# Constructional families in the lab

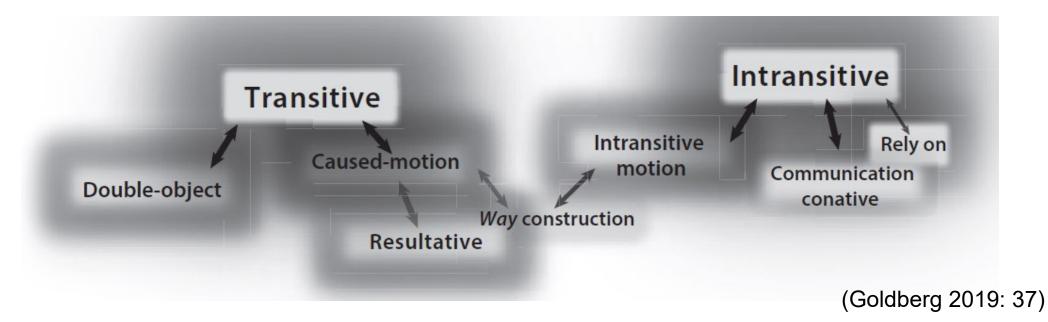
# Novel experimental approaches to the study of constructional relations

GCLA, Erfurt, 3 March 2022

Tobias Ungerer, University of Edinburgh t.ungerer@ed.ac.uk

#### Intro: constructional families in the lab

 Cognitive linguists assume that speakers' grammatical knowledge is organised as a mental network of related constructions (Croft 2001; Goldberg 1995; Langacker 1987)



• **Question:** how can these network relations be tested experimentally?

#### **Testing constructional relations**

- Sorting tasks (Bencini and Goldberg 2000; Gries and Wulff 2005; Perek 2012)
- Acquisition studies (Diessel and Tomasello 2005)
- Artificial learning (Perek and Goldberg 2015; Perek and Goldberg 2017; Wonnacott et al. 2008)
- **Structural priming** (Bock 1986; Branigan and Pickering 2017): processing a prime structure affects participants' response to the same or a similar target structure
  - → "Structural priming provides perhaps the best evidence for constructional relations" (Diessel 2019: 204)

#### Two questions for today

Question 1: What are the limitations of previous structural priming studies, and how can the paradigm be extended?

Question 2: What other methods can be used to test constructional relations?

## Extending structural priming research

#### Previous structural priming research has...

(1) focused on relatively few constructions, especially alternations

- E.g., dative alternation, active/passive alternation, benefactive alternation, locative alternation (Bock 1986; Bock 1989; Chang et al. 2003; Mahowald et al. 2016; Ziegler and Snedeker 2018)
- Because production priming methods (e.g., picture description) require 'structural alternatives' that express roughly the same meaning (Branigan and Pickering 2017: 7)

(2) rarely tested *cross-constructional* priming (between instances of <u>different</u> constructions)

- Most studies focus on 'within-construction' priming (between instances of the same construction)
- Hare and Goldberg (1999): 'provide-with' sentences (His editor credited Bob with the hot story) prime double-object sentences (John gave the dog a biscuit) (see also Ziegler and Snedeker 2018)

**Question:** how can <u>cross-constructional</u> priming be extended to <u>non-alternating</u> constructions?

#### An alternative: comprehension priming methods

- E.g.: self-paced reading, eye-tracking during reading, ERP/fMRI during reading
- Advantages:
  - Can be applied to non-alternating constructions because participants do not choose between alternatives
  - Experimenters can choose the exact constructions that they want participants to process, including complex or infrequent patterns
  - These methods provide 'online' measures of speakers' real-time processing
- Let's look at an example...

#### An example

#### Priming between the resultative (RES) and the depictive (DEP) construction (Ungerer 2022)

RES: Max cooked the chicken tender.  $\rightarrow$  DEP: John cut the grass wet. DEP: Gary cooked the chicken whole.  $\rightarrow$  RES: Nancy cut the grass short.

- Method: 'maze task' version of self-paced reading (Forster et al. 2009)
- Result: faster responses to resultative targets after depictive primes, but not vice versa (i.e., asymmetric facilitatory cross-constructional priming)
- Conclusion 1: speakers treat constructions as related despite their semantic differences
- Conclusion 2: asymmetric priming probably due to lower frequency and lower acceptability of depictives ('inverse frequency effect'; Ferreira 2003)
- Interesting differences from priming between the caused-motion and the resultative construction (Ungerer 2021)

**Question 1:** Do 'homostructions' (Percillier 2020) prime each other? Do speakers draw generalisations based purely on form?

Double-object construction: She sent her friend a letter.

Predicative complement construction: He considered the teacher a fool.

**Question 2:** Do speakers construe *into*-causatives as an extension of the caused-motion construction?

Caused-motion: She pushed the chair <u>into / out of / across the room</u>. into-causative: He coaxed his colleague <u>into helping him with the project</u>.

**Question 3:** Are speakers sensitive to differences in the obligatoriness of adverbials?

Obligatory adverbial: She put the knife in the drawer.

Semi-obligatory adverbial: He found the towel in the cupboard.

Optional adverbial: They played football in the schoolyard.

