

# An Empirical Characterisation of Response Types in German Association Norms

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# Motivation

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- **Semantic associates** are concepts spontaneously called to mind by a **stimulus word**
- **Basis**: collection of semantic associates evoked by German verbs and nouns
- **Goal**: empirical characterisation of verb and noun properties
- **Assumption**: semantic associates reflect highly salient linguistic and conceptual features of the stimulus word

# Motivation

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- Two issues related to **word properties and word relations**:
  1. Modelling word meaning by empirical features
  2. Definition of semantic relations between words/contexts
- **Analyses**:
  - » Motivation by potential NLP uses
  - » Exploration of relationships between stimuli and responses
  - » Basis: large-scale lexicographic databases and empirical, corpus-based resources

# Distributional Word Meaning

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- **Data-intensive lexical semantics:**  
empirically define and induce features that
  - » capture various word meaning aspects
  - » can be obtained automatically from corpus-data→ **similarity of words, sentences, paragraphs, etc.**

Examples: clustering, word sense discrimination, anaphora resolution, multi-word expressions, text indexing, etc.

- Distributional descriptions: **contextual features**, such as words co-occurring in a document, in a context window, or with respect to a word-word relationship, such as syntactic structure, syntactic and semantic valency, etc.

# Distributional Word Meaning

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- Little effort has been spent on investigating the **eligibility of the various types of features**

*Examples:* Pereira, Tishby and Lee (1993) and Rooth et al. (1999) refer to a direct object noun for describing verbs; Curran (2003) to subjects and direct objects; Lin (1998) and McCarthy et al. (2003) used any dependency relation detected by the chunker or parser

- Assumption: **semantic associates identify contextual functions for empirical feature descriptions**
- Procedure: examine which functions are activated by associates and therefore contribute to salient meaning components of individual words and across words

# Semantic Relations

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- For many NLP resources and applications, it is crucial to **define and use semantic relations between words or contexts.**

*Examples:* creation of **lexical taxonomies** (Fellbaum, 1998) and **ontologies** (Maedche and Staab, 2000; Navigli and Velardi, 2004; Kavalek and Svatek, 2005), **thesaurus extraction** (Lin, 1999; McCarthy et al., 2003), semantic lexicons used in e.g. **information retrieval** (Roark and Charniak, 1998; Riloff and Jones, 1999), **question answering** (Girju, 2003), **summarisation** (Barzilay et al., 2002), **text understanding** (Lapata, 2002; Beigman and Shamir, 2006)

- Limited work has been spent on specifying the range of relations.

# Semantic Relations

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- Assumption: semantic associates provide a means to **investigate the range of semantic relations**
- Procedure: analysis of semantic relations inter-categorical, i.e., verb-verb and noun-noun relations
- Assumption: **examine types of relations that are captured by semantic associations**, identified as important or salient by the speakers of the language

# Overview

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1. Data collection and preparation
2. Resources for data investigation
3. Linguistic analyses of experimental data
  - (a) NLP motivation
  - (b) analyses
  - (c) interpretation



# Data Collection and Preparation



# Experiment Material: Verbs

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- 330 German verbs
- Variety of semantic verb classes, possible ambiguity:
  - » **self-motion**: *gehen* 'walk', *schwimmen* 'swim'
  - » **cause**: *verbrennen* 'burn', *reduzieren* 'reduce'
  - » **experiencing**: *lachen* 'laugh', *überraschen* 'surprise'
  - » **communication**: *erzählen* 'tell', *klagen* 'complain'
  - » **body**: *schlafen* 'sleep', *abnehmen* 'lose weight'
- Variety of frequency ranges ( $1 < \text{freq} < 71,604$ )
- Random distribution: 6 data sets à 55 verbs, balanced for class affiliation and frequency ranges

# schneien

kalt

rodeln

Schneemann

weiß

dämmern

# Experiment Data: Verbs

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- 299 accepted data files:  
native German speakers; threshold: 80% of target verbs
- Expertise of participants: 166 experts vs. 132 non-experts
- Participants per data set: **between 44 and 54**
- Number of trials: 16,445
- Number of associations per target verb:  
range 0-16, average: 5.16
- All associations: **79,480 tokens for 39,254 types**

