

Foundations of Distributional Semantic Models

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This course is based on joint work with Marco Baroni (CiMEC, University of Trento), who prepared some of the slides for a previous course on Distributional Semantics Models.

Outline

- 1 Background and motivation
- 2 Defining the DSMs
 - DSMs in a nutshell
 - Generalized DSMs
- 3 The “linguistic” parameters
 - Corpus pre-processing
 - Defining the context
- 4 The “mathematical” parameters
 - Context weighting
 - Dimensionality reduction
- 5 A taxonomy of DSMs

Where are word meanings?

- **Meanings in the world**

- the meaning of *car* is the **set** of {cars} in this world (extension), or a function from possible words to the sets of {cars} in these worlds (intension, property, etc.)
 - cf. formal semantics

- **Meanings in the head**

- the meaning of *car* is the **concept** CAR, as a mental representation of the category of cars
 - cf. cognitive psychology

- **Meanings in the text**

- the meaning of *car* is **an abstraction over the linguistic contexts** in which the word *car* is used
 - cf. **distributional semantics**
- *prima facie*, a paradox!

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Representing word meaning

- Word meaning is usually represented in terms of some **formal, symbolic structure**, either external or internal to the word
 - **external structure**
 - semantic networks (cf. WordNet, Ontologies, etc.)
 - **internal structure**
 - feature (property, attribute) lists
 - frames (cf. FrameNet)
 - recursive feature structures (cf. Generative Lexicon)
 - predicate structures (cf. DRT, etc.)
- The semantic properties of a word are derived from the formal structure of its representation
 - e.g. inferences, semantic similarity, etc.

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Formal representations of meaning

Major assets

- Modelling how word meanings can be composed to build the meaning of a sentence (cf. **compositionality**)
 - $John \rightarrow \mathbf{john}$
 - $chases \rightarrow \lambda x \lambda y. [\mathbf{chase}(x, y)]$
 - $a \rightarrow \lambda P \lambda Q. \exists x [P(x) \wedge Q(x)]$
 - $bat \rightarrow \lambda x. [\mathbf{bat}(x)]$
 - $John\ chases\ a\ bat \rightarrow \exists x [\mathbf{bat}(x) \wedge \mathbf{chase}(\mathbf{john}, x)]$
- Modelling fine-grained lexical inferences
 - $John\ chases\ a\ bat \Rightarrow John\ chases\ an\ animal$
 - $kill \rightarrow \lambda x \lambda y. [\mathbf{kill}(x, y)] \Leftrightarrow \lambda x \lambda y. [\mathbf{CAUSE}(x, \mathbf{BECOME}(\mathbf{DEAD}(y)))]$

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Formal representations of meaning

Some problems (often) left out of the picture

- How to select the right meaning of a word in context?
 - *bat* → **bat**₁ (type of mammal); **bat**₂ (type of artifact)
 - *school* → **school**₁ (group of fish); **school**₂ (location); **school**₃ (institution); **school**₄ (time), **school**₅ (group of people) etc.
- How does context affect the meaning of a word?
 - *clever politician* vs. *clever tycoon*
 - *red hair* vs. *red wine*
- How are meanings acquired?
 - word meaning learning
- How do meanings change?
 - e.g Late Old English *docga* 'a (specific) powerful breed of dog' > *dog* 'any member of the species *Canis familiaris*' (Sagi et al. 2009)

Key issue

The relationship between word meaning and word usage in contexts

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The relationship between **word meaning** and **word usage in contexts**

In the beginning was the context...

The Distributional Hypothesis (DH)

- At least certain aspects of the meaning of lexical expressions **depend on their distributional properties in the linguistic contexts**
- The degree of **semantic similarity** between two linguistic expressions A and B is a function of the similarity of the linguistic contexts in which A and B can appear

The DH in linguistics

Structuralist linguistics

“If we consider words or morphemes A and B to be more different in meaning than A and C, then we will often find that the distributions of A and B are more different than the distributions of A and C. In other words, difference in meaning correlates with difference of distribution”
(Z. Harris, “*Distributional Structure*”, *Word*, X/2-3, 1954)

Corpus linguistics

“You shall know a word by the company it keeps”
(J. R. Firth, *Selected Papers*, 1957)

The DH in psychology

Contextual representation (Miller & Charles 1991)

