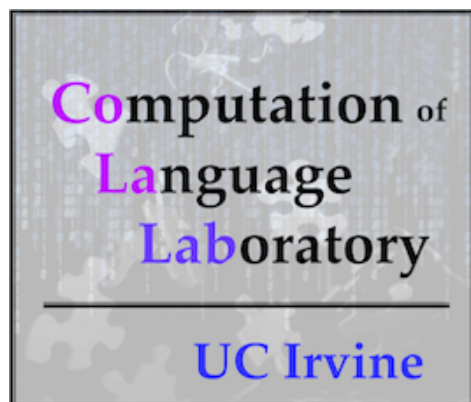
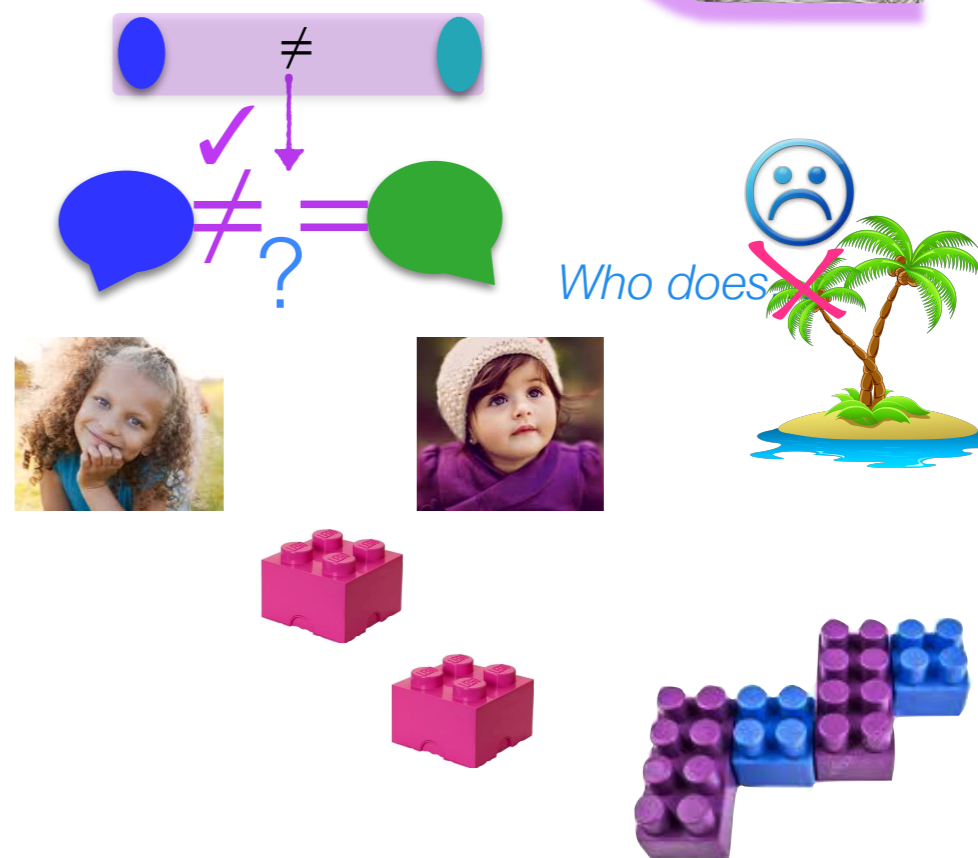


A new way to find meaningful variation in children's input across socio-economic status

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University of California, Irvine



May 18, 2020
Linguistics Colloquium
University of California, San Diego





There's lots of variation
in children's input





Meaningful variation impacts language development





Meaningful input deficits can lead to language delays

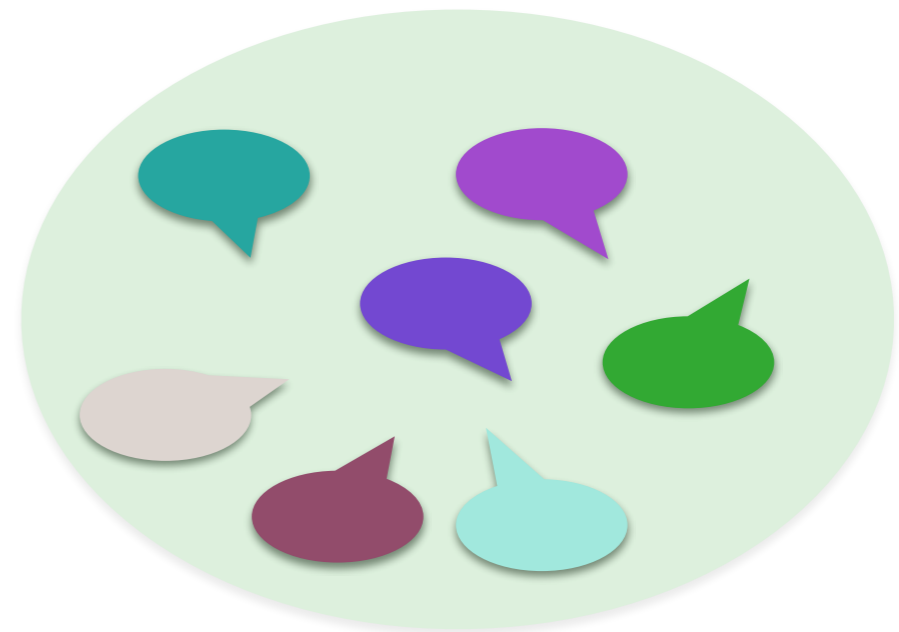
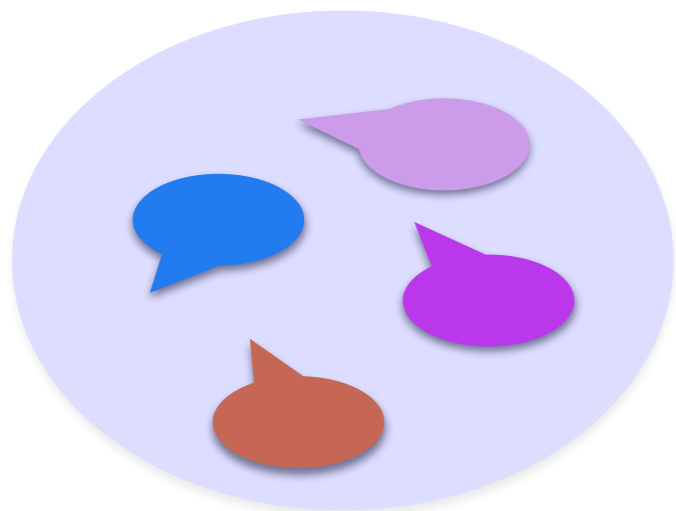




Input-based language delays appear across socio-economic status (SES). Lower-SES children are often behind their higher-SES peers.

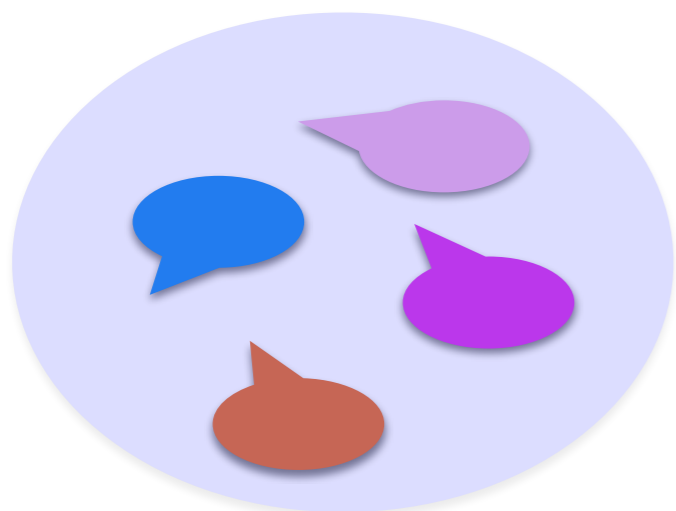


Low-SES language input can differ from high-SES input in both overall quantity of speech and the quality of that speech (Hart & Risley 1995, Huttenlocher et al. 2010, Rowe 2012, Schwab & Lew-Williams 2016, Rowe et al. 2017).

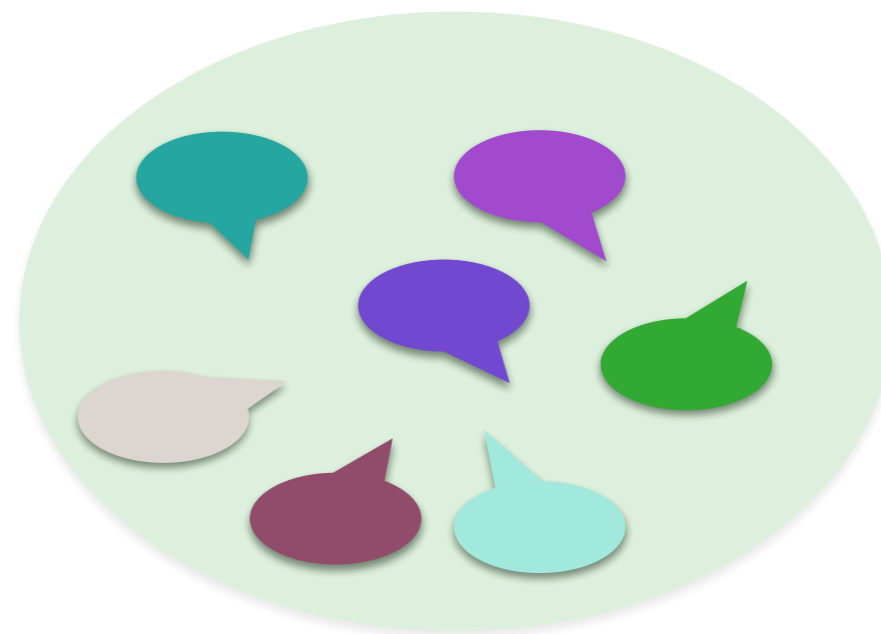


Quality can be measured by different aspects of the input, like diversity of vocabulary ...

kitty penguin penguin
kitty penguin penguin kitty
kitty penguin kitty penguin
penguin kitty kitty

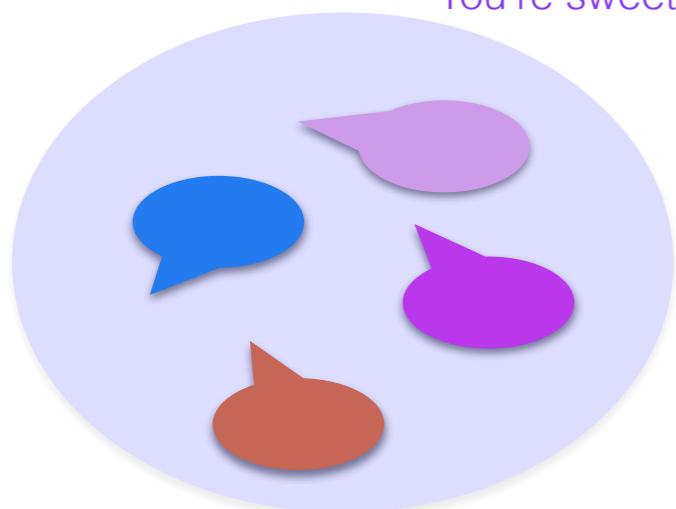


whale seal penguin
kitty birdie monkey
kitty puppy monkey penguin
cat

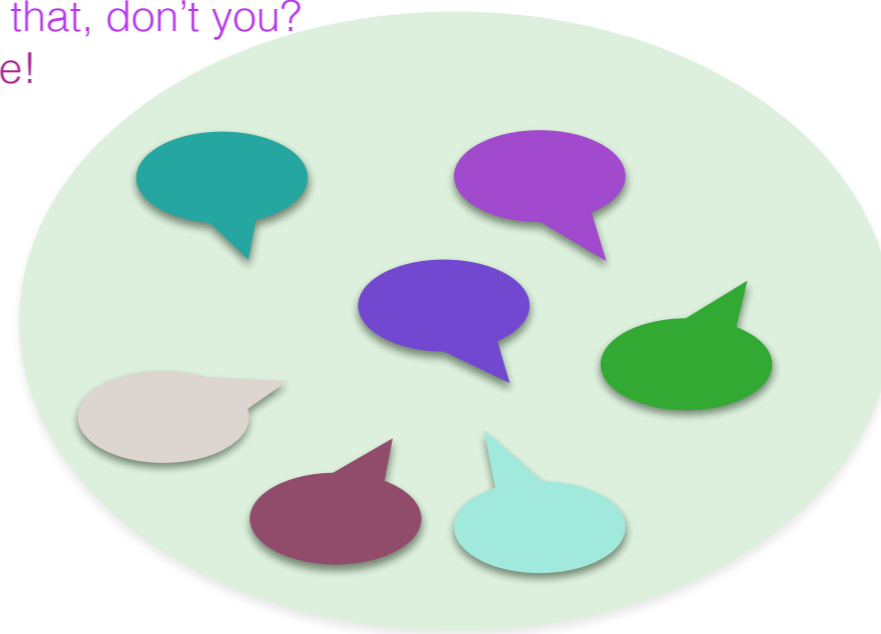


Quality can be measured by different aspects of the input, like diversity of vocabulary, diversity of syntactic constructions ...

Go play Go eat
I love you Come here Go to bed He's nice
I see you You're cute Come with me
Eat dinner You're sweet



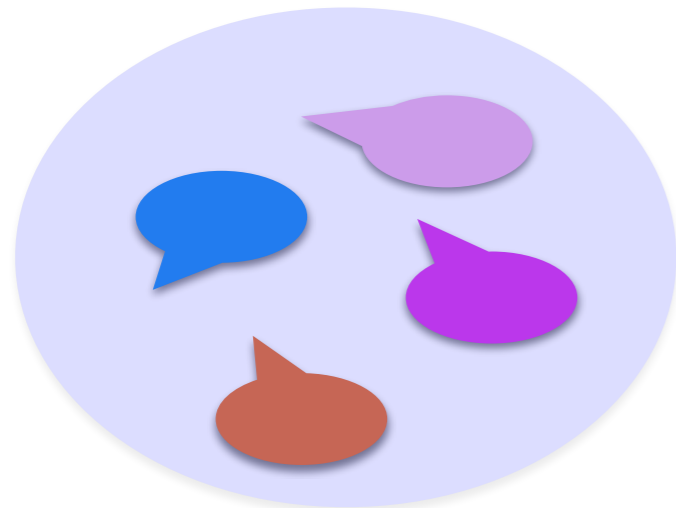
Is that a kitty? Come here
What would you like to do today?
You're cute Come play What do you see?
I love you What would you like? Eat dinner
You like that, don't you?
What a cutie!



Quality can be measured by different aspects of the input, like diversity of vocabulary, diversity of syntactic constructions, and frequency of decontextualized speech.

The kitty wasn't there

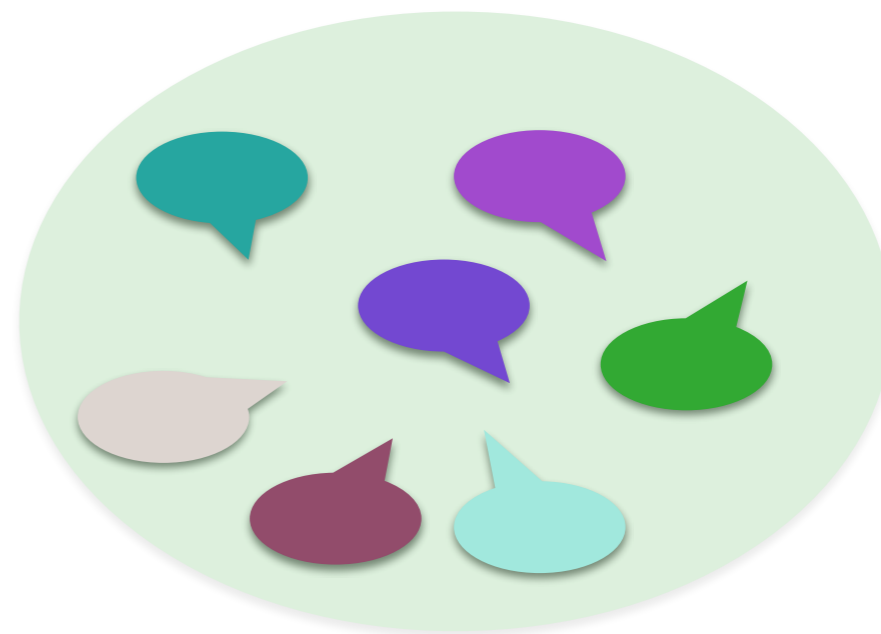
Because we're going tomorrow



We saw her yesterday, didn't we?
The penguins should be at the zoo
Because the penguins were being fed.
The kitty wasn't there
Because we're going tomorrow
We'll see the kitty on Friday

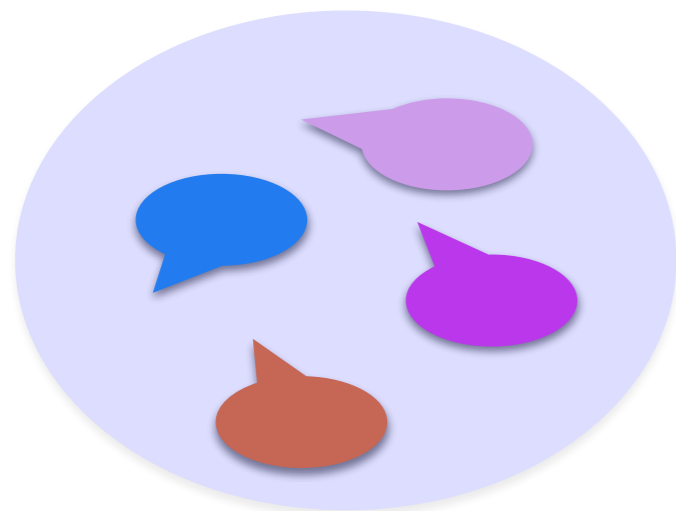
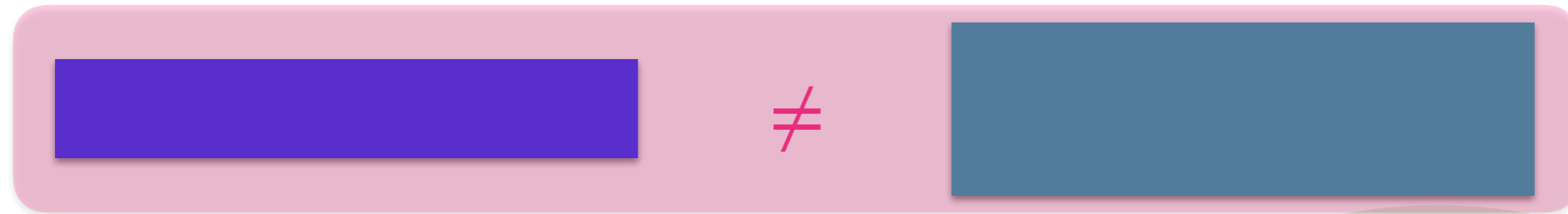


How can we tell if any particular input difference is **meaningful** (that is, it **impacts language development**)?



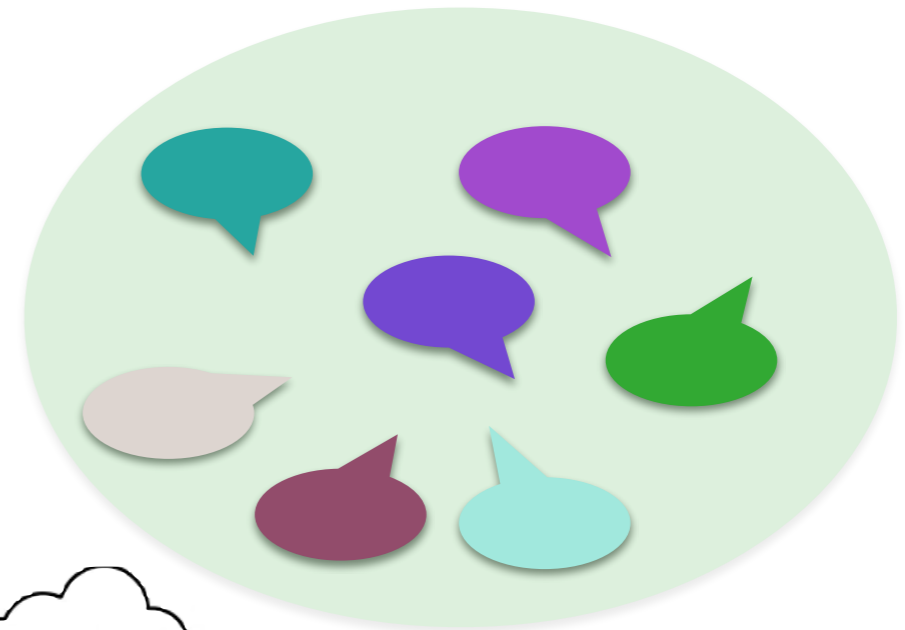
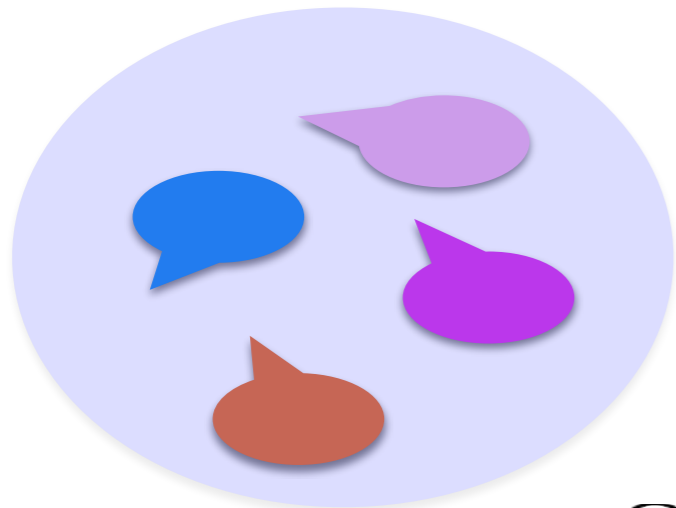
One (standard) way:

- Notice that there's a **difference**



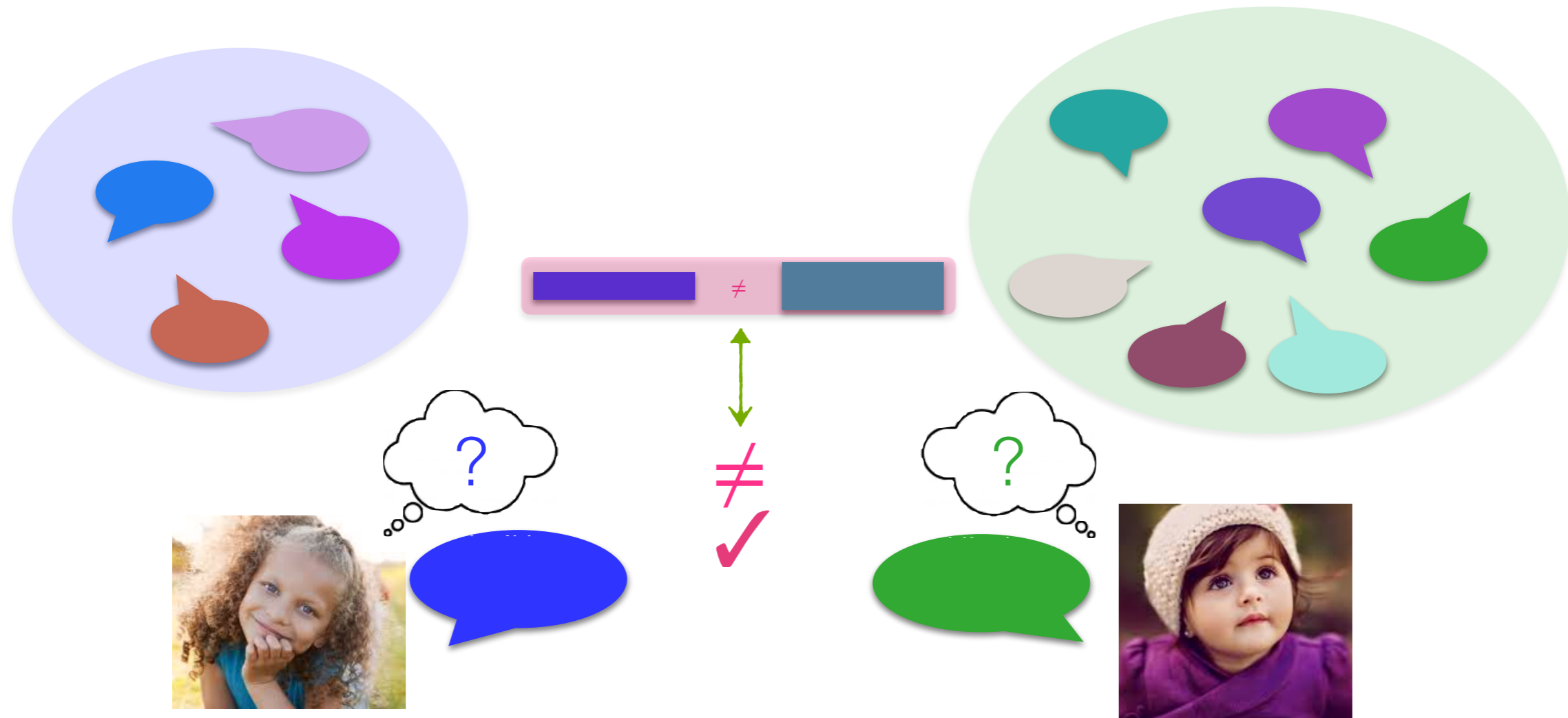
One (standard) way:

- Notice that there's a **difference**
- Measure language acquisition **outcomes**



One (standard) way:

- Notice that there's a **difference**
- Measure language acquisition **outcomes**
- See if that input difference **correlates** with any **outcome differences**

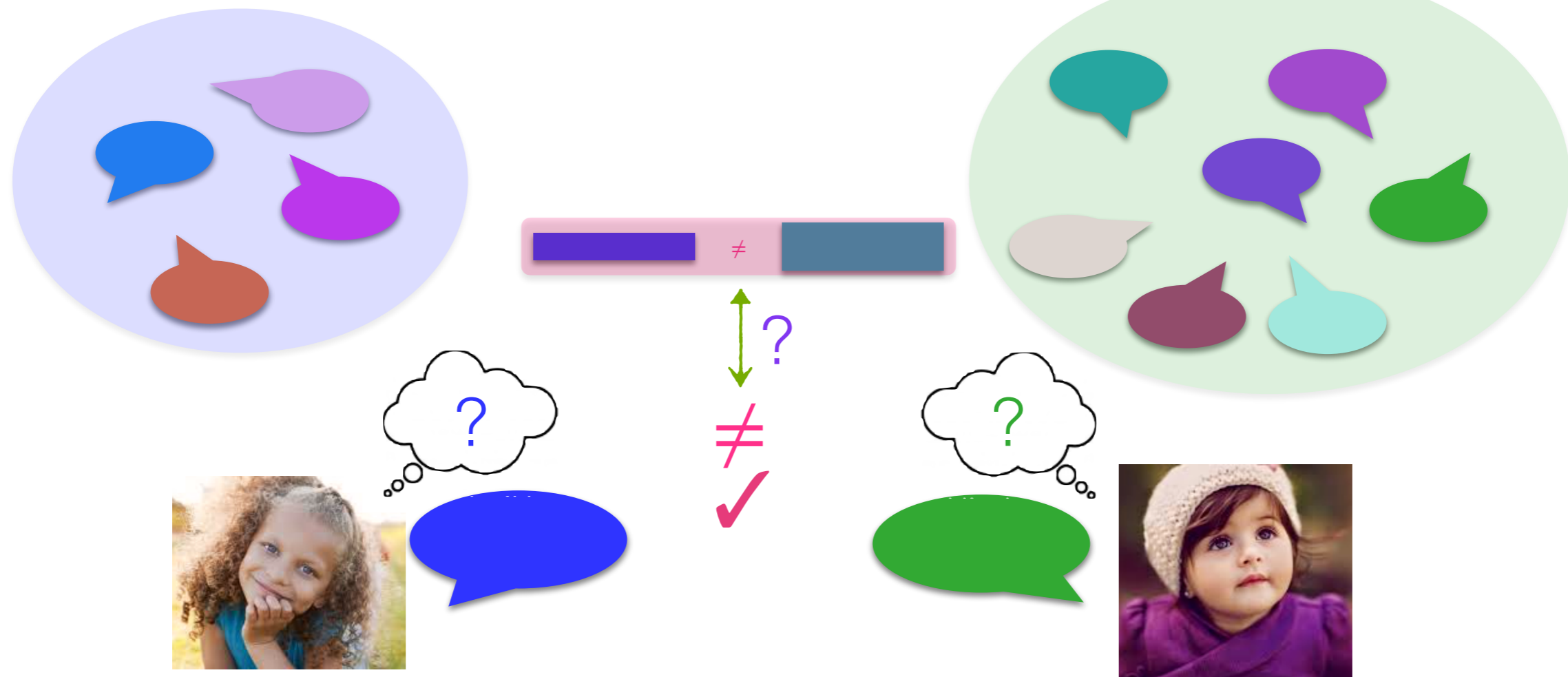


One (standard) way:

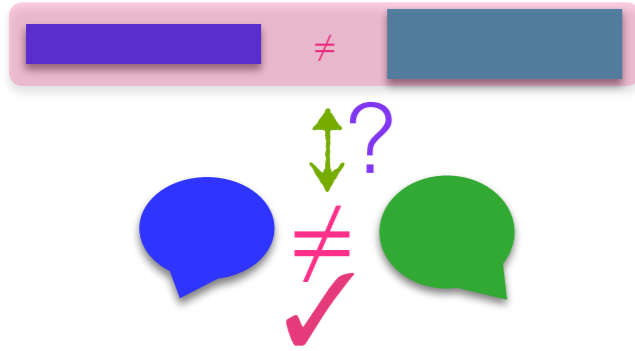
- Notice that there's a **difference**
- Measure language acquisition **outcomes**
- See if that input difference **correlates** with any **outcome differences**



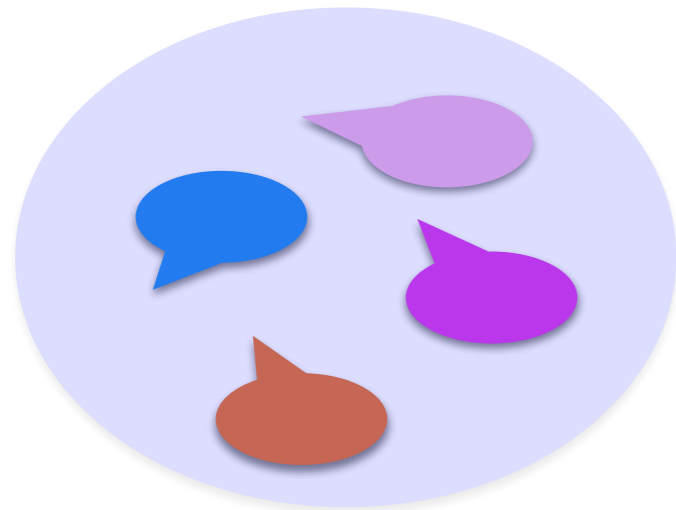
If so, then the input difference *might cause* the outcome difference and so be **meaningful**.



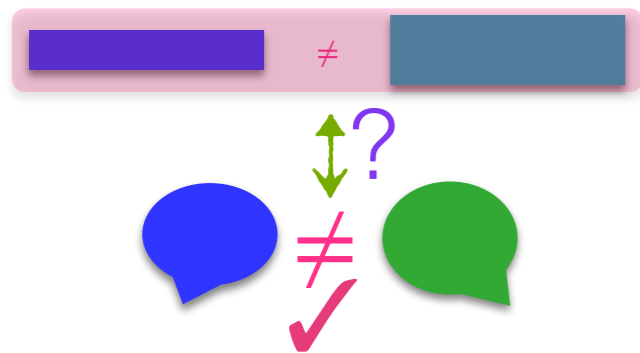
One (standard) way



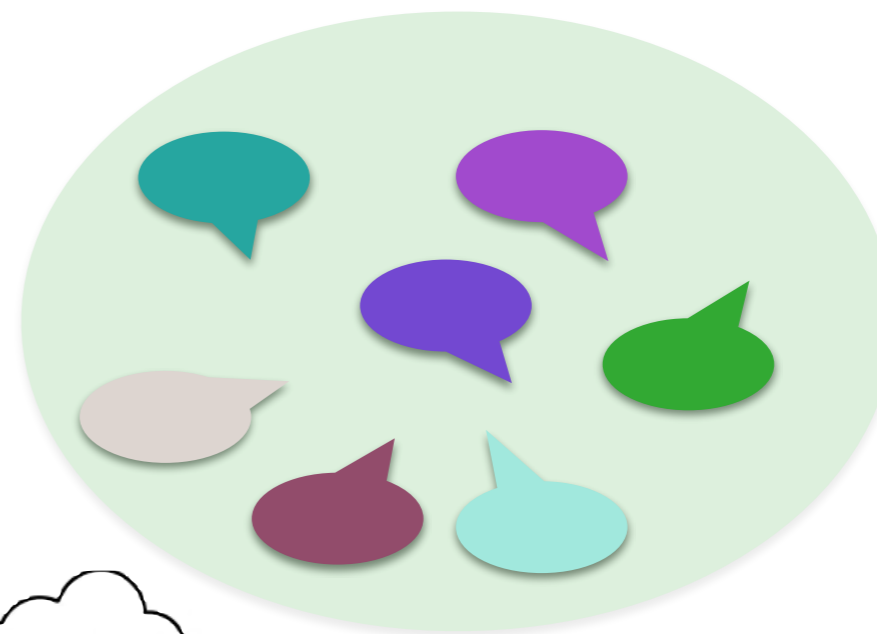
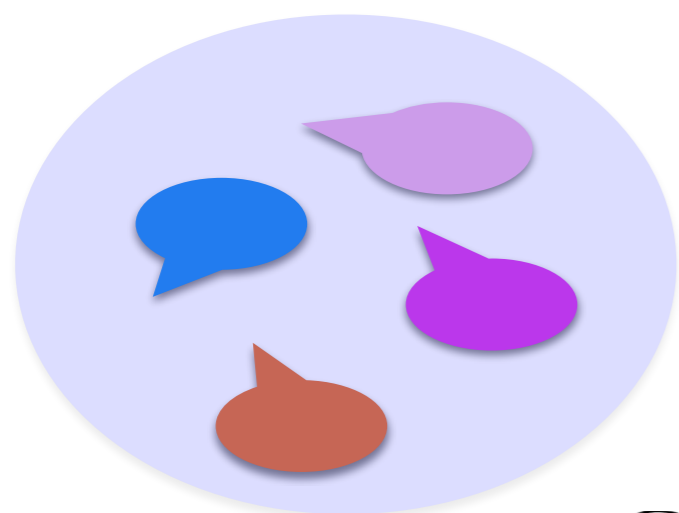
A new (complementary) way
uses developmental
computational modeling.



