

Why and how we need to incorporate the multi-level nature of the constructicon into corpus research

Dirk Pijpops, Dirk Speelman, Stefan Grondelaers, Freek Van de Velde

Research Foundation Flanders (FWO)

University of Leuven

Radboud University of Nijmegen

3 Problems in Construction Grammar

Drawing from work of



Florent Perek



Ewa Dąbrowska



Hans Boas



Adele Goldberg

Thanks to



Katrien Beuls



Paul Van Eecke



Fluid Construction Grammar Team

3 Problems in Construction Grammar

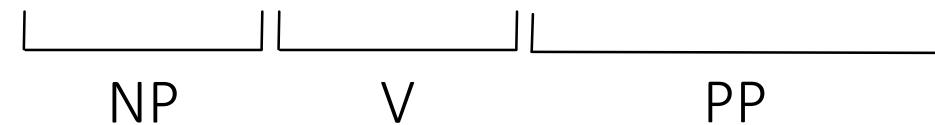
Transitive construction

VS.

naar-construction

vs.

naar



'People desire certainty'

Transitive construction

vs.

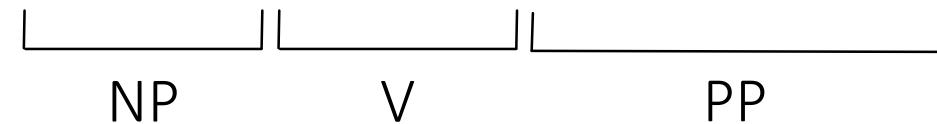
naar-construction

Ze zoeken slachtoffers



vs.

Ze zoeken naar slachtoffers



'They are searching victims'

- **Principle of Semantic Coherence:** verbs that are more semantically similar to an argument construction, will more often appear in that construction
 1. Meanings of the transitive construction and the *naar*-construction?
 2. For each alternating verb: semantic distance to both constructions?
 3. Test the prediction, while controlling for other factors
- **Lexical Origin Hypothesis:** abstract argument constructions extract their meaning from the prototypical fillers of their verb slot, e.g. *give* for the English ditransitive construction
 - ⇒ Identify the **prototypical fillers** of the verb slots
 - ⇒ **Collostructional analyses**

Transitive construction

	Frequency transitive construction	Total Frequency	Collostruct. Strength
--	---	--------------------	--------------------------

<i>doen</i> 'do'	553,960	668,486	10,795,308
<i>krijgen</i> 'get'	511,965	586,452	10,562,871
<i>hebben</i> 'have'	1,280,142	3,396,725	10,063,481
<i>maken</i> 'make'	506,522	644,692	9,306,076

Naar-construction

	Frequency naar- construction	Total Frequency	Collostruct. Strength
--	------------------------------------	--------------------	--------------------------

<i>verwijzen</i> 'refer'	23,063	23,787	12,588,214
<i>kijken</i> 'look'	53,954	130,567	12,492,364
<i>gaan</i> 'go'	113,774	953,918	7,456,440
<i>sturen</i> 'send'	24,501	53,963	6,236,835

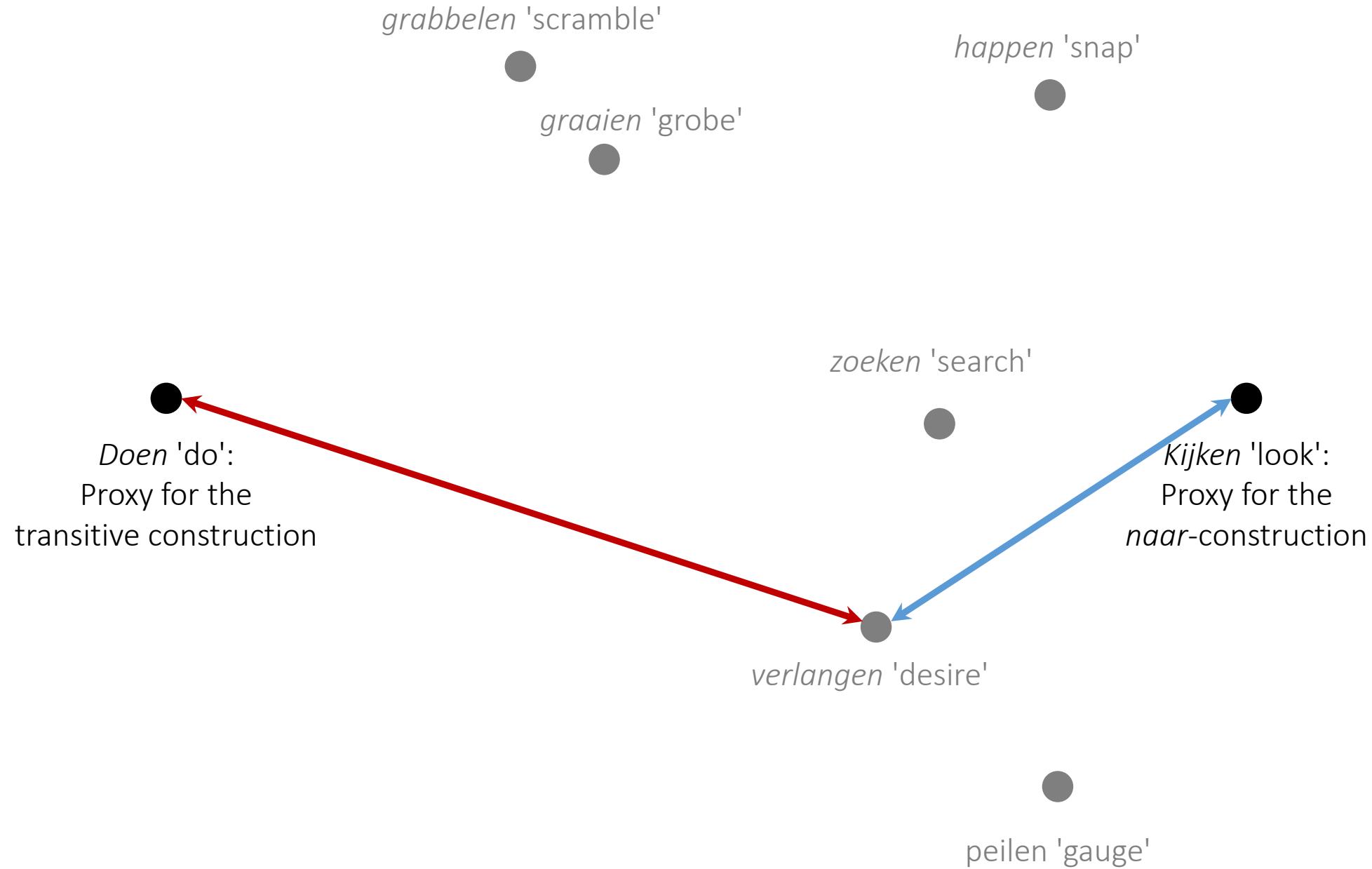
⇒ *doen* 'do' as proxy for the meaning of the transitive construction

