span must have a parent in the span.

Two spans are illustrated in Figure 4. These diagrams are typical: **a span of a dependency parse may consist of either a parentless endword and some of its descendants on one side (Figure 4a), or two parentless endwords, with all the right descendants of one and all the left descendants of the other (Figure 4b).** The intuition is that the internal part of a span is grammatically inert: except for the endwords *dachshund* and *play*, the structure of each span is irrelevant to the span's ability

signature是什么

也就是所谓的三角形和矩形

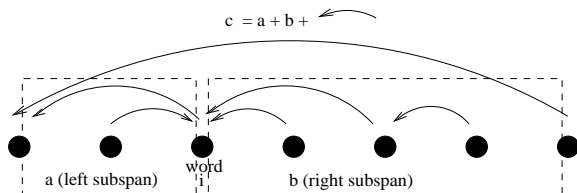


Figure 5: The assembly of a span  $c$  from two smaller spans  $(a, b)$  and a covering link. Only  $b$  isn't minimal.

to combine in future, so spans with different internal structure can compete to be the best-scoring span with a particular signature.

If span  $a$  ends on the same word  $i$  that starts span  $b$ , then the parser tries to combine the two spans by **covered-concatenation** (Figure 5). The two copies of word  $i$  are identified, after which a leftward or rightward **covering link** is optionally added between the endwords of the new span. Any dependency parse can be built up by covered-concatenation. When the parser covered-concatenates  $a$  and  $b$ , it obtains up to three new spans (leftward, rightward, and no covering link).

The covered-concatenation of  $a$  and  $b$ , forming  $c$ , is barred unless it meets certain simple tests:

- $a$  must be **minimal** (not itself expressible as a concatenation of narrower spans). This prevents us from assembling  $c$  in multiple ways.
- Since the overlapping word will be internal to  $c$ , it must have a parent in exactly one of  $a$  and  $b$ .
- $c$  must not be given a covering link if either the leftmost word of  $a$  or the rightmost word of  $b$  has a parent. (Violating this condition leads to either multiple parents or link cycles.)

Any sufficiently wide span whose left endword has a parent is a legal parse, rooted at the EOS mark (Figure 1). Note that a span's signature must specify whether its endwords have parents.

## 4 Bottom-Up Probabilities

Is this one parser really compatible with all three probability models? Yes, but for each model, we must provide a way to keep track of probabilities as we parse. Bear in mind that models A, B, and C do not themselves specify probabilities for all spans; intrinsically they give only probabilities for sentences.

**Model C.** Define each span's **score** to be the product of all probabilities of links within the span. (The link to  $i$  from its  $c$ th child is associated with the probability  $Pr(\dots)$  in (5).) When spans  $a$  and  $b$  are combined and one more link is added, it is easy to compute the resulting span's score:  $\text{score}(a) \cdot \text{score}(b) \cdot Pr(\text{covering link})$ .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>The third factor depends on, e.g.,  $\text{kid}(i, c-1)$ , which we recover from the span signature. Also, mat-

When a span constitutes a parse of the whole input sentence, its score as just computed proves to be the parse probability, conditional on the tree root EOS, under model C. The highest-probability parse can therefore be built by dynamic programming, where we build and retain the highest-scoring span of each signature.

**Model B.** Taking the Markov process to generate (tag,word) pairs from right to left, we let (6) define the score of a span from word  $k$  to word  $\ell$ . The first product encodes the Markovian probability that the (tag,word) pairs  $k$  through  $\ell-1$  are as claimed by the span, conditional on the appearance of specific (tag,word) pairs at  $\ell, \ell+1$ .<sup>6</sup> Again, scores can be easily updated when spans combine, and the probability of a complete parse  $P$ , divided by the total probability of all parses that succeed in satisfying lexical preferences, is just  $P$ 's score.

**Model A.** Finally, model A is scored the same as model B, except for the second factor in (6), which is replaced by the less obvious expression in (7). As usual, scores can be constructed from the bottom up (though  $\text{tword}(j)$  in the second factor of (7) is not available to the algorithm,  $j$  being outside the span, so we back off to  $\text{word}(j)$ ).

## 5 Empirical Comparison

We have undertaken a careful study to compare these models' success at generalizing from training data to test data. Full results on a moderate corpus of 25,000+ tagged, dependency-annotated *Wall Street Journal* sentences, discussed in (Eisner, 1996), were not complete at press time. However, Tables 1–2 show pilot results for a small set of data drawn from that corpus. (The full results show substantially better performance, e.g., 93% correct tags and 87% correct parents for model C, but appear qualitatively similar.)

The pilot experiment was conducted on a subset of 4772 of the sentences comprising 93,360 words and punctuation marks. The corpus was derived by semi-automatic means from the Penn Treebank; only sentences without conjunction were available (mean length=20, max=68). A randomly selected set of 400 sentences was set aside for testing all models; the rest were used to estimate the model parameters. In the pilot (unlike the full experiment), the parser was instructed to

ters are complicated slightly by the probabilities associated with the generation of STOP.

