

Does BERT *really* agree ?

Fine-grained Analysis of Lexical Dependence on a Syntactic Task

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Abstract

Although transformer-based Neural Language Models obtain impressive results on a wide variety of tasks, their generalization abilities are not well understood. They have been shown to perform strongly on subject-verb number agreement in a wide array of settings, suggesting that they learned to capture syntactic dependencies during their training even without explicit supervision. In this paper, we examine the extent to which BERT relies on lexical content to solve the number agreement (NA) task. To do so, we disrupt the lexical patterns found in naturally occurring stimuli in a novel fine-grained analysis of BERT’s behavior. Our results on nonce sentences suggest that the model generalizes well for simple structures, but fails to perform lexically-independent syntactic generalization when as little as one attractor is present.

1 Introduction

Every English speaker would judge as grammatical the sentences in (1a)-(1b), but not those in (1c)-(1d), despite that they are all meaningless:

- (1) a. Colourless green *ideas* *sleep* furiously.
- b. Colourless green *ideas* that cook the door *sleep* furiously.
- c. *Colourless green *ideas* *sleeps* furiously.
- d. *Colourless green *ideas* that cook the door *sleeps* furiously.

At least since Chomsky (1957), data like this has been taken as evidence that natural language grammars contain abstract syntactic rules that i.) are independent of the meaning of lexical items and ii.) obey hierarchical, rather than linear constraints. Number agreement (henceforth NA) between the subject (the **cue**) and the verb (the **target**) of the same clause in English is one of such rules (Corbett, 2003). In fact, (1d) is ungrammatical, even though the closest noun *door* (typically referred to as **attractor**) has the same number as *sleeps*, because the noun belongs to an embedded relative

clause.

These NA properties have made it one of the preferred test beds to investigate the ability of neural language models (NLMs) to learn abstract, hierarchical syntactic structures (Linzen et al., 2016; Gulordava et al., 2018; Marvin and Linzen, 2018; Goldberg, 2019; Bacon and Regier, 2019). Although recurrent and transformer-based NLMs have been shown to possess syntactic abilities on the task, its nature remains scarcely understood (Baroni, 2019), which raises the need to deepen our understanding of the syntactic generalizations captured by NLMs.

In the present study, we test BERT on the NA task using three datasets that all share the same syntactic constructions: (a) Marvin and Linzen’s (2018) manually crafted dataset, from which syntactic constructions are taken, containing meaningful sentences, (b) naturally occurring sentences from Wikipedia, and (c) syntactically well-formed but meaningless sentences.

Our experiments provide two main findings. We first show that BERT is able to perform the NA successfully in (a) and (b), but its performance drops significantly for some constructions in (c). This drop mainly occurs when there is an intervening phrase with an attractor between the agreeing noun and the target verb, as in (1b) and (1d) above. We further show that for some constructions, performance on the task is mostly affected when the meaningful lexical patterns closest to the target verb are disrupted.

2 Related work

Linzen et al. (2016) first tested the ability of LSTM language models to solve the NA task, and showed that they capture syntax-sensitive dependencies given targeted supervision. A subsequent study by Gulordava et al. (2018), showed that LSTMs are able to succeed even on nonce sentences, suggesting they acquire grammatical competence that

goes beyond meaningful lexical patterns they have seen during training on a language modeling objective. [Marvin and Linzen \(2018\)](#) further tested an LSTM’s ability to capture syntactic dependencies on constructed pairs of meaningful manually crafted sentences, so as to test targeted syntactic constructions. Contrarily to previous studies, they showed that there was considerable room for improvement.

[Goldberg \(2019\)](#) further tested BERT, a transformer-based model, against data from the experiments cited above. They found that BERT substantially outperforms the previously tested LSTM language models. However, the tested datasets present certain limitations. [Linzen et al.’s \(2016\)](#) data is extracted from Wikipedia, which BERT has been trained on, and [Marvin and Linzen’s \(2018\)](#) data is built from a limited vocabulary. In our experiments, we control for such possible confounds by using fixed constructions from [Marvin and Linzen \(2018\)](#), and testing BERT against sentences from its training corpus, as well as meaningless sentences generated from a large vocabulary for each targeted structure.

[Newman et al. \(2021\)](#) have also tested generalizations beyond [Marvin and Linzen’s \(2018\)](#) data by extending the vocabulary at the target verb position. They show that though NLMs’ top predictions are generally correct verbforms, they still struggle on the NA task for infrequent verbs. In the present study, by replacing all positions of our targeted structures, we are able to provide a fine-grained analysis of which constructions and which lexical patterns affect most the model’s behavior: if BERT seemingly generalizes well on a syntactic construction, can it generalize to *any* syntactically well-formed, but meaningless sentence? When does lexical content matter?

3 General Setup

3.1 The Number Agreement Task

The NA task consists in testing whether a model’s predictions show a preference for sentences that do not violate number agreement between a selected verb and its subject. For example, when presenting BERT with sentences (1b) and (1d), we mask the token at the target position, and compare the output probabilities for **sleep** and **sleeps**. The model succeeds when it assigns a higher prediction probability to the right target form.