⇒ *kijken* 'look' as proxy for the meaning of the *naar*-construction

- **Principle of Semantic Coherence:** verbs that are more semantically similar to an argument construction, will more often appear in that construction
 1. Meanings of the transitive construction and the *naar*-construction?
 2. For each alternating verb: semantic distance to both constructions?
 3. Test the prediction, while controlling for other factors



⇒ **Distributional Vectors**



- **Principle of Semantic Coherence:** verbs that are more semantically similar to an argument construction, will more often appear in that construction
 1. Meanings of the transitive construction and the *naar*-construction? 
 2. **For each alternating verb: semantic distance to both constructions?** 
 3. Test the prediction, while controlling for other factors

⇒ **Distributional Vectors**

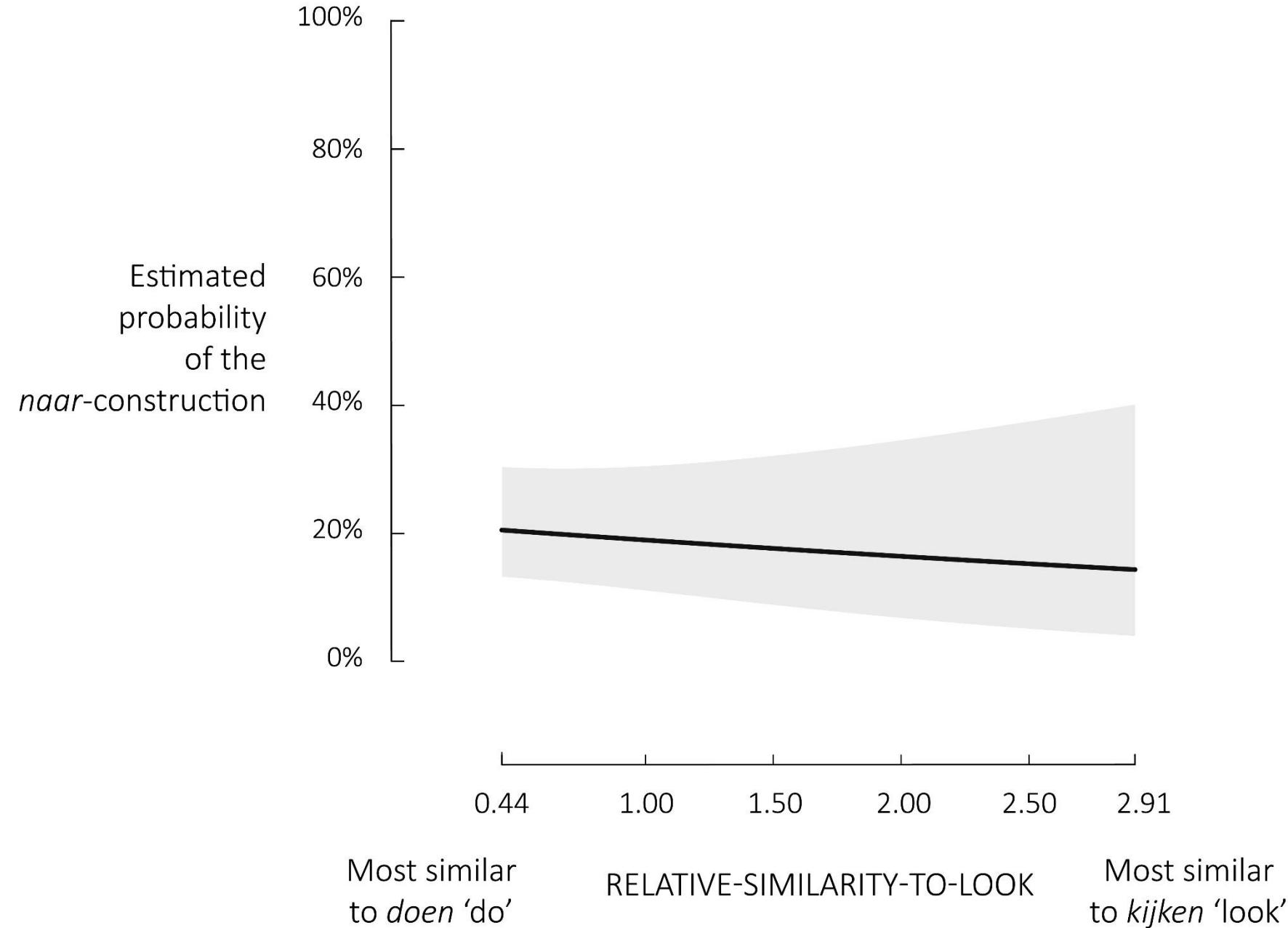
$$\text{Relative-Similarity-to-Look} = \left(sim_{cm}(\overrightarrow{kijken}, \overrightarrow{verb}) - sim_{cm}(\overrightarrow{doen}, \overrightarrow{verb}) \right) 10$$

