

An Unambiguous Strategy For Learning Complex Linguistic Systems


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Human Language Learning

Theoretical work:
object of acquisition

x
(x x) x
H L H
em pha sis

Experimental work:
time course of acquisition



mechanism of acquisition
given the boundary conditions provided by
(a) linguistic representation
(b) the trajectory of learning

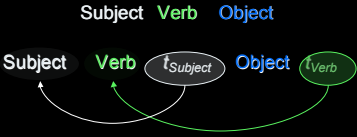
The Learning Problem

There is often a non-transparent relationship between the observable form of the data and the underlying system that produced it. Moreover, data are often ambiguous.

Syntactic System
Observable form: **word order**
Difficulty: interactive structural pieces

Subject Verb Object

Subject Verb ^tSubject Object ^tVerb



The Learning Problem

There is often a non-transparent relationship between the observable form of the data and the underlying system that produced it. Moreover, data are often ambiguous.

Metrical Phonology System
Observable form: **stress contour**
Difficulty: interactive structural pieces

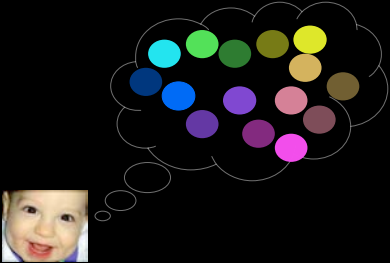
af ter noon

(x x) (x)
S S S
af ter noon

(x x) (x)
L L H
af ter noon

One Solution: Constraints on Hypothesis Space

Premise: learner considers finite range of hypotheses (parameters) (Halle & Vergnaud, 1987; Chomsky, 1981)




One Solution: Constraints on Hypothesis Space

Premise: learner considers finite range of hypotheses *parameters* (Halle & Vergnaud, 1987; Chomsky, 1981)

But this doesn't solve the learning problem...

"Assuming that there are n binary parameters, there will be 2^n possible core grammars." - Clark (1994)



How do learners choose among these hypotheses?

Size matters not.

I think so, Brain - but do we really need two tongues?

Real learning seems to be gradual

Probabilistic Learning with Parameters

“Language acquisition as grammar competition” - Yang (2002)

The Naïve Parameter (NPar) Learner

Probabilistic learning strategy explicitly compatible with parameterized grammars: learning is gradual & variable

“grammars that succeed in analyzing [a data point] are rewarded and those that fail are punished”

Complex System Woes

But this may not always work when we have complex systems with multiple parameters.

Are there other strategies a learner might adopt as well?

Learning Framework: 3 Components

(1) Hypothesis space

(2) Data

(3) Update procedure

Learning Framework: 3 Components

(1) Hypothesis space

(2) Data intake

(3) Update procedure

Investigating Data Intake Filtering

Intuition 1: Use all available data to uncover a full range of systematicity, and allow probabilistic model enough data to converge.

Intuition 2: Use more “informative” data or more “accessible” data only.

Unambiguous data: Fodor, 1998; Drescher, 1999; Lightfoot, 1999; Pearl & Weinberg, 2007

Ambiguous Data Woes: Feasibility of an Unambiguous Data Filter

"It is **unlikely that any example ... would show the effect of only a single parameter value**; rather, each example is the result of the interaction of several different principles and parameters" - Clark (1994)



af ter noon

(x x) (x)
S S S
af ter noon

(x) (x x)
L L H
af ter noon

(x x) (x)
L L H
af ter noon

Today's Plan

Given a realistic complex system to learn and realistic data to learn from, we ask...



- (1) Is something beyond probabilistic learning necessary? (**Necessity**)
- (2) Is there a data sparseness problem for an unambiguous data filter? (**Feasibility**)
- (3) Does learning from unambiguous data yield correct behavior? (**Sufficiency**)

Useful Tool: Modeling

Why? Can easily and ethically manipulate some part of the learning mechanism and observe the effect on learning.



Important: **Empirically grounded** in realistic data & psychologically plausible learning constraints

Recent computational modeling surges for language learning mechanisms: Niyogi & Berwick, 1996; Boersma, 1997; Yang, 2000; Boersma & Levelt, 2000; Boersma & Hayes, 2001; Sakas & Fodor, 2001; Yang, 2002; Sakas & Nishimoto, 2002; Sakas, 2003; Mintz, 2003; Apousidou & Boersma, 2004; Fodor & Sakas, 2004; Pearl, 2005; Pater, Potts, & Bhatt, 2006; Mintz, 2006; Pearl & Weinberg, 2007; Hayes & Wilson, 2007; Wang & Mintz, 2007

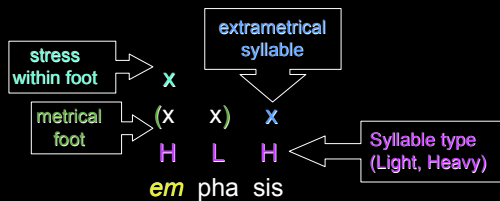
Road Map

- I. The System
Parameterized Metrical Phonology
- II. The Input
- III. Learning Without Filters
- IV. The Filter
- V. Learning With Filters
- VI. Good Ideas

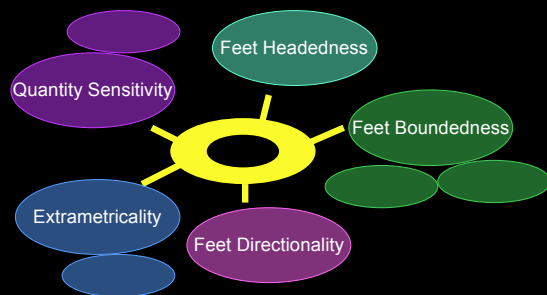
Metrical Phonology

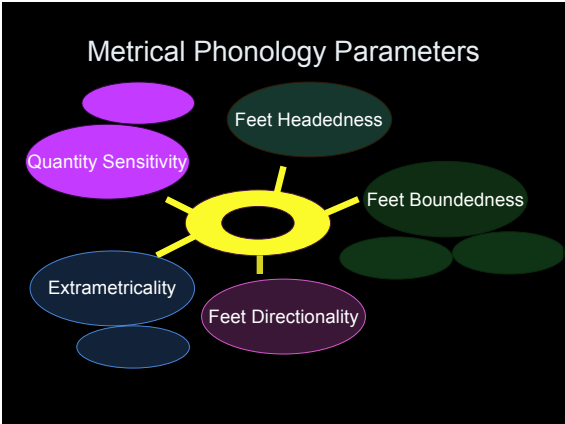
What tells you to put the **EM**phasis on a particular **SYL**lable

sample metrical phonology structure from parametric system



Metrical Phonology Parameters





Quantity Sensitivity: QI

Quantity-Insensitive (QI): All syllables are treated the same (S)

