

The productivity of morphological and syntactic evaluative constructions in Italian: exploring networks and daughters

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### Productivity: what else can we possibly say?

- Productivity has been assessed by both quantitative and qualitative factors, such as:
  - construction-internal constraints on 'open slot' (e.g., phonological, semantic, morphological)
  - level of schematicity and/or level of entrenchment for constructions (e.g., Barðdal 2008; Perek 2020)
  - productivity measures like type/token ratio, hapax/token ratio, etc. (e.g., Baayen 1991, Zeldes 2001)
- Productivity measures, however, sometimes give unexpected results
- Evaluative morphology is a case in point
  - Some low-frequency evaluative affixes are recognized by quantitative measures to be more productive than more frequent evaluative and derivational affixes (Gaeta & Ricca 2003; Albair 2010)

"Does it make sense, linguistically, that such low-frequency items exhibit a top value in productivity?" [Gaeta & Ricca 2003: 109]

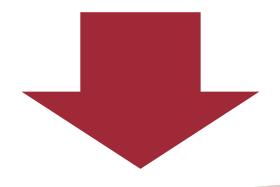
- This poses questions on how much these productivity measures can account for entrenchment
  - since productivity is generally seen as a correlate of schema entrenchment (Lieven 2010; Stefanowitsch & Flach 2015, a.o.), should we assume that unfrequent evaluative schemas are more entrenched than regularly exploited ones?

### Evaluative morphology vs. canonical derivation

- Now, one basic fact about evaluative morphology is that evaluative items are normally nonce formations, created on the spur of the moment (1), contrary to canonical derivation
  - Although they may be stored if they are frequent enough (2) or if they acquire an idiosyncratic meaning (3)

#### Italian

(1) managerino	manager.DIM	'little manager'
(2) cucchiaino	spoon.DIM	'teaspoon'
(3) bocconcino	bite.DIM	'delicacy'



#### Evaluative morphology

- Mostly nonce-formations
- Occasionally stored

#### Canonical word-formation

- Mostly stored items
- Occasionally nonce-formations



### Evaluative morphology = syntax?

"[evaluative] items do not fully behave as derivational items, but rather border on syntax, and therefore their productivity cannot be straightforwardly compared with the one displayed by core instances of bound derivational processes."

[Gaeta & Ricca 2003: 109-110; emphasis added]

- This alleged similarity between evaluative morphology and syntactic constructions, hypothesized by Gaeta & Ricca (2003), has been left unexplored
- In the meantime, a wealth of studies on productivity appeared, proposing new measures and methods, and we also started to talk about morphology in constructionist terms (Booij 2010)

### Research questions for today

- Today we address this unexplored question by looking at a set of Italian morphological and syntactic constructions expressing approximation (Masini & Micheli 2020; Masini, Norde & Van Goethem 2023)
- We adopt a constructionist perspective, which assumes no principled morphology-syntax division
  - Interestingly, in CxG, the intuition that evaluatives tend to behave more similarly to syntactic constructions (than to canonical derivation) can be re-interpreted in terms of **networks and daughters**
  - Evaluative morphological schemas tend to be instantiated more by constructs (like syntax) than by lexically specified daughter constructions (like derivation)
- Keeping this in mind, our aim is to:

RQ1) verify if evaluative morphological schemas actually pattern with syntactic schemas in terms of productivity

RQ2) understand the relationship between productivity, entrenchment and familiarity in different types of cxns

RQ3) clarify how all this can be modelled in CxG, focusing on the role of networks and daughters

#### Methods: construction selection

- We selected 7 constructions (cxns), including:
  - 2 established syntactic constructions (1-2)
  - 4 morphological constructions (3-6)
    - Some of which are more 'emergent' (5-6), falling inbetween morphology and syntax
  - 1 frequent and productive derivational prefix (Gaeta & Ricca 2003) as a benchmark

#### SYNTACTIC EVALUATIVE

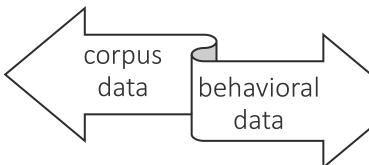
- 1) **specie di X** 'kind/sort of X'
- una sorta di guerriglia contro tutte le istituzioni 'a sort of guerrilla warfare against all institutions'
- 2) sorta di X 'kind/sort of X'
- costretto a fare una specie di corsa a ostacoli '[said of commuter] forced to do a kind of obstacle race'

#### MORPHOLOGICAL\_EVALUATIVE

- 3) *pseudo-X* 'pseudo-X'
- uno pseudo satanista che veste nero per vendere dischi 'a pseudo satanist who dresses in black to sell records'
- 4) semi-X 'semi-X'
  - Il palazzo lasciato semi-deserto dai vacanzieri. 'The building left semi-deserted by vacationers'
- 5) mezzo-X 'half-X'
- Se i deputati sapessero, ci sarebbe una mezza rivolta. 'If deputies knew, there would be half a riot'
- 6) *non-X* 'non-X'

#### DERIVATIONAL\_MORPHOLOGY

- 7) *in-X* 'un/in-X'
- insufficiente 'insufficient', incapace 'unable', irregolare 'irregular'



### Methods I: corpus data & productivity

- We extracted a **sample of 500 occurrences** for each of the 7 selected cxns (except for *non-*) from the CORIS2021 corpus of contemporary written Italian (165Mw, <a href="https://corpora.ficlit.unibo.it/TCORIS/">https://corpora.ficlit.unibo.it/TCORIS/</a>)
  - We decided not to control for the lexical category of the base, but we included only examples that convey approximation (not other possible meanings)
- We compared the 7 cxns by computing various measures, including both traditional productivity measures and newly developed ones to evaluate different aspects of the type and token distributions (e.g., the conventionalization of specific items)
  - We used the R package *zipfR* (Evert & Baroni 2007) to calculate the productivity measures

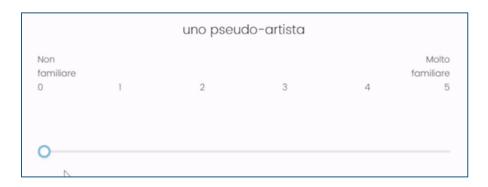
Productivity measures	Conventionalization/entrenchment measures (Van den Heede & Lauwers 2023)
V = number of types	<b>alpha</b> = approximation of the $\alpha$ coefficient of Zipf's law
TTR = type/token ratio	FrTop1 = frequency of the top-ranked type
P = hapax/token ratio (Baayen 1991)	FrTop3 = average frequency of the three top-ranked types
Hapax = hapax/type ratio (Baayen 2009)	<b>StDevTop3</b> = std. deviation of the frequency of three top-ranked types
Shannon's Entropy (Pankratz et al. 2022)	

