

Language in Populations: The Interaction Between Learning & Change

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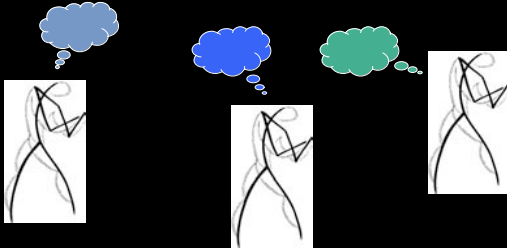
Language

Language Characteristics

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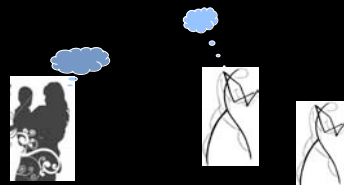
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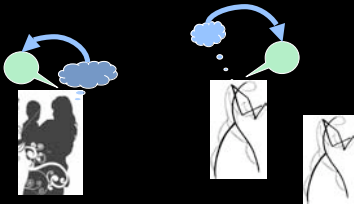
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(2) transmitted via learning, rather than solely genetic



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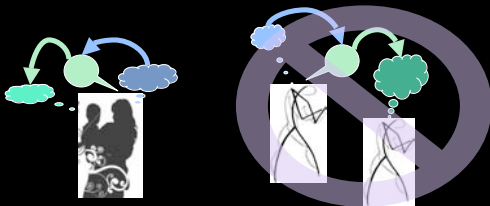
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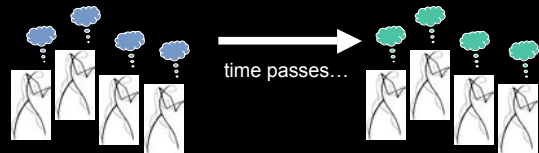
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- (2) transmitted via learning, rather than solely genetic
- (3) some parts mutable only during learning period



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- (1) a trait individuals within a population have
- (2) transmitted via learning, rather than solely genetic
- (3) some parts mutable only during learning period
- (4) linguistic composition of population can change



Language Change in a Population

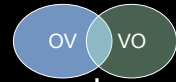
Two opposing linguistic structures (e.g. **Object Verb** and **Verb Object** order) can be used probabilistically by individuals in a population

Change in the probability of usage within the population proceeds at a certain rate

Certain changes proposed to be the result of *imperfect learning* of precisely the right amount at the individual-level (Lightfoot, 1991)

Imperfect Learning = Language Change

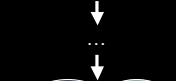
Individuals: the learner's final probability distribution is different from the adult's by a certain amount



These individuals: source of data for future individuals



Future individuals: converge on a probability distribution that is different.



Population-level: the population as a whole shifts at a certain rate, based on the amount individual learners differ from the rest of the population.



Modeling Correct Linguistic Behavior

If we instantiate a certain learning model for individuals of a population and the population changes at the correct rate, we conclude:

- (1) individuals misconverged precisely the right amount
- (2) the learning model that allows this amount of misconvergence is correct

Language Learning in Individuals: The Tricky Part

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

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Syntactic System

Observable form: word order
Interference: movement rules

Subject Object Verb

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Syntactic System

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Interference: movement rules

Verb Subject Object t_{Verb}
Verb-Second (V2) movement

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Syntactic System

Observable form: word order
Interference: movement rules

Subject Verb $t_{Subject}$ Object t_{Verb}

Language Learning: Extracting Systematicity

"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)

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"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)

Potential solution: the learner focuses in on an informative subset of the data.

Potential issue: data sparseness

Road Map

Individual Learning Framework Overview

Population Modeling: Syntactic Language Change

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Population Modeling: Syntactic Language Change

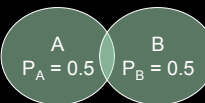
Important Feature: grounded in empirical data

Individual-level: learning period, data distributions, discrete representations, probabilistic update procedure

Population-level: population size, population growth rate, time period of change, rate of change

Individual Learning Framework: 3 Components

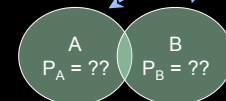
(1) Hypothesis space



(2) Data intake



(3) Update procedure



Benefits of Learning Framework

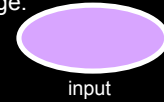
Components:

(1) hypothesis space (2) data intake (3) update procedure

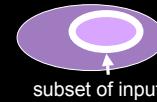
Can combine **discrete representations** (hypothesis space) with **probabilistic components** (update procedure): get gradualness and variation found in real language learning

Individual Model: 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.