S	S	S
VV	V	VC
CVV	CV	CCVC
<i>lu</i>	di	crous

Quantity Sensitivity: QS

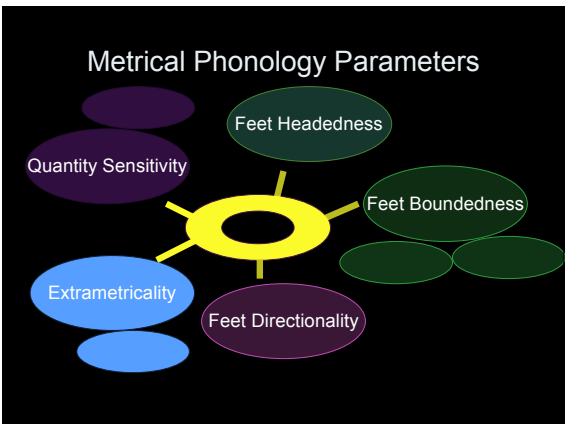
Quantity-Sensitive (QS):
Syllables are separated into Light and Heavy
V are always L, VV are always H

VC-Light (QSVCL) = VC syllable is L
VC-Heavy (QSVCH) = VC syllable is H

H	L	L/H
VV	V	VC
CVV	CV	CCVC
<i>lu</i>	di	crous

Quantity Sensitivity: Stress

Rule of Stress: If a syllable is Heavy, it **should get stressed** - unless some other parameter interacts with it

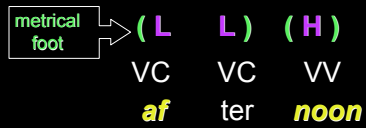


Extrametricity, Metrical Feet, and Stress

Rule of Stress: If a syllable is **extrametrical**, it is **not included** in a **metrical foot**. If a syllable is not in a metrical foot, it **cannot have stress**.

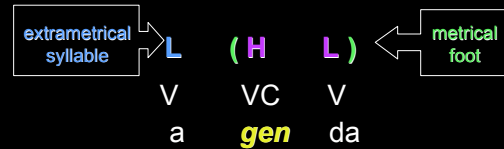
Extrametricity: None

Extrametricity-None (Em-None):
All syllables are in metrical feet



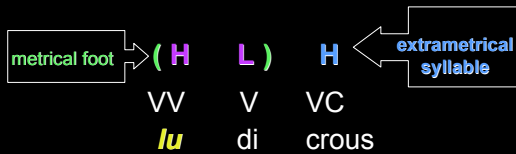
Extrametricity: Some

Extrametricity-Some (Em-Some): One edge syllable not in foot
Extrametricity-Left (Em-Left): Leftmost syllable not in foot - cannot have stress



Extrametricity: Some

Extrametricity-Some (Em-Some): One edge syllable not in foot
Extrametricity-Right (Em-Right): Rightmost syllable not in foot - cannot have stress



Metrical Phonology Parameters



Feet Directionality

Feet Direction: What edge of the word metrical foot construction begins at

Feet Direction Left: start from left edge

(H) (L) (H)

Feet Direction Right: start from right edge

H (L) H

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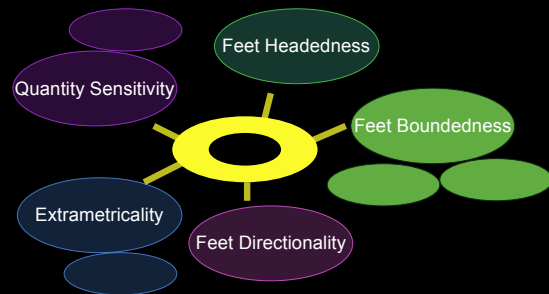
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Metrical Phonology Parameters



Boundedness: Unbounded Feet

Unbounded: a metrical foot extends until a **heavy syllable** is encountered

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start from left → L L L H L

Boundedness: Unbounded Feet

Unbounded: a metrical foot extends until a heavy syllable is encountered

start from left → (L L L) H L

Boundedness: Unbounded Feet

Unbounded: a metrical foot extends until a heavy syllable is encountered

start from left → (L L L)(H L)

Boundedness: Unbounded Feet

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start from left → (L L L)(H L)
L L L H L ← start from right

Boundedness: Unbounded Feet

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start from left → L L L L L

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start from left → (L L L L L)

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(L L L L L) ← start from right

Boundedness: Bounded Feet

Bounded: a metrical foot only extends a certain amount (cannot be longer)

Bounded-2: a metrical foot only extends 2 units

Bounded-3: a metrical foot only extends 3 units

Boundedness: Bounded Feet

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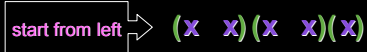
Bounded-3: a metrical foot only extends 3 units

start from left → X X X X X

Boundedness: Bounded Feet

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Bounded-2: a metrical foot only **extends 2 units**



Bounded-3: a metrical foot only **extends 3 units**



Boundedness: Bounded Feet

Bounded-Syllabic: counting unit is **syllable**

Bounded-Moraic: counting unit is **mora**
H = 2 moras, L = 1 mora

Boundedness: Bounded Feet

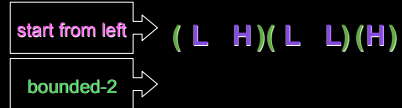
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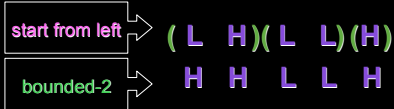
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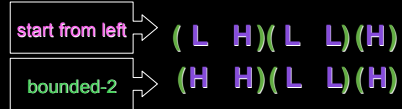
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Bounded-Syllabic: counting unit is **syllable**

start from left → (L H)(L L)(H)

bounded-2 → (H H)(L L)(H)

S S S S S

Bounded-Moraic: counting unit is **mora**
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Boundedness: Bounded Feet

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(S S)(S S)(S)

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start from left → X X X X X X X X

bounded-2 → H H L L H

Boundedness: Bounded Feet

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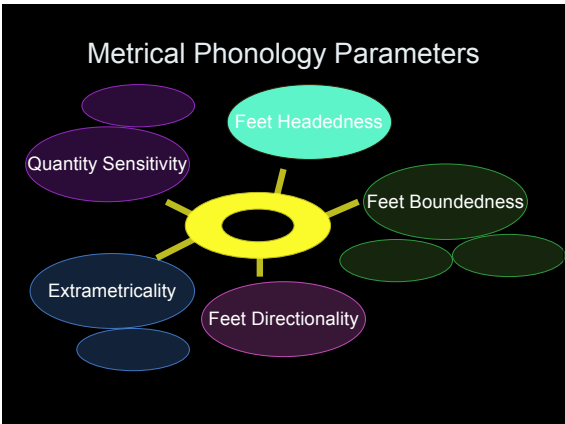
bounded-2 → (H H)(L L)(H)

(S S)(S S)(S)

Bounded-Moraic: counting unit is **mora**
 H = 2 moras, L = 1 mora

start from left → (X X)(X X)(X X)(X X)

bounded-2 → (H)(H)(L L)(H)



Metrical Feet and Stress

Rule of Stress: Exactly **one syllable per metrical foot** must have **stress**.

