# **Construction learning as category learning: A cognitive analysis**

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#### 1. Introduction

As a child, you engaged your parents and friends talking about things of shared interest using words and phrases that came to mind, and all the while you learned language. We were privy to none of this. Yet somehow we have converged upon a similar-enough 'English' to be able to communicate here. Our experience allows us similar interpretations of novel utterances like "the ball mandoolz across the ground" or "the teacher spugged the boy the book". You know that mandool is a verb of motion and have some idea of how mandooling works - its action semantics. You know that *spugging* involves transfer, that the teacher is the donor, the boy the recipient, and that the book is the transferred object. How is this possible, given that you have never heard these verbs before? Each word of the construction contributes individual meaning, and the verb meanings in these Verb-Argument Constructions (VACs) is usually at the core. But the larger configuration of words carries meaning as a whole too. The VAC as a category has inherited its schematic meaning from all of the examples you have heard. Mandool inherits its interpretation from the echoes of the verbs that occupy this VAC – words like *come*, walk, move, ..., scud, skitter and *flit*. Knowledge of language is based on these types of inference, and verbs are the cornerstone of the syntax-semantics interface.

This chapter reviews psychological theory that relates to the learning of constructions as categories. It then analyses the frequency, form and function of a sample of 23 VACs in 100 million words of usage to show how language form, language meaning, and language usage come together to promote robust induction by means of statistical learning over limited samples.

#### 2. Construction Grammar and usage

Constructions are form-meaning mappings, conventionalized in the speech community, and entrenched as language knowledge in the learner's mind. They are the symbolic units of language relating the defining properties of their morphological, lexical, and syntactic form with particular semantic, pragmatic, and discourse functions (Goldberg 1995, 2006). Verbs are central in this: their semantic behavior is strongly intertwined with the syntagmatic constraints governing their distributions. Construction Grammar argues that all grammatical phenomena can be understood as learned pairings of form (from morphemes, words, idioms, to partially lexically filled and fully general phrasal patterns) and their associated semantic or discourse functions: "the network of constructions captures our grammatical knowledge *in toto*, i.e. it's constructions all the way down" (Goldberg 2006: 18). Such beliefs, increasingly influential in the study of child language acquisition, emphasize data-driven, emergent accounts of linguistic systematicities (e.g. Tomasello 2003, Clark and Kelly 2006).

Frequency, learning, and language come together in usage-based approaches, which hold that we learn linguistic constructions while engaging in communication (Bybee 2010). The last 50 years of psycholinguistic research provides the evidence of usage-based acquisition in their demonstrations that language processing is exquisitely sensitive to usage frequency at all levels of language representation from phonology, through lexis and syntax, to sentence processing (Ellis 2002). That language users are sensitive to the input frequencies of these patterns entails that they must have registered their occurrence in processing. These frequency effects are thus compelling evidence for usage-based models of language acquisition which emphasize the role of input. Language knowledge involves statistical knowledge, so humans learn more easily and process more fluently high frequency forms and 'regular' patterns which are exemplified by many types and which have few competitors (e.g. MacWhinney 2001). Psycholinguistic perspectives thus hold that language learning is the associative learning of representations that reflect the probabilities of occurrence of form-function mappings.

If constructions as form-meaning/function mappings are the units of language, then language acquisition involves inducing these associations from experience of language usage. Constructionist accounts of language acquisition thus involve the distributional analysis of the language stream and the parallel analysis of contingent perceptuo-motor activity, with abstract constructions being learned as categories from the conspiracy of concrete exemplars of usage following statistical learning mechanisms<sup>1</sup> relating input and learner cognition.

#### **3.** Determinants of construction learning

Psychological analyses of the learning of constructions as form-meaning pairs are informed by the literature on the associative learning of cueoutcome contingencies where the usual determinants include: (1) input frequency (type-token frequency, Zipfian distribution), (2) form (salience and perception), (3) meaning and function (prototypicality of meaning), and (4) interactions between these (contingency of form-function mapping) (Ellis and Cadierno 2009). We will briefly consider each in turn, along with studies demonstrating their applicability:

### 3.1 Input frequency

#### Construction frequency

Frequency of exposure promotes learning and entrenchment (e.g. Anderson 2000, Ebbinghaus 1885, Bartlett [1932] 1967). Learning, memory and perception are all affected by frequency of usage: the more times we experience something, the stronger our memory for it, and the more fluently it is accessed. The more recently we have experienced something, the stronger our memory for it, and the more fluently it is accessed [hence your reading this sentence more fluently than the preceding one]. The more times we experience conjunctions of features, the more they become associated in our minds and the more these subsequently affect perception and categorization; so a stimulus becomes associated to a context and we become more likely to perceive it in that context.