Case Study: Model Specifics

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Hypothesis Space: **word order parameters**

Object Verb (OV) vs. Verb Object (VO) order

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Update Procedure: **adapted Bayesian updating**

shifts probabilities between opposing hypotheses

amount shifted depends on layout of hypothesis space

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shifts probabilities between opposing hypotheses

amount shifted depends on layout of hypothesis space

Difficult Feature: **adult target state is a probability distribution**

target state is usually one hypothesis or the other

converging on the right probability is harder

Learning & Change: The Big Questions

(1) Is it feasible to filter?

Is there a data sparseness problem?

(2) Is it sufficient to filter?

Can we get the right population behavior if we filter?

(3) Is it necessary to filter?

Must we filter to get the right population behavior?

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Population Modeling: Syntactic Language Change

Old English: description & proposed individual filters

Old English data & feasibility of filtering

Modeled learners and populations

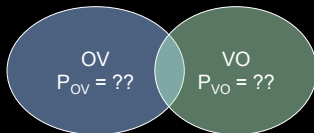
Estimating ground truth

Sufficiency & necessity of filtering

Old English

Learning: Old English OV vs. VO order

Target State: probability distribution between OV and VO hypotheses (YCOE Corpus, 2003; PPCME2 Corpus, 2000; similar models: Yang, 2002; Pintzuk, 2002; Kroch & Taylor, 1997; Bock & Kroch, 1989)



Old English Filters

Filter 1: Use data perceived as **unambiguous** (Dresher, 1999; Lightfoot, 1999; Fodor, 1998)

Filter 2: Use structurally "simple" data - matrix clause or "degree-0" data (Lightfoot, 1991)

Jack told his mother that the giant was easy to fool.
[---Degree-0-----]
[-----Degree-1-----]

Problems

Potential problem for feasibility: **data sparseness**

degree-0 unambiguous data set is significantly smaller than entire input set



Learners must use this data set to **misconverge** the **exact** right amount at each point in time so that the population changes at the correct rate



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Old English OV and VO

OV-biased: between 1000 and 1150 A.D.

VO-biased: by 1200 A.D.

Old English OV and VO

OV-biased: between 1000 and 1150 A.D.

he_{Subj} Gode_{Obj} þancode_{TensedVerb}
he God thanked
'He thanked God'
(*Beowulf*, 625, ~1100 A.D.)

VO-biased: by 1200 A.D.

Old English OV and VO

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he_{Subj} Gode_{Obj} þancode_{TensedVerb}
he God thanked
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(*Beowulf*, 625, ~1100 A.D.)

VO-biased: by 1200 A.D.

& [mid his stefne]_{PP} he_{Subj} awecō_{TensedVerb} deade_{Obj} [to life]_{PP}
& with his stem he awakened the-dead to life
'And with his stem, he awakened the dead to life.'
(*James the Greater*, 30.31, ~1150 A.D.)

Ambiguous Data

Subject TensedVerb Object is ambiguous
(most common data type)

OV, +V2

heo_{Subj} clænsað_{TensedVerb} t_{Subj} [þa sawle þæs ræddendan]_{Obj} t_{TensedVerb}
they purified the souls [the advising]-Gen

VO, -V2

heo_{Subj} clænsað_{TensedVerb} [þa sawle þæs ræddendan]_{Obj}
they purified the souls [the-advising]-Gen

'They purified the souls of the advising ones.'
(*Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, 83.59, ~1150 A.D.)

Perceived Unambiguous Data: Examples

Unambiguous OV

he_{Subj} hyne_{Obj} gebide_{TensedVerb}
He him may-pray

'He may pray (to) him'

(*Ælfric's Letter to Wulfsgie*, 87.107, ~1075 A.D.)

Unambiguous VO

þa_{Adv} ahof_{TensedVerb} Paulus_{Subj} up_{Verb-Marker} [his heafod]_{Obj}
then lifted Paul up his head

'Then Paul lifted his head up.'

(*Blicking Homilies*, 187.35, between 900 and 1000 A.D.)

Perceived Unambiguous Data: Making "Unambiguous" Feasible

Definitions of data perceived as unambiguous are *heuristic* and/or involve only *partial knowledge* of the adult linguistic system (Lightfoot 1999, Drescher 1999, Fodor 1998)

OV:

[...]_{XP} ... Object TensedVerb ...
 ... Object Verb-Marker ...

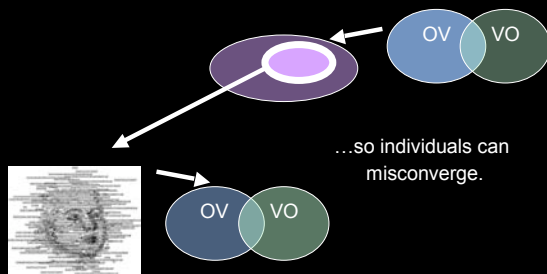
VO:

[...]_{XP} [...]_{XP} ... TensedVerb Object ...
 ... Verb-Marker Object ...

