## Using quantitative methods for semantic maps

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# What is the semantic map model?

- It is a tool for visualizing similarity relations between discrete entities
- "Similarity" is defined as: concepts expressed by the same form in one or more languages (co-expression; Hartmann et al. 2014)
- This is not the only type of similarity that can be measured by this visualization technique
- But it happens to be the type of similarity that typologists have used the model for

# Not just grammatical co-expression

- The "semantic map" model is a model of similarity of any kind, including any kind of co-expression
- It doesn't have to be co-expression of grammatical elements
- It could be co-expression of lexical elements

### Co-expression and explanation

- Co-expression—similarity defined as two concepts expressed by the same form in at least one language—is a typological generalization (cf. Haiman 1978)
- But many of us would also like an explanation for co-expression patterns (although some typologists take a nominalist position)

### Co-expression and explanation

- Examples of explanations:
  - \* conceptual similarity ("mental maps", "conceptual space", etc.) of different kinds
  - \* diachronic spread (and contraction) of use
  - \* phonetic convergence of diachronically unrelated forms ("homonymy")
- These are not mutually exclusive
- In some cases, their interaction accounts for "anomalies"



## A terminological issue

- I use the term **conceptual space** for the underlying graph, and **semantic map** for language-specific categories mapped onto the space
- It is important to distinguish between comparative concepts, like the conceptual space, and language-specific categories, like the semantic maps (Haspelmath 2010, Croft 2014, inter alia)

### Signal and "noise"

- Homonymy introduces "noise" into the conceptual space interpreted as a space of conceptual similarity
- In a different way, diachronic layering of forms like the two Old Norse middle markers also introduces "noise" in the sense that new forms intruding into a conceptual space "break up" similarity networks
- Ideally we would integrate all three explanations, but given a set of synchronic data, we lack the relevant diachronic information

Automated algorithms, 1: MDS and Euclidean models

# Multidimensional scaling in analyzing linguistic behavior

 Linguistic distributional data is similar to voting data: meanings "vote" Y or N on whether they can be expressed by a linguistic form

	Romanian:				Kazakh:			
	va-	vreun	ori-	ni-	älde-	bir	bolsa da	eš
Specific known	Y	Ν	Ν	N	Y	Y	Ν	Ν
Specific unknown	Y	Ν	N	N	Y	Y	Ν	N
Irrealis nonspecific	Y	Ν	N	N	Ν	Y	Ν	N
Question	Y	Y	N	N	Ν	Y	Y	N
Conditional	Y	Y	Ν	N	Ν	Y	Y	N
Comparative	Ν	Ν	Y	N	Ν	Ν	Y	N
Free choice	Ν	Ν	Y	N	Ν	N	Y	Ν
Indirect negation	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Ν	N
Direct negation	N	N	Ν	Y	Ν	N	N	Y

# A spatial model of conceptual similarity among indefinite pronouns



# Romanian indefinite pronouns in an MDS spatial model—the wrong way



# Conceptual spaces and semantic maps

- In a Euclidean model, the language-specific categories are bisections of the space (cutting lines)
- It is not correct to draw any shape around points/concepts to depict a languagespecific category, unlike the "classical" graph structure model

# Romanian indefinite pronouns in an MDS spatial model—the right way





FIGURE 7 | Extensional range for general reciprocal constructions in Jahai (top left), Savosavo (top right), English (bottom left) and Khoekhoe (bottom right).

Majid et al. 2011, Frontiers in Psychology



Figure 4. Distribution of the three coding elements in Zenzontepec Chatino

## Semantic maps are cutting lines

- A semantic map is a cutting line
- Hence, if one can position the meanings so that a straight cutting line includes all and only the meanings the form stands for\*, then the conceptual space is universal
- A conceptual space is only interesting if it is low-dimensional (adding dimensions weakens the constraints on possible cutting lines)

\*given the presence of noise, i.e. up to a high goodness of fit

## Comparing MDS and semantic maps



## Comparing MDS and semantic maps



## Semantic maps and MDS: a one-dimensional spatial model



Since all semantic maps include the leftmost end of the Animacy Hierarchy, the Hierarchy can be represented in one dimension

