

A probabilistic approach to semantic representation

Thomas L. Griffiths & Mark Steyvers

{gruffydd,msteyver}@psych.stanford.edu

Department of Psychology

Stanford University

Stanford, CA 94305-2130 USA

Abstract

Semantic networks produced from human data have statistical properties that cannot be easily captured by spatial representations. We explore a probabilistic approach to semantic representation that explicitly models the probability with which words occur in different contexts, and hence captures the probabilistic relationships between words. We show that this representation has statistical properties consistent with the large-scale structure of semantic networks constructed by humans, and trace the origins of these properties.

Contemporary accounts of semantic representation suggest that we should consider words to be either points in a high-dimensional space (eg. Landauer & Dumais, 1997), or interconnected nodes in a semantic network (eg. Collins & Loftus, 1975). Both of these ways of representing semantic information provide important insights, but also have shortcomings. Spatial approaches illustrate the importance of dimensionality reduction and employ simple algorithms, but are limited by Euclidean geometry. Semantic networks are less constrained, but their graphical structure lacks a clear interpretation.

In this paper, we view the function of associative semantic memory to be efficient prediction of the concepts likely to occur in a given context. We take a probabilistic approach to this problem, modeling documents as expressing information related to a small number of topics (cf. Blei, Ng, & Jordan, 2002). The topics of a language can then be learned from the words that occur in different documents. We illustrate that the large-scale structure of this representation has statistical properties that correspond well with those of semantic networks produced by humans, and trace this to the fidelity with which it reproduces the natural statistics of language.

Approaches to semantic representation

Spatial approaches Latent Semantic Analysis (LSA; Landauer & Dumais, 1997) is a procedure for finding a high-dimensional spatial representation for words. LSA uses singular value decomposition to factorize a word-document co-occurrence matrix. An approximation to the original matrix can be obtained by choosing to use less singular values than

its rank. One component of this approximation is a matrix that gives each word a location in a high dimensional space. Distances in this space are predictive in many tasks that require the use of semantic information. Performance is best for approximations that used less singular values than the rank of the matrix, illustrating that reducing the dimensionality of the representation can reduce the effects of statistical noise and increase efficiency.

While the methods behind LSA were novel in scale and subject, the suggestion that similarity relates to distance in psychological space has a long history (Shepard, 1957). Critics have argued that human similarity judgments do not satisfy the properties of Euclidean distances, such as symmetry or the triangle inequality. Tversky and Hutchinson (1986) pointed out that Euclidean geometry places strong constraints on the number of points to which a particular point can be the nearest neighbor, and that many sets of stimuli violate these constraints. The number of nearest neighbors in similarity judgments has an analogue in semantic representation. Nelson, McEvoy and Schreiber (1999) had people perform a word association task in which they named an associated word in response to a set of target words. Steyvers and Tenenbaum (submitted) noted that the number of unique words produced for each target follows a power law distribution: if k is the number of words, $P(k) \propto k^{-\gamma}$. For reasons similar to those of Tversky and Hutchinson, it is difficult to produce a power law distribution by thresholding cosine or distance in Euclidean space. This is shown in Figure 1. Power law distributions appear linear in log-log coordinates. LSA produces curved log-log plots, more consistent with an exponential distribution.

Semantic networks Semantic networks were proposed by Collins and Quillian (1969) as a means of storing semantic knowledge. The original networks were inheritance hierarchies, but Collins and Loftus (1975) generalized the notion to cover arbitrary graphical structures. The interpretation of this graphical structure is vague, being based on connecting nodes that “activate” one another. Steyvers and Tenenbaum (submitted) constructed a semantic network from the word association norms of Nelson et

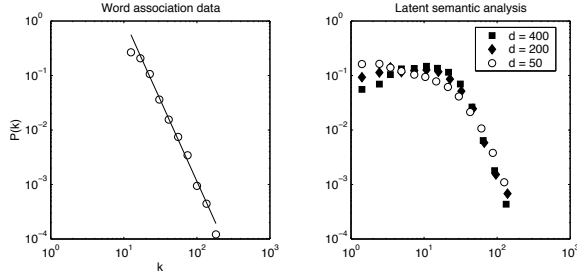


Figure 1: The left panel shows the distribution of the number of associates named for each target in a word association task. The right shows the distribution of the number of words above a cosine threshold for each target in LSA spaces of dimension d , where the threshold was chosen to match the empirical mean.

al. (1999), connecting words that were produced as responses to one another. In such a semantic network, the number of associates of a word becomes the number of edges of a node, termed its “degree”. Steyvers and Tenenbaum found that the resulting graph had the statistical properties of “small world” graphs, of which a power law degree distribution is a feature (Barabasi & Albert, 1999).