This allows the learner to **identify some data points as unambiguous** (even if they're actually not for someone with full knowledge of the adult linguistic system)

The Effect of Filtering

Unambiguous degree-0 data distribution may differ from adult distribution used to generate data



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Sufficiency & necessity of filtering

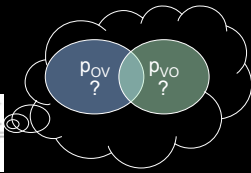
The Model: Individual-Level

Individual learner tracks p_{VO} = probability of using **VO**
 probability of using **OV** = $1 - p_{VO}$

Old English: $0.0 \leq p_{VO} \leq 1.0$

Ex: 0.3 = 30% use of **VO**, 70% use of **OV**

Initial $p_{VO} = 0.5$ (unbiased)



The Model: Individual-Level

Update using adaptation of Bayesian Updating (Manning & Schütze, 1999) for hypothesis space with 2 hypotheses

$$\text{Max}(\text{Prob}(p_{VO}|a)) = \text{Max}\left(\frac{\text{Prob}(a|p_{VO}) * \text{Prob}(p_{VO})}{\text{Prob}(a)}\right)$$

$$\text{Prob}(p_{VO}|a) = \frac{p_{VO} * \binom{r}{r} * p_{VO}^r * (1-p_{VO})^{n-r}}{\text{Prob}(a)} \text{ (for each point } r, 0 \leq r \leq n)$$

$$\frac{d}{dp_{VO}} \left(\frac{p_{VO}^r * (1-p_{VO})^{n-r}}{\text{Prob}(a)} \right) = 0$$

$$\frac{d}{dp_{VO}} \left(\frac{p_{VO}^r * (1-p_{VO})^{n-r}}{\text{Prob}(a)} \right) = 0 \quad (\text{P}(a) \text{ is constant with respect to } p_{VO})$$

$$p_{VO} = \frac{r+1}{n+1}, r = p_{VO_{\text{prev}}} * n$$

Replace 1 in numerator and denominator with $c = p_{VO_{\text{prev}}} * m$ if VO, $c = (1 - p_{VO_{\text{prev}}}) * m$ if OV
 $3.0 \leq m \leq 5.0$

The Model: Individual-Level

Update using adaptation of Bayesian Updating (Manning & Schütze, 1999) for hypothesis space with 2 hypotheses

If **OV** data point

$$p_{VO} = (p_{VO_{\text{prev}}} * n) / (n+c)$$

c represents learner's confidence in data point (calibrated), n represents quantity of intake (2000)

If **VO** data point

$$p_{VO} = (p_{VO_{\text{prev}}} * n + c) / (n+c)$$

Individual-Level Learning Algorithm

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Individual-Level Learning Algorithm

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(4) Repeat (2-3) until the fluctuation period is over, as determined by n .

Biased Data Intake Distributions

p_{VO} shifts away from 0.5 when there is more of one data type in the intake than the other (**advantage** (Yang, 2000) of one data type)

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	OV Advantage in Unamb D0	OV Advantage in Unamb D1
1000 A.D.	19.5%	41.7%
1000-1150 A.D.	2.8%	28.7%
1200 A.D.	-2.7%	-45.2%

Population-Level Algorithm

Population-Level Algorithm

- (1) Set the age range of the population from 0 to 60 years old and create 18,000 population members.
- (2) Initialize the members of the population to the average p_{VO} at 1000 A.D. Set the time to 1000 A.D.

Population-Level Algorithm

- (1) Set the age range of the population from 0 to 60 years old and create 18,000 population members.
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- (3) Move forward 2 years.
- (4) Members age 59-60 die off. The rest of the population ages 2 years.

Population-Level Algorithm

- (1) Set the age range of the population from 0 to 60 years old and create 18,000 population members.
- (2) Initialize the members of the population to the average p_{VO} at 1000 A.D. Set the time to 1000 A.D.
- (3) Move forward 2 years.
- (4) Members age 59-60 die off. The rest of the population ages 2 years.
- (5) New members are born. These new members use the individual acquisition algorithm to set their p_{VO} .
- (6) Repeat steps (3-5) until the year 1200 A.D.

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Population Modeling: Syntactic Language Change

Old English: description & proposed individual filters

Old English data & feasibility of filtering

Modeled learners and populations

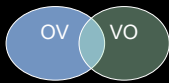
Estimating ground truth

Sufficiency & necessity of filtering

Estimating Historical p_{VO}

Historical data used to initialize population at 1000 A.D., calibrate population between 1000 and 1150 A.D., and check target state at 1200 A.D.

Historical data distributions: some data are ambiguous



p_{VO} : underlying distribution is not ambiguous



Estimating Historical p_{VO}

(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora)

% Ambiguous Utterances

	Degree-0 % Ambiguous	Degree-1 % Ambiguous
1000 A.D.	76%	28%
1000 - 1150 A.D.	80%	25%
1200 A.D.	71%	10%

Observations:

(1) Degree-1 data less ambiguous than degree-0 data.