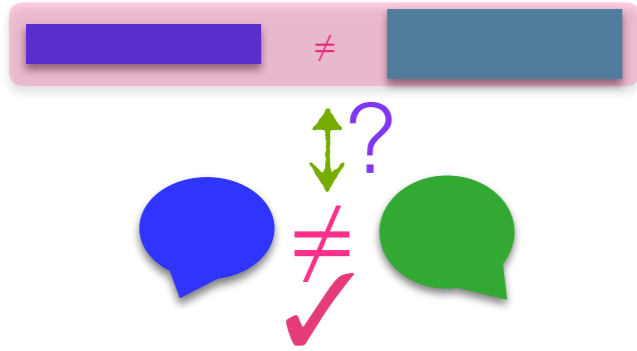
One (standard) way



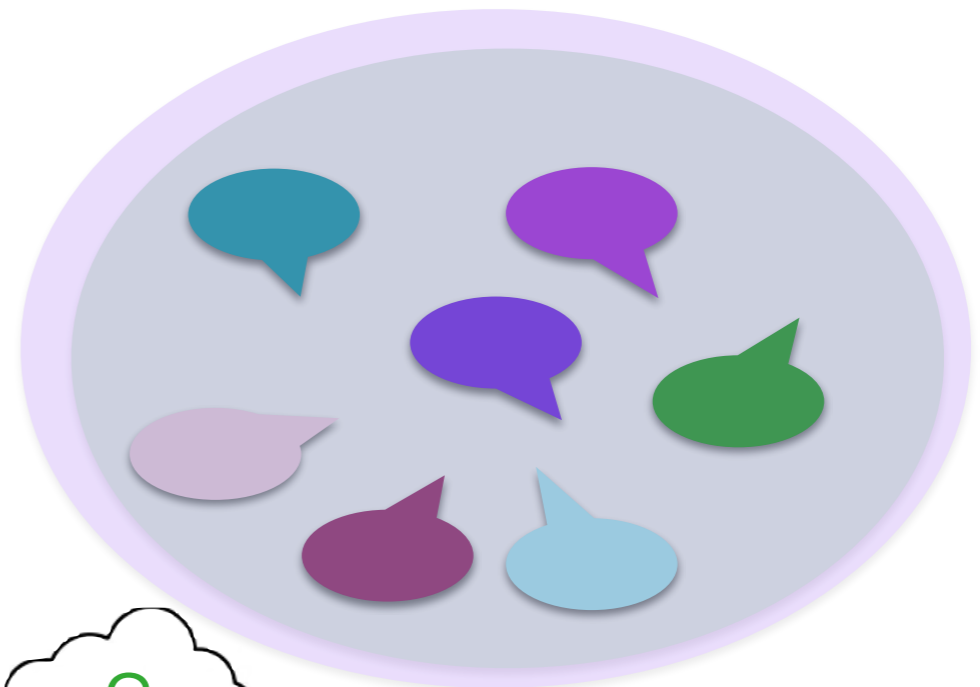
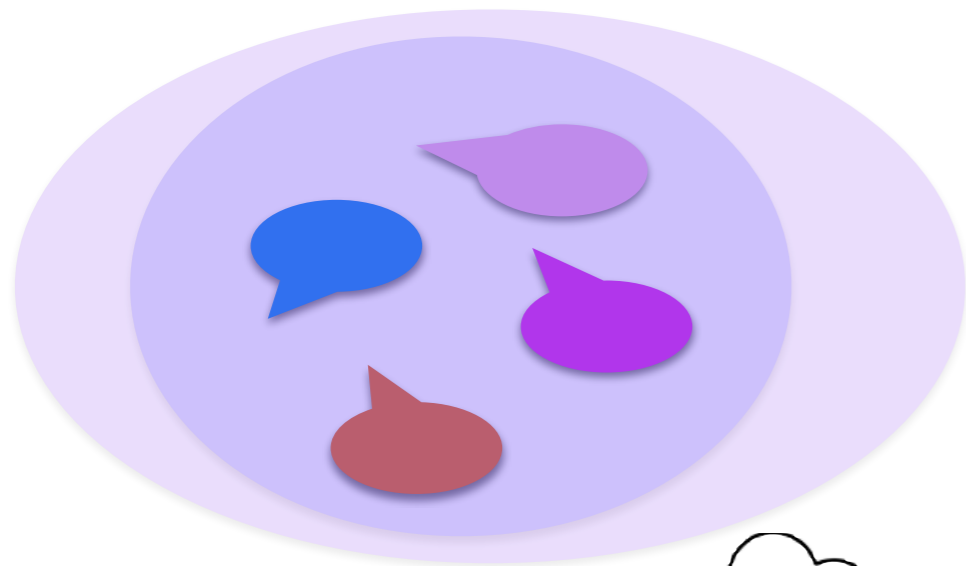
A developmental computational model implements a specific learning theory ...



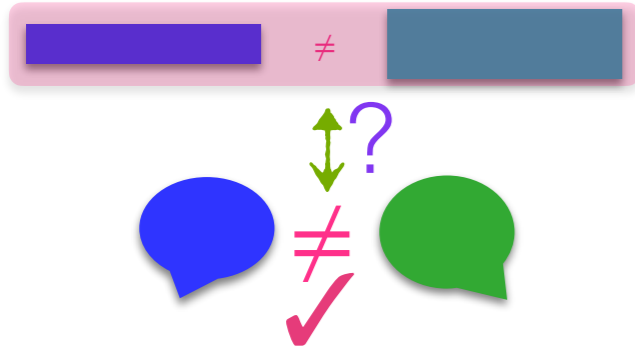
One (standard) way



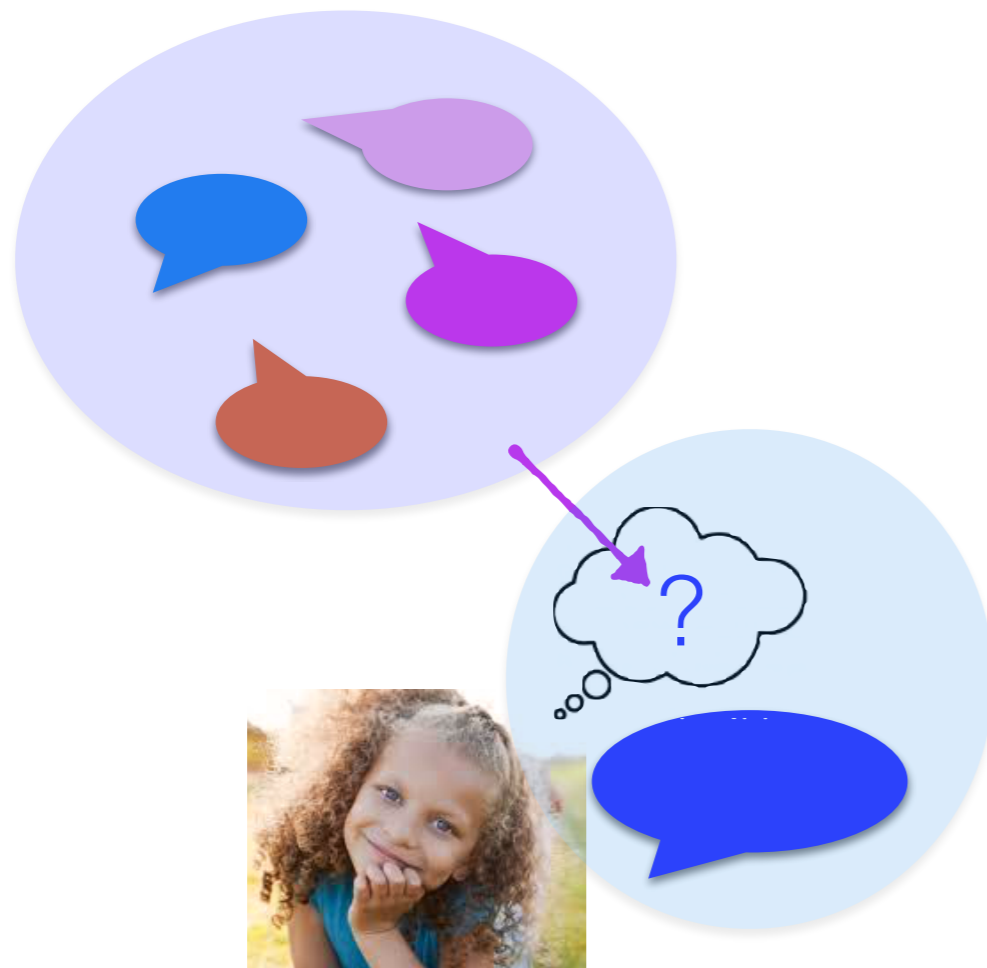
A developmental computational model implements a specific learning theory about how children use their input ...



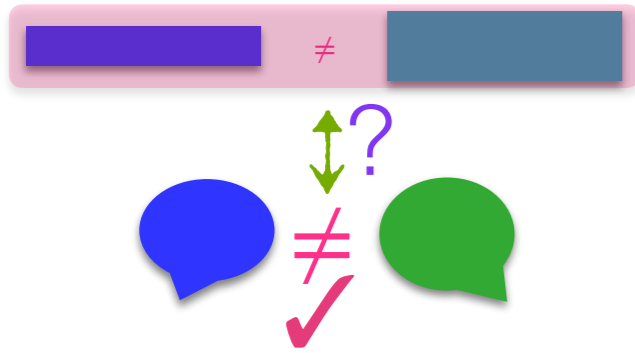
One (standard) way



A developmental computational model implements a specific learning theory about how children use their input to acquire the knowledge to generate their output.



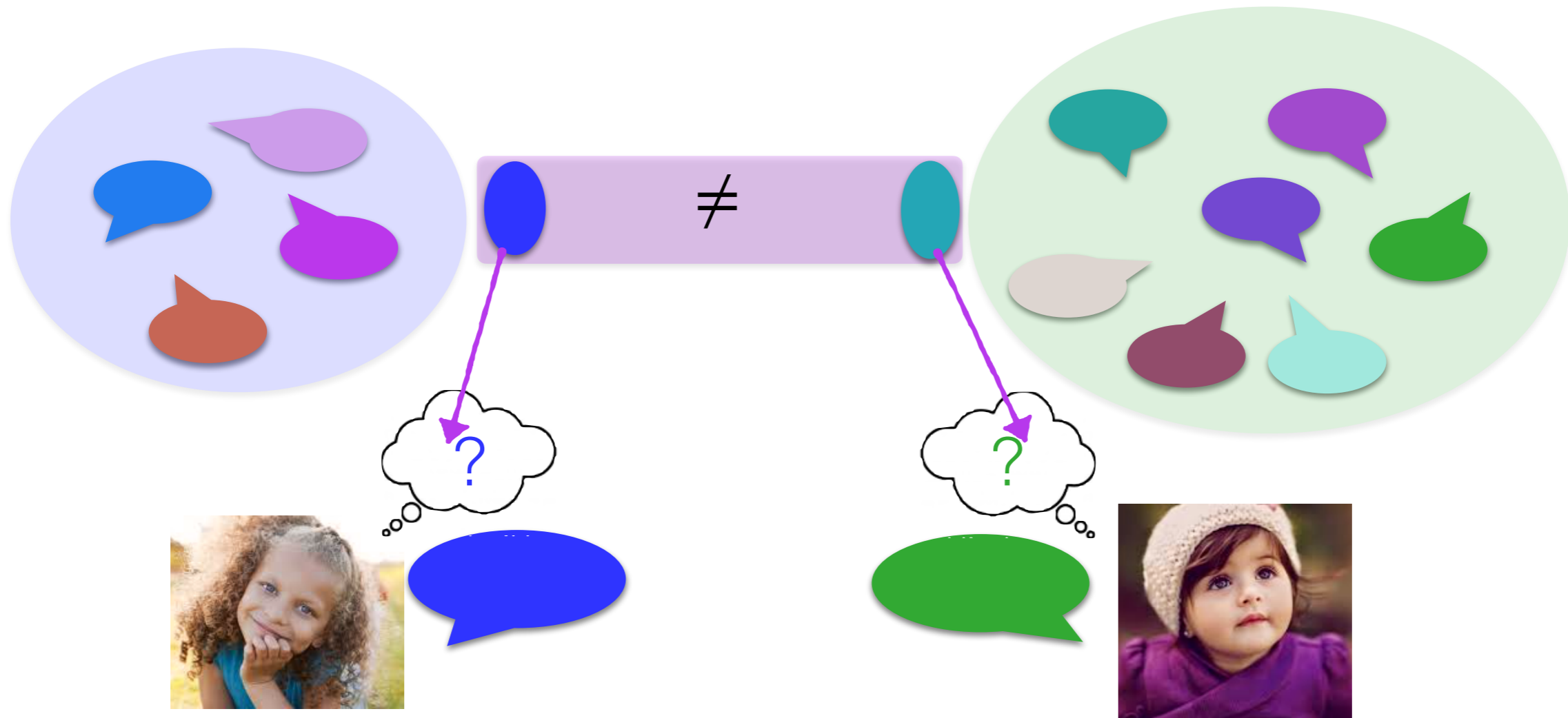
One (standard) way



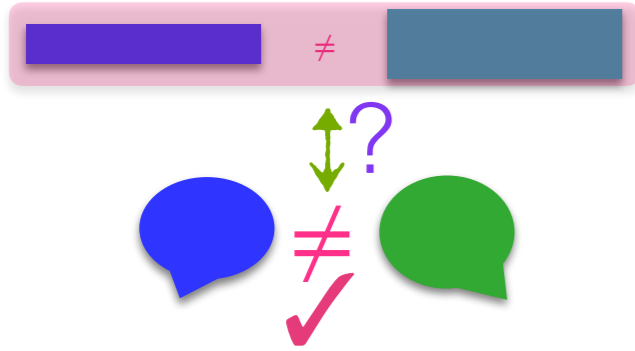
A developmental computational model implements a specific learning theory about how children use their input to acquire the knowledge to generate their output.



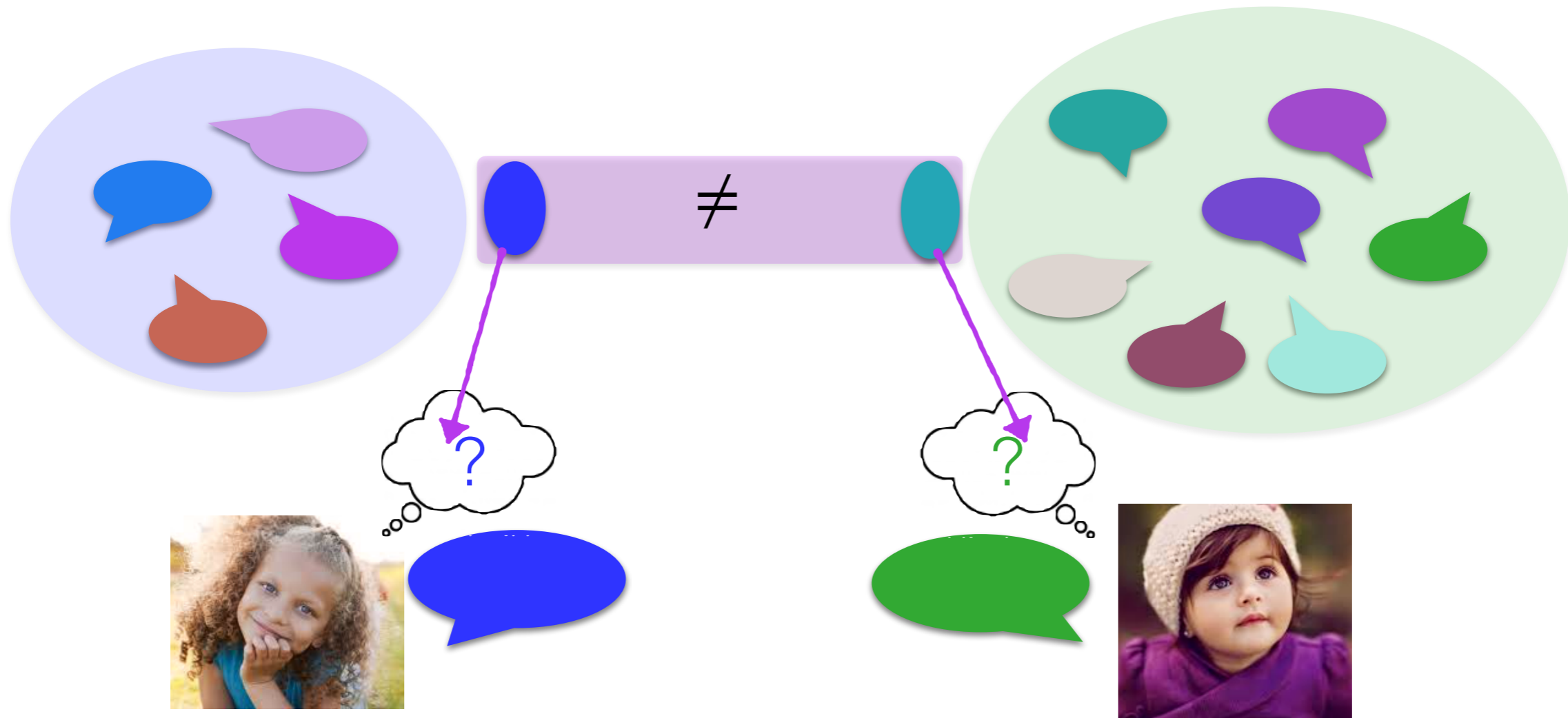
Important: the learning theory implemented by the model specifies what aspect of the input matters.



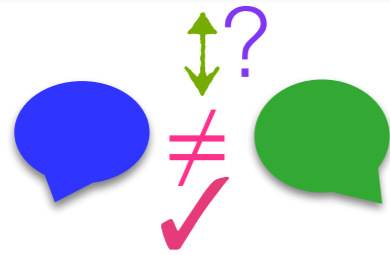
One (standard) way



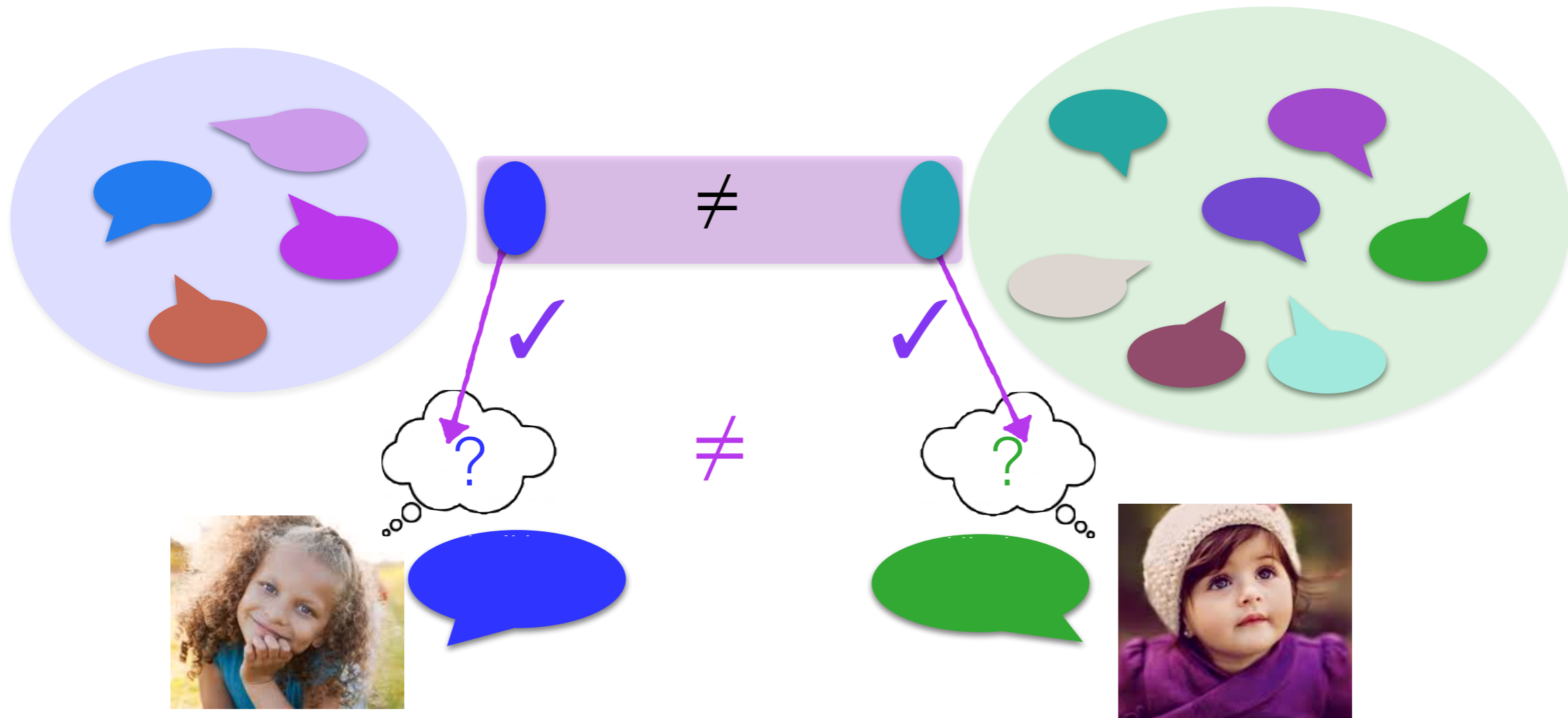
So, a developmental computational model can predict the language outcome on the basis of the input.



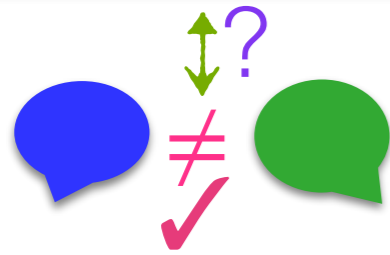
One (standard) way



If the predicted outcomes differ, then it's because the input difference caused that outcome difference. So, the input difference is predicted to be meaningful.

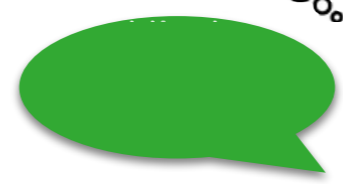
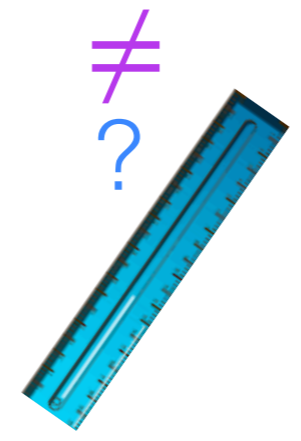
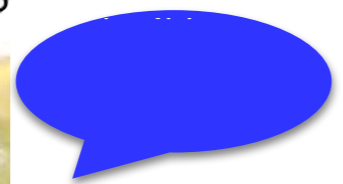
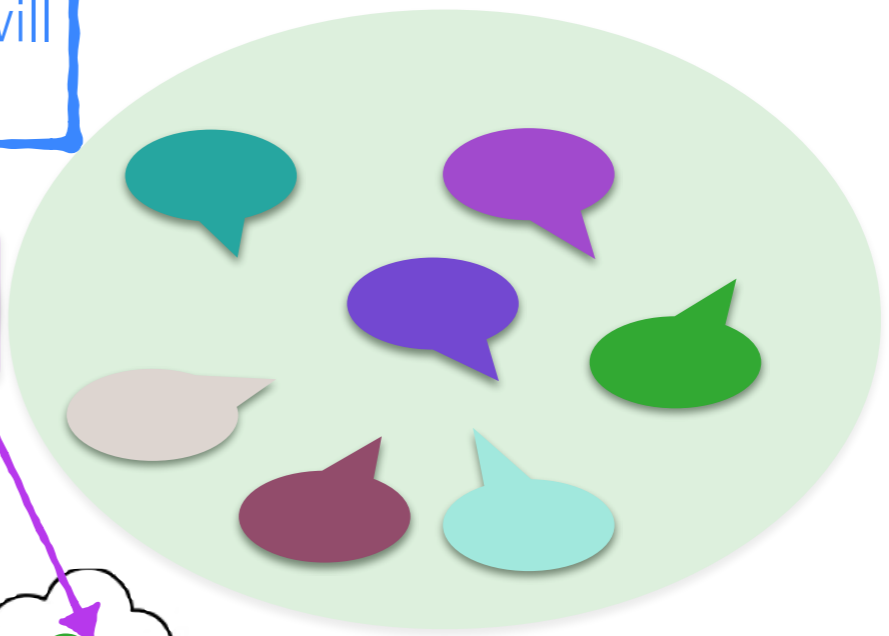
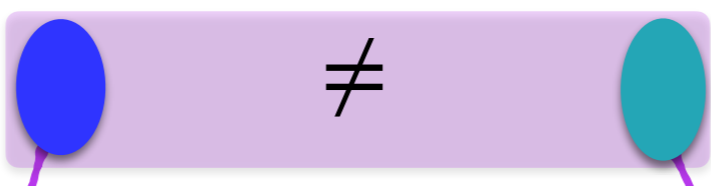
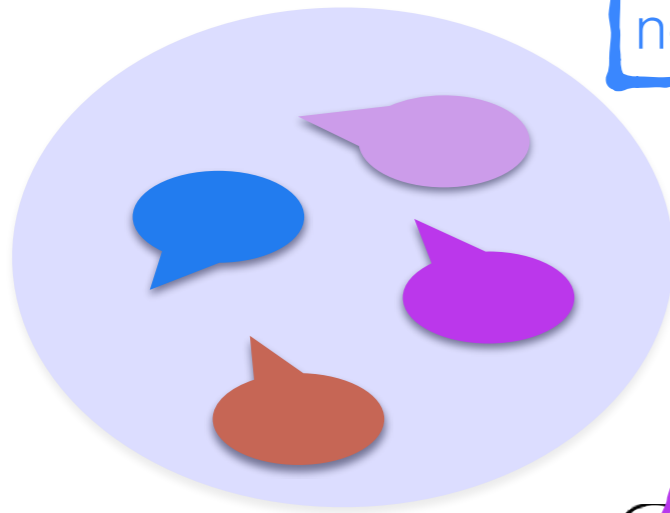


One (standard) way

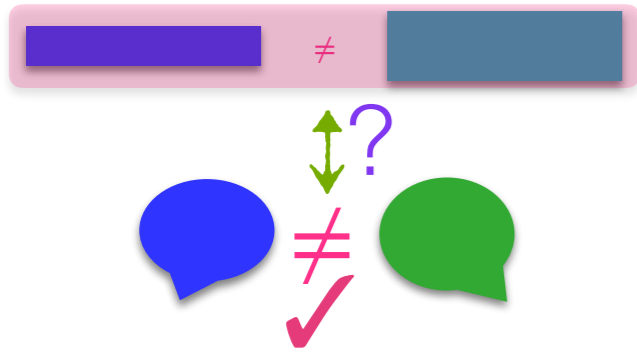


If the **predicted outcomes differ**, then it's because the input difference caused that outcome difference. So, the **input difference is predicted to be meaningful**.

These outcome predictions will need to be verified, though.

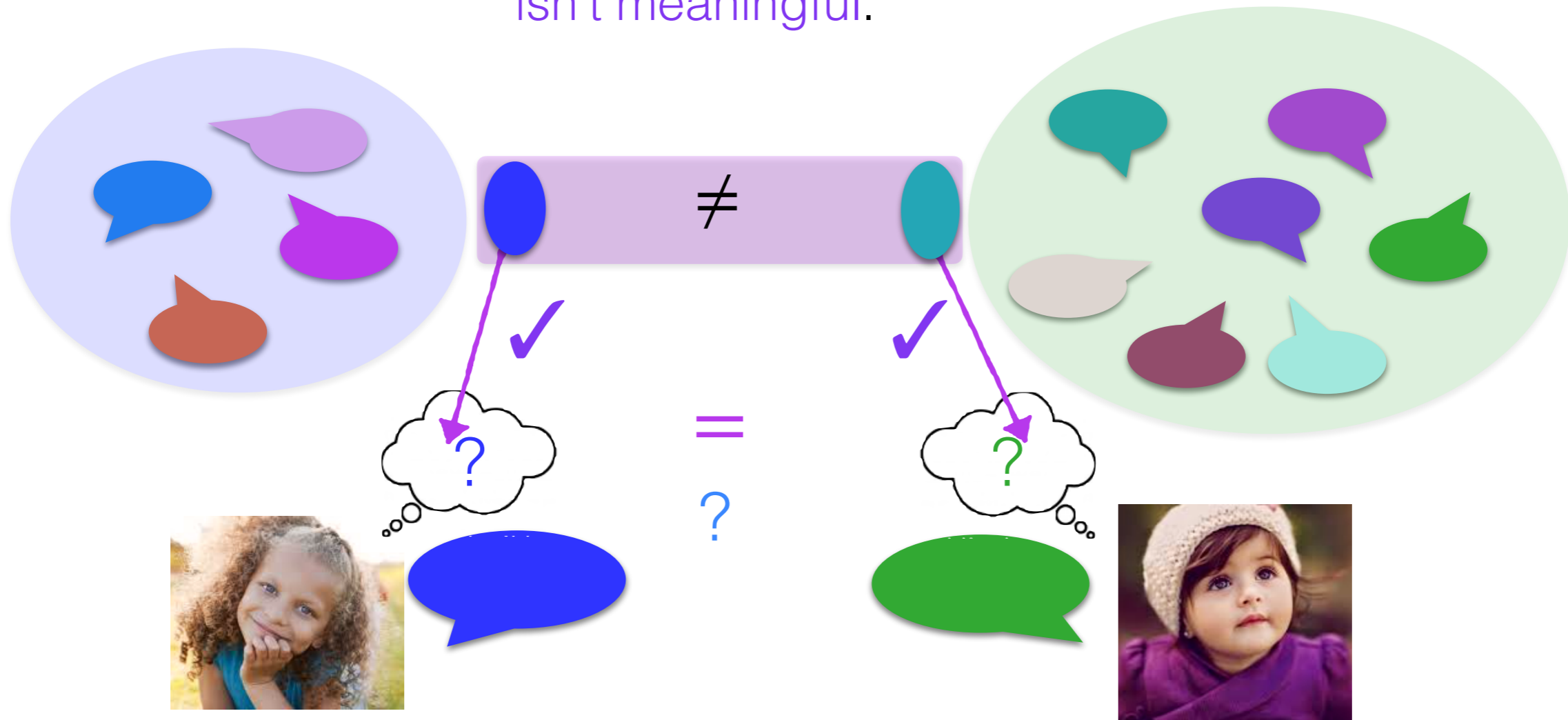


One (standard) way



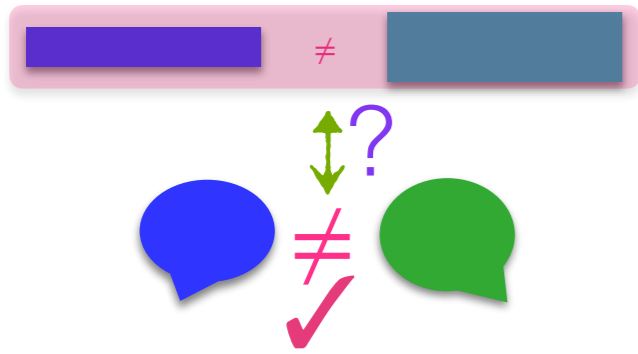
Bonus: Because the learning theory in the model is causal, we can predict if the input should cause similar outcomes, too.

In that case, the input difference isn't meaningful.