# Data Preparation: Verbs

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<i>klagen</i> 'complain, moan, sue'		
Gericht	'court'	19
jammern	'moan'	18
weinen	'cry'	13
Anwalt	'lawyer'	11
Richter	'judge'	9
Klage	'complaint, lawsuit'	7
Leid	'suffering'	6
Trauer	'mourning'	6
Klagemauer	'Wailing Wall'	5
laut	'noisy'	5

# Experiment Material: Nouns

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- 409 German nouns
- Depictable objects
- Variety of semantic categories:
  - » plants: *Rose* `rose`, *Baum* `tree`, *Zweig* `branch`
  - » professions: *Doktor* `doctor`, *Bäcker* `baker`
  - » instruments: *Klavier* `piano`, *Trommel* `drums`
  - » body parts: *Auge* `eye`, *Kopf* `head`, *Fuß* `foot` ...
- Homophones: ca. 10% of the nouns
- Variety of frequency ranges according to CELEX

# Experiment Procedure: Nouns

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- 409 stimuli divided into 3 questionnaires
- Each set presented in two formats:  
*with and without* pictures
- 300 native German participants;  
50 participants for each questionnaire
- Maximum of three associates per stimulus
- No time limit
- Total number of responses: 116,714 Tokens  
31,035 Types

# Modality: *word (+ picture)*

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**Witch**

magic

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wizard

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broom

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# Data Preparation: Nouns

*Schloss* `lock` (depicted), `castle`

Association		POS	PW	W
Schlüssel	'key'	N	38	13
Tür	'door'	N	10	5
Prinzessin	'Princess'	N	0	8
Burg	'castle'	N	0	8
sicher	'safe'	ADJ	7	0
Fahrrad	'bike'	N	7	0
schließen	'close'	V	6	1
Keller	'cellar'	N	7	0
König	'king'	N	0	7
Turm	'tower'	N	0	6
Sicherheit	'safety'	N	5	1

# Resources for Data Investigation



# Resources for Data Investigation

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- **Corpus data:**  
German newspaper corpus from the 1990s;  
approx. 200 million words  
→ **co-occurrence analyses** between stimuli and responses  
→ **training data** for the statistical grammar model
- **Statistical grammar model:**  
German lexicalised PCFG; focus on verb subcategorisation;  
unsupervised training on 35 million words from corpus  
→ **corpus-based quantitative lexical information**
- **GermaNet:**  
lexical semantic taxonomy → **semantic relations**

# **Linguistic Analyses of Experiment Data**



# Linguistic Analyses of Experiment Data

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1. Distributional word meaning
  - » Morpho-syntactic analysis
  - » Syntax-semantic noun functions
  - » Co-occurrence analysis
  
2. Semantic relations

# Morpho-Syntactic Analyses



# Motivation

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- **Focus:** feature choice in distributional descriptions to model word meaning
- Distinguish and quantify the part-of-speech categories of the associate responses
  - » preparatory step for the analyses to follow
  - » insight into the relevance of predominant POS categories with respect to meaning aspects

# Procedure

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- Assign part-of-speech to each response to the stimuli
- Basis: empirical grammar dictionary (verb stimuli), database (noun stimuli)
- Ambiguous part-of-speech tags;  
examples: *Rauchen* `smoke' (V/N)  
*überlegen* `think about/superior' (V/ADJ)
- Result: distinction and quantification of morpho-syntactic categories of responses



# Results: Verbs

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	V	N	ADJ	ADV	
Freq	19.863	48.905	8.510	1.268	TOKEN
Prob	25	62	11	2	
Freq	9.317	23.524	4.983	802	TYPES
Prob	24	61	13	2	