(2) Advantage is magnified in degree-1.

Assumption: degree-1 distribution less distorted from underlying distribution.

Estimating Historical p_{VO}

Use the difference in distortion between the **degree-0** and **degree-1** unambiguous data distributions to estimate the difference in distortion between the **degree-1** distribution and the **underlying** unambiguous data distribution in a speaker's mind.

$$\frac{\gamma^* d0 + u1d1' - Ld1to0}{\gamma^* d0} = \frac{ad1' - (\gamma^* d0 + u1d1')}{u2d1' + ad1' - (\gamma^* d0 + u1d1')}$$

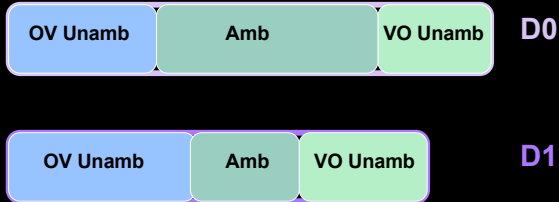
$$\gamma = \frac{-(d0)(d0 + u1d1' - Ld1to0(ad1' + u1d1'))}{2(Ld1to0 + 1)(d0^2)} + \sqrt{\frac{(d0)(d0 + u1d1' - Ld1to0(ad1' + u1d1'))^2 - 4(Ld1to0 + 1)(d0^2)((-1)(d0 * u1d1'))}{2(Ld1to0 + 1)(d0^2)}}$$

γ = underlying p_{VO}
 $d0$ = total degree-0 data, $d1$ = total degree-1 data
 $u1d1'$ = normalized unambiguous VO degree-1 data
 $u2d1'$ = normalized unambiguous VO degree-1 data
 $Ld1to0$ = loss ratio (OV/VO) from degree-1 to degree-0 distribution
 $ad1'$ = normalized ambiguous degree-1 data

Estimating Historical p_{VO}

Known quantities:
Unambiguous and
ambiguous data in
d0 and d1

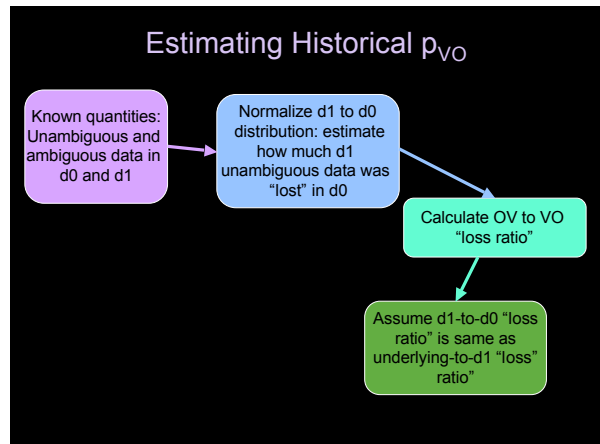
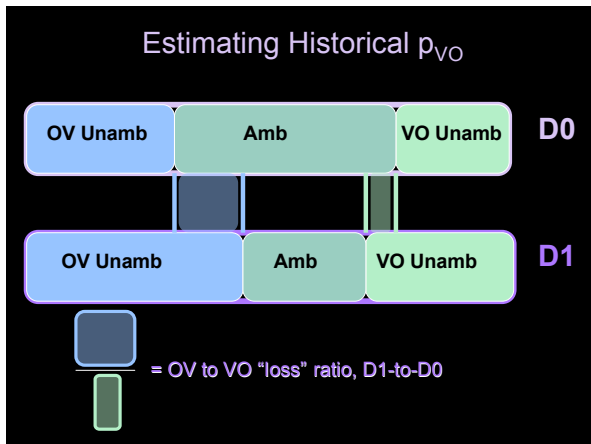
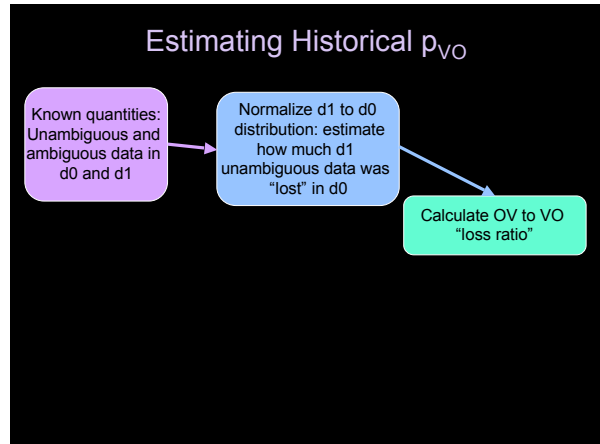
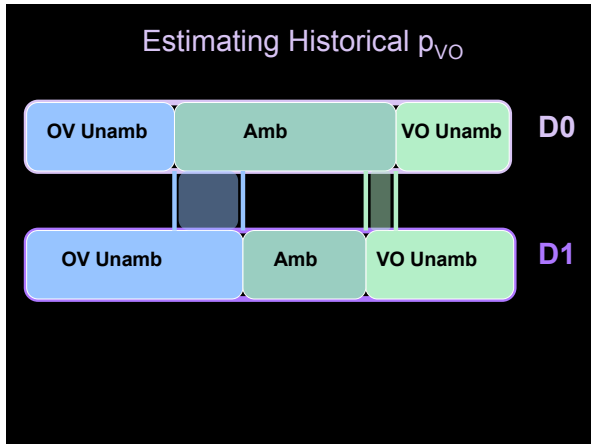
Estimating Historical p_{VO}