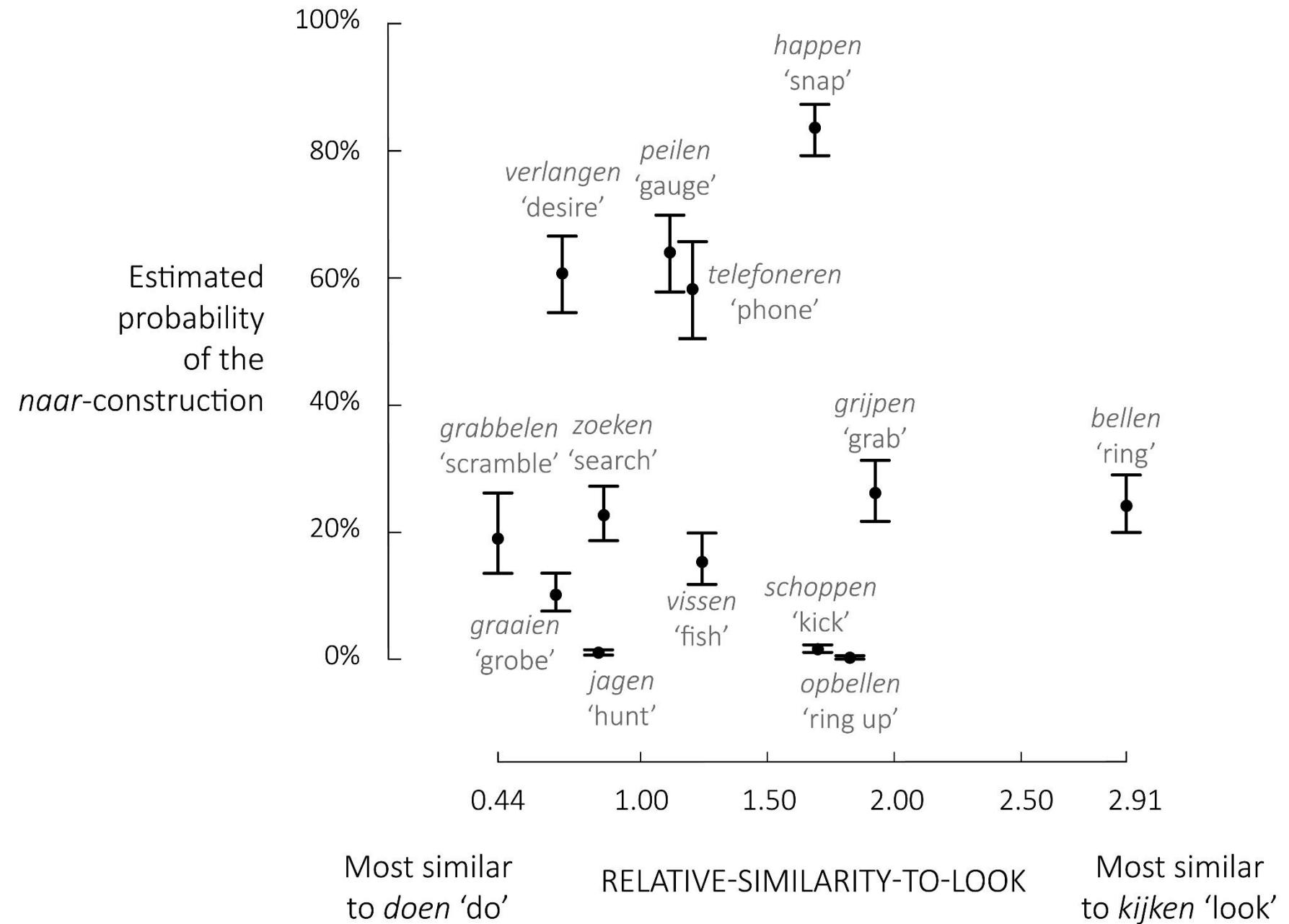
- **Principle of Semantic Coherence:** verbs that are more semantically similar to an argument construction, will more often appear in that construction
 1. Meanings of the transitive construction and the *naar*-construction? 
 2. For each alternating verb: semantic distance to both constructions? 
 3. **Test the prediction, while controlling for other factors**

⇒ Mixed Regression Modelling

Argument Construction ~ *Relative-Similarity-to-Look*

$$\begin{aligned} &+ \text{Country} + \text{Theme-Complexity} + \text{Verb-Theme-Order} \\ &+ \text{Theme-Complexity:Verb-Theme-Order} \\ &+ 1/\text{Component} + 1/\text{Verb} \end{aligned}$$





Prediction Failed

Problem of Prediction

Problem of Prediction

How to predict concrete meaning distinctions from abstract constructions?

Lenci (2012: 13-15): *decidere (sull')*, *rimproverare per/a*

Perek (2015: 90-144): *chip (at)*, *kick (at)*

Dąbrowska (2017: 21-40)

⇒ *Use concrete constructions, not abstract constructions*

Problem of Proliferation

Problem of Proliferation

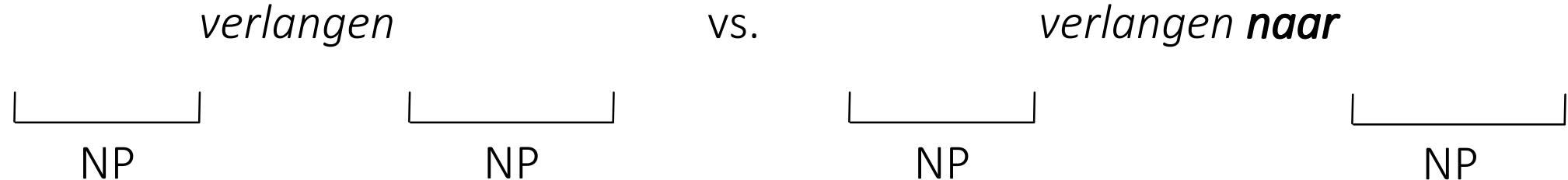
Does a proliferation of concrete constructions decrease the parsimony of construction grammar?

⇒ *No. Measure parsimony in number of mechanisms*

Problem of Proliferation

What mechanism can explain the emergence of the constructional meaning of concrete constructions?

- ⇒ **Lexical Origin Hypothesis:** argument constructions extract their meaning from the prototypical fillers of their verb slot
- ⇒ What if the verb slot is fixed?