# Examples: Verbs

	V	N	ADJ	ADV
Total Prob	25	62	11	2
<i>aufhören</i> 'stop'	49	39	4	6
<i>aufregen</i> 'be upset'	22	54	21	0
<i>backen</i> 'bake'	7	86	6	1
<i>bemerkten</i> 'realise'	52	31	12	2
<i>dünken</i> 'seem'	46	30	18	1
<i>flüstern</i> 'whisper'	19	43	37	0
<i>nehmen</i> 'take'	60	31	3	2
<i>radeln</i> 'bike'	8	84	6	2
<i>schreiben</i> 'write'	14	81	4	1

# Results: Nouns

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	V	N	PN	ADJ	
Freq	13,905	80,419	3,147	19,075	TOKEN
Prob	12	69	3	16	
Freq	3,601	20,389	1,275	5,658	TYPES
Prob	12	66	4	18	

# Examples: Nouns

	V	N	PN	ADJ
Total Prob	12	69	3	16
<i>Ananas</i> 'pineapple'	1	51	3	45
<i>Esel</i> 'donkey'	6	42	4	45
<i>Kopf</i> 'head'	6	89	0	5
<i>Löffel</i> 'spoon'	8	86	0	6
<i>Mund</i> 'mouth'	34	65	0	11
<i>Telefon</i> 'telephone'	41	53	2	4
<i>Tempel</i> 'temple'	5	58	24	13
<i>Wecker</i> 'alarm clock'	36	42	0	22
<i>Zwiebel</i> 'onion'	31	54	0	15

# Interpretation

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- Nouns play a major role among verb and noun features.
- Correspondence to predominant use of nominal features in distributional descriptions.
- Relevance of part-of-speech categories varies according to the semantic class of the word to model.
- Restricting the categories to nominal features restricts the feature sets to „average“ relevance, does not cover the meaning aspects of all semantic word classes.

# **Syntax-Semantic Noun Functions**



# Motivation

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- **Focus:** feature choice in distributional descriptions to model word meaning → **conceptual roles of nouns**
- Assumption: noun responses to verb stimuli and verb responses to noun stimuli relate to conceptual roles required by the verbs
- Identify prominent roles for distributional verb descriptions by evaluating which functional roles are highlighted by verb-noun pairs
- Basis: empirical grammar model

# Procedure

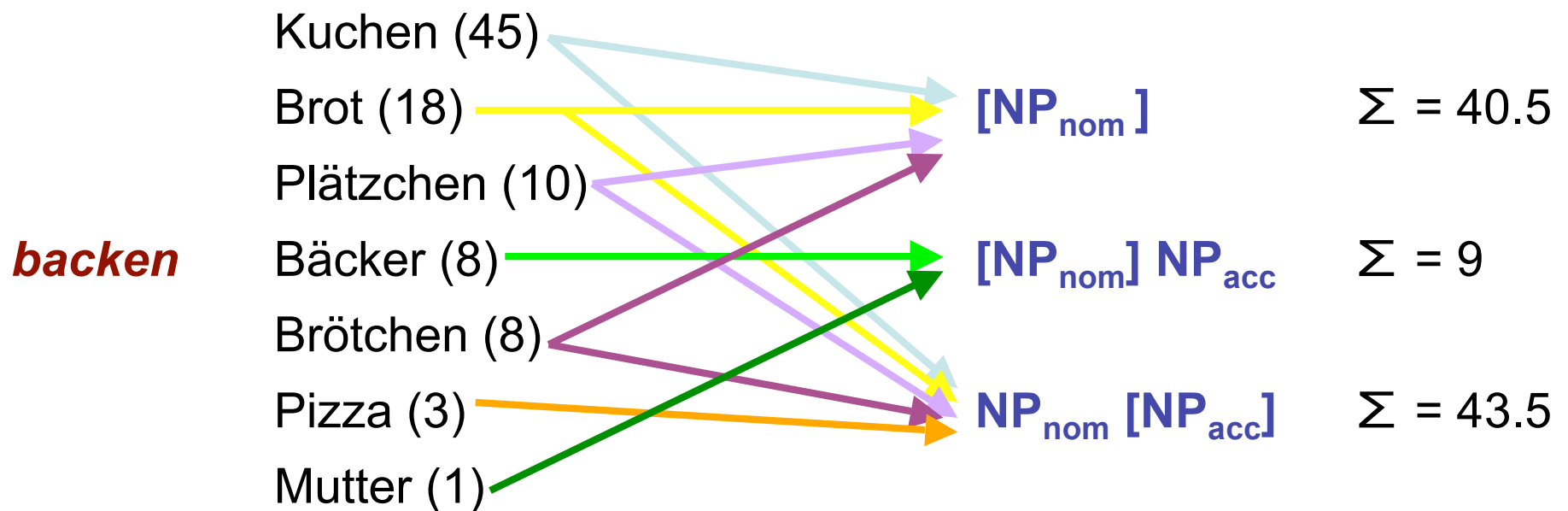
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- Source: statistical grammar model
- Verb valency:
  - » 38 syntactic subcategorisation frames
  - » plus PP information (case+preposition) → 178 frames
  - » subcategorised nouns → 592 roles
- Example: *backen* 'bake'
  - » frames: **NP<sub>nom</sub>**  
**NP<sub>nom</sub> NP<sub>acc</sub> ...**
  - » filler examples for **NP<sub>nom</sub> [NP<sub>acc</sub>]**: *Brot* 'bread'  
*Kuchen* 'cake' ...