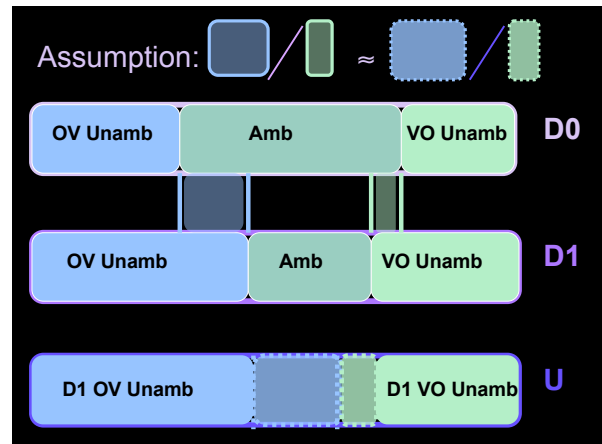
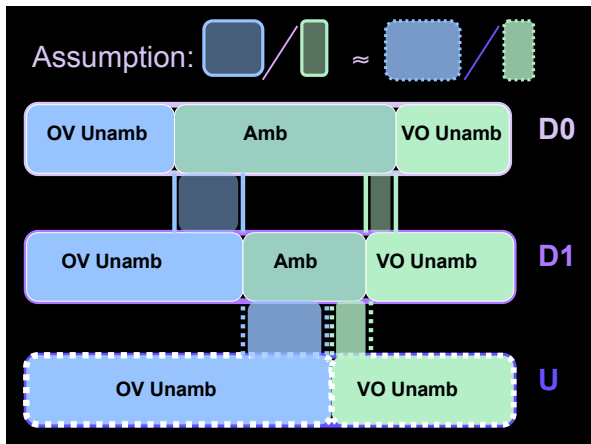
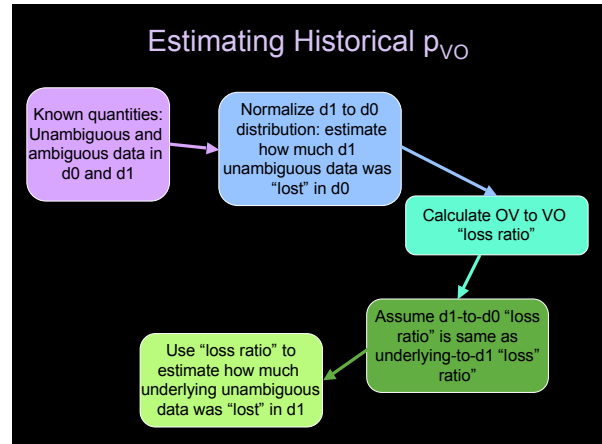
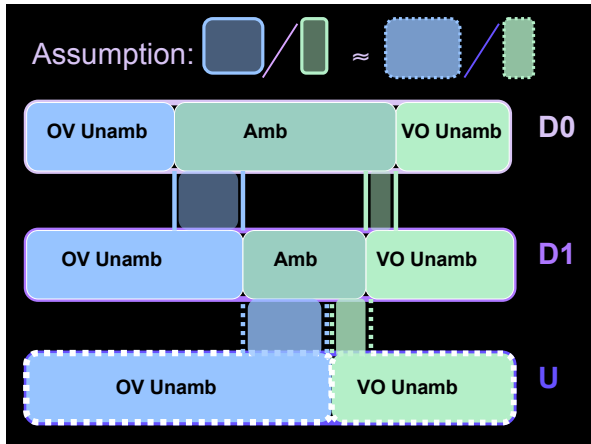