### Methods II: behavioral data & familiarity

- Then we decided to explore another dimension, namely the **familiarity** of these cxns by means of a **judgement test**, using Qualtrics for the survey and Prolific for recruiting participants
  - Familiarity is intended as a correlate of the strength of the mental representation of an item (Caldwell-Harris et al. 2012; Verhagen 2020), hence it should be a correlate of its frequency and entrenchment
- We designed the test to include 24 stimuli
  - We included 6 constructions
    - We included only sorta di X and not specie di X (because they behave very similarly in the corpus data)
  - For each of the 6 constructions we picked **3** (real) examples from our dataset
    - 1 top-ranked, 1 median, 1 hapax (randomly chosen)
    - All bases (Xs) were checked for use
      - They are all included in the *Basic Vocabulary* for Italian (as FO=fundamental or AU=high usage)
  - We added **6 fillers** of various types to check for the quality of responses
    - 1 familiar & 1 unfamiliar syntactic expression of the 'N of N' type
    - 1 familiar & 1 unfamiliar derived word
    - 1 familiar & 1 unfamiliar simple word

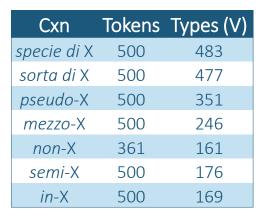
## Methods II: behavioral data & familiarity

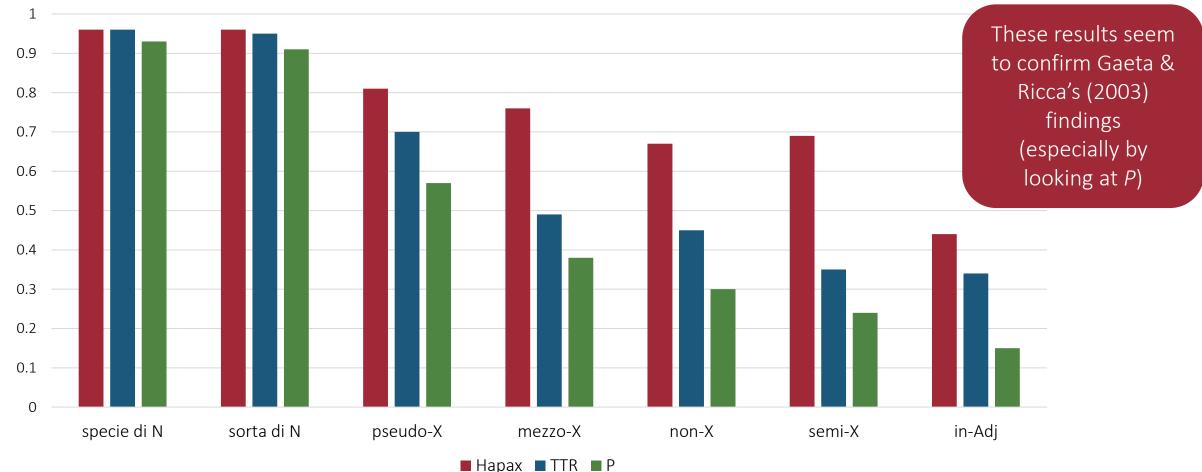
- 200 participants were asked to rate for familiarity the 24 stimuli on a six-point Likert scale (0-5)
  - Age range: 20-67 (Average 35, StDev 11.04)
  - Sex: female 50%, male 50%
- The participants were asked to rate by dragging a sliding bar going from 0 (not familiar, never heard of) to 5 (very familiar)



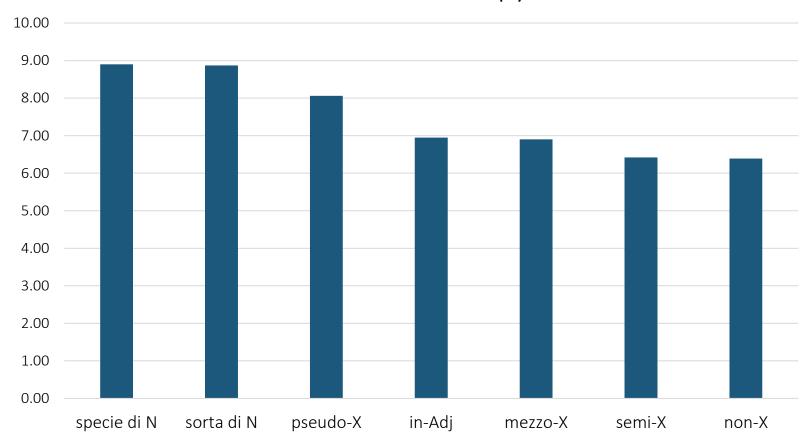
ID	Stimuli	Glosses	Type of stimulus	
Q1	una sorta di museo	a sort of museum	top-ranked	
Q2	una sorta di scatola	a sort of box	hapax	
Q3	una sorta di villaggio	a sort of village	median	
Q4	un mezzo-sorriso	a half-smile	top-ranked	
Q5	una mezza-notizia	a half-news	hapax	
Q6	mezzo-spento	half-switched_off	median	
Q7	semi-nudo	semi-naked	top-ranked	
Q8	semi-magico	semi-magical	hapax	
Q9	semi-professionale	semi-professional	median	
Q10	pseudo-religioso	pseudo-religious	top-ranked	
Q11	una pseudo-informazione	a pseudo-information	hapax	
Q12	uno pseudo-artista	a pseudo-artist	median	
Q13	una non-vita	a non-life	top-ranked	
Q14	una non-regola	a non-rule	hapax	
Q15	un non-lavoro	a non-job	median	
Q16	inutile	useless	top-ranked	
Q17	irreale	unreal	hapax	
Q18	ingiusto	unjust	median	
Q19	un episodio di violenza	an episode of violence	filler_syn_fam	
Q20	un nottolino di arresto	a door_latch of stopping	filler_syn_nofam	
Q21	ricominciare	restart	filler_mor_fam	
Q22	antemarcia	premarch	filler_mor_nofam	
Q23	una canzone	a song	filler_simple_fam	
Q24	una brenna	a nag (horse)	filler_simple_nofam	