3.2 Datasets

We test BERT’s ability to solve the NA task using three different, but complementary datasets:

- M&L.** This is the dataset released by [Marvin and Linzen \(2018\)](#), containing the syntactic constructions reported in Table 1. These sentences were manually designed to target sentences that are very unlikely to be part of the training corpus, but still respect semantic constraints.
- NAT.** For each construction in the M&L dataset, we collected naturally occurring sentences from the Wikidumps used to train BERT.
- GEN.** For each construction in M&L and Nat, we generated “nonce”, meaningless sentences keeping the syntactic structure unaffected. When a noun intervenes between the cue and the target (e.g., in condition C in Table 1), it is systematically assigned a different number from the cue, in order to test attraction effects¹. Similarly to [Gulordava et al. \(2018\)](#), our generated sentences violate selectional restrictions and are meaningless, which allows us to test the extent to which the model’s performance could be limited to certain memorized lexical patterns.

4 Experiments and Results

4.1 EXP. 1 – Behaviour test on Naturally occurring vs. Nonce data

In this experiment, we test whether the model’s success on the NA task only relies on the syntactic structure of the input sentence, or if it instead requires specific lexical combinations that satisfy mutual semantic constraints. To do so, we compare the NA task accuracy on **NAT** and **GEN**. We also use **M&L** as a comparison point, which satisfies semantic constraints.

The figures from Table 2 show that even though BERT is robust against the constructions from [Marvin and Linzen \(2018\)](#) in **NAT**, it fails more often on the nonce sentences in **GEN**. Little reduction occurs when there is no intervening attractor (A, E, G, I), that is when the cue and target are within the same clause. The only exception is when the cue occurs in a sentential complement (B), a challenging condition in the absence of the complementizer *that*. In this case, the model might be perturbed by ambiguity, expecting a direct object noun (e.g.,

¹That is whether the model succeeds despite the presence of a distractor noun between the cue and target of the agreement.

Struct. ID	Structure description	Example
A	Simple agreement	The boy laughs /*laugh
B	In a sentential complement	The boy knows the girls play /*plays
C	Across a prepositional phrase	The plate near the <u>glasses</u> breaks /*break
D	Across a subject relative clause	The cat that chases the <u>mice</u> runs /*run
E	In a short verb phrase coordination	The boy smiles and laughs /*laugh
F	Across an object relative clause	The mouse that the <u>cats</u> chase runs /*run
G	Within an object relative clause	The mouse that the cats chase /*chases runs
H	Across an object relative clause (<i>no that</i>)	The mouse the <u>cats</u> chase runs /*run
I	Within an object relative clause (<i>no that</i>)	The mouse the cats chase /*chases runs

Table 1: Agreement structures used in this study. These structures are taken from Marvin and Linzen (2018). The cue is in blue and the target is red. For each target, we display the pair of both the correct and incorrect verb form. In structures C, D, E and H, the attractor is underlined.

The boy knows the mathematics lessons). Therefore, we tested two supplementary conditions: one with the overt complementizer (B-2), and another where the verb that introduces the complementizer is constrained to be a stative verb (B-3). The results confirm our hypothesis: BERT carries out the task successfully even on **GEN** when the complementizer makes the sentence syntactically unambiguous, and we observe a reduced performance drop on generated data, which also suggests that the model relies on heuristics that are partly lexicalized. In the other structures, performance drops close to chance level with **GEN**. This means that BERT is not able to perform lexically-independent generalizations when the target and the cue are separated by a hierarchically embedded phrase or clause containing an attractor noun.

4.2 EXP. 2 – Influence of One-Word Replacements

In this experiment, we measure the performance drop obtained by replacing one word at a time in the NAT data to obtain nonce sentences. Our goal is to understand which lexical positions are more responsible for the performance drop observed in EXP. 1. The observations from this fine-grained analysis allow us to understand whether the success on NAT might be due to the presence of specific lexical patterns which, when disrupted, would prevent BERT from solving the NA task.

The results in Fig. 1 show that in sentences with no attractor (A, E, G, I), one-word replacement results in low performance drops, consistently with what was already observed in EXP. 1. On the other hand, when the model is presented with an embedded structure containing an attractor, even replacing a single lexical item has a strong effect, particularly for word replacements close to the target verb (in D and H). This suggests that the model’s ability

Condition	Accuracies		
	M&L	NAT	GEN
A - Simple	1.00	0.97	0.84
B - Sent Comp.	0.83	0.89	0.55
B-2 - Sent Comp. (<i>with that</i>)	-	0.99	0.94
B-3 - Sent Comp. (<i>stative main verb</i>)	-	0.98	0.75
C - PP Across	0.85	0.96	0.62
D - Subj. RC Across	0.84	0.94	0.53
E - Short VP Coord	0.89	0.99	0.98
F - Obj. RC Across	0.89	0.87	0.43
G - Obj. RC Within	0.95	1.00	0.87
H - Obj. RC Across (<i>no that</i>)	0.86	0.83	0.38
I - Obj. RC Within (<i>no that</i>)	0.79	0.99	0.83

Table 2: Accuracies on the number agreement task for the retained structures obtained by BERT Base.

to deal with attractors is not due to solely to hierarchical, lexically independent generalizations acquired during training, but also to memorizing lexical patterns that can be linearly close to the target verb.