## Semantic maps and MDS: a curvilinear model



NP Accessibility Hierarchy: Keenan and Comrie argue that a relative clause construction covers a continuous segment of the Accessibility Hierarchy



Since cutting lines must be straight, the Hierarchy must be represented as curved in an MDS spatial model

### Spatial adpositions

- A set of pictures of spatial situations was constructed to represent situations commonly expressed by English *on* and *in*
- The situations were described by speakers of nine diverse languages (Tiriyó, Trumai, Yukatek, Basque, Dutch, Lao, Ewe, Lavukaleve and Yélîdnye)
- Spatial adpositions only were coded
- An MDS analysis was performed on the data (refined by Croft & Poole)

(Levinson et al., Language vol. 79, 2003)

### Sample stimuli (Bowerman-Pederson)



## Raw data for spatial adpositions: Tiriyó, pictures 11-16

Data is very lopsided; most adpositions are used for only one or a few pictures

	t	ao	awë	hkao	juuwë	ро	rehtë	ерое	epinë
		0	0			0	0	0	0
12		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13		0	0	0	0	0	0		0
14				0	0	0	0	0	0
15		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

# Spatial adpositions by dissimilarity

- Levinson et al. (2003) used a dissimilarity algorithm to analyze the spatial adposition data
- A dissimilarity algorithm cannot use raw crosslinguistic distributional data
- Instead, one must construct a matrix of (dis)similarity, i.e. for each pair of situation types, how often they are/aren't expressed by the same forms

# Dissimilarity matrix for adposition data, pictures 1-9

Pictures	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	0.000	8.890	8.610	9.000	8.590	8.890	8.740	8.330	8.890
2	8.890	0.000	8.680	8.860	8.750	8.810	8.750	8.750	8.830
3	8.610	8.680	0.000	8.720	8.680	8.810	8.540	8.470	8.740
4	9.000	8.860	8.720	0.000	8.860	8.920	8.720	8.860	8.790
5	8.590	8.750	8.680	8.860	0.000	8.710	8.600	8.450	8.730
6	8.890	8.810	8.810	8.920	8.710	0.000	8.740	8.810	8.790
7	8.740	8.750	8.540	8.720	8.600	8.740	0.000	8.600	8.640
8	8.330	8.750	8.470	8.860	8.450	8.810	8.600	0.000	8.830
9	8.890	8.830	8.740	8.790	8.730	8.790	8.640	8.830	0.000

### Two-dimensional MDS model of adpositions by dissimilarity



## Unfolding algorithm

- The unfolding algorithm (Poole 2000, 2005) takes the distribution data directly
- It can therefore handle lopsided data better than the dissimilarity algorithm (dissimilarity compresses the range)
- The result of applying unfolding to the adposition data are much more coherent semantic clusters

## Spatial adpositions: Goodness of fit

Dimensions	Classification	APRE	Fitness statistics
I	94.1%	0.300	indicate a two dimonsional
2	95.8%	0.501	model is best
3	97.1%	0.661	

### Two dimensional MDS model of adpositions by unfolding



# Conceptual categories (clusters)

- Does the crosslinguistic MDS analysis reveal linguistically relevant universal conceptual categories?
- What is universal are the individual situation types and their conceptual relations to each other
- That is, it is the dimensions of the spatial model that describe the linguistically relevant semantic properties

## All adposition categories



### Language universal and language-specific



#### The importance of relations between situation types



### **Between IN and ATTACHMENT**







### Beyond co-expression

## Not just conceptual similarity

- Recall that the "semantic map" model is a model of similarity of any kind
- It doesn't have to be co-expression of meanings by a form
- For example, it could be similarity of the form of constructions in terms of certain structural traits of the constructions

# MDS analysis of constructional similarity

- García Macías (2016) selected 360 constructions from 101 languages, expressing thetic meanings of different kinds (existential, presentation, hot news, weather, physical sensation), miratives and exclamatives
- He created a matrix of constructions coded with respect to shared morphosyntactic properties (e.g. defective verb, specially marked subject, overt coding of function, etc.)