#### Shannon's Entropy



**Shannon's Entropy** = uncertainty of encountering a specific type in a type frequency distribution

$$H(X) = -\sum_{x \in X} p(x) \log_2 p(x)$$

Advantages (Pankratz et al. 2022):

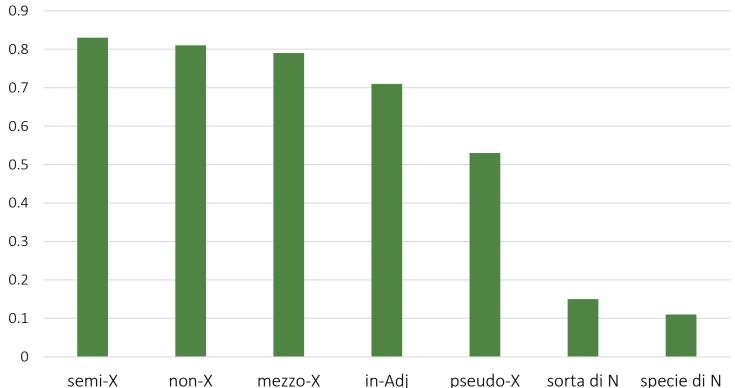
- no privileged status of hapaxes
- comparability of samples of different sizes

#### **Notable difference** (wrt TTR, P, HTR):

 in- seems to be as productive as evaluative morphological cxns (and even slightly more productive than some of them)

- **alpha =** *anti-productivity measure* (van Egmond 2013; Van den Heede & Lauwers 2023)
  - Absolute value of the slope of the linear relation between the log of the ranks and the log of the frequencies **rate of decline in frequency** from top-ranking items to less frequent ones

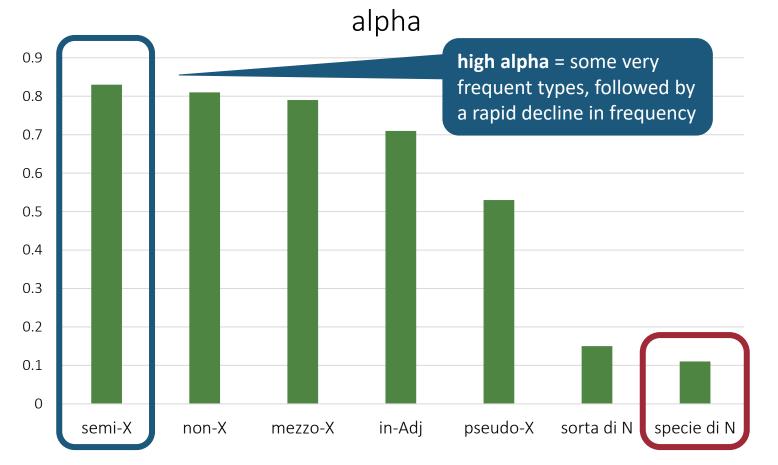
a	lp.	ha
a	ıp.	na

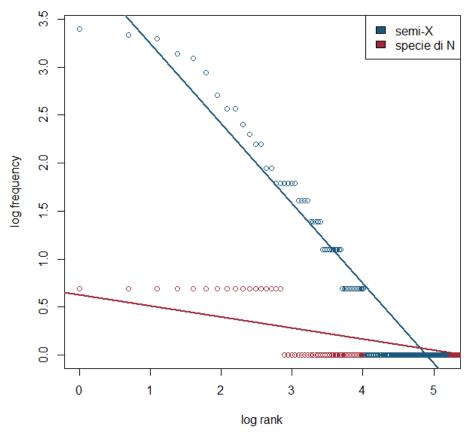


Cxn	FrTop1	FrTop3	StDevTop3
mezzo-X	63	35,3	20,49
non-X	57	27	21,27
semi-X	30	28,3	1,25
in-Adj	27	22,67	3,78
pseudo-X	25	15,67	7,04
sorta di N	3	3	0
specie di N	2	2	0

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### Corpus data & productivity: sum up

#### Productivity measures

- Evaluative **syntactic constructions** are very productive according to all the measures
- Canonical word-formation (in-) are much less productive (w sample too small?)
- Evaluative morphology:
  - mezzo-, semi- & non- always pattern alike, lying in the middle between syntax and morphology
  - pseudo- seems closer to syntactic constructions

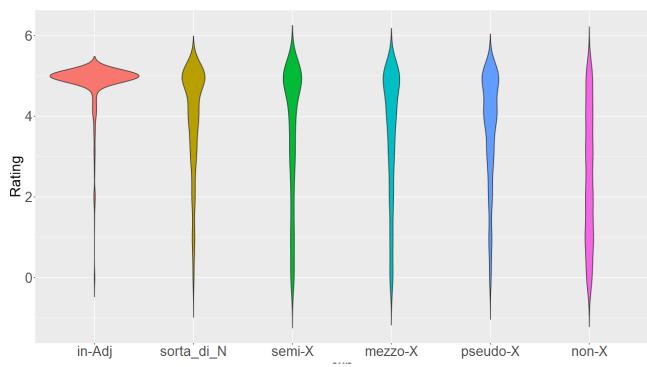
#### Conventionalization measures

- Evaluative **syntactic constructions** show no peaks in frequency (maxFr = 3, alpha very low)
- *pseudo* stands in between, but this time is **close to** *in* by all measures
- *mezzo-, semi-* & *non-* show **high conventionalization** scores
  - Top-ranking items are much more frequent than the rest of the distribution

#### Productivity ~ Conventionalization

• As found by previous studies (Barðdal 2008; Van den Heede & Lauwers 2023) there seems to be a **negative correlation between productivity and conventionalization** of top items; esp. **entropy and alpha** show the best fit (-0.97, p = 0.001)