5 Discussion

Previous NA studies have led Baroni (2019) to claim that “the linguistic proficiency of neural networks extends beyond shallow pattern recognition”. Though it is undeniable that BERT does generalize beyond its input and is able to carry out the NA task on the simplest constructions, our experiments also suggest that these generalizations can be lexically dependent. When naturally occurring lexical patterns are replaced with syntactically well-formed, but meaningless combinations, the Transformer syntactic ability seems to be heavily compromised, contrarily to Goldberg (2019)’s reported results on the Gulordava et al. (2018) stimuli.

Moreover, most disruption is caused by replacing the words closest to the target within the embedded phrase, that in principle should not affect the agreement relation. These two facts together

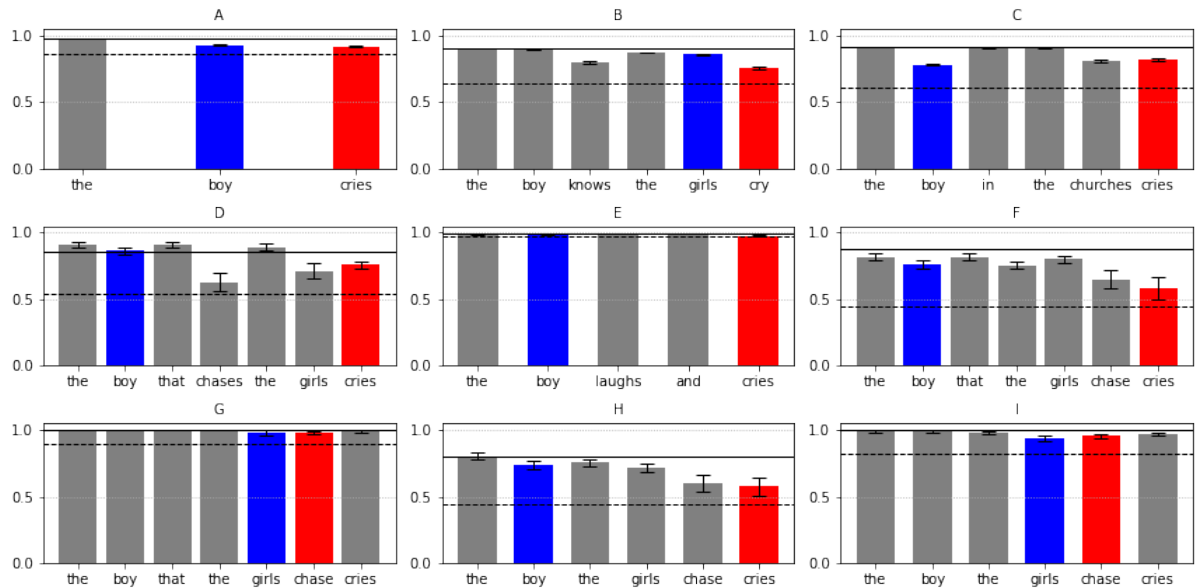


Figure 1: Accuracy drops resulting from the replacement of a word at a time with a random word from the same lexical category. Replacements are performed over naturally occurring sentences. For each structure, the performance on naturally occurring sentences (continuous line) and nonce sentences (dashed line) is represented as a comparison point. The cue’s replacement is represented in blue and the target’s in red.

indicate that some of BERT’s syntactic abilities are limited to specific lexical patterns that the model could have memorized during training, including words that are linearly close but belonging to a different embedded phrase or clause.

We can surmise that the model relies on a variety of heuristics acquired during training to approximate syntactic generalizations, in line with Finlayson et al. (2021), who found two distinct mechanisms to accomplish agreement in Transformer-based architectures. We find that those heuristics can therefore tend to be highly lexicalized, similarly to Newman et al. (2021) who showed that generalization is not systematic by testing a wide range of verbs. This is confirmed by BERT’s sensitivity to the main verb when there is no overt complementizer (cf. sentence type B, no *that*), which prevents it from solving the NA task even in the simple embedded sentence. This suggests that the model has acquired semi-lexicalized syntactic information about verb subcategorization preferences.

Although BERT’s ability to approximate abstract syntactic rules is probably more brittle than previously argued, this should not lead to rejecting its ability to learn natural language grammar. For instance, constructionist approaches (Hoffman and Trousdale, 2013) have argued since long against a purely abstract grammar detached from lexical

meaning, despite what the data in (1) have often been claimed to prove. The alternative view is a grammar consisting of constructions that differ for their level of abstractness and lexicalization. BERT’s lexically-driven behavior could therefore be consistent with this less abstract conception of syntax.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that BERT’s performance on the NA task highly depends on the structure when presented with meaningless sentences. In particular, it does not perform lexically-independent generalization on meaningless sentences in which the agreement relation crosses an embedded phrase containing an attractor noun. We also show that in some cases, the model relies mostly on the lexical content at the closest positions to the target of the agreement, though they belong to an embedded clause or phrase.

In the future, we want to get a better understanding of the mechanisms underlying syntactic generalizations in Transformers, and in particular what makes some heuristics involved to solve a syntactic task lexically dependent but not others. Moreover, we aim at investigating the correlation between BERT’s performance with human judgments on our generated nonce sentences.

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A Appendix - Data collection

A.1 Natural data selection

For each of the structures described in 1, we represent the construction by its sequence of POS-tags. We then extract sequences of words from Wikipedia for each of the constructions. To do so, we read Wikipedia linearly and store candidate naturally occurring token sequences that match our constructions, based on the vocabulary is described in A.4. Our code is publicly available at github.com/xxx/yyy.