The fact that semantic networks can display these properties reflects their flexibility, but there is no indication that the same properties would emerge if such a representation were learned rather than constructed by hand. In the remainder of the paper, we present a probabilistic method for learning a representation from word-document co-occurrences that reproduces some of the large-scale statistical properties of semantic networks constructed by humans.

A probabilistic approach

Anderson’s (1990) rational analysis of memory and categorization takes prediction as the goal of the learner. Analogously, we can view the function of associative semantic memory to be the prediction of which words are likely to arise in a given context, ensuring that relevant semantic information is available when needed. Simply tracking how often words occur in different contexts is insufficient for this task, as it gives no grounds for generalization. If we assume that the words that occur in different contexts are drawn from T topics, and each topic can be characterized by a probability distribution over words, then we can model the distribution over words in any one context as a mixture of those topics

$$P(w_i) = \sum_{j=1}^T P(w_i|z_i = j)P(z_i = j)$$

where z_i is a latent variable indicating the topic from which the i th word was drawn and $P(w_i|z_i = j)$ is the probability of the i th word under the j th topic. The words likely to be used in a new context can be determined by estimating the distribution over topics for that context, corresponding to $P(z_i)$.

Intuitively, $P(w|z = j)$ indicates which words are important to a topic, while $P(z)$ is the prevalence of those topics within a document. For example, imagine a world where the only topics of conversation are love and research. In such a world we could capture the probability distribution over words with two topics, one relating to love and the other to research. The difference between the topics would be reflected in $P(w|z = j)$: the love topic would give high probability to words like joy, pleasure, or heart, while the research topic would give high probability to words like science, mathematics, or experiment. Whether a particular conversation concerns love, research, or the love of research would depend upon the distribution over topics, $P(z)$, for that particular context.

Formally, our data consist of words $\mathbf{w} = \{w_1, \dots, w_n\}$, where each w_i belongs to some document d_i , as in a word-document co-occurrence matrix. For each document we have a multinomial distribution over the T topics, with parameters $\theta^{(d_i)}$, so for a word in document d_i , $P(z_i = j) = \theta_j^{(d_i)}$. The j th topic is represented by a multinomial distribution over the W words in the vocabulary, with parameters $\phi^{(j)}$, so $P(w_i|z_i = j) = \phi_{w_i}^{(j)}$. To make predictions about new documents, we need to assume a prior distribution on the parameters $\theta^{(d_i)}$. The Dirichlet distribution is conjugate to the multinomial, so we take a Dirichlet prior on $\theta^{(d_i)}$.

This probability model is a generative model: it gives a procedure by which documents can be generated. First we pick a distribution over topics from the prior on θ , which determines $P(z_i)$ for words in that document. Each time we want to add a word to the document, we pick a topic according to this distribution, and then pick a word from that topic according to $P(w_i|z_i = j)$, which is determined by $\phi^{(j)}$. This generative model was introduced by Blei et al. (2002), improving upon Hofmann’s (1999) probabilistic Latent Semantic Indexing (pLSI). Using few topics to represent the probability distributions over words in many documents is a form of dimensionality reduction, and has an elegant geometric interpretation (see Hofmann, 1999).

This approach models the frequencies in a word-document co-occurrence matrix as arising from a simple statistical process, and explores the parameters of this process. The result is not an explicit representation of words, but a representation that captures the probabilistic relationships among words. This representation is exactly what is required for predicting when words are likely to be used. Because we treat the entries in a word-document co-occurrence matrix as frequencies, the representation developed from this information is sensitive to the natural statistics of language. Using a generative model, in which we articulate the assumptions about how the data were generated, ensures that we are

able to form predictions about which words might be seen in a new document.