# Procedure

- Typical conceptual roles which speakers have in mind
- Look up syntactic relationships between verb and nouns
- Example:



# Results: Verbs

Function		TOKEN (all)	
<b>S</b>	<b>S V</b>	1,792	4
	<b>S V AO</b>	1,040	2
	<b>S V DO</b>	265	1
	<b>S V PP</b>	575	1
<b>AO</b>	<b>S V AO</b>	3,124	6
	<b>S V AO DO</b>	824	2
	<b>S V AO PP</b>	653	1
<b>DO</b>	<b>S V DO</b>	268	1
	<b>S V AO DO</b>	468	1
<b>PP</b>	<b>S V PP:in<sub>Dat</sub></b>	487	1
<b>Total (of these 10)</b>		9,496	<b>19</b>
<b>Total found in grammar</b>		13,527	<b>28</b>
<b>Unknown verb or noun</b>		10,964	<b>22</b>
<b>Unknown function</b>		24,250	<b>50</b>

# Results: Nouns

Function		TOKEN (all)	
<b>S</b>	<b>S V</b>	1,095	8
	<b>S V AO</b>	300	2
	<b>S V PP</b>	406	3
	<b>S V C-2</b>	103	1
	<b>S V INF</b>	71	1
<b>AO</b>	<b>S V AO</b>	1,480	11
	<b>S V AO DO</b>	206	1
	<b>S V AO PP</b>	218	2
<b>DO</b>	<b>S V DO</b>	144	1
	<b>S V AO DO</b>	99	1
<b>PP</b>	<b>S V PP:auf<sub>Dat</sub></b>	263	2
	<b>S V PP:in<sub>Dat</sub></b>	193	1
<b>Total (of these 12)</b>		4,578	<b>33</b>
<b>Total found in grammar</b>		5,661	<b>41</b>
<b>Unknown verb or noun</b>		1,505	<b>11</b>
<b>Unknown function</b>		6,712	<b>48</b>

# Interpretation

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- **Missing nouns/verbs in grammar model (22/11%):**
  - » lemmatisation of compound nouns, e.g. *Autorennen*
  - » domain of the training corpus, e.g. slang responses (*Grufties* `old people'), technical expressions (*Plosiv* `plosive')
  - » coverage of corpus: 99% verbs, 78/90% nouns
- **Strong correlation between frequency of frame-slot combination in grammar model and number of responses that link to that frame-slot combination in our data**
  - direct object and subject roles are represented proportionate to their frequency in the grammar