Frequency of exposure also underpins statistical learning of categories (Mintz 2002, Hunt and Aslin 2010, Lakoff 1987, Taylor 1998, Harnad 1987). Human categorization ability provides the most persuasive testament to our incessant unconscious figuring or 'tallying'. We know that natural

<sup>1.</sup> Cf. Christiansen and Chater (2001), Jurafsky and Martin (2000), Bybee and Hopper (2001), Bod, Hay, and Jannedy (2003), Ellis (2002), Perruchet and Pacton (2006).

categories are fuzzy rather than monothetic. Wittgenstein's (1953) consideration of the concept GAME showed that no set of features that we can list covers all the things that we call games, ranging as the exemplars variously do from soccer, through chess, bridge, and poker, to solitaire. Instead, what organizes these exemplars into the GAME category is a set of family resemblances among these members - son may be like mother, and mother like sister, but in a very different way. And we learn about these families, like our own, from experience. Exemplars are similar if they have many features in common and few distinctive attributes (features belonging to one but not the other); the more similar are two objects on these quantitative grounds, the faster are people at judging them to be similar (Tversky 1977). The greater the token frequency of an exemplar, the more it contributes to defining the category, and the greater the likelihood it will be considered the prototype. The operationalization of this criterion predicts the speed of human categorization performance - people more quickly classify as dogs Labradors (or other typically sized, typically colored, typically tailed, typically featured specimens) than they do dogs with less common features or feature combinations like Shar Peis or Neapolitan Mastiffs. Prototypes are judged faster and more accurately, even if they themselves have never been seen before - someone who has never seen a Labrador, yet who has experienced the rest of the run of the canine mill, will still be fast and accurate in judging it to be a dog (Posner and Keele 1970). Such effects make it very clear that although people do not go around consciously counting features, they nevertheless have very accurate knowledge of the underlying frequency distributions and their central tendencies.

#### Type and token frequency

Token frequency counts how often a particular form appears in the input. Type frequency, on the other hand, refers to the number of distinct lexical items that can be substituted in a given slot in a construction, whether it is a word-level construction for inflection or a syntactic construction specifying the relation among words. For example, the "regular" English past tense *-ed* has a very high type frequency because it applies to thousands of different types of verbs, whereas the vowel change exemplified in *swam* and *rang* has much lower type frequency. The productivity of phonological, morphological, and syntactic patterns is a function of type rather than token frequency (Bybee and Hopper 2001). This is because: (a) the more lexical items that are heard in a certain position in a construction, the less likely it

is that the construction is associated with a particular lexical item and the more likely it is that a general category is formed over the items that occur in that position; (b) the more items the category must cover, the more general are its criterial features and the more likely it is to extend to new items; and (c) high type frequency ensures that a construction is used frequently, thus strengthening its representational schema and making it more accessible for further use with new items (Bybee and Thompson 2000). In contrast, high token frequency promotes the entrenchment or conservation of irregular forms and idioms; the irregular forms only survive because they are high frequency. There is related evidence for type-token matters in statistical learning research (Gómez 2002, Onnis et al. 2004). These findings support language's place at the center of cognitive research into human categorization, which also emphasizes the importance of type frequency in classification.

#### Zipfian distribution

In natural language, Zipf's law (Zipf 1935) describes how the highest frequency words account for the most linguistic tokens. Zipf's law states that the frequency of words decreases as a power function of their rank in the frequency table. If  $p_f$  is the proportion of words whose frequency in a given language sample is f, then  $p_f \sim f^{-\gamma}$ , with  $\gamma \approx 1$ . Zipf showed this scaling law holds across a wide variety of language samples. Subsequent research provides support for this law as a linguistic universal. Many language events across scales of analysis follow his power law: phoneme and letter strings (Kello and Beltz 2009), words (Evert 2005), grammatical constructs (Ninio 2006, O'Donnell and Ellis 2010), formulaic phrases (O'Donnell and Ellis 2009) etc. Scale-free laws also pervade language structures, such as scalefree networks in collocation (Solé et al. 2005, Bannard and Lieven 2009), in morphosyntactic productivity (Baayen 2008), in grammatical dependencies (Ferrer i Cancho and Solé 2001, 2003, Ferrer i Cancho, Solé, and Köhler 2004), and in networks of speakers, and language dynamics such as in speech perception and production, in language processing, in language acquisition, and in language change (Ninio 2006, Ellis 2008a). Zipfian covering, where, as concepts need to be refined for clear communication, they are split, then split again hierarchically (e.g. animal, canine, dog, retriever, Labrador ...), determines basic categorization, the structure of semantic classes, and the language form-semantic structure interface (Steyvers and Tenenbaum 2005, Manin 2008). Scale-free laws pervade both language