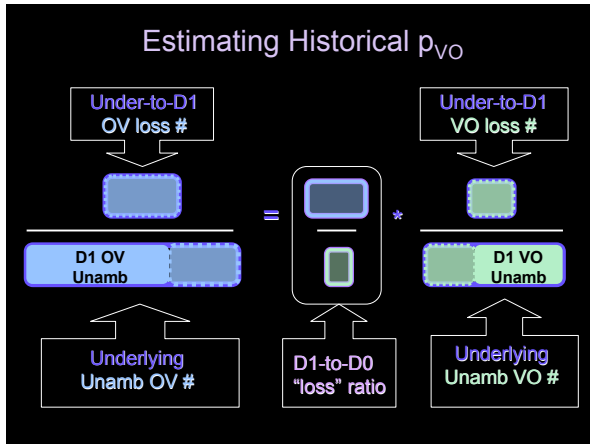
Estimating Historical p_{VO}

Known quantities:
Unambiguous and
ambiguous data in
d0 and d1

Normalize d1 to d0
distribution: estimate
how much d1
unambiguous data was
"lost" in d0





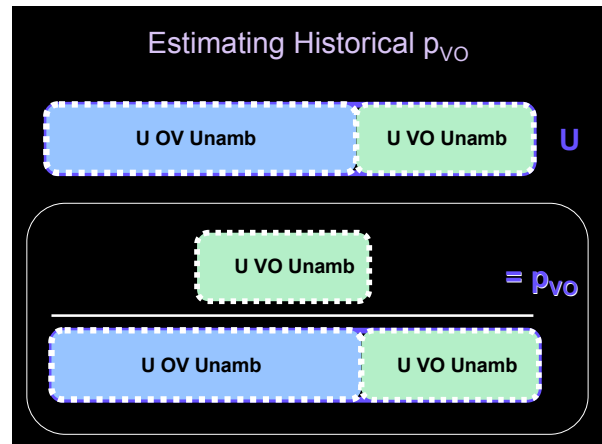
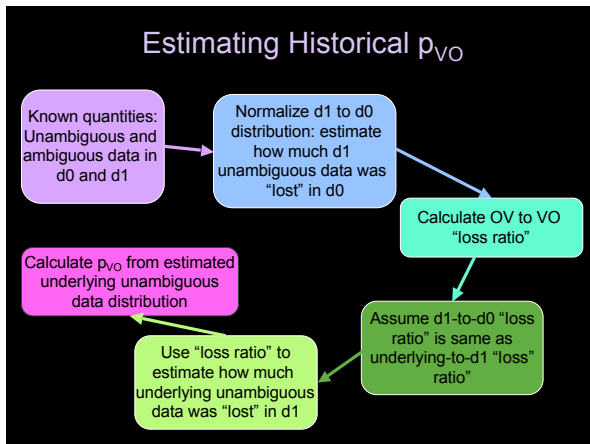


Estimating Historical p_{VO}

γ = underlying p_{VO}
 $d0$ = total degree-0 data, $d1$ = total degree-1 data
 $u1d1$ = normalized unambiguous OV degree-1 data
 $u2d1$ = normalized unambiguous VO degree-1 data
 $Ldtto00$ = loss ratio (OV/VO) from degree-1 to degree-0 distribution
 $ad1$ = normalized ambiguous degree-1 data

$$\frac{\gamma \cdot d0 - u1d1 - Ldtto00 \cdot ad1 - (\gamma \cdot d0 - u1d1)}{\gamma \cdot d0 - u2d1 - ad1 - (\gamma \cdot d0 - u1d1)}$$

$$\gamma = \frac{-(d0)(d0 + u1d1 - Ldtto00(ad1 + u1d1))}{2(Ldtto00 + 1)(d0^2)} \pm \frac{\sqrt{(d0)(d0 + u1d1 - Ldtto00(ad1 + u1d1))^2 - 4(Ldtto00 + 1)(d0^2)(-1)(d0 \cdot u1d1)}}{2(Ldtto00 + 1)(d0^2)}$$



Estimating Historical p_{VO}

	(Initialization) 1000 A.D.	(Calibration) 1000-1150 A.D.	(Termination) 1200 A.D.
Average p_{VO}	0.234	0.310	0.747

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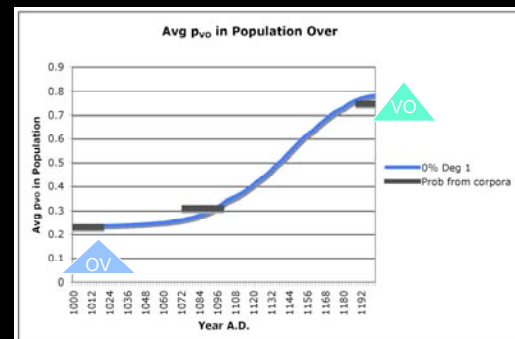
Population Modeling: Syntactic Language Change

- Old English: description & proposed individual filters
- Old English data & feasibility of filtering
- Modeled learners and populations
- Estimating ground truth
- Sufficiency & necessity of filtering

Remaining Questions to Answer

- (1) *sufficiency*: Can an Old English population whose learners filter their intake down to the **degree-0** unambiguous data shift at the correct rate?
- (2) *necessity*: If the proposed individual filtering during learning is sufficient to cause an Old English population to change at the correct rate, is it in fact necessary? Are the filters responsible?