# Interpretation

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- 50/48% verb-noun pairs with **no functional relation**, e.g.:
  - bemalen `paint` → Pinsel `brush`
  - erhitzen `heat` → Pfanne `pan`
  - bemerken `notice` → Aufmerksamkeit `attention`
  - feiern `celebrate` → Musik `music`
  - Handtuch `towel` → trocknen `dry`
  - Zange `pincer` → biegen `bend`
  - Kissen `cushion` → schlafen `sleep`
  - Nase `nose` → riechen `smell`
- Noun stimuli/responses are not restricted to verb sub-categorisation role fillers
  - **clause-internal adjuncts and clause-external, scene-related information or world knowledge** as nominal features in distributional descriptions

# Co-Occurrence Analysis



# Motivation

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- Verb-noun pairs within the association norms might co-occur in local contexts even if not related by a sub-categorisation function
- **Focus**: feature choice in distributional descriptions to model word meaning → **role of co-occurrence**
- Human associations reflect word co-occurrence probabilities (McKoon and Ratcliff, 1992; Plaut, 1995)
- Observed correlations between associative strength and word co-occurrence (Spence and Owens, 1990)
- Use of low-level co-occurrence information in corpus-based word descriptions?

# Procedure

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- Use complete newspaper corpus, 200 million words
- Check whether the associate responses occur in a window of 20 words to the left or to the right of the relevant stimulus word
- Determine co-occurrence strength between stimuli and their associations



# Results: Verbs

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POS	Co-Occurrence Strength						
	1	2	3	5	10	20	50
<i>all</i>	<b>77</b>	70	66	59	50	40	27
V	<b>79</b>	71	67	60	50	41	29
N	<b>76</b>	69	66	59	50	40	27
ADJ	<b>77</b>	69	64	57	45	36	22
ADV	<b>91</b>	88	85	80	72	62	50

# Results: Nouns

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POS	Co-Occurrence Strength						
	1	2	3	5	10	20	50
<i>all</i>	<b>84</b>	77	72	64	52	38	23
V	<b>88</b>	82	77	69	57	44	28
N	<b>84</b>	78	72	65	53	39	23
ADJ	<b>83</b>	76	70	63	50	36	20

# Interpretation

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- Co-occurrence assumption holds for our German association data, to a large extent: 77/84\% coverage of response tokens
- Scene-related information beyond the clause level captured by corpus co-occurrence (vs. subcategorisation)
- Co-occurrence information is less expensive than annotated data
  - co-occurrence information as integral component for empirical descriptions of word properties

# Interpretation

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- Stimulus-associate pairs without co-occurrence, e.g.

nieseln `drizzle` → nass `wet`

mampfen `munch` → lecker `yummy`

auftauen `defrost` → Wasser `water`

überraschen `surprise` → Freude `joy`

leiten `guide` → Verantwortung `responsibility`

Ananas `pineapple` → gelb `yellow`

Geschenk `present` → Überraschung `surprise`

Walnuss `walnut` → Weihnachten `Christmas`

Magnet `magnet` → Physik `physics`

- Challenge to empirical models of word meaning

# Summary: Distributional Word Meaning

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- Nouns play a major role among verb and noun features.
- Strong correlation between frame-slot combinations in grammar model and in our data → **no linguistic functions could be considered to be prominent** to represent conceptual nominal roles for verbs.
- Noun associations are not restricted to verb subcategorisation role fillers; **clause-internal adjuncts and clause-external, scene-related information or world knowledge** should also play a role as features → co-occurrence for empirical descriptions of word properties.

# Semantic Relations



# Motivation

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- **Focus**: types of relationships between stimulus words and associate responses
- For many NLP resources and applications, it is crucial to define and use semantic relations between words or contexts
- Limited work has been spent on **specifying the range of relations**
- Semantic associates provide a means to investigate the range of semantic relations

# Procedure

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- Semantic relations between **stimulus and response verb-verb and noun-noun pairs**
- Source: lexical semantic taxonomy **GermaNet (GWN)**
- Synonymy: target and response verb in common synset
- Other semantic relations:
  - look up GermaNet semantic relations between
    - » stimulus synsets
    - » response synsets
- Quantification of target-response relation:
  - association frequency