Automated algorithms, 2: graph models

# Automating "classical" semantic maps (graphs)

- "Classical" semantic maps don't have fitness metrics applied to them
- Nor do they normally provide a visualization of frequency of co-expression, like higherdimensional MDS spaces do
- But they can, and should
- And they do, in the Regier et al. (2013) model, based on an algorithm to derive social networks from epidemiological data (Angluin et al. 2010)

### The goal, and the utility function

adding the other edges contributes to capturing only one category; so the first edge has a higher utility



Figure 2. Formalization of the semantic map inference problem. We are given a set of semantic functions (vertices V, shown as small circles), and groupings of these functions into language-specific categories (constraints  $S_i \subseteq V$ , each shown by a dashed outline). We seek the minimum set of edges E (shown as links between vertices) such that each grouping picks out a connected region of the overall graph G = (V, E).



### The utility function: goodness of fit

objective fn is currently -436 adding ('R2', 'R32') with score 10 objective fn is currently -426 adding ('R1', 'R40') with score 10 objective fn is currently -416 adding ('R16', 'R24') with score 9 objective fn is currently -407 adding ('R16', 'R31') with score 9 objective fn is currently -398 adding ('R2', 'R14') with score 9 objective fn is currently -389 adding ('R2', 'R19') with score 9 objective fn is currently -380 adding ('R2', 'R54') with score 9 objective fn is currently -371 adding ('R19', 'R47') with score 9 objective fn is currently -362 adding ('R1', 'R59') with score 9 objective fn is currently -353 adding ('R29', 'R59') with score 9 objective fn is currently -344 adding ('R6', 'R38') with score 9 objective fn is currently -335 adding ('R8', 'R59') with score 9 objective fn is currently -326 adding ('R59', 'R65') with score 9 objective fn is currently -317 adding ('R1', 'R23') with score 8 objective fn is currently -309 adding ('R13', 'R36') with score 8 objective fn is currently -301 adding ('R6', 'R49') with score 8 objective fn is currently -293 adding ('R2', 'R60') with score 7 objective fn is currently -286 adding ('R54', 'R67') with score 7 objective fn is currently -279 adding ('R34', 'R59') with score 7 objective fn is currently -272 adding ('R2', 'R71') with score 6 objective fn is currently -266 adding ('R12', 'R52') with score 6 objective fn is currently -260 adding ('R20', 'R56') with score 6 objective fn is currently -254 adding ('R33', 'R57') with score 6 objective fn is currently -248 adding ('R16', 'R53') with score 6 objective fn is currently -242 adding ('R3', 'R28') with score 6 objective fn is currently -236 adding ('R6', 'R64') with score 6 objective fn is currently -230 adding ('R12', 'R20') with score 5 objective fn is currently -225 adding ('R12', 'R35') with score 5 objective fn is currently -220 adding ('R27', 'R41') with score 5 objective fn is currently -215 adding ('R27', 'R45') with score 5 objective fn is currently -210 adding ('R33', 'R37') with score 5 objective fn is currently -205 adding ('R33', 'R41') with score 5 objective fn is currently -200 adding ('R41', 'R56') with score 5 objective fn is currently -195 adding ('R44', 'R52') with score 5 objective fn is currently -190 adding ('R3', 'R35') with score 5 objective fn is currently -185 adding ('R3', 'R68') with score 5 objective fn is currently -180 adding ('R30', 'R54') with score 5 objective fn is currently -175 adding ('R7', 'R56') with score 5 objective fn is currently -170 adding ('R43', 'R59') with score 5