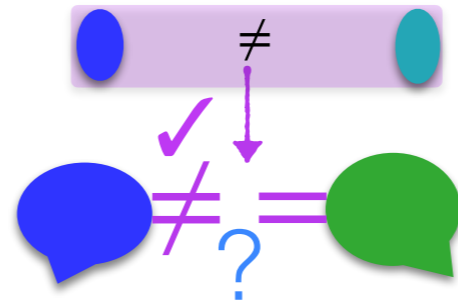


Detecting meaningful input differences

One (standard) way

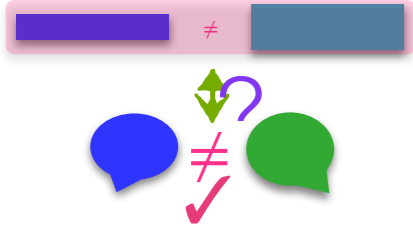


A new (complementary) way



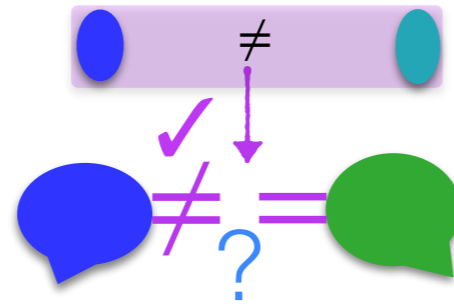
Detecting meaningful input differences

One (standard) way



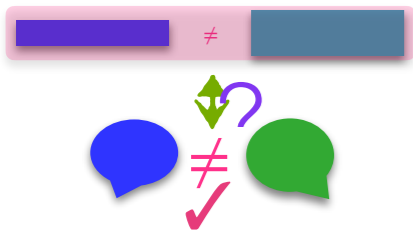
Today's focus

A new (complementary) way



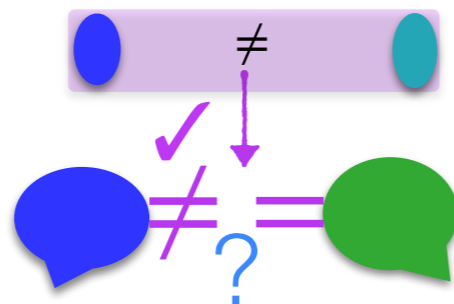
Detecting meaningful input differences

One (standard) way



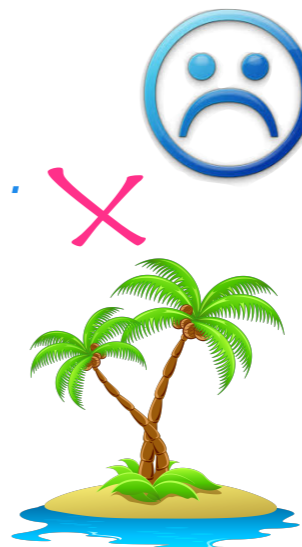
Today's focus

A new (complementary) way



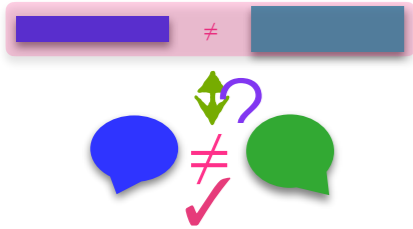
Case study:
Syntactic island acquisition

Who does...



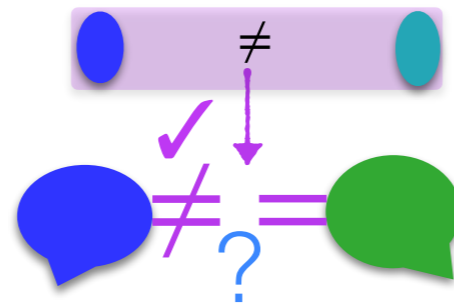
Detecting meaningful input differences

One (standard) way



Today's focus

A new (complementary) way



Case study:
Syntactic island acquisition

Who does...



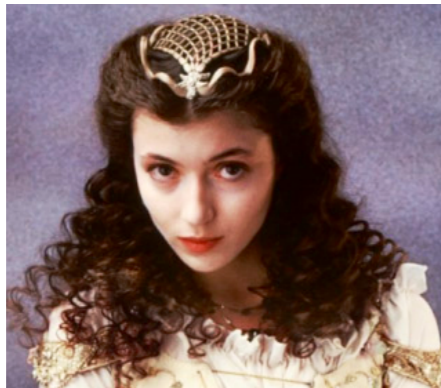
Why? It's higher-order syntactic knowledge where we don't know much about meaningful input differences across SES.



Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.

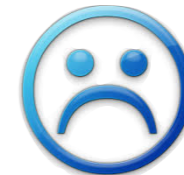
This kitty was bought as a present for someone.

Lily thinks this kitty is pretty.



What's going on here?

Who does Lily think the kitty for is pretty?



What does Lily think is pretty, and who does she think it's for?





Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?

There's a **dependency** between the *wh*-word *who* and where it's understood (**the gap**)

*Who does Lily think the kitty for __**who** is pretty?*



This dependency is **not allowed** in English.

One explanation: The dependency crosses a “**syntactic island**” (Ross 1967)





Syntactic island constraints
involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for who is pretty?

Subject island



Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *who* is pretty?

Subject island



Jack is somewhat tricky.

He claimed he bought something.

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *what*?





Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island



Jack is somewhat tricky.

He claimed he bought something.

Elizabeth wondered if he actually did
and what it was.

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*?





Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what?* Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what?* Whether island



Jack is somewhat tricky.
He claimed he bought something.
Elizabeth worried it was something dangerous.

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what?*





Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*? Adjunct island

Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

(Chomsky 1965, Ross 1967)



Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*? Adjunct island

Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

Elizabeth



What did Elizabeth think *__what*?





Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*? Adjunct island

Elizabeth



Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

Jack



What did Elizabeth think Jack said *__what*?





Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*? Adjunct island

Elizabeth



Jack



Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

What did Elizabeth think Jack said Lily saw *__what*?



Lily





Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.



Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __what? Adjunct island

High-SES adults **judge** these dependencies to be **far worse** than many others, including others that are very similar except that they don't cross syntactic islands (Sprouse et al. 2012).

These judgments are an observable behavior signaling that acquisition of syntactic island knowledge has occurred.





Syntactic island constraints involve *wh*-dependencies.



Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __what? Adjunct island

High-SES adults **judge** these dependencies to be **far worse** than many others, including others that are very similar except that they don't cross syntactic islands (Sprouse et al. 2012).

So, these judgments can serve as a target for successful acquisition — an outcome we can measure.





Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome

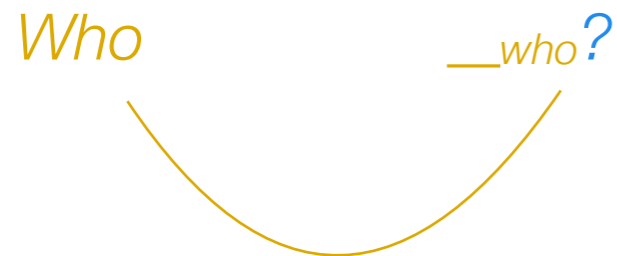


Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

Sprouse et al. 2012: **magnitude estimation judgments**

- factorial definition controlling for two salient properties of island-crossing dependencies

length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)



presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)





Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Complex NP island stimuli

- | | | | |
|---|----------|--|------------|
| Who __ claimed [that Lily forgot the necklace]? | matrix | | non-island |
| What did the teacher claim [that Lily forgot __]? | embedded | | non-island |
| Who __ made [the claim that Lily forgot the necklace]? | matrix | | island |
| *What did the teacher make [the claim that Lily forgot __]? | embedded | | island |



Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Subject island stimuli

Who ___ thinks [the necklace is expensive]?

What does Jack think [___ is expensive]?

Who ___ thinks [the necklace for Lily] is expensive?

*Who does Jack think [the necklace for ___] is expensive?

matrix		non-island
embedded		non-island
matrix		island
embedded		island



Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Whether island stimuli

Who ___ thinks [that Jack stole the necklace]?	matrix		non-island
What does the teacher think [that Jack stole ___]?	embedded		non-island
Who ___ wonders [whether Jack stole the necklace]?	matrix		island
*What does the teacher wonder [whether Jack stole ___]?	embedded		island



Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Adjunct island stimuli

Who ___ thinks [that Lily forgot the necklace]?

What does the teacher think [that Lily forgot ___]?

Who ___ worries [if Lily forgot the necklace]?

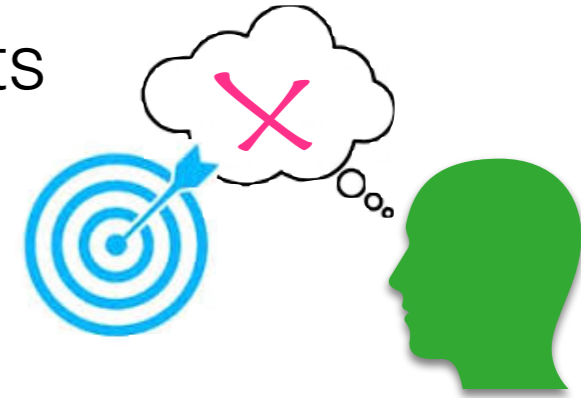
*What does the teacher worry [if Lily forgot ___]?

matrix		non-island
embedded		non-island
matrix		island
embedded		island



Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors (additional unacceptability that arises when the two factors — **length** & presence of an **island** structure — are combined, above and beyond the independent contribution of each factor).



Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

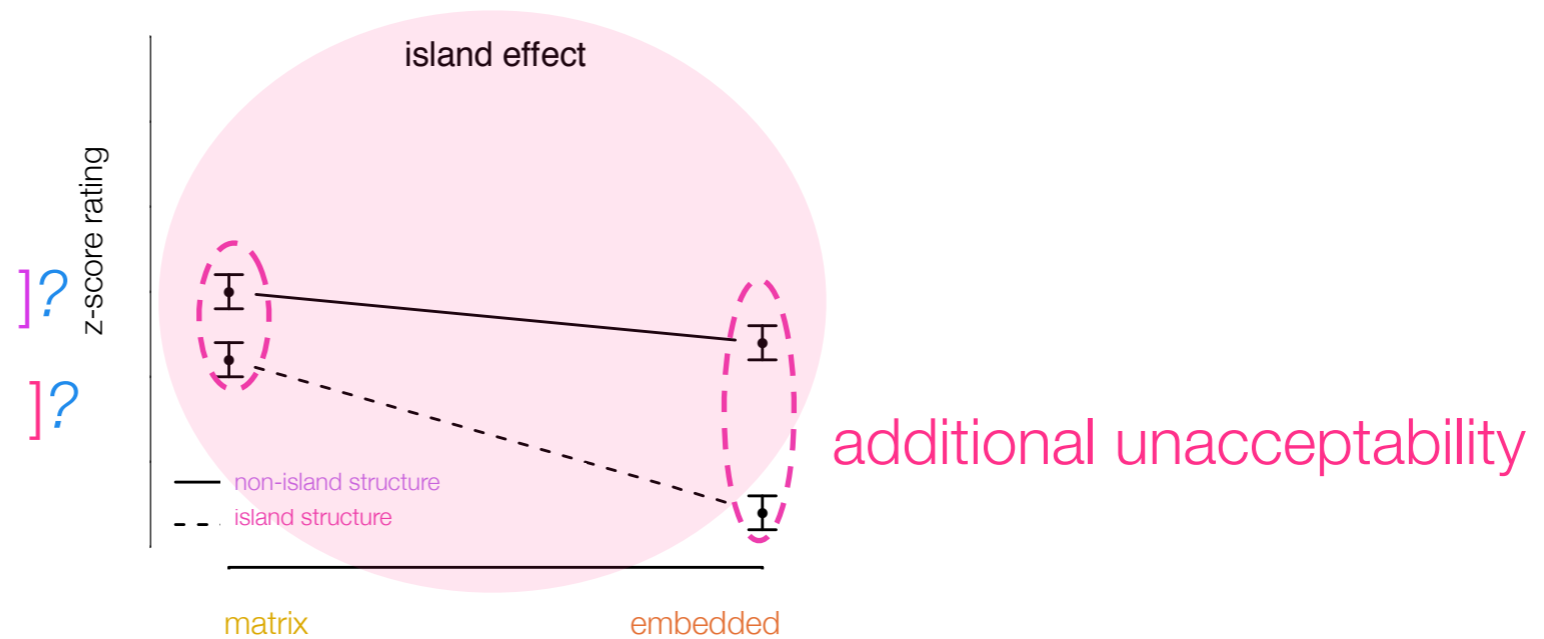
length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors

Who [non-island]?
Who [island]?



Who __who?

Who [CP... __who]?



Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome



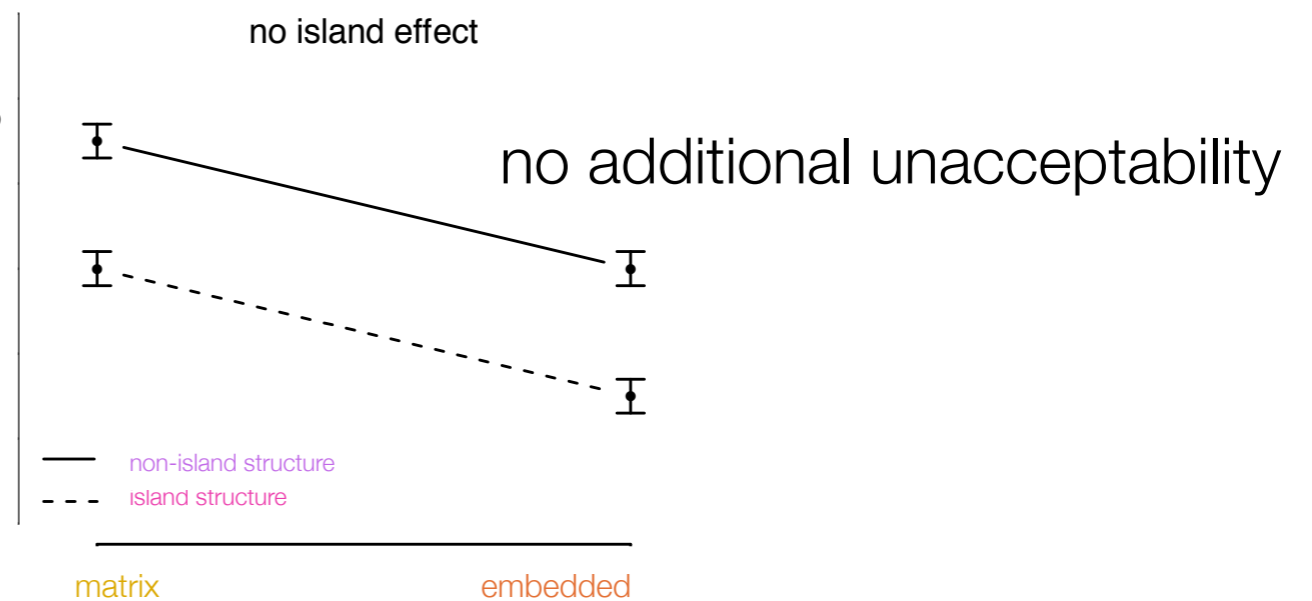
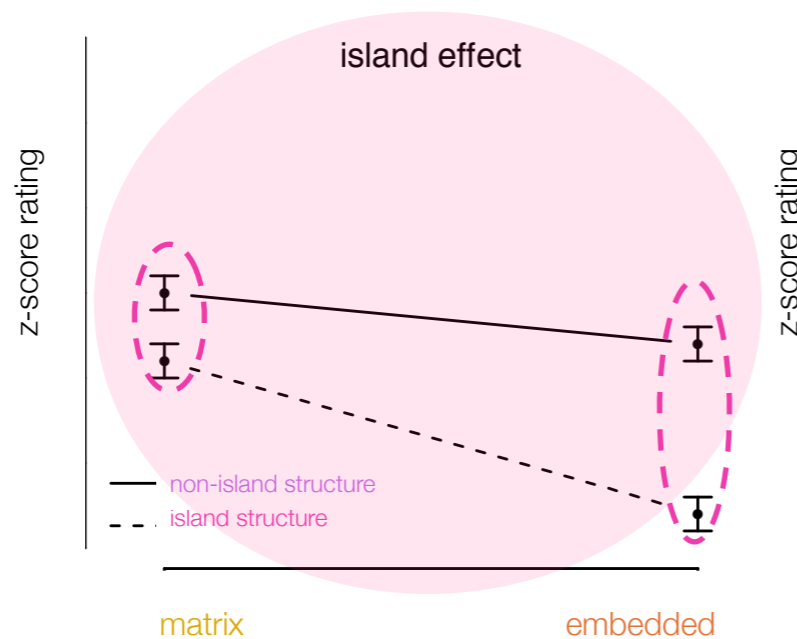
Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors





Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

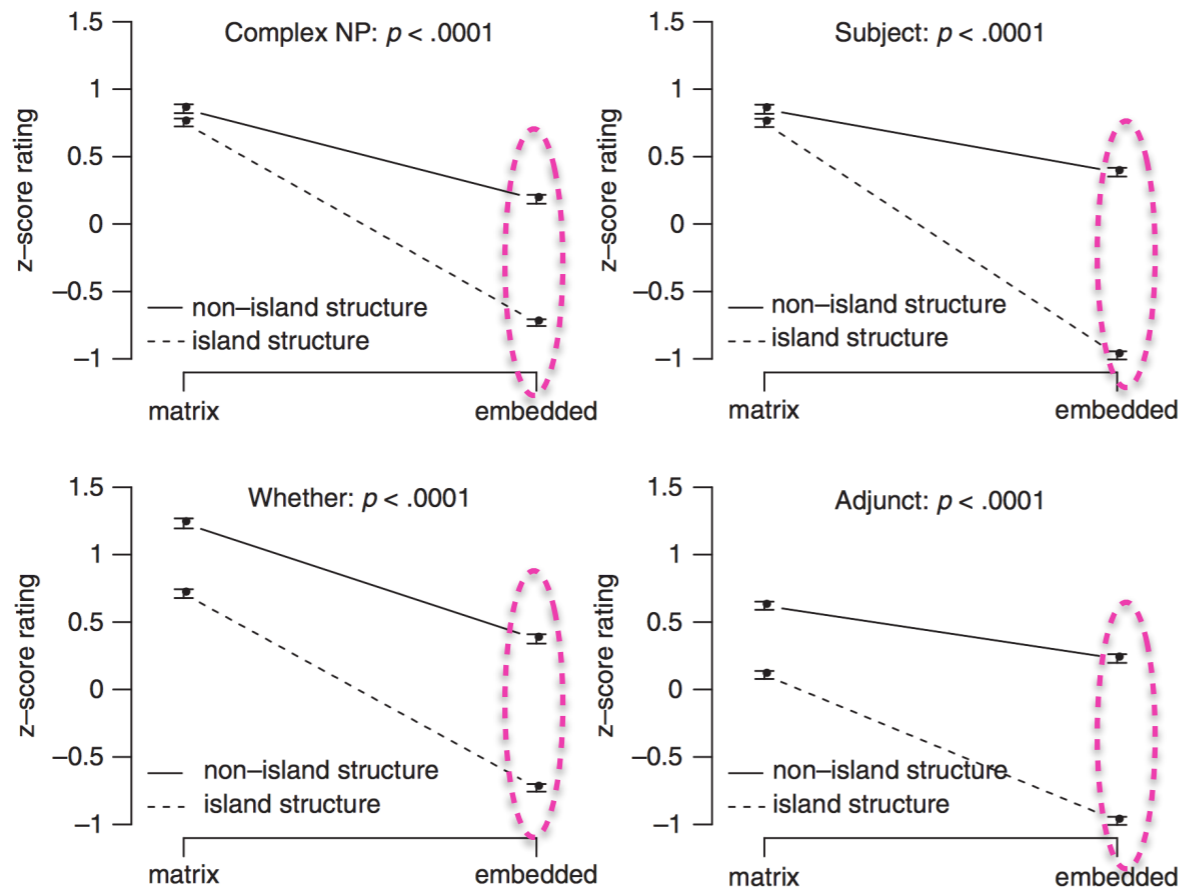
length of dependency
(matrix vs. embedded)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(non-island vs. island)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors

Sprouse et al. (2012): acceptability judgments from 173 adult subjects



✓
superadditivity for
all four island types



Syntactic island constraints

High-SES adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

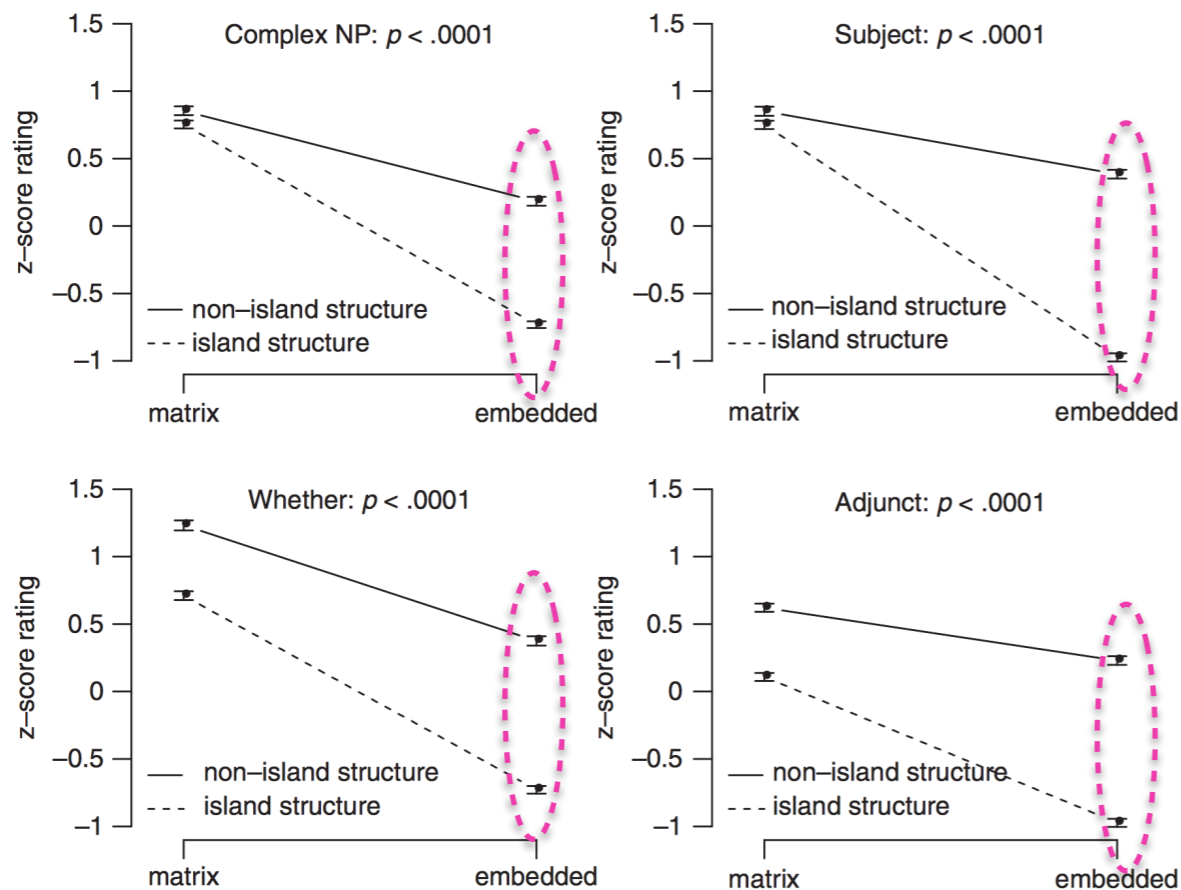
length of dependency
(matrix vs. embedded)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(non-island vs. island)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors

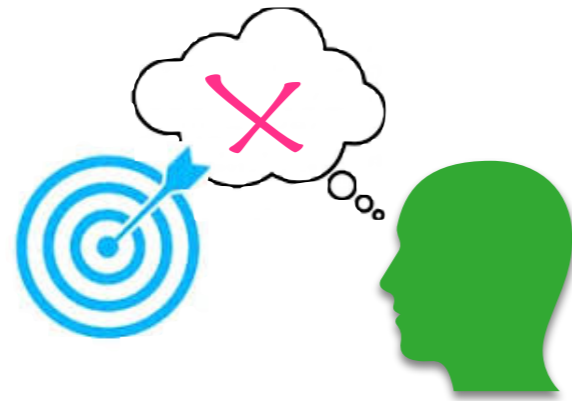
Sprouse et al. (2012): acceptability judgments from 173 adult subjects



✓
superadditivity for
all four island types

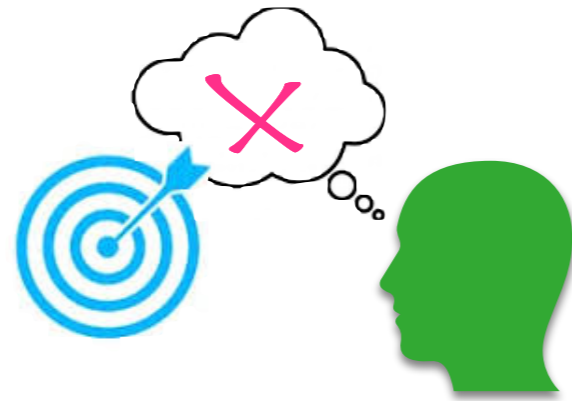


= knowledge that
dependencies can't cross
these island structures.



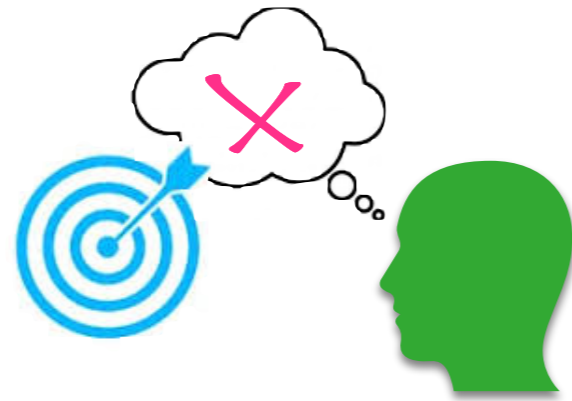
Okay, so what's the relevant input for learning this target knowledge?





That depends on **how** we think children learn it.





That depends on **how** we think children learn it.



Pearl & Sprouse 2013 intuition:

- **Learn what you can** from the dependencies you do actually observe in the input
- **Apply it** to make a judgment about the dependencies you haven't seen before, like syntactic islands.



A concrete learning strategy (Pearl & Sprouse 2013):
View *wh*-dependencies in terms of their **building blocks**
and **track** those building blocks in the input.



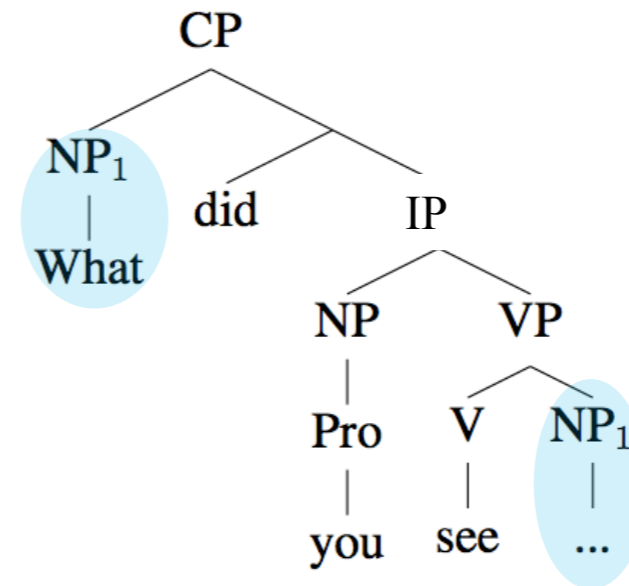


A strategy for learning syntactic islands



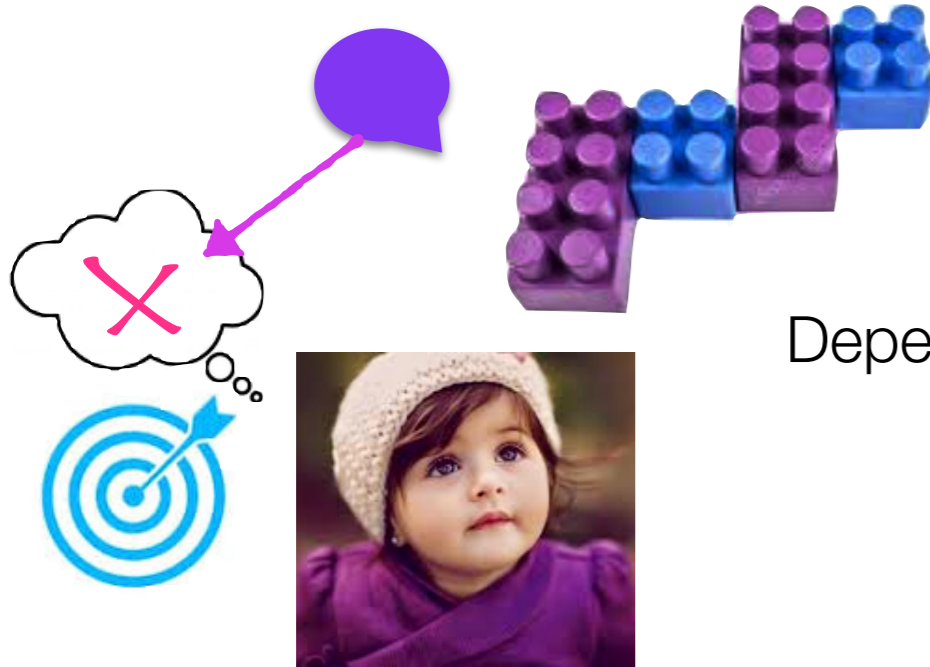
Dependencies represented as a **sequence of container nodes**

What phrases **contain** the **gap**
(but not the *wh*-word)?



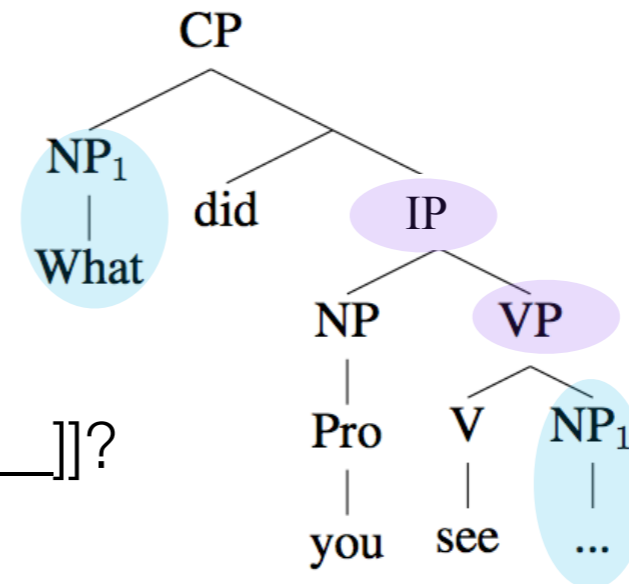


A strategy for learning syntactic islands



Dependencies represented as a **sequence of container nodes**

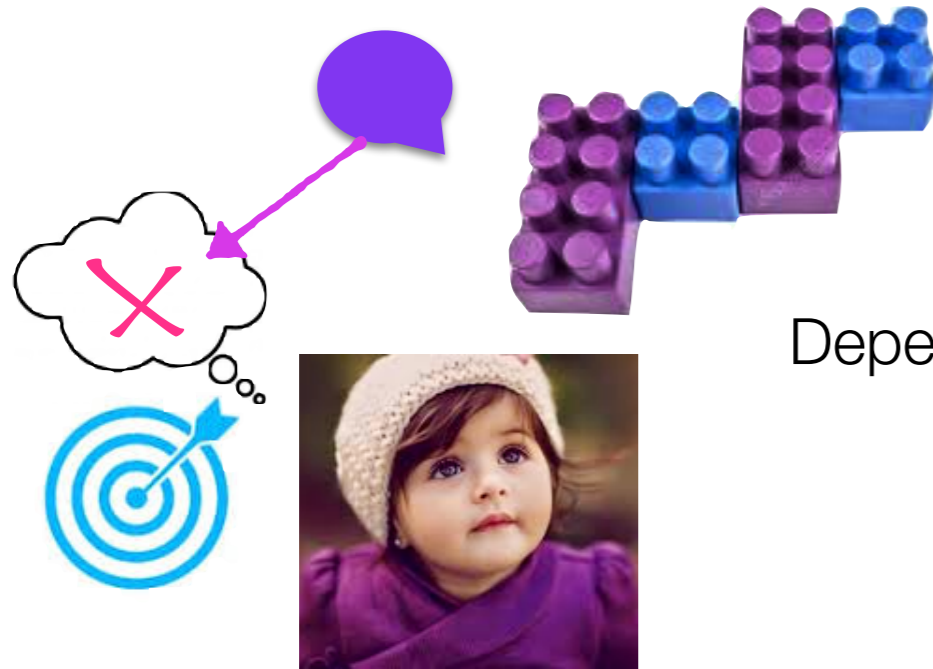
What phrases **contain** the **gap**
(but not the *wh*-word)?



