

## Gagliardi, Feldman, \& Lidz 2012

Acquisition problem: Acquire noun classes that differ by grammatical gender
"Here we talk about 'noun classes' to refer what is often called grammatical gender. One of the cues to noun class is often natural gender, but this is only one of several cues, and many other nouns are in each class that don't have this (or potentially any) cue predicting their class."

## Computational Problem

Identify parts of words that indicate functional information
"Jack hugged Lily." "Jack hugged her."
"Jack is hugging Lily." "He hugged Lily."
-ed: past, completed action he = masculine gender
-ing: continuing action

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| :--- |
| Acquisition problem: Acquire noun classes that differ by grammatical <br> gender <br> "Here we talk about 'noun classes' to refer what is often called <br> grammatital gender. One of the cues to noun class in often natural <br> gender, but this is only one of several cues, and many ther nouns are in <br> each class that don't have this (or potentially any) cue predicting their <br> class." |

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Acquisition problem: Acquire noun classes that differ by grammatical gender

Language: Tsez
"These classes can be characterized based on noun external
distributional information (e.g. prefixal agreement on vowel initial verbs and adjectives) (Table 1), and noun internal distributional information (semantic and morphophonological features on the nouns themselves)"

Table 1: Noun External Distributional Information.

| Class 1 | Class 2 | Class 3 | Class 4 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\varnothing$-igu uži | j-igu kid | b-igu k'et'u | r-igu čorpa |
| I-good boy | II-good girl | III-good cat | IV-good soup |
| good boy | good girl | good cat | good soup |


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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
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| Table 2: Noun Internal Distributional Information (a selection) |  |  |  |  |
| Feature | Value | Class prodicted | \% class with this feature value | \% nouns with this value in predicted class |
| Semantic Semantic First Scgment | female animate <br> T* |  | $\begin{aligned} & 13 \\ & 22 \\ & 9 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 100 \\ & 100 \\ & 61 \end{aligned}$ |
|  |  |  | Recall low | Precision high |

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Potentially useful features, which could be relevant (step 3)
"Each feature has specified values that were highly predictive of some class and an unspecified value that ranges over all other possible values

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| Potentially useful features, which could be relevant (step 3) |  |  |
| "Each feature has specified values that were highly predictive of some class and an unspecified value that ranges over all other possible values |  |  |
| that were not predictive." | Table 3: Structure of Features |  |
|  | Feature Specified Values | Unspecified Value |
|  | Semantic male, female, animate First segment ro, b- |  |
|  | Last Segment i | other |
| Modeling focus |  |  |
| we will look at whether a child can make use of the predictive phonological and semantic information when classifying novel nouns, and how they perform when a noun has two features that make conflicting predictions." |  |  |

## Modeling focus

"...how children use noun internal distributional information. In particular we will look at whether a child can make use of the predictive phonological and semantic information when classifying novel nouns, and how they perform when a noun has two features that make conflicting predictions."

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Acquisition problem: Acquire noun classes that differ by grammatical gender

Question: How are children using the statistical information available?
"... what underlies the difference in the measureable input and the intake that children use to acquire noun classes."

Components in the acquisition process that can help with assigning a novel word in the experimental task to one of the classes:
(1) Accumulate knowledge of statistical distribution of features
(2) Observe features on novel item
(3) Know which features are relevant
(4) Generalize statistical knowledge to new item (using strategies such as Bayesian inference)

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Are children behaving in an optimal fashion (i.e., similar to what an ideal Bayesian learning model would predict)?
"The test items had either a single noun internal distributional feature from Table 2, or a combination of these features that made conflicting predictions (e.g. semantic $=[$ animate $]$ and initial $=[r])$."


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Are children behaving in an optimal fashion (i.e., similar to what an ideal Bayesian learning model would predict)?
"When nouns had no conflicting features, children assigned more nouns to the class most strongly predicted by the feature than to any other class."