Problem of Precedence

Problem of Precedence

At what level in the construction does an alternation express meaning?

- **Problem of Prediction:** Use this level to make successful predictions
- **Problem of Proliferation:** Prune all other levels from the network and explain the emergence of constructional meaning at this level

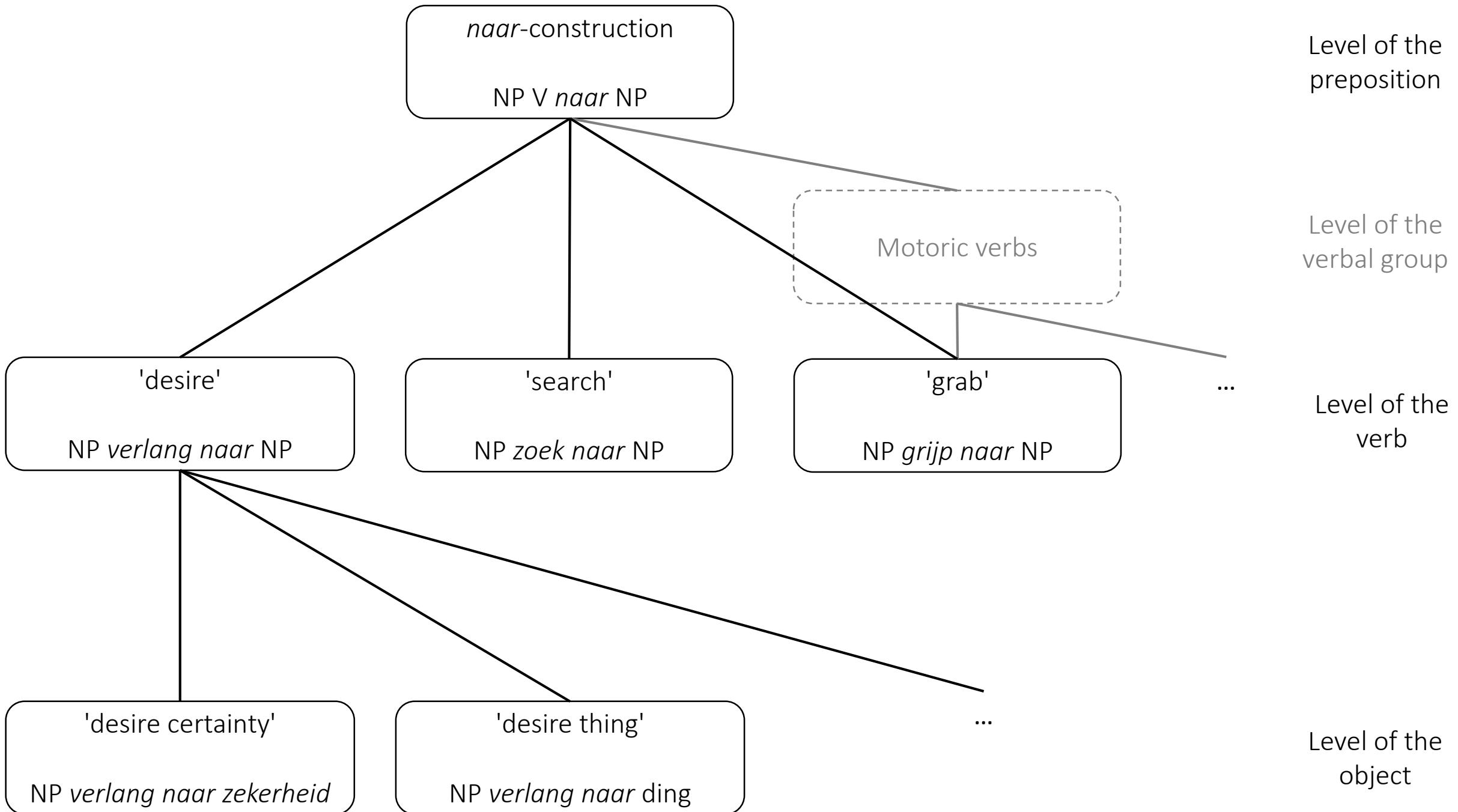
Problem of Precedence

At what level in the construction does an alternation express meaning?

- ⇒ *Treat this as an empirical question*
- ⇒ *Develop a methodological approach to answer this question*

How?

1. Map out the constructional network
2. Traverse the network



'desire certainty'

NP verlang naar zekerheid

'desire thing'

NP verlang naar ding

Level of the object

...

'citizen desire certainty'

burger verlang naar zekerheid

'I desire certainty'

Ik verlang naar zekerheid

Level of the subject

'The citizen desires societal constancy'

De burger verlangt naar maatschappelijke zekerheid

'That's why I desired more certainty'

Daardoor verlangde ik naar meer zekerheid

Fully instantiated level

naar-construction

NP V *naar* NP

Level of the
preposition

Prediction Failed

Descend one level

naar-construction

NP V *naar* NP

Level of the
preposition

'desire'

NP *verlang naar* NP

Level of the
verb

verlangen



NP



NP

vs.

verlangen naar



NP



NP

Level of the verb

1. Identify the prototypical fillers of the underlying slot: **Collostructional Analyses**
2. Measure the semantic distance to these prototypical fillers: **Distributional Vectors**
3. Test the prediction, while controlling for other factors: **Mixed Regression Modelling**

Transitive *verlang*-construction

	Frequency transitive construction	Total Frequency	Collostruct. Strength
<i>bewijs</i> 'proof'	18	24,734	32.00
<i>tegenprestatie</i> 'countereffort'	10	901	29.93
<i>offer</i> 'sacrifice'	10	3,122	24.52
<i>bijdrage</i> 'contribution'	14	26,136	23.21
<i>garantie</i> 'garantuee'	12	12,060	23.20
<i>teken</i> 'sign'	12	15,962	21.75

verlang-naar-construction

	Frequency naar- construction	Total Frequency	Collostruct. Strength
<i>leven</i> 'life'	35	169,360	43.60
<i>rust</i> 'rest'	26	52,595	42.31
<i>kind</i> 'child'	38	251,250	42.25
<i>dood</i> 'death'	24	51,814	38.44
<i>huis</i> 'house'	26	145,482	31.00
<i>bed</i> 'bed'	14	26,942	23.44