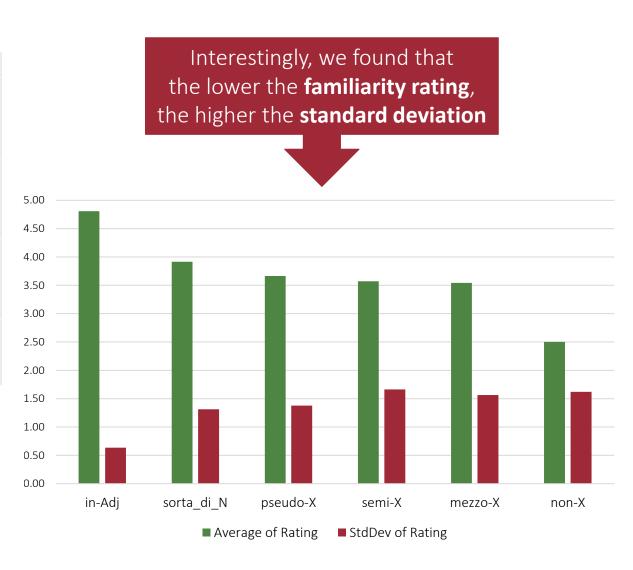
Average familiarity rating by cxn



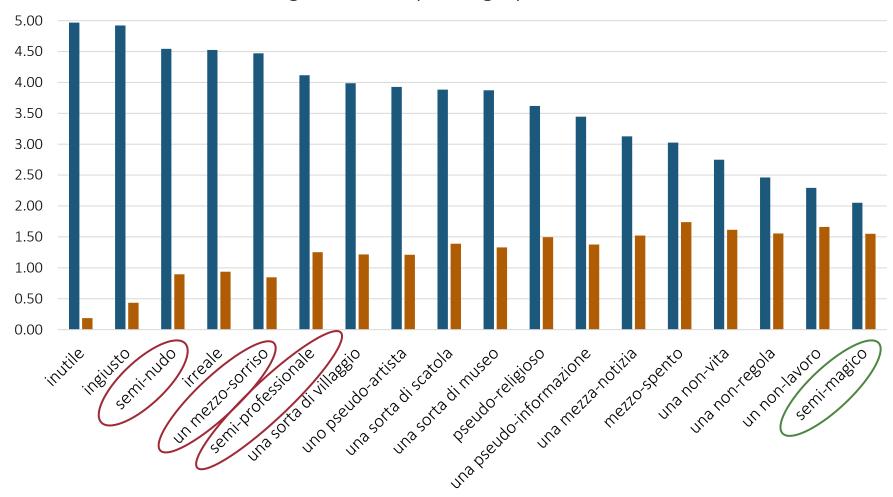
Kruskal-Wallis: p < 0.0001

Significant differences (Dunn test w/ Holm-Bonferroni correction):

- *in* vs the other cxns
- sorta di vs the other cxns
- non- vs the other cxns
- No significant difference between pseudo-, mezzo- and semi-