Figure 1: Proportion of novel nouns assigned to each class (by cue type) in the experimental task

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Are children behaving in an optimal fashion (i.e., similar to what an ideal Bayesian learning model would predict)?
"However, when nouns had more than one feature that made conflicting predictions, children relied more heavily on the phonological feature [r-] than on the semantic feature."


Figure 1: Proportion of novel nouns assigned to each class (by cue type) in the experimental task

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What does optimal behavior look like here, anyway?

$$
p\left(c \mid f_{1}, f_{2} \ldots f_{0}\right)=\frac{p\left(f_{1} \mid c\right) p\left(f_{2} \mid c\right) \ldots p\left(f_{1} \mid c\right) p(c)}{\sum_{1} p\left(f_{1} \mid c_{1}\right) p\left(f_{2} \mid c_{1}\right) \ldots p\left(f_{n}|c|\right) p\left(c_{1}\right)}
$$

"The prior probability of a class $p(c)$ corresponds to its frequency of occurrence, and the likelihood terms $p(f \mid c)$ for each of $n$ independent features $f$ can be computed from feature counts in the lexicon."


Animate
seems mor - seems more importan
Figure 1: Proportion of novel nouns assigned to each class (by cue type) in the experimental task


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Modeling the Semantic Incompetence Hypothesis
"...how classification by the model would be affected if the learner was misrepresenting some proportion of the semantic features that they should have encoded on nouns in their lexicon."
"One way of quantifying this is by modeling the learner's belief about the likelihood terms $p(f \mid c)$ from Equation 1 under the assumption that these beliefs are derived from the counts that a learner accumulates of nouns in each class that contain a given feature."

$$
p\left(c \mid f_{1}, f_{2} \ldots f_{0}\right)=\frac{p\left(f_{1} \mid c\right) p\left(f_{2} \mid c\right) \ldots p\left(f_{1} \mid c\right) p(c)}{\sum_{1} p\left(f_{1} \mid c_{c}\right) p\left(f_{2} \mid c_{1}\right) \ldots p\left(f_{1}, c_{1}\right) p\left(c_{i}\right)}
$$

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Explaining children's behavior: Disparity in cue use
"Every time a word is uttered (or most of the time, allowing for noisy conditions and fast speech) phonological features are present. However, especially during the early stages of lexical acquisition, the meaning of a word, and thus the associated semantic features, is much less likely to be available or apparent."

Three explicit hypotheses:
(1) Semantic incompetence: Misrepresentation of semantic features
(2) Experimental reject: The semantic features in the experimental conditions were hard to pick up
(3) Phonological preference: Salience \& reliability of phonological cues leads to preference for those cues

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Modeling the Semantic Incompetence Hypothesis
"We assume learners use a multinomial model with a uniform Dirichlet prior distribution to estimate the proportion of items each class $c$ that contain a particular value $k$ for feature $f$. Under this assumption, each likelihood term is equal to:

$$
p(f=k \mid c)=\frac{N_{c f-k}+1}{N_{c}+K}
$$

where $N_{c}$ denotes the number if nouns in the class, $N_{c, f=k}$ denotes the number of nouns in the class for which the feature has value $k$, and $K$ is the number of possible values for the feature."

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Modeling the Semantic Incompetence Hypothesis
"Since the semantic incompetence hypothesis posits that children misrepresent semantic feature values some proportion of the time, we reduce the count of nouns in each class that contain the relevant semantic features, changing them instead to the unspecified feature value [other]. We then compute the posterior probability of noun class membership using these adjusted feature counts."
"We can use this model to ask how low the counts would have to be in order for children's behavior to be optimal with respect to their beliefs."

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Modeling the Semantic Incompetence Hypothesis


But this only works early on in learning
"This analysis suggests that changes in model predictions under this account of feature misrepresentation occur primarily for low empirical feature counts, when the model relies heavily on pseudocounts from the Dirichlet prior distribution."

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Modeling the Semantic Incompetence Hypothesis

"The model produced a close fit to the data in each condition...best fitting level of uncertainty ranged from 0.96-0.91, meaning that children would be only using $4-9 \%$ of the semantic cues available to them. A generalized likelihood ratio test in which the level of misrepresentation was held constant across simulations (0.95) demonstrates that our semantic incompetence model significantly outperforms the optimal naïve Bayesian classifier ( $p<$ 0.0001)."