- The **cognitive representation** of a word is some abstraction or generalization derived from the contexts that have been encountered
- A word's contextual representation is **an abstract cognitive structure that accumulates from encounters with the word in various (linguistic) contexts**
 - a contextual representation is not itself a context, but characterizes a *set of contexts*

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Contextual representations

- The definition of contextual representation is consistent with an extended notion of contexts of use of a word, including non-linguistic aspects
 - e.g. aspects of the communicative settings
- *De facto*, context is equated with **linguistic context**
 - **practical reason** - it is easy to collect linguistic contexts (from corpora) and to process them
 - **theoretical reason** - it is possible to investigate the role of linguistic distributions in shaping word meaning

From linguistic distributions to meaning

Landau & Gleitman (1985); McDonald & Ramscar (2001); Fisher & Gleitman (2002)

- The linguistic structures in which words appear are important clues about their meaning
 - *The man **gorped** Mary the book*
 - *John **sebbed** that he was unhappy*

 - *He filled the **wampimuk** with the substance, passed it around and we all drunk some*
 - *We found a little, hairy **wampimuk** sleeping behind the tree*
- We learn the meaning of many terms simply from language (often before having any experience with the corresponding entities)
 - cf. *idiosyncrasy, apotropaic, justice, synchrotron, etc.*

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Weak and Strong DH

Lenci (2008)

Weak DH

A quantitative method for semantic analysis and lexical resource induction

- word meaning (whatever this might be) is reflected in linguistic distributions
- by inspecting a relevant number of distributional contexts, we may identify those aspects of meaning that are shared by words that have similar contextual distributions

applications E-language modeling, lexicography, NLP

- word sense disambiguation, ontology and thesauri learning, relation extraction, question answering, etc.

Weak and Strong DH

Lenci (2008)

Strong DH

A cognitive hypothesis about the form and origin of semantic representations

- word distributions in context have a specific **causal role** in the formation of the semantic representation for that word
- the distributional properties of words in linguistic contexts explains human semantic behavior (e.g. judgment of semantic similarity)

applications I-language modeling, concept modeling

- semantic priming, word learning, semantic deficits, etc.

Distributional Semantic Models (DSMs)

- Computational models that build **contextual semantic representations** from corpus data
- DSMs are models for **semantic representations...**
 - the semantic content is represented by a **vector**

... and for **the way semantic representations are built**

 - vectors are obtained through the statistical analysis of the linguistic contexts of a word
- Alternative names for DSMs
 - *corpus-based semantics*
 - *statistical semantics*
 - *geometrical models of meaning*
 - *vector semantics*
 - *word (semantic) space models*

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DSMs in a nutshell

- **Distributional vectors**

- *count* how many times each target word occurs in a certain context
- *build vectors* out of (a function of) these context occurrence counts
- similar words will have *similar vectors*

Caveat

- similar vectors represent words that have similar distributions in contexts
- DH is the “bridging assumption” that turns **distributional similarity** into **semantic similarity**

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Collecting context counts for target word “dog”

contexts = nouns and verbs in the same sentence

The dog barked in the park. The owner of the dog put him on the leash since he barked.

bark	++
park	+
owner	+
leash	+

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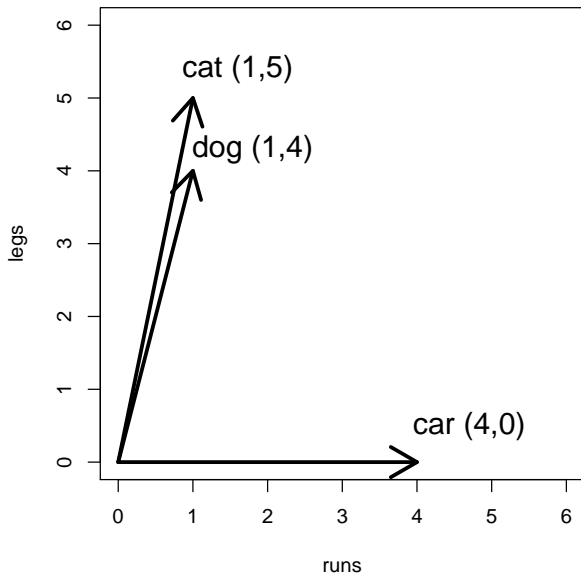
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Contextual representations as distributional vectors