A.2 Data Generation procedure

Generated sentences are built from the sequence of POS-tags describing each construction. We randomly pick one word from our dictionaries at each position of the sequence, as in (Gulordava et al., 2018). We chose to only use neutral determiners along with possessives to avoid clashes between a noun’s and its determiner’s numbers. Datasets contain 10000 samples, and for Exp. 2, we reproduced the experiments 10 times for each replacement to produce error bars. Randomly picked examples are displayed in Table 3.

A.3 Data generation vocabulary

Nouns and verbs were collected from Linzen et al. (2016)’s dataset. As the NA task setting requires looking at predicted scores for the masked target forms, we only keep verbs for which both forms are present in BERT’s vocabulary as an unsplit token. Similarly to Goldberg (Goldberg, 2019), we filter out sentences where the target is a present form of the verb ‘be’ as this verb is too frequent in corpora and is treated differently from other verbs.

A.4 Used Vocabulary

Determiners and possessives. ‘my’, ‘your’, ‘his’, ‘her’, ‘its’, ‘our’, ‘their’, ‘the’

Relativizer/complementizer. ‘that’

Nouns. We use the following 2636 noun pairs: (‘editor’, ‘editors’), (‘hill’, ‘hills’), (‘lack’, ‘lacks’), (‘category’, ‘categories’), (‘connection’, ‘connections’), (‘earthquake’, ‘earthquakes’), (‘state’, ‘states’), (‘feature’, ‘features’), (‘speed’, ‘speeds’), (‘fact’, ‘facts’), (‘page’, ‘pages’), (‘bird’, ‘birds’), (‘road’, ‘roads’), (‘article’, ‘articles’), (‘sentiment’, ‘sentiments’), (‘habitat’, ‘habitats’), (‘pool’, ‘pools’), (‘painting’, ‘paintings’), (‘possession’, ‘possessions’), (‘claim’, ‘claims’), (‘equation’,

Struct. ID	Structure description	Example
A	Simple agreement	The window fails /*fail
B	In a sentential complement	The prisons insist the surprise happens /*happen
C	Across a prepositional phrase	The gift in the origins reflects /*reflect
D	Across a subject relative clause	The passion that identifies the sellers binds /*bind
E	In a short verb phrase coordination	The pepper falls and pulls /*pull
F	Across an object relative clause	The bombings that the tune picks flows /*flow
G	Within an object relative clause	The rhyme that the elders need /*needs happens
H	Across an object relative clause (<i>no that</i>)	The decrees the cage examine happen /*happens
I	Within an object relative clause (<i>no that</i>)	The lyric the beetles quote /*quotes scores

Table 3: Randomly picked examples of generated sentences for each tested structure.

'equations'), ('energy', 'energies'), ('house', 'houses'), ('action', 'actions'), ('hospital', 'hospitals'), ('film', 'films'), ('ending', 'endings'), ('base', 'bases'), ('reserve', 'reserves'), ('one', 'ones'), ('album', 'albums'), ('method', 'methods'), ('district', 'districts'), ('position', 'positions'), ('nationality', 'nationalities'), ('estate', 'estates'), ('frame', 'frames'), ('authority', 'authorities'), ('lake', 'lakes'), ('level', 'levels'), ('name', 'names'), ('policeman', 'policemen'), ('area', 'areas'), ('group', 'groups'), ('quality', 'qualities'), ('capital', 'capitals'), ('song', 'songs'), ('son', 'sons'), ('incident', 'incidents'), ('island', 'islands'), ('marriage', 'marriages'), ('subject', 'subjects'), ('budget', 'budgets'), ('reaction', 'reactions'), ('explanation', 'explanations'), ('change', 