What did you see ___?
 = What did [IP you [VP see ___]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-end*



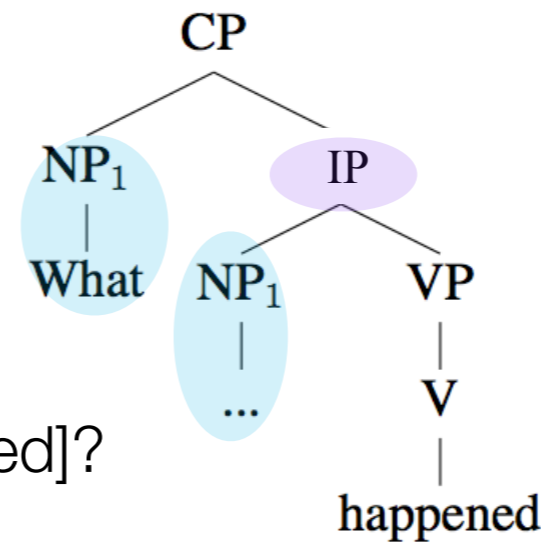
A strategy for learning syntactic islands



Dependencies represented as a **sequence of container nodes**

What phrases **contain** the **gap**
(but not the **wh-word**)?

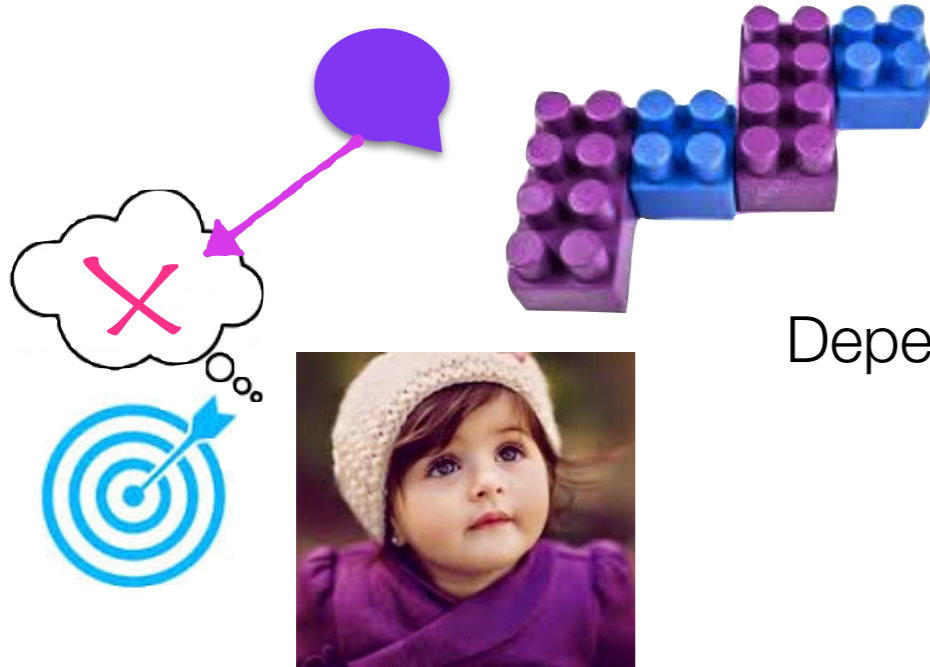
What did you see ___?
= What did [IP you [VP see ___]]?
= **start-IP-VP-end**



What ___ happened?
= What [IP ___ happened]?
= **start-IP-end**



A strategy for learning syntactic islands



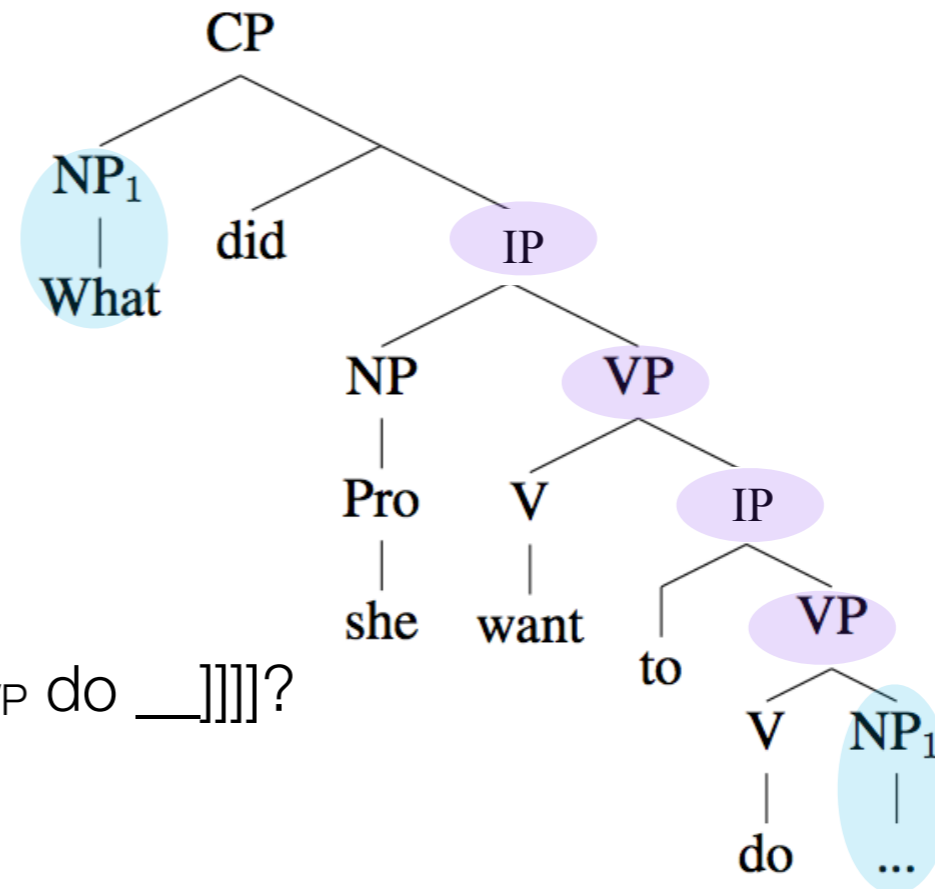
Dependencies represented as a **sequence of container nodes**

What phrases **contain** the **gap** (but not the **wh-word**)?

What did you see ___?
 = What did [IP you [VP see ___]]?
 = **start-IP-VP-end**

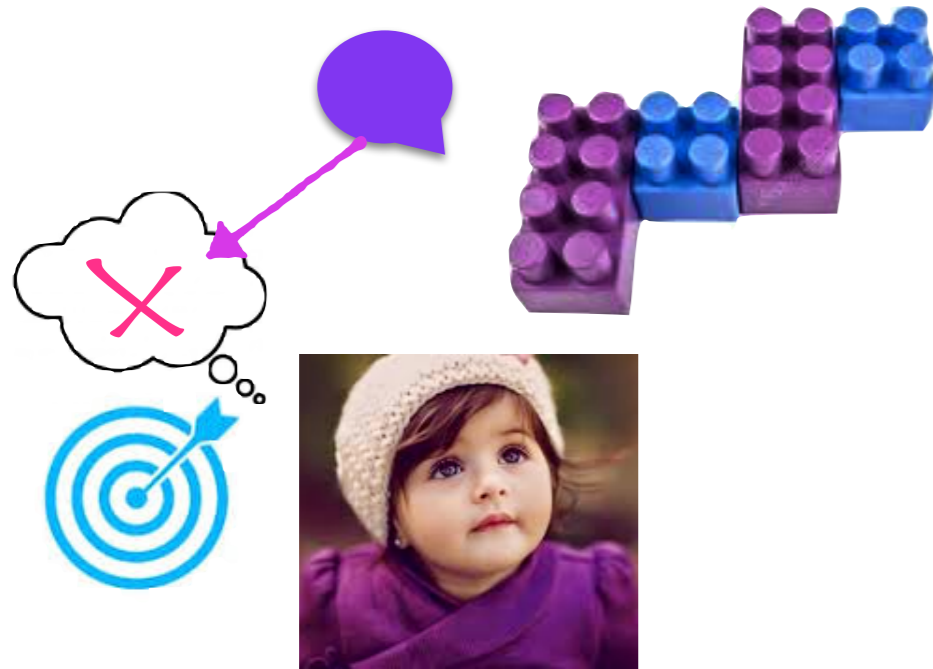
What ___ happened?
 = What [IP ___ happened]?
 = **start-IP-end**

What did she want to do ___ ?
 = What did [IP she [VP want [IP to [VP do ___]]]]?
 = **start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end**





A strategy for learning syntactic islands



What did you see __?
 = What did [IP you [VP see __]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-end*

What __ happened?
 = What [IP __ happened]?
 = *start-IP-end*

What did she want to do __ ?
 = What did [IP she [VP want [IP to [VP do __]]]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end*

Ungrammatical dependencies have *low probability segments*

[CP *Who* did [IP Lily [VP ~~think~~ [CP [IP [NP the kitty [PP for __]]] was pretty ?]]]]
start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end



A strategy for learning syntactic islands



What did you see __?
= What did [IP you [VP see __]]?
= *start-IP-VP-end*

What __ happened?
= What [IP __ happened]?
= *start-IP-end*

What did she want to do __ ?
= What did [IP she [VP want [IP to [VP do __]]]]?
= *start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end*

[CP *Who* did [IP Lily [VP ~~think~~ [CP [IP [NP the kitty [PP for __]]] was pretty ?]]]]
start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end



So if children break these dependencies into smaller building blocks, they can identify if a dependency has a bad segment (made up of *one or more low probability building blocks*).

Who does



A strategy for learning syntactic islands

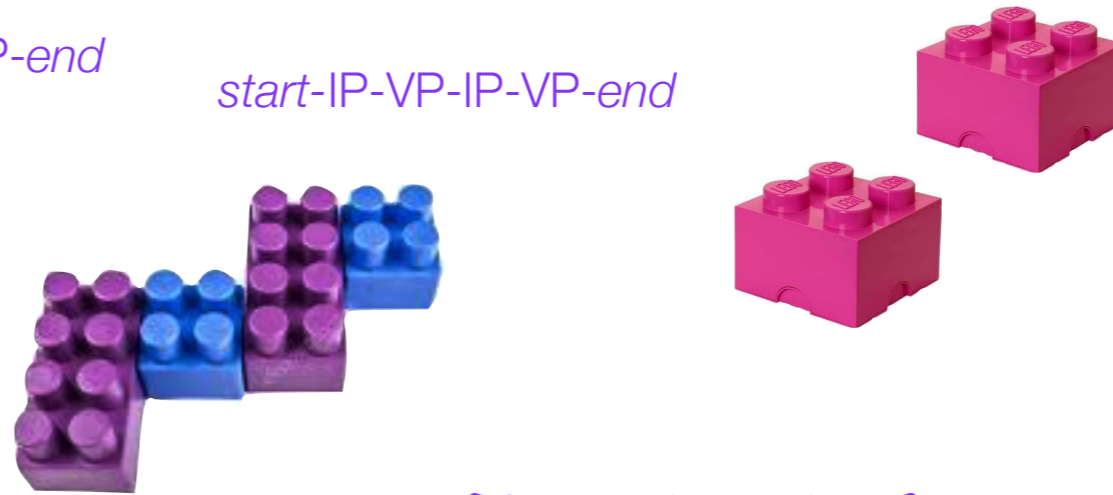


start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end

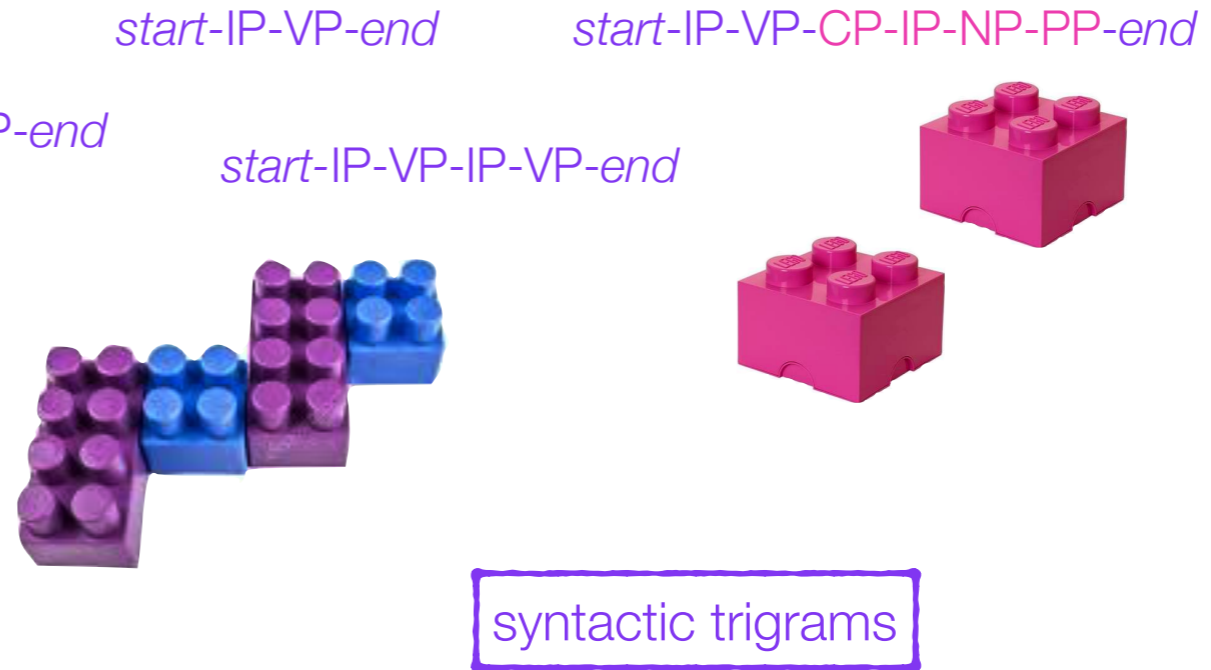


syntactic trigrams

The building blocks: *trigrams of container nodes*



A strategy for learning syntactic islands



The building blocks: trigrams of container nodes

start-IP-VP-end
start-IP-VP
IP-VP-end

Who does



A strategy for learning syntactic islands



start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end



syntactic trigrams

The building blocks: trigrams of container nodes

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP

IP-VP-IP

VP-IP-VP

IP-VP-end



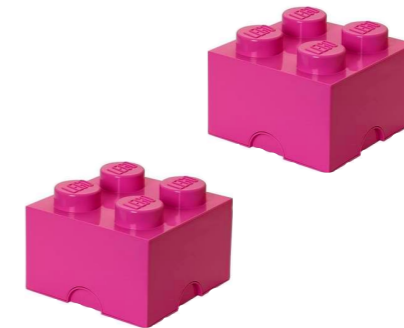
A strategy for learning syntactic islands



start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



syntactic trigrams

The building blocks: trigrams of container nodes

start-IP-VP

IP-VP-IP

VP-IP-VP

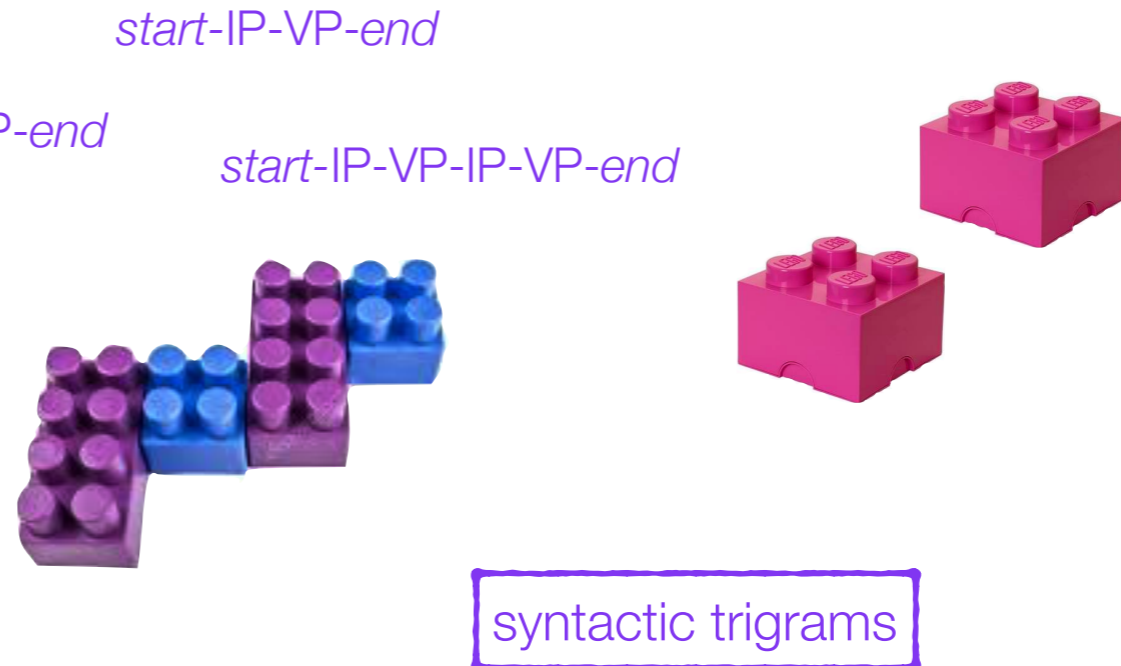
IP-VP-end

start-IP-end

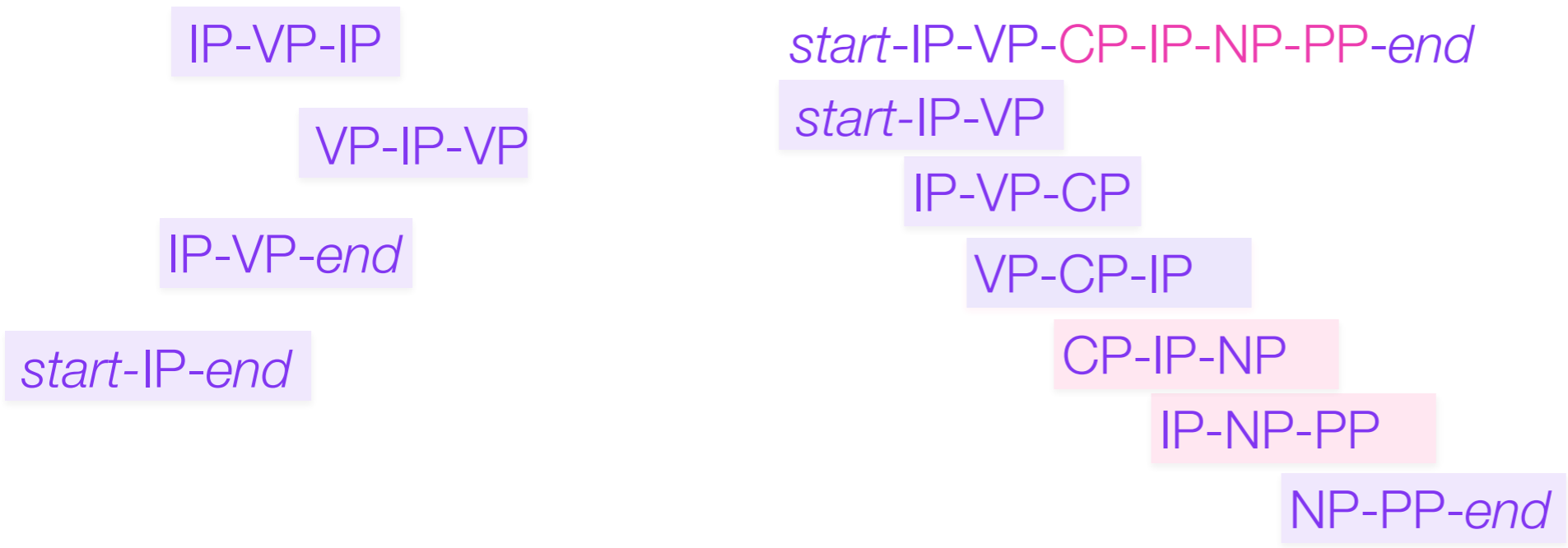
start-IP-end



A strategy for learning syntactic islands



The building blocks: trigrams of container nodes



Who does



A strategy for learning syntactic islands

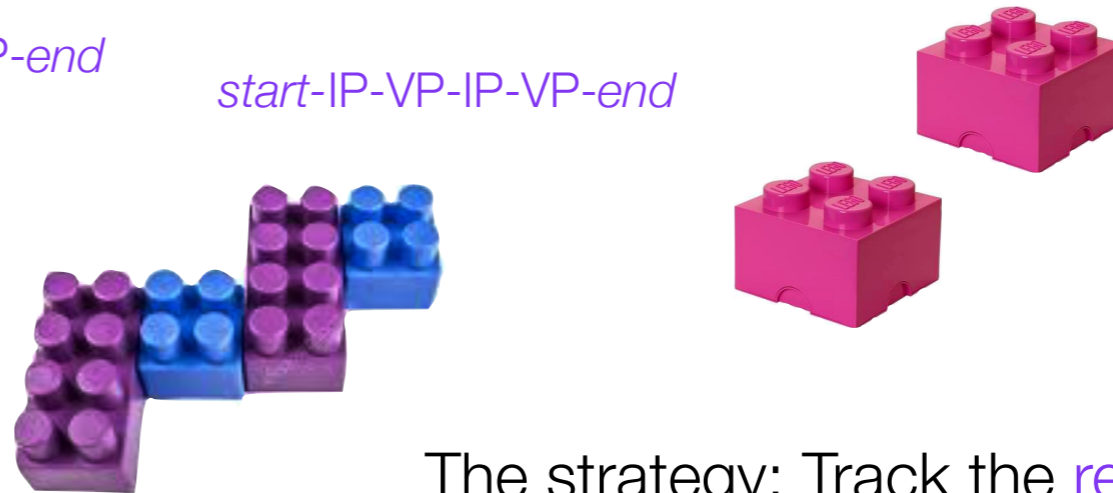


start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



The strategy: Track the **relative frequency** of the syntactic trigrams in your input

start-IP-VP

IP-VP-end

IP-VP-IP

VP-IP-VP

start-IP-end

IP-VP-CP

VP-PP-end

VP-CP-IP

IP-VP-PP

NP-PP-end



Who does



A strategy for learning syntactic islands

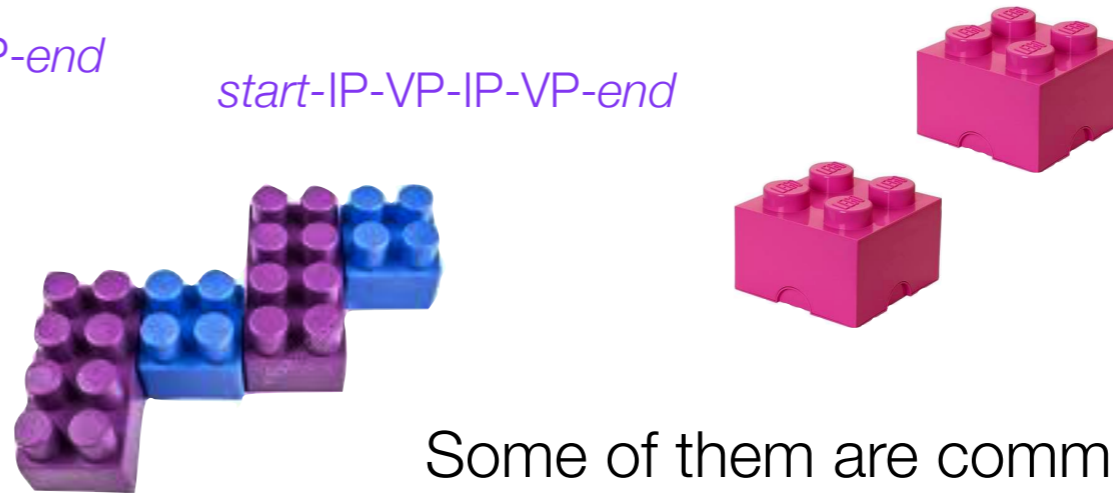


start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



Some of them are common and some of them aren't.

start-IP-VP

start-IP-end

IP-VP-end



IP-VP-CP

IP-VP-IP

IP-VP-PP

VP-PP-end

VP-CP-IP

VP-IP-VP

NP-PP-end



A strategy for learning syntactic islands

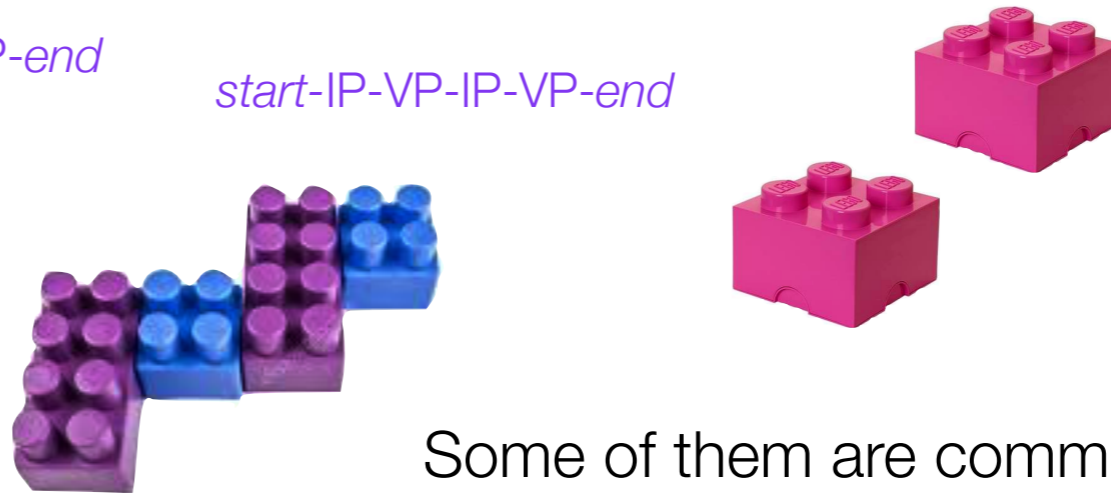


start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



Some of them are common and some of them aren't.

(And some never occur at all.)

start-IP-VP

start-IP-end

IP-VP-end



IP-VP-CP

IP-VP-IP

IP-VP-PP

VP-PP-end

CP-IP-NP

IP-NP-PP

VP-CP-IP

VP-IP-VP

NP-PP-end

Who does



A strategy for learning syntactic islands

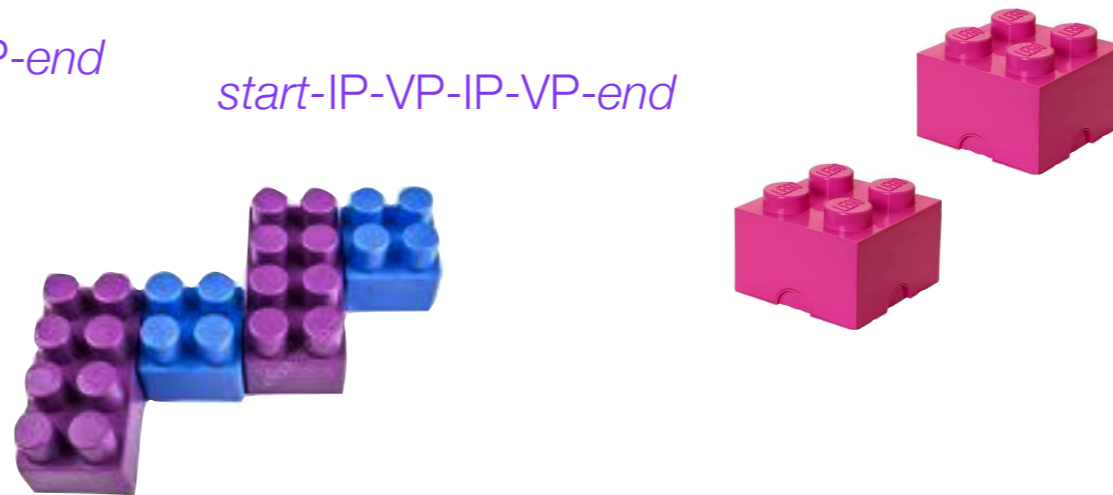


start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



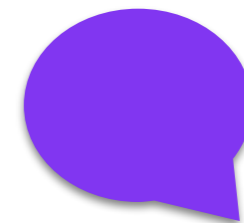
Relative syntactic trigram frequency:

$$= p(t) \approx \frac{\# \text{ trigram}}{\text{total } \# \text{ trigrams}}$$

start-IP-VP

start-IP-end

IP-VP-end



IP-VP-CP

IP-VP-IP

IP-VP-PP

VP-PP-end

CP-IP-NP

IP-NP-PP

VP-CP-IP

VP-IP-VP

NP-PP-end

Who does



A strategy for learning syntactic islands

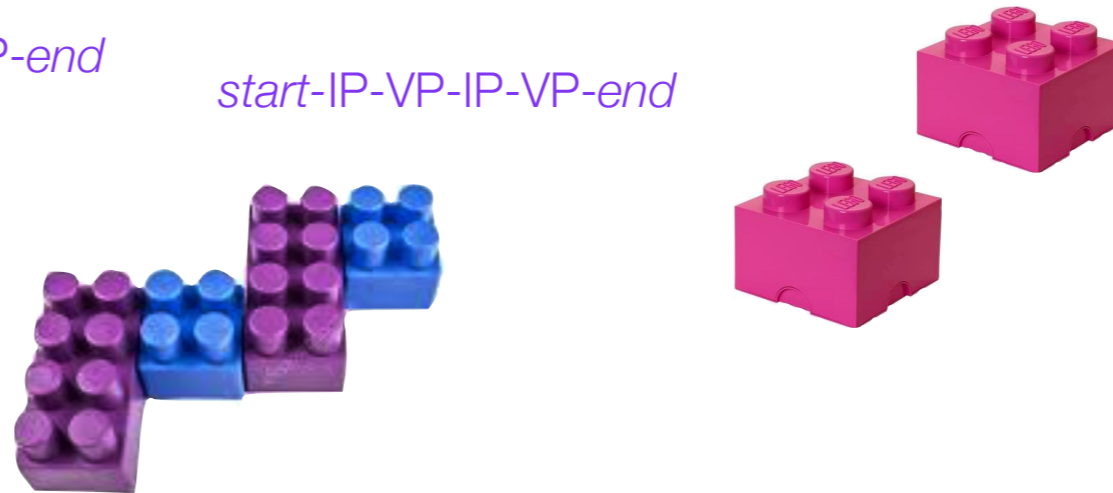


start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end

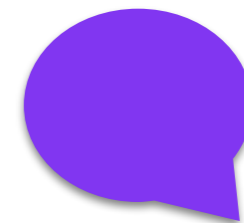


Any *wh*-dependency can then be constructed from its syntactic trigram building blocks

start-IP-VP

start-IP-end

IP-VP-end



IP-VP-CP

IP-VP-IP

IP-VP-PP

VP-PP-end

CP-IP-NP

IP-NP-PP

VP-CP-IP

VP-IP-VP

NP-PP-end

Who does



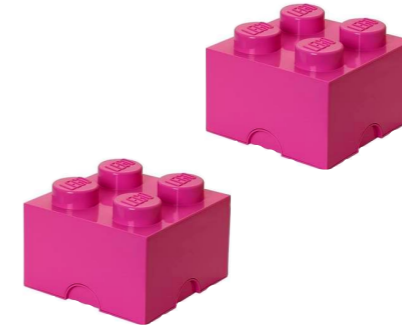
A strategy for learning syntactic islands



start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end



start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP

IP-VP-end

$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

start-IP-end

IP-VP-CP

IP-VP-IP

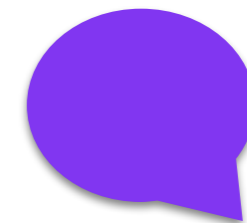
IP-VP-PP

VP-PP-end

VP-CP-IP

VP-IP-VP

NP-PP-end



CP-IP-NP

IP-NP-PP

Who does

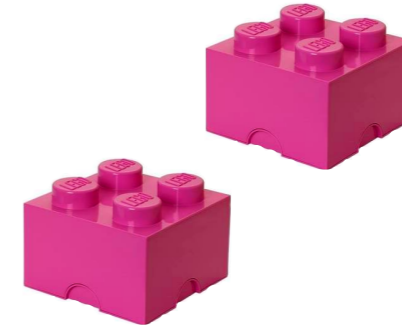


A strategy for learning syntactic islands

start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end



start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP

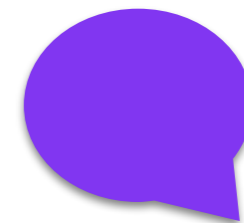
IP-VP-IP

VP-IP-VP

IP-VP-end

$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

start-IP-end



IP-VP-CP

IP-VP-PP

VP-PP-end

CP-IP-NP

IP-NP-PP

VP-CP-IP

NP-PP-end



Who does



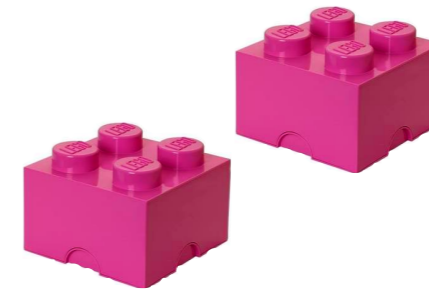
A strategy for learning syntactic islands



start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-VP

IP-VP-CP

VP-CP-IP

CP-IP-NP

IP-NP-PP

NP-PP-end

$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

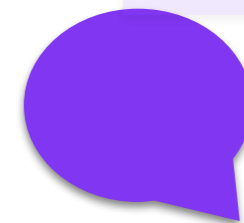
start-IP-end

IP-VP-IP

IP-VP-PP

VP-PP-end

VP-IP-VP



Who does



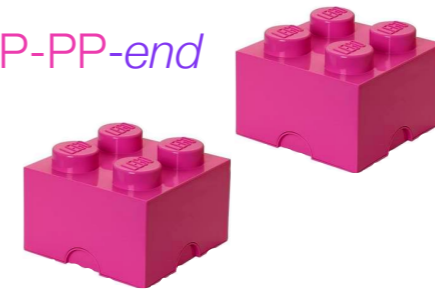
A strategy for learning syntactic islands

start-IP-VP-end

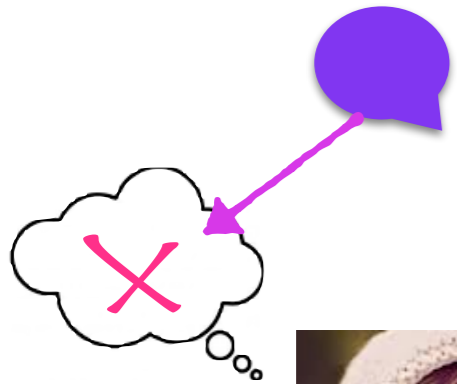
start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



A *wh*-dependency's probability can stand in for its judged acceptability.