⇒ *bewijs* 'proof' as proxy
desire as 'demand'

⇒ *leven* 'life' as proxy
desire as 'long for'

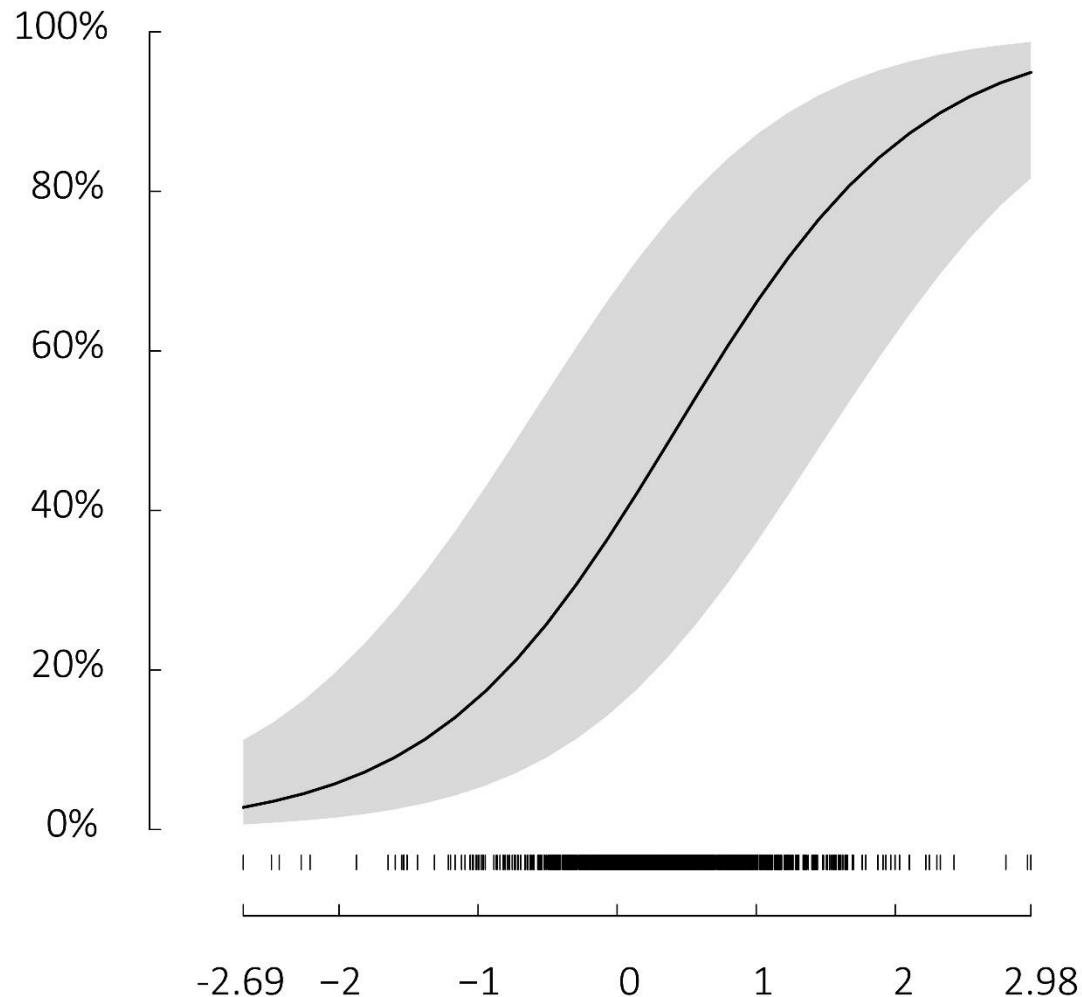
Level of the verb

1. Identify the prototypical fillers of the underlying slot: *bewijs* 'proof' vs. *leven* 'life'
2. Measure the semantic distance to these prototypical fillers: **Distributional Vectors**

$$\text{Relative-Similarity-to-Life} = \left(sim_{cm}(\overrightarrow{\text{leven}}, \overrightarrow{\text{object}}) - sim_{cm}(\overrightarrow{\text{bewijs}}, \overrightarrow{\text{object}}) \right) 10$$

3. Test the prediction, while controlling for other factors: **Mixed Regression Modelling**

Estimated probability of the *verlang-naar-* construction



Most similar to
bewijs 'proof'

RELATIVE-SIMILARITY-TO-LIFE

Most similar to
leven 'life'

Argument Construction ~ Relative-Similarity-to-Life

- + *Relative-Similarity-to-House*
- + *Country + Theme-Complexity*
- + *Verb-Theme-Order*
- + *Theme-Complexity:Verb-Theme-Order*
- + *1/Component + 1/Object-lemma*

- Only full nominal theme lemma's
- *Leven* 'life', *bewijs* 'proof', *huis* 'house', *kans* 'chance' excluded to avoid circularity

Prediction Successful

Precedence level?

Descend one level

Level of the preposition

naar-construction

NP V *naar* NP

'desire'

NP *verlang naar* NP

Level of the verb

'desire certainty'

NP *verlang naar zekerheid*

'desire thing'

NP *verlang naar ding*

Level of the object

Level of the object

- Use the higher level distinction 'demand' vs. 'long for' to predict the variation at this level
 - *Verlang ding* 'desire thing': 9 transitive instances vs. 12 prepositional instances
 - *Verlang zekerheid* 'desire certainty': 7 transitive instances vs. 5 prepositional instances

Transitive: predicted 'demand'

De Raad en het Parlement kunnen natuurlijk niet van de Commissie dingen verlangen waarvoor zij haar geen bevoegdheid verlenen. (WR-P-P-I-0000000069.p.161.s.1)

'The Council and the Parliament of course cannot demand things from the Commission for which they do not grant it the authority.'

Straks gaat hij weer dingen van mij verlangen. (WR-P-E-G-0000008459.p.377.s.1)
'He'll be demanding things from me again.'