Blei et al. (2002) gave an algorithm for finding estimates of $\phi^{(j)}$ and the hyperparameters of the prior on $\theta^{(d_i)}$ that correspond to local maxima of the likelihood, terming this procedure Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA). Here, we use a symmetric Dirichlet(α) prior on $\theta^{(d_i)}$ for all documents, a symmetric Dirichlet(β) prior on $\phi^{(j)}$ for all topics, and Markov chain Monte Carlo for inference. An advantage of this approach is that we do not need to explicitly represent the model parameters: we can integrate out θ and ϕ , defining model simply in terms of the assignments of words to topics indicated by the z_i .¹

Markov chain Monte Carlo is a procedure for obtaining samples from complicated probability distributions, allowing a Markov chain to converge to the target distribution and then drawing samples from the Markov chain (see Gilks, Richardson & Spiegelhalter, 1996). Each state of the chain is an assignment of values to the variables being sampled, and transitions between states follow a simple rule. We use Gibbs sampling, where the next state is reached by sequentially sampling all variables from their distribution when conditioned on the current values of all other variables and the data. We will sample only the assignments of words to topics, z_i . The conditional posterior distribution for z_i is given by

$$P(z_i = j | \mathbf{z}_{-i}, \mathbf{w}) \propto \frac{n_{-i,j}^{(w_i)} + \beta}{n_{-i,j}^{(\cdot)} + W\beta} \frac{n_{-i,j}^{(d_i)} + \alpha}{n_{-i,j}^{(d_i)} + T\alpha} \quad (1)$$

where \mathbf{z}_{-i} is the assignment of all z_k such that $k \neq i$, and $n_{-i,j}^{(w_i)}$ is the number of words assigned to topic j that are the same as w_i , $n_{-i,j}^{(\cdot)}$ is the total number of words assigned to topic j , $n_{-i,j}^{(d_i)}$ is the number of words from document d_i assigned to topic j , and $n_{-i,j}^{(d_i)}$ is the total number of words in document d_i , all not counting the assignment of the current word w_i . α, β are free parameters that determine how heavily these empirical distributions are smoothed.

The Monte Carlo algorithm is then straightforward. The z_i are initialized to values between 1 and T , determining the initial state of the Markov chain. The chain is then run for a number of iterations, each time finding a new state by sampling each z_i from the distribution specified by Equation 1. After enough iterations for the chain to approach the target distribution, the current values of the z_i are recorded. Subsequent samples are taken after an appropriate lag, to ensure that their autocorrelation is low. Gibbs sampling is used in each of the following simulations in order to explore the consequences of this probabilistic approach.

¹A detailed derivation of the conditional probabilities used here is given in a technical report available at <http://www-psych.stanford.edu/~gruffydd/cogsci02/lda.ps>

Simulation 1:

Learning topics with Gibbs sampling

The aim of this simulation was to establish the statistical properties of the sampling procedure and to qualitatively assess its results, as well as to demonstrate that complexities of language like polysemy and behavioral asymmetries are naturally captured by our approach. We took a subset of the TASA corpus (Landauer, Foltz, & Laham, 1998), using the 4544 words that occurred both in the word association norm data and at least 10 times in the complete corpus, together with a random set of 5000 documents. The total number of words occurring in this subset of the corpus, and hence the number of z_i to be sampled, was $n = 395853$. We set the parameters of the model so that 150 topics would be found ($T = 150$), with $\alpha = 0.1$, $\beta = 0.01$.

The initial state of the Markov chain was established with an online learning procedure. Initially, none of the w_i were assigned to topics. The z_i were then sequentially drawn according to Equation 1 where each of the frequencies involved, as well as W , reflected only the words that had already been assigned to topics.² This initialization procedure was used because it was hoped that it would start the chain at a point close to the true posterior distribution, speeding convergence.

Ten runs of the Markov chain were conducted, each lasting for 2000 iterations. On each iteration we computed the average number of topics to which a word was assigned, $\langle k \rangle$, which was used to evaluate the sampling procedure for large scale properties of the representation. Specifically, we were concerned about convergence and the autocorrelation between samples. The rate of convergence was assessed using the Gelman-Rubin statistic \hat{R} , which remained below 1.2 after 25 iterations. The autocorrelation was less than 0.1 after a lag of 50 iterations.