Feet Headedness

Feet Headedness: which syllable of metrical foot gets **stress**

Feet Head Left: **leftmost** syllable in foot gets **stress**

(H) (L H)

Feet Head Right: **rightmost** syllable in foot gets **stress**

(H) (L H)

Feet Headedness

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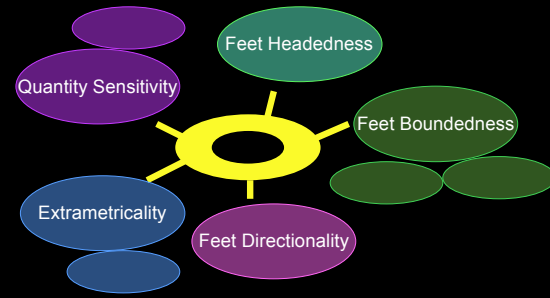
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(H) (L H)

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(H) (L H)

Metrical Phonology Parameters



Road Map

- I. The System
- II. The Input
English child-directed speech
- III. Learning Without Filters
- IV. The Filter
- V. Learning With Filters
- VI. Good Ideas

English Metrical Phonology

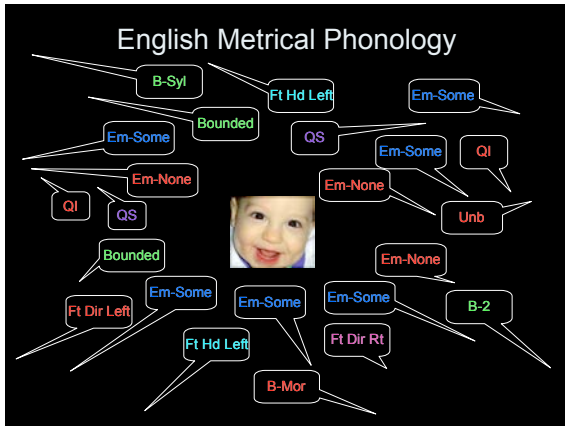
Non-trivial language: English (full of **exceptions**)
Input: data unambiguous for the **incorrect value in the adult system**

Adult English system values:

QS, QSVCH, Em-Some, Em-Right, Ft Dir Right, Bounded, B-2, B-Syllabic, Ft Hd Left

Exceptions:

QT, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left, Unbounded, B-3, B-Moraic, Ft Hd Right



Empirical Grounding in Realistic Data: Estimating English Data Distributions

Caretaker speech to children between the ages of 6 months and 2 years (CHILDES: MacWhinney, 2000)

Total Words: 540505
Mean Length of Utterance: 3.5

Words parsed into syllables and assigned stress using the American English CALLHOME database of telephone conversation (Canavan et al., 1997) & the MRC Psycholinguistic database (Wilson, 1988)

- ### Road Map
- I. The System
 - II. The Input
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The Naive Parameter Learner
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Probabilistic Learning with Parameters

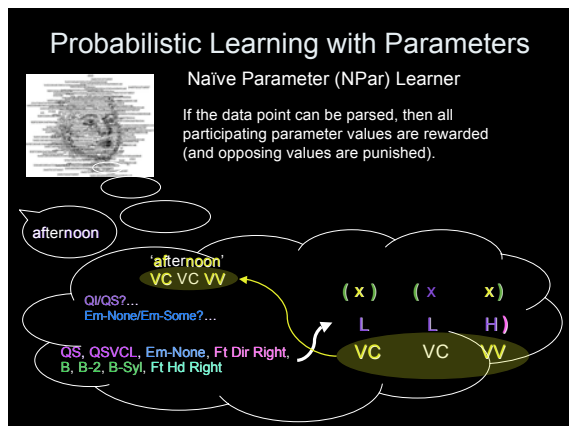
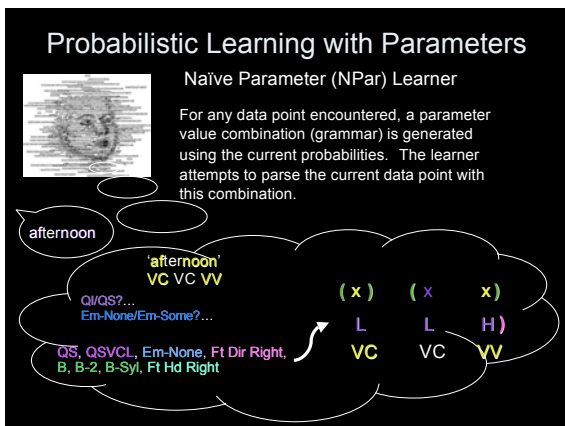
Naïve Parameter (NPar) Learner

Incremental learning: Learn from a single data point at a time (psychological plausibility)

For each parameter, the learner associates a probability with each of the competing parameter values

QI = 0.7	QS = 0.3
Em-Some = 0.4	Em-None = 0.6
Ft Dir Left = 0.8	Ft Dir Rt = 0.2
Bounded = 0.6	Unbounded = 0.4
Ft Hd Left = 0.5	Ft Hd Rt = 0.5


...



Probabilistic Learning with Parameters

Naïve Parameter (NPar) Learner

If the data point can be parsed, then all participating parameter values are rewarded (and opposing values are punished).



$$\text{Prob}_{\text{QS}} = \text{Prob}_{\text{QS}} + \gamma * (1 - \text{Prob}_{\text{QS}})$$

$$\text{Prob}_{\text{QSVCL}} = \text{Prob}_{\text{QSVCL}} + \gamma * (1 - \text{Prob}_{\text{QSVCL}})$$

$$\text{Prob}_{\text{Em-None}} = \text{Prob}_{\text{Em-None}} + \gamma * (1 - \text{Prob}_{\text{Em-None}})$$

.....


$$\text{Prob}_{\text{FtHdRt}} = \text{Prob}_{\text{FtHdRt}} + \gamma * (1 - \text{Prob}_{\text{FtHdRt}})$$

QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left,
B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Right

Probabilistic Learning with Parameters

Naïve Parameter (NPar) Learner

If the data point cannot be parsed, then all participating parameter values are punished (and opposing values are rewarded).



afternoon

'afternoon'
VC VC VV

QI/QS?...
Em-None/Em-Some?...

QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left,
B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Right

(x) (x) (x)


(L) (L) (H)

VC VC VV

Probabilistic Learning with Parameters

Naïve Parameter (NPar) Learner

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.....


$$\text{Prob}_{\text{FtHdRt}} = \text{Prob}_{\text{FtHdRt}} * (1 - \gamma)$$

QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left,
B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Right

Probabilistic Learning with Parameters

Naïve Parameter (NPar) Learner

The Idea: Eventually, the probability of one parameter value will converge to 1.0, and the opposing value(s) will be 0.0. At this point, the parameter value is set.



QI = 0.7 QS = 0.3

Em-Some = 1.0 Em-None = 0.0


Em-Right = 0.6 Em-Left = 0.4

Ft Dir Left = 0.2 Ft Dir Rt = 0.8

Bounded = 0.3 Unbounded = 0.7

Ft Hd Left = 0.9 Ft Hd Rt = 0.1


The NPar Learner on English Metrical Phonology



Learning Period Length: 1,160,000 words
(based on estimates of words heard in a 6 month period, using Akhtar et al. (2004)).

Learning rate: $(0.01 \leq \gamma \leq 0.05)$

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Results using distributions in English child-directed speech:
Learners never converge on English.

If learners ignore monosyllabic words (since such words don't have a stress contour per se), **less than 1.2%** converge on English.

Examples of incorrect target languages NPar learners converged on:

- Em-None, Ft Hd Left, Unb, Ft Dir Left, QI
- QS, Em-None, QSVCH, Ft Dir Rt, Ft Hd Left, B-Mor, Bounded, Bounded-2
- Em-None, Ft Dir Rt, Unb, QSVCH, QS, Ft Hd Left
- Em-None, QI, Ft Dir Left, Unb, Ft Hd Left
- Em-None, Ft Hd Left, B-2, QI, Unb, Ft Dir Left

A More Conservative Learner: NPar Learner + Batch



Naïve Parameter Learner with Batch Learning (NPar + B Learner): More conservative about rewarding and punishing parameters. Meant for more complex systems with interactive parameters.

Instead of rewarding/punishing the participating parameter values for each data point, this learner **waits until a parameter value has succeeded/failed a certain number of times** (the size *b* of the batch) before rewarding/punishing it.

"...it slows down the learning rate when [the parameter] is bad and speeds it up when [the parameter] gets better"
- Yang (2002)



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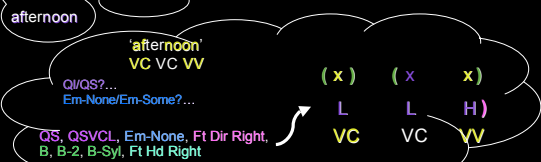
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A More Conservative Learner: NPar Learner + Batch



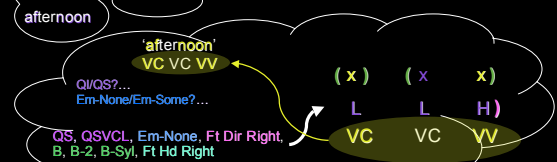
For any data point encountered, a parameter value combination (grammar) is generated using the current probabilities. The learner attempts to parse the current data point with this combination.



A More Conservative Learner: NPar Learner + Batch



If the data point can be parsed, then all participating parameter values have their batch counter incremented by 1.



A More Conservative Learner: NPar Learner + Batch



If the data point can be parsed, then all participating parameter values have their batch counter incremented by 1.

Counter_{QS} = Counter_{QS} + 1
 Counter_{QSVCL} = Counter_{QSVCL} + 1
 Counter_{Em-None} = Counter_{Em-None} + 1

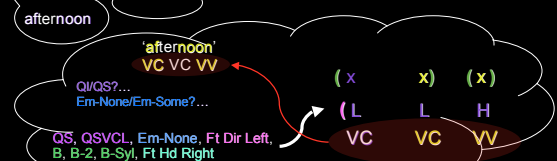
 Counter_{Ft Hd Rt} = Counter_{Ft Hd Rt} + 1

QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Right,
B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Right


A More Conservative Learner: NPar Learner + Batch



If the data point cannot be parsed, then all participating parameter values have their batch counters decremented by 1.



A More Conservative Learner: NPar Learner + Batch




If the data point cannot be parsed, then all participating parameter values have their batch counters decremented by 1.

$Counter_{QS} = Counter_{QS} - 1$
 $Counter_{QSVCL} = Counter_{QSVCL} - 1$
 $Counter_{Em-None} = Counter_{Em-None} - 1$

 $Counter_{Ft Hd Rt} = Counter_{Ft Hd Rt} - 1$

QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left,
 B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Right

A More Conservative Learner: NPar Learner + Batch




If the batch counter for a value reaches the upper limit b , that parameter value is rewarded. If the batch counter reaches the lower limit $-b$, that parameter value is punished. The counters are then reset to 0.

$Counter_{QS} = b$
 $Prob_{QS} = Prob_{QS} + \gamma * (1 - Prob_{QS})$
 $Counter_{QS} = 0$

....
 $Counter_{Ft Hd Left} = -b$
 $Prob_{Ft Hd Left} = Prob_{Ft Hd Left} * (1 - \gamma)$
 $Counter_{Ft Hd Left} = 0$


The NPar + B Learner on English Metrical Phonology



Learning Period Length: 1,160,000 words
(based on estimates of words heard in a 6 month period, using Akhtar et al. (2004)).

$0.01 \leq \text{learning rate } \gamma \leq 0.05$ $2 \leq \text{batch size } b \leq 10$

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Results using distributions in English child-directed speech:
Learners never converge on English.

If learners ignore monosyllabic words (since such words don't have a stress contour per se), **less than 0.8%** converge on English. (Always when $b = 2$)

Examples of incorrect target languages NPar + B learners converged on:
 Em-Right, Em-Some, **Unbounded**, Ft Dir Right, QSVCH, QS, **Ft Hd Rt**
 Em-Right, **Unbounded**, Em-Some, **Ft Dir Left**, Ft Hd Left, QSVCL, QS
 Em-Right, Ft Hd Left, Em-Some, **Unbounded**, **Ft Dir Left**, QS, QSVCH
 Em-Right, Em-Some, Ft Hd Left, QS, QSVCH, **Unbounded**, **Ft Dir Left**
 Em-Right, Em-Some, **Unbounded**, Ft Hd Left, Ft Dir Rt, QI

Other Constraints: Prior Knowledge



Infant research has shown that infants are sensitive to some of the rhythmic properties of their language

Jusczyk, Cutler, & Redanz (1993): English 9-month olds prefer strong-weak stress bisyllables (trochaic) to weak-strong ones (iambic).