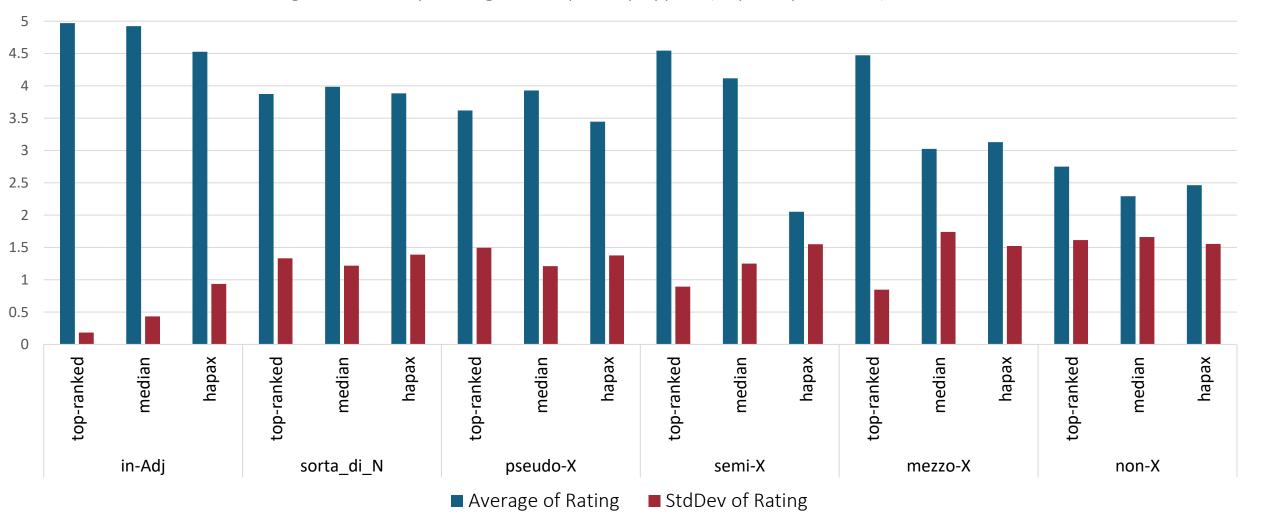
Average familiarity rating by stimulus

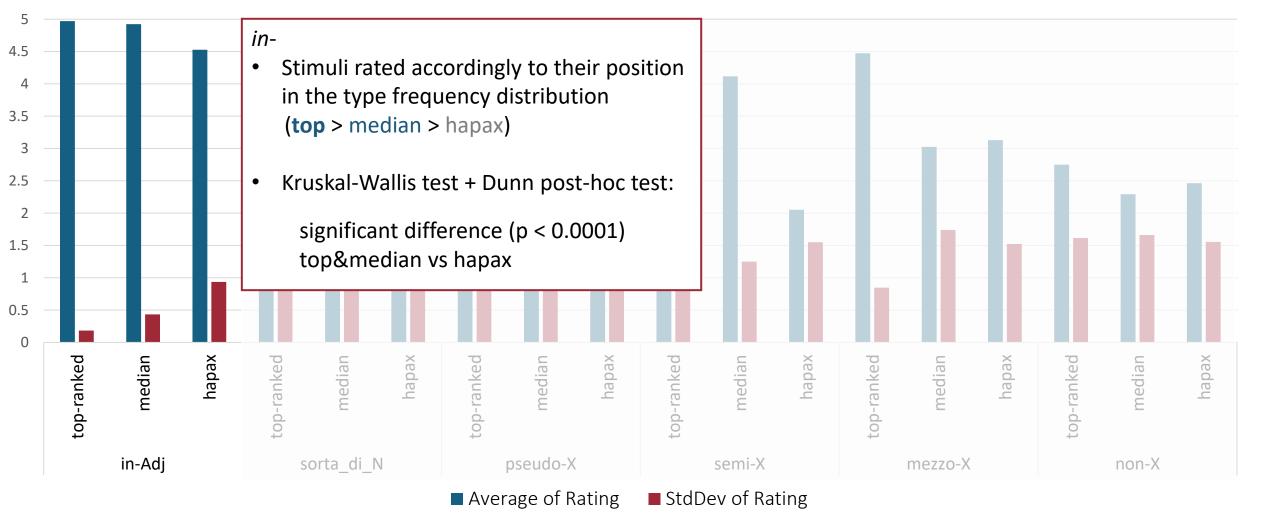


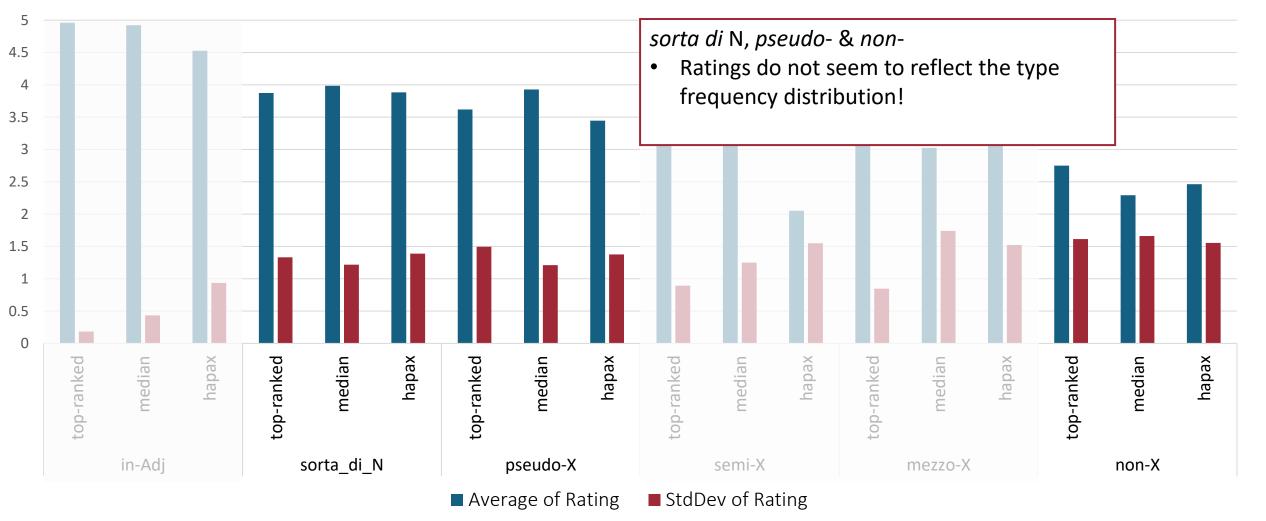
Average of Rating

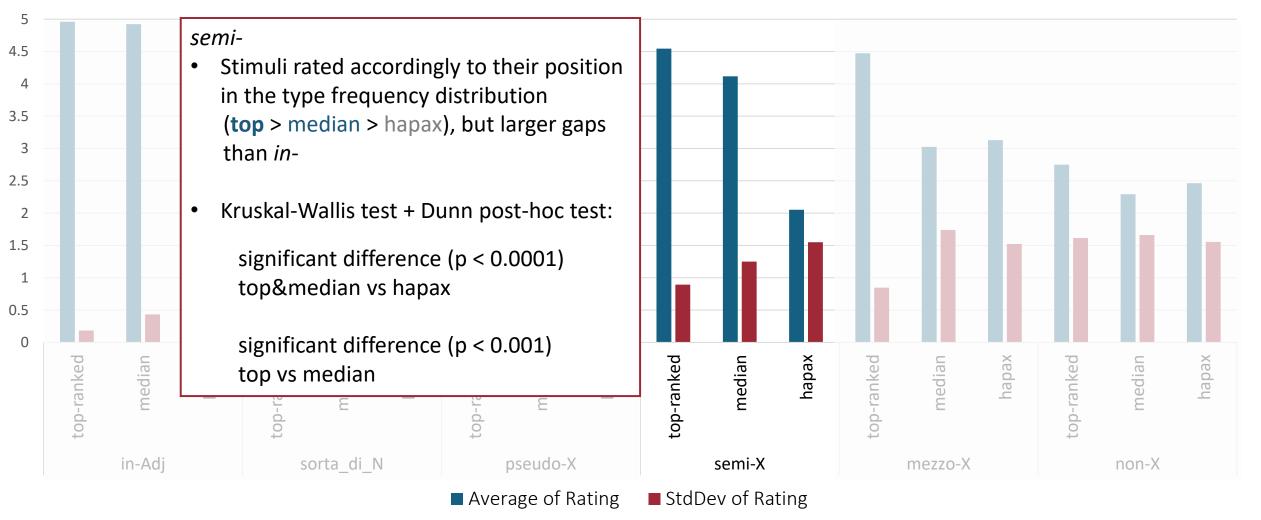
■ StdDev of Rating

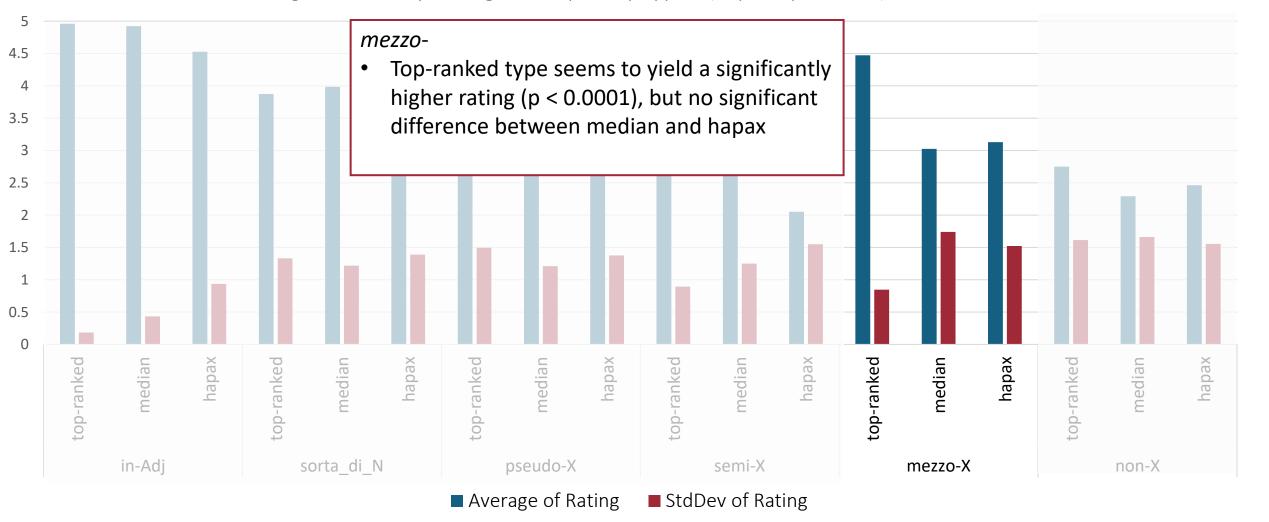
- Unexpectedly, the topranking types of semiand mezzo- got rated almost as high as in-, and higher than sorta di
- Their less frequent types got quite low ratings
  - magic') is even less familiar than *non* types