<sup>6</sup>Different  $k-\ell$  spans have scores conditioned on different hypotheses about  $\text{tag}(\ell)$  and  $\text{tag}(\ell+1)$ ; their signatures are correspondingly different. Under model B, a  $k-\ell$  span may not combine with an  $\ell-m$  span whose tags violate its assumptions about  $\ell$  and  $\ell+1$ .

$$\prod_{k \leq i < \ell} \Pr(\text{tword}(i) \mid \text{tword}(i+1), \text{tword}(i+2)) \cdot \prod_{k \leq i, j \leq \ell \text{ with } i, j \text{ linked}} \Pr(i \text{ has prefs that } j \text{ satisfies} \mid \text{tword}(i), \text{tword}(j)) \quad (6)$$

$$\prod_{k \leq i, j \leq \ell \text{ with } i, j \text{ linked}} \Pr(L_{ij} \mid \text{tword}(i), \text{tword}(j), \text{tag}(\text{next-closest-kid}(i))) \cdot \prod_{k < i < \ell, (j < k \text{ or } \ell < j)} \Pr(L_{ij} \mid \text{tword}(i), \text{tword}(j), \dots) \quad (7)$$

	A	B	C	C'	X	Basel.
All token	90.2	90.9	90.8	90.5	<b>91.0</b>	<b>79.8</b>
<b>Non-punc</b>	88.9	89.8	<b>89.6</b>	89.3	<b>89.8</b>	77.1
Nouns	90.1	89.8	90.2	90.4	90.0	86.2
Lex verbs	74.6	75.9	73.3	75.8	73.3	67.5

Table 1: Results of preliminary experiments: Percentage of tokens correctly tagged by each model.

	A	B	C	C'	Baseline
All tokens	75.9	72.8	<b>78.1</b>	66.6	47.3
<b>Non-punc</b>	75.0	75.4	<b>79.2</b>	<b>68.8</b>	<b>51.1</b>
Nouns	75.7	71.8	<b>77.2</b>	55.9	29.8
Lexical verbs	66.5	63.1	<b>71.0</b>	46.9	21.0

Table 2: Results of preliminary experiments: Percentage of tokens correctly attached to their parents by each model.

“back off” from all probabilities with denominators  $< 10$ . For this reason, the models were insensitive to most lexical distinctions.

In addition to models A, B, and C, described above, the pilot experiment evaluated two other models for comparison. Model C' was a version of model C that ignored lexical dependencies between parents and children, considering only dependencies between a parent's tag and a child's tag. This model is similar to the model used by stochastic CFG. Model X did the same  $n$ -gram tagging as models A and B ( $n = 2$  for the preliminary experiment, rather than  $n = 3$ ), but did not assign any links.

Tables 1–2 show the percentage of raw tokens that were correctly tagged by each model, as well as the proportion that were correctly attached to their parents. For tagging, baseline performance was measured by assigning each word in the test set its most frequent tag (if any) from the training set. The unusually low baseline performance results from a combination of a small pilot training set and a mildly extended tag set.<sup>7</sup> We observed that in the training set, determiners most commonly pointed to the following word, so as a parsing baseline, we linked every test determiner to the following word; likewise, we linked every test preposition to the preceding word, and so on.

The patterns in the preliminary data are striking,

with verbs showing up as an area of difficulty, and with some models clearly faring better than other. The simplest and fastest model, the recursive generation model C, did easily the best job of capturing the dependency structure (Table 2). It misattached the fewest words, both overall and in each category. This suggests that subcategorization preferences—the only factor considered by model C—play a substantial role in the structure of Treebank sentences. (Indeed, the errors in model B, which performed worst across the board, were very frequently arity errors, where the desire of a child to attach to a particular parent overcame the reluctance of the parent to accept more children.)

A good deal of the parsing success of model C seems to have arisen from its knowledge of individual words, as we expected. This is shown by the vastly inferior performance of the control, model C'. On the other hand, both C and C' were competitive with the other models at tagging. This shows that a tag can be predicted about as well from the tags of its putative parent and sibling as it can from the tags of string-adjacent words, even when there is considerable error in determining the parent and sibling.

## 6 Conclusions

Bare-bones dependency grammar—which requires no link labels, no grammar, and no fuss to understand—is a clean testbed for studying the lexical affinities of words. We believe that this is an important line of investigative research, one that is likely to produce both useful parsing tools and significant insights about language modeling.

As a first step in the study of lexical affinity, we asked whether there was a “natural” way to stochasticize such a simple formalism as dependency. In fact, we have now exhibited three promising types of model for this simple problem. Further, we have developed a novel parsing algorithm to compare these hypotheses, with results that so far favor the speaker-oriented model C, even in written, edited *Wall Street Journal* text. To our knowledge, the relative merits of speaker-oriented versus hearer-oriented probabilistic syntax models have not been investigated before.

<sup>7</sup>We used distinctive tags for auxiliary verbs and for words being used as noun modifiers (e.g., participles), because they have very different subcategorization frames.

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