structure and usage. And not just language structure and use. Power law behavior like this has since been shown to apply to a wide variety of structures, networks, and dynamic processes in physical, biological, technological, social, cognitive, and psychological systems of various kinds (e.g. magnitudes of earthquakes, sizes of meteor craters, populations of cities, citations of scientific papers, number of hits received by web sites, perceptual psychophysics, memory, categorization, etc.) (Newman 2005, Kello et al. 2010). It has become a hallmark of Complex Systems theory. Zipfian scale-free laws are universal. Complexity theorists suspect them to be fundamental, and are beginning to investigate how they might underlie language processing, learnability, acquisition, usage and change (cf. Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2009b, Beckner et al. 2009, Ferrer i Cancho and Solé 2001, 2003, Ferrer i Cancho, Solé, and Köhler 2004, Solé et al. 2005). Various usage-based/functionalist/cognitive linguists (Goldberg 2006, Goldberg, Casenhiser, and Sethuraman 2004, Lieven and Tomasello 2008, Bybee 2008, e.g. Boyd and Goldberg 2009, Ellis 2008c, Ninio 1999, 2006, Bybee 2010) argue that it is the coming together of these distributions across linguistic form and linguistic function that makes language robustly learnable despite learners' idiosyncratic experience and the 'poverty of the stimulus'.

In first language acquisition, Goldberg, Casenhiser and Sethuraman (2004) demonstrated that there is a strong tendency for VACs to be occupied by one single verb with very high frequency in comparison to other verbs used, a profile which closely mirrors that of the mothers' speech to these children. They argue that this promotes language acquisition: In the early stages of learning categories from exemplars, acquisition is optimized by the introduction of an initial, low-variance sample centered upon proto-typical exemplars. This low variance sample allows learners to get a fix on what will account for most of the category members, with the bounds of the category being defined later by experience of the full breadth of exemplar types.

In naturalistic second language (L2) acquisition, Ellis and Ferreira-Junior (2009a) investigated type/token distributions in the items comprising the linguistic form of English VACs (VL verb locative, VOL verb object locative, VOO ditransitive) and showed that VAC verb type/token distribution in the input is Zipfian and that learners first acquire the most frequent, prototypical and generic exemplar (e.g. *put* in VOL, *give* in VOO, etc.).

#### 3.2 Form (salience and perception)

The general perceived strength of stimuli is commonly referred to as their salience. Low salience cues tend to be less readily learned. Ellis (2006a, 2006b) summarized the associative learning research demonstrating that selective attention, salience, expectation, and surprise are key elements in the analysis of all learning, animal and human alike. As the Rescorla-Wagner (1972) model encapsulates, the amount of learning induced from an experience of a cue-outcome association depends crucially upon the salience of the cue and the importance of the outcome.

Many grammatical meaning-form relationships, particularly those that are notoriously difficult for second language learners like grammatical particles and inflections such as the third person singular *-s* of English, are of low salience in the language stream. For example, some forms are more salient: *'today'* is a stronger psychophysical form in the input than is the morpheme '*-s*' marking 3rd person singular present tense, thus while both provide cues to present time, *today* is much more likely to be perceived, and *-s* can thus become overshadowed and blocked, making it difficult for second language learners of English to acquire (Ellis 2006b, 2008a, Goldschneider and DeKeyser 2001). As for the cue, so for the interpretation – the meaning of '*today'* is more salient, tangible, and less abstract than that of '*-s'*.

### 3.3 Function (prototypicality of meaning)

Categories have graded structure, with some members being better exemplars than others. In the prototype theory of concepts (Rosch and Mervis 1975, Rosch et al. 1976), the prototype as an idealized central description is the best example of the category, appropriately summarizing the most representative attributes of a category. As the typical instance of a category, it serves as the benchmark against which surrounding, less representative instances are classified.

Ellis and Ferreira-Junior (2009a) show that the verbs that L2 learners first used in particular VACs are prototypical and generic in function (*go* for VL, *put* for VOL, and *give* for VOO). The same has been shown for child language acquisition, where a small group of semantically general verbs, often referred to as *light verbs* (e.g. *go, do, make, come*) are learned early (Clark 1978, Ninio 1999, Pinker 1989). Ninio (1999) argues that, because most of their semantics consist of some schematic notion of transitiv-

ity with the addition of a minimum specific element, they are semantically suitable, salient, and frequent; hence, learners start transitive word combinations with these generic verbs. Thereafter, as Clark (1978: 53) describes, "many uses of these verbs are replaced, as children get older, by more specific terms. [...] General purpose verbs, of course, continue to be used but become proportionately less frequent as children acquire more words for specific categories of actions".