A single sample was drawn from the first run of the Markov chain after 2000 iterations. A subset of the 150 topics found by the model are displayed in Table 1, with words in each column corresponding to one topic, and ordered by the frequency with which they were assigned to that topic. The topics displayed are not necessarily the most interpretable found by the model, having been selected only to highlight the way in which polysemy is naturally dealt with by this representation. More than 90 of the 150 topics appeared to have coherent interpretations.³

The word association data of Nelson et al. (1999) contain a number of asymmetries – cases where people were more likely to produce one word in response to the other. Such asymmetries are hard to ac-

²Random numbers used in all simulations were generated with the Mersenne Twister, which has an extremely deep period (Matsumoto & Nishimura, 1998).

³The 20 most frequent words in these topics are listed at <http://www-psych.stanford.edu/~gruffydd/cogsci02/topics.txt>

COLD	TREES	COLOR	FIELD	GAME	ART	BODY	KING	LAW
WINTER	TREE	BLUE	CURRENT	PLAY	MUSIC	BLOOD	GREAT	RIGHTS
WEATHER	FOREST	RED	ELECTRIC	BALL	PLAY	HEART	SON	COURT
WARM	LEAVES	GREEN	ELECTRICITY	TEAM	PART	MUSCLE	LORDS	LAWS
SUMMER	GROUND	LIKE	TWO	PLAYING	SING	FOOD	QUEEN	ACT
SUN	PINE	WHITE	FLOW	GAMES	LIKE	OTHER	EMPEROR	LEGAL
WIND	GRASS	BROWN	WIRE	FOOTBALL	POETRY	BONE	OWN	STATE
SNOW	LONG	BLACK	SWITCH	BASEBALL	BAND	MADE	PALACE	PERSON
HOT	LEAF	YELLOW	TURN	FIELD	WORLD	SKIN	DAY	CASE
CLIMATE	CUT	LIGHT	BULB	SPORTS	RHYTHM	TISSUE	PRINCE	DECISION
YEAR	WALK	BRIGHT	BATTERY	PLAYER	POEM	MOVE	LADY	CRIME
RAIN	SHORT	DARK	PATH	COACH	SONG	STOMACH	CASTLE	IMPORTANT
DAY	OAK	GRAY	CAN	LIKE	LITERATURE	PART	ROYAL	JUSTICE
SPRING	FALL	MADE	LOAD	HIT	SAY	OXYGEN	MAN	FREEDOM
LONG	GREEN	LITTLE	LIGHT	TENNIS	CHARACTER	THIN	MAGIC	ACTION
FALL	FEET	TURN	RADIO	SPORT	AUDIENCE	SYSTEM	COURT	OWN
HEAT	TALL	WIDE	MOVE	BASKETBALL	THEATER	CHEST	HEART	SET
ICE	GROW	SUN	LOOP	LEAGUE	OWN	TINY	GOLDEN	LAWYER
FEW	WOODS	PURPLE	DEVICE	FUN	KNOWN	FORM	KNIGHT	YEARS
GREAT	WOOD	PINK	DIAGRAM	BAT	TRAGEDY	BEAT	GRACE	FREE

Table 1: Nine topics from the single sample in Simulation 1. Each column shows 20 words from one topic, ordered by the number of times that word was assigned to the topic. Adjacent columns share at least one word. Shared words are shown in boldface, providing some clear examples of polysemy

count for in spatial representations because distance is symmetric. The generative structure of our model allows us to calculate $P(w_2|w_1)$, the probability that the next word seen in a novel context will be w_2 , given that the first word was w_1 . Since this is a conditional probability, it is inherently asymmetric. The asymmetries in $P(w_2|w_1)$ predict 77.47% of the asymmetries in the word association norms of Nelson et al. (1999), restricted to the 4544 words used in the simulation. These results are driven by word frequency: $P(w_2)$ should be close to $P(w_2|w_1)$, and 77.32% of the asymmetries could be predicted by the frequency of words in this subset of the TASA corpus. The slight improvement in performance came from cases where word frequencies were very similar or polysemy made overall frequency a poor indicator of the frequency of a particular sense of a word.