Who does



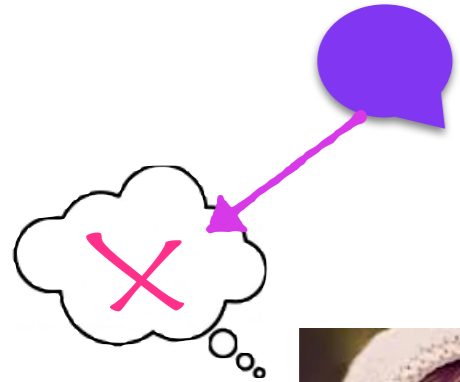
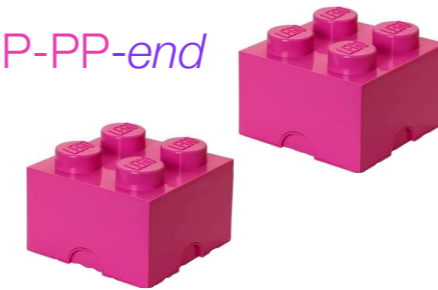
A strategy for learning syntactic islands

start-IP-VP-end

start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end

start-IP-end

start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



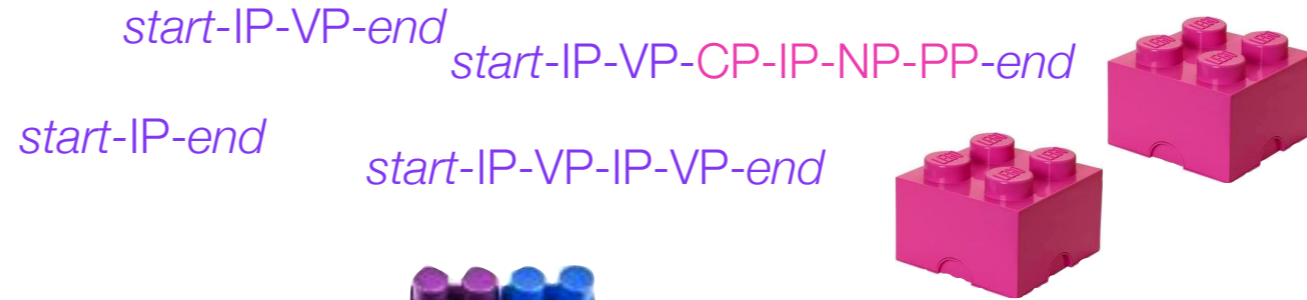
$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

Lower probability dependencies are dispreferred,
compared to higher probability dependencies.





A strategy for learning syntactic islands



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

Each set of island stimuli from Sprouse et al. 2012...

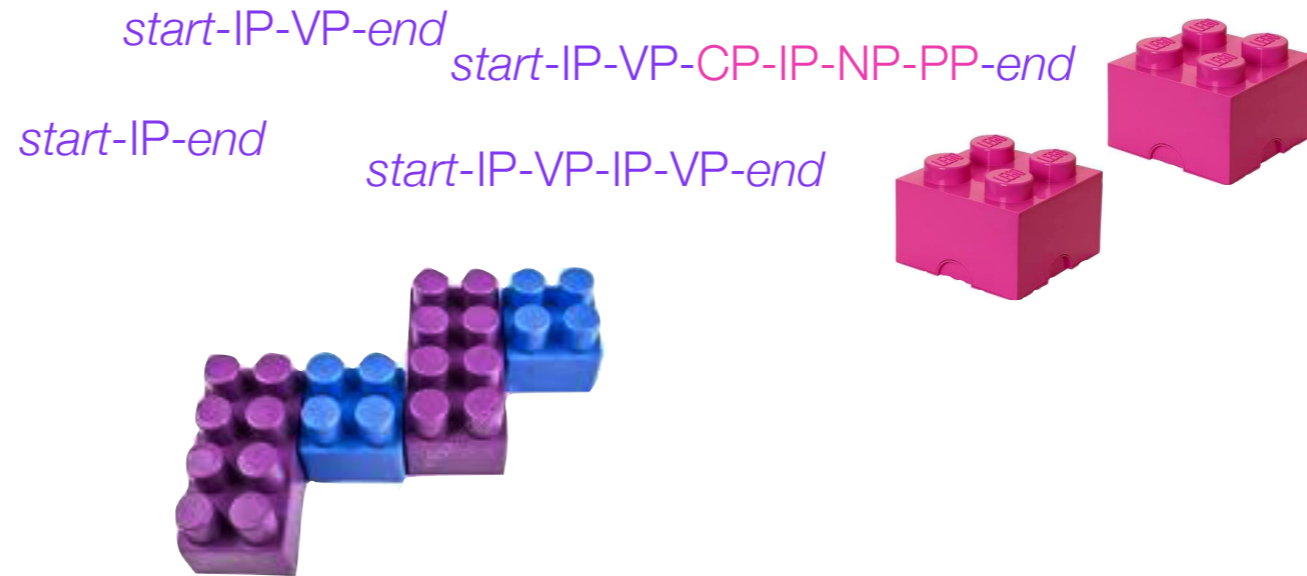


Complex NP island stimuli

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Who ___ claimed [that Lily forgot the necklace]? | matrix non-island |
| What did the teacher claim [that Lily forgot ___]? | embedded non-island |
| Who ___ made [the claim that Lily forgot the necklace]? | matrix island |
| *What did the teacher make [the claim that Lily forgot ___]? | embedded island |



A strategy for learning syntactic islands



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

Each *wh*-dependency from the island stimuli of Sprouse et al. 2012

- can be transformed into container node sequences



Complex NP island stimuli

<i>start-IP-end</i>	matrix		non-island
<i>start-IP-VP-CP_{that}-IP-VP-end</i>	embedded		non-island
<i>start-IP-end</i>	matrix		island
<i>start-IP-VP-NP-CP_{that}-IP-VP-end</i>	embedded		island



A strategy for learning syntactic islands



start-IP-VP-end
start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end
start-IP-end
start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end

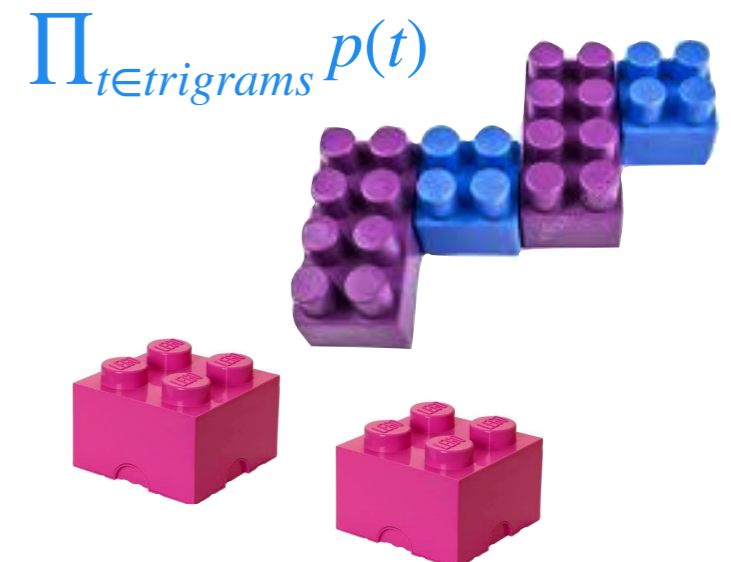
Each *wh*-dependency from the island stimuli of Sprouse et al. 2012

- can be transformed into container node sequences
- can be broken into **syntactic trigram building blocks** and have its probability calculated



Complex NP island stimuli

<i>start-IP-end</i>	matrix		non-island
<i>start-IP-VP-CP_{that}-IP-VP-end</i>	embedded		non-island
<i>start-IP-end</i>	matrix		island
<i>start-IP-VP-NP-CP_{that}-IP-VP-end</i>	embedded		island

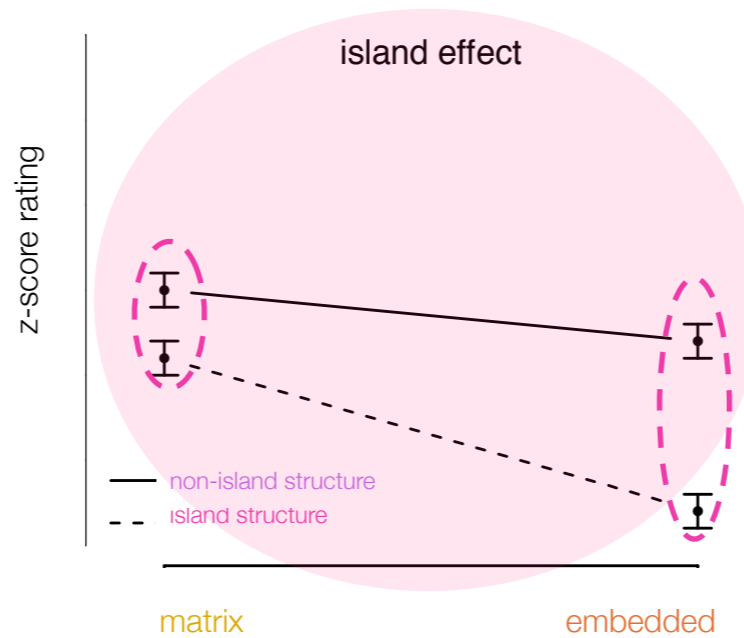




A strategy for learning syntactic islands



start-IP-VP-end
start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end
start-IP-end
start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



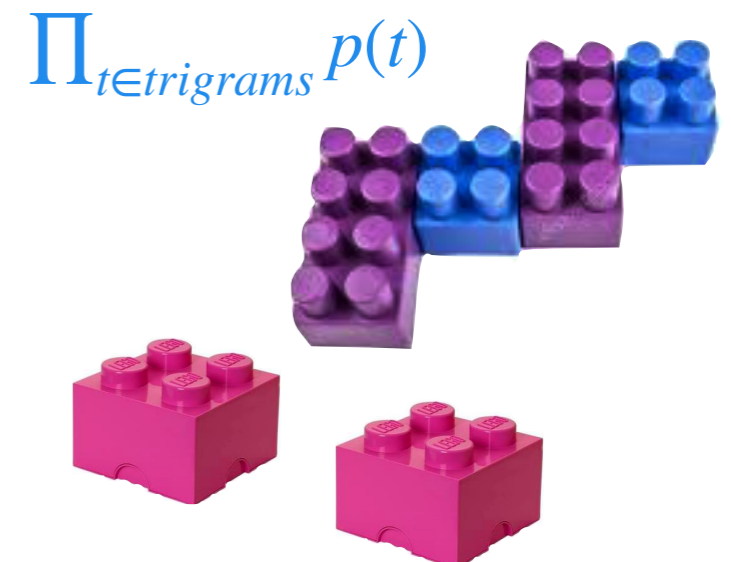
These probabilities can then be plotted to see if **superadditivity** is present.



Complex NP island stimuli

start-IP-end
start-IP-VP-CP_{that}-IP-VP-end
start-IP-end
start-IP-VP-NP-CP_{that}-IP-VP-end

matrix	non-island
embedded	non-island
matrix	island
embedded	island



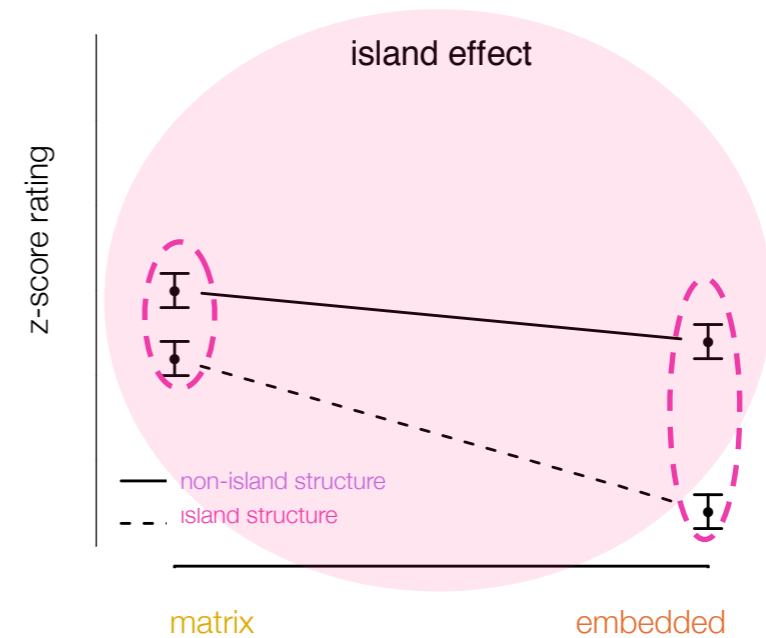


A strategy for learning syntactic islands

start-IP-VP-end
start-IP-VP-CP-IP-NP-PP-end
start-IP-end
start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end



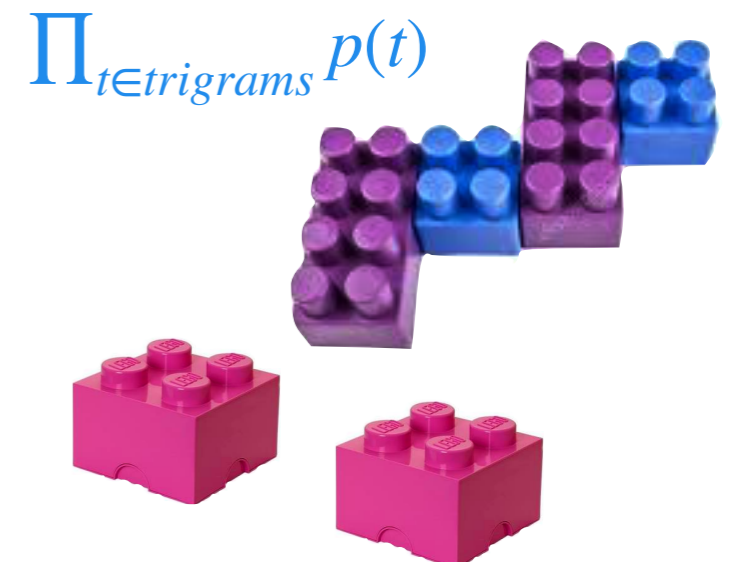
If so, then the child would have **syntactic island knowledge** that allows the **same judgment pattern** as adults, learned from the **building blocks in children's input**.



Complex NP island stimuli

start-IP-end
start-IP-VP-CP_{that}-IP-VP-end
start-IP-end
start-IP-VP-NP-CP_{that}-IP-VP-end

matrix	non-island
embedded	non-island
matrix	island
embedded	island

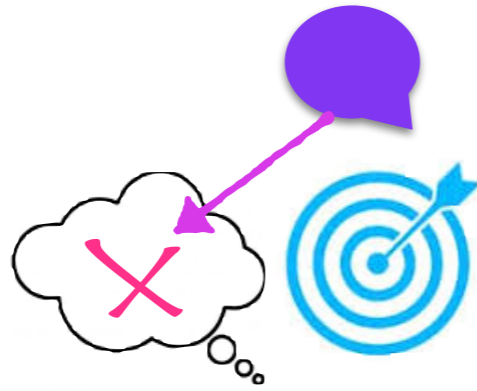




This strategy works for high-SES children's input

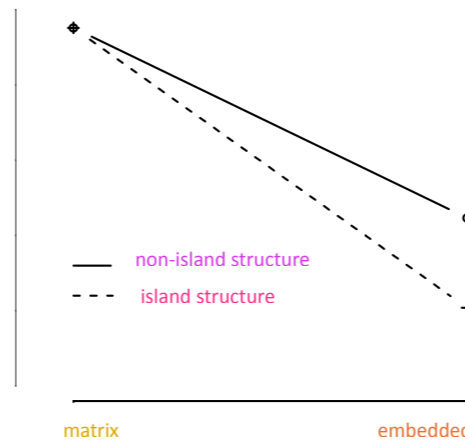


$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

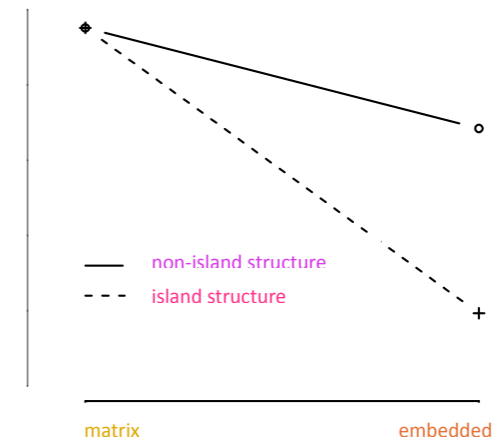


Judgments from a modeled child learning from the same amount of data as high-SES children seem to, with those data having the same composition as high-SES child-directed speech data.

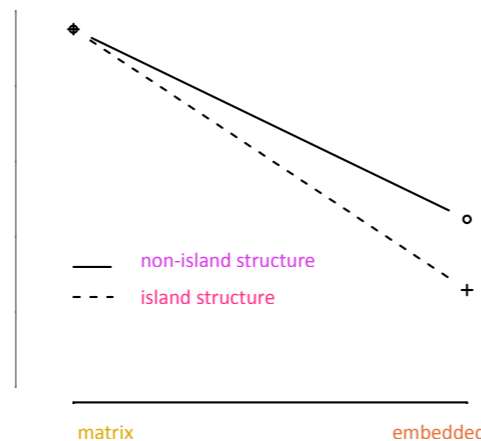
Complex NP



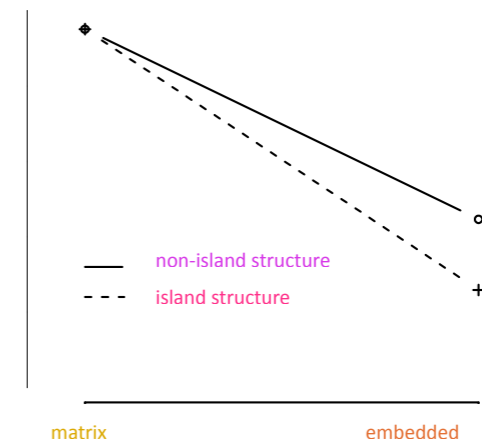
Subject



Whether



Adjunct

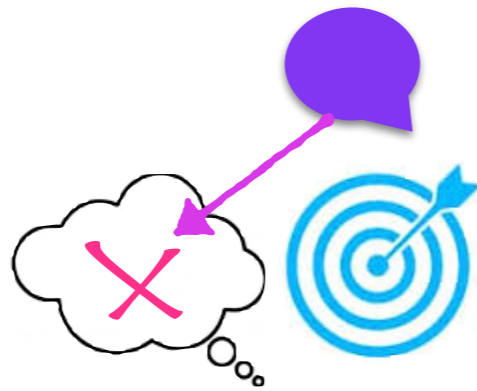




This strategy works for high-SES children's input



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

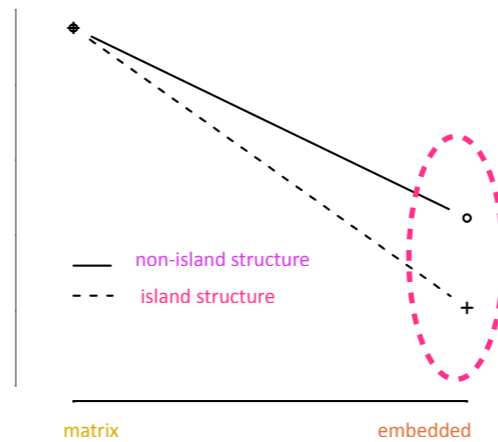


Judgments from a modeled child learning from the same amount of data as high-SES children seem to, with those data having the same composition as high-SES child-directed speech data.

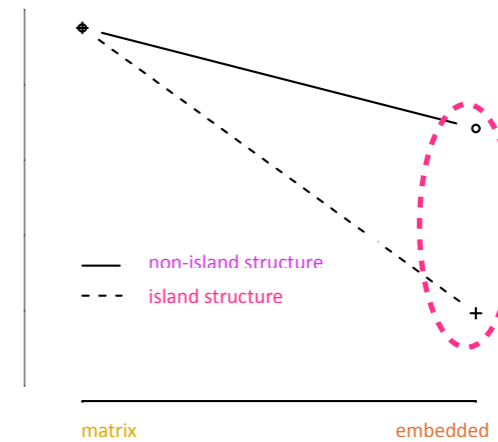
Superadditivity for all four islands.



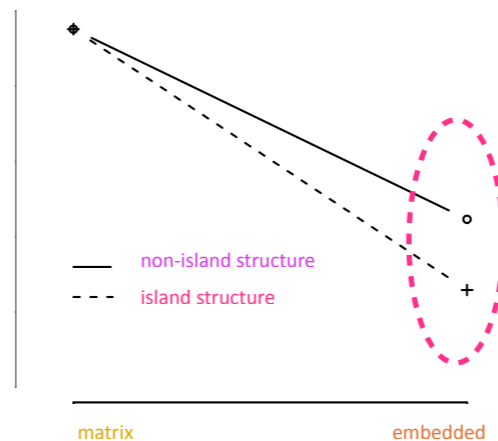
Complex NP



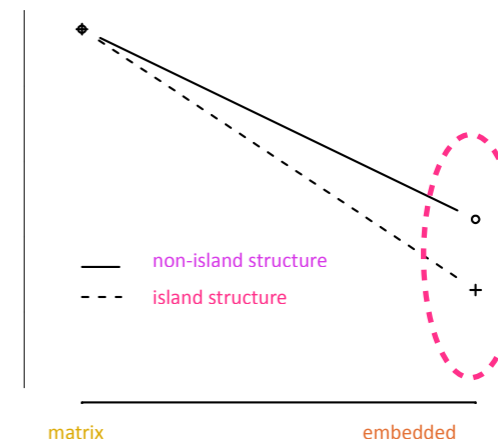
Subject



Whether



Adjunct

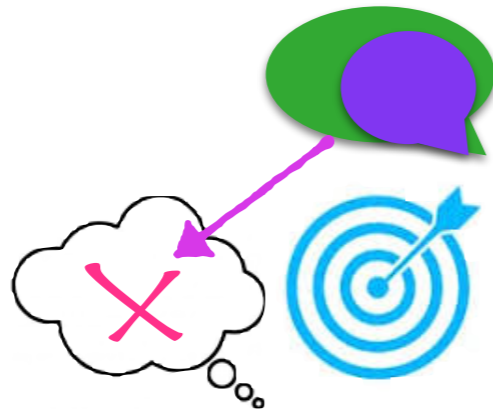




This strategy works for high-SES children's input



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



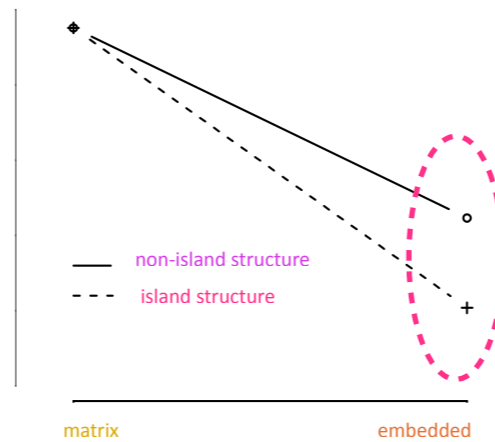
Judgments from a modeled child learning from the same amount of data as high-SES children seem to, with those data having the same composition as high-SES child-directed speech data.

Implication:

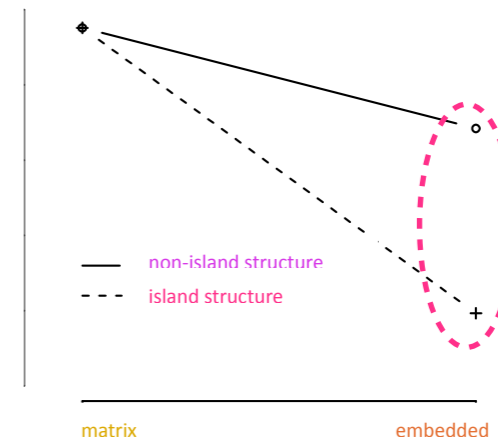
High-SES child input can support the acquisition of syntactic islands, using this learning strategy that depends on a certain part of the input.



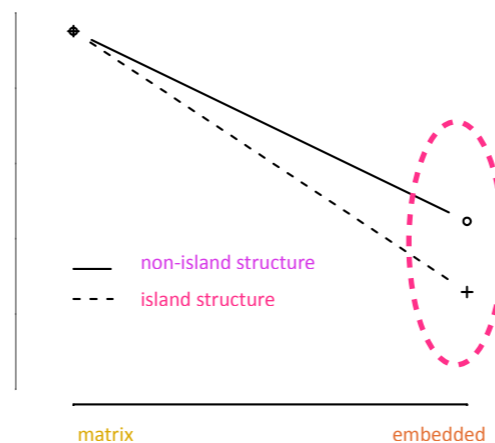
Complex NP



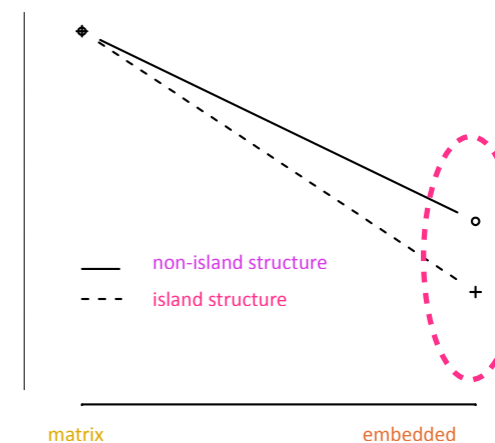
Subject



Whether



Adjunct





This strategy works for high-SES children's input



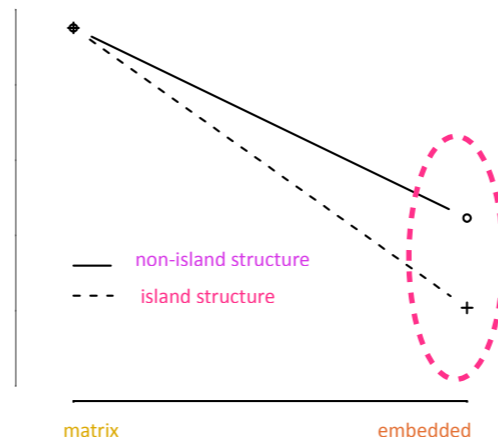
$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



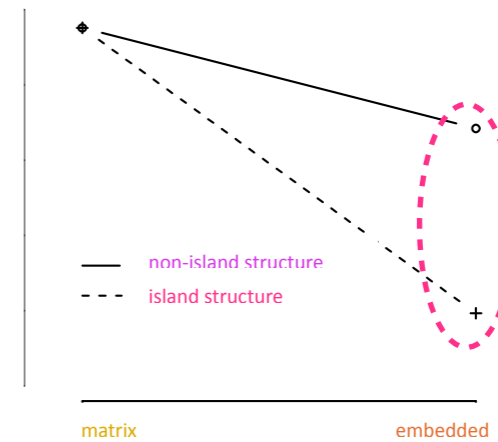
Judgments from a modeled child learning from the same amount of data as high-SES children seem to, with those data having the same composition as high-SES child-directed speech data.

That input part is the *wh-dependencies*, and their building blocks (the *syntactic trigrams*).

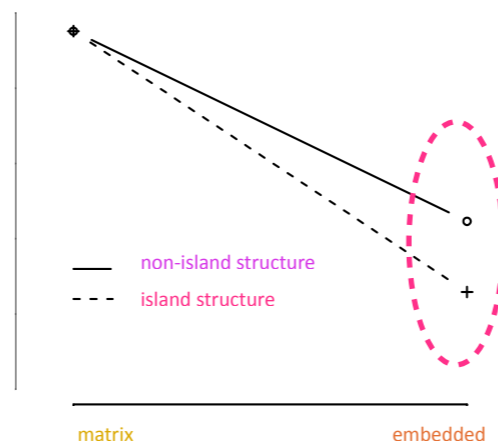
Complex NP



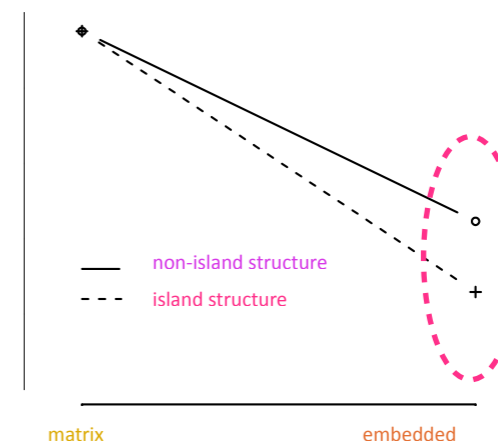
Subject



Whether

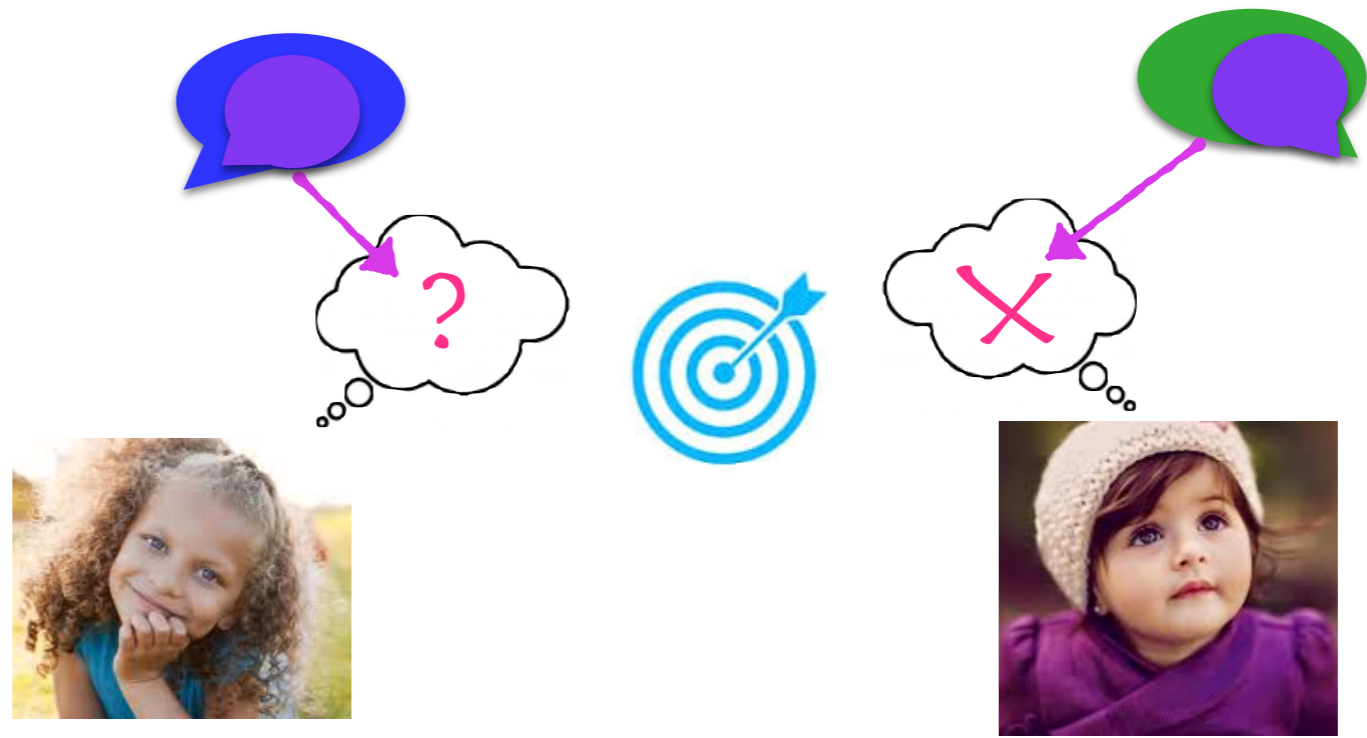
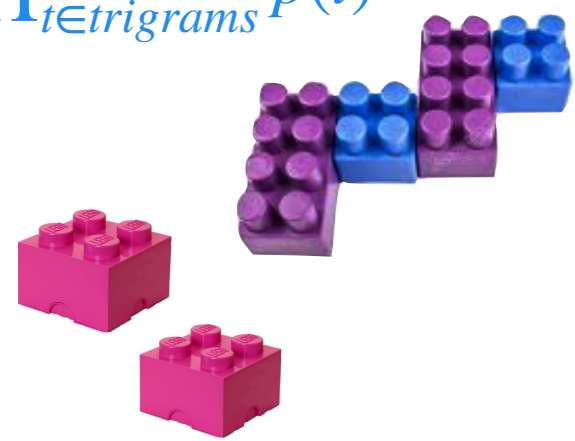


Adjunct





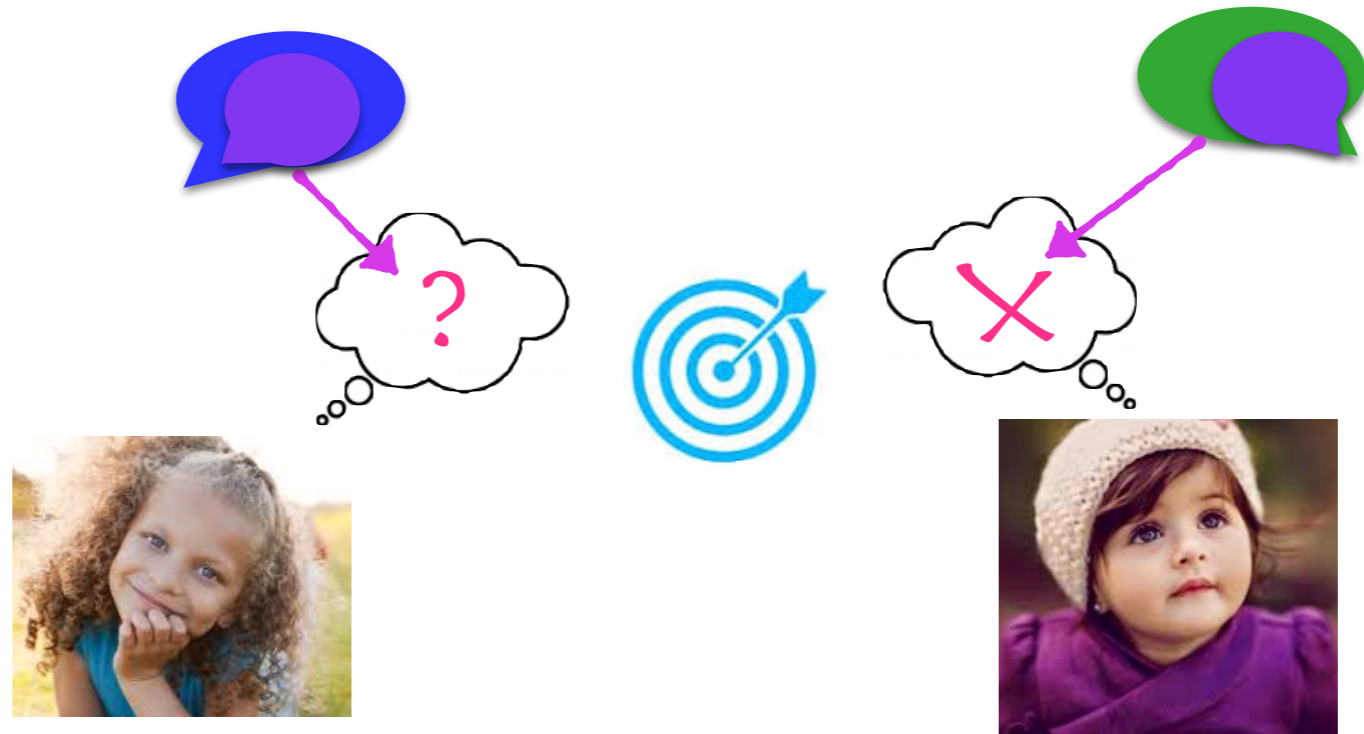
$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Are there meaningful differences across SES in this part of the input (the *wh*-dependencies and syntactic trigrams)?