objective fn is currently -160 adding ('R36', 'R59') with score 4 objective fn is currently -156 adding ('R9', 'R22') with score 4 objective fn is currently -152 adding ('R9', 'R33') with score 4 objective fn is currently -148 adding ('R9', 'R70') with score 4 objective fn is currently -144 adding ('R10', 'R21') with score 4 objective fn is currently -140 adding ('R10', 'R57') with score 4 objective fn is currently -136 adding ('R12', 'R25') with score 4 objective fn is currently -132 adding ('R12', 'R61') with score 4 objective fn is currently -128 adding ('R44', 'R50') with score 4 objective fn is currently -124 adding ('R57', 'R63') with score 4 objective fn is currently -120 adding ('R4', 'R55') with score 4 objective fn is currently -116 adding ('R3', 'R8') with score 4 objective fn is currently -112 adding ('R8', 'R11') with score 4 objective fn is currently -108 adding ('R48', 'R52') with score 4 objective fn is currently -104 adding ('R8', 'R45') with score 4 objective fn is currently -100 adding ('R12', 'R66') with score 3 objective fn is currently -97 adding ('R2', 'R18') with score 3 objective fn is currently -94 adding ('R2', 'R62') with score 3 objective fn is currently -91 adding ('R10', 'R55') with score 3 objective fn is currently -88 adding ('R46', 'R55') with score 3 objective fn is currently -85 adding ('R1', 'R5') with score 3 objective fn is currently -82 adding ('R52', 'R58') with score 3 objective fn is currently -79 adding ('R18', 'R28') with score 3 objective fn is currently -76 adding ('R14', 'R70') with score 3 objective fn is currently -73 adding ('R17', 'R65') with score 3 objective fn is currently -70 adding ('R33', 'R69') with score 3 objective fn is currently -67 adding ('R14', 'R47') with score 2 objective fn is currently -65 adding ('R2', 'R11') with score 2 objective fn is currently -63 adding ('R2', 'R39') with score 2 objective fn is currently -61 adding ('R4', 'R15') with score 2 objective fn is currently -59 adding ('R4', 'R42') with score 2 objective fn is currently -57 adding ('R4', 'R51') with score 2 objective fn is currently -55 adding ('R7', 'R34') with score 2 objective fn is currently -53 adding ('R17', 'R52') with score 2 objective fn is currently -51 adding ('R4', 'R18') with score 2 objective fn is currently -49 adding ('R17', 'R18') with score 2 objective fn is currently -47 adding ('R18', 'R57') with score 2 objective fn is currently -45 adding ('R22', 'R30') with score 2 objective fn is currently -43 adding ('R6', 'R7') with score 2 objective fn is currently -41 adding ('R37', 'R43') with score 2

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You could prune edges with the lowest utility value(s)

### The utility function: goodness of fit



### The utility function: goodness of fit



Increase in objective function by utility score of edges

Utility score

### The utility function: visualizing frequency

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#### Edges could have thickness based on their utility score

Which models?

### Graph models and Euclidean models

- The "classical" graph model and the MDS Euclidean model are both legitimate visualizations
- The graph model is more useful when there are a small number of nodes (concepts) being compared
- The Euclidean model is more useful when there are a medium to large number of nodes being compared

### Graph models and Euclidean models

- The graph model assumes a discrete underlying conceptual space, while he Euclidean spatial model represents a continuous underlying conceptual space
- The graph model cannot be interpreted in terms of "dimensions"; the two-dimensional visual display of the graph is just one of convenience (e.g. minimizing the crossing of edges)
- The Euclidean model's dimensions can (and should) be interpreted

- MDS is one of a family of multivariate analyses
- It is an unsupervised distance model
- Unsupervised = the categories or groupings are not specified in advance
- Distance = represents similarity directly. In this respect, it differs from eigenanalysis methods (principal components analysis, factor analysis, correspondence analysis)

- Eigenanalysis converts the matrix of data to another matrix of the same dimensionality such that
  - each dimension is uncorrelated with every other dimension
  - the first dimension accounts for the most variance in the data, the second for the next most variance, and so on
- This has consequences for interpreting the typically two-dimensional visualizations

- An MDS spatial model represents all the variance in the data in the displayed dimensions, while an eigenanalysis represents only a subset of the variance
- In an MDS spatial model is a true Euclidean spatial representation; an eigenanalysis is a visual representation of the variance in the first two principal components

- In an MDS spatial model, all distances are interpretable. Hence the analysis is invariant under translation and rotation.
- In an eigenanalysis, each dimension must be interpreted separately:

It is customary to summarize the row and column coordinates in a single plot. However, it is important to remember that in such plots, you can only interpret the distances between row points, and the distances between column points, but not the distances between row points and column points. (http://www.statsoft.com/Textbook/Correspondence-Analysis/, accessed 7 June 2018)

### Resources

- Multidimensional scaling: https://github.com/jaytimm/MDS\_for\_Linguists (NB: the code at my website now gives wrong results; the user guide that is there is still mostly good but will be updated)
- Graph structure: http://lclab.berkeley.edu/regier/semantic-maps/