### 3.4 Interactions between form and function (contingency of formfunction mapping)

Psychological research into associative learning has long recognized that while frequency of form is important, so too is contingency of mapping (Shanks 1995). Consider how, in the learning of the category of birds, while eyes and wings are equally frequently experienced features in the exemplars, it is wings which are distinctive in differentiating birds from other animals. Wings are important features to learning the category of birds because they are reliably associated with class membership, eyes are neither. Raw frequency of occurrence is less important than the contingency between cue and interpretation. Distinctiveness or reliability of formfunction mapping is a driving force of all associative learning, to the degree that the field of its study has been known as 'contingency learning' since Rescorla (1968) showed that for classical conditioning, if one removed the contingency between the conditioned stimulus (CS) and the unconditioned (US), preserving the temporal pairing between CS and US but adding additional trials where the US appeared on its own, then animals did not develop a conditioned response to the CS. This result was a milestone in the development of learning theory because it implied that it was contingency, not temporal pairing, that generated conditioned responding. Contingency, and its associated aspects of predictive value, information gain, and statistical association, have been at the core of learning theory ever since. It is central in psycholinguistic theories of language acquisition too (Ellis 2008b, MacWhinney 1987a, Ellis 2006a, Ellis 2006b, Gries and Wulff 2005), with the most developed account for L2 acquisition being that of the Competition model (MacWhinney 1987b, 1997, 2001).

Ellis and Ferreira-Junior (2009b) use a variety of metrics to show that VAC acquisition is determined by their contingency of form-function mapping. They show that the one-way dependency statistic  $\Delta P$  (Allan 1980) that is commonly used in the associative learning literature (Shanks 1995),

as well as collostructional analysis measures current in corpus linguistics (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004, Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003), predict effects of form-function contingency upon L2 VAC acquisition. Other researchers use conditional probabilities to investigate contingency effects in VAC acquisition. This is still an active area of inquiry, and more research is required before we know which statistical measures of form-function contingency are more predictive of acquisition and processing.

Ellis and Larsen-Freeman (2009a) provided computational (Emergent connectionist) serial-recurrent network simulations of these various factors as they play out in the emergence of VACs (VL, VOL, VOO] as generalized linguistic schemas from their frequency distributions in the input. This fundamental claim that Zipfian distributional properties of language usage help to make language learnable has thus begun to be explored for these three VACs, at least. But three VACs is a pitifully small sample of English grammar. It remains an important research agenda to explore its generality across the wide range of the verb construction.

The primary motivation of construction grammar is that we must bring together linguistic form, learner cognition, and usage. An important consequence is that constructions cannot be defined purely on the basis of linguistic form, *or* semantics, *or* frequency of usage *alone*. All three factors are necessary in their operationalization and measurement. Psychology theory relating to the statistical learning of categories suggests that constructions are robustly learnable when they are (1) Zipfian in their type-token distributions in usage, (2) selective in their verb form occupancy, and (3) coherent in their semantics. Our research here aims to assess this for a larger sample of the verbal grammar of English, analyzing the way VACs map form and meaning, and providing an inventory of the verbs that exemplify these constructions and their frequency.

#### 4. Method

Our research aims to empirically determine the semantic associations of particular linguistic forms, therefore it is important that such forms are initially defined by bottom-up means that are semantics-free. There is no one in corpus linguistics who 'trusts the text' more than Sinclair (2004) in his operationalizations of linguistic constructions on the basis of repeated patterns of words in collocation, colligation, and phrases. Therefore we chose the definitions of VACs presented in the *Verb Grammar Patterns* (Hunston and Francis 1996) that arose out of the COBUILD project (Sinclair 1987)

for our first analyses. There are over 700 patterns of varying complexity in this volume. In subsequent work we hope to analyze them all in the same ways. Here we focus on a convenience sample of 23 constructions for our initial explorations. Most of these follow the verb – preposition – noun phrase structure, such as *V into N*, *V after N*, *V as N* (Goldberg 2006), but we also include other classic examples such as the ditransitive, and the *way* construction (Jackendoff 1997).

#### Step 1 Construction inventory: COBUILD verb patterns

The form-based patterns described in the COBUILD Verb Patterns volume (Francis, Hunston, and Manning 1996) take the form of word class and lexis combinations, such as the *V across N* pattern:

The verb is followed by a prepositional phrase which consists of *across* and a noun group. This pattern has one structure: \* Verb with Adjunct. *I <u>cut</u> across the field*.

#### Step 2 Corpus: BNC XML parsed corpora

To get a representative sample of usage, the verb type-token distribution of these VACs was determined in the 100 million word British National Corpus BNC (2007) parsed using the XML version of the BNC using the RASP parser (Briscoe, Carroll, and Watson 2006). For each VAC, we translate the formal specifications from the COBUILD patterns into queries to retrieve instances of the pattern from the parsed corpus.