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



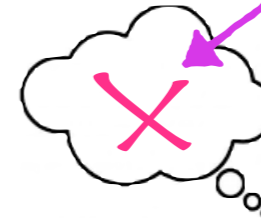
Are there **meaningful differences across SES** in this part of the input (the **wh-dependencies** and **syntactic trigrams**)?

Let's use **developmental modeling** to find out.





$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

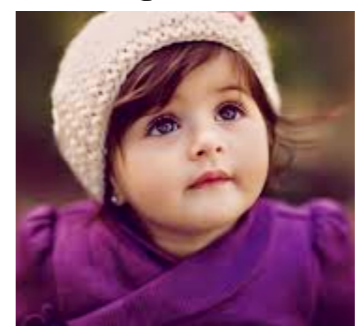
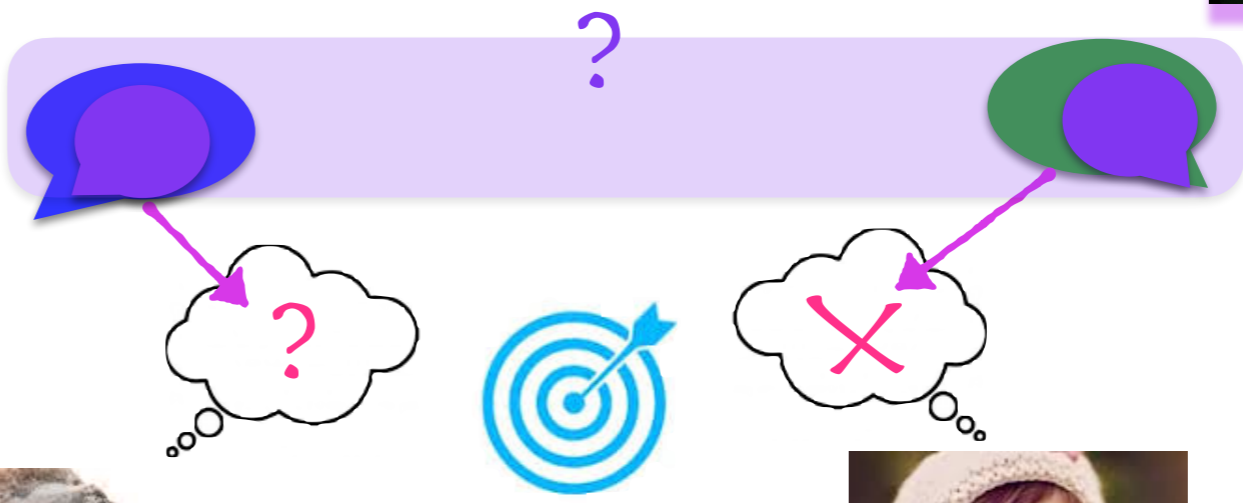
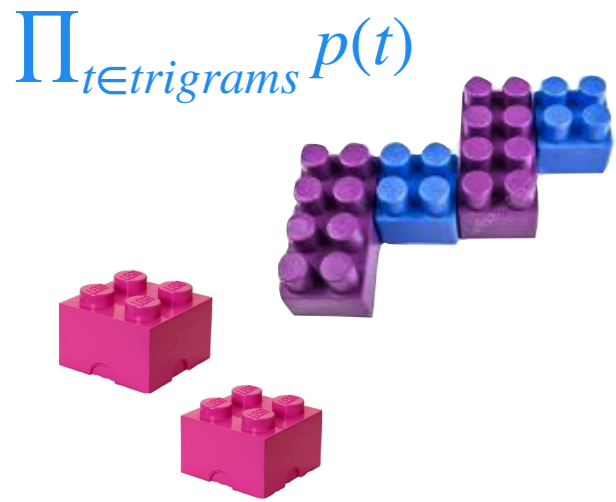


But first...how different does this input look across SES?

Let's look at the distribution of the relevant parts:
the *wh*-dependencies and the syntactic trigrams.



Measurable input differences



One way to measure differences in distribution:
the **Jensen-Shannon divergence (JSDiv)** (Endres & Schindelin 2003).

$$0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$

identical distributions

dissimilar distributions

=

≠





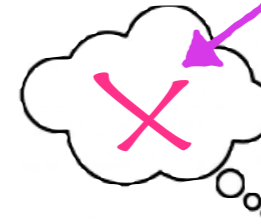
Measurable input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

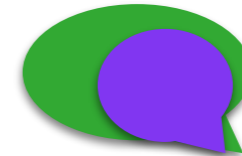


$$= \neq 0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$



The input samples

High-SES
child-directed



102K utterances (21K *wh*-dependencies) from the CHILDES Treebank (Pearl & Sprouse 2013) of speech directed at 25 high-SES children between the ages of 1 and 5 years old.

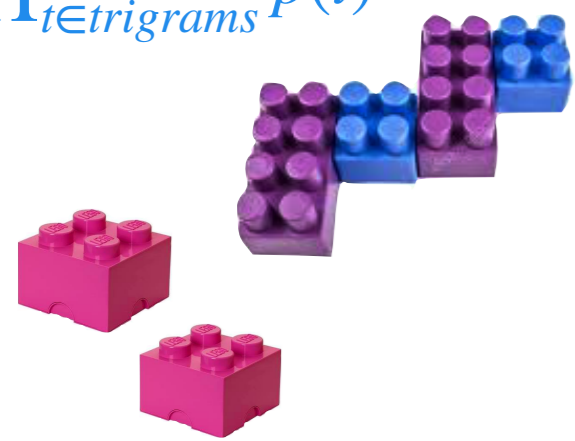




Measurable input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



$$= \neq 0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$

The input samples

High-SES
child-directed



21K *wh*-dependencies

Low-SES
child-directed

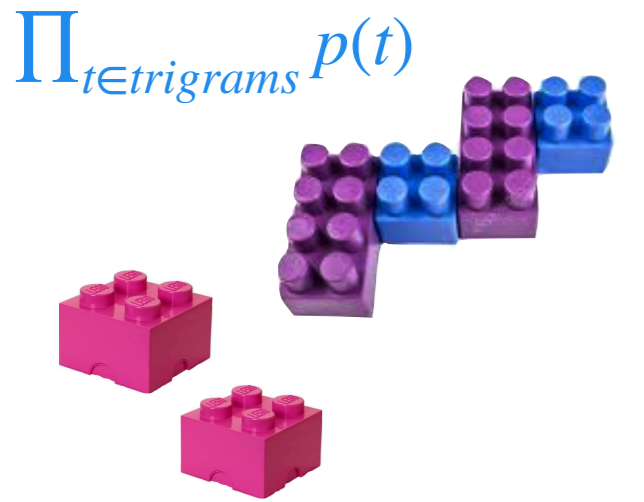


31.8K utterances (3.9K *wh*-dependencies) from a subpart of the HSLLD corpus (Dickinson & Tabors 2001) in the CHILDES Treebank (Pearl & Sprouse 2013) of speech directed at 78 low-SES children between the ages of 3 and 5.





Measurable input differences



$$0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$

The input samples

High-SES
child-directed

21K *wh*-dependencies

Low-SES
child-directed

3.9K *wh*-dependencies



Note: SES was defined by the creators of the HSLLD corpus according to [maternal education](#) (6 years to some post-high school education) and [annual income](#) (70% reported < \$20K/year).



Measurable input differences



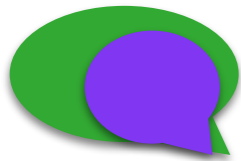
$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



$$= \neq$$

$$0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$

High-SES
child-directed



21K *wh*-dependencies



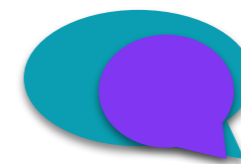
Low-SES
child-directed



3.9K *wh*-dependencies



High-SES
adult-directed



74.6K utterances (8.5K *wh*-dependencies) from the Switchboard corpus (Marcus et al. 1999) of adults speaking to each other over the phone.

The input samples



Measurable input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



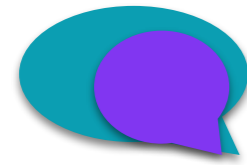
$$= \neq 0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$



So what do we find?

In particular, is high-SES child-directed speech more like low-SES child-directed speech or more like high-SES adult-directed speech?

High-SES adult-directed



8.5K wh-dependencies



High-SES child-directed



21K wh-dependencies



Low-SES child-directed



3.9K wh-dependencies

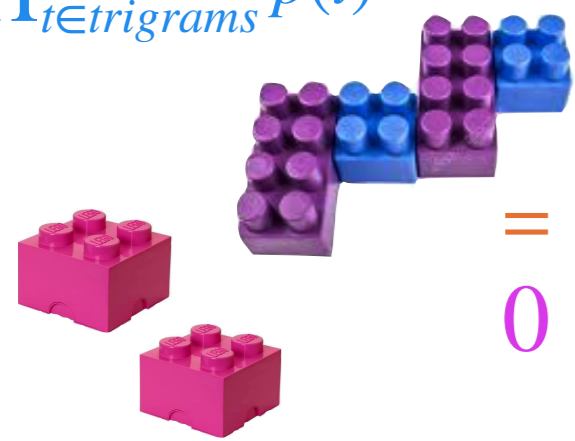




Measurable input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

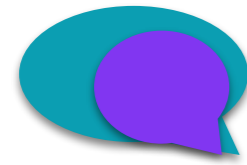


$$= \neq 0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$



If high-SES child-directed speech is more like low-SES child-directed speech, then SES differences matter less than who the speech is directed at.

High-SES adult-directed



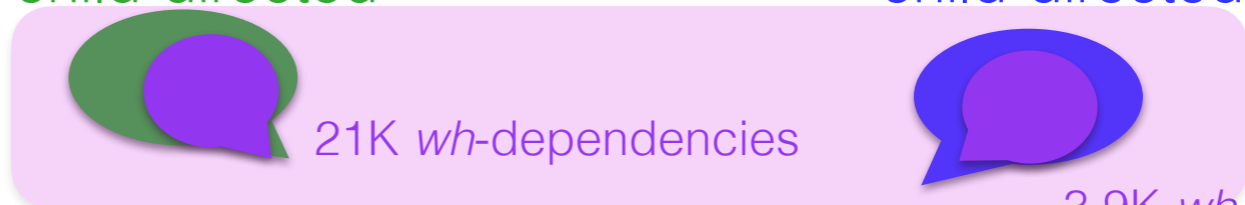
8.5K *wh*-dependencies



High-SES child-directed

SES differences

Low-SES child-directed



21K *wh*-dependencies

3.9K *wh*-dependencies

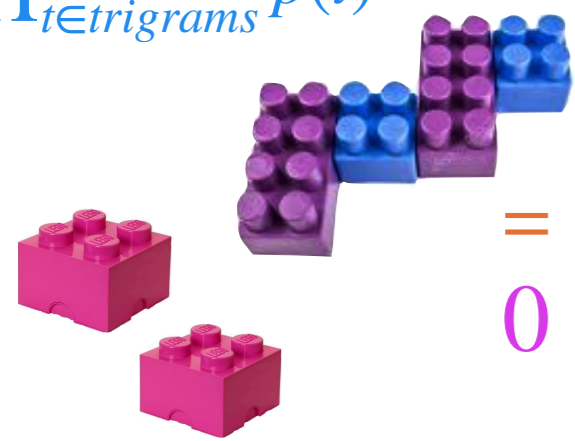




Measurable input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



$$= \neq 0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$



If high-SES child-directed speech is more like high-SES adult-directed speech, then SES differences matter more than who the speech is directed at.

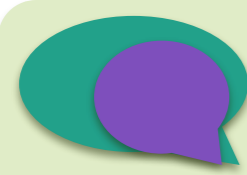
High-SES adult-directed

directed at who differences

High-SES child-directed

SES differences

Low-SES child-directed



8.5K wh-dependencies



21K wh-dependencies



3.9K wh-dependencies

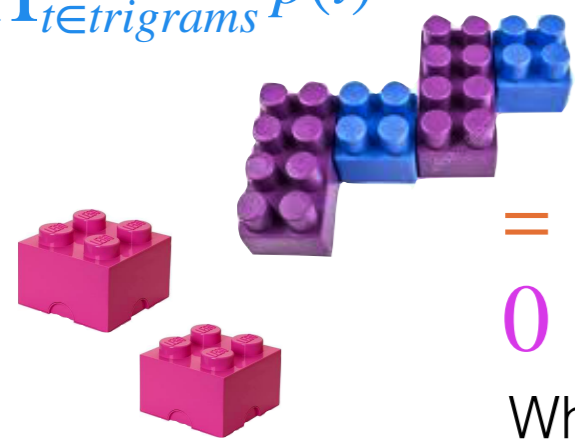




Measurable input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

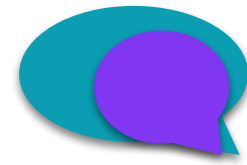


$$= \neq 0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$



Whether we look at *wh*-dependencies or syntactic trigrams, we find the same pattern: **high-SES and low-SES child-directed speech are more similar** than high-SES child-directed and high-SES adult-directed speech.

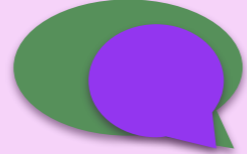
High-SES adult-directed



8.5K *wh*-dependencies



High-SES child-directed



21K *wh*-dependencies



Low-SES child-directed



3.9K *wh*-dependencies

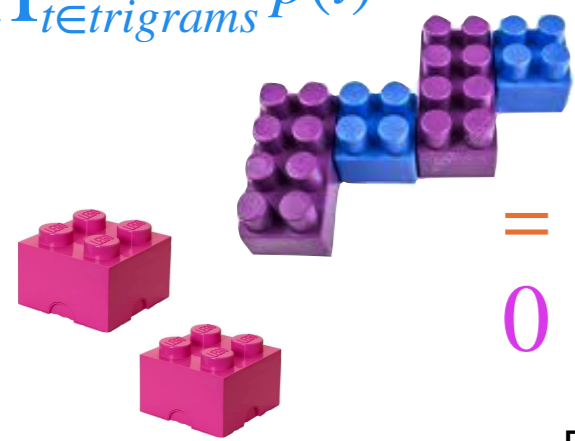




Measurable input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

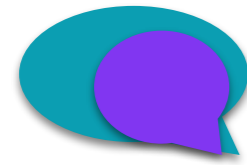


$$= \neq 0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$



For *wh*-dependencies, high-SES child-directed speech is twice as similar to low-SES child-directed speech as it is to high-SES adult-directed speech.

High-SES adult-directed .00948



8.5K *wh*-dependencies



High-SES child-directed .00445



21K *wh*-dependencies



Low-SES child-directed



3.9K *wh*-dependencies

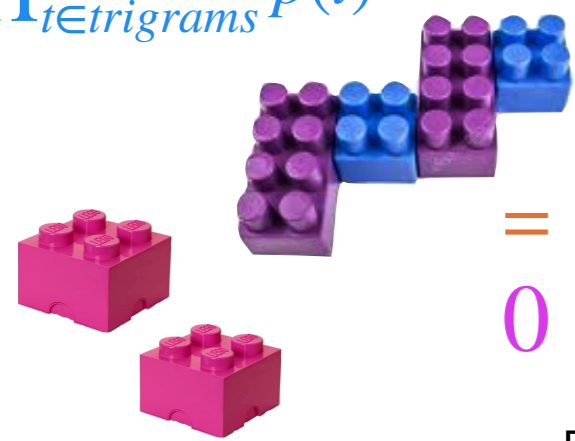




Measurable input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

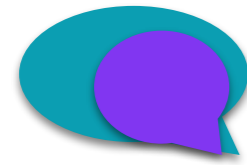


$$= \neq 0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$



For syntactic trigrams, high-SES child-directed speech is twice as similar to low-SES child-directed speech as it is to high-SES adult-directed speech.

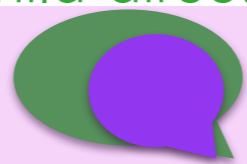
High-SES adult-directed .01825



8.5K *wh*-dependencies



High-SES child-directed .00850



21K *wh*-dependencies



Low-SES child-directed



3.9K *wh*-dependencies

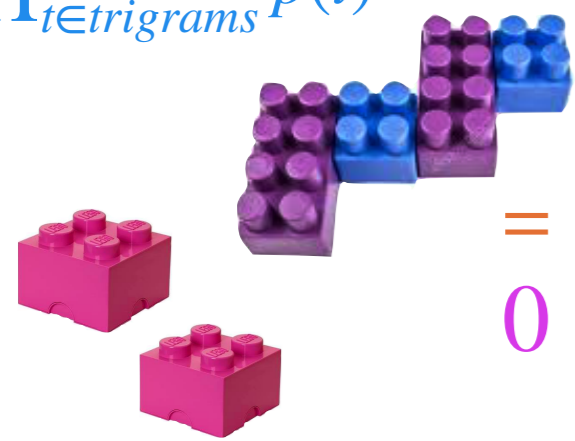




Measurable input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



$$= \neq 0 \leq JSDiv \leq 1$$



Takeaway: This part of the input looks pretty similar across SES — more similar than child-directed vs. adult-directed speech within SES.

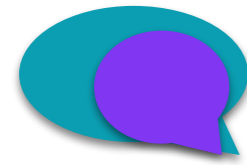
High-SES adult-directed

directed at who differences

High-SES child-directed

SES differences

Low-SES child-directed



8.5K wh-dependencies



21K wh-dependencies



3.9K wh-dependencies





Meaningful input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



But does this part of the input act differently? That is, are any differences (even if they're small) **meaningful**?

They might be — **small differences in the input distribution** might snowball into **learning outcome differences**.



Meaningful input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



But does this part of the input act differently? That is, are any differences (even if they're small) **meaningful**?

They might be — **small differences in the input distribution** might snowball into **learning outcome differences**.

wh-dependencies

76.7%

start-IP-VP-end

75.5%

What did Lily read ___{what}?

10.3%

start-IP-end

12.8%

What ___{what} happened?



Meaningful input differences



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



But does this part of the input act differently? That is, are any differences (even if they're small) **meaningful**?

They might be — **small differences in the input distribution** might snowball into **learning outcome differences**.

syntactic trigrams

41.4%

start-IP-VP

41.8%

38.9%

IP-VP-end

40.0%

4.7%

start-IP-end

6.1%



Meaningful input differences

$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Let's use **developmental computational modeling** to find out.





Meaningful input differences

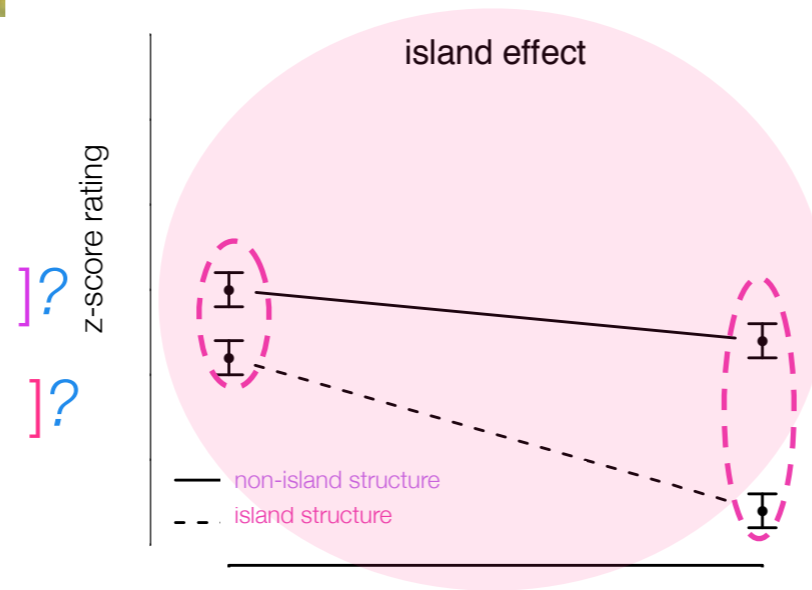


$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Judgments from a modeled child learning from the same amount of data as low-SES children seem to, with those data having the same composition as low-SES child-directed speech data.

Who [non-island]?
 Who [island]?



Looking for **superadditivity** as the sign of syntactic islands knowledge





Meaningful input differences

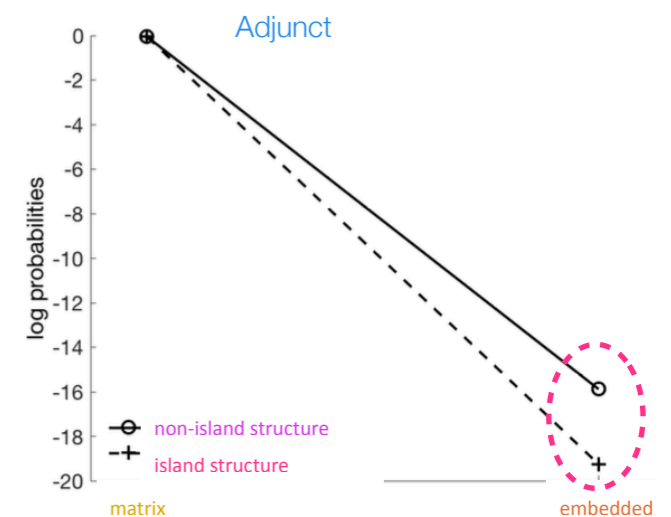
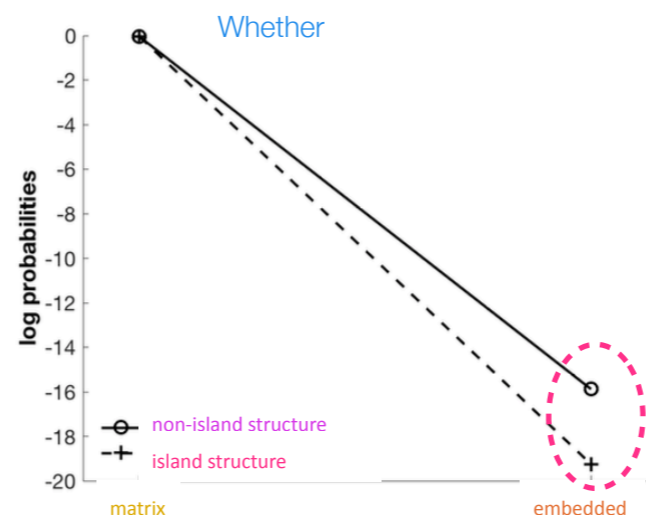
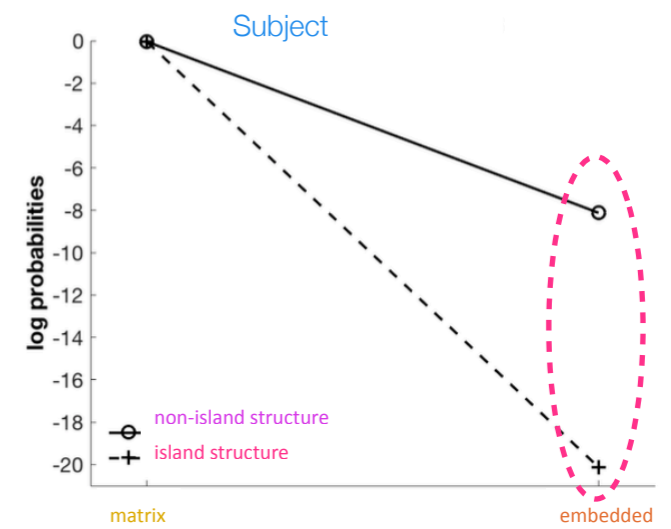
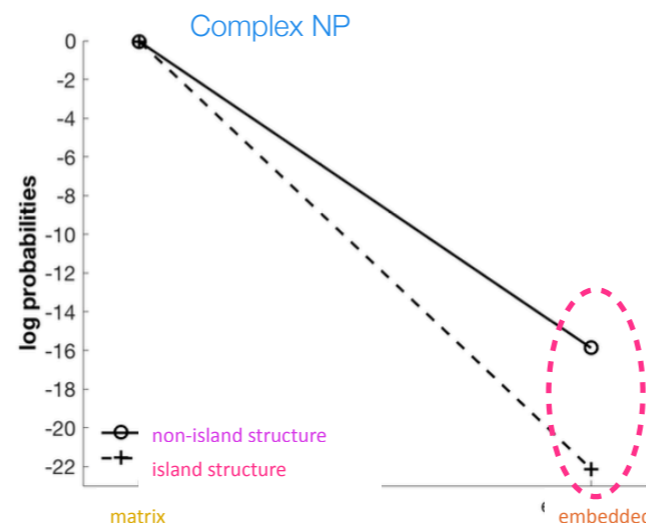


$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Judgments from a modeled child learning from the same amount of data as low-SES children seem to, with those data having the same composition as low-SES child-directed speech data.

Superadditivity for all four islands!





Meaningful input differences

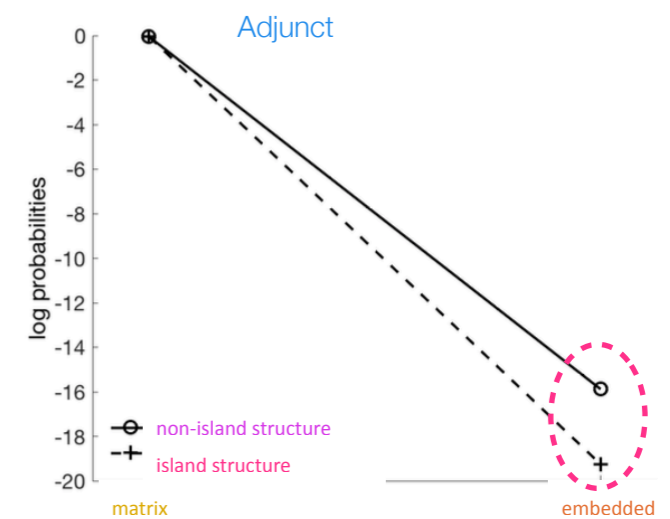
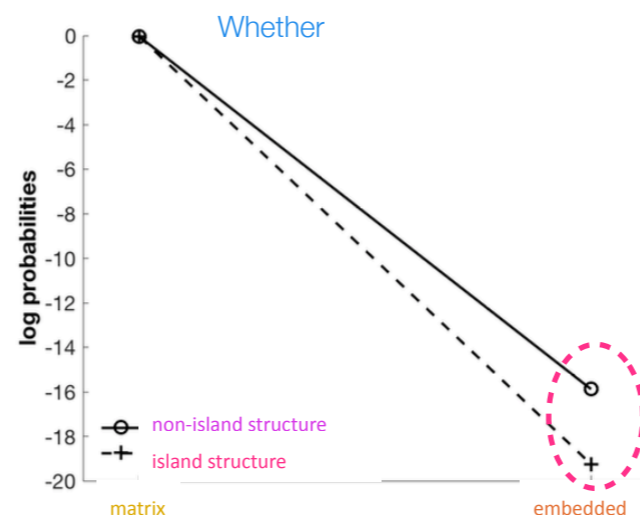
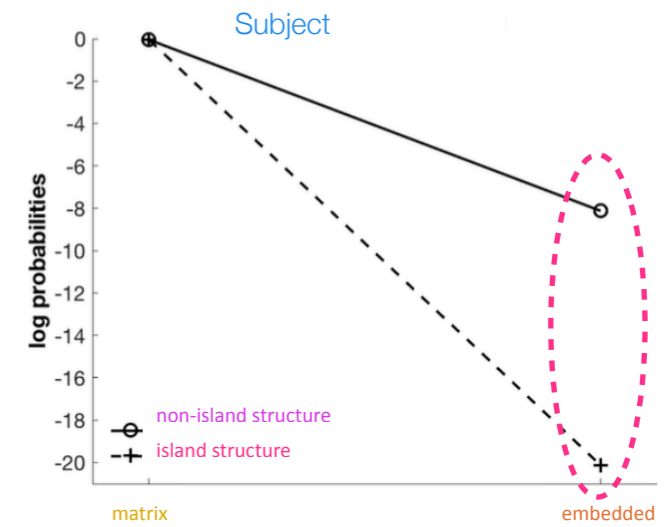
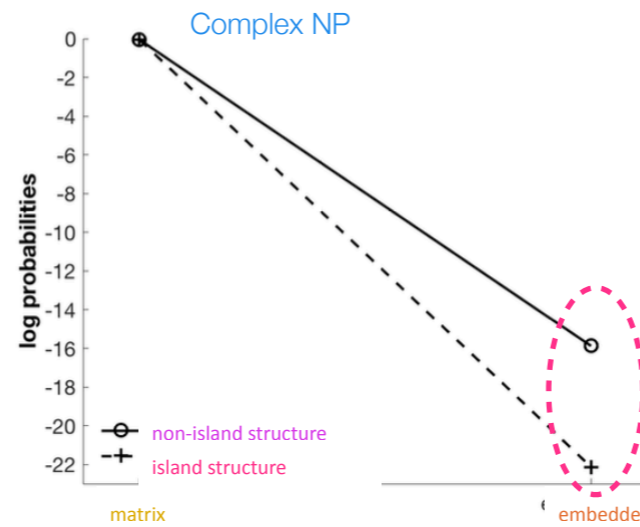


$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Judgments from a modeled child learning from the same amount of data as low-SES children seem to, with those data having the same composition as low-SES child-directed speech data.

This means low-SES input is predicted to support the same learning outcome knowledge (of these four syntactic islands).