#### Behavioral data & familiarity: sum up

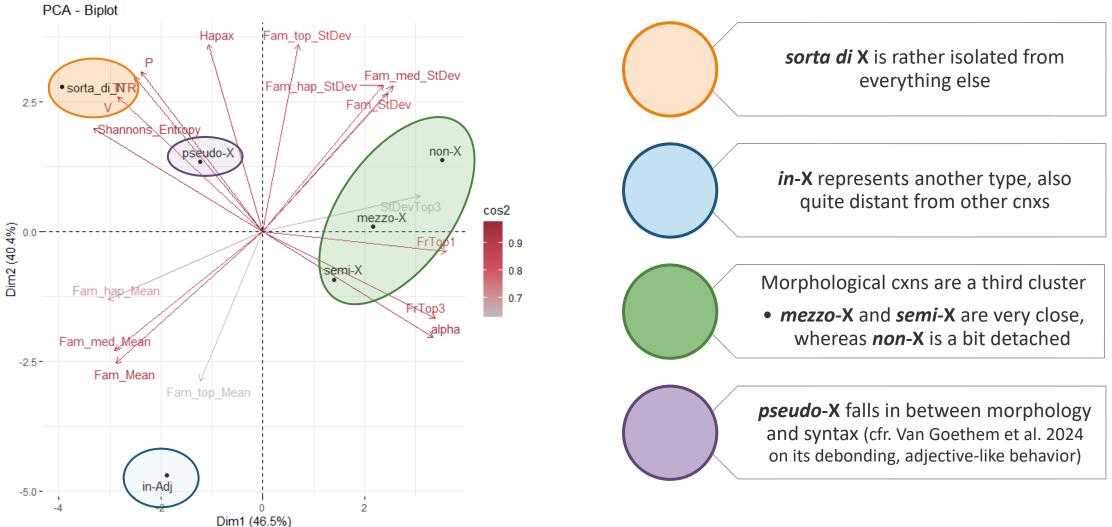
#### Constructions

- *in* is clearly the most familiar cxn
  - All three *in* stimuli are likely stored items, althought only two exceed Divjak's (2019: 150) threshold for entrenchment (6pmw) (checked in a much larger corpus: itTenTen20)
    - inutile (top) 56.85pmw; ingiusto (median) 8.39pmw; irreale (hapax) 2.64pmw
- non- is clearly the least familiar cxn, showing the highest interspeaker variability (see the high StDev)

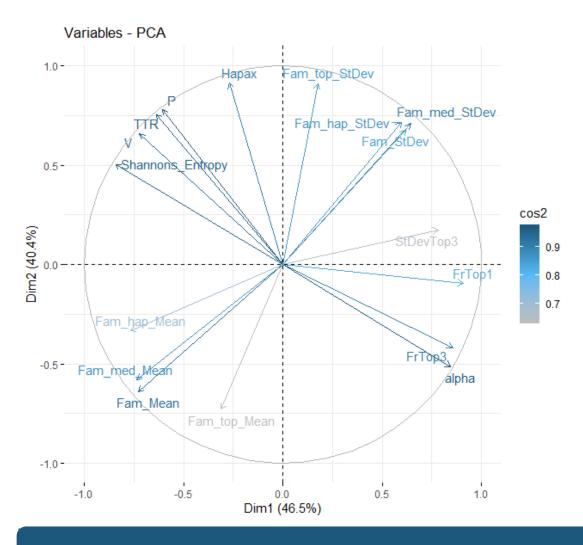
  The most 'emergent' one
- The other cxns are in between (*sorta di* N included), with no significant difference in rating among the three evaluative morphological construction

#### Stimuli types (top-ranked, median, hapax)

- in- & semi- familiarity reflects their frequency
- This is not so clear for the other cases! (except for mezzo-)

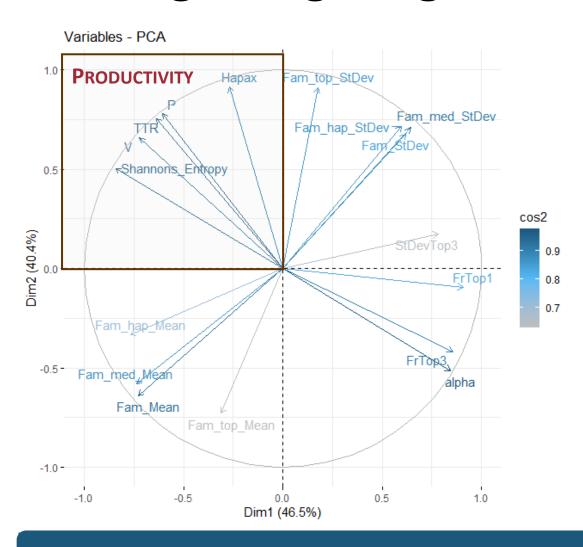


RQ1) verify if evaluative morphological schemas actually pattern with syntactic schemas in terms of productivity



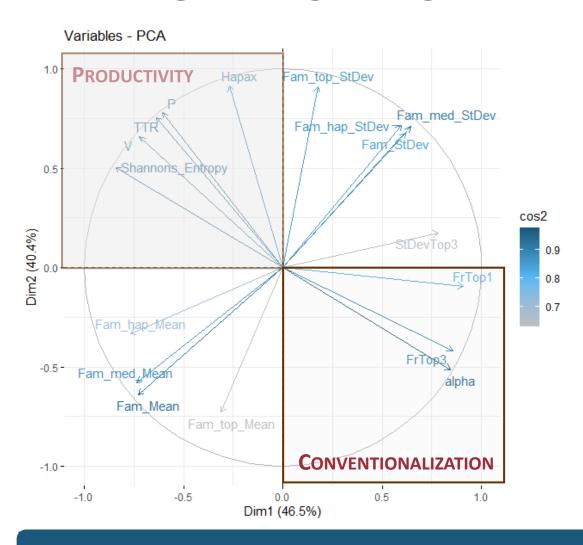
• We put together different types of information