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Modeling the Experimental Reject Hypothesis
"...what would happen if a learner had a lexicon that faithfully represented the predictive features as they were distributed in the input and assumed both semantic and phonological features were relevant to classification, but didn't reliably encode semantic features on experimental items."
"To do this we use a mixture model, where some proportion of the time (1$\beta$ ) an item that was supposed to have the specified semantic feature value [animate] or [female] (denoted as [spe]) it would be classified as with that value, the rest of the time $(\beta)$ it would be classified as if it had the unspecified value [other]."

$$
\begin{aligned}
& p\left(c \mid f_{1}, f_{2}\right)=(1-\beta) \sum_{1} p\left(f_{1}-[\text { spec] } \mid c) p\left(f_{2} \mid c\right) p(c)\right. \\
&+\beta\left(f_{1}-[s p e] \mid c_{i}\right) p\left(f_{1} \mid c_{i}\right) p\left(c_{i}\right) \\
& \sum_{1} p\left(f_{1}-[\text { other }] \mid c\right) p\left(f_{1}-[\text { other }]\left|c_{i}\right| c\right) p\left(f_{2} \mid c_{i}\right) p(c) p\left(c_{i}\right)
\end{aligned}
$$



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## Modeling the Phonological Preference Hypothesis

"...what would happen if we had a learner that was biased not to use semantic features in classification some proportion of the time, even if these features were represented just as distributed in the input and accurately perceived during the experimental task."
"We used a second mixture model, this time looking at the mixture of a Bayesian classifier that used both semantic and phonological features, and one that only used phonological features."

$$
\begin{aligned}
& p\left(c \mid f_{1} f_{2}\right)=(1-\beta) \sum^{p\left(f_{1}-[\operatorname{sem}] \mid c\right) p\left(f_{2} \mid c\right) p(c)} \\
&+\beta\left(f_{1}-[\operatorname{sem}] \mid c_{1}\right) p\left(f_{2} \mid c_{i}\right) p\left(c_{1}\right) \\
& \sum p\left(f_{1} \mid c\right) p(c) p(c)
\end{aligned}
$$

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What the different hypotheses indicate collectively
"This suggests that although originally children did not look as though they were behaving optimally with respect to the input, they may well be behaving optimally with respect to their intake, that is, the input as they have represented it."

Choosing among the different hypotheses
It is not obvious how one would best to evaluate the alternative models with respect to one another...it is likely that a combination of all three of these processes (and perhaps more that we haven't considered here) is influencing children's classification decisions. This could potentially be explored through a combined model; however, as all of these models fit the data so closely, it would be difficult to determine which and to what extent each type of misrepresentation or bias is involved."

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## Implications

"...by combining experimental data from children acquiring an understudied language with computational modeling techniques, we found a better understanding of both children's acquisition of Tsez, and the role of statistical cues in language acquisition. Tsez was an ideal language to look at, as feature types differed in their reliability as cues to noun class."
"...we identified an area where children's behavior does not appear to reflect the ideal inferences licensed by the statistical patterns in the input. Three models allowed us to investigate the source of this asymmetry. While each model differed in where the asymmetry came from, all employed a weakening of the statistical import of semantic features. This is a distinct pattern from the finding that children learning an artificial language amplify an already strong statistical tendency (Hudson-Kam \& Newport, 2009)."

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## Implications

"...while children's behavior does not align with the predictions made by the optimal Bayesian classifier, it can be predicted by modifying the terms of this classifier in reasonable ways. Thus we were able to model children's suboptimal behavior using a Bayesian model, rather than adopting some other system of computation."
"...Finally, our models showed that it is plausible that these children are indeed behaving optimally with respect to some statistical distribution, just not one directly measureable from the input. This point is crucial as researchers extend accounts of statistical learning to a greater range of problems, highlighting the fact that the critical question isn't whether or not children are using statistics to acquire language, but what statistics they are using."