'changes'), ('section', 'sections'), ('individual', 'individuals'), ('city', 'cities'), ('face', 'faces'), ('tactic', 'tactics'), ('survivor', 'survivors'), ('price', 'prices'), ('band', 'bands'), ('target', 'targets'), ('title', 'titles'), ('cave', 'caves'), ('artifact', 'artifacts'), ('candidate', 'candidates'), ('problem', 'problems'), ('foundation', 'foundations'), ('mission', 'missions'), ('turn', 'turns'), ('company', 'companies'), ('controversy', 'controversies'), ('parish', 'parishes'), ('motor', 'motors'), ('station', 'stations'), ('collection', 'collections'), ('career', 'careers'), ('selection', 'selections'), ('corporation', 'corporations'), ('contribution', 'contributions'), ('source', 'sources'), ('protein', 'proteins'), ('enemy', 'enemies'), ('function', 'functions'), ('rank', 'ranks'), ('plane', 'planes'), ('background', 'backgrounds'), ('village', 'villages'), ('team', 'teams'), ('person', 'people'), ('class', 'classes'), ('mercenary', 'mercenaries'), ('argument', 'arguments'), ('operator', 'operators'), ('race', 'races'), ('philosopher', 'philosophers'), ('question', 'questions'), ('color', 'colors'), ('list', 'lists'), ('benefit', 'benefits'), ('church', 'churches'), ('tax', 'taxes'), ('space', 'spaces'), ('game', 'games'), ('value', 'values'), ('technology', 'technologies'), ('lot', 'lots'), ('leg', 'legs'), ('project', 'projects'), ('man', 'men'), ('movement', 'movements'), ('casino', 'casinos'), ('role', 'roles'), ('drop', 'drops'), ('requirement', 'requirements'), ('dispute', 'disputes'), ('length', 'lengths'), ('point', 'points'), ('medicine', 'medicines'), ('filmmaker', 'filmmakers'), ('death', 'deaths'), ('theory', 'theories'), ('fate', 'fates'), ('layer', 'layers'), ('adaptation', 'adaptations'), ('water', 'waters'), ('fuel', 'fuels'), ('committee', 'committees'), ('option', 'options'), ('train', 'trains'), ('trailer', 'trailers'), ('journal', 'journals'), ('head', 'heads'), ('specification', 'specifications'), ('user', 'users'), ('sentence', 'sentences'), ('computer', 'computers'), ('system', 'systems'), ('science', 'sciences'), ('facility', 'facilities'), ('policy', 'policies'), ('moon', 'moons'), ('tradition', 'traditions'), ('way', 'ways'), ('magazine', 'magazines'), ('member', 'members'), ('battalion', 'battalions'), ('stroke', 'strokes'), ('mutation', 'mutations'), ('gas', 'gases'), ('contributor', 'contributors'), ('block', 'blocks'), ('town', 'towns'), ('hamlet', 'hamlets'), ('reign', 'reigns'), ('trail', 'trails'), ('intention', 'intentions'), ('founder', 'founders'), ('range', 'ranges'), ('resolution', 'resolutions'), ('video', 'videos'), ('locality', 'localities'), ('novel', 'novels'), ('request', 'requests'), ('competition', 'competitions'), ('coast', 'coasts'), ('premise', 'premises'), ('department', 'departments'), ('airport', 'airports'), ('border', 'borders'), ('skater', 'skaters'), ('image', 'images'), ('theme', 'themes'), ('venue', 'venues'), ('religion', 'religions'), ('discussion', 'discussions'), ('statement', 'statements'), ('work', 'works'), ('objection', 'objections'), ('implementation', 'implementations'), ('net', 'nets'), ('reference', 'references'), ('mother', 'mothers'), ('fantasy', 'fantasies'), ('cat', 'cats'), ('website', 'websites'), ('algorithm', 'algorithms'), ('temple', 'temples'), ('transform', 'transforms'), ('map', 'maps'),