#### Step 3 Searching construction patterns

Using a combination of part-of-speech, lemma and dependency constraints we construct queries for each of the construction patterns. For example, the  $V \ across \ N$  pattern is identified by looking for sentences that have a verb form within 3 words of an instance of *across* as a preposition, where there is an indirect object relation holding between *across* and the verb and the verb does not have any other object or complement relations to following

words in the sentence. The types of sentence captured are diverse, of course, as can be seen from these two example results:

- (1) She walked across the yard to check Shine On.
- (2) 'The intellectual and rational conception of life has given way to a more creative interpretation', wrote the British Surrealist Eileen Agar in 1931, 'and artistic life is under the sway of womb-magic'; and Agar give expression to this 'womb-magic' in the foetal and embryonic forms which play a central part in paintings such as 'Family Trio' or 'The Autobiography of an Embryo' where fluid shapes float across the picture plane to be captured in a net of geometric planes.

Table 1 shows our 23 constructions, the number of verb types that occupy them, the total number of tokens found, and the type-token ratio.

Construction	Types	Tokens	TTR	Lead verb type
V about N	365	3519	10.37	talk
V across N	799	4889	16.34	come
V after N	1168	7528	15.52	look
<i>V among pl-N</i>	417	1228	33.96	find
V around N	761	3801	20.02	look
V as adj	235	1012	23.22	know
V as N	1702	34383	4.95	know
V at N	1302	9700	13.42	look
V between pl-N	669	3572	18.73	distinguish
V for N	2779	79894	3.48	look
V in N	2671	37766	7.07	find
V into N	1873	46488	4.03	go
V like N	548	1972	27.79	look
VNN	663	9183	7.22	give
V off N	299	1032	28.97	take
V of N	1222	25155	4.86	think
V over N	1312	9269	14.15	go
V through N	842	4936	17.06	go

*Table 1.* Type-Token data for 23 VACs drawn from COBUILD Verb Patterns retrieved from the BNC

V to N	707	7823	9.04	go
V towards N	190	732	25.96	move
V under N	1243	8514	14.6	come
V way prep	365	2896	12.6	make
V with N	1942	24932	7.79	deal

Full details of the search methods, example sentences, and our methods for estimating precision and recall of the searches can be seen in Römer, O'Donnell, and Ellis (2013). Mean precision for the 23 constructions was 0.78, mean recall 0.53.

#### Step 4 A frequency ranked type-token VAC profile

The sentences extracted using this procedure outlined for each of the 23 construction patterns produced verb type distributions like the following one for the V *across* N VAC pattern:

come	483				
walk	203				
cut	199				
run	175	veer	4		
		slice	4		
				navigate	1
				scythe	1
				scroll	1

These distributions appear to be Zipfian, exhibiting the characteristic long right tail in a plot of rank against frequency. We generated logarithmic plots and linear regression to examine the extent of this trend using logarithmic binning of frequency against log cumulative frequency. Figure 1 shows such a plot for verb type frequency of the V *across* N construction, Figure 2 shows the same type of plot for verb type frequency of the ditransitive V N N construction. Both distributions produce a good fit of Zipfian type-token frequency with  $R^2 > 0.97$  and slope ( $\gamma$ ) around 1. Inspection of the construction verb types, from most frequent down, also demonstrates that the lead member is prototypical of the construction and generic in its action semantics. You may notice that some of these items, such as 'come across N', are phrasal verbs and have metaphorically extended their mean-

ing (e.g. "I came across an interesting book") while others like *walk* and *run* are more literal. We allowed our searches to capture this mixed bag because our goal was to analyse just what meanings were associated with the verb types that appeared in VACs that were simply operationalised at this first stage on the basis of their linguistic form.



*Figure 1.* Verb type distribution for *V across N* 

*Figure 2.* Verb type distribution for *VNN* 

Since Zipf's law applies across language, the Zipfian nature of these distributions is potentially trivial. But they are more interesting if the company of verb forms occupying a construction is selective, i.e. if the frequencies of the particular VAC verb members cannot be predicted from their frequencies in language as a whole. We measure the degree to which VACs are selective like this using a chi-square goodness-of-fit test and the statistic '1- $\tau$ ' where Kendall's tau measures the correlation between the rank verb frequencies in the construction and in language as a whole. Higher scores on both of these metrics indicate greater VAC selectivity. Another useful measure is Shannon entropy for the distribution. The lower the entropy, the more coherent the VAC verb family. Scores on all these metrics are given for all VACs later in Table 3.

#### Step 5 Determining the contingency between verbs and VACs

Some verbs are closely tied to a particular construction (for example, give is highly indicative of the ditransitive construction, whereas *leave*, although it can form a ditransitive, is more often associated with other constructions such as the simple transitive or intransitive). The more reliable the contingency between a cue and an outcome, the more readily an association between them can be learned (Shanks 1995), so constructions with more faithful verb members should be more readily acquired. The measures of contingency adopted here are (1) faithfulness (also known as "reliance", Schmid and Küchenhoff 2013) - the proportion of tokens of total verb usage that appear in this particular construction (e.g. the faithfulness of give to the ditransitive is approximately 0.40; that of leave is 0.01), and (2) directional mutual information (MI Word  $\rightarrow$  Construction: give 16.26, leave 11.73 and MI Construction  $\rightarrow$  Word: give 12.61, leave 9.11), an information science statistic that has been shown to predict language processing fluency (e.g. Ellis, Simpson-Vlach, and Maynard 2008, Jurafsky 2003). Table 2 lists these contingency measures for the verbs occupying the Vacross NVAC pattern.