$\begin{matrix} Ft Hd Left \\ S S \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} Ft Hd Rt \\ S S \end{matrix}$

Turk, Jusczyk, & Gerken (1995): English infants are sensitive to the difference between long vowels and short vowels in syllables

$\begin{matrix} QS \\ V V \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} QI \\ S S \end{matrix}$

The learner may already have knowledge of **Ft Hd Left** and **QS**. Perhaps this knowledge of the system will allow the NPar + B learner to converge on the rest of the English values more reliably.

The NPar + B Learner with Prior Knowledge on English Metrical Phonology



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(based on estimates of words heard in a 6 month period, using Akhtar et al. (2004)).

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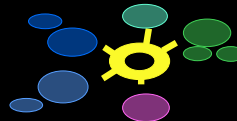
If learners ignore monosyllabic words (since such words don't have a stress contour per se), **5% or less** learners converge on English.

Examples of incorrect target languages NPar + B learners with prior knowledge converged on:

Ft Hd Left, QS, Em-Right, Em-Some, QSVCH, Ft Dir Left, Bounded, B-Mor, B-2
Ft Hd Left, QS, Em-Right, QSVCH, Em-Some, Unbounded, Ft Dir Left
Ft Hd Left, QS, Em-Right, Em-Some, QSVCH, Ft Dir Left, B-3, Bounded, B-Mor
Ft Hd Left, QS, Em-Right, Em-Some, QSVCH, Ft Dir Rt, Unbounded

Big picture

For the complex linguistic system under consideration, knowledge of the parameters and a probabilistic learning strategy doesn't seem to yield the correct behavior. These are **insufficient** for learning.



Something else seems necessary for successful acquisition.

Can data filtering help?

Road Map

- I. The System
- II. The Input
- III. Learning Without Filters
- IV. The Filter
Unambiguous Data
- V. Learning With Filters
- VI. Good Ideas

Filter Feasibility

How feasible is an unambiguous data filter for a complex system?



Data sparseness: are there unambiguous data? (Clark 1992)



How could a learner **identify** such data?

Changing Knowledge States: Unambiguous Data is a Moving Target

Current knowledge of system influences perception of **unambiguous** data.
The informativity of a data point changes over time.

Data initially **ambiguous** may later be perceived as **unambiguous**.
Data initially **unambiguous** may later be perceived as **exceptional**.

Point: The order in which parameters are set may determine if they are set correctly (Dresher, 1999).

Identifying Unambiguous Data

Identifying unambiguous data:


Cues (Dresher, 1999; Lightfoot, 1999)



Parsing (Fodor, 1998; Sakas & Fodor, 2001)



Cues: Overview



A cue is a local "specific configuration in the input" that corresponds to a specific parameter value. A cue matches an unambiguous data point. (Dresher, 1999)

S...S

→

af ter noon

→


Em-None

Cues for Metrical Phonology Parameters

Recall: Cues match local surface structure (sample cues below)

QS: 2 syllable word with 2 stresses	VV VV
Em-Right: Rightmost syllable is Heavy and unstressed	... H
Unb: 3+ unstressed S/L syllables in a row	... S S S... ... L L L L
Ft Hd Left: Leftmost foot has stress on leftmost syllable	S S S... H L L...

Parsing: Overview



Parsing tries to analyze a data point with "all possible parameter value combinations", conducting an "exhaustive search of all parametric possibilities", and then discovering what is common to them. (Fodor, 1998)

(x x) (x)
 S S S
 af ter noon

→

Em-None

(x x) (x)
 L L H
 af ter noon


→

Em-None

(x x) (x)
 L L H
 af ter noon

→

Em-None



Parsing with Metrical Phonology Parameters

Sample Datum: VC VC VV ('afternoon')

Parsing with Metrical Phonology Parameters

Sample Datum: VC VC VV ('afternoon')

(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Right,
B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Right)

(x)	(x	x)
L	L	H)
VC	VC	VV

Parsing with Metrical Phonology Parameters

Sample Datum: VC VC VV ('afternoon')

(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Right,
B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Right)

(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left,
B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Left)

(x)	(x	x)
L	L	H)
VC	VC	VV

(x	x)	(x)
(L	L	H
VC	VC	VV

Parsing with Metrical Phonology Parameters

Sample Datum: VC VC VV ('afternoon')

(QI, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Right, B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Right)

(x) (x x)
L L H)
VC VC VV

(QI, Em-None, Ft Dir Right, B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Right)

(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left, B, B-2, B-Syl, Ft Hd Left)

(x x x)
(L L H)
VC VC VV

(x x x)
S S S)
VC VC VV

Parsing with Metrical Phonology Parameters

Values leading to successful parses of data point:

(QI, Em-None, Ft Dir Left, Ft Hd Left, B, B-2, B-Syl)
(QI, Em-None, Ft Dir Right, Ft Hd Right, B, B-2, B-Syl)
(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left, Ft Hd Left, UnB)
(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left, Ft Hd Left, B, B-2, B-Syl)
(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Right, Ft Hd Right, B, B-2, B-Syl)

Data point is **unambiguous** for Em-None.

Parsing with Metrical Phonology Parameters

Values leading to successful parses of data point:

(QI, Em-None, Ft Dir Left, Ft Hd Left, B, B-2, B-Syl)
(QI, Em-None, Ft Dir Right, Ft Hd Right, B, B-2, B-Syl)
(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left, Ft Hd Left, UnB)
(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Left, Ft Hd Left, B, B-2, B-Syl)
(QS, QSVCL, Em-None, Ft Dir Right, Ft Hd Right, B, B-2, B-Syl)

Data point is **unambiguous** for Em-None.

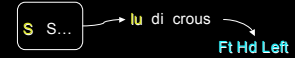
Perception of unambiguous data changes over time:

If QI already set, data point is unambiguous for **Em-None, B, B-2, and B-Syl**.