477	(‘recording’, ‘recordings’), (‘player’, ‘players’),	pearances’), (‘agreement’, ‘agreements’), (‘truth’,	528
478	(‘student’, ‘students’), (‘character’, ‘characters’),	‘truths’), (‘season’, ‘seasons’), (‘temperature’, ‘tem-	529
479	(‘issue’, ‘issues’), (‘triangle’, ‘triangles’), (‘pic-	peratures’), (‘matter’, ‘matters’), (‘power’, ‘pow-	530
480	ture’, ‘pictures’), (‘content’, ‘contents’), (‘kind’,	ers’), (‘leader’, ‘leaders’), (‘module’, ‘modules’),	531
481	‘kinds’), (‘book’, ‘books’), (‘search’, ‘searches’),	(‘date’, ‘dates’), (‘river’, ‘rivers’), (‘material’, ‘ma-	532
482	(‘orbit’, ‘orbits’), (‘prison’, ‘prisons’), (‘aim’,	terials’), (‘walk’, ‘walks’), (‘patient’, ‘patients’),	533
483	‘aims’), (‘country’, ‘countries’), (‘reality’, ‘real-	(‘research’, ‘researches’), (‘tool’, ‘tools’), (‘record’,	534
484	ities’), (‘bend’, ‘bends’), (‘element’, ‘elements’),	‘records’), (‘guide’, ‘guides’), (‘scientist’, ‘scien-	535
485	(‘herd’, ‘herds’), (‘park’, ‘parks’), (‘championship’,	tists’), (‘course’, ‘courses’), (‘transition’, ‘transi-	536
486	‘championships’), (‘queen’, ‘queens’), (‘offense’,	tions’), (‘advantage’, ‘advantages’), (‘exception’,	537
487	‘offenses’), (‘core’, ‘cores’), (‘school’, ‘schools’),	‘exceptions’), (‘condition’, ‘conditions’), (‘com-	538
488	(‘soundtrack’, ‘soundtracks’), (‘highway’, ‘high-	munity’, ‘communities’), (‘scale’, ‘scales’), (‘re-	539
489	ways’), (‘author’, ‘authors’), (‘construction’, ‘con-	lease’, ‘releases’), (‘daughter’, ‘daughters’), (‘mu-	540
490	structions’), (‘gang’, ‘gangs’), (‘cluster’, ‘clus-	sician’, ‘musicians’), (‘route’, ‘routes’), (‘support’,	541
491	ters’), (‘button’, ‘buttons’), (‘force’, ‘forces’),	‘supports’), (‘guard’, ‘guards’), (‘variant’, ‘vari-	542
492	(‘mountain’, ‘mountains’), (‘idea’, ‘ideas’), (‘lo-	ants’), (‘colony’, ‘colonies’), (‘proceeding’, ‘pro-	543
493	cation’, ‘locations’), (‘mirror’, ‘mirrors’), (‘photo’,	ceedings’), (‘part’, ‘parts’), (‘canal’, ‘canals’),	544
494	‘photos’), (‘tendency’, ‘tendencies’), (‘woman’,	(‘loser’, ‘losers’), (‘sight’, ‘sights’), (‘ceremony’,	545
495	‘women’), (‘stranger’, ‘strangers’), (‘veteran’, ‘vet-	‘ceremonies’), (‘investment’, ‘investments’), (‘gen-	546
496	erans’), (‘driver’, ‘drivers’), (‘behavior’, ‘behav-	eral’, ‘generals’), (‘purpose’, ‘purposes’), (‘mis-	547
497	iors’), (‘address’, ‘addresses’), (‘restriction’, ‘re-	take’, ‘mistakes’), (‘culture’, ‘cultures’), (‘owner’,	548
498	strictions’), (‘place’, ‘places’), (‘virus’, ‘viruses’),	‘owners’), (‘basin’, ‘basins’), (‘revolution’, ‘rev-	549
499	(‘translation’, ‘translations’), (‘sequence’, ‘se-	olutions’), (‘green’, ‘greens’), (‘mention’, ‘men-	550
500	quences’), (‘thought’, ‘thoughts’), (‘sample’, ‘sam-	tions’), (‘variation’, ‘variations’), (‘heart’, ‘hearts’),	551
501	ples’), (‘bridge’, ‘bridges’), (‘present’, ‘presents’),	(‘number’, ‘numbers’), (‘child’, ‘children’), (‘ex-	552
502	(‘origin’, ‘origins’), (‘world’, ‘worlds’), (‘scene’,	ample’, ‘examples’), (‘suburb’, ‘suburbs’), (‘cen-	553
503	‘scenes’), (‘tournament’, ‘tournaments’), (‘rest’,	ter’, ‘centers’), (‘proposal’, ‘proposals’), (‘teacher’,	554
504	‘rests’), (‘view’, ‘views’), (‘hotel’, ‘hotels’), (‘abil-	‘teachers’), (‘complex’, ‘complexes’), (‘hero’,	555
505	ity’, ‘abilities’), (‘response’, ‘responses’), (‘pat-	‘heroes’), (‘festival’, ‘festivals’), (‘county’, ‘count-	556
506	tern’, ‘patterns’), (‘wire’, ‘wires’), (‘creature’,	ties’), (‘card’, ‘cards’), (‘object’, ‘objects’), (‘so-	557
507	‘creatures’), (‘program’, ‘programs’), (‘artist’,	cociety’, ‘societies’), (‘sex’, ‘sexes’), (‘outlet’, ‘out-	558
508	‘artists’), (‘master’, ‘masters’), (‘manuscript’,	lets’), (‘result’, ‘results’), (‘domain’, ‘domains’),	559
509	‘manuscripts’), (‘leaf’, ‘leaves’), (‘designation’,	(‘chip’, ‘chips’), (‘monkey’, ‘monkeys’), (‘unit’,	560
510	‘designations’), (‘body’, ‘bodies’), (‘line’, ‘lines’),	‘units’), (‘statue’, ‘statues’), (‘joke’, ‘jokes’),	561
511	(‘set’, ‘sets’), (‘structure’, ‘structures’), (‘settle-	(‘ride’, ‘rides’), (‘setting’, ‘settings’), (‘broadcast’,	562
512	ment’, ‘settlements’), (‘pole’, ‘poles’), (‘division’,	‘broadcasts’), (‘choice’, ‘choices’), (‘introduc-	563
513	‘divisions’), (‘phrase’, ‘phrases’), (‘listing’, ‘list-	tion’, ‘introductions’), (‘play’, ‘plays’), (‘night’,	564
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1547	('rebound', 'rebounds'), ('sing', 'sings'), ('play-	prises', 'comprise'), ('hits', 'hit'), ('refers', 're-	1597
		fer'), ('makes', 'make'), ('says', 'say'), ('consists',	1598