Verb	Constr.	Corpus	Faith.	MI	MI
	Freq.	Freq.		Word $\rightarrow$	Construction
	_	_		Construction	$\rightarrow$ Word
come	474	122107	0.0039	15.369	10.726
walk	203	17820	0.0114	16.922	15.056
cut	197	16200	0.0122	17.016	15.288
run	175	36163	0.0048	15.687	12.800
spread	146	5503	0.0265	18.142	17.971
move	114	34774	0.0033	15.125	12.295
look	102	93727	0.0011	13.534	9.273
go	93	175298	0.0005	12.498	7.333
lie	80	18468	0.0043	15.527	13.610
lean	75	4320	0.0174	17.530	17.708
stretch	62	4307	0.0144	17.260	17.442
fall	57	24656	0.0023	14.621	12.287
get	52	146096	0.0004	11.922	7.020
pass	42	18592	0.0023	14.588	12.661
reach	40	21645	0.0018	14.298	12.152
travel	39	8176	0.0048	15.666	14.924

Table 2. Top 20 verbs found in the V across N construction pattern in the BNC

fly	38	8250	0.0046	15.616	14.861
stride	38	1022	0.0372	18.629	20.887
scatter	35	1499	0.0233	17.957	19.663
sweep	34	2883	0.0118	16.972	17.734

#### Step 6 Identifying the meaning of verb types occupying the constructions

Our semantic analyses use WordNet, a distribution-free semantic database based upon psycholinguistic theory which has been in development since 1985 (Miller 2009). WordNet places words into a hierarchical network. At the top level, the hierarchy of verbs is organized into 559 distinct root synonym sets ('synsets' such as *move1* expressing translational movement, *move2* movement without displacement, etc.) which then split into over 13,700 verb synsets. Verbs are linked in the hierarchy according to relations such as hypernym (verb Y is a hypernym of the verb X) if the activity X is a [kind of] Y (to *perceive* is an hypernym of to *listen*), and hyponym [verb Y is a hyponym of the verb X if the activity Y is doing X in some manner (to *lisp* is a hyponym of to *talk*)]. Various algorithms to determine the semantic similarity between WordNet synsets have been developed which consider the distance between the conceptual categories of words, as well as considering the hierarchical structure of the WordNet (Pedersen, Patwardhan, and Michelizzi 2004).

Polysemy is a significant issue of working with lexical resources such as WordNet, particularly when analyzing verb semantics. For example, in WordNet the lemma forms *move, run* and *give* used as verbs are found in 16, 41 and 44 different synsets respectively. To address this we have applied word sense disambiguation tools specifically designed to work with WordNet (Pedersen and Kolhatkar 2009) to the sentences retrieved at *Step 3*.

The values on the metrics we have described so far are illustrated for the 23 VACs in Table 3. It can be seen that for all of the VACs, the type-token distribution is Zipfian (mean  $R^2 = 0.98$ ) and that there is contingency between verbs and VACs (mean MI<sub>word-construction</sub> = 14.16) – particular verbs select particular constructions, and vice versa.