Bipartite semantic networks

The standard conception of a semantic network is a graph with edges between word nodes. Such a graph is unipartite: there is only one type of node, and those nodes can be interconnected freely. In contrast, bipartite graphs consist of nodes of two types, and only nodes of different types can be connected. We can form a bipartite semantic network by introducing a second class of nodes that mediate the connections between words. One example of such a network is a thesaurus: words are organized topically, and a bipartite graph can be formed by connecting words to the topics in which they occur, as illustrated in the left panel of Figure 2.

Steyvers and Tenenbaum (submitted) discovered that bipartite semantic networks constructed by humans, such as that corresponding to Roget’s (1911) Thesaurus, share the statistical properties of unipartite semantic networks. In particular, the number of topics in which a word occurs, or the degree of that word in the graph, follows a power law distribution as shown in the right panel of Figure 2. This result is reminiscent of Zipf’s (1965) “law of meaning”: the

number of meanings of a word follows a power law distribution. Zipf’s law was established by analyzing dictionary entries, but appears to describe the same property of language.

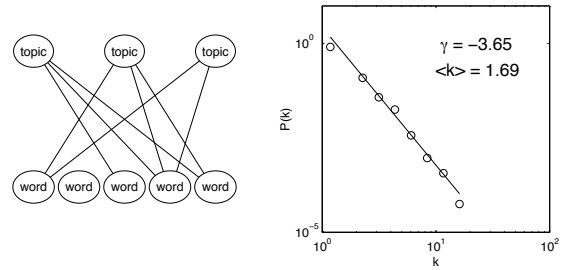


Figure 2: The left panel shows a bipartite semantic network. The right shows the degree distribution a network constructed from Roget’s Thesaurus.

Our probabilistic approach specifies a probability distribution over the allocation of words to topics. If we form a bipartite graph by connecting words to the topics in which they occur, we obtain a probability distribution over such graphs. The existence of an edge between a word and a topic indicates that the word has some significant probability of occurring in that topic. In the following simulations, we explore whether the distribution over bipartite graphs resulting from our approach is consistent with the statistical properties of Roget’s Thesaurus and Zipf’s law of meaning. In particular, we examine whether we obtain structures that have a power law degree distribution.

Simulation 2:

Power law degree distributions

We used Gibbs sampling to obtain samples from the posterior distribution of the z_i for two word-document co-occurrence matrices: the matrix with the 4544 words from the word association norms used in Simulation 1, and a second matrix using

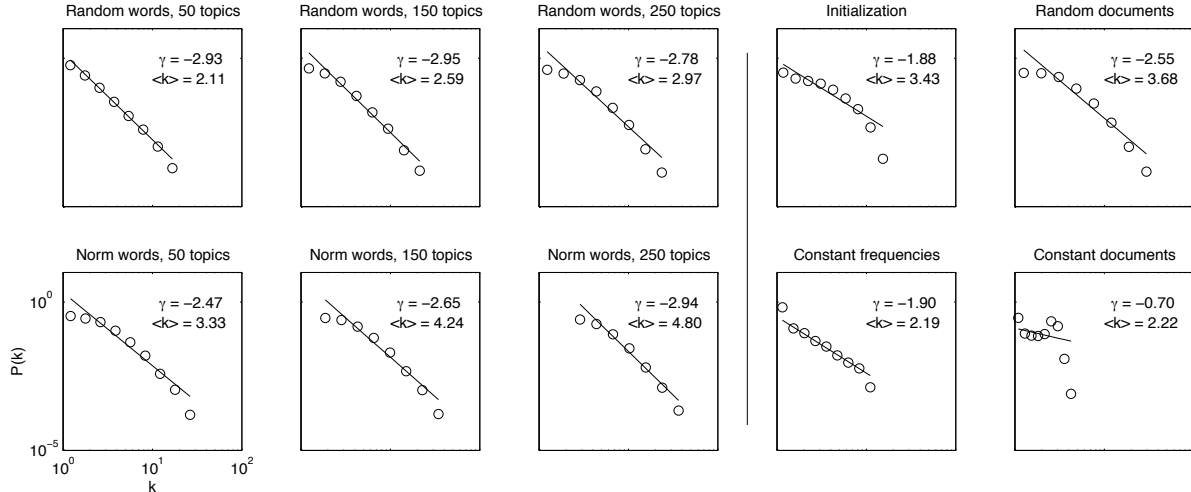


Figure 3: Degree distributions for networks constructed in Simulations 2 and 3. All are on the same axes.