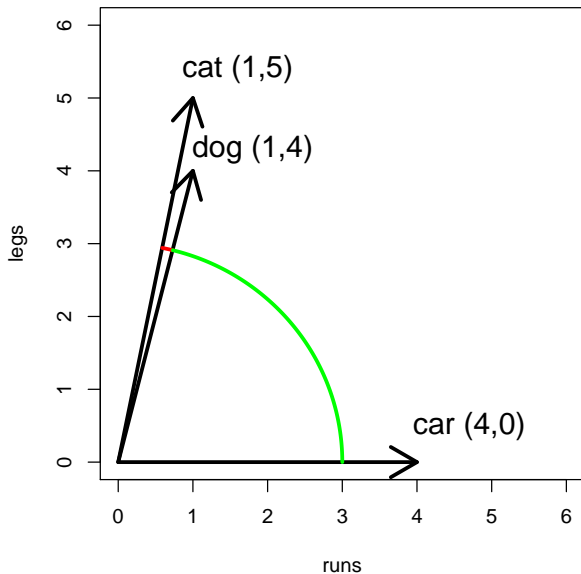
distributional matrix = targets X contexts

	contexts						
	leash	walk	run	owner	leg	bark	
targets	dog	3	5	1	5	4	2
cat	0	3	3	1	5	0	
lion	0	3	2	0	1	0	
light	0	0	0	0	0	0	
bark	1	0	0	2	1	0	
car	0	0	4	3	0	0	

Semantic space



Semantic similarity as angle between vectors



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A general definition of DSMs

- DSMs are tuples $\langle T, C, R, W, M, d, S \rangle$

T target elements, i.e. the words for which the DSM provides a contextual representation

C contexts, with which T cooccur

R relation, between T and the contexts C

W context weighting scheme

M distributional matrix, $T \times C$

d dimensionality reduction function, $d : M \rightarrow M'$

S distance measure, between the vectors in M'

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Building a DSM step-by-step

The “linguistic” steps

Pre-process a corpus (to define targets and contexts)



Select the targets and the contexts

The “mathematical” steps

Count the target-context co-occurrences



Weight the contexts (optional, but recommended)



Build the distributional matrix



Reduce the matrix dimensions (optional)



Compute the vector distances on the (reduced) matrix

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The DSM parameter space

- Each step determines a wide number of **parameters** to be fixed
 - *which type of context?*
 - *which weighting scheme?*
 - *which similarity measure?*
 - etc.
- A specific parameter setting determines a particular type of DSM (e.g. LSA, HAL, etc.)

Caveat

Parameter setting dramatically affects the resulting semantic space

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Corpus pre-processing

- Minimally, corpus must be **tokenized**
- Types of pre-processing
 - **POS tagging**
 - **lemmatization**
 - **dependency parsing**
- Trade-off between deeper linguistic analysis and
 - need for language-specific resources
 - possible errors introduced at each stage of the analysis
 - more parameters to tune
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Same corpus (BNC), different pre-processing

Nearest neighbours of *walk*

tokenized corpus

- stroll
- walking
- walked
- go
- path
- drive
- ride
- wander
- sprinted
- sauntered

lemmatized corpus

- hurry
- stroll
- stride
- trudge
- amble
- wander
- walk-nn
- walking
- retrace
- scuttle

Same corpus (Repubblica), different pre-processing

Nearest neighbours of *arrivare* “arrive”

tokenized corpus

- giungere
- raggiungere
- arrivi
- raggiungimento
- raggiunto
- trovare
- raggiunge
- arrivasse
- arriverà
- concludere

lemmatized corpus

- giungere
- aspettare
- attendere
- arrivo-nn
- ricevere
- accontentare
- approdare
- pervenire
- venire
- piombare

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Documents as contexts

C = documents, passages, etc.