VAC Pattern	R <sup>2</sup>	γ	Entropy	$\gamma^2$	1-τ	Mean	Mean	Type	Token	Proportion	lch	res
		'	1.7	~		MIwe	ΔPc.w	entropy	entropy	of tokens		
								per root	per root	covered by		
								synset	synset	top 3		
								-	-	synsets		
V about N	0.98	-0.80	3.79	29919	0.74	15.55	0.011	3.17	2.42	0.45	0.162	0.271
V across N	0.99	-1.08	5.30	23324	0.77	15.49	0.003	2.75	2.08	0.25	0.194	0.353
V after N	0.99	-1.04	5.04	48065	0.69	12.87	0.002	3.33	2.12	0.31	0.103	0.184
V among pl-N	0.99	-1.43	5.36	9196	0.77	17.51	0.009	2.93	2.79	0.11	0.096	0.174
V around N	0.97	-1.17	5.51	40241	0.77	15.96	0.004	2.80	2.43	0.19	0.155	0.284
V as adj	0.96	-0.98	4.05	8993	0.76	17.88	0.020	3.20	2.48	0.34	0.078	0.141
V as N	0.99	-0.80	4.84	184085	0.87	10.36	0.003	3.55	2.56	0.25	0.079	0.146
V at N	0.97	-1.02	4.94	66633	0.79	12.51	0.003	3.23	1.72	0.36	0.099	0.185
V between pl-N	0.98	-1.08	5.17	47503	0.80	15.18	0.005	3.11	2.61	0.21	0.078	0.149
V for N	0.97	-0.79	5.58	212342	0.73	9.54	0.002	3.38	2.70	0.16	0.117	0.198
V in N	0.96	-0.96	6.22	61215	0.72	10.48	0.002	3.56	2.90	0.10	0.079	0.138
V into N	0.98	-0.82	5.22	82396	0.71	11.44	0.003	3.21	2.39	0.26	0.168	0.289
V like N	0.98	-1.08	4.80	12141	0.66	15.84	0.009	2.99	1.92	0.34	0.121	0.216
VNN	0.99	-0.84	3.79	51652	0.66	11.52	0.004	3.21	2.38	0.41	0.139	0.236
V off N	0.98	-1.29	4.89	10101	0.60	17.84	0.011	2.64	2.46	0.21	0.198	0.358
V of N	0.97	-0.76	4.26	319284	0.88	11.15	0.003	3.31	2.56	0.33	0.11	0.189
V over N	0.98	-1.08	5.95	77407	0.87	13.72	0.002	2.87	2.33	0.17	0.237	0.404
V through N	0.99	-1.11	5.37	29525	0.83	14.84	0.003	3.05	2.10	0.26	0.147	0.266
V to N	0.95	-0.92	5.02	25729	0.72	13.50	0.003	2.88	2.59	0.19	0.189	0.325
V towards N	0.98	-1.16	4.36	15127	0.78	19.59	0.017	2.68	2.35	0.31	0.149	0.274
V under N	0.97	-1.10	5.74	19244	0.70	13.13	0.002	3.07	2.54	0.16	0.14	0.248
V way prep	0.99	-0.83	3.61	29827	0.81	17.26	0.013	3.27	2.46	0.39	0.105	0.194
V with N	0.98	-0.96	5.59	192521	0.81	12.56	0.003	3.16	2.50	0.18	0.136	0.231
Mean	0.98	-1.00	4.97	69412	0.76	14.16	0.006	3.10	2.41	0.26	0.134	0.237

*Table 3.* Values for our 23 Verb Argument Constructions on metrics of Zipfian distribution, verb form selectivity, and semantic coherence

## Step 7 Generating distributionally-matched, control ersatz constructions (CECs)

Because so much of language distribution is Zipfian, for each of the 23 VACs we analyze, we generate a distributionally-yoked control (a 'control ersatz construction' [CEC]), which is matched for type-token distribution but otherwise randomly selected to be grammatically and semantically uninformed. We use the following method. For each type in a distribution derived from a VAC pattern (e.g. walk in Vacross N occurs 203 times), ascertain its corpus frequency (walk occurs 17820 times in the BNC) and randomly select a replacement type from the list of all verb types in the corpus found within the same frequency band (e.g. from learn, increase, explain, watch, stay, etc. which occur with similar frequencies to walk in the BNC). This results in a matching number of types that reflect the same general frequency profile as those from the VAC. Then, using this list of replacement types, sample the same number of tokens (along with their sentence contexts) as in the VAC distribution (e.g. 4889 for V across N) following the probability distribution of the replacement types in the whole corpus (e.g. walk, with a corpus frequency of 17820, will be sampled roughly twice as often as extend, which occurs 9290 times). The resulting distribution has an identical number of types and tokens to its matching VAC, although, if the VAC does attract particular verbs, the lead members of the

CEC distribution will have a token frequency somewhat lower than those in the VAC. We then assess, using paired-sample tests, the degree to which VACs are more coherent than expected by chance in terms of the association of their grammatical form and semantics. We show such comparisons for the VACs and their yoked CECs in Table 4.

#### Step 8 Evaluating semantic cohesion in the VAC distributions

The VAC type-token list shows that the tokens list captures the most general and prototypical senses (*come, walk, move* etc. for V *across* N and *give, make, tell,* for V N N), while the list ordered by faithfulness highlights some quite construction specific (and low frequency) items, such as *scud, flit* and *flicker* for V *across* N. Using the structure of WordNet, where each synset can be traced back to a root or top-level synset, we compared the semantic cohesion of the top 20 verbs, using their disambiguated WordNet senses, from a given VAC to its matching CEC. For example, in V *across* N, the top level hypernym synset *travel.v.01* accounts for 15% of tokens, whereas the most frequent root synset for the matching CEC, *pronounce.v.1*, accounts for just 4% of the tokens. The VAC has a more compact semantic distribution in that the 3 top-level synsets account for 25% of the tokens compared to just 11% for the CEC.