Sufficiency of Filters: Correct Distribution Biases



Necessity of Filters: Remove Unambiguous Filter

Learner can use ambiguous data. Strategy: assume surface order is actual order. (Fodor, 1998)

Example: *Subject TensedVerb Object* = VO

Necessity of Filters: Remove Unambiguous Filter

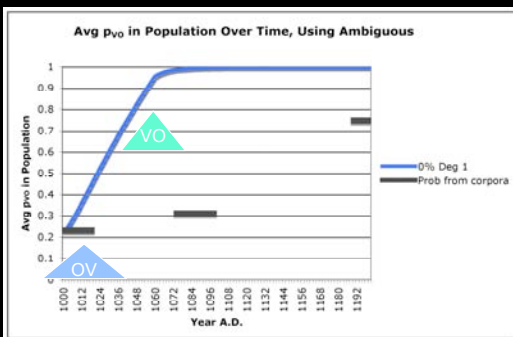
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Example: *Subject TensedVerb Object* = VO

	Degree-0 OV Advantage
1000 A.D.	-21.0%
1000 - 1150 A.D.	-26.9%
1200 A.D.	-21.8%

VO order has advantage, even at 1000 A.D.

Necessity of Filters: Remove Unambiguous Filter



Necessity of Filters: Removing Degree-0 Filter

Learner can use unambiguous data in both degree-0 and degree-1 clauses.

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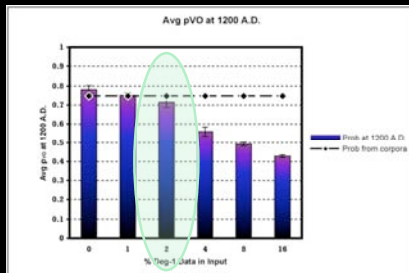
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1000 A.D.	19.5%	41.7%
1000-1150 A.D.	2.8%	28.7%
1200 A.D.	-2.7%	-45.2%

Degree-1 data is strongly OV-biased.

What is the threshold of permissible % of degree-1 data so the population can still be strongly VO-biased by 1200 A.D.?
How does this compare to the amount available to children?

Necessity of Filters: Allowing in Degree-1 Data



Permissible Threshold: <4% degree-1 data in individual intake.

Necessity of Filters: Removing Degree-0 Filter

Permissible threshold: <4%

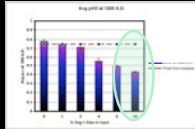
Estimated amount available to children (from corpora): ~16%

Necessity of Filters: Removing Degree-0 Filter

Permissible threshold: <4%

Estimated amount available to children (from corpora): ~16%

Conclusion: Filter required so that 16% degree-1 data does not cause Old English population to be too OV-biased



Necessity of Filters: Removing Both Filters

Dropping Unambiguous Data Filter: **too much VO**
(change is too fast)

Dropping Degree-0 Filter: **too much OV**
(change is too slow)

Drop both?

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Drop both?

	OV Advantage in D0	OV Advantage in D1
1000 A.D.	-21.0%	28.1%

Requires 43% of the intake to be degree-1 data just to get the intake to be **OV-biased** at 1000 A.D.

Old English Language Change Summary

Language change modeling results: existence proof for feasibility, sufficiency, and necessity of data intake filtering during individual learning

Individual-Level Filters:

- (1) unambiguous data
- (2) degree-0 data

There is an interaction of language change modeling and language learning theory. Each can be used to constrain the other.

Open Questions

- (1) If we add complexity to the population model, do we still need these individual-level learning filters?

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Weight data points in individual intake using various factors:

- (a) spatial location of speaker with respect to learner
- (b) social status of speaker
- (c) speaker's relation to learner (family, friend, stranger)
- (d) context of data point (social context, linguistic context)

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- (c) speaker's relation to learner (family, friend, stranger)
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- (2) Are these filters necessary if we look at other language changes where individual-level learning is thought to be the main factor driving change at the population-level?

Population Modeling: Take Home Messages

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- (1) Models of language change can (and should) be empirically grounded.
Individual-level: learning period, data distribution, linguistic representation, probabilistic learning
Population-level: population size, population growth rate, time period of change, rate of change

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Population-level: population size, population growth rate, time period of change, rate of change
- (2) Learners can extract the correct system by looking at a subset of the data.
- (3) Correct population-level behavior can result from correct individual-level behavior (small misconvergences compounded over time).

