

TAM markers as strongest predictors for the choice between near-synonyms: a self-paced reading experiment

Dagmar Divjak (University of Sheffield) <d.divjak@sheffield.ac.uk>

Antti Arppe (University of Alberta, Canada) <arppe@ualberta.ca>

Frequency has long been known to be among the most robust predictors of human behaviour (Hasher & Zacks 1984). Evidence has been accumulating that frequency of exposure is an experience that drives linguistic behaviour too. Yet, a number of studies in both the generative and usage-based traditions have recently reported that corpus-derived frequencies are poor predictors for off-line acceptability ratings in morphology and syntax, in particular at the lower end of the frequency spectrum (Kempen & Harbusch 2005/2008, Arppe & Järvikivi 2007, Divjak 2008, Bader & Häussler 2009, Bermel & Knittl 2012a/b).

This is potentially problematic for usage-based models, which predict a strong correlation between the two. Work on syntactic phenomena shows, however, that the wrong type of frequency data has been targeted, i.e. raw or contextual frequency rather than frequency-derived conditional probabilities. (Logged) conditional probabilities, or the likelihood to encounter Y given X, outperform any other frequency-related measures for a range of syntactic phenomena (Keller 2003, Divjak 2008/under review, Levy 2008, Fernandez Monsalve et al. 2012, Levshina under review).

We set out to test this hypothesis for semantics on the basis of a group of synonyms that express TRY in Russian. Regression models fit to corpus data (Divjak 2010, Divjak & Arppe 2013) show that TAM markers, often overlooked in lexical semantic studies, are the strongest predictors of lexical choice. To validate this finding, we ran a self-paced reading task in which 40 (20 male, 20 female) adult native speakers of Russian participated, aged between 18 and 30 and currently living in St Petersburg. We expect to find a negative correlation between probability of occurrence and reading times for TAM combinations, with more typical TAM markings leading to quicker reading times.

In our presentation we will focus on how we used advanced regression modelling techniques to deal with the fact that we deviated from the traditional approach to self-paced reading experiments in 2 important ways as we used an imbalanced design and ran the task with actually attested sentences rather than artificially created ones. These deviations were motivated by the fact that we had to accommodate the restrictions on TAM combinations and the lack of a strict word error, which are typical for Slavic languages.

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