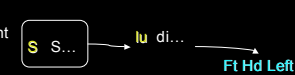
Cues vs. Parsing: Comparison

Cues:

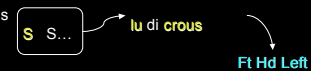
Easy identification of unambiguous data



Can find information in sub-part of data point



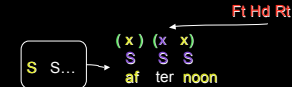
Can tolerate exceptions



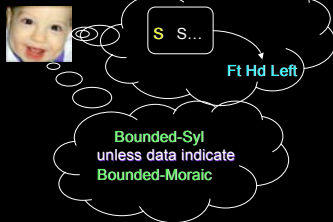
Cues vs. Parsing: Comparison

Cues:

Are heuristic



Require additional knowledge



May rely on default values

Cues vs. Parsing: Comparison

Parsing:

Not heuristic (exhaustive search)

No additional knowledge beyond parameter values

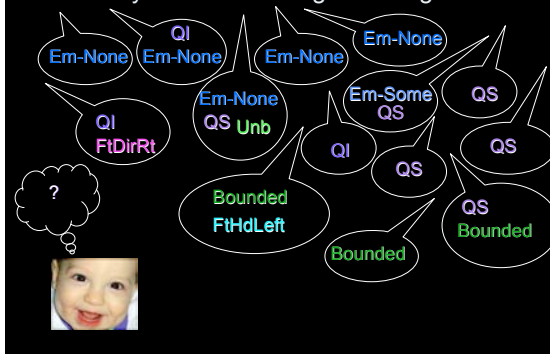
No default values used



Initial State of English Child-Directed Speech:
Probability of Encountering Unambiguous Data

Quantity Sensitivity		Extrametricality	
QI: .00398	QS: 0.0205	None: 0.0294	Some: .0000259
Feet Directionality		Boundedness	
Left: 0.000	Right: 0.00000925	Unbounded: 0.00000370	Bounded: 0.00435
Feet Headedness			
Left: 0.00148	Right: 0.000		

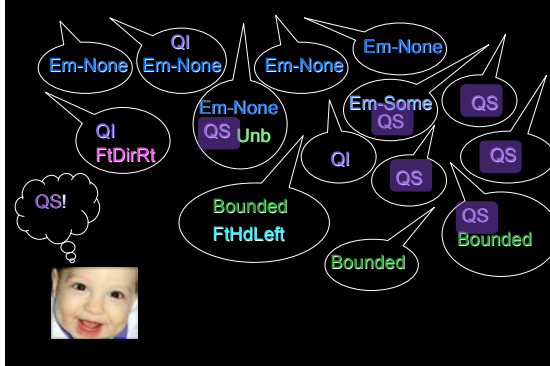
Initial State of English Child-Directed Speech:
Probability of Encountering Unambiguous Data



Moving Targets & Unambiguous Data;
What Happens After Parameter Setting

Quantity Sensitivity		Extrametricality	
QI: .00398	QS: 0.0205	None: 0.0294	Some: .0000259
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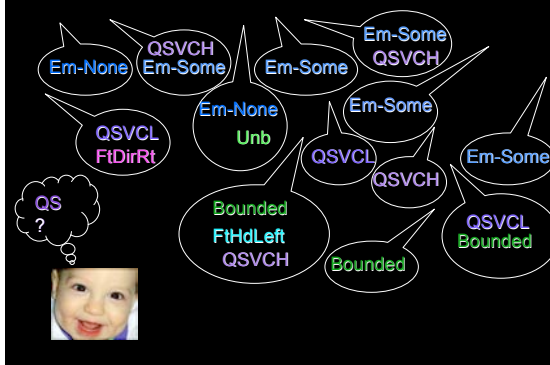
Setting a Parameter Value



Moving Targets & Unambiguous Data

new sub-parameter QSVCL/QSVCH		Em-Some more probable	
QS-VC-Heavy/Light		Extrametricality	
Heavy: .00265	Light: 0.00309	None: 0.0240	Some: .0485
Feet Directionality		Boundedness	
Left: 0.000	Right: 0.00000555	Unbounded: 0.00000370	Bounded: 0.00125
Feet Headedness			
Left: 0.000588	Right: 0.0000204		

Moving Targets & Unambiguous Data



Getting to English

The learner must set all the parameter values in order to converge on a language system.



Current knowledge of the system influences the perception of unambiguous data. So, the order in which parameters are set influences the probability of encountering unambiguous data for unset parameters.

To get to English, the learner must converge on **QS**, **QSVCH**, **Em-Some**, **Em-Right**, **Ft Dir Rt**, **Bounded**, **Bounded-2**, **Bounded-Syl**, **Ft Hd Left**

Will any parameter setting orders lead the learner to English?

Getting to English: Exhaustive Search of All Parameter Setting Orders

Try one parameter-setting order...

- For all currently unset parameters, determine the unambiguous data distribution in the corpus.
- Choose a currently unset parameter to set. The value chosen for this parameter is the value that has a higher probability in the data the learner perceives as unambiguous.
- Repeat steps (a-b) until all parameters are set.

Getting to English: Exhaustive Search of All Parameter Setting Orders

Is it English?

- Compare final set of values to English set of values. If they match, this is a viable parameter setting order. If they don't, it isn't.



Getting to English: Exhaustive Search of All Parameter Setting Orders

Repeat for all possible orders...

Try one parameter-setting order...

Is it English?

Results: Set of viable orders that lead to English (we hope)

Viable Parameter Setting Orders

Worst Case: learning with unambiguous data produces **insufficient** behavior
No orders lead to English

Better Case: learning with unambiguous data produces **sufficient** behavior
Viable orders exist, even if some orders don't lead to English

Best Case: learning with unambiguous data is a brilliant plan!
All orders lead to English



Road Map

- The System
- The Input
- Learning Without Filters
- The Filter
- Learning With Filters
- Good Ideas
Filters, Predictions, & Future Directions

Cues: Parameter Setting Orders

Cues: Sample viable orders

- (a) QS, QS-VC-Heavy, Bounded, Bounded-2, Feet Hd Left, Feet Dir Right, Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-Syl
- (b) Bounded, Bounded-2, Feet Hd Left, Feet Dir Right, QS, QS-VC-Heavy, Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-Syl
- (c) Feet Hd Left, Feet Dir Right, QS, QS-VC-Heavy, Bounded, Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2, Bounded-Syl

Cues: Sample failed orders

- (a) QS, QS-VC-Heavy, Bounded, Bounded-2, Bounded-Mor, ...
- (b) Bounded, Bounded-2, Feet Hd Left, Bounded-Mor, ...
- (c) Em-None, ...
- (d) Feet Hd Left, Em-None, ...

Parsing: Parameter Setting Orders

Parsing: Sample viable orders

- (a) Bounded, QS, Feet Hd Left, Feet Dir Right, QS-VC-Heavy, Bounded-Syl, Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2
- (b) Feet Hd Left, QS, QS-VC-Heavy, Bounded, Feet Dir Right, Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-Syl, Bounded-2
- (c) QS, Bounded, Feet Hd Left, QS-VC-Heavy, Feet Dir Right, Bounded-Syl, Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2

Parsing: Sample failed orders

- (a) QS, QS-VC-Heavy, Bounded, Bounded-Syl, Bounded-2, Em-Some, Em-Right, Feet Hd Right, ...
- (b) Bounded, Bounded-Syl, Bounded-2, Em-None, ...
- (c) Em-None, ...
- (d) Feet Hd Left, Feet Dir Left, ...