Thank You

Amy Weinberg	Jeff Lidz
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Elizabeth Royston	Philip Resnik
Raven Alder	David Poeppel

the Cognitive Neuroscience of Language Lab
at the University of Maryland

Causes of Language Change

Old Norse influence before 1000 A.D.: VO-biased
If sole cause of change, requires exponential influx of Old Norse speakers.

Old French at 1066 A.D.: embedded clauses predominantly OV-biased (Kibler, 1984)
Matrix clauses often SVO (ambiguous)
OV-bias would have hindered Old English change to VO-biased system.

Evidence of individual probabilistic usage in Old English
Historical records likely not the result of subpopulations of speakers who use only one order

Deriving the Bayesian Update Equations for a Hypothesis Space with 2 Hypotheses

$$\text{Max}(\text{Prob}(p_{VO} | u)) = \text{Max}\left(\frac{\text{Prob}(u | p_{VO}) * \text{Prob}(p_{VO})}{\text{Prob}(u)}\right)$$

Bayes' Rule, find maximum of a posteriori (MAP) probability
Manning & Schütze (1999)

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$\text{Prob}(u | p_{VO})$ = probability of seeing unambiguous data point u , given p_{VO}
= p_{VO}

$\text{Prob}(p_{VO})$ = probability of seeing r out of n data points that are unambiguous for VO, for $0 \leq r \leq n$
= $\binom{n}{r} * p_{VO}^r * (1 - p_{VO})^{n-r}$

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$$\text{Max}(\text{Prob}(p_{VO} | u)) = \text{Max}\left(\frac{p_{VO} * \binom{n}{r} * p_{VO}^r * (1 - p_{VO})^{n-r}}{\text{Prob}(u)}\right) \text{ (for each point } r, 0 \leq r \leq n)$$

$$\frac{d}{dp_{VO}} \left(\frac{p_{VO} * \binom{n}{r} * p_{VO}^r * (1 - p_{VO})^{n-r}}{\text{Prob}(u)} \right) = 0$$

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$$p_{VO} = \frac{r+1}{n+1}$$

Deriving the Bayesian Update Equations for a Hypothesis Space with 2 Hypotheses

$$p_{VO} = \frac{r+1}{n+1}, r = p_{VO_{prev}} * n$$

Replace 1 in numerator and denominator with
 $c = p_{VO_{prev}} * m$ if VO, $c = (1 - p_{VO_{prev}}) * m$ if OV
 $3.0 \leq m \leq 5.0$

$$p_{VO} = \frac{p_{VO_{prev}} * n + c}{n + c}$$

Other Ways to Remove the Unambiguous Filter

Strategies for assessing ambiguous data

- (1) assume base-generation
 - attempted and failed
 - system-dependent (syntax)
- (2) weight based on level of ambiguity (Pearl & Lidz, in submission)
 - unambiguous = highest weight
 - moderately ambiguous = lower weight
 - fully ambiguous = lowest weight (ignore)
- (3) randomly assign to one hypothesis (Yang, 2002)

Perceived Unambiguous Data: OV

Unambiguous OV data

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- (1) Tensed Verb is immediately post-Object

he_{Subj} hyn_{Obj} gebidde_{TensedVerb}

He him may-pray

'He may pray (to) him'

(Ælfric's Letter to Wulfsgie, 87.107, ~1075 A.D.)

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we_{Subj} sculen_{TensedVerb} [ure yfele beawes]_{Obj} forlæten_{Verb-Marker}
we should our evil practices abandon

'We should abandon our evil practices.'

(*Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, 70.52, ~1150 A.D.)

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(1) Tensed Verb is immediately pre-Object, 2+ phrases precede (due to interaction of V2 movement)

& [mid his stefne]_{PP} he_{Subj} awecō_{TensedVerb} deade_{Obj} [to life]_{PP}
& with his stem he awakened the-dead to life

'And with his stem, he awakened the dead to life.'

(*James the Greater*, 30.31, ~1150 A.D.)

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þa_{Adv} ahof_{TensedVerb} Paulus_{Subj} up_{Verb-Marker} [his heafod]_{Obj}
then lifted Paul up his head

'Then Paul lifted his head up.'

(*Blickling Homilies*, 187.35, between 900 and 1000 A.D.)

Verb-Markers

Sub-piece of the verbal complex that is semantically associated with a Verb, used to determine original position of Verb
 Examples: particle ('up', 'out'), a non-tensed complement to tensed Verbs, a closed-class adverbial ('never'), or a negative ('not') (Lightfoot, 1991).

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Unreliable Verb-Markers

Sometimes the Verb-Marker would not remain adjacent to the Object.

ne_{Negative} geseah_{TensedVerb} ic_{Subj} næfre_{Adverbial} [ða burh]_{Obj}
 NEG saw I never the city
 'Never did I see the city.'
 (Ælfric, *Homilies*. 1.572.3, between 900 and 1000 A.D.)

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