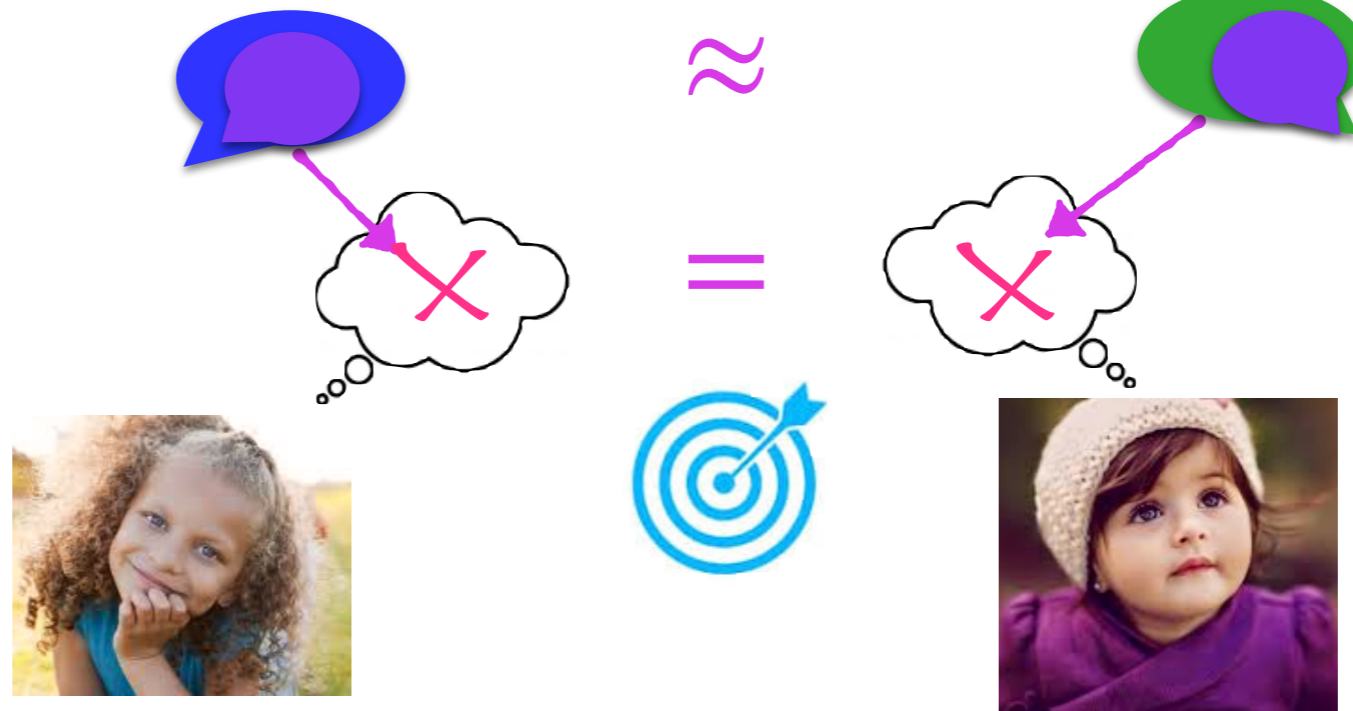




No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



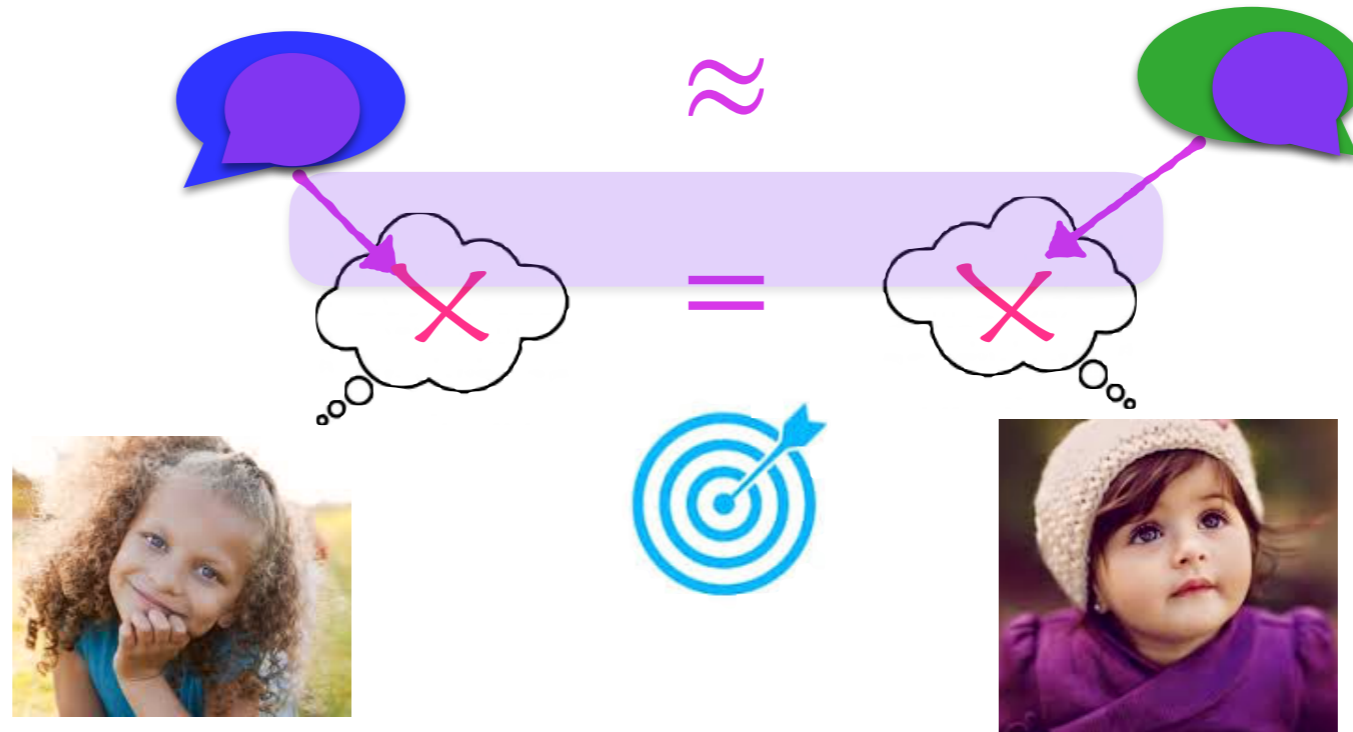
So, our developmental computational model predicts **no meaningful input differences** across SES when it comes to learning this syntactic island knowledge from this part of the input.



No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Useful: Because we know how the input is predicted to cause the knowledge to develop, we know which building blocks are particularly important.

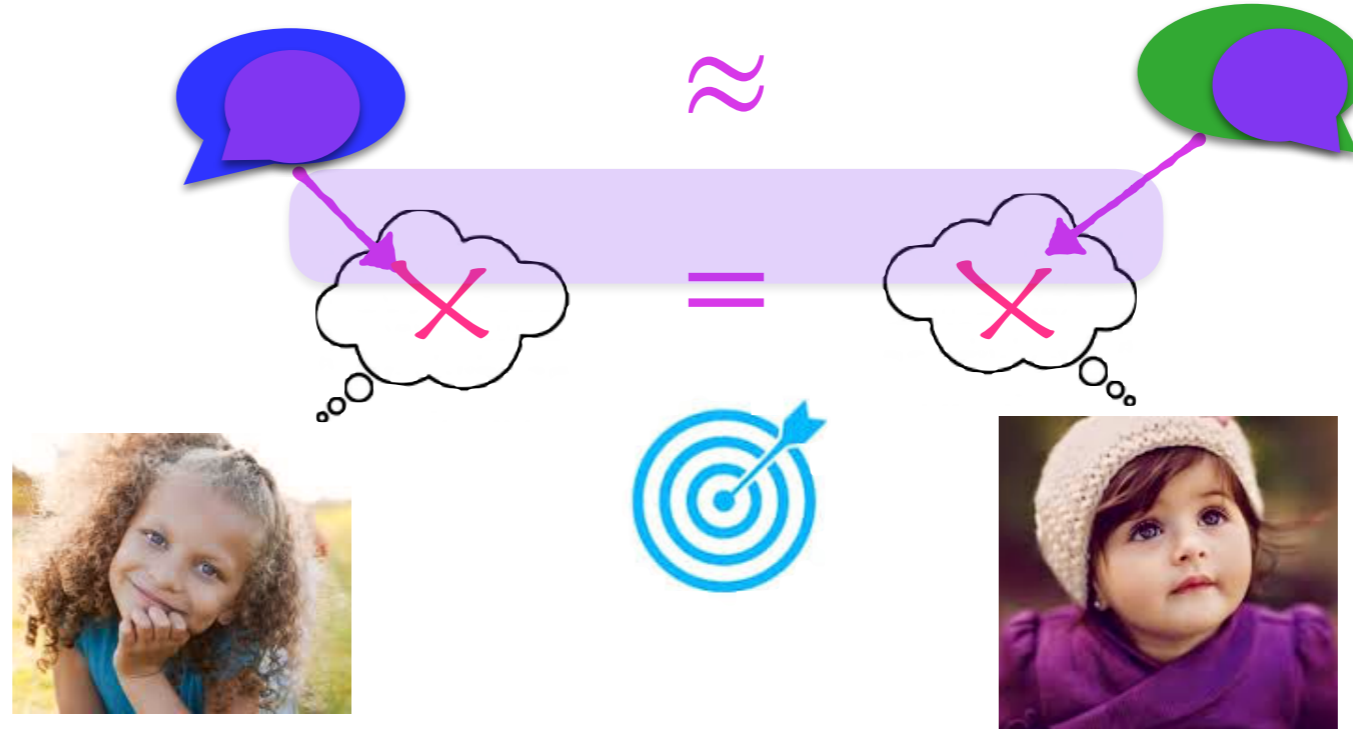




No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Key building blocks for success involve complementizer *that* (CP_{that}) - this is because two of the islands (whether and adjunct) only differ from grammatical dependencies by the complementizer used.

What does the teacher think [that Lily forgot __]?

embedded | non-island

whether

*What does the teacher wonder [whether Lily forgot __]?

embedded | island

adjunct

*What does the teacher worry [if Lily forgot __]?

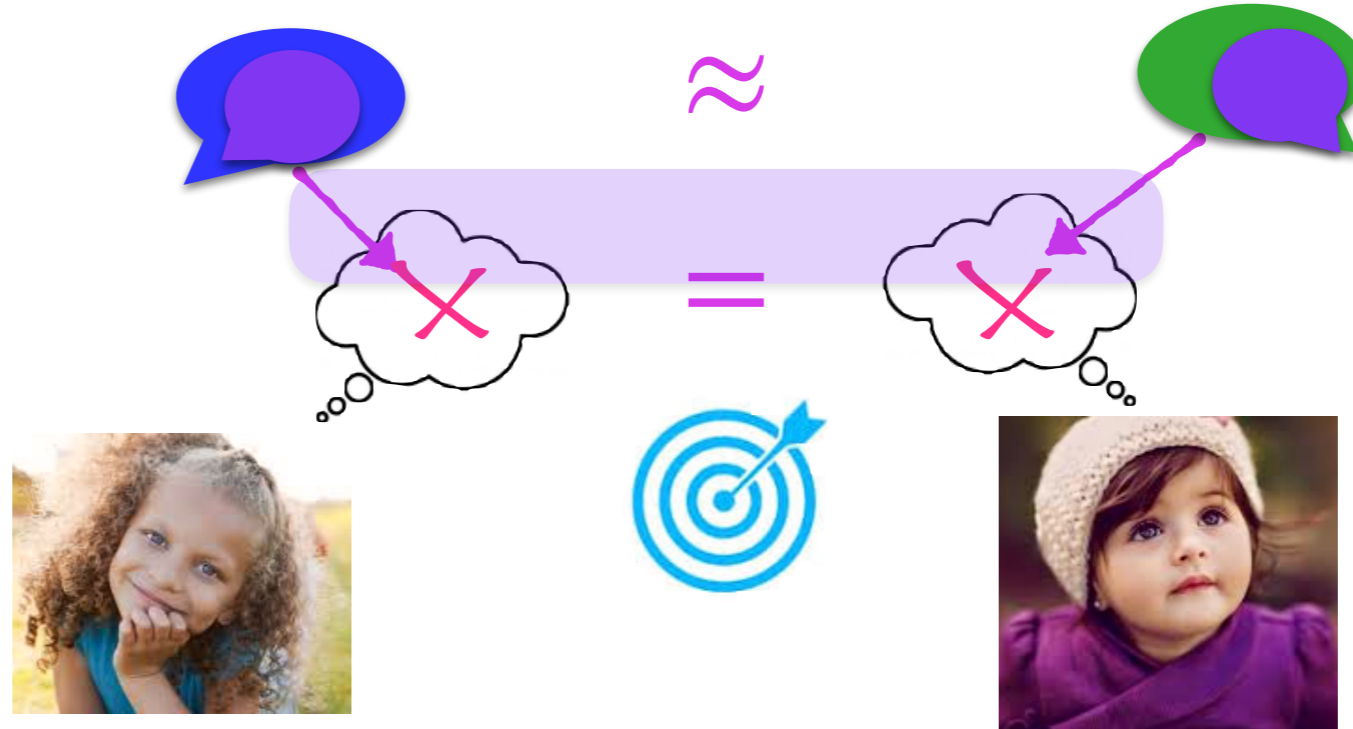
embedded | island



No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Key building blocks for success involve complementizer *that* (CP_{that}) - this is because two of the islands (whether and adjunct) only differ from grammatical dependencies by the complementizer used.

start-IP-VP-CP_{that}- IP-VP-end

embedded | non-island

whether

* *start-IP-VP-CP_{whether}-IP-VP-end*

adjunct

* *start-IP-VP-CP_{if}- IP-VP-end*

embedded | island

embedded | island



No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



So, children need to encounter grammatical *wh*-dependencies that involve CP_{that}. These are actually **pretty rare** in child-directed speech.

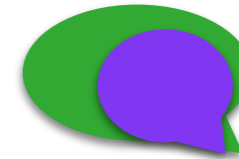


Low-SES
child-directed



2 instances of
3.9K (= .05%)

High-SES
child-directed



2 instances of
21K (< .01%)

What do you think that what happens?

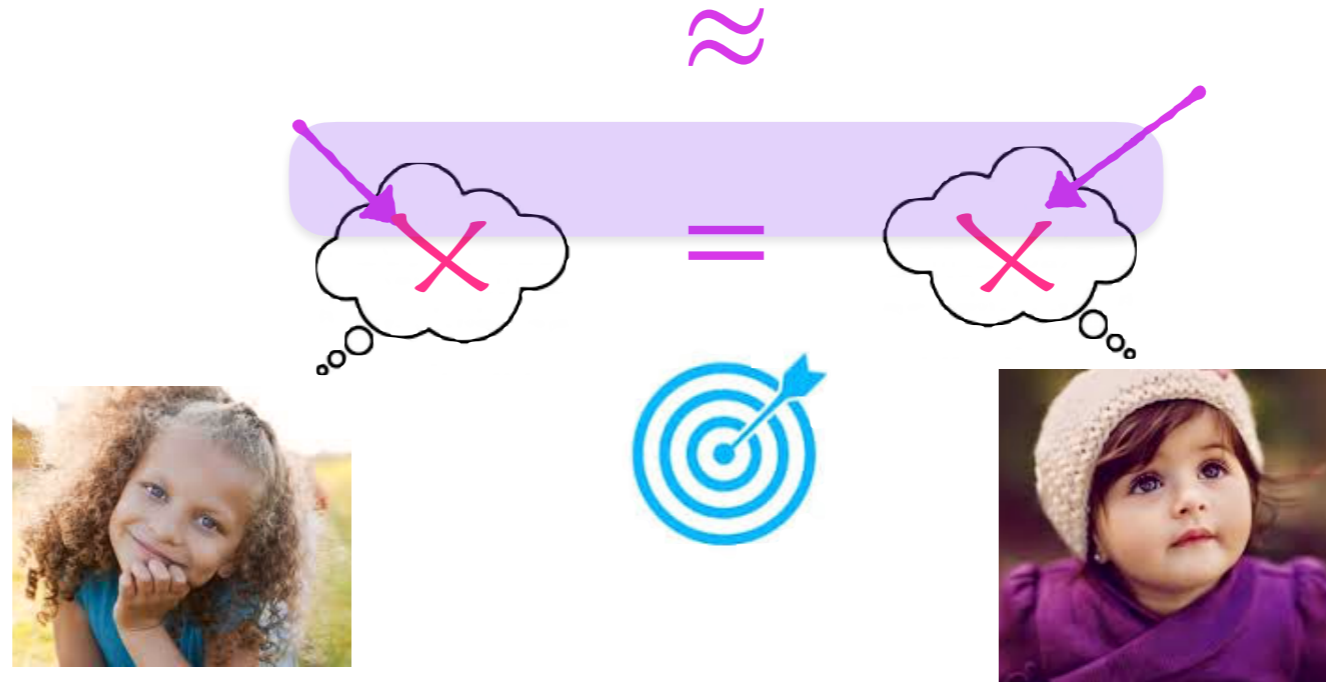
What do you think that Jack read what?



No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



But with enough input (over several years), even these rare cases are predicted to support learning.

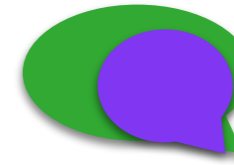
Low-SES
child-directed



2 instances of
3.9K (= .05%)

What do you think that what happens?

High-SES
child-directed



2 instances of
21K (< .01%)

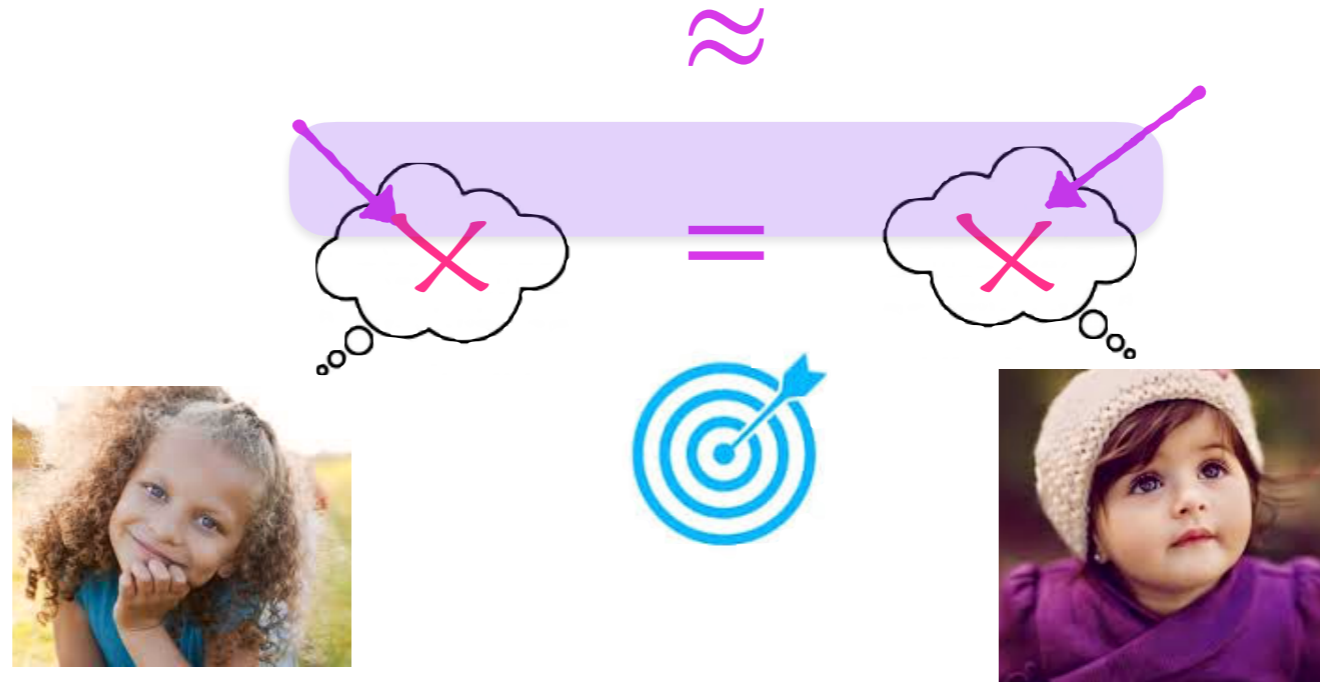
What do you think that Jack read what?



No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



And in fact, if the samples are reasonably accurate, low-SES children actually see this building block more often.



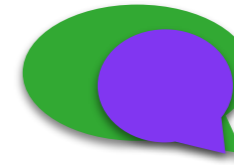
Low-SES
child-directed



2 instances of
3.9K (**=.05%**)

What do you think that that happens?

High-SES
child-directed



2 instances of
21K (**<.01%**)

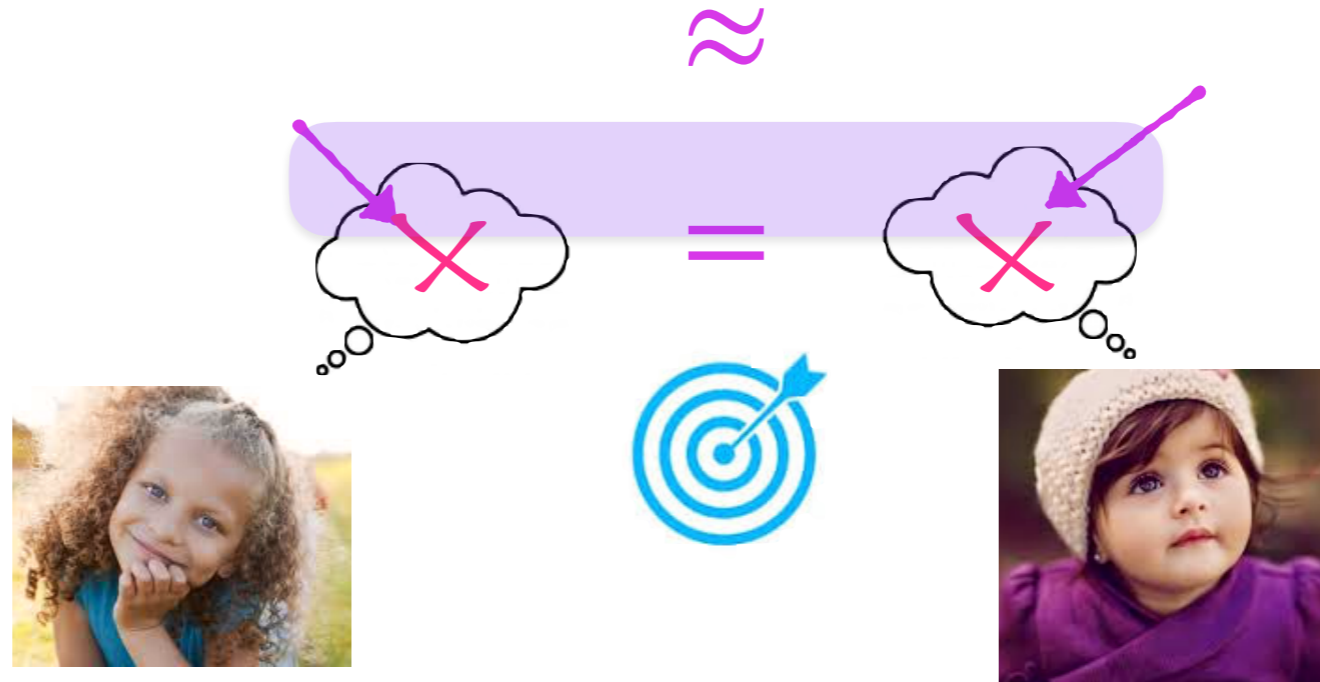
What do you think that Jack read that?



No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



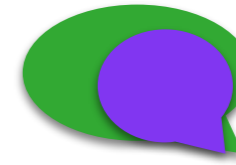
Interesting: The *wh*-dependency with this building block is typically judged to be ungrammatical in the high-SES dialect (a *that*-trace violation).

Low-SES
child-directed



2 instances of
3.9K (=0.05%)

High-SES
child-directed



2 instances of
21K (<0.01%)

~~What do you think that what happens?~~

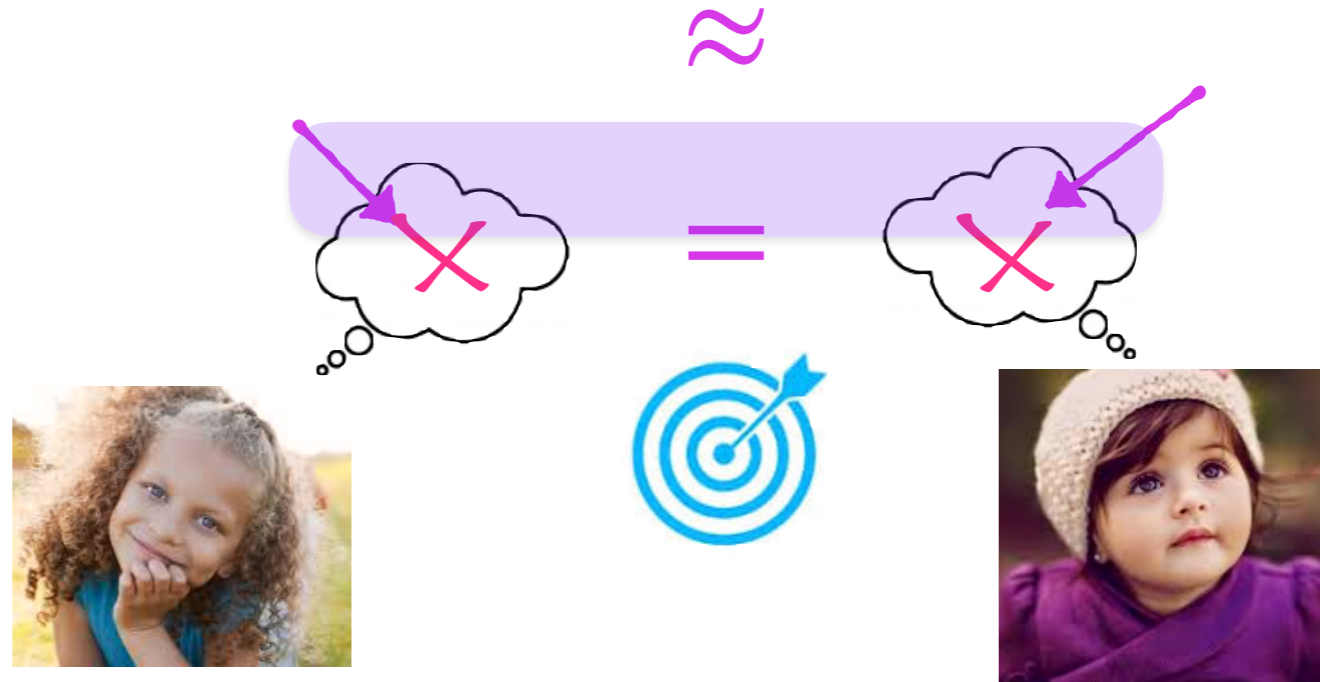
What do you think that Jack read what?



No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

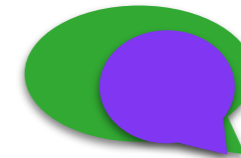


Upshot: Low-SES children are predicted to achieve the same learning outcome as high-SES children by leveraging crucial building blocks from sources a high-SES child wouldn't hear (because they're ungrammatical for high-SES speakers).

Low-SES
child-directed



High-SES
child-directed



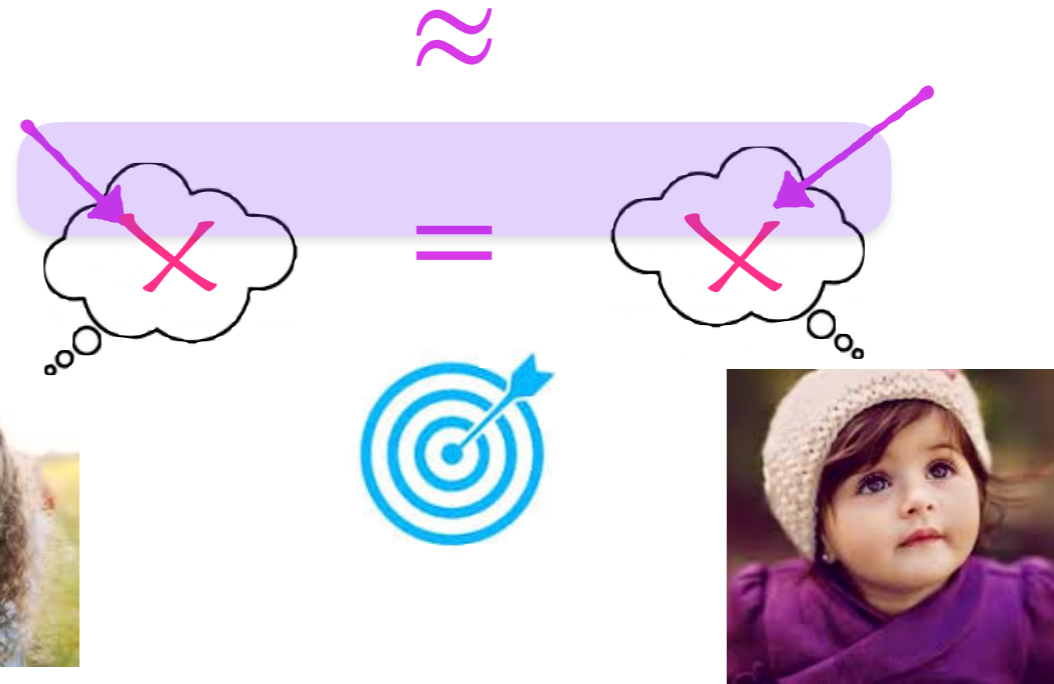
~~X~~ What do you think that __what happens?



No meaningful input differences predicted



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

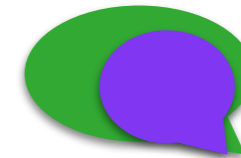


Takeaway: This is one reason why differences in the input might not be meaningful differences. The building blocks may show up in different places, but they're **still present** in the input.

Low-SES
child-directed



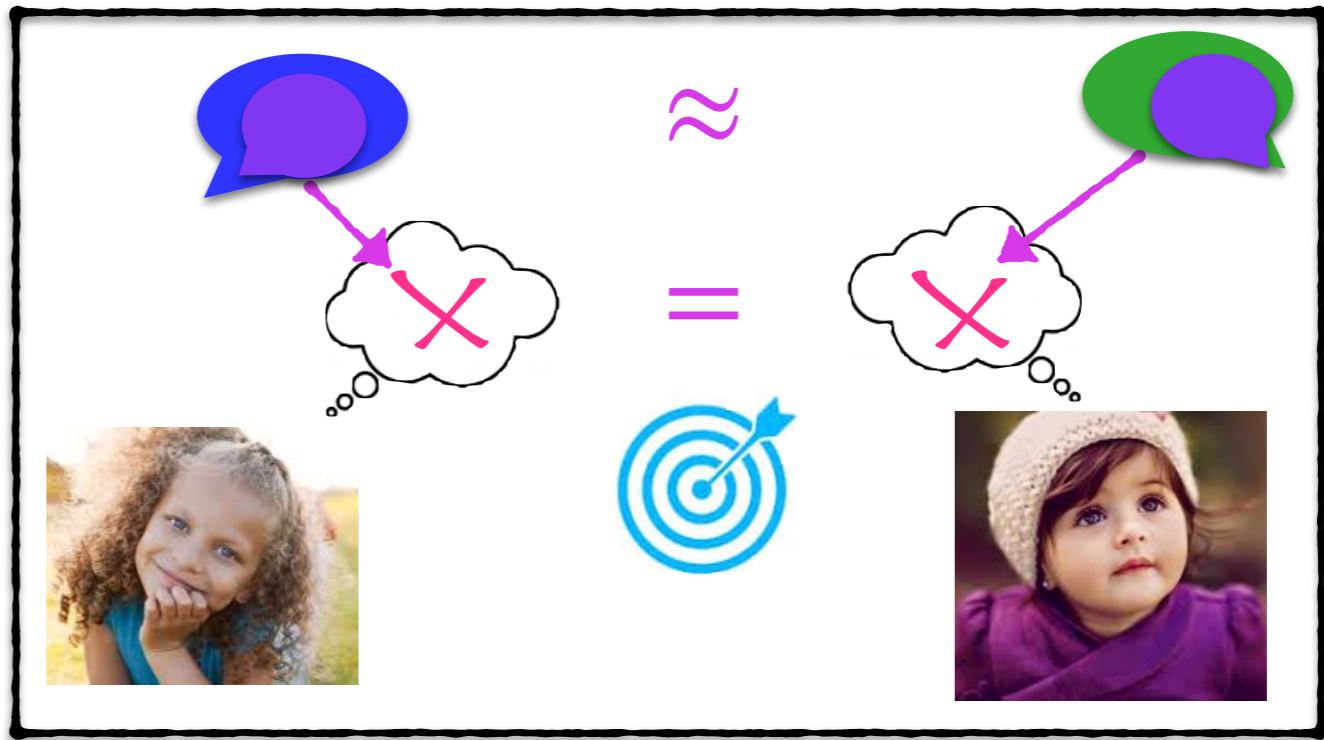
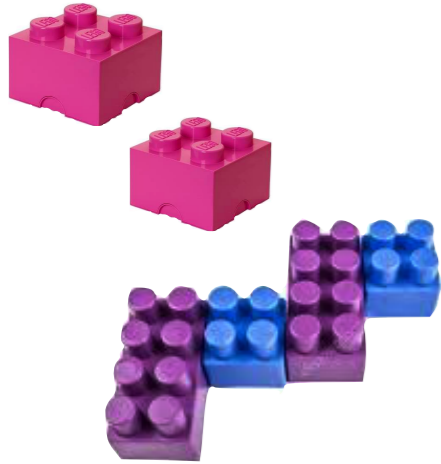
High-SES
child-directed



~~X~~ What do you think that what happens?



