

# Psych 215: Language Sciences (Language Acquisition)

## Lecture 17 Poverty of the Stimulus IV

### Reminder: Poverty of the Stimulus

Language

Can be thought of as the set of legal items in the language (sentences, strings, etc.). The child's job: figure out the rules that generate that legal set and don't generate illegal items.



### Reminder: Poverty of the Stimulus

The Logic of Poverty of the Stimulus (The Logical Problem of Language Acquisition)

- 1) Suppose there is some **data**.
- 2) Suppose there is an **incorrect hypothesis** compatible with the data.
- 3) Suppose children behave as if they **never entertain the incorrect hypothesis**.

Addendum (interpretation): Or children converge on the correct hypothesis much earlier than expected (Legate & Yang 2002).

Conclusion: Children possess innate knowledge ruling out the incorrect hypothesis from the hypothesis space considered.

Addendum (Interpretation): The initial hypothesis space does not include all hypotheses. Specifically, the incorrect ones of a particular kind are not in the child's hypothesis space.

### Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Child Input

Very frequent

Is Hoggie *t<sub>is</sub>* running away from Jareth?

Very infrequent, if ever

Can someone who **can** solve the Labyrinth *t<sub>can</sub>* show someone who **can't** how?

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Hypotheses for frequent data type

### Structure-independent (linear)

Front first auxiliary, Front last auxiliary, ...

### Structure-independent (hierarchical)

Front the first auxiliary following the first noun phrase,  
Front the first auxiliary preceding a verb phrase, ...

### Structure-independent (creative)

Front the auxiliary closest to a noun, Front the auxiliary that  
is an odd-numbered word position, ...

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

The Real Rule

Front the auxiliary following the subject noun phrase in the  
main clause.

But the unbiased child has to rule out all the other options,  
even ones that are simpler to compute. (For instance:  
**front first auxiliary** is much easier to compute.) We would  
expect to see errors of this type:

**Is the dwarf who  $t_{is}$  talking to Jareth is going to give Sarah  
the peach?**

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Real Children

But kids don't seem to make this error (Crain & Nakayama,  
1987).

(Nativist) Implication: They've already ruled out that  
hypothesis, even though they've likely not seen much data  
(if any at all) incompatible with it. This is due to an innate  
bias to look for structure-dependent rules.

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Pullum & Scholz 2002 (P&S)

Claim: But there *is* enough disconfirming data available to  
children. So this situation is not true - poverty of the stimulus  
does not hold here.

**Assumption:** Only trying to rule out the **front first auxiliary**  
hypothesis, not all the other ones, too. (This isn't necessarily  
true, and the PoS argument is based on the idea that the  
hypothesis space contains many more potential hypotheses.)

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

What kind of data?

One kind of disconfirming data: yes/no questions with two auxiliaries, where first auxiliary is not fronted

"Is the dwarf who **is** talking to Jareth *t<sub>is</sub>* going to give Sarah the peach?"

(rare)

Another kind: wh-questions with complex subject, where first auxiliary is not fronted

"How **could** anyone who **has** watched *Labyrinth* before *t<sub>could</sub>* not wince at this part?"

(how frequent?)

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Pullum & Scholz 2002 (P&S):  
Corpus Hunt



Data set = 500 sentences of the Wall Street Journal

"How fundamental are the changes these events portend?"

"Is what I'm doing in the shareholders' best interest?"

Not really a good sample of child-directed speech

Found that 1% are of this data type (5)

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Child-directed speech (samples from Nina corpus of CHILDES)



"Where's the little blue crib that **was** in the house before *t<sub>is</sub>* *t<sub>where</sub>*?"

"Where's the other dolly that **was** in here *t<sub>is</sub>* *t<sub>where</sub>*?"

"Where's the other doll that **goes** in there *t<sub>is</sub>* *t<sub>where</sub>*?"

So data likely exists...

Estimate: 0.1%-1% of data are of this type

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

But Existence of Data ≠ Sufficiency of Data

We need to know if the amount of disconfirming (unambiguous data) is sufficient to learn the correct hypothesis by the time children seem to know it.

How much data is enough?

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Gauging a threshold

Suppose we have two learning problems, **Problem 1** and **Problem 2**.