RQ2) understand the relationship between productivity, entrenchment and familiarity in different types of cxns

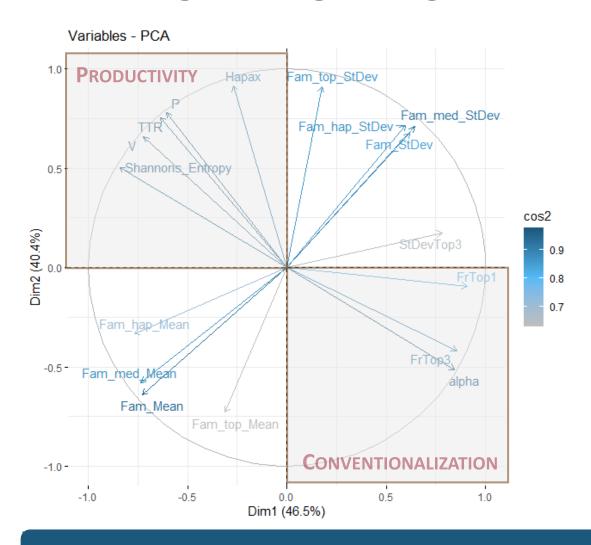


- We put together different types of information
  - Productivity measures (top left) correlate among each other

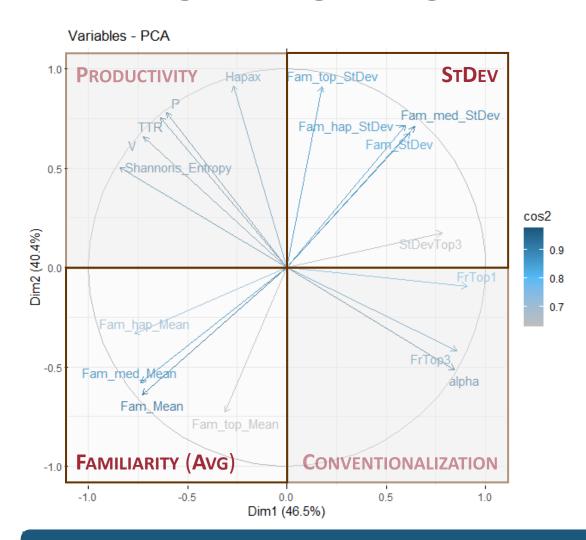
RQ2) understand the relationship between productivity, entrenchment and familiarity in different types of cxns



- We put together different types of information
  - Productivity measures (top left) correlate among each other
  - Conventionalization measures (bottom right) correlate among each other



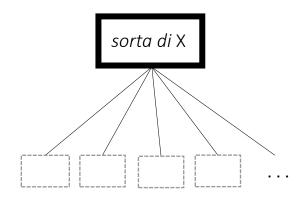
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- So, our study confirms the results by Van den Heede & Lauwers (2023)



- We put together different types of information
  - Productivity measures (top left) correlate among each other
  - Conventionalization measures (bottom right) correlate among each other
- So, our study confirms the results by Van den Heede & Lauwers (2023)
- But we also add familiarity, which doesn't correlate with the other measures
  - Familiarity as another dimension of entrenchment

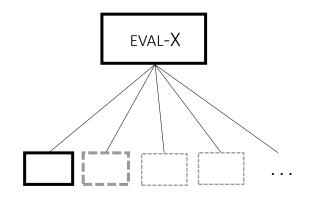
#### There is daughter and daughter...





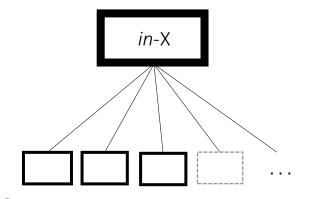
#### **Syntactic cxns**

- Very high number of daughters
- Daughters are constructs
- Daughters are homogeneous (low alpha)
- Familiarity is medium-high



#### **Evaluative morphological cxns**

- Medium number of daughters
- Daughters are mostly constructs
- Daughters are not homogeneous (high alpha)
- Familiarity is medium-low



#### **Derivational cxns**

- Lower number of daughters
- Daughters are mostly stored
- Daughters are not very homogeneous
- Familiarity is high

RQ3) clarify how all this can be modelled in CxG, focusing on the role of networks and daughters

### Family-arity matters



- Adding to the picture **familiarity** and **'family'** (namely, the type of **network** the cxns develop, the nature of the **daughters**, and the **relations** among them) allows to grasp evaluatives' behavior better
  - Familiarity can be high even if productivity scores are low (derivation), especially if the daughters are (stored) constructions that strengthen the entrenchment of the mother cxn
  - Familiarity can be rather high even if frequency is low (*sorta di* X expressions): in this case familiarity cannot be a correlate of the frequency/entrenchment of the single items but may hint at the entrenchment of the mother cxn that licences them (and perhaps of the acceptability of the filler)
  - The medium-low familiarity of evaluative morphological cxns may, instead, hint at a lower entrenchment of the mother cxn (see StDev), which yields a rather large number of types with unequal status (mostly constructs plus some conventionalized items)

	Productivity measures	Conventionalization measures	Familiarity rating	Nature of daughters	
SYNTACTIC_EVALUATIVE	HIGH	LOW	MEDIUM-HIGH	CONSTRUCTS	
MORPHOLOGICAL_EVALUATIVE	MEDIUM	HIGH	MEDIUM-LOW	MOSTLY CONSTRUCTS	
DERIVATIONAL_MORPHOLOGY	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH	CONSTRUCTIONS	

#### Conclusions

- In order to unravel productivity (as a multi-dimensional concept) we need to take into account also constructionexternal factors (like type of network/family and daughters)
- Different methods and **different types of evidence** (corpus data, behavioral data, etc.) may be necessary

#### Limits and future steps

- Small sample size w use larger sample?
  - Hapax-based measures less reliable (e.g., in- hapaxes employed in the familiarity test are not hapaxes in the whole corpus)?
- Combine this picture with information about the bases (Xs): PoS, semantic sparsity, etc.
- Take into account possible horizontal links between competing cxns (e.g., mezzo-X and semi-X)