### Outlook: another method?

#### Verb-construction networks from free association data

- Background: meanings of clause-level constructions are closely related to the semantics of the verbs that occur in them (Fried and Boas 2005; Perek 2014; Herbst at this conference)
- Question: can the verbs that speakers spontaneously associate with constructions be used to model network relations between these constructions?
- Previous work by Ellis et al. (2016):
  - Free association task: participants generate verbs for constructional templates like He/she/it \_\_\_\_\_ across the... or He/she/it \_\_\_\_\_ about the...
  - Participants' use of verbs in each construction is predicted by the frequency, contingency and semantic prototypicality of the verbs
  - But: investigation is restricted to verb + preposition constructions; and each construction is analysed on its own terms, not as part of a network

#### A possible extension

Collect free association data for other constructions, e.g.:

She	<i>the…</i> (monotransitive)	She	_ that he (that-clause)
She	<i>him the…</i> (double-object)	She	_ <i>him that…</i> (object + that-clause)
She	_ <i>the… to him</i> ( <i>to</i> -dative)	She	_ <i>him to…</i> (object + to-infinitive)
She	<i>the for him (for</i> -dative)	She	_ for him to (for-NP + to-infinitive)

- Based on the association data, create verb-construction networks in which verbs are linked to the constructions in which they occur (strength of the links = frequency of association)
- Use network science tools (Barabási 2016) to examine the network structure:
  e.g., analyse how similar constructions are based on their shared verbs in the network;
  and analyse how similar verbs are based on their shared constructions in the network
- Compare verb-construction networks between different speaker populations, such as L1 vs. L2 speakers or neurotypical vs. neurodivergent speakers

# Summary



- To test speakers' representations of constructional networks, converging evidence from different experimental methods is needed
- Two ways forward:
  - Extending existing methods: e.g., using structural priming in comprehension to test new constructions (caused-motion, resultative, depictive)
    - → Other phenomena yet await investigation: e.g., priming between 'homostructions'
  - Explore new methods: e.g., using free association data to build and analyse verb-construction networks for different speaker populations

Thank you!

#### **References** I

Barabási, Albert-László. 2016. Network science. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bencini, Giulia M. L. & Adele E. Goldberg. 2000. The contribution of argument structure constructions to sentence meaning. *Journal of Memory and Language* 43(4). 640–651.

Bock, J. Kathryn. 1986. Syntactic persistence in language production. *Cognitive Psychology* 18(3). 355–387.

Bock, Kathryn. 1989. Closed-class immanence in sentence production. *Cognition* 31(2). 163–186.

Branigan, Holly P. & Martin J. Pickering. 2017. An experimental approach to linguistic representation. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 40. e282.

Chang, Franklin, Kathryn Bock & Adele E. Goldberg. 2003. Can thematic roles leave traces of their places? *Cognition* 90(1). 29–49.

Croft, William. 2001. Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic theory in typological perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Diessel, Holger. 2019. *The grammar network: How linguistic structure is shaped by language use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Diessel, Holger & Michael Tomasello. 2005. A new look at the acquisition of relative clauses. *Language* 1–25.

- Ellis, Nick C., Ute Römer & Matthew Brook O'Donnell. 2016. Usage-based approaches to language acquisition and processing: Cognitive and corpus investigations of construction grammar. Malden, MA: Wiley.
- Ferreira, Victor S. 2003. The persistence of optional complementizer production: Why saying "that" is not saying "that" at all. *Journal of Memory and Language* 48(2). 379–398.
- Forster, Kenneth I., Christine Guerrera & Lisa Elliot. 2009. The maze task: Measuring forced incremental sentence processing time. *Behavior Research Methods* 41(1). 163–171.

Fried, Mirjam & Hans C. Boas (eds.). 2005. Grammatical constructions: Back to the roots. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. Constructions: A Construction Grammar approach to argument structure. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goldberg, Adele E. 2019. *Explain me this: Creativity, competition, and the partial productivity of constructions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gries, Stefan Th. & Stefanie Wulff. 2005. Do foreign language learners also have constructions? In Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (ed.), *Annual review of cognitive linguistics*, vol. 3, 182–200. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

#### **References II**

- Hare, Mary L. & Adele E. Goldberg. 1999. Structural priming: Purely syntactic? In Martin Hahn & Scott C. Stoness (eds.), *Proceedings of the 21st Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*, 208–211. Mahwah & London: Erlbaum.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1987. Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. 1: Theoretical prerequisites. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mahowald, Kyle, Ariel James, Richard Futrell & Edward Gibson. 2016. A meta-analysis of syntactic priming in language production. *Journal of Memory and Language* 91. 5–27.
- Percillier, Michael. 2020. Allostructions, homostructions or a constructional family? Changes in the network of secondary predicate constructions in Middle English. In Lotte Sommerer & Elena Smirnova (eds.), *Nodes and networks in Diachronic Construction Grammar*, 213–242. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Perek, Florent. 2012. Alternation-based generalizations are stored in the mental grammar: Evidence from a sorting task experiment. *Cognitive Linguistics* 23(3). 601–635.
- Perek, Florent. 2014. Rethinking constructional polysemy: The case of the English conative construction. In Dylan Glynn & Justyna A. Robinson (eds.), *Corpus methods for semantics: Quantitative studies in polysemy and synonymy*, 61–85. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Perek, Florent & Adele E. Goldberg. 2015. Generalizing beyond the input: The functions of the constructions matter. *Journal of Memory and Language* 84. 108–127.
- Perek, Florent & Adele E. Goldberg. 2017. Linguistic generalization on the basis of function and constraints on the basis of statistical preemption. *Cognition* 168. 276–293.
- Ungerer, Tobias. 2021. Using structural priming to test links between constructions: English caused-motion and resultative sentences inhibit each other. *Cognitive Linguistics* 32(3). 389–420.
- Ungerer, Tobias. 2022. Structural priming in the grammatical network: A study of English argument structure construction [Doctoral dissertation under examination]. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.
- Wonnacott, Elizabeth, Elissa L. Newport & Michael K. Tanenhaus. 2008. Acquiring and processing verb argument structure: Distributional learning in a miniature language. *Cognitive Psychology* 56(3). 165–209.

Ziegler, Jayden & Jesse Snedeker. 2018. How broad are thematic roles? Evidence from structural priming. *Cognition* 179. 221–240.