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

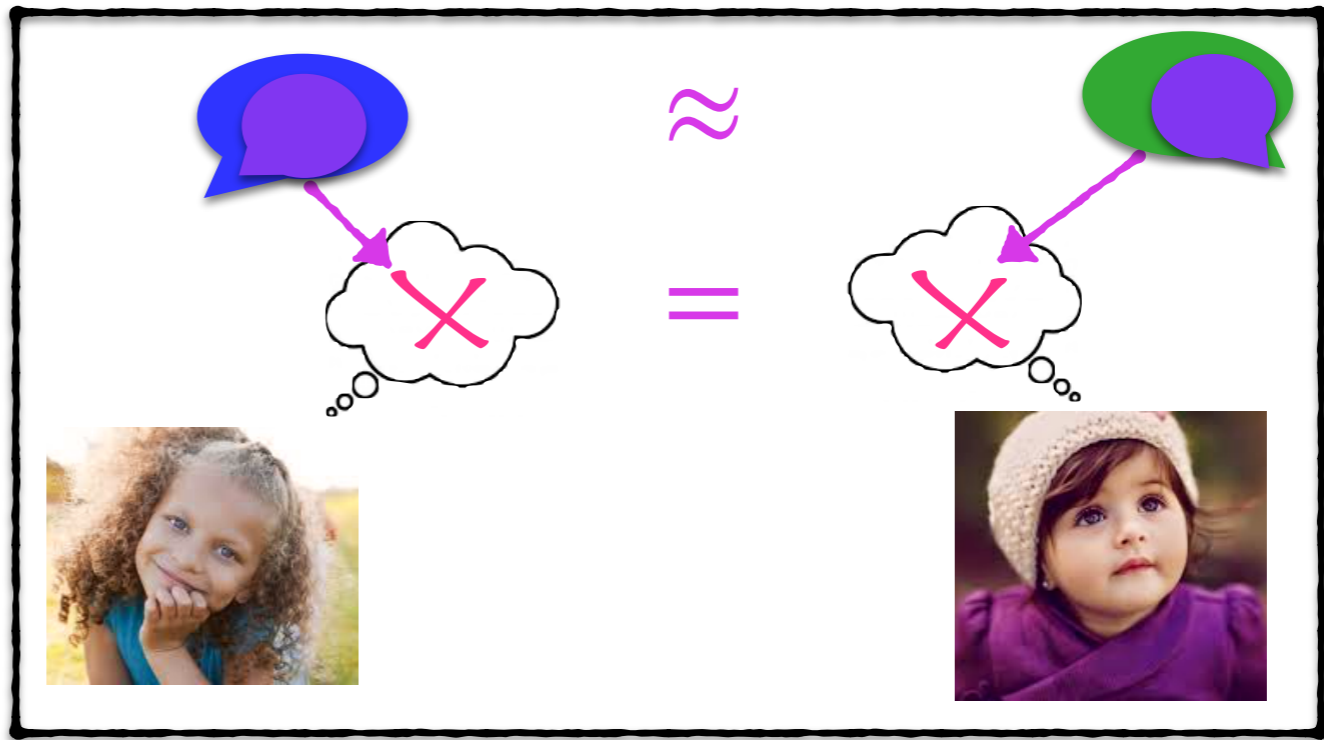
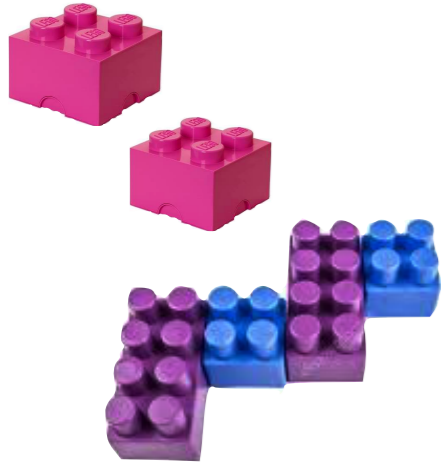


No meaningful input differences predicted

So now what?



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$

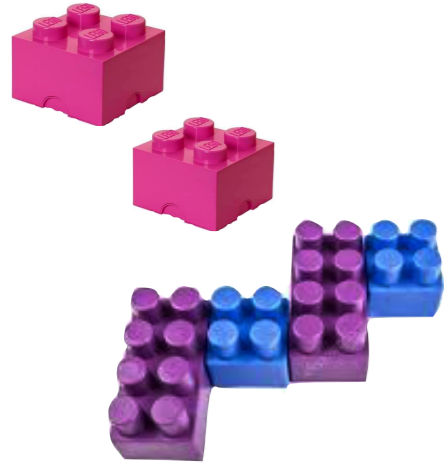


No meaningful input differences **predicted**

We should **measure the learning outcomes in children across SES** to see if in fact there are any learning outcome differences.



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



No meaningful input differences **predicted**

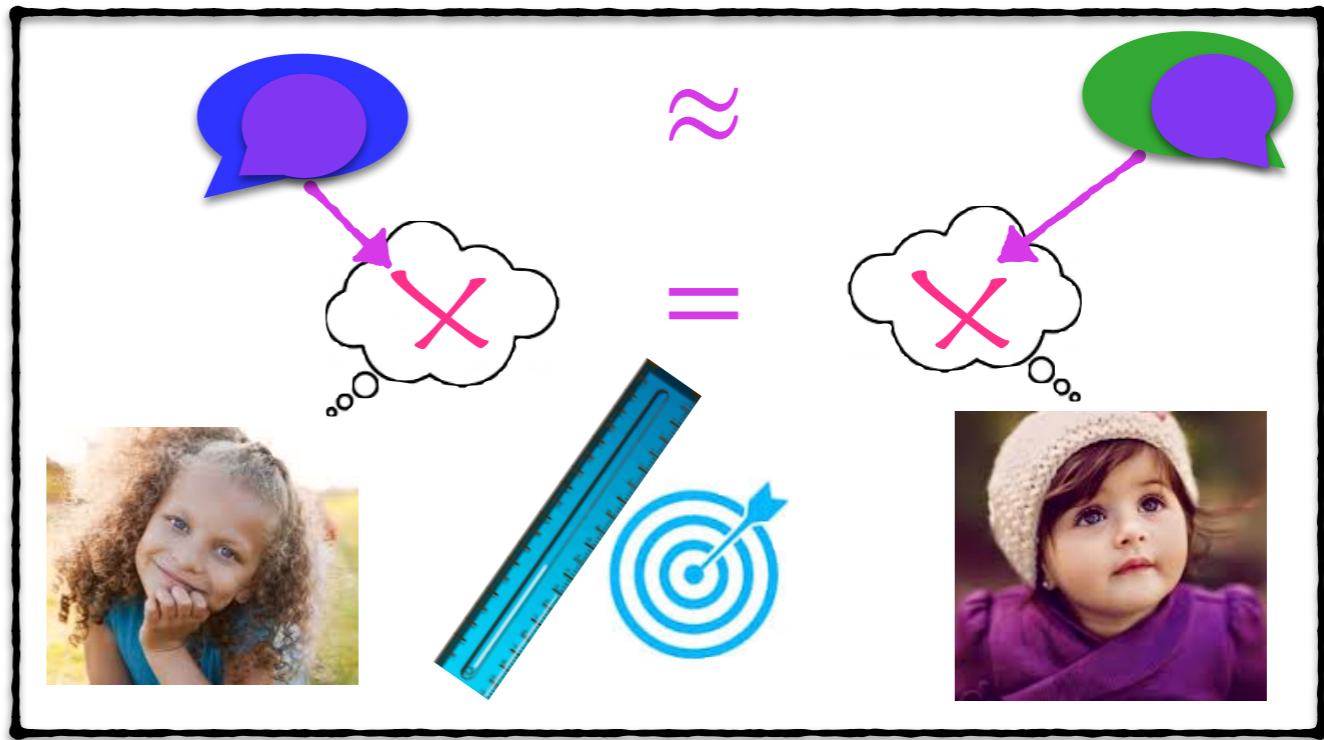
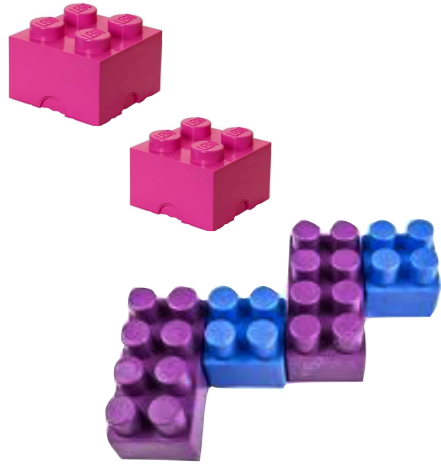
One caveat: If there are in fact differences, it could be due to **other factors** besides input differences.



Example factor: **Language processing ability** is known to differ across SES, with low-SES children sometimes slower compared to their high-SES counterparts (Fernald et al. 2013, Weisleder & Fernald 2013). If low-SES children are less able to **harness the information** in their input (**even if it's there**), they might be delayed in acquiring syntactic island knowledge.



$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



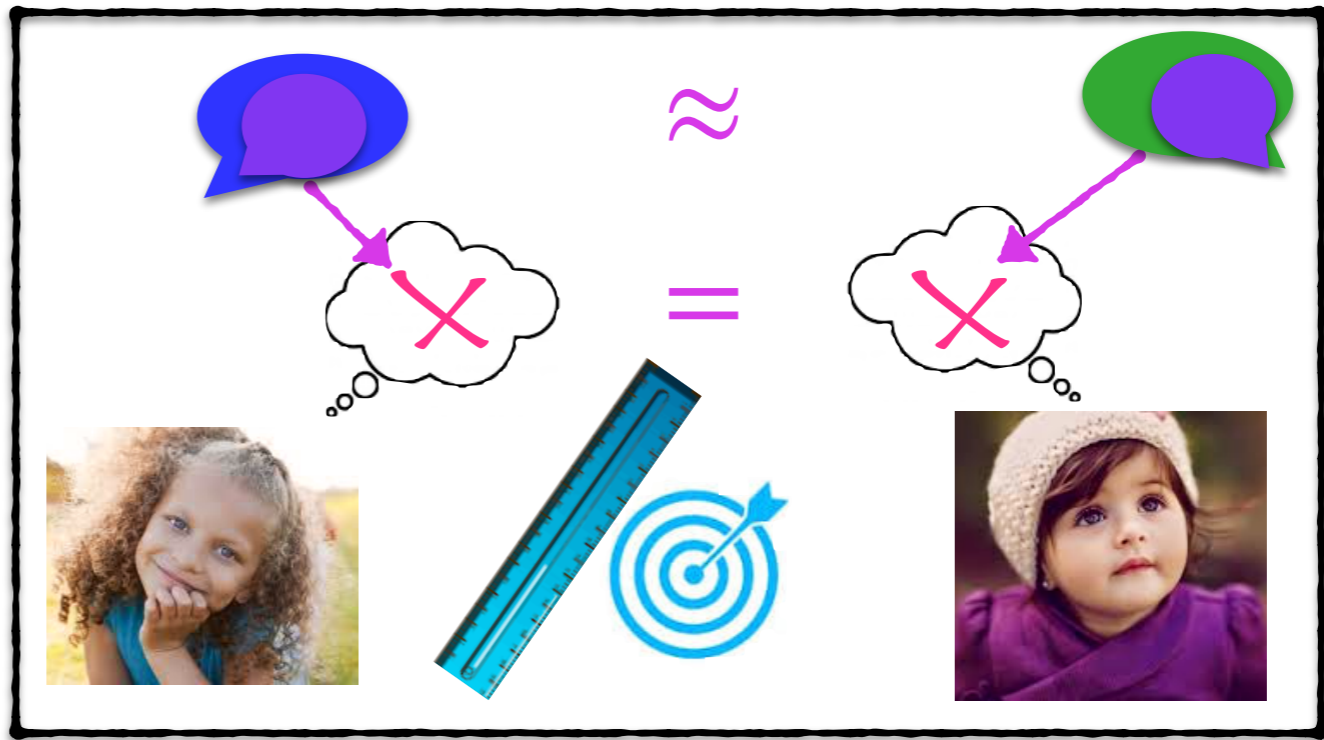
No meaningful input differences **predicted**

But, if there aren't outcome differences (perhaps after any language processing ability differences have resolved), then this supports **syntactic island input quality being the same across SES**.

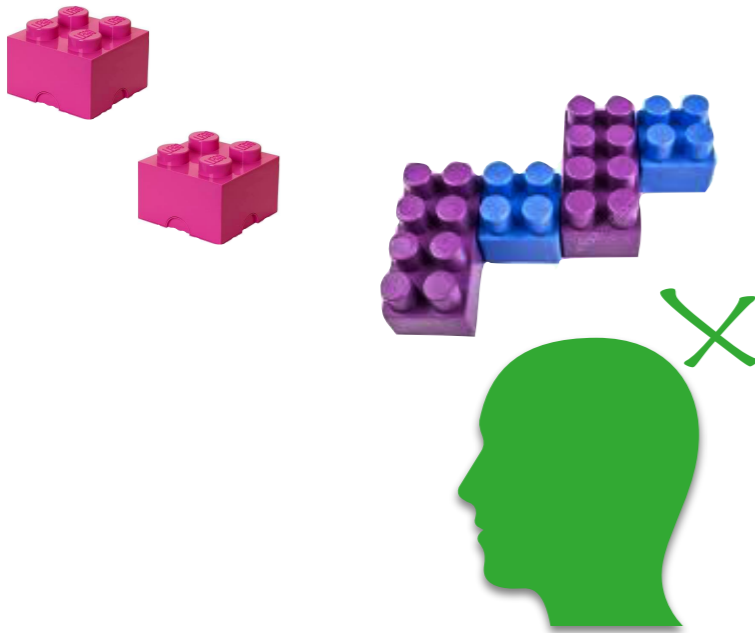




$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Building block origins



Low-SES
child-directed



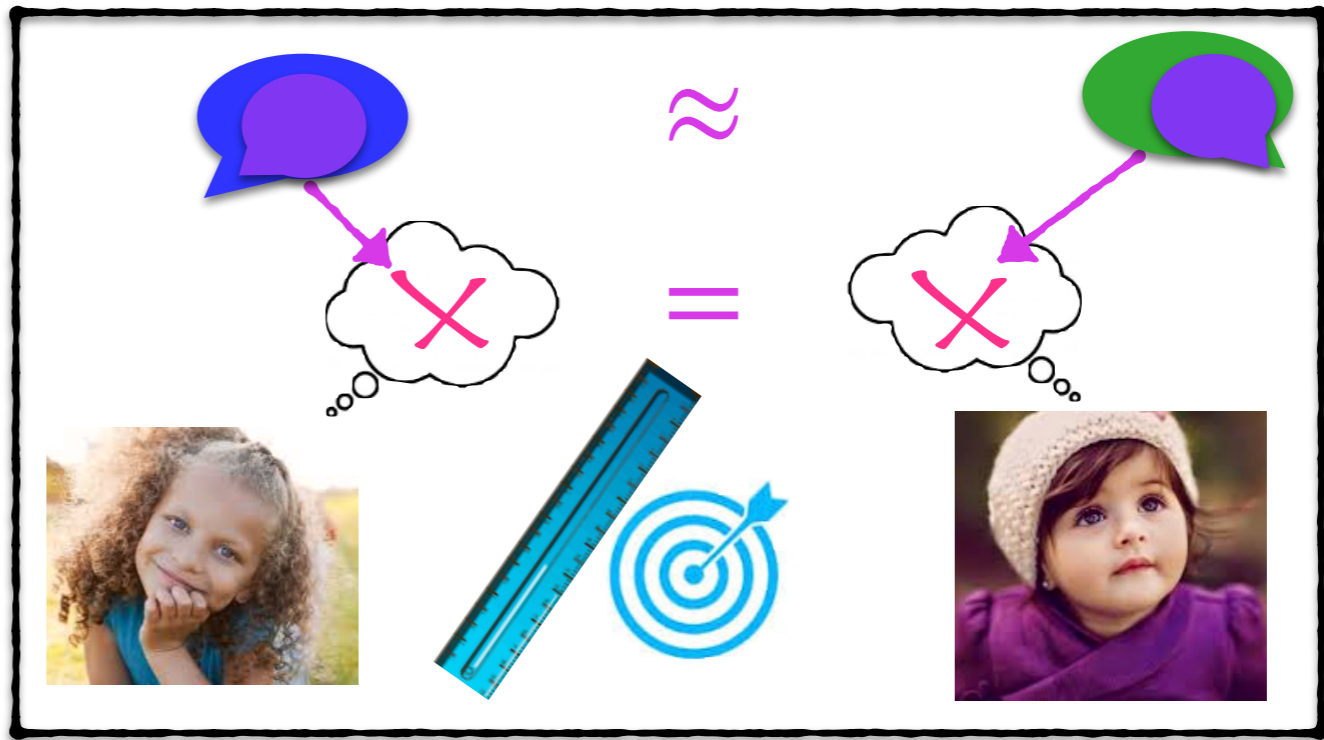
What do you think that __what happens?

Remember that key building blocks involving CP_{that} are predicted to come from a particular *wh*-dependency in low-SES child-directed speech that's ungrammatical in the high-SES dialect.

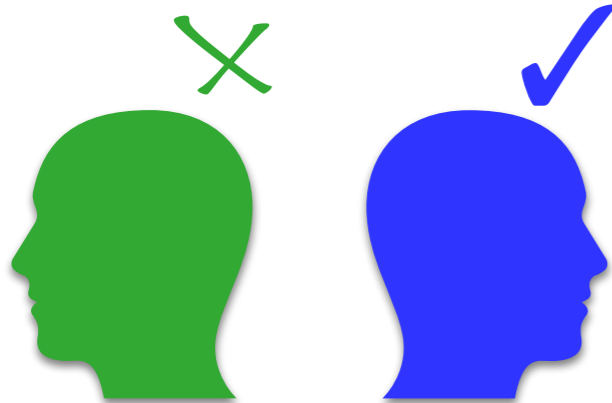
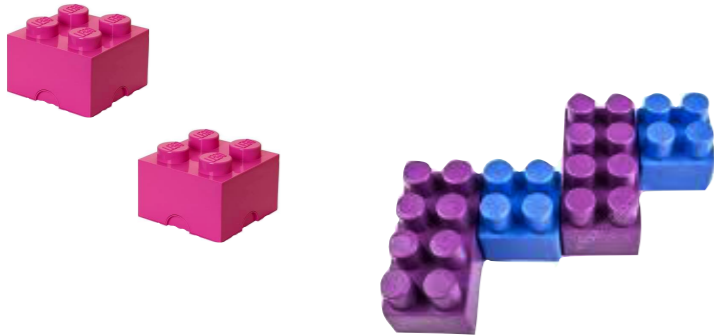


Who does

$$\prod_{t \in \text{trigrams}} p(t)$$



Building block origins

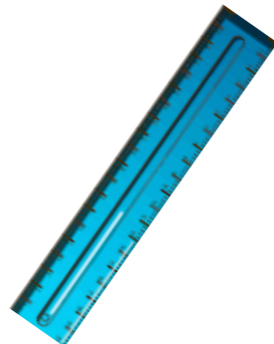


Low-SES
child-directed



What do you think that what happens?

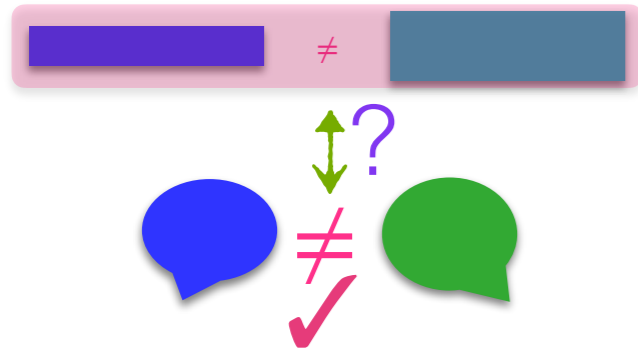
This means low-SES adults are **predicted** to view **this wh-dependency as grammatical** if we expect low-SES children to hear it and harness those crucial CP_{that} building blocks from it.



We can test this.

The big picture

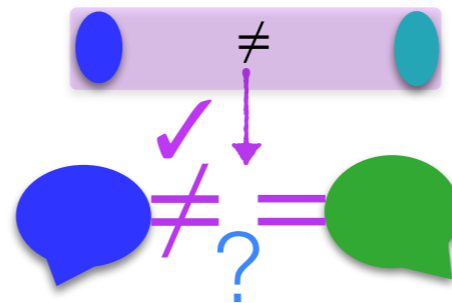
One (standard) way



Developmental computational modeling complements existing techniques for assessing meaningful input differences.

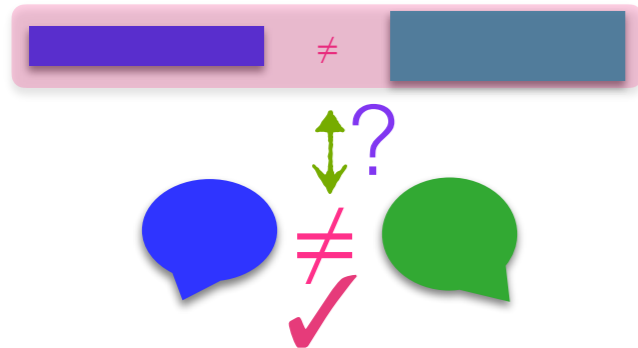


A new (complementary) way



The big picture

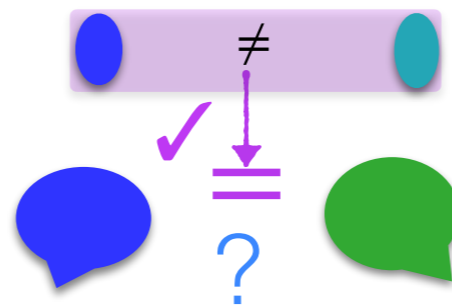
One (standard) way



Developmental computational modeling complements existing techniques for assessing meaningful input differences.



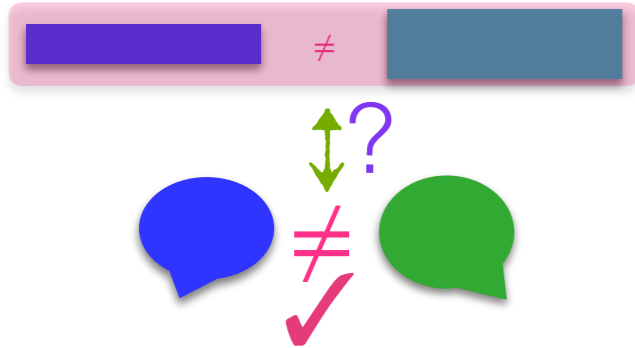
A new (complementary) way



We demonstrated this for syntactic island knowledge, and predicted no meaningful input differences across SES.

The big picture

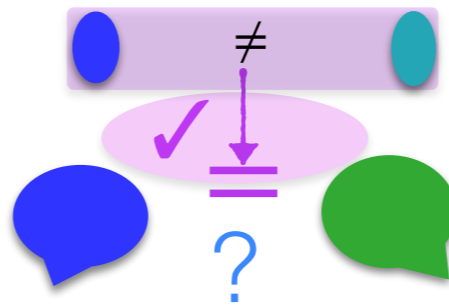
One (standard) way



Something useful: This technique can provide a **causal explanation** for how input differences could affect learning outcomes.



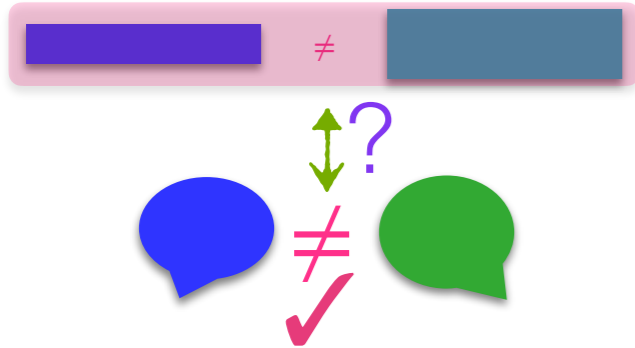
A new (complementary) way



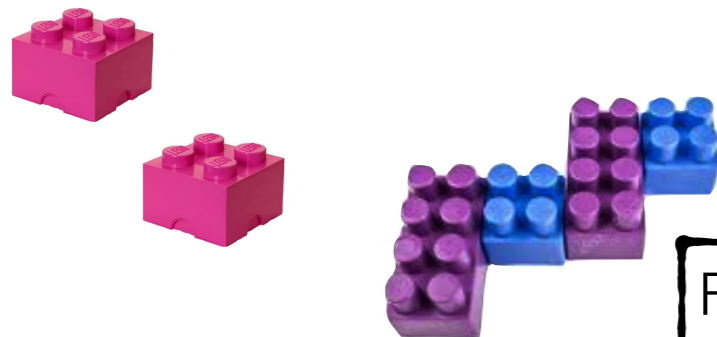
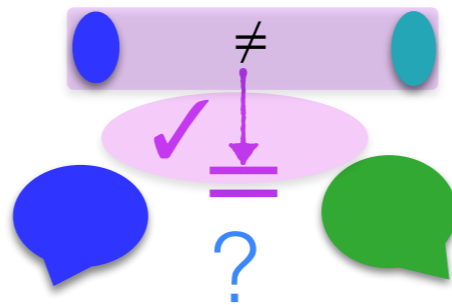
The big picture

Something useful: This technique can provide a **causal explanation** for how input differences could affect learning outcomes.

One (standard) way



A new (complementary) way

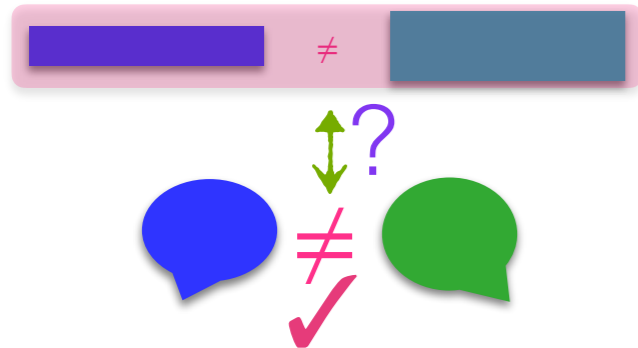


For syntactic islands, the **building blocks** needed for this knowledge don't seem to differ enough to matter.



The big picture

One (standard) way



Something else useful: This technique can make predictions about **differences we expect** in both child outcomes and eventual adult knowledge.



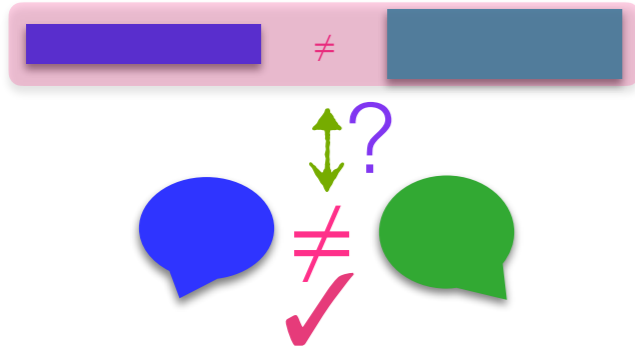
A new (complementary) way



What do you think that what happens?

The big picture

One (standard) way



Something important: Any predicted differences still need to be **measured**. But at least we know what to look for.



A new (complementary) way

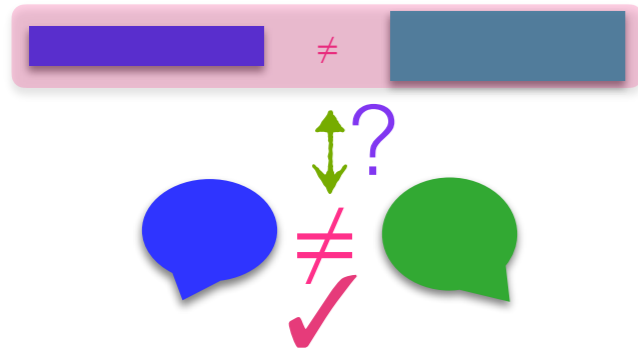


What do you think that what happens?

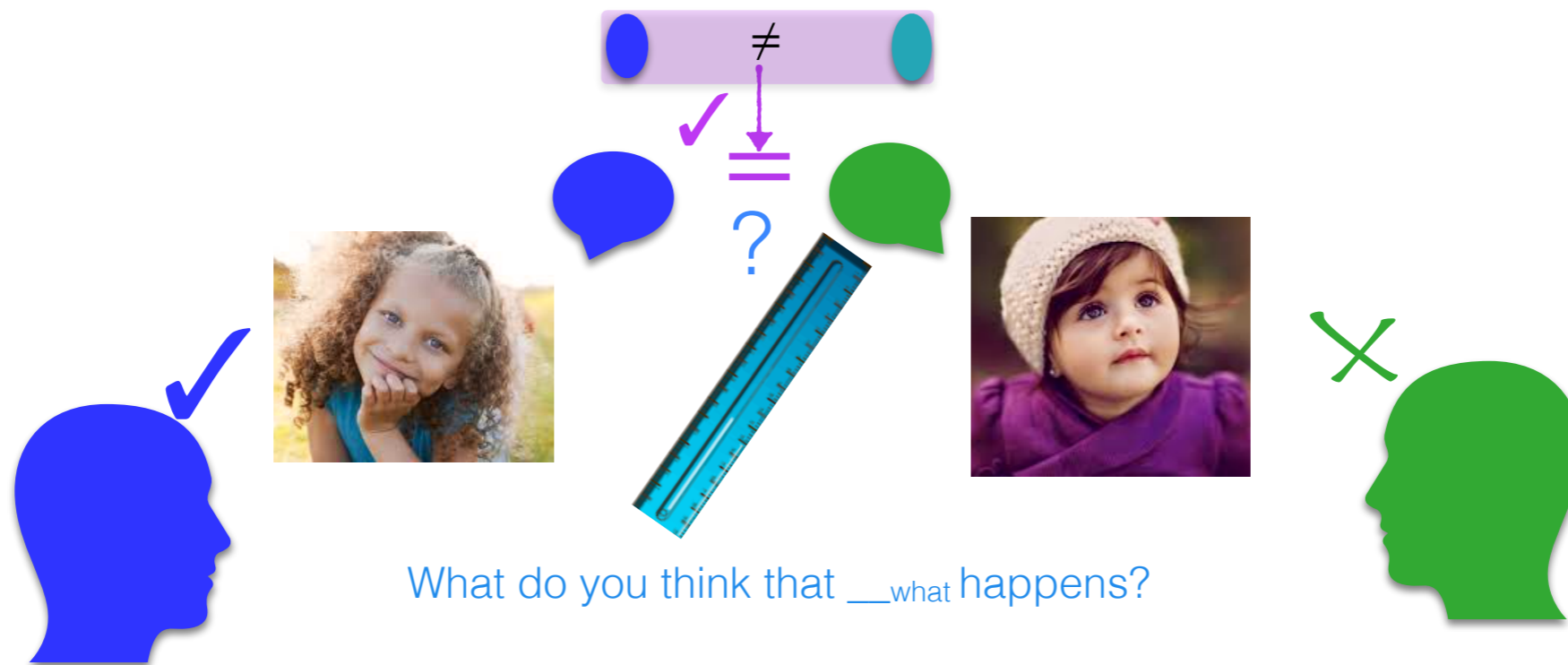
The big picture

Bonus: Modeling is often **faster** (and **cheaper** to do) than **behavioral work**. So it can be very useful as a first pass input quality assessment.

One (standard) way



A new (complementary) way





So let's use developmental computational modeling when we want to identify and understand meaningful input variation!



Thank you!

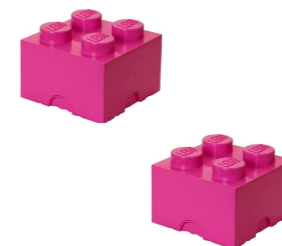
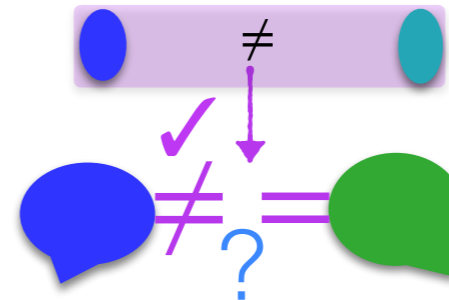
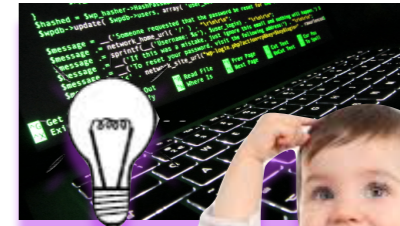
Alandi Bates



BUCLD 2018

UCI Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Sciences 2019

UCI QuantLang Collective



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