Suppose both have only two hypotheses to choose from. Suppose the frequency of unambiguous data for **Problem 1** is **Frequency 1** and the frequency of unambiguous data for **Problem 2** is **Frequency 2**.

Idea: If children figure out **Problem 1** and **Problem 2** at the same time, and they're learning from the data alone, we would predict that **Frequency 1** and **Frequency 2** should be about equal.

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Auxiliary-Fronting Threshold

**Auxiliary-fronting** is acquired by 3 years, 2 months (Crain & Nakayama 1987)

Is the girl who **can** solve the Labyrinth  $t_{is}$  going to save her brother?

\* **Can** the girl who  $t_{can}$  solve the Labyrinth **is** going to save her brother?

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Something else learned by about 3 years: **Subject-drop** (Valian 1991).

Except in special contexts, English speakers do not drop the subject.

She is going to eat the peach.  
\*Is going to eat the peach.

This is in contrast to languages like Spanish, which can optionally drop the subject.

Ella va a comer el melocotón.  
she goes-3rd-sg to to-eat the peach

Va a comer el melocotón.  
goes-3rd-sg to to-eat the peach

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Auxiliary-Fronting Threshold: Comparative

**Auxiliary-fronting**: acquired by 3 years, 2 months (Crain & Nakayama 1987)

**Subject-drop**: acquired by about 3 years (Valian 1991).

Unambiguous data for subject-drop: **1.2% of the data**

### Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

Another bit of knowledge learned by about 3 years: **Verb-Second** movement in German and Dutch (German: Clahsen 1986, Yang 2000; Dutch: Lightfoot 1997, Yang 2000)

Sarah must solve the labyrinth.  
German/Dutch:



Sarah **must** the labyrinth solve.  
The labyrinth **must** Sarah solve.

Unambiguous evidence for **Verb-Second** movement: **1.2% of the data**

**Expectation: Auxiliary-fronting** also needs **1.2% of the data** to be unambiguous, in order for it to be learned by this age.

### Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

So how much data is there really?

Looking at the Nina corpus:

46,499 sentences

20,651 questions

**14 unambiguous data examples** (all of wh-question type)

Frequency of unambiguous data: **0.068%** (much less than 1.2%)

### Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

So how much data is there really?

Looking at the Adam corpus:

20,372 sentences

8,889 questions

**4 unambiguous data examples** (all of wh-question type)

Frequency of unambiguous data: **0.045%** (much less than 1.2%)

**Data is not frequent enough for children to learn by the time they do.**

### Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

A larger point about data-driven learning

Problem: "...wild statistical disparities between what is presented to children and how children actually learn"

Example: Subject-drop (lots of "data", late generalization)

Almost all English sentences contain a subject, but children don't get it till 3.

## Legate & Yang (2002): Poverty of the Stimulus Lives

A larger point about data-driven learning

Problem: "...wild statistical disparities between what is presented to children and how children actually learn"

Example: Verb-Raising in French (little "data", early generalization)

"She eats not the peach"

Only 7% of French sentences show this, but children acquire it by 1.5 years.

The point: Children come with innate biases that allow them to use data in specific ways to update their hypotheses.

## Innate Bias = Domain-Specific?

Poverty of the Stimulus (the existence of an induction problem) is usually used as the motivation for Universal Grammar. But just because an induction problem exists doesn't mean innate domain-specific knowledge like UG is required to solve it. The knowledge required could be derived from prior knowledge (domain-specific or domain-general) or simply be domain-general to begin with.

## Exploring the Nature of the Necessary Bias(es): Computational Modeling Work

Domain-general biases explored:

- prefer subset hypothesis: Regier & Gahl 2004
- prefer simplicity: Perfors, Tenenbaum, & Regier 2006, submitted
- use only maximally informative data: Pearl & Weinberg 2007, Pearl 2008, Pearl submitted, Pearl & Lidz submitted

Domain-specific specific biases explored:

- ignore certain kinds of ambiguous data that are specified with domain-specific (linguistic) knowledge: Regier & Gahl 2004, Pearl & Lidz submitted
- ignore embedded clause data: Pearl & Weinberg 2007
- prefer syntactic information over semantic information: Foraker et al. 2007, forthcoming