1599	'consist'), ('extends', 'extend'), ('describes', 'describe'), ('becomes', 'become'), ('appears', 'appear'), ('stands', 'stand'), ('examines', 'examine'), ('continues', 'continue'), ('represents', 'represent'), ('needs', 'need'), ('features', 'feature'), ('includes', 'include'), ('contains', 'contain'), ('allows', 'allow'), ('tells', 'tell'), ('remains', 'remain'), ('references', 'reference'), ('gets', 'get'), ('has', 'have'), ('happens', 'happen'), ('concludes', 'conclude'), ('disappears', 'disappear'), ('puts', 'put'), ('crosses', 'cross'), ('finds', 'find'), ('changes', 'change'), ('owns', 'own'), ('provides', 'provide'), ('plays', 'play'), ('expects', 'expect'), ('speaks', 'speak'), ('seems', 'seem'), ('comes', 'come'), ('opens', 'open'), ('expresses', 'express'), ('deserves', 'deserve'), ('covers', 'cover'), ('pops', 'pop'), ('fails', 'fail'), ('takes', 'take'), ('produces', 'produce'), ('arises', 'arise'), ('offers', 'offer'), ('helps', 'help'), ('defines', 'define'), ('sees', 'see'), ('implies', 'imply'), ('runs', 'run'), ('refuses', 'refuse'), ('creates', 'create'), ('varies', 'vary'), ('receives', 'receive'), ('uses', 'use'), ('ends', 'end'), ('encompasses', 'encompass'), ('begins', 'begin'), ('works', 'work'), ('holds', 'hold'), ('occurs', 'occur'), ('drops', 'drop'), ('chooses', 'choose'), ('falls', 'fall'), ('returns', 'return'), ('charts', 'chart'), ('derives', 'derive'), ('occupies', 'occupy'), ('leaves', 'leave'), ('shows', 'show'), ('turns', 'turn'), ('follows', 'follow'), ('supports', 'support'), ('dates', 'date'), ('brings', 'bring'), ('exhibits', 'exhibit'), ('transforms', 'transform'), ('looks', 'look'), ('performs', 'perform'), ('means', 'mean'), ('asserts', 'assert'), ('draws', 'draw'), ('recalls', 'recall'), ('confirms', 'confirm'), ('portrays', 'portray'), ('exceeds', 'exceed'), ('exists', 'exist'), ('displays', 'display'), ('reaches', 'reach'), ('increases', 'increase'), ('catches', 'catch'), ('contributes', 'contribute'), ('originates', 'originate'), ('corresponds', 'correspond'), ('goes', 'go'), ('reads', 'read'), ('operates', 'operate'), ('involves', 'involve'), ('requires', 'require'), ('hires', 'hire'), ('incorporates', 'incorporate'), ('pulls', 'pull'), ('ignores', 'ignore'), ('hosts', 'host'), ('gives', 'give'), ('meets', 'meet'), ('regards', 'regard'), ('scores', 'score'), ('places', 'place'), ('competes', 'compete'), ('accepts', 'accept'), ('benefits', 'benefit'), ('favors', 'favor'), ('points', 'point'), ('watches', 'watch'), ('starts', 'start'), ('serves', 'serve'), ('leads', 'lead'), ('protects', 'protect'), ('hates', 'hate'), ('flies', 'fly'), ('stays', 'stay'),	1650
1600		1651
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1701	(‘rides’, ‘ride’), (‘intends’, ‘intend’), (‘handles’,	duct’), (‘transfers’, ‘transfer’), (‘shoots’, ‘shoot’),	1752
1702	‘handle’), (‘threatens’, ‘threaten’), (‘employs’,	(‘stretches’, ‘stretch’), (‘remembers’, ‘remem-	1753
1703	‘employ’), (‘enables’, ‘enable’), (‘targets’, ‘tar-	ber’), (‘objects’, ‘object’), (‘lays’, ‘lay’), (‘an-	1754
1704	get’), (‘utilizes’, ‘utilize’), (‘observes’, ‘observe’),	swers’, ‘answer’), (‘defeats’, ‘defeat’), (‘com-	1755
1705	(‘walks’, ‘walk’), (‘converts’, ‘convert’), (‘in-	mands’, ‘command’), (‘engages’, ‘engage’), (‘sus-	1756
1706	fluences’, ‘influence’), (‘mentions’, ‘mention’),	pects’, ‘suspect’), (‘monitors’, ‘monitor’), (‘recom-	1757
1707	(‘commits’, ‘commit’), (‘notes’, ‘note’), (‘advoc-	ends’, ‘recommend’), (‘avoids’, ‘avoid’), (‘de-	1758
1708	ates’, ‘advocate’), (‘thinks’, ‘think’), (‘matches’,	denies’, ‘deny’), (‘divides’, ‘divide’), (‘votes’, ‘vote’),	1759
1709	‘match’), (‘treats’, ‘treat’), (‘finishes’, ‘finish’), (‘il-	(‘terminates’, ‘terminate’), (‘distinguishes’, ‘dis-	1760
1710	lustrates’, ‘illustrate’), (‘translates’, ‘translate’),	tinguish’), (‘estimates’, ‘estimate’), (‘compares’,	1761
1711	(‘spreads’, ‘spread’), (‘hears’, ‘hear’), (‘gradu-	‘compare’), (‘hopes’, ‘hope’), (‘views’, ‘view’),	1762
1712	ates’, ‘graduate’), (‘sells’, ‘sell’), (‘fits’, ‘fit’),	(‘discovers’, ‘discover’), (‘prevents’, ‘prevent’),	1763