R = target occurs in C

`< doc id = " 1 " >` The silhouette of the **sun** beyond a wide-open bay on the lake`< /doc >`

`< doc id = " 2 " >` The **sun** still glitters although evening has arrived in Kuhmo. The **sun** light is really nice`< /doc >`

`< doc id = " 3 " >` It's midsummer; the living room has its instruments and other objects in each of its corners.`< /doc >`

Parameters

- type and size of documents

- full document
- paragraph
- passage

Documents as contexts

distributional matrix = term X document

cf. Latent Semantic Analysis (LSA)

	documents		
	doc ₁	doc ₂	doc ₃
sun	1	2	0
instrument	0	0	1
corner	1	0	1

Words as contexts

C = some subset of the **lexical words**

R = some **syntagmatic link** connecting the target to C

- C is typically chosen as the n most frequent words (except for a number of stop words)
- Other *a priori* criteria are possible
 - e.g. nouns as contexts for verbs, particular adverbs as contexts for verbs, verbs of communication as contexts for nouns, etc.
- Types of syntagmatic relations
 - linear
 - word window
 - linguistic unit (e.g. clause, sentence, paragraph etc.)
 - syntactic dependency
 - lexico-syntactic pattern

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Words as contexts

Linear relations - word window

$R = T$ occurs **within a window of n words** from C

The **silhouette of the sun beyond a wide-open bay on the lake; the sun still glitters although** evening has arrived in Kuhmo. It's midsummer; the living room has its instruments and other objects in each of its corners.

Parameters

- window size
- window shape
 - *rectangular* - all words in the window have the same weight (cf. Infomap NLP)
 - *triangular* - words closer to the target have a higher weight (cf. HAL)
- window boundary

Same corpus (BNC), different window sizes

Nearest neighbours of *dog*

2-word window

- cat
- horse
- fox
- pet
- rabbit
- pig
- animal
- mongrel
- sheep
- pigeon

30-word window

- kennel
- puppy
- pet
- bitch
- terrier
- rottweiler
- canine
- cat
- to bark
- Alsatian

Words as contexts

Linear relations - linguistic unit

R = T is in the **same linguistic unit** as C

The silhouette of the **sun** beyond a wide-open bay on the lake; the **sun** still glitters although evening has arrived in Kuhmo. It's midsummer; the living room has its instruments and other objects in each of its corners.

- Parameters
- type of linguistic unit
 - sentence
 - paragraph
 - turn in a conversation

Words as contexts

Dependency-based relations

R = T is linked to C by a **syntactic dependency** (e.g. subject, modifier, etc.)

The **silhouette** of the **sun** beyond a wide-open **bay** on the lake; the **sun** still **glitters** although evening has arrived in Kuhmo. It's midsummer; the living room has its instruments and other objects in each of its corners.

- Parameters**
- types of syntactic dependency (cf. DV; Padó & Lapata 2007)
 - type of dependency path
 - direct dependencies
 - direct + indirect dependencies
 - length of dependency path

Words as contexts

Pattern-based relations

R = T is linked to C by a **lexico-syntactic pattern** (cf. Hearst 1992, Pantel & Pennacchiotti 2008, etc.)

In Provence, Van Gogh painted with bright **colors** such as **red** and **yellow**. These **colors** produce incredible **effects** on anybody looking at his paintings.

Parameters

- type of lexical patterns
 - lots of research to identify semantically interesting patterns (cf. Almuhareb & Poesio 2004; Veale & Hao 2008, etc.)

Contexts and syntagmatic relations

- Syntagmatic relations as **context-filtering functions**
 - only those words that are linked to the targets by a certain relation are selected
- Syntagmatic relations as **context-typing functions**
 - relations define **types of contexts**

Contexts and syntagmatic relations

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Context-filtering by syntagmatic relations

window-based (Rapp 2003, Infomap NLP)

A dog bites a man. A man bites a dog. A dog bites a man.

	bite
dog	3
man	3

Context-typing by syntagmatic relations

window-based (HAL)

Words to the left and to the right of the target are treated as
different types of contexts

A dog bites a man. A man bites a dog. A dog bites a man.

	bite-l	bite-r
dog	2	1
man	1	2

Context-filtering by syntagmatic relations

dependency-based (Padó & Lapata)

A dog bites a man. A man bites a dog. A dog bites a man.

	bite
dog	3
man	3

Context-typing by syntagmatic relations

dependency-based (Grefenstette 1994, Lin 1998, Curran & Moens 2002, Baroni & Lenci 2009)

Words linked to the target with different syntactic dependencies are treated as **different types of contexts**

A dog bites a man. A man bites a dog. A dog bites a man.