Prepositional: predicted 'long for'

*Het soort liefde dat ik voor haar voelde, deed haar **naar** nieuwe dingen verlangen.*

'The kind of love that I felt for her, made her long for new things' (WR-P-P-B-0000000132.p.1726.s.15)

*Stelt u zich eens voor dat u **naar** al die dingen vurig zou verlangen...* (WR-P-P-B-0000000056.p.1379.s.2)
'Imagine yourself that you are passionately longing for all those things...'

Transitive: predicted 'demand'

In amendement 2 staat dat de douaneautoriteiten een zekerheid kunnen verlangen om hun aansprakelijkheid (...) te dekken. (WR-P-P-I-0000000312.p.1169.s.14)

'In amendment 2, it is stated that the customs authorities can demand an assurance that their liability (...) is covered.'

Terecht wordt door de gemeenteraad zekerheid verlangd dat de met de aanleg gemoeide kosten binnen de perken blijven. (WR-P-P-G-0000003464.p.1.s.3)

'The town council rightly demands the assurance that the costs involved in the construction work remain within certain limits.'

Prepositional: predicted 'long for'

Zelf hebt u ook hevig verlangd naar onwrikbare zekerheden. (WR-P-P-G-0000213898.p.24.s.1)

'You have also yourself longed for unshakeable certainties.'

Men verlangt naar zekerheid, naar houvast. (WR-P-P-H-0000097808.p.22.s.4)

'One longs for security, for something to hold on to.'

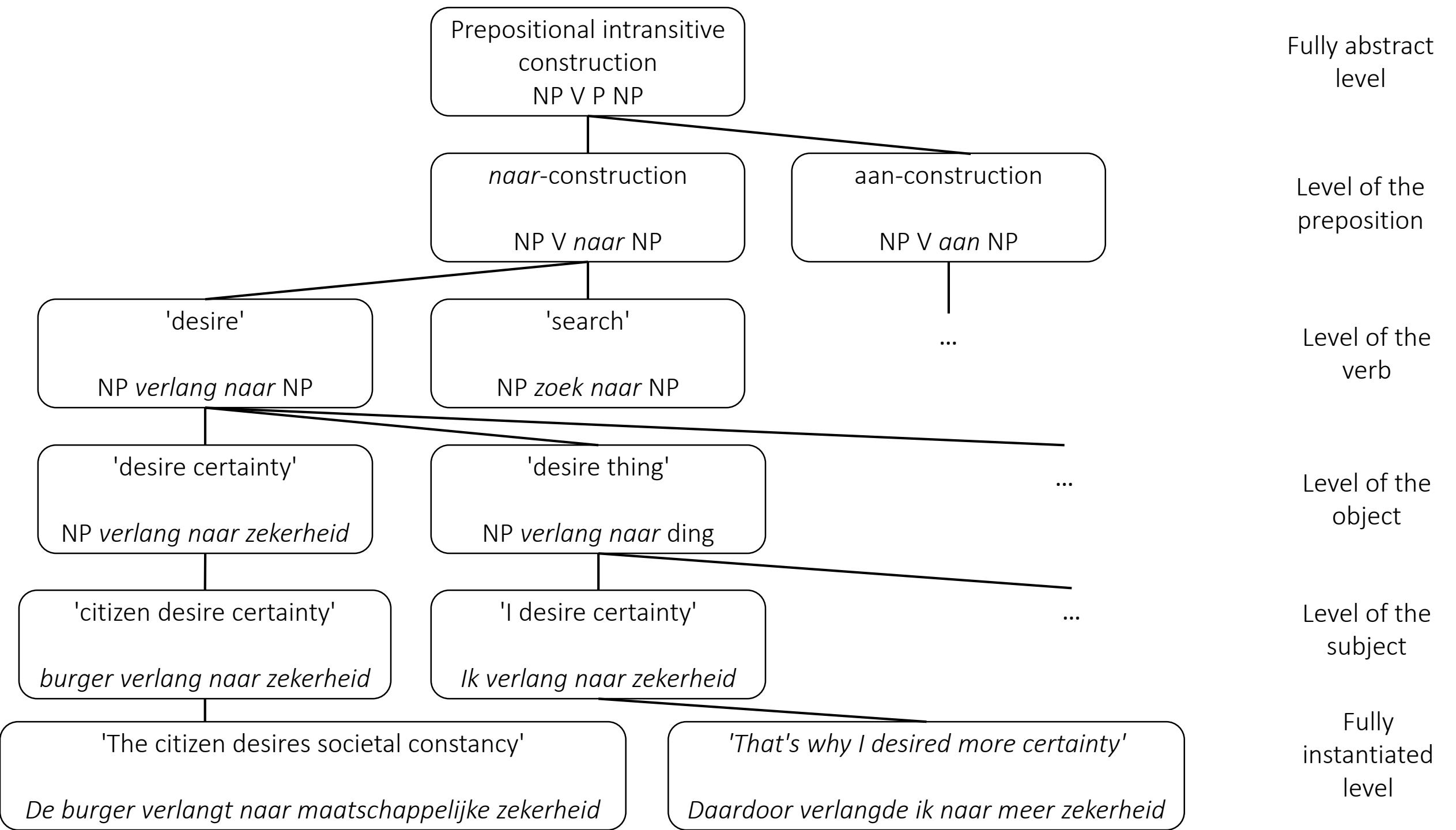
Prediction Successful

How?

1. Map out the constructional network
2. Traverse the network

Why?

- **Problem of Precedence:** At what level in the construction does an alternation express meaning?
 - ⇒ Identify this precedence level by **incorporating the multi-level nature** of the construction into corpus research. For this case study: the level of the verb.
- **Problem of Prediction:** How to predict concrete meaning distinctions from abstract constructions?
 - ⇒ Use the **precedence level**
- **Problem of Proliferation:** Does a proliferation of concrete constructions decrease the parsimony of construction grammar?
 - ⇒ **Prune all other levels** from the network



Fully abstract
level

Level of the
preposition

Level of the
verb

Level of the
object

Level of the
subject

Fully
instantiated
level

Prepositional intransitive
construction
NP V P NP

'desire'

NP verlang naar NP

'search'

NP zoek naar NP

'The citizen desires societal constancy'

'That's why I desired more certainty'

De burger verlangt naar maatschappelijke zekerheid

Daardoor verlangde ik naar meer zekerheid

verlangen



NP

vs.

verlangen naar



NP



NP

Lexical Origin Hypothesis: argument constructions at any level of abstraction extract their meaning from the prototypical fillers of their underlying slot

Why?