1713	(‘maintains’, ‘maintain’), (‘tends’, ‘tend’), (‘em-	(‘lets’, ‘let’), (‘parallels’, ‘parallel’), (‘yields’,	1764
1714	phasizes’, ‘emphasize’), (‘ranges’, ‘range’), (‘fa-	‘yield’), (‘collects’, ‘collect’), (‘preserves’, ‘pre-	1765
1715	cilitates’, ‘facilitate’), (‘winds’, ‘wind’), (‘suc-	serve’), (‘processes’, ‘process’), (‘escapes’, ‘es-	1766
1716	ceeds’, ‘succeed’), (‘teaches’, ‘teach’), (‘com-	cape’), (‘promises’, ‘promise’), (‘desires’, ‘desire’),	1767
1717	brates’, ‘combine’), (‘resides’, ‘reside’), (‘accounts’,	(‘totals’, ‘total’), (‘regulates’, ‘regulate’), (‘blocks’,	1768
1718	‘account’), (‘rests’, ‘rest’), (‘forces’, ‘force’),	‘block’), (‘selects’, ‘select’), (‘confronts’, ‘con-	1769
1719	(‘completes’, ‘complete’), (‘disputes’, ‘dispute’),	front’), (‘switches’, ‘switch’), (‘captures’, ‘cap-	1770
1720	(‘figures’, ‘figure’), (‘celebrates’, ‘celebrate’),	ture’), (‘kisses’, ‘kiss’), (‘investigates’, ‘inves-	1771
1721	(‘approaches’, ‘approach’), (‘notices’, ‘notice’),	tigate’), (‘legends’, ‘legend’), (‘waits’, ‘wait’),	1772
1722	(‘wears’, ‘wear’), (‘participates’, ‘participate’),	(‘reviews’, ‘review’), (‘dominates’, ‘dominate’),	1773
1723	(‘tests’, ‘test’), (‘reports’, ‘report’), (‘measures’,	(‘urges’, ‘urge’), (‘marries’, ‘marry’), (‘imple-	1774
1724	‘measure’), (‘bases’, ‘base’), (‘admits’, ‘admit’),	ments’, ‘implement’), (‘writes’, ‘write’), (‘at-	1775
1725	(‘promotes’, ‘promote’), (‘cares’, ‘care’), (‘faces’,	tributes’, ‘attribute’), (‘guarantees’, ‘guarantee’),	1776
1726	‘face’), (‘functions’, ‘function’), (‘prohibits’, ‘pro-	(‘thanks’, ‘thank’), (‘breeds’, ‘breed’), (‘encoun-	1777
1727	hibit’), (‘improves’, ‘improve’), (‘fires’, ‘fire’),	ters’, ‘encounter’), (‘searches’, ‘search’), (‘cent-	1778
1728	(‘buys’, ‘buy’), (‘identifies’, ‘identify’), (‘per-	tres’, ‘centre’), (‘burns’, ‘burn’), (‘jumps’, ‘jump’),	1779
1729	mits’, ‘permit’), (‘sets’, ‘set’), (‘logs’, ‘log’), (‘lim-	(‘guides’, ‘guide’), (‘challenges’, ‘challenge’),	1780
1730	its’, ‘limit’), (‘proceeds’, ‘proceed’), (‘throws’,	(‘flees’, ‘flee’), (‘respects’, ‘respect’), (‘pushes’,	1781
1731	‘throw’), (‘invites’, ‘invite’), (‘surrounds’, ‘sur-	‘push’), (‘realises’, ‘realise’), (‘slaves’, ‘slave’),	1782
1732	round’), (‘touches’, ‘touch’), (‘intersects’, ‘in-	(‘regrets’, ‘regret’), (‘charges’, ‘charge’), (‘fears’,	1783
1733	tersect’), (‘bands’, ‘band’), (‘constitutes’, ‘con-	‘fear’), (‘witnesses’, ‘witness’), (‘rounds’, ‘round’),	1784
1734	stitute’), (‘replaces’, ‘replace’), (‘assumes’, ‘as-	(‘reacts’, ‘react’), (‘gathers’, ‘gather’), (‘worries’,	1785
1735	sume’), (‘checks’, ‘check’), (‘eats’, ‘eat’), (‘de-	‘worry’), (‘wonders’, ‘wonder’), (‘drinks’, ‘drink’),	1786
1736	clares’, ‘declare’), (‘believes’, ‘believe’), (‘attacks’,	(‘coaches’, ‘coach’)	1787
1737	‘attack’), (‘differs’, ‘differ’), (‘rolls’, ‘roll’), (‘pre-		
1738	pare’, ‘prepare’), (‘sleeps’, ‘sleep’), (‘experi-	Stative verbs in Experiment B3. We use the	1788
1739	ences’, ‘experience’), (‘misses’, ‘miss’), (‘attends’,	following stative verbs for the (B3) condition:	1789
1740	‘attend’), (‘weighs’, ‘weigh’), (‘advises’, ‘advise’),	(‘believes’, ‘believe’), (‘considers’, ‘consider’),	1790
1741	(‘supplies’, ‘supply’), (‘learns’, ‘learn’), (‘broad-	(‘doubt’, ‘doubt’), (‘hears’, ‘hear’), (‘knows’,	1791
1742	casts’, ‘broadcast’), (‘feeds’, ‘feed’), (‘trains’,	‘know’), (‘realises’, ‘realise’), (‘says’, ‘say’), (‘sup-	1792
1743	‘train’), (‘opposes’, ‘oppose’), (‘quotes’, ‘quote’),	poses’, ‘suppose’), (‘thinks’, ‘think’), (‘under-	1793
1744	(‘insists’, ‘insist’), (‘keeps’, ‘keep’), (‘enjoys’, ‘en-	stands’, ‘understand’), (‘wishes’, ‘wish’)	1794
1745	joy’), (‘visits’, ‘visit’), (‘struggles’, ‘struggle’),		
1746	(‘contacts’, ‘contact’), (‘fills’, ‘fill’), (‘sticks’,		
1747	‘stick’), (‘spends’, ‘spend’), (‘separates’, ‘sepa-		
1748	rate’), (‘joins’, ‘join’), (‘grants’, ‘grant’), (‘bor-		
1749	ders’, ‘border’), (‘undergoes’, ‘undergo’), (‘exer-		
1750	cises’, ‘exercise’), (‘realizes’, ‘realize’), (‘directs’,		
1751	‘direct’), (‘assists’, ‘assist’), (‘conducts’, ‘con-		