	bite-subj	bite-obj
dog	2	1
man	1	2

Filters vs. types

- With filters, data less sparse (*man kills* and *kills man* both map to a *kill* dimension of the *man* vector)
- With types
 - more sensitivity to semantic distinctions (*kill-subj* and *kill-obj* are rather different things!)
 - syntagmatic relations provide a form of “typing” of space dimensions (the “subject” dimensions, the “for” dimensions, etc.)
 - important to account for word-order and compositionality in DSMs (cf. Friday class)

A taxonomy of contexts

- Contexts as **documents**
 - subtype of contexts depend on the document size and type
 - full documents, paragraphs, passages, etc.
- Contexts as **words**
 - syntagmatic relation as filters
 - linear relation - word window, linguistic unit
 - syntactic dependency
 - lexico-syntactic pattern-based
 - syntagmatic relation as types
 - linear relation - word window, linguistic unit
 - syntactic dependency
 - lexico-syntactic pattern-based

Main opposition in DSMs

- Contexts as documents
 - two words are distributionally similar to the extent that they occur in the same documents
- Contexts as words
 - two words are distributionally similar to the extent that they cooccur with the same words
- Sahlgren (2006) reports very little overlap between these DSM types
 - NB: “contexts as documents” = “syntagmatic spaces” and “contexts as words” = “paradigmatic spaces” in Sahlgren’s terminology

General trends in “context engineering”

- In **computational linguistics**, tendency towards using more linguistically aware contexts, but “jury is still out” on their utility (Sahlgren in press)
 - this is at least in part task-specific
- In **cognitive science** trend towards broader document-/text-based definition of contexts
 - focus on topic detection, gist extraction, text coherence assessment
 - Latent Semantic Analysis, Topic Models (Griffiths et al 2007)

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Outline

- 1 Background and motivation
- 2 Defining the DSMs
 - DSMs in a nutshell
 - Generalized DSMs
- 3 The “linguistic” parameters
 - Corpus pre-processing
 - Defining the context
- 4 The “mathematical” parameters**
 - Context weighting**
 - Dimensionality reduction**
- 5 A taxonomy of DSMs

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Context weighting

- From raw counts to **log-frequency**, to smooth high frequency differences
- **Association measures** (Evert 2005) are used to give more weight to contexts that are more significantly associated with a target word
 - the less frequent the target word and (more importantly) the context element are, the higher the weight given to their observed co-occurrence count should be (because their expected chance co-occurrence frequency is low)
 - co-occurrence with frequent context element *time* is less informative than co-occurrence with rarer *tail*
 - different measures – e.g., Mutual Information, Log-Likelihood Ratio – differ with respect to how they balance raw and expectation-adjusted co-occurrence frequencies
- **Information Retrieval** weighting schemes
 - word entropy, tf-idf, etc.

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Context weighting

The basic intuition

word1	word2	freq 1 2	freq 1	freq 2
dog	small	855	33,338	490,580
dog	domesticated	29	33,338	918

Mutual Information

Church & Hanks (1990)

$$MI(w_1, w_2) = \log_2 \frac{P_{\text{corpus}}(w_1, w_2)}{P_{\text{ind}}(w_1, w_2)}$$

$$MI(w_1, w_2) = \log_2 \frac{P_{\text{corpus}}(w_1, w_2)}{P_{\text{corpus}}(w_1)P_{\text{corpus}}(w_2)}$$

$$P(w_1, w_2) = \frac{fq(w_1, w_2)}{N}$$

$$P(w) = \frac{fq(w)}{N}$$

Other weighting methods

MI is sometimes criticized (e.g., Manning & Schütze 1999) because it only takes relative frequency into account, and thus overestimates the weight of rare events/dimensions:

word1	word2	freq 1 2	freq 2	MI core
dog	domesticated	29	918	0.03159
dog	sgjkj	1	1	1

Other weighting methods

- A popular alternative is the **Log-Likelihood Ratio** (Dunning 1993)
- “Core” of main term of log-likelihood ratio:

$$fq(w_1, w_2) \times MI(w_1, w_2)$$

- this term alone is also called **Local Mutual Information** (Evert 2008)

word1	word2	freq 1 2	MI	LLR core
dog	small	855	3.96	3382.87
dog	domesticated	29	6.85	198.76
dog	sgjkj	1	10.31	10.31