- **Problem of Precedence:** At what level in the construction does an alternation express meaning?
 - ⇒ Identify this precedence level by **incorporating the multi-level nature** of the construction into corpus research. For this case study: the level of the verb.
- **Problem of Prediction:** How to predict concrete meaning distinctions from abstract constructions?
 - ⇒ Use the **precedence level**
- **Problem of Proliferation:** Does a proliferation of concrete constructions decrease the parsimony of construction grammar?
 - ⇒ **Prune all other levels** from the network
 - ⇒ Account for the **emergence of constructional meaning at this level**.

Thanks!

Dirk Pijpops, Dirk Speelman, Stefan Grondelaers, Freek Van de Velde

Research Foundation Flanders (FWO)

University of Leuven

Radboud University of Nijmegen

References

- Bates, Douglas, Martin Maechler, Ben Bolker and Steven Walker. 2013. *lme4: Linear mixed-effects models using Eigen and S4*. R package version 1.4.
- Boas, Hans. 2008. Determining the structure of lexical entries and grammatical constructions in Construction Grammar. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 6(1). 113–144.
- Boas, Hans. 2010. The syntax-lexicon continuum in Construction Grammar. A Case study of English communication verbs. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 24(1). 54–82.
- Boas, Hans. 2014. Lexical and phrasal approaches to argument structure: Two sides of the same coin. *Theoretical Linguistics* 40(1–2). 89–112.
- Boyd, Jeremy, Erin Gottschalk and Adele Eva Goldberg. 2009. Linking Rule Acquisition in Novel Phrasal Constructions. *Language Learning* 59(s1). Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing Inc. 64–89.
- Broccias, Cristiano. 2001. Allative and ablative at-constructions. In Mary Adronis, Christopher Ball, Elston Heide & Sylvain Neuvel (eds.), *CLS 37: The Main Session. Papers from the 37th Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 67–82. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Broekhuis, Hans. 2004. Het voorzetselvoorwerp. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 9. 91–97.
- Cappelle, Bert. 2006. Particle placement and the case for "allostructions." In D. Schönenfeld (ed.), *Constructions Special Volume 1 — Constructions all over: case studies and theoretical implications*, vol. 4.
- Croft, William. 2003. Lexical rules vs. constructions. A false dichotomy. In Hubert Cuyckens, Thomas Berg, René Dirven & Klaus-Uwe Panther (eds.), *Motivation in language: studies in honor of Günter Radden*, 49–68. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Croft, William. 2012. *Verbs: aspect and causal structure*. (Ed.) William Croft. Oxford: Oxford university press.
- Dowty, David. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67(3). 547–619.
- Dunn, Jonathan. 2017. Learnability and falsifiability of Construction Grammars. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, vol. 2, 1–15.
- Forsberg, M, R Johansson, L Bäckström, L Borin, B Lyngfelt, J Olofsson and J Prentice. 2014. From construction candidates to construction entries: An experiment using semi-automatic methods for identifying constructions in corpora. *Constructions and Frames* 6(1). John Benjamins Publishing Company. 114–135.
- Fox, John, Sanford Weisberg, Michael Friendly, Jangman Hong, Robert Andersen, David Firth and Steve Taylor. 2016. Effect Displays for Linear, Generalized Linear, and Other Models. R package version 3.2.
- Goldberg, Adele Eva. 1992. The inherent semantics of argument structure: the case of the English ditransitive. *Cognitive Linguistics* 3. 37–74.
- Goldberg, Adele Eva. 1995. *Constructions: a construction grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.
- Goldberg, Adele Eva. 1999. The emergence of the semantics of argument structure constructions. In Brian Macwhinney (ed.), *Emergence of Language*, 197–212. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Goldberg, Adele Eva. 2003. Constructions: A new theoretical approach to language. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*.
- Goldberg, Adele Eva. 2005. Argument realization. The role of constructions, lexical semantics and discourse factors. *Construction grammars: cognitive grounding and theoretical extensions*, 17–43. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Goldberg, Adele Eva. 2006. *Constructions at work: the nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goldberg, Adele Eva. 2008. The nature of generalization in language. *Cognitive Linguistics* 20(1). 93–127.
- Goldberg, Adele Eva. 2013. Argument Structure Constructions versus Lexical Rules or Derivational Verb Templates. *Mind & Language* 28(4). 435–465.
- Goldberg, Adele Eva, Devin Casenhis and Nitya Sethuraman. 2004. Learning Argument Structure Generalizations. *Cognitive Linguistics* 15(3). 289–316.
- Gries, Stefan Thomas. 2007. Coll.analysis 3.2a.
- Gries, Stefan Thomas. 2012. Frequencies, probabilities, and association measures in usage-/exemplar-based linguistics. Some necessary clarifications. *Studies in Language* 36(3). 477–510.
- Grondelaers, Stefan. 2000. De distributie van niet-anaforisch er buiten de eerste zinsplaats: sociolexicologische, functionele en psycholinguistische aspecten van er's status als presentatief signaal. Dissertation University of Leuven.
- Hopper, Paul and Sandra Annear Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* 56(2). 251–299.
- Hout, Anna Maria Henrica van. 1996. Event semantics of verb frame alternations: a case study of Dutch and its acquisition. Dissertation Tilburg University.
- Langacker, Ronald Wayne. 2009. Constructions and constructional meaning. In Vyvyan Evans & Stéphanie Pourcel (eds.), *New Directions in Cognitive Linguistics [Human Cognitive Processing]*, 225–267. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lenci, Alessandro. 2012. Argument alternations in Italian verbs: a computational study. In Valentina Bambini, Irene Ricci & Pier Marco Bertinetto (eds.), *Linguaggio e cervello - Semantica/Language and the Brain - Semantics. Atti del XLII Congresso Internazionale di Studi della Società di Linguistica Italiana*, 1–26. Rome: Bulzoni.