4544 words drawn at random from those occurring at least 10 times in the TASA corpus ($n = 164401$). Both matrices used the same 5000 random documents. For each matrix, 100 samples were taken with $T = 50, 100, 150, 200$ and 250 . Since the results seemed unaffected by the number of topics, we will focus on $T = 50, 150, 250$. Ten samples were obtained in each of 10 separate runs with a burn-in of 1000 iterations in which no samples were drawn, and a between-sample lag of 100 iterations.

For each sample, a bipartite semantic network was constructed by connecting words to the topics to which they were assigned. For each network, the degree of each word node was averaged over the 100 samples.⁴ The resulting distributions were clearly power-law, as shown in Figure 3. The γ coefficients remained within a small range and were all close to $\gamma = -3.65$ for Roget's Thesaurus. As is to be expected, the average degree increased as more topics were made available, and was generally higher than Roget's. Semantic networks in which edges are added for each assignment tend to be quite densely connected. Sparser networks can be produced by setting a more conservative threshold for the inclusion of an edge, such as multiple assignments of a word to a topic, or exceeding some baseline probability in the distribution represented by that topic.

Our probabilistic approach produces power law degree distributions, in this case indicating that the number of topics to which a word is assigned follows a power law. This result is very similar to the properties of Roget's Thesaurus and Zipf's observations about dictionary definitions. This provides an op-

portunity to establish the origin of this distribution, to see whether it is a consequence of the modeling approach or a basic property of language.

Simulation 3: Origins of the power law

To investigate the origins of the power law, we first established that our initialization procedure was not responsible for our results. Using $T = 150$ and the matrix with random words, we obtained 100 samples of the degree distribution immediately following initialization. As can be seen in Figure 3, this produced a curved log-log plot and higher values of γ and $\langle k \rangle$ than in Simulation 2.

The remaining analyses employed variants of this co-occurrence matrix, and their results are also presented in Figure 3. The first variant kept word frequency constant, but assigned instances of words to documents at random, disrupting the co-occurrence structure. Interestingly, this appeared to have only a weak effect on the results, although the curvature of the resulting plot did increase. The second variant forced the frequencies of all words to be as close as possible to the median frequency. This was done by dividing all entries in the matrix by the frequency of that word, multiplying by the median frequency, and rounding to the nearest integer. The total number of instances in the resulting matrix was $n = 156891$. This manipulation reduced the average density in the resulting graph considerably, but the distribution still appeared to follow a power law. The third variant held the number of documents in which a word participated constant. Word frequencies were only weakly affected by this manipulation, which spread the instances of each word uniformly over the top five documents in which it occurred

⁴Since power law distributions can be produced by averaging exponentials, we also inspected individual samples to confirm that they had the same characteristics.

and then rounded up to the nearest integer, giving $n = 174615$. Five was the median number of documents in which words occurred, and documents were chosen at random for words below the median. This manipulation had a strong effect on the degree distribution, which was no longer power law, or even monotonically decreasing.

The distribution of the number of topics in which a word participates was strongly affected by the distribution of the number of documents in which a word occurs. Examination of the latter distribution in the TASA corpus revealed that it follows a power law. Our approach produces a power law degree distribution because it accurately captures the natural statistics of these data, even as it constructs a lower-dimensional representation.