For more details on association measures:

<http://www.collocations.de>

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Dimensionality reduction

- Reduce the target-word-by-context matrix to a lower dimensionality matrix
- Two main reasons:
 - **smoothing** - capture “latent dimensions” that generalize over sparser surface dimensions (cf. SVD)
 - **efficiency/space** - sometimes the matrix is so large that you don't even want to construct it explicitly (cf. Random Indexing)

Singular Value Decomposition

- General technique from Linear Algebra (essentially, the same as Principal Component Analysis, PCA)
- given a matrix (e.g., a word-by-context matrix) of $m \times n$ dimensionality, construct a $m \times k$ matrix, where $k \ll n$ (and $k < m$)
 - e.g., from a 20,000 words by 10,000 contexts matrix to a 20,000 words by 300 “latent dimensions” matrix
 - k is typically an arbitrary choice
- From linear algebra, we know that and how we can find the reduced $m \times k$ matrix with orthogonal dimensions/columns that preserves most of the variance in the original matrix

More details to come from Stefan!!

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The DSM parameter space

- **Linguistic parameters**
 - **pre-processing and linguistic annotation** - raw text, stemming, POS tagging and lemmatisation, (dependency) parsing, semantically relevant patterns
 - **choice of context** - document, sentence, window, dependency relations, etc.
- **Mathematical parameters**
 - **context weighting** - log-frequency, association scores, entropy, etc.
 - **measuring distance** - cosine similarity, Euclidean, Manhattan, Minkowski (p-norm)
 - **dimensionality reduction** - feature selection, SVD projection (PCA), random indexing
- A careful understanding of the effects of these parameters on the semantic properties identified by DMSs is still lacking
 - cf. Bullinaria & Levy 2007, Bullinaria 2008 for a systematic exploration of some of these parameters

Some instances of DSMs

Latent Semantic Analysis (Landauer & Dumais 1996)

context documents

matrix word X document

W log term frequency and term entropy in the corpus

d SVD

S cosine

Hyperspace Analogue to Language (Lund & Burgess 1996)

context triangular window-based with position as context-typing function

matrix word X word

W frequency

d dimensions with the highest variance

S Minkowski metric

Some instances of DSMs

Infomap NLP (Widdows 2004)

context rectangular window-based

matrix word X word

W frequency

d SVD

S cosine

Random Indexing (Karlgrén & Salhgren 2001)

context rectangular window-based

matrix word X word

W various

d RI

S various

Some instances of DSMs

Dependency Vectors (Padó & Lapata 2007)

context dependency-based, with dependency as context-filtering functions

matrix word X word

W log-likelihood ratio

d none

S information theoretic similarity measure in Lin (1998)

Distributional Memory (Baroni & Lenci 2009)

context dependency-based, with dependencies as context-typing functions

matrix various

W local MI

d none

S cosine

Three properties of representations in DSMs

- **Distributed** - meaning is not represented in terms of some conceptual or formal symbol, but in terms of a **n -dimensional vector**
 - vector dimensions are (typically) semantically empty
 - semantic properties derive from global vector comparison (e.g. by measuring their distance in space)
- **Distributional** - word meaning derives from its **distributional history**, as recorded in the word vector
- **Quantitative and gradual** - words differ not only for the contexts in which they appear, but also for the **salience of these contexts** (cf. context weighting scheme)

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DSMs and their relatives

- The distributed and quantitative nature of DSM representations make them similar to representations in **connectionist models** (cf. Rogers et al. 2004)
 - in neural networks, representations are distributed vectors, but not necessarily distributional
 - vectors dimension may encode different type of information, e.g. sensory-motor
- DSM-like representations can also built with neural networks
 - Borovsky & Elman (2006) use **Simple Recurrent Networks** to model word semantic learning from the distributional analysis of linguistic input (using child-directed speech as a corpus)

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Homework

- Using the online interface WebInfomap, find the nearest neighbors of the following words
 - *car*
 - *president*
 - *destruction*
 - *kill*
 - *build*
 - *speak*
 - *red*
 - *clever*
- Analyze the types of neighbors you get with each words, focussing on:
 - the neighbor POS
 - the type of semantic relation with the target (e.g. synonymy, hyperonymy, anonymy, others)
 - differences wrt the window size