Parameter Setting Orders: Knowledge Necessary for Acquisition Success

"Viable parameter setting order" means...

If the learner manages to set the parameters in this order, the learner will converge on English.

But wouldn't it be better if the viable orders could be captured more compactly, instead of being explicitly listed in the learner's mind?

Order #23 looks good!



Unambiguous Data: Order Constraints

Cues

- (a) QS-VC-Heavy
before Em-Right
- (b) Em-Right
before Bounded-Syl
- (c) Bounded-2
before Bounded-Syl

The rest of the parameters are freely ordered w.r.t. each other.

Parsing

- Group 1:
QS, Ft Hd Left, Bounded
- Group 2:
Ft Dir Right, QS-VC-Heavy
- Group 3:
Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2,
Bounded-Syl

The parameters are freely ordered w.r.t. each other within each group.

Feasibility & Sufficiency of the Unambiguous Data Filter

Either method of identifying unambiguous data (cues or parsing) is **successful**. Given the **non-trivial parametric system** (9 interactive parameters) and the non-trivial data set (English is full of exceptions), this is no small feat.

"It is unlikely that any example ... would show the effect of only a single parameter value" - Clark (1994)



Feasibility & Sufficiency of the Unambiguous Data Filter

Either method of identifying unambiguous data (cues or parsing) is **successful**. Given the **non-trivial parametric system** (9 interactive parameters) and the non-trivial data set (English is full of exceptions), this is no small feat.

"It is unlikely that any example ... would show the effect of only a single parameter value" - Clark (1994)

(1) **Unambiguous data** exist and can be identified in sufficient relative quantities to extract the correct systematicity for a **complex parametric system**.

(2) The **data intake filtering strategy** is robust across a realistic (highly ambiguous, exception-filled) data set. It's feasible to identify such data, and the strategy yields sufficient learning behavior.

Predictions: Links to the Experimental Side

Cues

- (a) **QS-VC-Heavy**
before **Em-Right**
- (b) **Em-Right**
before **Bounded-Syl**
- (c) **Bounded-2**
before **Bounded-Syl**

Parsing

- Group 1:
QS, Ft Hd Left, Bounded
- Group 2:
Ft Dir Right, QS-VS-Heavy
- Group 3:
Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2, Bounded-Syl

Are predicted parameter setting orders observed in real-time learning?
E.g. whether cues or parsing is used, **Quantity Sensitivity (QS, QSVCH)** is predicted to be set before **Extrametricality (Em-Some, Em-Right)**.

Future Directions in Modeling

(1) Is the unambiguous data filter successful for other languages besides English? Other instantiations of metrical phonology? Other complex linguistic domains like syntax?

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(4) How necessary is a data filtering strategy for successful learning? Would other probabilistic learning strategies that are not as selective about the data intake succeed? (e.g. Fodor & Sakas, 2004; Bayesian learning strategies)

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(5) Can other knowledge implementations, such as constraint satisfaction systems (Tesar & Smolensky, 2000; Boersma & Hayes, 2001), be successfully learned from noisy data sets like English? (theoretical implications based on learnability of the system)

Take Home Message

- (1) Modeling results for a realistic system and realistic data set suggest the necessity of **something beyond a simple probabilistic learning strategy**, even if the hypothesis space of learners is already constrained.
- (2) They also demonstrate the viability of the **unambiguous data filter** as a learning strategy.
- (3) Computational modeling is a very useful tool:
 - (a) empirically test learning strategies that would be difficult to investigate with standard techniques
 - (b) generate experimentally testable predictions about learning

Thank You

Amy Weinberg
Bill Idsardi

Jeff Lidz
Charles Yang

The audiences at

BUCLD 32
UC Irvine Language Learning Group
UC Irvine Department of Cognitive Sciences
CUNY Psycholinguistics Supper Club
UDelaware Linguistics Department
Yale Linguistics Department
UMaryland Cognitive Neuroscience of Language Lab

Why Parameters?

Why posit parameters instead of just associating stress contours with words?

Arguments from stress change over time (Dresher & Lahiri, 2003):

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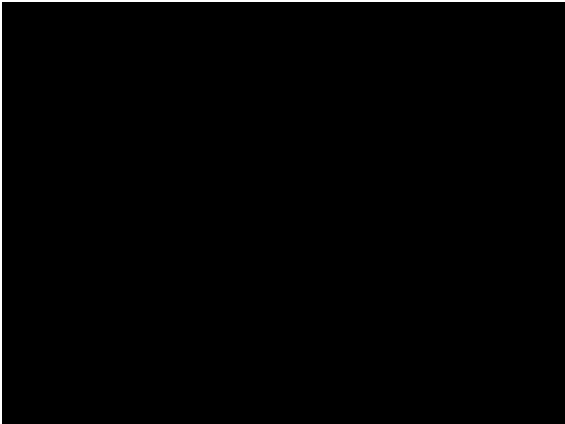
- (1) If word-by-word association, expect piece-meal change over time at the individual word level. Instead, historical linguists posit changes to underlying *systems* to best explain the observed data that change altogether.

Why Parameters?

Why posit parameters instead of just associating stress contours with words?

Arguments from stress change over time (Dresher & Lahiri, 2003):

- (1) If word-by-word association, expect piece-meal change over time at the individual word level. Instead, historical linguists posit changes to underlying *systems* to best explain the observed data that change altogether.
- (2) If stress contours are not composed of pieces (parameters), expect start and end states of change to be near each other. However, examples exist where start & end states are not closely linked from perspective of observable stress contours.