General Discussion

We have taken a probabilistic approach to the problem of semantic representation, motivated by considering the function of associative semantic memory. We assume a generative model where the words that occur in each context are chosen from a small number of topics. This approach produces a lower-dimensional representation of a word-document co-occurrence matrix, and explicitly models the frequencies in that matrix as probability distributions. Simulation 1 showed that our approach could extract coherent topics, and naturally deal with issues like polysemy and asymmetries that are hard to account for in spatial representations. In Simulation 2, we showed that this probabilistic approach was also capable of producing representations with a large-scale structure consistent with semantic networks constructed from human data. In particular, the number of topics to which a word was assigned followed a power law distribution, as in Roget's (1911) Thesaurus and Zipf's (1965) law of meaning. In Simulation 3, we discovered that the only manipulation that would remove the power law was altering the number of documents in which words participate, which follows a power law distribution itself.

Steyvers and Tenenbaum (submitted) suggested that power law distributions in language might be traced to some kind of growth process. Our results indicate that this growth process need not be a part of the learning algorithm, if the algorithm is faithful to the statistics of the data. While we were able to establish the origins of the power law distribution in our model, the growth processes described by Steyvers and Tenenbaum might contribute to understanding the origins of the power law distribution in dictionary meanings, thesaurus topics, and the number of documents in which words participate.

The representation learned by our probabilistic approach is not explicitly a representation of words, in which each word might be described by some set of features. Instead, it is a representation of the probabilistic relationships between words, as expressed

by their probabilities of arising in different contexts. We can easily compute important statistical quantities from this representation, such as $P(w_2|w_1)$, the probability of w_2 arising in a particular context given that w_1 was observed, and more complicated conditional probabilities. One advantage of an explicitly probabilistic representation is that we gain the opportunity to incorporate this representation into other probabilistic models. In particular, we see great potential for using this kind of representation in understanding the broader phenomena of human memory.

Acknowledgments The authors were supported by a Hackett Studentship and a grant from NTT Communications Sciences laboratory. We thank Tania Lombrozo, Penny Smith and Josh Tenenbaum for comments, and Tom Landauer and Darrell Laham for the TASA corpus. Shawn Cokus wrote the Mersenne Twister code.

References

- Anderson, J. R. (1990). *The Adaptive Character of Thought*. Erlbaum, Hillsdale, NJ.
- Barabasi, A. L. & Albert, R. (1999). Emergence of scaling in random networks. *Science*, 286, 509-512.
- Blei, D. M., Ng, A. Y., & Jordan, M. I. (2002). Latent Dirichlet allocation. In *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems 14*.
- Collins, A. M. & Loftus, E. F. (1975). A spreading activation theory of semantic processing. *Psychological Review*, 82, 407-428.
- Collins, A. M. & Quillian, M. R. (1969). Retrieval time from semantic memory. *Journal of Verbal Learning & Verbal Behavior*, 8, 240-248.
- Gilks, W., Richardson, S., & Spiegelhalter, D. J. (1996). *Markov Chain Monte Carlo in Practice*. Chapman & Hall, Suffolk.
- Hofmann, T. (1999). Probabilistic latent semantic indexing. In *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual International SIGIR Conference*.
- Landauer, T. K. & Dumais, S. T. (1997). A solution to Plato's problem: The Latent Semantic Analysis theory of acquisition, induction, and representation of knowledge. *Psychological Review*, 104, 211-240.
- Landauer, T. K., Foltz, P. W., & Laham, D. (1998). Introduction to latent semantic analysis. *Discourse Processes*, 25, 259-284.
- Matsumoto, M. & Nishimura, T. (1998). Mersenne twister: A 623-dimensionally equidistributed uniform pseudorandom number generator. *ACM Transactions on Modeling & Computer Simulation*, 8, 3-30.
- Nelson, D. L., McEvoy, C. L., & Schreiber, T. A. (1999). The University of South Florida word association norms. <http://www.usf.edu/FreeAssociation>.
- Roget, P. (1911). *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*. Available from Project Gutenberg.
- Shepard, R. N. (1957). Stimulus and response generalization: a stochastic model, relating generalization to distance in psychological space. *Psychometrika*, 22, 325-345.
- Steyvers, M. & Tenenbaum, J. B. (submitted). *The large-scale structure of semantic networks: Statistical analyses and a model of semantic growth*.
- Tversky, A. & Hutchinson, J. W. (1986). Nearest neighbor analysis of psychological spaces. *Psychological Review*, 93, 3-22.
- Zipf, G. K. (1965). *Human behavior and the principle of least effort*. Hafner, New York.