- Levshina, Natalia and Dirk Geeraerts. 2010. Constructing the Construction Empirically: Experiments with Dutch causatives. *International Conference on Construction Grammar*. September 5, Prague.
- Levshina, Natalia and Kris Heylen. 2014. A radically data-driven Construction Grammar: Experiments with Dutch causative constructions. In Ronny Boogaart, Timothy Colleman & Gijsbert Rutten (eds.), *Extending the Scope of Construction Grammar*, 17–46. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Müller, Stefan. 2006. Phrasal or Lexical Constructions? *Language* 82(4). 850–883.
- Müller, Stefan and Stephen Wechsler. 2014. Lexical approaches to argument structure. *Theoretical Linguistics* 40(1–2). 1–76.
- Norde, Muriel. 2014. On parents and peers in constructional networks. *CoglingDays 6*. December 12, Ghent.
- Oostdijk, Nelleke, Martin Reynaert, Véronique Hoste and Ineke Schuurman. 2013a. The Construction of a 500-Million-Word Reference Corpus of Contemporary Written Dutch. In Peter Spyns & Jan Odijk (eds.), *Essential Speech and Language Technology for Dutch, Theory and Applications of Natural Language Processing*, 219–247. Heidelberg: Springer.
- Pedersen, Johan. 2016. Spanish constructions of directed motion. A quantitative study. In Jiyoung Yoon & Stefan Thomas Gries (eds.), *Corpus-based approaches to Construction Grammar*, 105–144. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Perek, Florent. 2012. Alteration-based generalizations are stored in the mental grammar: Evidence from a sorting task experiment. *Cognitive Linguistics* 23(3). 601–635.
- Perek, Florent. 2015. *Argument structure in usage-based construction grammar: experimental and corpus-based perspectives*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Perek, Florent and Adele Eva Goldberg. 2015. Generalizing beyond the input: The functions of the constructions matter. *Journal of Memory and Language* 84. 108–127.
- Perek, Florent and Martin Hilpert. 2014. Constructional tolerance: Cross-linguistic differences in the acceptability of non-conventional uses of constructions. *Constructions and Frames* 6(2). John Benjamins Publishing Company. 266–304.
- Perek, Florent and Maarten Lemmens. 2010. Getting at the meaning of the English at-construction: the case of a constructional split. *Cognitextes* 5. Association française de linguistique cognitive (AFLiCo).
- Pijpops, Dirk, Isabeau De Smet and Freek Van de Velde. 2010. Constructional contamination in morphology and syntax. Four case studies. *Constructions and Frames*.
- Pijpops, Dirk and Dirk Speelman. 2017. Alternating argument constructions of Dutch psychological verbs. A theory-driven corpus investigation. *Folia Linguistica* 51(1). 207–251.
- Pijpops, Dirk, Dirk Speelman, Stefan Grondaelaers and Freek Van de Velde. 2016. Constructional contamination: Comparing explanations for the Complexity Principle. Evidence from argument realization.
- Pijpops, Dirk and Freek Van de Velde. 2016. Constructional contamination: How does it work and how do we measure it? *Folia Linguistica* 50(2). 543–581.
- Pijpops, Dirk and Freek Van de Velde. 2018. Lectal contamination. How language-external variation becomes language-internal through language contact. *Variationist Linguistics meets Contact Linguistics*. 21 May, Ascona.
- R Core Team. 2014. *R: A language and environment for statistical computing*. R Foundation for Statistical Computing. Vienna.
- Rohdenburg, Günter. 1996. Cognitive Complexity and Increased Grammatical Explicitness in English. *Cognitive Linguistics* 7(2). 149–182.
- Speelman, Dirk. 2014. Logistic regression: A confirmatory technique for comparisons in corpus linguistics. In Dylan Glynn & Justyna A. Robinson (eds.), *Corpus Methods for Semantics: Quantitative studies in polysemy and synonymy*, 487–533. (Human Cognitive Processing [HCP]). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Speelman, Dirk, Kris Heylen and Dirk Geeraerts. 2018. Introduction. In Dirk Speelman, Kris Heylen & Dirk Geeraerts (eds.), *Mixed-Effects Regression Models in Linguistics*, 1–10. Cham: Springer.
- Stefanowitsch, Anatol and Stefan Thomas Gries. 2003. Collocations: Investigating the interaction of words and constructions. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8(2). 209–244.
- De Swart, Peter. 2014. Prepositional Inanimates in Dutch: A Paradigmatic Case of Differential Object Marking. *Linguistics* 52(2). 445–468.
- Turney, Peter and Patrick Pantel. 2010. From frequency to meaning: Vector space models of semantics. *Journal of Artificial Intelligence Research* 37. 141–188.
- van Noord, Gertjan van. 2006. At Last Parsing Is Now Operational. *TALN*. 20–42.
- van Trip, Remi. 2015. Cognitive vs. generative construction grammar. The case of coercion and argument structure. *Cognitive Linguistics* 26(4). 613–632.
- Weeds, Julie, David Weir and Diana McCarthy. 2004. Characterising Measures of Lexical distributional similarity. *COLING '04: Proceedings of the 20th international conference on Computational Linguistics*, 1015.
- Wellens, Pieter. 2011. Organizing constructions in networks. In Luc Steels (ed.), *Design Patterns in Fluid Construction Grammar*, 182–201. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Wible, David and Nai-Lung Tsao. 2017. Constructions and the problem of discovery: A case for the paradigmatic. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*. Published online, ahead of print.
- Zeldes, Amir. 2013. Productive argument selection: Is lexical semantics enough? *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 9(2). 263–291.

Why

Solve the:

- Problem of Precedence
- Problem of Prediction
- Problem of Proliferation

How

Incorporate the multi-level nature of the construction into corpus research:

- Map out the constructional network
- Systematically traverse it