We use various methods of evaluating the differences between the semantic sense distributions for each VAC-CEC pair. First, we measure the amount of variation in the distribution using Shannon entropy according to (1) number of sense types per root (V across N VAC: 2.75 CEC: 3.37) and (2) the token frequency per root (V across N VAC: 2.08 CEC: 3.08), the lower the entropy the more coherent the VAC verb semantics. Second, we assess the coverage of the top three root synsets in the VAC and its corresponding CEC. Third, we quantify the semantic coherence of the disambiguated senses of the top 20 verb forms in the VAC and CEC distributions using two measures of semantic similarity from Pedersen, Patwardhan and Michelizzi's (2004) Perl WordNet::Similarity package, lch based on the path length between concepts in WordNet Synsets and res that additionally incorporates a measure called 'information content' related to concept specificity. For instance, using the res similarity measure the top 20 verbs in V across n VAC distribution have a mean similarity score of 0.35 compared to 0.17 for the matching CEC.

#### 5. Results

Our core research questions concern the degree to which VAC form, function, and usage promote robust learning. As we explained in the theoretical background, the psychology of learning as it relates to these psycholinguistic matters suggests, in essence, that learnability will be optimized for constructions that are (1) Zipfian in their type-token distributions in usage, (2) selective in their verb form occupancy, (3) coherent in their semantics. We show comparisons for the VACs and their yoked CECs on these aspects in Table 4.

Criterion dimension	Metric	Mean VACs	Mean CECs	t value for paired t-test (d.f. 22) ***=p<.001
Zipfian distribution	$R^{2}$ $\gamma$ $\chi^{2}$ $1-\tau$ Entropy	0.98 -1.00 69412 0.76 4.97	0.96 -1.12 698 0.21 5.54	6.49 *** 6.04 *** 4.09 *** 25.94 *** 5.76 ***
Verb form selectivity	Faithfulness Mean MIw-c Mean MIc-w	0.016 14.16 14.11	0.002 12.80 10.86	5.13 *** 3.53 *** 10.79 ***
Semantic Coherence	Type entropy per root synset Token entropy per root synset Proportion of tokens cov- ered by top 3 synsets lch res	3.1 2.41 0.26 0.134 0.237	3.51 3.08 0.11 0.094 0.22	5.01 *** 5.51 *** 5.23 *** 4.30 *** 4.45 ***

Table 4.Comparisons of values for our 23 VACs and CECs on metrics of<br/>Zipfian distribution, verb form selectivity, and semantic coherence

The results demonstrate:

(1) <u>Type-token usage distributions</u>: All of the VACs are Zipfian in their type-token distributions in usage (VACs: Mean  $\gamma = -1.00$ , Mean R2 = 0.98). So too are their matched CECs (Mean  $\gamma = -1.12$ , Mean R2 = 0.96). Inspection of the graphs for each of the 23 VACs shows that the highest frequency items take the lion's share of the distribution and, as in prior research, the lead member is prototypical of the construction and generic in its action semantics.

(2) <u>Family membership and Type occupancy</u>: VACs are selective in their verb form family occupancy. There is much less entropy in the VACs than the CECs, with fewer forms of a less evenly-distributed nature. The distribution deviation ( $\chi$ 2) from verb frequency in the language as a whole is much greater in the VACs than the CECs. The lack of overall correlation (1- $\tau$ ) between VAC verb frequency and overall verb frequency in the language is much greater in the VACs. Verbs are more faithful to VACs than to CECs. Individual verbs select particular constructions (Mean MIw-c) and particular constructions select particular words (Mean MIc-w). Overall then, there is greater contingency between verb types and constructions.

(3) <u>Semantic coherence</u>: VACS are coherent in their semantics with lower type and token sense entropy. The proportion of the total tokens covered by their three most frequent WordNet roots is much higher in the VACs. Finally, the VAC distributions are higher on the Pedersen semantic similarity measures (lch and res).

#### 6. Discussion

Twenty-three constructions is a better sample of constructions than three, and the 16,141,058 tokens of verb usage analyzed here is a lot more representative than the 14,474 analyzed in Ellis and Ferreira-Junior (2009a,b). Nevertheless, the conclusions from those earlier studies seem to generalize. These analyses show that constructions are (1) Zipfian in their type-token distributions in usage, (2) selective in their verb form occupancy, and (3) coherent in their semantics.

Psychology theory relating to the statistical learning of categories suggests that these are the factors which make concepts robustly learnable. We suggest, therefore, that these are the mechanisms which make linguistic constructions robustly learnable too, and that they are learned by similar means. Complex systems are characterized by their robustness to different

kinds of perturbations, by their scale-free properties, and by their structures emerging from the interactions of agents and components at many levels (Page 2009). We believe that the robustness of language emerges as a consequence of its dynamics as a complex adaptive system (Beckner et al. 2009).

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