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### Ratings: variation by Age

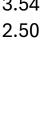
AgeGroup_	n	<b>AvgRating</b>	StDev	
20-29	88	3.38	1.83	
30-49	87	3.49	1.78	
50-69	25	3.38	1.93	

#### **Average Ratings of Cxns by Age**

significantly higher

significantly lower

	20-29	30-49	50-69	Overall
in-Adj	4.74	4.82	4.98	4.81
sorta_di_N	3.99	3.98	3.43	3.91
pseudo-X	3.57	3.77	3.64	3.66
semi-X	3.60	3.59	3.43	3.57
mezzo-X	3.47	3.66	3.37	3.54
non-X	2.28	2.70	2.61	2.50



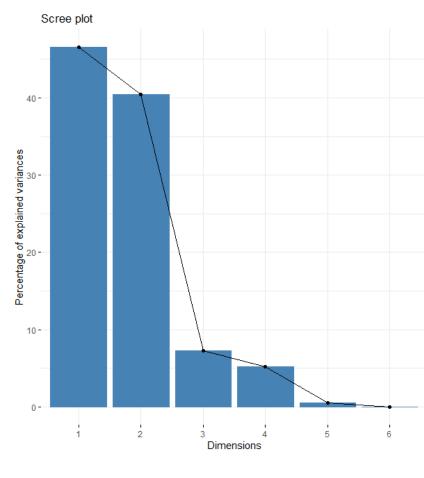


### PCA loadings

	PC1 (46.54%)	PC2 (40.40%)	PC3 (7.31%)	PC4 (5.21%)	PC5 (0.53%)	PC6 (<0.0001)
V	-0.25666	0.250754	0.009522	0.221193	0.194566	0.210434
TTR	-0.22665	0.288138	0.100807	0.109712	-0.00376	-0.38413
P	-0.21555	0.297509	0.023314	0.154925	-0.16676	-0.10381
Hapax	-0.09622	0.348404	-0.16771	0.254764	0.079498	0.006849
Shannons_Entropy	-0.29926	0.192468	0.095629	0.128166	0.349214	0.311923
alpha	0.300338	-0.19615	-0.06922	-0.01987	0.416493	-0.25287
FrTop1	0.323072	-0.03602	0.265914	0.291507	0.150793	0.117125
FrTop3	0.304263	-0.15984	-0.04586	0.306177	0.26427	0.195159
StDevTop3	0.278146	0.066877	0.491574	0.252233	0.075379	-0.0275
Fam_Mean	-0.25944	-0.24433	-0.04436	0.243278	0.166468	0.034846
Fam_top_Mean	-0.11019	-0.27795	-0.32791	0.519582	-0.07187	-0.4804
Fam_med_Mean	-0.26224	-0.22139	-0.28371	-0.04151	0.44147	0.077216
Fam_hap_Mean	-0.27315	-0.12705	0.464451	0.185773	0.045497	0.050287
Fam_StDev	0.220598	0.257907	-0.34821	0.083581	0.118443	0.102755
Fam_top_StDev	0.062955	0.347764	0.086211	-0.34314	0.519073	-0.41203
Fam_med_StDev	0.229168	0.270361	-0.01059	0.302648	-0.1105	-0.22804
Fam_hap_StDev	0.212094	0.273314	-0.31336	0.096211	-0.09383	0.33274

# Cos2 Variables Cos2 of variables to Dim-1-2 Cos2 - Quality of representation 0.25 -





	PC1 (46.54%)	PC2 (40.40%)	PC3 (7.31%)	PC4 (5.21%)	PC5 (0.53%)	PC6 (<0.0001)
sorta_di_N	-3.937882	2.78805332	-0.09522624	0.1508509	-0.30729150	-2.359224e-16
in-Adj	-1.891447	-4.69042198	0.71836436	-0.2095662	-0.06488900	1.443290e-15
semi-X	1.389472	-0.91880606	-2.13282474	-0.3311607	-0.03658137	-5.773160e-15
non-X	3.509635	1.37957546	1.00109968	-1.0210186	-0.17806036	-2.775558e-16
mezzo-X	2.167598	0.09573847	0.31221284	1.7583098	0.02028296	6.827872e-15
pseudo-X	-1.237375	1.34586079	0.19637411	-0.3474151	0.56653926	2.241263e-15

cores

### Familiarity Ratings ~ Corpus frequency (CORIS)

cxn	freqType	stimulus	n	pmw	LogFreq	AvgRating	StDev	
sorta_di_N	top	sorta di museo	12	0.07	1.079181	3.87	1.33	
sorta_di_N	median	sorta di villaggio	4	0.02	0.60206	3.99	1.22	
sorta_di_N	hapax	sorta di scatola	13	0.08	1.113943	3.88	1.39	AvgRating (y) ~ LogFrequency (x)
in-Adj	top	inutile	10363	62.96	4.015485	4.97	0.18	
in-Adj	median	ingiusto	1885	11.45	3.275311	4.92	0.43	6.00
in-Adj	hapax	irreale	791	4.81	2.898176	4.53	0.94	ingiusto
semi-X	top	semi-nudo	274	1.66	2.437751	4.54	0.89	5.00
semi-X	median	semi-professionale	18	0.11	1.255273	4.12	1.25	mezzo-sorriso irreale
semi-X	hapax	semi-magico	2	0.01	0.30103	2.05	1.55	4.00 semi-nudo mezzo-sorriso irreale
mezzo-X	top	mezzo-sorriso	276	1.67	2.440909	4.47	0.85	•
mezzo-X	median	mezzo-spento	2	0.01	0.30103	3.03	1.74	3.00
mezzo-X	hapax	mezza-notizia	7	0.04	0.845098	3.13	1.52	
pseudo-X	top	pseudo-religioso	20	0.12	1.30103	3.62	1.50	2.00
pseudo-X	median	pseudo-artista	2	0.01	0.30103	3.93	1.21	
pseudo-X	hapax	pseudo-informazione	2	0.01	0.30103	3.45	1.38	1.00
non-X	top	non-vita	16	0.10	1.20412	2.75	1.62	
non-X	median	non-lavoro	8	0.05	0.90309	2.29	1.66	
non-X	hapax	non-regola	1	0.01	0	2.46	1.56	0.00