# Results: Verbs

<i>Relation</i>	<i>GermaNet</i>		<i>Token</i>	
<b>Synonymy</b>	4,633		792	4
<b>Antonymy</b>	571	226	209	1
<b>Hypernymy</b>	19,424	9,275	1,343	7
<b>(indirect)</b>			540	3
<b>Hyponymy</b>	19,424	9,275	1,702	9
<b>(indirect)</b>			514	3
<b>Co-Hyponymy</b>	102,018	55,122	2,232	12
<b>(indirect)</b>			1,517	8
<b>Cause</b>	236	95	40	0
<b>Entailment</b>	15	8	0	0
<i>Total in GWN</i>			<b>8,859</b>	<b>46</b>
<i>Unknown</i>			2,207	12
<i>No relation</i>			7,841	41

# Results: Nouns

<i>Relation</i>	<i>GermaNet</i>		<i>Token</i>	
<b>Synonymy</b>	18,992		533	1
<b>Antonymy</b>	1,553	478	33	0
<b>Hypernymy</b>	82,685	30,707	1,387	2
<b>(indirect)</b>			2,365	3
<b>Hyponymy</b>	82,829	30,708	714	1
<b>(indirect)</b>			289	0
<b>Co-Hyponymy</b>	575,585	302,755	3,584	4
<b>(indirect)</b>			2,964	4
<b>Holonymy</b>	8,625	3,995	579	1
<b>(indirect)</b>			102	0
<b>Meronymy</b>	8,625	3,998	1,171	1
<b>(indirect)</b>			224	0
<i>Total in GWN</i>			<b>14,028</b>	<b>17</b>
<i>Unknown</i>			13,543	17
<i>No relation</i>			52,814	66

# Interpretation

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- Distribution of stimulus-response relations is correlated with stimulus frequency:  
synonym, antonym, hyponym ~ verb freq;  
hypernym, (co-)hyponym, hyponym, meronym ~ noun freq
- Distribution of relations varies by verb class
- Unknown cases (12/17%):
  - » part-of-speech confusion, e.g. *wärme* `warmth´ as verb
  - » regional expressions, e.g. *Weck* `roll´
  - » proper names, e.g. *Moses*
  - » production: particle verbs, noun compounds

# Interpretation: No Relation

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- **Incomplete taxonomy**, e.g.
  - analysieren `analyse´ → untersuchen `examine´ (synonymy)
  - schwitzen `sweat´ → frieren `be cold´ (antonymy)
  - Anker `anchor´ → Schiff `ship´ (holonymy)
  - Kaktus `cactus´ → Stachel `spine´ (meronymy)
- **Other relations**, e.g.
  - adressieren `address´ → schicken `send´ (temporal following)
  - schwitzen `sweat´ → stinken `stink´ (consequence)
  - erfahren `get to know´ → wissen `know´ (implication)
  - Kamel `camel´ → Wüste `desert´ (location)
  - Gans `goose´ → Weihnachten `Christmas´ (occasion)
  - Schlitten `sledge´ → Schnee `snow´ (condition)
- **Compound nouns** (12%), e.g.
  - Melone `melon´ → Honig `honey´ (*Honigmelone `cantaloupe´*)
  - Schale `bowl´ → Obst `fruit´ (*Obstschale `fruit bowl´*)

# Summary: Semantic Relations

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- Major proportion of stimulus-associate pairs not related via GWN taxonomy:
  - » **missing links in GermaNet**;  
association data provide a useful starting point to enhance the taxonomy
  - » **relations other than those coded in GermaNet**,  
such as temporal order, cause, consequence for verb-verb pairs,  
and condition, instrument, result for noun-noun pairs
- **Hope**: human associations cover the range of possible semantic relations to a large extent, and they represent an excellent basis for defining an exhaustive set

# Final Comments

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- Association norms have contributed to the understanding of issues in computational linguistics.
- Results are to a large extent correlated with the semantic classes of the stimuli, and/or with their corpus frequencies. → For specifying **word properties and word-word relations with respect to individual words**, the **semantic class and the frequency range** of that word should be taken into account, in order to go beyond an „average“ empirical description.