Calculating Unambiguous Data Probability: Relativizing Probabilities

Relativize-against-all:

- probability conditioned against entire input set
- relativizing set is constant across methods

Cues or Parsing

	QI	QS
Unambiguous Data Points	2140	11213
Relativizing Set	540505	540505
Relativized Probability	0.00396	0.0207

Calculating Unambiguous Data Probability: Relativizing Probabilities

Relativize-against-potential:

- probability conditioned against set of data points that meet preconditions of being an unambiguous data point
- relativizing set is not constant across methods

Cues: have correct syllable structure (e.g. 2 syllables if cue is 2 syllable word with both syllables stressed)

	QI	QS
Unambiguous Data Points	2140	11213
Relativizing Set	2755	85268
Relativized Probability	0.777	0.132

Calculating Unambiguous Data Probability: Relativizing Probabilities

Relativize-against-potential:

- probability conditioned against set of data points that meet preconditions of being an unambiguous data point
- relativizing set is not constant across methods

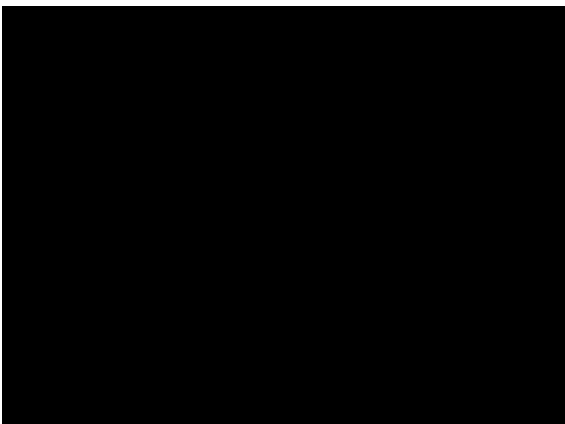
Parsing: able to be parsed

	QI	QS
Unambiguous Data Points	2140	11213
Relativizing Set	p	p
Relativized Probability	$2140/p$	$11213/p$

Cues vs. Parsing: Success Across Relativization Methods (Getting to English)

	Cues	Parsing
Relative-Against-All	Successful	Successful
Relative-Against-Potential	Unsuccessful	Successful

...so parsing seems more robust across relativization methods.



Order Constraints

Good: Order constraints exist that will allow the learner to converge on the adult system, provided the learner knows these constraints.

Better: These **order constraints can be derived** from properties of the learning system, rather than being stipulated, or they're already **known through other means**.

Knowing Through Other Means



Infant research has shown that infants are sensitive to some of the rhythmic properties of their language

Jusczyk, Cutler, & Redanz (1993): English 9-month olds prefer strong-weak stress bisyllables (trochaic) to weak-strong ones (iambic).

Ft Hd Left
S S Ft Hd Rt
S S

Turk, Jusczyk, & Gerken (1995): English infants are sensitive to the difference between long vowels and short vowels in syllables

QS
VV V QI
S S

The learner may already have knowledge of **Ft Hd Left** and **QS**, so these are set early.

Deriving Constraints from Properties of the Learning System

Data saliency: presence of stress is more easily noticed than absence of stress, and indicates a likely parametric cause

Data quantity: more unambiguous data available

Default values (cues only): if a value is set by default, order constraints involving it may disappear

Note: data quantity and default values would be applicable to any system. Data saliency is more system-dependent.

Deriving Constraints: Cues

(a) **QS-VC-Heavy**
before **Em-Right**

(b) **Em-Right**
before **Bounded-Syl**

(c) **Bounded-2**
before **Bounded-Syl**

Deriving Constraints: Cues

(a) **QS-VC-Heavy**
before **Em-Right**

Em-Right: absence of stress is less salient (**data saliency**); prior knowledge

(b) **Em-Right**
before **Bounded-Syl**

(c) **Bounded-2**
before **Bounded-Syl**

Deriving Constraints: Cues

(a) **QS-VC-Heavy**
before **Em-Right**

Em-Right: absence of stress is less salient (**data saliency**); prior knowledge

Bounded-Syl as default (**default values**)

(b) **Em-Right**
before **Bounded-Syl**

(c) **Bounded-2**
before **Bounded-Syl**

Deriving Constraints: Cues

(a) **QS-VC-Heavy**
before **Em-Right**

Em-Right: absence of stress is less salient (**data saliency**); prior knowledge

(b) **Em-Right**
before **Bounded-Syl**

Bounded-Syl as default (**default values**)

Em-Right: more unambiguous data than **Bounded-Syl** (**data quantity**)

(c) **Bounded-2**
before **Bounded-Syl**

Deriving Constraints: Cues

(a) **QS-VC-Heavy**
before **Em-Right**

Em-Right: absence of stress is less salient (**data saliency**); prior knowledge

(b) **Em-Right**
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Deriving Constraints: Cues

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Bounded-Syl as default (**default values**)

Em-Right: more unambiguous data than **Bounded-Syl** (**data quantity**)

(c) **Bounded-2**
before **Bounded-Syl**

Bounded-Syl as default (**default values**)

Bounded-2 has more unambiguous data once **Em-Right** is set; **Em-Right** has much more than **Bounded-2** or **Bounded-Syl** (**data quantity**)

Deriving Constraints: Parsing

Group 1:
QS, Ft Hd Left, Bounded

Group 2:
Ft Dir Right, QS-VS-Heavy

Group 3:
Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2, Bounded-Syl

Deriving Constraints: Parsing

Group 1:
QS, Ft Hd Left, Bounded

Group 2:
Ft Dir Right, QS-VS-Heavy

Group 3:
Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2, Bounded-Syl

Em-Some, Em-Right: absence of stress is less salient (**data saliency**)

Deriving Constraints: Parsing

Group 1:
QS, Ft Hd Left, Bounded

QS, Ft Hd Left: bias from prior knowledge

Group 2:
Ft Dir Right, QS-VS-Heavy

Group 3:
Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2, Bounded-Syl

Em-Some, Em-Right: absence of stress is less salient (**data saliency**)

Deriving Constraints: Parsing

Group 1:

QS, Ft Hd Left, Bounded

QS, Ft Hd Left: bias from prior knowledge

Group 2:

Ft Dir Right, QS-VS-Heavy

Other groupings **cannot be derived from data quantity**, however...

Group 3:

Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2, Bounded-Syl

Em-Some, Em-Right: absence of stress is less salient (**data saliency**)

Non-derivable Constraints: Predictions Across Languages?

Parsing Constraints

Group 1:

QS, Ft Hd Left, Bounded

Do we find these same groupings if we look at other languages?

Group 2:

Ft Dir Right, QS-VS-Heavy

Group 3:

Em-Some, Em-Right, Bounded-2, Bounded-Syl

Combining Cues and Parsing

Cues and parsing have a complementary array of strengths and weaknesses

Problem with **cues**: require **prior knowledge**

Problem with **parsing**: requires **parse of entire data point**

Viable combination of cues & parsing:

parsing of data point subpart = derivation of cues?

Combining Cues and Parsing

Em-Right: Rightmost syllable is Heavy and unstressed ...H(H)

If a syllable is Heavy, it should be **stressed**.

If an edge syllable is Heavy and unstressed, an immediate solution (given the available parametric system) is that the syllable is **extrametrical**.

Combining Cues and Parsing

Viable combination of cues & parsing:

parsing of data point subpart = derivation of cues?

Would **partial parsing**

- (a) derive cues that lead to successful acquisition?
- (b) retain the strengths that cues & parsing have separately?
- (c) be a more psychologically plausible implementation of the unambiguous data filter?